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Responding to the Needs of the Most Vulnerable

A Case Study of the Refugee Response on MHM
and WASH in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement

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Abstract

As the number of displaced people is increasing globally, host countries are experiencing difficulties in keeping up with the increasing demands of their growing population. But who is paying the highest price? Through a qualitative approach, this research aims to study the refugee response to Wash, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH) as well as Menstrual Hygiene Management (MHM) and how the needs of women and girls are met at the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement in northern Uganda. To investigate the refugee response more closely, the following research questions were posed:

1. How do host countries work to develop their refugee response in order to ensure refugee women and girl's capabilities and agency?
 - a. What is the current situation in regard to access to WASH and MHM facilities in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement?
 - b. How do the local Government of Uganda and the NGOs promote work on MHM and WASH in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement?
2. What discourse is present in the data concerning meeting the needs of refugee women and girls?

Data was collected through qualitative semi-structured interviews with organizations that work with WASH projects in this particular refugee settlement, as well as through document analysis. The data has been examined through feminist critical discourse analysis, using the theoretical framework of Nussbaum's Capabilities approach, Egalitarian liberal feminism as well as the Menstrual Concealment Imperative.

The results show that there are fewer intervention efforts at the state and regional levels, compared to local levels. NGOs exert more effort in promoting the agency and dignity of women and girls at the local level, in order to achieve adequate WASH and MHM results.

Keywords: Menstrual Hygiene Management, WASH, Refugee response, Capability approach, Equality, Uganda

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Abbreviations

CA: Capability approach

GoU: Government of Uganda

HH: Household(s)

LICs: Low-Income Countries

MCI: Menstrual Concealment Imperative

MH: Menstrual Health

MHM: Menstrual Hygiene Management

WASH: Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene

1. Introduction

Migration and the influx of refugees have become hotly debated topics on the global political stage throughout the last decade. As of 2022, the estimated number of globally displaced people was approximately 100 million comprising 32.5 million refugees, an increase of 5.5 million people from 2021 estimates (UNHCR, 2022). The growing numbers of displaced people can be seen as a result of climate change and environmental disasters, conflicts, among other instances where people are being forced to leave their homes (UNHCR, 2017). The increased number of refugees has been posing a range of challenges to the people who are forced to flee and the host countries alike. A rapid increase in population calls for an immediate response from the countries where the refugees settle. Such a response concerns all levels of society, including access to and supply of medical care, food, shelter, water, and sanitation. Though host countries differ in their capacities, research shows that there are general challenges to keeping up with the growing demand for the supplies, resulting in difficulties to provide the necessary services to the local population and refugees (Verme, 2023). The difficulties in meeting the increasing needs of a growing population also provoke economic, political, and social pressure on developing countries in particular, which commonly face challenges in these areas (Wang, et al., 2022). The 1951 Refugee Convention aims to ensure refugees their basic human rights, including the right to free movement and security, and guarantee refugees to receive the same health service as the remaining population in the host country, the rapid increase in population makes it difficult for host countries to meet those expectations (UNHCR, n.d.).

The absence of adequate water, sanitation and hygiene services in particular is not uncommon in refugee camps and settlements. The lack of these services drastically impacts communities, making them more prone

to the spread of diseases while negatively impacting the physical and mental well-being of women and girls, as well as their sense of dignity. As women and girls are one of the most vulnerable groups during migration, the lack of adequate water and sanitation responses affects them the most (Water.org, 2015). Research indicates that 85% of women in settlements experience a lack of latrines. Such shortages result in open defecation and, once again, increased risk of spread of diseases and infectious outbreaks, but it also reduces the number of safe places women and girls can utilize to maintain their hygiene. Less private spaces for women and girls to use the bathroom, manage their menstrual hygiene, change and bathe in private poses a greater risk of gender-based violence and sexual harassment (Jannat, et al., 2022).

When addressing Menstrual Hygiene Management (MHM), scholars refer to ‘adequate’ and ‘inadequate’ facilities as a way to indicate the level at which women's and girls’ needs are responded to in regard to menstrual hygiene and health. Adequate WASH (Water, Sanitation and Hygiene) and MHM facilities include a safe space in which one can lock and have lights; clean water and soap; safe waste disposal facility which often refers to a bin with a lid. The last aspects recognized within MHM are access to menstrual products and information about menstruation (Rossouw & Ross, 2021). Facilities that do not meet these criteria are instead referred to as inadequate. Inadequate facilities affect women and girls negatively in several ways. Restricted access to sanitary menstrual products forces women and girls to use unsafe materials, such as rags and reused pads which increases the risk of vaginal infections (Gabrielsson, 2018; Rossouw & Ross, 2021). The inability to access sanitary menstrual products can additionally result in women visibly staining their clothes and making them a target of harassment and teasing, causing emotional distress among women and girls. On that premise, the lack of access to menstrual products, as well as safe places to manage one’s hygiene and products during menstruation, pose threats both to the physical and mental well-being, as well as to refugee women and girls’ sense of dignity (Jannat, et al. 2022).

Despite the recognized negative impacts, literature on the issues experienced by refugee girls and women in regard to sexual and reproductive health does not always include the issues related to menstrual health and hygiene. Claims suggest the gap in literature may be the result of the stigmatization of menstruation in broader discourse, which has resulted in the topic being ignored in the political sphere (Winkler & Roaf, 2015; Alhelou, et al., 2022). The existing research on MHM poses evidence that there is a need to develop responses of higher quality on menstrual hygiene in humanitarian settings. Developing these responses can offer refugee women and girls better services on MHM and WASH, increase their sense of dignity and promote physical and mental well-being, promoting overall equality in the long run (Sommer, 2012).

1.2. Problem Statement

Access to menstrual products, adequate facilities and education about menstruation and menstrual hygiene management is often limited, or non-existent, in refugee settlements. The lack of proper MHM facilities affects women and girl's physical and mental well-being (Thomson, et al., 2019; Jannat, et al. 2022). Along with this, women and girls who are living in refugee settings are more prone to experience threats to upholding their dignity in relation to menstruation. A woman or girl who is menstruating without access to menstrual products and hygiene facilities might be forced to use unsanitary products which threaten her physical health and left without an option to manage their menstruation without any privacy (Bwengye-Kahororo & Twanza, 2005; Greed, 2016).

The progressive refugee policies of Uganda were accepted when the 1951 Refugee Convention was ratified by the country in 1976. Though the country believes in the inclusion of refugees in national development, including health services, gaps still remain in the hygiene response (Namakula, 2022). Previous research shows that the stigmatization of menstruation and menstrual health (MH) serves as the main factor as to

why it is absent in current policies and emergency responses, as stigmatized topics that are not addressed in the private sphere and everyday speech are less likely to be brought up on the political level. In order to protect the dignity, mental and physical well-being of refugee women and girls, better hygiene responses must be provided (Winkler & Roaf, 2015). This study's focus on MHM and WASH in Uganda's largest refugee settlement, Bidi Bidi, aims to highlight these issues through a case study. By examining the current situation in regard to MHM and WASH, and what issues refugee women and girls are facing in terms of access to menstrual products, facilities, education and information regarding menstruation in the Bidi Bidi refugee settlement, this study aims to contribute to the research gap of MHM in humanitarian contexts by examining the effect on women and girls capabilities and agency.

1.3. Aim and Research Questions

This study focuses on the Ugandan refugee response in regard to MHM and WASH responses in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement in northern Uganda. The study aims to understand the refugee response from a feminist perspective, examining the responses incorporated on state, regional and local levels focusing on the needs of the refugee women and girls in the settlement. Given the aim of this study, the following research questions have been posed:

1. How do host countries work to develop their refugee response in order to ensure refugee women and girl's capabilities and agency?
 - a. What is the current situation in regard to access to WASH and MHM facilities in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement?
 - b. How do the local Government of Uganda and the NGOs promote work on MHM and WASH in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement?
2. What discourse is present in the data concerning meeting the needs of refugee women and girls?

1.4. Thesis Outline

The thesis consists of seven chapters in total. The first chapter, *Introduction*, presents the context and relevance of the study. The second chapter, *Overview of the Case* provides more in-depth information about the case this thesis will concern. Chapter 3 is presenting previous research and literature on several topics that are relevant to this thesis: state involvement and dignity, MHM in humanitarian contexts, and inadequate MHM and its socio-economic effects. The fourth chapter explains and discusses the theoretical framework that is central to this study, being the Capability approach, Egalitarian liberal feminism along with the Menstrual Concealment Imperative. Chapter 5 guides the reader through the methodology of the study, including how the research has been designed, what methods have been used and to what cause. Chapter 6 contains an analysis of the gathered data material. The seventh, and last, chapter concludes the findings of the study.

2. Overview of The Case: Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement

2.1. Context and Understanding of the Settlement

Uganda hosts over 1.5 million refugees from neighbouring countries, with the highest number of refugees being South Sudanese (European Commission, 2023). During 2017, when the influx of refugees reached its peak, Uganda's refugee policies and response were put under pressure, necessitating assistance from both the World Bank and UNHCR. Uganda then developed a refugee policy focusing on formal registration, self-sustenance and resilience, where refugees are allowed to settle as legal citizens in their host country and integrate into the local communities. The country's progressive refugee policies have been ongoing since 1951 when Uganda first signed the Refugee Convention. However, the current policies which support the settlement policies are based on the Refugee Act of 2006. The countries' liberal approach towards refugees and immigration has made Uganda the nation with the most progressive refugee laws on the African continent (UNHCR, 2018).

In 2016, Uganda committed to the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF), whereby the nation formally agreed "1) to continue its settlement approach, 2) to provide access to education and formal employment to 120,000 newly arrived refugees, and 3) to sustain Refugee and Host Population Empowerment" (UNHCR, 2018, p. 4). This framework and its implementation are led by the Government of Uganda (GoU). However, the implementation of the CRRF enabled a platform where humanitarian organizations and other partners help build on the refugee response to support the refugees on different levels in Uganda. Among other international organs and NGOs, UNHCR is one of the organizations that are involved in the CRRF together with the GoU.

Further, to acknowledge and properly respond to the issues in regard to the services of health and hygiene as well as the WASH infrastructure, the Ministry of Health together with the Ministry of Water and Environment is involved to develop and provide responses which recognize “the acute challenges before Ugandan stakeholders to develop the water and environment response plan to respond to the needs in refugee hosting districts” (UNHCR, 2018, p. 7)

As one of the biggest refugee-hosting nations in the world, Uganda has approximately 11 settlements within its borders. The country’s largest settlement, the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement, located in the Yumbe district, in northwestern Uganda, comprises around 50% of all refugees. The settlement was established in 2016, during the influx of refugees following the South Sudanese civil war (Berke & Larsen, 2022). As the second largest refugee settlement in the world, Bidi Bidi makes up approximately 250 square kilometers, which are divided into five zones comprising approximately 250 000 people. 84 % of the total population is women and children, making it a relevant case for studying the existing MHM and WASH response and its consequences (GoU & UNHCR, 2023).

3. Previous Research and Existing Research Gaps

3.1. State Involvement and Upholding Dignity in Refugee Settlements

Human rights in refugee settlements can be described as being in a state of 'limbo' (Holzer 2013; Purkey, 2013). Though refugees are protected under human rights laws especially mentioned in the 1951 Refugee Convention, they rarely get to enjoy their full rights established therein (Purkey, 2013). This is due to several issues, one being shortcomings of refugee protection. The 1951 Refugee Convention, which was established during the second world war, focuses on better meeting the needs of refugees and requires a certain level of state involvement; something that has been more difficult to meet for some states than others (Holzer, 2013).

The 1951 Refugee Convention sheds light on the responsibility of the host state in protecting refugees and upholding their rights and dignity (UNHCR, n.d.). Research has been conducted on the responsibility of host states regarding ensuring the rights and safety of refugees. It has highlighted the inadequate responses towards ensuring refugees the necessary infrastructure, especially necessities concerning women and girls (Sarkins & Morais, 2022). It is not uncommon for responses to fail to address the issues of both sexual and gender-based violence, and other issues that put the physical health of women and girls at risk. As women and girls form the majority of refugees, the failure to address their needs means excluding the needs of the majority of the refugees (ibid.). Further, there is research suggesting that considering and including the needs of women and girls results in better responses in terms of WASH and can work as a means to increase equality and social well-being in areas where

responses are applied:

[...] taking into account women's toilet needs, including menstruation, would contribute to the achievement of the UN Sustainable Development Goals, as providing facilities would enable women to travel, work away from home and participate in education, thus contributing to economic growth, personal health and social well-being. (Greed, 2016, p.520)

In the article written by Holzer (2013), the author states that refugees in settlements are rarely treated as humans with rights. Fundamental rights of human beings include dignity which implies being treated as a human being whose life is equal to those around them. As dignity is something each and every human being holds the right to, it is essential to protect it in order for each person to live a good life (May & Daly, 2019). It has been stated that refugees utilize consumption and normalcy as coping strategies to preserve their sense of dignity (Oka, 2014). Refugees can preserve a sense of routine and control over their lives through consumption, and normalcy enables them to deal with the ambiguity and unpredictability of their circumstances. Thereby, keeping routines that resemble a familiarity in new and/or unpredictable settings can help to preserve dignity. As a sense of dignity is required for human beings to live a 'normal life', the issue of upholding dignity in humanitarian settings becomes a riddle as "refugees struggle for both" (Oka, 2014, p.33). Continuously, the difficulties that refugees encounter in upholding their dignity, including a lack of resources and crowding, contend that these difficulties might cause refugees to lose their feeling of agency and self-worth, thus undermining their sense of dignity.

Another reason as to why refugees struggle to live a dignified life within a refugee settlement stems from the mainstreamed refugee responses, which meet the needs of some refugees, while others remain unfulfilled. This can be a result of high population and crowding, limited infrastructure, resources, and adequate facilities. Sarkins and Morais (2022) emphasize the need to further examine the lack of responses towards refugee women

and the accompanying issues. Additionally, light is shed on the need to address the oppression that lies as a foundation for the responses excluding the needs of women.

A study done by Winkler & Roaf (2015) determined that menstruation is hardly addressed at the political level. This stems from the stigmatization of menstruation causing people to ignore the issues they are experiencing in regard to menstruation, which results in the topic remaining ignored both on the political level as well as in everyday speech among the people. However, research that has been conducted on menstrual education and its effects shows that the more education women and girls receive on the topic, the more comfortable they are addressing menstruation and the perceived issues related to it. Sharing knowledge and understanding menstruation, abnormalities and so forth help women and girls to be empowered as well as it also increases the chances of seeking medical help when needed (Lane Evans, et al. 2022). Though, in Low-Income Countries (LICs) it is common that NGOs take on the role of spreading information about menstruation and offering education, menstruation products and sanitation materials in order to minimize the gap left the state (Sommer, 2012).

3.2. MHM in Humanitarian Contexts

MHM in humanitarian contexts has been a topic of research for over a decade. However, researchers have expressed the need for more research on the topic. Through examining the existing literature on MHM in humanitarian settings and responses, along with interviews with experts within the humanitarian field, Sommer (2012) conducted a global desktop review on MHM in humanitarian response which noted that MHM is rarely recognized as an individual response, instead it exists as a sub-issue within WASH. The review found a lack of systematic documentation and guidance on how to program an MHM response as well as proper evaluation of previous responses.

Research has shown a correlation between poor MHM and women's health and dignity (Parker et al., 2014). The lack of resources which restrict proper maintenance of menstruation, lack of information and scarcity of menstrual products has outsized negative effects on women in LICs. In an article which studied MHM in emergency settings in Uganda with the help of 50 interviews and focus group discussions with women, the authors emphasized the correlation between poor menstrual hygiene management and women's health and dignity. In addition, the lack of previously stated necessities resulted in unsustainable menstrual practices which affected the dignity of women in these emergency settings (ibid.)

Though there is a growing body of literature on MHM in humanitarian settings and emergency response, it is vague and gaps remain. Sommer (2012) maintains that it is of particular significance to highlight the importance of contextualization in regard to MHM, stating that taking into consideration the cultural and religious beliefs along with geographical settings is crucial in order to better understand and address the issues regarding MHM in each humanitarian setting. In order to achieve a more sustainable response which helps to work more inclusively with the different needs of different women, the participation of women is important. Several studies have pointed out the importance of conducting context analyses where women living in the area are consulted resulting in a more case-specific intervention, instead of a mainstreamed sanitary kit which would have less suitability in the environmental context. Such a process of consulting and analyzing needs could promote inclusion and provide a better suited response for the needs of all women, regardless of religious beliefs and cultural practices (Winkler & Roaf, 2015; Patel, et al., 2022; Rossouw & Ross, 2015).

MHM responses in humanitarian contexts have demonstrated improvements regarding health, dignity and privacy for women living in these settings (Bwengye-Kahororo & Twanza, 2005). A project conducted in the Soroti and Katawki areas in North-eastern Uganda initiated by

Concern World Wide and UNICEF aimed to promote the dignity and health of internally displaced people, primarily women, in the districts. The evaluation showed that following improved access to sanitation facilities and products, as well as training in menstruation management skills, women who participated in the project gained the confidence to enhance the hygienic nature of their menstrual practices due to their newfound knowledge in regard to menstrual management. They also displayed an increased sense of dignity due to the heightened privacy and integrity in regard to better and safer facilities for women. Furthermore, the increased facilities resulted in fewer violent assaults as women no longer needed to manage their menstruation during nighttime in unsafe conditions (ibid.).

3.3. Inadequate MHM and Its Socio-economic Effects

Adequate MHM can be defined as women and girls having satisfactory access to menstrual hygiene products to cover their monthly needs. In addition, adequate MHM also includes access to proper facilities which uphold the safety, privacy and dignity of the menstruating women and girls using them. This is often attained through access to bathrooms or washrooms which provide clean water and soap to uphold hygiene and minimize the risk of infections; secure waste facilities, promoting a sense of dignity for menstruating women and girls not to be forced to carry their products with them outside of the facility; locks on the doors which minimize the risks of being watched and/or walked in on when managing the menses. Being able to close and lock the doors also promotes a sense of privacy (Rossouw & Ross, 2021).

Inadequate MHM has been linked to a decrease in women's social participation and socio-economic status. As a result of stigmatization and taboo, inadequate MHM facilities and insufficient access to menstrual products result in women isolating themselves during their menstruation. This negatively impacts the hours per month for girls to attend school and

decreases the number of job opportunities for women, both within and outside the household. A quantitative study conducted in eight low- and middle-income countries, including Uganda, stated that adequate MHM is often “unequally distributed by socio-economic status, which in turn will perpetuate existing socio-economic inequalities within society” and suggested that women and girls who have a lower socio-economic status often have less access to adequate MHM facilities (Rossouw & Ross, 2021, p. 10).

A recently coined concept, ‘period poverty,’ addresses this issue and refers to the lack of access to MHM facilities, and MH products along with knowledge and information about menstruation (Plan International, 2018; Markowski, 2022). Tackling the issue of MHM from a socio-economic point of view, period poverty has been found to be more prominent in LICs. Drawing upon this concept, a study which examined the existing literature on MHM in humanitarian settings found that period poverty was further aggravated within emergency settings. The study presented the emergence of three themes: (i) availability and affordability of menstrual products, and the accessibility of WASH services, (ii) availability of support system and coping with “period poverty” during a humanitarian crisis, and (iii) gender dimensions of menstrual hygiene management during humanitarian crises (Patel, et al., 2022, p. 4). In accordance with the previous literature, the perceived issues of the refugee women concerned access to water and sanitation which was often restricted. Due to restrictions on water access, the displaced women reported men in their households requested them to stop wasting water when using it to clean their clothes that had been used for absorbing menstrual blood. Further, as facilities such as bathrooms or washrooms with gender segregation or proper walls, doors and locks are often absent in humanitarian settings such as refugee camps, displaced women shared an experience of having their sense of privacy and dignity challenged. Access to menstrual products was reported as scarce among refugee women, due to either stigma or economic barriers, or a combination of both. However, in some instances where NGOs or other organizations handed out sanitary kits,

including menstrual products, they were sometimes useless as the women who received these kits reported they often came without instructions or without culturally compatible options for use (ibid.).

A more recent study from 2020, continued to highlight the scarcity of research on MHM in refugee settings, with specific mention to the need for more research which tackles the lived experiences of refugee women and girls in regard to MHM (Kemigisha et al., 2020). Once again, the study mentions that they have noticed a scarcity of this research topic, particularly regarding women and girls in Ugandan refugee settings. The study was carried out in the Nakivale refugee settlement in Uganda, and reported similar findings to Parker et al. (2014). The study based their data on 28 interviews and focus group discussions with women and girls living in the Nakivale settlement. The study reported a lack of adequate sanitation facilities, menstrual products, and knowledge about menstruation among girls and women in the settlement. For instance, participants in the study shed light on the hardships of accessing menstrual products within the settlement. Firstly, the supply was described as 'insufficient' and due to economic barriers, purchasing products naturally was not an option. Instead, options like rags, cloths and bits from old clothing replaced menstrual products risking contracting different infections. The authors repeatedly mentioned the lack of sanitation facilities, as well as menstrual products, had a negative impact on the physical health of women and girls (Kemigisha et al., 2020).

Lastly, inadequate MHM, such as lack of education on the topic also affects men's and boys' perceptions of the topic. Men's negative attitudes towards menstruation were demonstrated in a study conducted in 2003 in the United States of America where college students answered a survey which portrayed their attitudes towards menstruating women. Though the study found that both men and women perceived a menstruating woman negatively, this was more occurring when examining the attitudes in men. Where women found menstruating women as more irritable, angry and sad, the study found that men instead found "menstruating women as more

disagreeable and spiteful, less reliable and dependable, and less creative and intellectually curious than other women” (Forbes, et al., 2003, p. 4), as well as being less clean and reasonable.

Referring to the views of Power (1995), the exclusion of men in education on women’s issues, such as menstruation, is not uncommon. As stigmatization continually occurs, so does the segregation of information, resulting in menstruation being portrayed as solely a women’s issue. This segregation of information subconsciously sends a message that men should not be included in issues regarding women's health, and continues to perceive MH as peripheral to them (Courtenay, 2000).

However, to promote equality and work to break the stigma around menstruation, the involvement of men and boys is crucial as they more generally hold negative attitudes towards menstruation (Forbes, et al., 2002; Peranovic & Bentley, 2017). As with the previous chapters, there is a gap in research in regard to men and their attitudes towards menstruation. Despite evidence that men's attitudes towards menstruation are generally negative, the existing gap concerns how these negative attitudes affect the bigger picture (Peranovic & Bentley, 2017). Exploring the beliefs and attitudes towards menstruation, Peranovic & Bentley (2017) found that men who have had restricted exposure to the phenomena, i.e lack of education and information about menstruation at home, as well as in school, cultural and societal norms, generally held negative attitudes towards menstruation. Similarly to the findings from Forbes et al. (2002), men reported menstruating women as irritable and/or unstable in Peranovic and Bentley’s (2017) work.

4. Theoretical framework

4.1. Identifying Women's Capabilities

Amartya Sen's (1999) Capability approach (CA) is a framework which proposes social settings should be assessed in light of the degree of freedom individuals have to advance or accomplish the functions they value. CA focuses on an individual's opportunities for choosing to do something they value, rather than choosing something strictly based on the outcome. It identifies poverty as a deprivation of basic capabilities and highlights the importance of women's participation in development. It also emphasizes that there is no single solution to improving people's living standards. The capability approach is not about the level of satisfaction, but rather it is about what someone can do or be. However, throughout time different thinkers have been developing the framework in several ways. Two of these are Martha Nussbaum and Inger Robeyns which, despite differences in their approaches, add an intersectional point of view. Their respective points of view include gender, ethnicity and class as significant social categories for inclusion when developing a framework emphasizing people's freedoms and the capabilities they seek to enjoy.

In her book *"Women and Human Development"* (2001) Nussbaum argues that women are not treated as equals and are instead seen as instruments of others. She believes that laws and institutions should respect the dignity of women and treat them as individuals with their own rights. Nussbaum argues that women lack the necessary support to live lives that are as fulfilling as possible, which is primarily due to gender-based discrimination. In contrast to Sen's idea, Nussbaum argues that the CA is only relevant if it is developed with the comprehensive inclusion of women's needs and opportunities, not just satisfaction with what they do. Nussbaum proposes that we should focus on what a person is able to do

due to their opportunities and liberties in society. Further, Nussbaum refers to a so-called ‘threshold’ in CA. This threshold is seen as the minimum level of a capability an individual must pertain in order to experience a dignified life. Whereas Nussbaum's approach, together with Sen, presents a more individual-centric approach to the framework, Robeyns (2017) in the book *Wellbeing, Freedom and Social Justice: The Capability Approach* mentions “relational capabilities” which are less individual and considers social relationships and how interactions and relationships between individuals affect their capabilities. For Robeyns, capabilities are context-dependent and can be more or less significant in some cultures and societies than others. Connecting back to Holzer’s (2013) idea of state responses and how some host countries can issue a better refugee response than others, Robeyn's perspective can be valuable to add to this theoretical framework.

In CA, there is an important distinction between functions and capabilities. A function can be seen as an achievement. If capabilities are what an individual is able to do or to be, a function is the realization of these abilities. Where the function responds to *being* can be exemplified by being educated or well-nourished. Whereas, the *doings* in terms of functions are an action. For instance, working or traveling. A capability is considered as a combination of these functions for an individual to achieve and is therefore seen as a possibility to perform different actions (Nussbaum, 2001).

In contrast to Sen (1999) and Robeyns (2017), Nussbaum presents a list of the basic capabilities an individual should have access to in order to live a good life. The list of the basic capabilities that Nussbaum recognized stands as the following: Life; Bodily health; Bodily integrity; Senses, Imagination and thoughts; Emotions; Practical reason; Affiliation; Other species; Play; Control over one's environment (Nussbaum, 2001, p.78-80). I argue that Nussbaum's take on CA provides a valuable framework for studying women's health, dignity and agency in refugee settlements. The approach is especially relevant to MHM as it emphasizes the significance

of enabling individuals to live a life with freedom, including access to adequate sanitation, health services and dignity, where MHM can fall into consideration. In order to answer the research question(s), this theory section will shed light on those capabilities that concern and correlate to the issue of dignity and women's health. These capabilities are the following:

Bodily health: This capability concerns upholding good health, in terms of being well nourished but also in relation to physical health which reproductive health and menstrual hygiene fall into. Women's dignity can closely be tied to this capability as one part of living a dignified life includes the ability to take care of your hygiene, and a restriction of taking care of your body can cause poor health and loss of dignity (Nussbaum, 2001, p. 78)

Control over one's environment: This capability relates to individuals' control of their environment as well as equal access to material items. Hence, a woman's ability to control her environment, as access to WASH facilities such as clean water, sanitation and a private space to uphold hygiene can be closely linked with this capability. If a woman is experiencing a lack of safe and hygienic menstrual products, we could say that they also lack control of their material environment which could cause ill health and impact their dignity as a consequence.

Practical reason: The capability for practical reason refers to a person's ability to make choices and exercise agency in their lives, which makes this certain capability relevant to explain MHM in relation to women's agency. Women's agency and ability to manage their health practices can be closely tied to the capability of practical reasoning as they need to have access to resources such as menstrual products or adequate facilities to manage their menstrual hygiene effectively; with dignity and without the risk of getting infections.

Affiliation concerns social interaction in several forms. It is about experiencing compassion towards other individuals, showing and experiencing social support and concern towards others. Nussbaum breaks this capability into two sub-categories where the second part shed light upon self-respect and non-humiliation to which she writes “being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails, at a minimum, protections against discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, religion, caste, ethnicity, or national origin.” As the stigma surrounding menstruation can lead to isolation and social exclusion, this can impact their capability of affiliation (Nussbaum, 2001, p. 84).

By using Nussbaum's Capability approach to analyze the issue of MHM in refugee settlements, we can better understand the ways in which women's dignity and agency are impacted by their ability to manage their menstrual hygiene. Focusing on promoting women's capabilities in areas such as bodily health, control over their environment, practical reasoning, and affiliation can help to support women's menstrual hygiene management and promote their overall well-being.

The use of the Capability approach can help to shift the discourse surrounding MHM. Instead of placing MHM in the context of a health and hygiene narrative, the CA can help to widen the narrative and take into consideration of women's empowerment and dignity. Further, the approach can offer a framework for comprehending the complex and multidimensional nature of MHM as well as designing more efficient and sustainable solutions that prioritize women's empowerment and agency by placing an emphasis on enhancing women's capabilities and freedoms. The CA can be of good use within the development discourse as it emphasizes agency for each individual with a special focus on expanding freedom in order to live the fullest life. This corresponds to MHM especially, where women's freedom can be considered restricted by a lack of access to necessary resources, restrictive social norms and so forth. Nussbaum's CA can help to understand and examine in what ways inadequate facilities

in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement restrict women to live a meaningful life, and how it affects their menstrual health and dignity. Lastly CA, as conceptualized by Nussbaum, can assist in identifying strategies that promote women's capabilities for them to live a dignified life.

4.2. Employing Liberal Feminism as a Way to Promote Women's Agency

Egalitarian liberal feminism departs from the doctrine of liberal feminism, as a result of second-wave feminism which emerged in the 1960s. In contrast to first-wave feminism which focused on the perpetuation of inequity via the legal sphere, second-wave feminism evolved with an increased focus on women's liberation, gender roles and social inclusion for all genders. Deriving from the latter, liberal feminism advocates for the rise of equal social and political opportunities for men and women as well as individualism. This branch of liberalism supports the idea that women own the same rights legally and politically as men (Hooks, 2016; Evans, 1995)

Liberal feminism can be divided into two parts based on their perception of freedom and how it can, and ought to be, achieved. First, classical liberal feminism would understand freedom as an individual, a citizen being free from forced interference from external sources, meaning that freedom can be defined as an individual who practices full agency. Second, the focal point of Egalitarian liberal feminism is freedom attained through personal as well as political autonomy and focuses on an individual that is in charge of their own life, free to make their own choices (Mackenzie & Stoljar, 2000). The egalitarian liberal feminists blame the inherited patriarchal structures for the lack of agency women experience and suffer from. As such, this branch of liberal feminism focuses on how to identify these structures, and how to, together with the state, change them (Okin, 1989). Different branches of feminism assign different roles and overall involvement of the state. Egalitarian liberal feminism encourages the state the role of assuring agency of all its

citizens, and that it ought to promote women's agency especially and serve as an 'ally' to the movement. Egalitarian liberal feminists do also expect the state to work to defend women from discrimination and violence. This assigned state involvement puts the egalitarian liberal feminists on the left side of the political spectrum (Cudd, 2006).

As mentioned, Egalitarian liberal feminism is one of the distinctions that exist within liberal feminism. However, instead of believing in freedom from mainly forced interference, egalitarian feminist liberalists rather believe and define freedom as full autonomy both in terms of personal as well as political meaning that women should live a life where they are free to make their own choices. According to this particular distinction within liberal feminism, women have access to choices and freedom that are motivated by their own interests, which are frequently constrained as a result of prejudice and stereotyping (Baehr, 2013).

In regards to dignity and MHM in refugee settlements, this feminist approach can assist to shed light on the significance of taking women and girls agency and dignity into consideration when tackling issues which concern women and girls living under these conditions. Sen and Östlin (2008) point out that refugee women and girls are often more exposed to gender-based violence, which includes sexual violence. As women and girls are especially vulnerable when managing their menstruation without adequate facilities, it results in them facing particular challenges in terms of menstrual hygiene, directly affecting their dignity.

However, some criticism has been raised towards this branch of feminism. Though egalitarian liberal feminism expects the state to uphold a standard for all its citizens which concerns basic rights and an adequate standard of living, it fails to address the issue of both poverty but also how race interferes with these issues. Hence, intersectional literature covering these issues is generally lacking (Mackinnon, 1994).

4.3. Revealing Patriarchal Tendencies with the Menstrual Concealment Imperative

The idea of the Menstrual Concealment Imperative (MCI) is that women's internalisation of the current menstrual discourse and patriarchal views of women's roles results in their oppression (Roberts, 2004; Wood, 2020). The theory argues that women will survive better in the current patriarchal society if they reject their femininity, where to 'reject femininity' means to conceal themselves and their female needs to better adapt to the patriarchal structures. In correlation to menstruation, this would imply disguising any trace of menstruation. For women to be able to do well socially, politically and personally in society, there is a need for them to meet the expectation brought upon them by the patriarchy. These expectations often include the concealment of female biological functions, for instance not to make their menstruation obvious as this would make them seem weak. Menstrual concealment is therefore considered crucial for women to succeed in patriarchal societies (Wood, 2020).

Further, the theory draws upon Foucault's idea of biomedicalization and means that women are treated as patients in need of help. This narrative further enhances the idea that biologically, menstruation is an unnatural disease that women suffer from and thus need help with. The period product industry focuses on making products as discreet and periods as something that needs to remain under control, again, further enhancing the idea that women need to conceal and shy away from the fact that they are experiencing menstruation (Patterson, 2014; Wood 2020).

The MCI suggests that self-objectification by women results in the Menstrual Concealment Imperative, which forces them to conceal their periods and can negatively impact their lives. Drawing on Foucault's idea (1977), the concept of self-surveillance and self-objectification in relation to menstruation concealment. According to Foucault, through biopower, people learn to desire conformity to discourse, and through panoptical power, they self-survey themselves to adhere to those discourses. The

panopticon is a system of social control where individuals are encouraged to self-monitor their behaviour in order to conform to accepted norms without external enforcement. In this instance, *individuals* are menstruators and *behaviour* refers to their menstrual management. Biopower here is challenging to envision as external to the individual, as self-surveillance is portrayed as individualism where each person has their own will, despite the fact that it is a product of culture (Foucault, 1977; Bartky, 2014).

The way women, often subconsciously, obey and thus internalize the menstrual 'male gaze', meaning to hide their biological function, results in women's self-objectification. Self-objectification is exemplified when women objectify themselves by viewing their bodies from an outsider's perspective, judging their appearance based on sexual desirability and how their bodies can better serve others, typically men. In relation to menstruation, self-objectifying often includes shying away from anything which, from a male perspective, would be considered dirty, unhygienic and unattractive. Women are taught that in order to instead maintain the opposite; clean, hygienic, attractive and feminine they must learn to hide their menstruation. Self-objectification in tandem with menstruation has resulted in higher rates of women experiencing self-disgust and shame (Ussher, 2006; Bartky, 2014).

Although there are negative consequences of self-objectification and how harmful it is to women, the female ideal is also imperative for the survival and function of women in a system defined by patriarchy. Despite the paradoxical nature of the relationship, the MCI explains how obeying the female ideals in terms of attractiveness, is a way for women to claim power in a patriarchal society. Returning to the previous point, women have a higher chance of social, political and economic success if they conceal unattractive traits from the male gaze. Female self-objectification in correlation to menstruation is a survival strategy (Roberts & Waters, 2004; Wood, 2020).

4.4. Operationalizing the Theoretical Framework

This thesis will combine and utilize the theories and frameworks mentioned previously. Applying several of Nussbaum's central capabilities will assist in determining to what extent female refugees have access to the necessary resources which are needed for upholding the dignity, agency and the adequate standard of MHM. Here, Robeyns' intersectional approach and relational capabilities is of significant help in examining the social and cultural contexts. Further, egalitarian liberal feminism can provide insights into structural inequalities and underscore the importance of agency in relation to dignity and women's and girls' well-being. Lastly, the Menstrual Concealment Imperative framework will assist in understanding the potential experience of stigmatization and injustice for women and girls within the settlement.

5. Methodology

5.1. Research Design

As this thesis aims to study a specific context, the Bidi Bidi settlement, this research will follow the structure of a case study research design. A case study allows for both in-depth and rigorous analyses of the chosen context. These qualities lend themselves to qualitative methods such as interviews and allow for researchers to be particularly detailed and in-depth in the analysis of information (Bryman, 2012). The particular design for this thesis will follow the case study research design which includes: (i) defining the aim and research questions that the case will help to answer, (ii) data collection, and (iii) data analysis (Blatter & Haverland, 2012; Yin, 2014).

Moreover, the ontological position of this study focuses on data interpretation and meaning. Using an interpretative approach, the researcher can gain a better understanding of the participants' perspectives. This can result in a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the research question(s), as well as insights that would not have been apparent using other methods. Overall, an approach which seeks to be interpretative is a useful tool for qualitative researchers who want to gain a thorough understanding of human experiences and perspectives. Therefore, the data for this thesis will be collected through semi-structured interviews as well as through document analysis. As Mason (2018) proposes, one might choose to use qualitative interviewing because the ontological position of the researcher or study seeks to be, among several things, interpretative. Mason reports that qualitative interviewing allows for people's knowledge, understandings, narratives and so forth to be of significant importance regarding what the study seeks to explore.

5.1.2. Case Study

This study is based on a singular case, the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement. Basing this thesis on a particular case can help to examine the aim more intensively. A case study of the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement can add to the current political discussion about providing services to women and girls to assist their basic needs in relation to WASH and MHM. With an influx of refugees from neighbouring countries, and the subsequent pressure on assisting refugees with sustainable infrastructure, the case of Uganda is reflective of the global refugee crisis and more specifically, the topic of addressing specific needs of said refugees. Viewing the Bidi Bidi Settlement within this context allows the research to offer a more comprehensive understanding of the different initiatives taken, as well as to trace the efforts taken between the levels of analysis. In short, through viewing the situation at all levels one can see how certain initiative penetrate the issue from both a top-down, and bottom-up approach.

5.2. Sampling Techniques and Sampling Criteria

In this section, the aim is to provide a comprehensive description of the sampling technique and the sampling criteria used in this study. In addition, the limitations, as well as the advantages that come with the chosen sampling method, will be acknowledged. This section will also elaborate on the sampling criteria, the final sample size, and the chosen sampling criteria.

5.2.1. Sampling Techniques

In this study, interview participants and documents were chosen through purposive sampling. This kind of non-probability sampling indicates that participants and documents are chosen based on their relevance in correlation to the aim of the research. The research material has therefore

been chosen intentionally, with specific and predetermined criteria (Bryman, 2012; Mason, 2018)

All organizations were chosen based on the presence of active project(s) in the refugee settlement, and if the specific project(s) had a correlation to MHM and/or WASH. Likewise, the sampled documents were chosen in a similar fashion. The documents had to reference WASH and/or MHM projects or initiatives in the refugee settlement. Purposive sampling includes two levels of sampling, which were accurate when sampling interview participants. The first level involves choosing the specific materials and the second level concerns the most appropriate person in the organization, who is chosen based on their relevance to the research topic and aim (Bryman, 2012). Throughout the process of contacting organizations, these two levels were present in three of the four organizations. In these scenarios, each organization forwarded the request to the individual who held the most knowledge about MHM and WASH within their organization.

The fourth and final organization was identified and contacted through snowball sampling. According to Bryman (2012), this sampling method is used in order to increase the number of relevant interviews in a study. Snowball sampling refers to a participant referring to another relevant individual they consider useful for the study. In this scenario, an organization, which did not meet the research criteria, suggested another organization which was a better fit. This way, this particular method can be beneficial for a study as it, again, provides relevant and knowledgeable organizations and people as participants.

5.2.2. Sampling Criteria

Accurate sampling criteria will help to find relevant participants for the study one is meaning to conduct. In other words, having sampling criteria which go hand in hand with the research aim can help increase the validity

of the study. In this section, several meaningful traits of chosen interview participants as well as documents will be discussed.

First, when identifying organizations that could be interesting for this study, both in terms of interview participants and documents, the criteria was that their goals or mission of the projects would align with the general topic of this study; being MHM and WASH facilities in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement. In a study which is focused on a certain geographical location, this trait was particularly significant for all sampled data material. Though it was important that all organizations reached out to had active projects in the area, the criteria did not specify that the individual chosen as the interviewee themselves had to be on the ground. However, the person participating in the study should, certainly, be involved and hold knowledge about the project.

As mentioned under *5.7 Scope and Limitations*, the number of interview participants was four and the number of documents was a total of three. As the interviews intended to answer questions regarding the current situation in the settlement in regard to physical facilities, the need for a higher number of participants was not deemed necessary. Lastly, the particular size of the organizations was not taken into consideration when reaching out to potential participants, because the size of the organization would not necessarily affect the knowledge the organization holds of their ongoing projects.

There were three documents selected to analyze within the sample. Each document aims to represent the WASH and MHM initiatives taken across three distinct levels of society within the settlement: the state level, regional level, and the local level.

5.3. Data Collection

In this study, semi-structured interviews have been selected as one of the two data collection methods. Semi-structured interviews are commonly

used in qualitative research as it enables more depth and flexibility allowing for a personalized approach to data collection (Bryman, 2012). A semi-structured interview is designed with a number of questions beforehand, but as the interviews are conducted, the researcher has the possibility to ask follow-up questions and tailor the interview to situations which can yield richer and deeper answers to a specific topic. In addition, due to the small number of interview participants, this study also engages triangulation through a document analysis using documents published by the Government of Uganda (GoU), Yumbe district, and a document published by Ylabs, an NGO operating within the refugee settlement. This method of triangulation is used to achieve a higher saturation and validity (Carter, et al. 2014).

5.3.1. Semi-structured Interviews

As this thesis aims to make an in-depth analysis focusing on the interpretation and meaning of the research subject, semi-structured interviews were chosen as one of the methods for data collection. In contrast to structured interviews, this type of qualitative method allows for flexibility, investigation and depth to the questions (Bryman, 2012; Kvale, Brinkmann & Torhell, 2014). Moreover, the flexibility facilitates the process of steering the interview into areas of importance for the interviewer, as well as for the interviewee. In order to enhance the possibility for the interviewee to steer the interview, the interview ended with a question which highlighted that the interviewee was encouraged to add or mention anything which seemed to be of importance but was not asked during the interview.

The interviews were held with four participants who represented different organizations with active projects in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement. All participants consented to be recorded during the interviews and were ensured that they would remain anonymous and referred to by pseudonyms. Further, they were informed that all documentation of the interview would be deleted as soon as the thesis is finished. The interviews

were held online on a private Zoom link, protected by the waiting room feature. Each interview lasted between 30-40 minutes and was later transcribed using the software Descript.

5.3.2. Document Analysis

Date	Actors	Level	Document
December 2022	International organizations	State level	Endline Survey Report on WASH 2022
April 12, 2021	District government	Regional	Yumbe District Development Plan 2021-2025
November 19, 2021	NGO	Local	Project overview

The sampled documents analyzed in this thesis are the following: The Endline Survey Report on WASH from 2022, conducted by the GoU together with UNHCR. The second document on the regional level is the Yumbe District Development Plan, which was written by Yumbe District. The last document on the local level is a project overview by the NGO Ylabs. The sampled documents provide information about WASH and MHM projects and/or initiatives within the Yumbe district, including the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement. As presented in the table, the chosen documents are presenting projects which are initiated on different levels. These levels are state-level (GoU), regional level (Yumbe district) and local level (Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement). The documents were read-through and analyzed three times in accordance with the three-dimensional framework developed by Fairclough (1992).

Endline Survey Report of 2022: Bidi Bidi WASH Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices

The document was published in December 2022 with the aim to report on access to both water and information about the sanitation practices, including MHM, within the Bidi Bidi Refugee settlement. The data was collected through questionnaire surveys, focus group discussions, and a documentary review across all five zones within Bidi Bidi. The report consists of 43 pages covering the water supply, hygiene, and sanitation practices in the refugee settlement. Though, MHM is not mentioned in the section of the report pertaining to the perceived issues in the settlement regarding WASH, it is mentioned on the last pages of the report, implying that it has been considered within the context of Bidi Bidi.

The Yumbe District Local Government Development Plan 2020/2021–2024/2025

This extensive four-year development plan is a general development plan of the Yumbe district and hence not exclusively focused on Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement. It works in accordance with the 2040 Uganda Vision to “[...] transform the country from being a predominantly peasant and low income to a competitive, upper middle income status [...]” (p. 22). The plan concerns topics such as Economic Development, Infrastructure, Human and Social development, and so forth. The development plan did include WASH in Bidi Bidi and was therefore regarded as a helpful resource for document analysis.

Cocoon Project Overview: Ylabs Partnered with Alight and Kuja Kuja

Ylabs (Youth Development Labs) is an NGO which is focusing on human-centered solutions for issues faced by youth, globally. This project was located within the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement. The aim was to design a “Cocoon-mini,” a space which would provide women and girls with privacy and safety to change their menstrual products, wash themselves, and dispose of their products without fear of being watched or harassed. The Cocoon is equipped with high walls, solar lights, hard locks

on the doors, disposal bins, and a bathing facility. All parts of the process of constructing the cocoons, including research, prototyping and the actual construction included the community. According to Ylabs, 338 people participated in the process. Among those included were community leaders, male peers, and guardians.

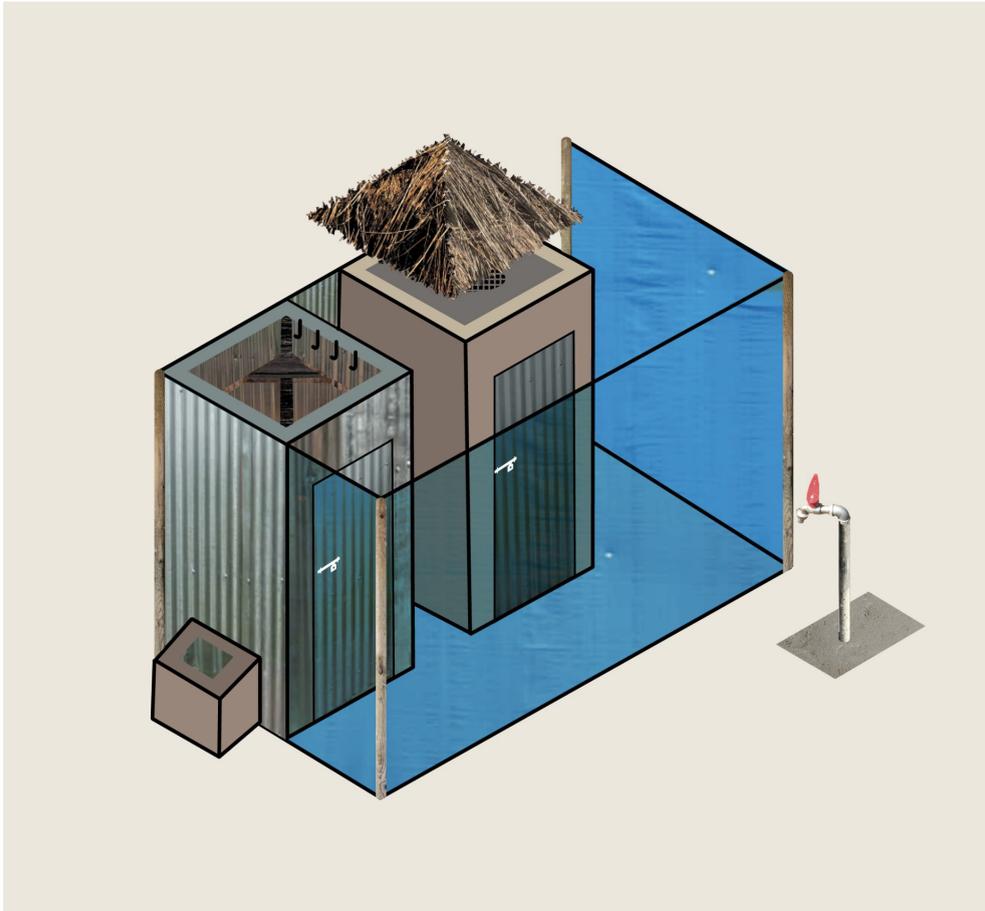


Figure 1. Illustration of the Cocoon-mini. Retrieved from <https://www.ylabsglobal.org/work/all/cocoon> (2021a)

5.4. Operating The Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

As mentioned under *5.1 Research design*, this thesis takes on the ontological position of interpretation and meaning. Therefore, the collected data for this thesis was analyzed using discourse analysis. This way of analyzing data allows for interpretation; to find meaning behind what is

stated and a focus on “contextual understanding” of data (Bryman, 2012, p. 529). Discourse analysis is not tied to spoken language, but rather it can be used to analyze texts as well as gestures and other non-verbal actions which can contribute to understanding and interpreting the context of the data. As this thesis aims to understand the issue from a feminist perspective, it will more specifically take on Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA). As a sub-field to Critical Discourse Analysis, this approach, as opposed to regular discourse analysis, is more politically oriented and focuses more heavily on uncovering gendered challenges; power relations, inequalities or social imbalances in general (Lazar, 2007, p. 141-142; Van Dijk, 2015, p. 478). In her book Lazar (2005) presents the following five principles as a way to practice the analysis; (i) Feminist analytical resistance, (ii) Gender as ideological structure, (iii) Complexity of gender and power relations, (iv) Discourse in the (de)construction of gender, and (v) Critical reflexivity as praxis. Operating through a lens aimed to deconstruct gendered issues within governmental and organizational discourse can help to shed light on the reproduction of inequalities and injustice against women as well as other effects on women.

The use of this method of analyzing data was motivated by its focus on language. As MH can be considered a sensitive topic, a method of analysis which allows for contextual understanding is beneficial as the researcher can gain an understanding of the beliefs and attitudes of the data towards the studied problem. FCDA allows the researcher to study the language used in the data, which can help identify and interpret how power relations and inequalities are present and how they are revealed in different contexts and settings. Failing to engage FCDA could lead to important findings going otherwise unnoticed. Further, as this thesis studied the language of several interview transcripts and documents, FCDA can help to identify situations where interventions differ in approaches to the same issue, how data is presented differently, and where along which boundaries other incongruencies occur.

Data was analyzed following the framework of Fairclough (1992), who proposed a three-dimensional model of CDA. Using CDA to analyze discourse provides a framework which helps to understand the meaning behind discourse and how language is used to create and/or withhold power relations and social injustice. As for this thesis, the analysis will focus on the link between language and gender (specifically in regard to MHM) as well as language and power. Specifically, the research sets out to understand how discourse is used to uphold certain structures regarding language and gender.

When making practical use of the CDA three-dimensional framework proposed by Fairclough (1992), the discourse analysis penetrates three levels (dimensions); (i) textual analysis (micro-level), (ii) discursive practice (meso-level), and (iii) social practice (macro-level). Whereas the micro-level analyzes the text by describing its components and the macro-level analyzes the interlinkages between the description of components and its relationship to the broader spectrum as power structures, the meso-level rather works as a 'bridge' between the two levels. Although the three-dimensional model is presented from a micro to macro-level, Fairclough (1992) states that starting from a macro-level is more practical.

When presenting the operation of textual analysis, Fairclough (1992) proposed several components from which one would preferably structure the analysis. The micro-level focuses on description; the way language is used in the analyzed material. Shedding light on the particular structure of a text as well as vocabulary, grammar, and coherence, this stage includes recognizing themes or patterns in which the data reveals through the used language. This stage facilitates the efforts to understand the context, and what the document or transcript can help to disclose about the topic. Analyzing language and gender, as well as language and power, the textual analysis will mainly concern vocabulary and grammar as well as interactional control.

Concerning the meso-level, the discourse practice focuses on interpretation and recognizing how language is situated, particularly within social and cultural contexts. This dimension uncovers how language is used in order to construct social identities and power structures. This is done by considering the social and cultural assumptions, attitudes and beliefs used to outline the document and reflect the reality of the particular context. To analyze the discourse practice, I will focus on interdiscursivity. Interdiscursivity concerns the ‘style’ or ‘genre’ employed throughout the document, otherwise known as discourse type (Fairclough, 1992, p. 86).

The last dimension is social practice, which is interested in the particular context the discourse is produced. This dimension sheds light on the social explanations behind the discourse. This can be uncovered by considering the societal implications and the social structures present within the language.

To find socially rooted explanations behind the discourse, the analysis focused on the (i) social matrix of discourse and the (ii) ideological and political effects of discourse. While the social matrix of discourse situates discourse within a broader context that coexists with different aspects of the matrix, the ideological and political effects of discourse focus on the effects of said discourse.

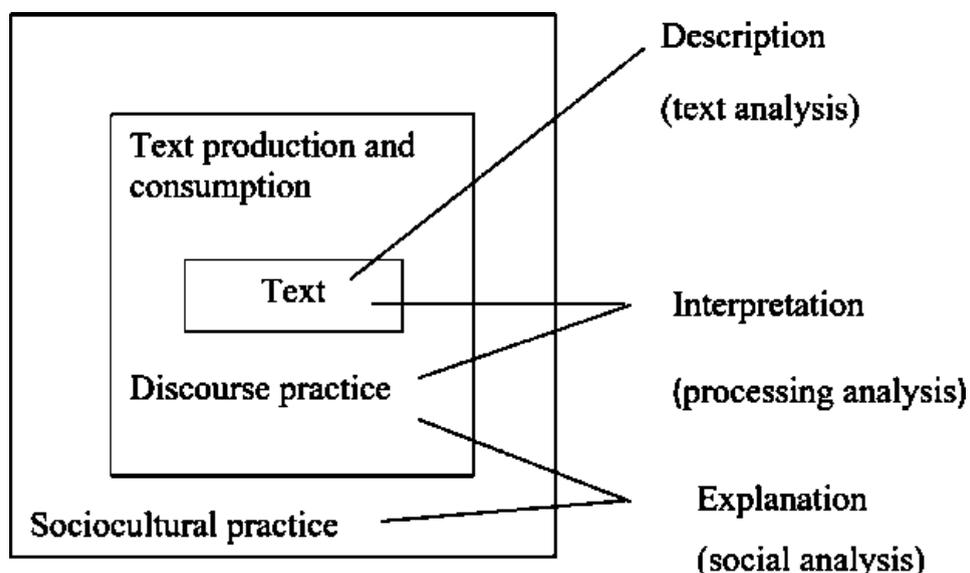


Figure 2. Faircloughs three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (1992, p.73)

5.5. Ethical Considerations

This next section will concern the ethical consideration taken into account throughout the work of the thesis. Acknowledging the ethical considerations within a thesis can help to increase transparency and accountability within a study, which in turn increases the validity of the study and shows the researcher has considered which ethical implications exist and should be addressed within their study (Bryman, 2012).

Regarding the stigmatization of menstruation and the vulnerability of refugees, the chosen participants for this study are relevant organizations working in the field. These organizations were specifically chosen out of relevance of their projects and expertise in the field. To invite more transparency, all organisations will remain anonymous throughout the study. Further, concerning the principle of confidentiality, online interviews cannot ensure privacy in the same manner as physical interviews (Mason, 2018, p.129-130). However, there were possibilities for me, as the researcher, to choose private spaces to conduct the interviews, as well as to make the platform where the interview was held protected with either password or the waiting-room feature. All participants were informed and asked for consent regarding recording the interviews prior to the interview. If a respondent was not comfortable having the interview recorded, note-taking was instead offered as an alternative.

5.6. Validity, Reliability, and Reflexivity

As opposed to quantitative research which aims to ensure validity through statistical generalizability, interpretative research instead focuses on reaching a richer and deeper understanding of a context. Dutta, Kaur & Elers (2020) proposes several ways in which interpretative/ post-positivist

research can ensure validity. For instance, reflecting upon one's own reflexivity as a researcher to meet potential bias and positionality is one tool, which will be discussed later in this section. Triangulating the data, meaning including several methods of data collection can, through the addition of several perspectives, be seen as a way of ensuring validity in interpretive research (Ibid; Arnett, 2016).

Reliability, on the other hand, concerns the consistency of the results. According to Mason (2018), high reliability would be displayed through the possibility of replicating a study with a similar outcome which in turn proves that the results of a study were not due to chance. However, in research which is of interpretative character, reliability does not concern the importance of replication. Rather, reliability in interpretive studies is instead reached through accountability and transparency. Therefore, it is crucial to provide detailed descriptions of the research process and procedure.

There are certain limitations in regard to qualitative research. For instance, Bryman (2012) acknowledges the lack of transparency. Remaining conscious of this limitation, the methodological process is covered extensively in this thesis to increase validity. In addition, the small number of participants, as well as the restricted geographical context make this study impossible to generalize, therefore this study is not representative of the field generally speaking. Moreover, using data triangulation does, according to Cater et al. (2014), increase validity. Making use of two methods of data collection; semi-structured interviews and document analysis, allows the subject to be explored more thoroughly. To further increase validity, research questions and the aim of the study have been taken into consideration throughout the process of creation of the interview guide as well as the data collection, in order to ensure all information collected is relevant to the aims of the study (Bryman, 2012).

Lastly, when conducting research within the sphere of social science, it is essential to address one's reflexivity as a researcher. Reflexivity refers to

what extent the researcher's positionality can affect the subject of study and their awareness of this (Mason, 2018). For this study in particular, I would like to acknowledge that I study a subject to which I, identifying as a woman, am subjective. Though FCDA is subjective in its nature as well, I remain aware of my own subjectivity. I have left personal perception and emotional attachment external to the analysis of this research to the extent which is possible.

5.7. Scope and Limitations

This section will describe the limitations of this study in order to clarify the expected outcomes and analyses they might affect. There are several limitations to recognize when using qualitative methods. First, due to qualitative studies generally including both a small sample size and focus on a particular context, qualitative studies are known for not being generalizable, which goes for this study as well. This applies to the research at hand as there were four organizations interviewed, and three documents analyzed. The Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement is expansive, and organizations work in restricted areas which makes findings relevant only to those specific areas. To address this, the interview participants chosen for this study operate in several different areas of the settlement, but do not cover the settlement in full. Further, as this study examined the MHM and WASH in correlation to women's capabilities, agency, and dignity in one refugee settlement, the results cannot be generalized to MHM and WASH in other refugee camps and settlements.

As the chosen data collection is primarily semi-structured interviews with organizations working in the field and not the actual menstruators who are directly affected by the MHM and WASH facilities, there is potential for the existence of a gap between the reality of the menstruators and the organizations working in the field which might affect the study's overall reliability.

Online interviews also bring along limitations. Although it opens up more flexibility as one is not bound to a particular space, online interviews and the physical distance it brings can allow for some difficulties. For instance, technical issues. An unstable internet connection can result in words getting lost and sentences being incomplete which might result in misinterpretations and/or misunderstandings (Mason, 2018, 128). In addition, in contrast to physical interviews, by conducting interviews online one can miss out on essential cues that would be easier to pick up on in real life. These 'cues' could be facial expressions, change in tone, and certain body language that could add a lot of meaning to what interviewees are saying.

Further, there is a need to address the possible limitations that come with using CDA as a method of data analysis. A common criticism and limitation in regard to this method of analysis is its lack of systematic approach towards discourse, resulting in possible subjectivity. It also welcomes a higher degree of interpretation which might reflect the subjectivity of the researcher more than the actual phenomena set out to be studied (Lazar, 2005; Breeze, 2011).

6. Results

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part presents the findings which derived from the data in relation to the current situation regarding WASH and MHM the refugee settlement. The second part instead focuses on presenting the findings on how the issues presented in 6.1 are addressed.

6.1. The Current Access to WASH and MHM Facilities in the Settlement

Due to the rapid increase in those seeking refuge, Uganda has struggled to uphold and provide basic services, such as shelter, but also WASH infrastructure. Because of the large scale of the refugee settlement, the access to WASH facilities varies between zones based on a number of factors that will be discussed.

As presented in Table 1¹, over half of the population in the settlement does not have sufficient access to water to meet all their needs, mainly due to a shortage of storage containers as well as due to shortage of water in the settlement. The distance from household (HH) to water points varies between 699 meters at the longest, and 354 meters at the shortest distance, making the average distance for the settlers in Bidi Bidi 530 meters. 91 % of water collectors in the settlement are adult women, who expect to spend no longer than 20 minutes to get to the nearest water point. On average, around 70 % of the HH population within the settlement have access to latrines shared within the household. In regards to sanitation, between 19 % to 36 % of the HH have access to hand-washing devices. On average 75 % of the settlement has access to soap. The remaining 25 % state that they cannot afford soap, and are instead using ash. However, the access to proper waste facilities is higher with 57 % at the lowest level and 76 % at

¹ Tables 1–4 can be found in the appendix.

the highest level. The number of HH's access to bathing facilities (washrooms) varies from 55 % to 84 %. 26 % of the population lack access to a specific bathing facility and instead bathe outside.

Table 2 retrieved from the Endline Survey Report presents the primary menstrual product women and girls in the settlement are using. It shows that the majority of women and girls of reproductive age in the settlement are using disposable pads as their primary menstrual product (59 %). Others are instead using cotton (14 %), reusable cloths (13 %), and reusable pads (10 %). 1 % of the women and girls are not using any product during menstruation, and another 1 % state that they are using their underwear.

In the settlement, there are initiatives to spread information regarding health and hygiene which is mainly done through home visits and community meetings. Table 4 shows that the majority of the HHs in the settlement have attended these community meetings. The same amount of HHs have been visited by health workers who have spread information about health and hygiene, and the remaining numbers (1 %) were not informed about such initiatives.

All sampled data do refer to a shortage of water in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement as a result of the increasing population. Ylabs describes the frequent water shortage as severely affecting the overall hygiene practices in the settlement, but especially in regard to menstrual hygiene practices. Women and girls who were participants in the project explained how they were dependent on water access in order to be able to fully participate in everyday activities. Two interviewed participants highlighted the issue of broken water pipes as one cause of the shortage in water supply, as regular maintenance of the pipes is not financed at this point. The shortage of water supply within the zones forces refugee women, as the primary water collector, to spend their days fetching water. The same interview participants mentioned, in correlation to the issues of bursting water pipes,

that water storage is another issue. One participant describes the issue as follows:

“I want to say most of the areas have been connected to pipe water and refugees have access to piped water, though not very reliable because of maybe the shallow wells or unproductive powers that we have been able to authorize and run. So they are only forced to get water on specific hours which is still a very big challenge that they've been reporting.” – Interviewee #1

Naturally, the water shortage does also affect the bathing facilities and resources. As mentioned earlier, the inadequate water supply affects the overall hygiene practices of the refugees in the settlement, especially the women and girls who are experiencing menstruation. Table 1 portrays the situation throughout the zones, which shows that, at the lowest, only 55 % of the population have access to bathing facilities. In the project overview by Ylabs, women and girls portray the situation of inadequate bathing facilities as especially vulnerable. They mention that they often feel violated when using the bathing shelters as men and boys are watching them through walls, or even climbing trees and fences to observe them.

The Endline Survey Report conducted by UNHCR in collaboration with the Government of Uganda (GoU) and WASH actors across the zones mentions that there is a lack of containers to store water. On average, 29.7 % of HHs have enough containers to store 10 liters of water per day. According to 51% of HH, 10 liters is enough to cover their daily HH use. However, the remaining respondents who mention that their daily needs are not met state that this is due to a lack of storage containers, the existing water shortage, or their proximity to the nearest water point.

Due to the lack of storage containers in the settlement, the majority of the households cannot store water at home which results in more time spent on collecting water each day during periods of broken water pipes. Further, two interview participants mention that when the water pipes are in function, the water supply is still restricted as it is only available at certain hours of the day. In contrast, one interview participant reported that there

is no issue in regards to the water supply as there are installed hybrid water systems which run partly on solar energy, therefore claiming that water supply is less of an issue in the settlement in comparison to previous years.

The Endline Survey Report reveals that half of the sampled HHs in the settlement have access to a hand-washing device, and 75 % of HHs on average had access to soap. On average, 64.7 % say that they got access to soap by purchasing it themselves. For the remaining share who reportedly do not have access to soap, this is due to either inability to afford soap or that soap cannot be found in stores. The Endline Survey Report (2022 p. 27) states that: “[...] *this clearly shows that most [People of Concern] don't have a reliable income and there are competing priorities for the little resource they have thus failing to afford soap*”.

Further, all participants raise the issue of low latrine coverage in the refugee settlement. To exemplify, one participant claims that the latrine coverage is around 70 % throughout Zone 5. All participants state that there have been initiatives to construct temporary latrines in the settlement, but the main issues raised are: i) limited funding which results in the purchase of unsustainable low-cost material which easily falls apart, and ii) the rocky ground in the area which impedes the digging latrines deeper than 2 meters, resulting in latrines getting filled rapidly. However, in contrast to the interview participants, the Endline Survey Report states that on average 74 % of the households have a shared latrine which is shared with several households. 33 % reveal that they do not feel as if the latrines do provide proper privacy during usage, which is mainly due to damaged infrastructure of the facility as well as broken locks. This is problematic considering the Endline Survey Report found 89 % of menstruating girls and women are using latrines as a facility to change menstrual products. In accordance, the Yumbe District Development Plan (DDP) states that the coverage of latrines stands at 74.3 % and for handwashing facilities it stands at 71.2 % on average in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement. The same report agrees with the reality portrayed by the interview participants that the cause for the low - yet increasing - sanitation coverage is due to the

environment where the settlements are located. The DDP report, along with all interview participants, describes the ground as rocky and that the groundwater as low lying which makes access more difficult.

Apart from the information presented in the tables, the Endline survey report also states that 89 % of women and girls are changing their products inside the latrines. Three participants as well as two of the documents mention the difficulties in regard to the disposing of used menstrual products. As presented in Table 3, the Endline Survey Report indicates that 96 % of the menstruating women and girls dispose of their used products in the latrines, whereas 3 % burn them and 1 % wash them in order to reuse the product. One participant says that they are experiencing difficulties in funding the development of WASH facilities in general, including waste disposal facilities. Another participant states that as a result of inadequate designs of the latrines and washrooms, these facilities often lack bins where one can dispose of their products. In contrast, another participant mention how there are bins accessible as a way of disposing of used menstrual products in the facilities but the maintenance of these is insufficient:

“What I can say is that the used [disposable sanitary pads] are kept in a bucket and these buckets are still kept in the washrooms. And the pads, like after some days, and I feel like sometimes they get rotten in the process, and they start together like all smell. And I just don't think it's hygienic.” – Interviewee #2

Correspondingly, the women and girls who participated in the project conducted by Ylabs also mention difficulties in regard to the disposal of menstrual products. They mention how they experience emotional distress due to inadequate waste facilities which causes them to constantly think about when and how they should, and can, dispose of their products. The inadequate facilities also cause them to fear their products being seen by men and boys, who could shame or belittle them. Interviewee #2 in particular mentions instances where women and girls are made fun of and bullied by men and boys, especially during menstruation when they for

instance have stained their clothes and thereby displayed that they are menstruating. According to the same interviewee, this is due to ignorance and the stigmatization as a result thereof. Men and boys have been excluded from learning about menstruation, and the end result is causing emotional distress and isolation among women and girls who are frightened by the risk of being teased and called out.

Hardships in meeting the needs of menstruating refugees concerning menstrual products are also found in all of the interview transcripts and documents. For instance, all participants report that they provided sanitary kits to menstruating refugees in different quantities. A sanitary kit usually includes sanitary pads, underwear and soap. However, a majority of the participants, as well as Ylabs' project overview, highlighted the issue of the different needs of each menstruating woman or girl. Not only do menstruating people differ in flow and preference in regards to menstrual products, but due to cultural or religious beliefs that menstrual blood is impure and brings bad luck, a group of menstruating refugees cannot make use of sanitary pads, excluding a group of refugees from the initiative:

“Some cultures of the people we serve still believe that they do not want to touch blood and wash blood. And therefore, it has become a serious issue that we are facing in the organization, in promoting the use of these materials [referring to reusable sanitary pads].” – Interviewee #2

Moreover, concerning the issue of access to menstrual products, all participants mentioned the financial hardships of the refugee women in the Bidi Bidi Refugee settlement. A combination of a shortage of food in the settlement, and economic vulnerability among refugee women in the settlement, purchasing menstrual products becomes a question of prioritizing between food to feed one's household and access to menstrual products, one participant reports and explains:

“[...]most of the community in Bidi Bidi, most of them are women because either their husbands died or else their husbands went back to South Sudan, looking for opportunities. So it is a bit challenging to leave food, to leave buying food for the children and instead only go buy the menstrual hygiene product.” – Interviewee #4

However, two participants as well as the Ylabs project overview brought up another important aspect to the issue being physical inaccessibility to menstrual products. The participants state that zone 5 is the area with the most markets that could hold menstrual products, which means that some women in need of products would have to travel at least 85 kilometers to purchase these. This means that even if there would be a financial opportunity to purchase menstrual products, they are not easily accessible for refugees living in zone 1–4.

The Endline Survey Report presents that 78 % of menstruating refugee women and girls are using disposable pads as their primary products during menstruation. The second largest group (12 % of the respondents) states that they are using reusable pads during their menstruation. However, noteworthy here is that neither the endline survey report nor the DDP documents mention how the products are accessed (through purchasing, distributed by NGOs, etc). None of the documents highlight the issues that all respondents have portrayed as central for the refugee women in the interviews either, most notably a lack of access to menstrual products.

Another key part of reaching adequate MHM is access to information about menstruation; what it is, why it occurs and how to manage it safely (Rossouw & Ross, 2021). A majority of the participants reveal that there are misconceptions about menstruation among refugee women in the settlement. Accordingly, these participants also claim that the knowledge level concerning menstrual hygiene is relatively low.

Accordingly, two interview participants mention that women and girls are fed myths about menstruation. For instance, one participant claims that the

menstruating women and girls in the settlement are told the lie that menstrual blood would be dangerous and impure. The same participant explains how this makes the usage of reusable sanitary pads a difficulty, as due to these misconceptions, some think that this process of handling blood could be harmful to them. Further, girls have told participants that they have been taught that menstrual cramps can be cured and soothed through pregnancies. Interviewee #2 explains *“The most times they lie to them [and say] if you have period cramps, if you get pregnant, it’ll stop”*,

Correspondingly, Ylabs portray a similar situation where a number of menstruating women and girls refrained from using the constructed Cocoon facilities as they had been told that one could contract STDs from the facilities due to poor hygiene management. Further, the same document mentioned that menstruating women and girls are living with fear and distress as they believe that their menstrual blood can be used by others to put harmful spells over them, referred to as “bewitching”. This distress is current as the waste disposal facilities are inadequate, causing menstruating women and girls to dispose of their products in open waste facilities, such as pits.

The misconceptions about menstruation, or lack of information in general, along with its consequences are not posed as an issue in the Endline Survey Report or in the District Development Plan contrary to the interview participants’ responses. However, the Endline Survey Report mentions that the refugee women who participated highlighted that they never had been informed about menstruation before:

“Most women expressed that this was the first time someone had talked to them about menstrual hygiene, and they were very grateful/happy with the education and information sessions provided. Many women did not know their basic anatomy and the reasons why they experience their monthly menstrual period and information gaps in knowledge have been exploited by men thus leading to an unwanted and unplanned pregnancy.” – Endline Survey Report, 2022, p. 39

Continuously, all participants refer to an issue regarding funding and claim that it affects all the prior mentioned issues. Similarly, all organizations refer to issues regarding sufficient funding. The establishment of a sufficient water supply, the provision of sanitary kits, and the development of their project which concerns women's empowerment and menstruation is confined due to restricted financial capital. However, the decrease in funding is reportedly not solely towards projects concerning women's health and empowerment. In fact, all respondents state that they experience decreased funding for all of their projects.

6.2. Identified Initiatives on MHM and WASH in the Settlement

The previous subchapter presented the results of the situation within the settlement. It provided information about the issues that women and girls experience in regard to inadequate WASH and MHM facilities. In order to answer the research question on how the GoU and the NGOs promote work on MHM and WASH in the settlement, this subchapter will present which solutions are being brought forward to better address these challenges to develop a more sustainable, and inclusive, refugee response.

First, in regard to better developing WASH and MHM responses, all participants highlighted the importance of ensuring a consistent water supply in the refugee settlement. One participant mentions that they work to provide water through motorized wells in the settlement which they describe would be more efficient and productive in supplying water. The Endline Survey Report survey report from 2022 proposes motorized hand pumps for a more reliable water supply. In addition, the Endline Survey Report also mentions providing the HHs with storage containers as a response to their inability to store water.

Further, in accordance with WASH, one respondent mentioned that the organization they work for has proposed an initiative where they encourage households in the settlement to build their own latrines with

minimal support from the organization and UNHCR, to deal with the issue of insufficient latrine coverage in zone 5. This initiative is also mentioned in the Endline Survey Report as well as the District Development Plan. One participant also highlighted an outcome that they have reached through a joint project with another NGO in the settlement where they managed to construct washrooms which included water extension as well as waste disposal facilities, which are places where women and girls can comfortably change and wash their used menstrual products. Similarly, Ylabs had the same aim for their project. Together with the community, they constructed the Cocoon-mini, which serves as both a latrine and a washroom where menstruating women and girls can go to manage their menstruation safely, with dignity thanks to the high walls, hard locks and water access in the facility.

The Endline Survey Report does also mention the inadequate latrines. Due to the high number of women and girls who are using the latrines as a space to manage their menstruation, there is a need to develop these facilities in order to create a safe space for them. Further concerning the inadequate waste disposal facilities which a majority of the participants brought up as an issue, there were different approaches to how to find solutions for the issue. One participant mentioned how they are advocating for the installation of incinerators nearby latrines and washrooms where menstruating women and girls can dispose of their used products instead of using bins. Evidently, Ylabs mention that after they installed adequate waste facilities, women and girls suffered from less distress as they were no longer exposed to the fear that someone could bewitch them or see their used products, which would cause them shame. To hinder the issues of fear of men and boys finding their used products, the bins were closed with locks and emptied by trusted members of the community who were assigned this role. How, and by who, the bins should be emptied and cleaned was consulted with the women and girls in the target group of the Cocoon-mini. They expressed comfort and trust towards the chosen community members on which the responsibility fell onto.

All organizations work toward a better response to the lack of adequate MHM response in the settlement, though their way of reaching a better response differs in two specific ways. The Endline Survey Report states that 3% of the menstruating women and girls are bleeding into their clothes, which is portrayed as highly critical in the Endline Survey Report. Hence, UNHCR together with GoU and WASH actors propose the following response:

[...] it's a very critical issue which is very degrading and recommendation to restore the dignity for such women by availing them with sanitary pads, teaching them on how to make them bring a lasting solution to the girls and women [...]. – Endline Survey Report, 2022, p. 41

Where two organizations urge to encourage women in creating their own sanitary pads with support from the organizations, the two other organizations have a more political stance where they mention advocacy as their way of moving forward with responding to the issue. In the first 'solution' the organizations mention that the sanitary pads which they teach women to make are first of all taught by a trainer who is known for the creation of these pads. Second, women get access to these materials. Third, women earn skills to continue the sewing of sanitary pads to start a business even after such a project ends. The first option, the organizations shed light on the importance of self-reliance which will work as a means to empower women in the settlement. They urged the women to learn new skills and use these as a way of starting a possible future business:

[...] we are training the community and women in financial literacy so that they're able to be able to know about how to maximize, get some business started, how to save, how to maximize their resources. And also, giving them startup capital to start being something as a group. And now, with some other project, link them to financial institutions, financial service providers such as banks and so on, so that they're able to get a loan [...] – Interviewee #4

One participant who mentioned that they focus on advocacy at the ministry also reported how they advocate for 'dignity corners'. Such corners include access to sanitary pads, a wrapper piece of clothing in case of blood staining, soap, clean water and a bucket. The dignity corner also aims to support women who are facing an emergency, for instance, if they

stained their clothes or are experiencing menstrual cramps and need medical services. These corners are intended to be available in public spaces and are already visible at certain office spaces, bus stops, etc. within the Yumbe district, including the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement.

All participants mentioned that they are involved in some kind of information-spreading. One participant reported that when distributing sanitary kits in schools, they use this opportunity to inform pupils about menstruation and how to use the sanitary kits they are provided. On the same note, two other participants mentioned that they work actively with information spreading about menstruation in schools. Both of them mention that they work to have a senior teacher present at the schools who work with addressing issues that women and girls are facing.

Three participants mention that they led women's centers where such topics were encountered regularly. These women's centers are built on respect and trust, according to interviewee #1. Both participants who are highlighting women's centers as a way of spreading knowledge and information state that these centers and the groups within them are interest-led. Through trust and respect, these centers encourage women to bring up issues that they experience in the settlement which will be discussed and approached by the group.

Though the Endline Survey Report mentions that the majority of the participating women had never been informed about menstruation, which had led to misconceptions being spread, the survey report does not mention a way forward on how to better approach this lack of knowledge about menstruation and how it could make a positive impact. As for the DDP, even though the document highlights that the district will aim toward passing laws that will help to contribute to facing the issues regarding negative cultural practices that provoke gender inequality the document does, by no means, give any examples of what these negative practices include or in what way they are harming women and girls. The DDP

mention that in the future, they will continue to target households that can be considered vulnerable and says:

The plan will also embark on vigorous sensitization and awareness creation through local radio programmes and religious and cultural leaders on factors promoting inequality within the societies. The ultimate goal of development is to guarantee all human rights to everyone. – Yumbe District Development Plan, 2021, p. 98

Though the development plan does mention efforts to promote gender equality in the Yumbe district, these efforts are not explicitly mentioned in terms of what the issues are.

7. Analysis

This chapter will analyze and discuss the findings presented in chapter 6. The evidence presented on the effects of the refugee response will be reviewed and analyzed in section 7.1 through comparison with previous research and the theoretical frameworks. In 7.2 the Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis is operationalized and accompanied by the theoretical framework to examine the discourse in the data.

7.1. The WASH and MHM Responses' Effect on Women and Girl's Capabilities and Agency

The result reveals that there are issues in providing the necessary resources to provide a response that would achieve adequate MHM in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement. First and foremost, all respondents and documents portrayed access to water in the settlement as the primary struggle in regard to upholding MHM and WASH facilities and practices. A common response within the data that was mentioned as the reason for the inadequate water supply was the bursting pipes and confined water supply which restricted the water collection for all the people in the settlement. However, a cramped supply of water will affect women and girls to a higher extent and the issue does affect their ability to manage their hygiene practices, especially in relation to menstruation. Though this is not highlighted in any of the documents that have been analyzed. That absence could be a result of numerous things. For instance, as supported by Winkler & Roaf (2015), menstruation and the accompanying issues could be absent from the discourse due to the stigmatization of the topic. As all interviewees mentioned, there is a lack of knowledge about menstruation as there is not enough education on the topic. Due to this, the issue might also be less addressed at the political level and fewer policies highlighting

the issues of women and girls, and the issues they are experiencing in relation to menstruation and menstrual health.

Continuing, with fewer opportunities for women and girls to manage their hygiene, or their menstrual products during their cycle, their capabilities are directly affected. To link these issues to Nussbaum's (2001) framework, their capability of bodily health is not met or upheld. This capability means that women and girls should be able to uphold their hygiene and health properly, which is clearly very constrained in the settlement with inadequate facilities, such as latrines, and bathing facilities, as well as water supply. Further, the capability of controlling one's environment as well as the capability of practical reason is not met. Due to bursting pipes and time-restricted water supply in combination with too few buckets, refugees are not able to collect the amount of water they need for daily use, robbing them of the capability to be in control of the environment around them and to make use of resources as they wish and need.

The result shows that there is an inadequate MHM within the settlement. There are insufficient and unsafe facilities to change menstrual products and wash up privately, low-levels of education regarding menstrual health and hygiene, and economic and physical barriers to purchase sanitary menstrual products. These factors show that many women and girls in the settlement are experiencing varying degrees of period poverty (Plan International, 2018).

Interviewee 2 and the Ylabs project overview highlighted that there were misconceptions about menstruation and hygiene present in the settlement, which is caused by the lack of education on menstruation. This aligns with Peranovic & Bentley's (2017) findings that less education and knowledge about menstruation results in misconceptions. However, all interview respondents mentioned initiatives to spread information about menstruation through different channels. For instance, through women's groups where women can gather and talk about issues that they need

support with. Though these meetings are focused on creating safe spaces for women, some respondents highlighted the importance of including men in the conversations. Such initiatives can help normalize and destigmatize sensitive topics and to empower women by strengthening the knowledge about MHM around the settlement. As the stigmatization of MHM has caused a lot of obstacles, including teasing and isolation, meetings where both men and women are invited to learn and understand menstruation can aid the path to normalizing the subject. By first and foremost focusing on informing women and girls, knowledge can help to overcome the issues described by the Menstrual Concealment Imperative regarding rejecting one's biological functions in order to conceal oneself in a patriarchal society where menstruation is embarrassing to converse about, staining causes teasing, and menstruation in general is viewed as something unnatural which should be avoided in discussion.

Several interviewees that participated in the study mentioned how they are focusing on educating men and boys about menstruation. Similar to the idea brought forward by Peranovic & Bentley (2017) and Forbes (2002), men in the settlement tend to hold negative attitudes towards menstruation as a result of remaining uneducated about the topic. Initiatives to include men in the conversation can aid to break the idea of menstruation as a women's issue. It can also oppose the stigma and decrease the emotional distress women and girls are experiencing as a result, as stated by Power (1995) and Courtenay (2000). This reveals that there are initiatives to develop parts of the refugee response to make the situation better for women and girls. Looking especially towards the interviews with the organizations, there are a lot of efforts that they aim to develop in order to better respond to the needs of women and girls. The initiatives to increase the latrine coverage will generate more private spaces for women and girls to manage their menstruation with dignity, a stable water supply and developed bathing facilities will create more opportunities will do the same. The initiatives to create more conversation forums about menstruation, such as women's groups where men are invited could help empower women and girls, and make the topic less of a "women's issue".

Aligning these efforts to the MCI, such initiatives could lead the way to a less patriarchal view of menstruation. As mentioned before, opening up these conversations and normalizing the topic in everyday conversation is a crucial step in order for the topic to make its way to the political arena.

In conclusion, there is a major difference comparing the data on the different levels: state, regional and local. The Endline Survey Report and the Yumbe District Development Plan do go about the issue differently than both the interviewees, but also the document on the local level by the NGO Ylabs. In the documents by GoU and Yumbe District, MHM became a secondary topic to WASH, which is not uncommon according to Sommer (2012). However, WASH rarely focused on menstruation either. In instances where MHM was mentioned, the sub-headings were minor to the rest of the policies or information that were addressed in the Endline Survey Report or the District Development Plan. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that the latter document is a general District Development Plan whose focus is not centered around WASH and MHM and instead of focusing on the refugee settlement, it is focusing on the entire Yumbe District. Further elaborating on the idea of Winkler & Roaf (2015), to increase the presence of MHM on the state level, the NGOs are crucial in order to start making efforts about menstruation, especially in regards to addressing the issue in more casual ways.

7.2. Feminist Discourse within the Data

This second chapter of the discussion will take on a more structured style in order to dissect the discourse present in the data. In order to answer the last research question; *What discourse is present in the responses concerning meeting the needs of refugee women and girls?* FCDA in combination with the theoretical framework will be operated to analyze and uncover tendencies that can be caused by inequalities, or social injustice. The analysis will be applied to the documents.

7.2.1. Textual Dimension

Interactional control

Interactional control can be analyzed by examining to what extent certain linguistic choices have been made, and how it reveals patterns that show how these choices have been made to exercise dominance and/or control (Fairclough, 1992).

The Endline Survey Report, representing the state-level, introduces the report by acknowledging all organizations, stakeholders and participants that have to any extent been present in the production of the report which indicates cooperation on several levels, including the community in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement. The report ensures transparency by guiding the reader through the process, beginning to end, of how the study has been conducted and who has been participating. It presents its methods in the form of random sampling and the total number of participating individuals as well as households. However, it does not reveal how many men and women are participating. Random sampling was done by choosing participants from every third household. The report does not mention any kind of gender division in the survey to ensure that the issues portrayed are not solely representing the male experience, or vice versa. However, there was equal representation in the focus group discussion. Similarly, the project overview by Ylabs, which is representing the local level, also displays a low level of interactional control. This is because the project overview consistently refers back to the women that have been involved in the project. For instance, for the context analysis, Ylabs writes that: *“Interviews were intended to gain an understanding of how the community at large felt about the structures”* and *“Questions included what participants liked and didn't like about the space, the Mini's impact on their lives, and any concerns about its use”* (Ylabs, 2021b, p. 27). Ylabs document shows patterns of an approach which has been conducted bottom-up, where the document repeatedly displays that the community and the target groups have been invited to present the perceived issues where the objectives then have been formed out of. Again, this is showing

a low level of interactional control as the organization invites the target group to shape the projects.

Vocabulary and grammar

Identifying keywords in the document can help to understand their meaning within the discourse and by the speaker, or author. Relevant keywords in this context are: ‘Women/Woman’, ‘Female’, ‘Girl(s)’, ‘Vulnerable’, ‘Inequality’, ‘Equal(ity)’, and ‘Menstrual hygiene management’.

When searching for ‘women’ and ‘female’ in the documents, it appears on six out of 46 pages in the Endline Survey Report. Looking closer in which context they are mentioned, it is either under the sub-heading Menstrual Hygiene Management or under Water Supply, where women are identified as the primary water collectors within the refugee settlement. Menstrual hygiene management and menstruation are mentioned under the sub-heading which concerns the topic but is not brought up along the issues of water supply, waste management and sanitation, i.e. the remaining pages of the report. None of the other keywords are mentioned within the Endline Survey Report, throughout the report nor in the survey objective, which reads:

Establish refugees' Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices (KAP) about WASH in the Bidibidi refugee settlement. Generate information regarding the quality, access to, and effectiveness of WASH interventions in the Bidibidi refugee settlement. To gain a better understanding of and evaluate the current Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices (KAP) of refugees about Water, Sanitation and Hygiene, and menstrual hygiene management. - Endline Survey Report, 2022, p. 8

Contrary to the Endline Survey Report, the vocabulary in the District Development Plan (DDP), representing the regional-level, begins to highlight women as a target group for empowerment in the objective. Further, it also acknowledges the lack of water as something which affects women to a higher extent by stating that “*Women are more concerned with*

lack of land, water², family planning services [...]” (2021, p. 29). Moreover, both the words ‘equality’ and ‘inequality’ are mentioned on several pages of the report. For instance, the plan describes how it sought to - with the help of different stakeholders such as religious and/or cultural leaders - spread awareness about what elements are fostering inequality, with the aim to guarantee human rights for everyone within the Yumbe district, Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement included. Under the sub-headings which concern the refugee settlement, women's vulnerability and perceived issues are referred to regularly. The DDP is highlighting how women are more prone to poverty in contrast to men. It also shows how women's decision-making at home is low:

At household level, women’s participation in decision making is low. Only about 25% of women in the district participate in making major household purchases and men believed that a husband should play the major role in making most household decision. - Yumbe District Development Plan, 2021, p. 123

However, in terms of menstruation and hygiene, it is not mentioned in the report as major issues women and girls are facing. In fact, though the DDP recognizes women as especially vulnerable in regards to lack of water, menstruation and hygiene are not referred to under the subheading concerning water and sanitation promotion in the settlement.

Throughout the project overview of the Cocoon project by Ylabs, ‘women’, ‘girls’, ‘menstrual hygiene management’ are vocabulary that is used consistently. Though, the document does not make use of the keywords ‘inequalities’ and ‘vulnerable’, even though they consistently portray issues relating to both vulnerability and inequalities when motivating why the project is needed: *“Menstruators feel that being seen or having their menstruation status known puts them at risk of abuse from men and children, both physically and psychologically”* (Ylabs, 2021b, p. 31).

² Own emphasis made.

7.2.2. Discursive Dimension

Interdiscursivity

To analyze interdiscursivity within texts, it is helpful to understand to what extent the choice of discourse can express itself (Fairclough, 1992, p. 124). Within the material, the interview transcripts display a discourse which is focused more on issues related to gender and vulnerabilities within the settlement. This might be due to the different types and “styles” of the data, which Fairclough explains as the type of text as well as whom it is produced for as well as consumed by (1992, p. 126-127). In the interview transcripts, several of the organizations introduced their main objectives by underscoring the importance of gender equality and the focus on women’s rights:

Our vision is a transformed society free from all forms of violence where every woman has a right to quality and productive lives. And our mission is to spearhead the efforts of women to effectively contribute towards [Gender-based violence] response and promotional sexual and reproductive rights of women in Bidi Bidi. – Interviewee #2

As presented in the *7.2.1 Textual Dimension*, this discourse is contrary to the one present in the Endline Survey Report, which does not acknowledge women and girls’ vulnerabilities and struggles in the settlement neither in the survey objectives, nor under the sub-headings’ relation to MHM.

Further, as the documents are available on the official platforms of the government and the organizations, they have been produced to be consumed by a broader audience. The interviews and the gathered data have been conducted in a one-on-one meeting which was formal in style. As such, this data was not produced to be consumed in the same way the official documents and the project overview were. It seems as such the two official documents by the GoU, address menstruation in fewer instances than the document by the NGO Ylabs and the interviewees. Again, this observation can be realigned to the idea of Winkler & Roaf (2015) and

their idea of the absence of menstruation in the political arena, which could be caused by the stigmatization of menstruation in the settlement.

7.2.3. Social Practice Dimension

This dimension will focus on the social structures that are presented within the discourse, i.e. the social matrix in which the documents are produced, as well as the political and/or social effects they result in. With that said, this section will focus less on smaller components such as the use of words, but more so on the social matrix.

First, I touched upon how the different data focused on MHM in different ways in the first chapter of the discussion. It is important to acknowledge the differences in how the data were retrieved. It is obvious that menstruation will be highlighted more in an interview whose focus is to investigate WASH and MHM, whereas it will make up less space in a general district development plan. However, it is still striking how menstruation is mentioned solely as a subheading in a document which is supposed to be a knowledge, attitude, and practice survey report in relation to WASH in a refugee settlement where the majority of the population are women and girls. Out of 43 total pages on WASH, menstruation was listed on only three pages of the survey report. In the District Development Plan, MHM is not presented as its own chapter or sub-heading and menstruation and/or menstrual hygiene is mentioned three times in the document which consists of 382 pages. Conversely, the interviewees represented an approach which instead focused on mainstreaming where menstruation made its way into education, health, sanitation, and so forth. There is no doubt that the discourse around menstruation differs on a local level versus regional and state level, both in terms of how much space it is granted, as well as how it is addressed.

For instance, in the District Development Plan, the lack of MHM facilities is not addressed and hence not problematized. In the Endline Survey Report, the lack of WASH facilities is addressed, but similarly, it is not

mentioned in relation to how it affects women, their capabilities, or their agency. Both documents by the GoU and Yumbe District fail to place the topic into a wider, intersectional, spectrum which tries to understand menstruation and how to better respond to the major population of the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement. Menstruation is rarely mentioned, possibly as a reflection of the patriarchal system that it exists in and is overpowered by. The patriarchal tendencies can be connected to the idea of Egalitarian liberal feminism and Okin (1989), as a reason as to why women's agency is not promoted, but rather ignored. The ignorance that these documents have presented in such recent years is impeding the possibility for any shift in the current discourse on menstruation or women's agency on the political level.

In contrast, analyzing the project overview by Ylabs takes on a completely different approach to how to respond to the perceived issues. Through a context analysis as well as a bottom-up approach, the NGO included women and girls to share their lived experiences and struggles. Through this, the participants themselves steered the project by forming a facility which provided women and girls with what they expressed they needed, which resulted in the Cocoon-mini. Similarly, the discourse within the interviews presented a similar way of including women and girls in context analyses to better respond to the perceived issues. This way of including women and girls to shape the project to meet their needs is a way to let them exercise agency as their own interests and needs are leading the way for how they are responded to, corresponding to the ideas brought forward by Mackenzie & Stoljar (2000) and Baehr (2013). Menstruation is individual, and different for every person who experiences it, which is why a bottom-up approach can be beneficial in projects which concern MHM. To connect and understand this from Robeyns (2017) point of view, though there are certain capabilities that humans need in order to feel, and live fulfilled, these capabilities do differ depending on context and social relationships. The population in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement comes from different cultures, have different religious beliefs and practices that

they prefer and are familiar with. A mainstreamed “one size fits all”-approach is most probably not going to fit all.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to examine the refugee response to MHM and WASH in the Ugandan Refugee Settlement Bidi Bidi. Through a Feminist critical discourse analysis along with the frameworks created from the Nussbaum (2001) Capability approach, Egalitarian liberal feminism and the Menstrual Concealment Imperative, the thesis sought to answer the following questions:

1. How do host countries work to develop their refugee response in order to ensure refugee women and girl's capabilities and agency?
 - a. What is the current situation in regard to access to WASH and MHM facilities in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement?
 - b. How do the local Government of Uganda and the NGOs promote work on MHM and WASH in the Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement?
2. What discourse is present in the data concerning meeting the needs of refugee women and girls?

First, there was a clear distinction between the efforts made by the GoU and Yumbe District compared to the NGOs who participated in the study. While both the discourse, and the initiatives made by the NGOs were recognizing the issues that women perceived in the refugee settlement, they were generally more aware of how the issues affected women's capabilities and their right to choose and be in charge. For instance, the Ylabs project overview clearly showed how they operationalized a bottom-up approach which they used as a guide for the project. Likewise, the interview respondents presented a similar way of addressing the issues through working together with the target group: women and girls. This approach creates a space where women are able to make their own choices and express their interests, which helps promote autonomy in

correspondence to the ideas of Mackenzie & Stoljar (2000) and Baehr (2013) within Egalitarian liberal feminism.

All data presented a similar view on the situation in the refugee settlement in regards to the access to WASH facilities. There is an insufficient latrine coverage, inconsistent water supply and a lack of access to soap. With that said, the WASH facilities in Bidi Bidi are inadequate. Not all data address the access to MHM facilities, which could be caused by the idea that MHM works as a subheading to WASH, as proposed to Sommer (2012). However, the interview transcripts, the Endline Survey Report and the Ylabs project overview demonstrated that the MHM facilities were inadequate as well, as a lack of WASH facilities directly affects a woman's or girl's ability to manage their menstruation hygienically, in private with dignity. In addition, there was also a clear knowledge gap in regard to menstruation among the population in Bidi Bidi. The inadequate facilities which constrain women from being able to properly take care of their health and hygiene safely, of having control of their own environment and exercising agency over their own decisions result in women's capabilities being left unfulfilled.

Nevertheless, there were efforts were presented in the development of WASH and MHM facilities to better address and fulfill the needs and capabilities of women and girls. These initiatives were also recognized as ways to promote the dignity and agency of women and girls in the settlement. The efforts were mainly performed by the NGOs. Taking into account women's dignity, empowerment, and agency, all the NGOs focused on an approach which put education and knowledge-spreading at the center. Breaking the stigmatization by conversing about menstruation, including both men and women, was presented as a solution to better address the challenges, which according to previous research by Wood (2020) and the framework of MCI could help foster a more inclusive environment where menstruation is presented as less of an isolated women's issue. Further, all documents and all interview transcripts recognizing the water supply as the main issue of the inadequate WASH in

the settlement, and all data propose different ways to manage and develop the water supply. Such efforts to develop a sufficient water supply can help women and girls one step closer to managing their health and hygiene safely, and with dignity in relation to menstruation.

Addressing the discourse in the data, there was, repeatedly, a clear distinction in the discourse between the document from the GoU, Yumbe District and the discourse in the document and interview transcripts of the NGOs. In the textual and discursive dimension, women and girls make up minor parts of the documents by the GoU and Yumbe District and are left out of the survey objectives. Though women and girls are addressed, it is not in relation to menstruation. Whereas, they are consistently addressed in the project overview by Ylabs. Further, at the social practice dimension, the documents produced by GoU and Yumbe District have failed to reproduce a shift in the discourse on menstruation by refusing its presence in the documents. Instead, by leaving menstruation out of the documents without addressing the difficulties refugee women and girls are facing, it holds on to a discourse which could possibly be harmful to women and girls' capabilities, agency, and dignity.

To conclude, there is a lack of WASH and MHM facilities in the refugee settlement, which prevents a proper response to the needs of women and girls. There are fewer efforts and initiatives made on state and regional levels in contrast to the local level on addressing women and girls' needs to ensure their capabilities, agency and dignity, and more patriarchal tendencies in the discourse are identified on the state and regional level. Nevertheless, there are many efforts made by NGOs in the settlement to promote adequate WASH and MHM, to better respond to the needs of women and girls which in the long run could have a positive effect on their capabilities and agency.

Due to the chosen methods in this study, which focused on a qualitative in-depth understanding of the particular case in a specific geographical context in combination with a small scope of interview participants in this

study, I would like to highlight the thesis limitation in regard to its generalizability. The results found in this study are applicable to the studied case, however generalizing the findings onto different contexts is not possible. In alignment with Sommer (2012), more research on MHM in humanitarian contexts is needed. For future research it would therefore be necessary to conduct studies on MHM where it is highlighted as its own, separate, response instead of a sub-topic to WASH, and further study how women and girls capabilities in other geographical settings are affected by inadequate responses, to better understand the contextual differences and solutions present.

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Appendix 1 - Interview guide

Personal interview guide

1. I welcome them and tell them why I have reached out to their organisation
2. I tell the participants about my thesis and what it aims to study
3. Before we get started, I am obligated to go through the ethical considerations:
 - Participants will remain anonymous throughout the thesis
 - Data will be deleted once the study is done
 - Possibility to withdraw one's participation until May 17th
 - Ask for consent to record
4. Go through/ mention the explanation of the concepts that are used throughout the interview, to ensure that we have a similar understanding of them (these will be sent to the participants as they are included in the interview guide).
5. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask.

Concepts used throughout the interview

Dignity: As 'dignity' does not have an official meaning but rather various definitions between scholars, institutions, organizations and so forth, I would like to state that in this interview dignity refers to each person being treated with respect regardless of gender, nationality, and other characteristics. In addition, to be treated with dignity is to respect each person's free will, respect people's privacy and ensure people from degrading and inhumane treatment.

WASH: Water, sanitation and hygiene. Access to safe and accessible water, clean and safe sanitation facilities; hand hygiene facilities at points of care and at toilets, and appropriate waste disposal systems.

MHM: Menstrual Hygiene Management refers to the practice of "Women and adolescent girls are using a clean menstrual management material to absorb or collect menstrual blood, that can be changed in privacy as often as necessary for the duration of a menstrual period, using soap and water for washing the body as required, and having access to safe and convenient facilities to dispose of used menstrual management materials. They understand the basic facts linked to the menstrual cycle and how to manage it with dignity and without discomfort or fear." - UNICEF

Interview Questions

Introduction

- Could you tell me a bit about your organisation?
- How does the organisation work within the Bidi Bidi settlement?
- Which zone in the settlement are you active within?

Menstrual hygiene management

- How would you describe the current access to WASH facilities (incl. access to menstrual products) in the settlement?
 - Has this changed over the years? Now compared with a few years back?
- What are the challenges your organisation has faced in promoting menstrual hygiene management in the Bidi Bidi settlement?
 - How have you addressed these challenges?
- What are the main challenges of refugee women in the settlement in regard to menstrual hygiene management?
- Can you describe your organization's approach to addressing the lack of access to basic necessities like sanitation facilities and clean water for refugees in the settlement?
 - Does this approach differentiate between men and women?
- How does your organization work to engage and empower female refugees in addressing challenges related to menstrual hygiene management?
- Can you describe any examples of how your organization has worked to promote menstrual hygiene management in the settlement?
 - What were the outcomes?

Dignity

- How has the issue of dignity been incorporated into the organisation's design of projects that concern menstrual hygiene management?
- How does your organization work to prioritize and uphold the dignity of female refugees, particularly regarding menstrual hygiene management?
- Does your organization work to integrate feminist perspectives, such as freedom to decide over one's own body, in its work with female refugees in the settlement?
 - If yes, could you elaborate on how your organisation integrate this?
- Does your organization work to ensure that both male and female refugees are considered in efforts to promote dignity in the Bidi Bidi settlement?
 - If yes, what measures are taken to ensure this?
- How does your organization collaborate with other organizations and stakeholders, including the local government and community leaders, to ensure that refugees in the settlement are treated with dignity? (This is the political question)
 - If yes, could you give some examples of
 - I might (in my personal interview guide) add a sub-question here about the difficulties of upholding the protection of HR and dignity and ask about their understanding of that situation

Summary

- How does your organization measure the impact of its work on promoting menstrual hygiene management and the dignity of refugees in the settlement?
- In your opinion, as an organisation known with this settlement, what steps could be taken to better address the challenges faced by female refugees related to menstrual hygiene management in the Bidi Bidi settlement?
 - Has this been done by any actors so far?
- Anything you would like to add?

Appendix 2 - Table 1

Table 1



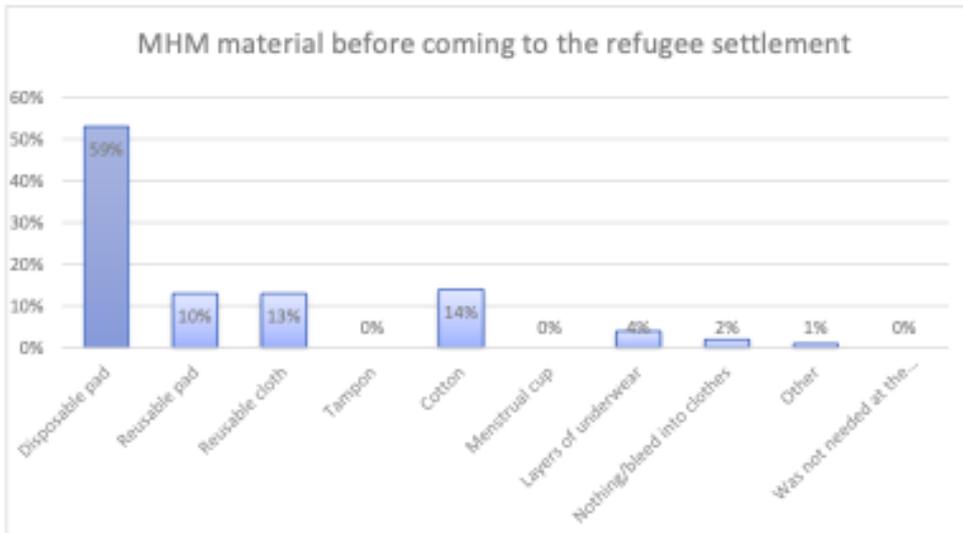
SUMMARY OF KEY INDICATOR PARAMETER FINDINGS

KAP Survey findings									
Parameter	Indicator	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Host Community	Overall baseline 2022	Overall baseline 2022
Water Quantity	Average liters of potable water/per person/per day collected at HH level	28	17	14	19	20	12	17	18
	% HHs with at least 10 L/p protected water storage capacity	35.6%	32.9%	35.2%	10.7%	30.7%	33%	36.4%	29.7%
Water Access	Maximum distance [m] from household to potable water collection point	699	489	354	373	541	632	302	530
Water Quality	% HHs collecting drinking water from protected/treated sources	53%	73%	93%	76%	82%	63%	96%	73%
Sanitation	% HHs with family latrine/toilet	74%	72%	75%	76%	71%	78%	70%	74%
	% HHs practicing open defecation. **Includes defecating in the bush at night.	1%	00%	1%	5%	00%	1%	13%	2%
	% HHs having access to a bathing facility	55%	66%	83%	84%	83%	75%	98.4%	74%
Hygiene	% HHs with access to soap	33%	36%	25%	19%	34%	36%	82%	32%
	% HHs with access to a specific hand-washing device								
	% respondents know at least 3 critical moments when to wash hands	87%	88%	89%	72%	85%	78	96%	84%
Solid Waste	% HHs with access to a solid waste disposal facility	76%	72%	69%	57%	68%	65	74.4%	67%
Menstrual Hygiene Management									



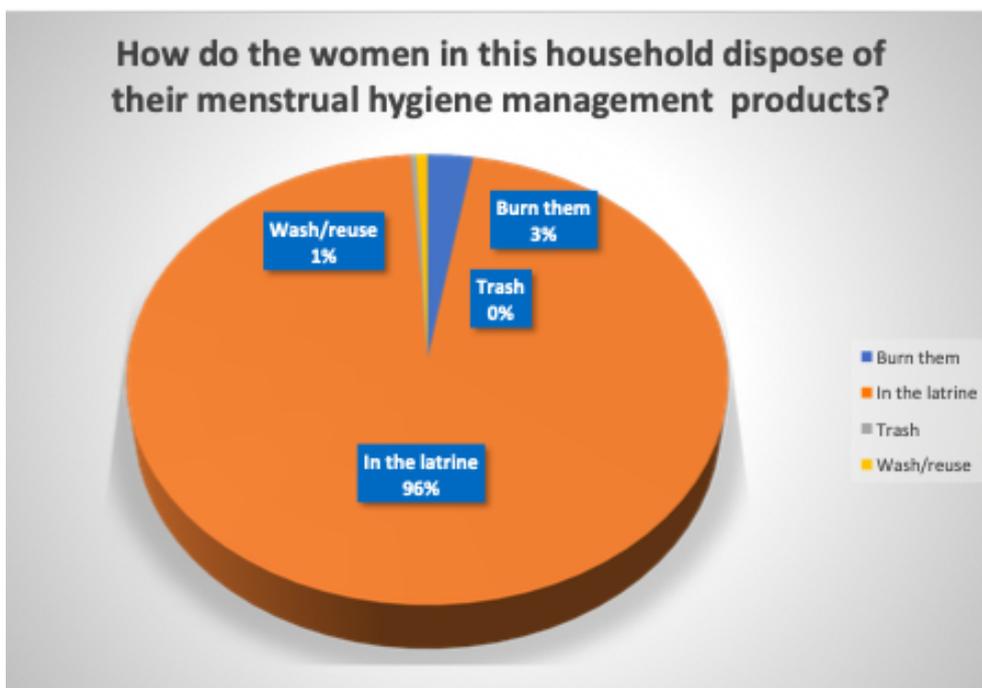
Data: Endline Survey Report Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement (2022, p. 15)

Appendix 3 - Table 2



Data: Endline Survey Report Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement (2022, p. 39) ³

Appendix 4 - Table 3



Data: Endline Survey Report Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement (2022, p. 41)

³ The sum of the percentages are 98%. The numbers are retrieved from the Endline Survey Report and this document does not state where the remaining 2% went.

Appendix 5 - Table 4

Attendance (% of HH)	Community meeting	Home visits by Community Health Workers
Attended	62%	33%
Did not attend / was not payed a visit	37%	33%
Was not informed of such arrangement	1%	1%

Data: Endline Survey Report Bidi Bidi Refugee Settlement (2022, p. 37)