



**Social Exclusionary processes leading to child marriages in
Kamuli Uganda.**

A Research Paper presented by:

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(Uganda)

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

Human Rights, Gender and Conflict Studies:

Social Justice Perspectives (SJP)

Specialization: **Human Rights**

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Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my best friend and dear husband Caleb Kajuna who has been patient and very supportive during this time I have been far away from him. I am really blessed to have him for a husband.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Firstly, I would like to thank God Almighty for giving me this opportunity to study and for all his love and kindness towards me. God I would be no where without you. I appreciate the government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands for seeing potential in me and awarding me this scholarship that enabled me reach this milestone in my life. My supervisor Nahda Shehada, you have been a big support and a motherly figure through this writing process. I am proud of myself because you made me realize how much potential I have. You made me understand that I can fly, I only need to believe in myself. My second reader, Karin Arts thank you for the guidance. I also express my gratitude to all my friends, Noel Troxclair, you are friend indeed, the bible Study team at school, and you have been a strong support team during this process. May the Almighty God Bless you.

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List of Acronyms

DEO	District Education Officer
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
LC	Local Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UDHS	Uganda Demographic Health Survey
UNCRC	United Nations Covention on the Rights of the child
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USE	Universal Secondary Education

Abstract

Child marriage has been heavily frowned upon in Uganda and many other countries because of the many social and health consequences related to it. International and regional human rights conventions like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) all advocate against the practice as it contravenes the human rights standards that govern the welfare of children. From a sociological perspective, this paper identifies and seeks to understand the social exclusionary processes that foster the practice of child marriage in Kamuli, Uganda analytically using the theory of social exclusion, gender and the development discourse to critically understand the social forces that lead young girls into marriage.

Relevance to Development Studies

The wellbeing of children, in this case girls, is critical to the achievement of the Sustainable Development in particular the Sustainable Development Agenda (SDG) number five: Gender equality. In order to achieve sustainable development it is crucial to understand and acknowledge the gendered nature of poverty, which poses a complex interplay of power relations and discriminations that challenge the achievement of meaningful development. Therefore, it is vital to understand the deep rooted inequalities and multiple discriminations embedded in the practice of child marriage, which place women and girls at the margins of society, in order to work towards a gender equity society. This research not only informs policy formulation in relation to the plight of girls, it also provides a basis for serious reconsideration about the persistence of this practice. If we are to fully achieve the millennium development goals, and the Sustainable Development Goals, then child marriage as a limitation ought to be studied.

Keywords

Social Exclusion, Poverty, Child Marriage, Gender, development, Kamuli

Chapter 1

1.1 Setting the Stage; laying the foundational basis for the research.

I have visited Kamuli district a number of times, first to do evangelism, then to visit friends and family. On all these occasions, I had a chance to visit other places outside the town centre often, because the evangelism was done more in the rural areas. During such endeavours I could not help but notice many school aged children either seated at home, working on the farm, grazing animals or in other homes as young couples and young wives/mothers. Once during the hospital ministry (gospel outreach in the hospital) I saw that the maternity ward was comprised of many young girls awaiting or in labour. In my opinion, most of them didn't seem to be beyond 17 years.

Since this is an area with people of my tribe, I have often been asked how I managed to study and acquire a degree with so many girls getting married at a young age in this area. Although I had been asked this question several times, I had never thought that this issue existed in reality. To me, it was an ancient practice that no longer occurred. Having had no response to the question, I was compelled to and explore the problem in order to understand exactly what was happening in this area. Why is it that girls are getting married at a young age and not in school? For me this was the situation that increased my desire to dig deeper into the whole scenario and understand what is happening. I began by reading about child marriage and came across a broad range of literature. Although much has been written about young mothers and marriage, existing literature was not enough to answer the many questions I had. So I went to the field with the perception and assumption that girls are forced by their parents and guardians to get married while still young. In fact, I thought that the parents don't want to educate their children.

1.2 Research Objective

By the conclusion of this study, I had acquired a broader perspective and deeper appreciation of the child marriage issue, viewing it objectively and not through a judgemental lens. In addition, for me it was essential to do this research in order to contribute to knowledge production of the concerns arising out of child marriage as a practice that has been heavily condemned.

1.3 Research question

How does social exclusion and gender discrimination in Kamuli perpetuate the practice of child marriage?

1.3.1 Sub questions

- How do Gender role expectations impact decision making regarding child marriage?
- What role (s) do parents in Kamuli play in child marriage?
- As an agent of development, how does the state play in fostering or curbing child marriage practices?

1.4 Language and concepts.

Throughout this paper a number of terms will be used. For the sake of clarity, it is important to give a brief explanation of these terms. The first term is **child**. According to the Oxford English dictionary child has been defined as ‘a young human being below puberty age’ or an immature irresponsible person (Hornby and Wehmeier 1995). A number of organizations working with children, such as UNICEF, define *child* as an individual below the age of eighteen year. This definition however is limited in that it is based on the age, and yet age as a determinant of whether one is a child or not varies broadly from country to country. Therefore due to lack of uniformity of whom a child is, and the variance in definition from different country contexts, *child* in this paper takes the UNCRC definition of anyone below the age of eighteen years (Assembly 1989). However, I am fully aware of the constraints associated with this defini-

tion. On the other hand, **child marriage** will be used to mean marital unions involving anyone below the age of eighteen (UNICEF. 2006). This will be expounded upon in the chapter one of the paper.

1.5 Back ground and Magnitude of the problem

1.5.1 Introduction

This section shows the common narratives on child marriage as represented by different scholars, highlighting the statistics from a global to the national level. It also brings out the various impacts of child marriage on the lives of young girls and their families.

1.6 The problem statement

It is true that the topic of child marriage has been overly researched and has received a lot of attention from human rights activists and feminist scholars. In addition, various organizations such as UNICEF, World Vision, Save the Children and many other research by scholars like, (Jensen and Thornton 2003, Marshan et al., Gaffney-Rhys 2011, Davis 2013) have investigated and come up with various reasons for the occurrence of child marriage specifically in developing countries. Often times the problem has been linked to poverty and cultural practices. However, even with the massive research on the topic, the practice of child marriage is not anywhere close to diminishing.

The focus has been put so much on the factor of poverty and culture, and less has been done to understand what lies beyond these two aspects as they may not necessarily operate independently. It is for that reason that this paper looks at child marriage but exploring in depth the various factors pertaining to the practice. Therefore, through an analytical approach of the concept of social exclusion, gender, and post development theory, this research therefore, seeks to identify and analyse the social exclusionary processes fostering the practice of child marriage in Kamuli Uganda.

1.7 Magnitude of the problem

Child marriages have created big problems globally affecting both girls and boys, although it impacts them differently (Davis 2013). Research indicates that although boys, like girls, may be married off before the age of eighteen, the psychological impacts it has on them may not necessarily be the same. While child marriages among boys is not a frequently researched area, it's significant to recognize that the practice is not limited to girls (Davis 2013). According to the UN resolution, child marriage goes against the principles set in the rights of the child specified in the UNCRC and the UDHR, where an individual has to fully consent¹ and be of full age² before entering into marriage (Unicef 2001, Nour 2009, Assembly 1948).

Regardless of these international conventions and country-specific laws designed to combat the practice of child marriage, (Schlecht et al. 2013:234), reported that 67 million women, worldwide, were married before the age of 18 in 2010 and 12% of them were married by the age of 15.

Moreover reports by World Vision estimate that as of today, 35.000 girls globally will marry before reaching the age of 15 years, and 100 million girls will be married in the next ten years. In developing countries alone, 51 million girls have already been married off before acceptable legal ages. (World vision 2008). This data reflects the seriousness of the problem implying that many girls are still at risk of being married off before the age of eighteen.

Ann Walker reports that although women in developing countries are marrying in their thirties, this is not the case with Sub Saharan and Asian girls as shown on the table in appendix B. She indicates that the overall percentage of women marrying before the age of eighteen is between 20-50 % but much higher in Asia and Sub Saharan countries (Walker 2012). On a global level, roughly 40% of the women between 20-24 years that married before eighteen are in sub-Saharan Africa. This has led to the common belief that the practice of child marriages is an African problem (Walker 2012, Singh and Samara 1996, Marshan et al.).

¹ Article 16(2) of the Universal Declaration Of Human Rights

² Article 16(1) of the Universal Declaration of Human rights.

While some countries in North Africa, like Egypt and Tunisia, (a percentage drop from 22% of women married between the age of 15-19 in 1975 to 10% in 2003 and from 11% of women married between the age of 15-19 in 1975 to 1% in 2001), respectively have shown tremendous concern for the marriage age, countries like Niger, Chad, and Mali still have a high percentage of women marrying before eighteen years with 74.5%, 71.5% and 70.6%, respectively (Walker 2012). This is attributed to factors like ‘poverty, gender inequality, and cultural taboos against premarital sex for girls, religious beliefs and patriarchal tendency for controlling female sexuality.’ (Walker 2012:232)

1.7.1 Reported effects on the lives of young girls

Research shows that child marriages are predominant among girls in rural areas of low-developing countries such as Uganda (Gaffney-Rhys 2011). These marriages negatively affect the lives of not only the girls but also those of their offsprings (Mugisa 2013).

Besides, children married off before the age of 18 are often, psychologically and physically unprepared to bear any responsibilities that come with marriage and childbearing (Walker 2012). They are most likely to drop out of school, in order to take on their new roles as mothers and wives. In this case, child marriage threatens girls’ education (Ouattara et al. 1998) and keeps them in an endless state of poverty. Furthermore, child marriage exposes girls to early sexual intercourse which in most cases is against their will but demanded by their spouses. Statistics, estimate that globally, over 60 million women between the ages of 20-24 were married before the age of 18 years (Malhotra et al. 2011).

1.7.2 The Context of Uganda.

In Uganda, the practice of child marriages is not new. According to (Mugisa 2013), Uganda is one of the 15 countries with the worst rates of underage marriages at 46% of underage marriage and in the 11th position out of the fifteen countries with worst child marriage cases in Africa. The practice has been linked to poverty and negative cultural beliefs about the value of educating a girl child. It is reported that most parents, especially in rural areas, force or in-

directly drive their girls into marital unions without their consent just because of the bride wealth³ given in exchange. (Gaffney-Rhys 2011).

The bride price has often enslaved girls into marriage with no escape. In cases where the girl experiences domestic violence, it is problematic for her to return to her parents' house unless she refunds the bride prices that was paid for her. This has kept girls in abusive marriages with no option but to endure (Gaffney-Rhys 2011). Moreover, once a girl is married off, her education comes to an end and the prospects for a good future are seriously limited. The chances of the girl returning to school after marriage are minimal, partly because of the new responsibilities she takes on as a wife and mother, but also because of the assumption that if girls gets educated she becomes disrespectful, rebellious and disobedient to her husband (Davis 2013, Van der Gaag 2013).

Child marriage is said to be one of the major driving factors of increased teenage pregnancies among Uganda's adolescent population (UNFPA 2013). Research shows that teenage marriage and pregnancy is higher in rural areas which are also characterised by high poverty levels (UNFPA 2013). According the State of Uganda's Population Report 2013, the rate of teenage pregnancy among girls between 10-19 years stands at 24% and is partly attributed to the problem of child marriage (UNFPA 2013) in the country and more specifically, in the central and eastern parts of Uganda.

The Uganda Demographic Health Survey (UDHS) Report statistics indicate that 15% of women between the ages of 20-49 were married by the age of 15 and 49% by the age of 18. This is quite different from the marriage age of the men who were indicated to marry at a much later age of twenty two (UBOS 2012). The report showed that 9% of men between 25-49 years were married by the age of 18 and 25% by the age of 20 (UBOS 2012). With these differences, girls are depicted to be more likely than boys to enter marriage before Ugandan legal age of 18 years. This is also linked to the age at which a girl or boy has their first sexual intercourse. From the statistics, it is clear that child marriages are more common among girls than boys.

³ Bride wealth used to be simply gifts exchanged between parents of a couple intending to get married. However bride wealth now has become more of a price that the man pays to get his wife than just mere gifts of appreciation.

In the UDHS survey 2011, the percentage of women who had their first sexual intercourse by the age of 15 stands at 23% and 64% by the age of 18, which is higher compared to 18.6% of men who had their first sexual intercourse (UBOS 2012). These differences are attributed to factors like poverty, indicating that higher child marriage and sexual activity is in the rural areas compared to the urban areas, due to: a) Early exposure to sex education by girls in the rural areas, b) lack of knowledge and access to contraceptives and c) cultural beliefs and ideologies attached to marriage at an early age, for example, treasure for virginity and belief that a younger girl has more years to produce as many children before reaching menopause.

In addition, lack of proper education has been said to implicitly translate into child marriages and teenage pregnancy. Although Uganda introduced free Universal primary and secondary education (UPE and USE) in almost all parts of the country to enable all children access to education (ODI. 2006), access to education is not the same for girls and boys as well as for rural and urban children. Those in rural areas face challenges of schools being extremely far away, in addition to lack of funds to meet small scholastic requirements like books, school meals and uniforms (ODI. 2006). This implies that with low education levels there are higher possibilities of child marriage and teenage pregnancy happening.

On the other hand, child marriage has been reported to be among the major factors that have led to the failure of the UPE program in Kamuli. According to local press reports from the New Vision Newspaper, (Gwebayanga 2013) the rate at which children are dropping out of school in Kamuli for marriage is alarming. According to the Kamuli District Education Officer (DEO) more students are dropping out of school, to opt for marriage or provide domestic labour on the farms. He indicated that in March 2013, 45,646 pupils dropped out of school for the same reasons above (ibid).

Although Uganda has signed and ratified a number of international and regional conventions pertaining to child marriage, such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination⁴, The Convention on the Rights Of

⁴ Signed 30th July 1980 and Ratified on 22nd July 1985

the Child⁵, The Banjul Charter on Human and Peoples Rights⁶ and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child⁷, child marriages still persist.

1.8 Reflexivity and Ethical considerations.

According to (Payne and Payne 2004), reflexivity is being aware of personal beliefs, values and attitudes and how these might affect your research. It further involves careful choice and application of research methods as well keeping in mind professionalism as a researcher.

In this case, although I had read a lot about child marriages at global and national levels before going to the field, I was careful not to let what I already knew affect what the participants had to share with me in regards to their own experience. For this reason, each participant was allowed ample time to deeply and openly share their experiences on the subject matter.

In addition I understood how sensitive the subject of research was and thus did my best not to put my participants in compromising situations that would make them uncomfortable. That is why before every interview, I had to introduce myself to the participant, and inform them about the aim of the research, in as simple a way as possible, then would allow them to decide whether they wanted to go ahead and talk to me or not. With this approach, the participants did not feel compelled in any way to share and those who shared their experiences, did it whole heartedly, which made the interview sessions less complicated.

Moreover, to ensure a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere for the participants, I requested the people I moved with to leave me with the participants to give them room to share their inner- most experiences without anyone eavesdropping. Although most of the participants willingly gave me their names and ages, and the ages of their spouses, I had to first ask them if they didn't mind me using the names and any other information they gave me in this. A few of

⁵ Signed on 17th August 1990 and ratified on 17th August 1990

⁶ Signed on 18th August 1986 and ratified on 10th May 1986

⁷ Signed on 26th February 1992 and ratified on 17th August 1994

<https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/research/ratification-uganda.html> accessed on 30th May 30, 2015

them did not want their real names to be used, however, the majority were fine with it but did not want to be recorded or photographed.

1.9 Organization of the paper

The paper comprises of six chapters. The introductory chapter brings the reader to the main social problem, background and the magnitude of the problem. This chapter also brings out the various research conducted on the topic, highlighting the different views of the various authors. It also includes the research objective, questions and sub questions as well as the reflexivity and ethical considerations.

The second chapter gives a detailed description of the methodology and methods of data collection used in obtaining data to answer the research questions in chapter one. It also talks about the dilemmas faced during the research process and how they were overcome. Chapter three provides the theoretical and analytical framework, which are later used in chapter five to critically analyse the research findings.

The fourth Chapter describes in detail some of the participants, the intent being to help the reader understand the multiple factors coming into play that foster child marriage in Kamuli district. The fifth chapter then used the descriptions in chapter four to analyse notions of social exclusion, gender, and state's role in fostering development. As far as the state's role in development is concerned, this aspect will seek to show the how the state, an agent of development and advocator for equality instead, through certain policies and programs reinforces social exclusion of the people. Finally, the sixth chapter gives the conclusive remarks based on the findings and the literature as well as providing recommendations for future research on child marriage in Uganda.

Chapter 2 : RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

According to (Grix 2004), methodology in social research refers to the techniques employed in order to study the viability of using particular procedures to study a given a subject. Although it is often used synonymously with research methods, the two are different. Methodology is how one uses a particular research technique to come up with conclusive results on a research subject (Grix 2004). In other words, methodology usually entails identifying the sets of theoretical and ethical expectations which rationalize the use of specific methods (Payne and Payne 2004).

On the other hand, methods mean the techniques employed to collect and analyse data in order to answer a given set of research questions (Grix 2004). Depending on the researcher's focal point, these methods can be either qualitative, quantitative or both. This research used qualitative methods, to explore and reflect on social exclusionary processes relating to marriage of young girls in Kamuli and analyse their experiences in order to find answers to the research questions in chapter one.

The research was conducted between July and August 2015 for a maximum of six weeks in four sub counties in Kamuli district. The research was conducted in the local language and translated to English. At the end of at least two interviews the researcher would go through the responses and make reflective notes that were later used in the analysis.

2.2 The Research Area

The research took a case study of Kamuli district in Uganda. As (Gerring 2006) - describes, a case study is field-based research which employs a particular type of evidence through non-survey based research. It is done in a natural setting and involves real life contexts. The reason for a case study in this research, which is similarly emphasized by (Gerring 2006:19), is because I wanted to study 'smaller social units,' in this case, villages.

Kamuli district is located in the eastern part of Uganda in the Busoga Sub region dominated by the Basoga tribe⁸. It is comprised of three counties, seventeen sub counties and one town council ('Ict-Center Kamuli District'n.d). The district is bordered by Iganga in the East, Jinja in the south, and Kayunga in the west, and Soroti in the North and Palisa in the North east. It has a total population of 490,255 people (UBOS 2014), out of which children are the majority, with a percentage of 59% of the total population. It is indicated that 80.5% of the population is engaged in agriculture, mostly for food production ('Ict-Center Kamuli District'n.d). (See appendix for map of Kamuli)

The district has a low literacy rate of 61.8% compared to the national rate of 70% and a wide literacy gap between the males and females which is 54.6% for females and 69.7% for males. The school dropout rate for both primary and secondary education is also reported to be high ('Ict-Center Kamuli District'n.d).

Kamuli district is faced with a number of challenges which include, low agricultural yield, poverty which is at 24.1%, characterised by malnutrition, poor housing, illiteracy, child marriages, and low household incomes ('Ict-Center Kamuli District'n.d, Walker et al. 2014). This is exacerbated by large families comprised of mostly children. In addition, it is reported that 74% of girls in the eastern part of Uganda enter marriage at an early age, thus reducing their chances of staying in school (Mukitale. 2014).

2.3 Methods of data collection

In order to comprehensively answer the research questions, the research used both primary and secondary data. Through primary data, the research took a qualitative methodological approach by using in-depth semi-structured interviews and non-participant observation. As indicated by (Payne and Payne 2004), qualitative methods seek to understand how ordinary people perceive

⁸ Extracted from the Kamuli District higher local Government Statistical Abstract http://www.ubos.org/onlinefiles/uploads/ubos/2009_HLG_%20Abstract_printed/kamuli%20district%20annual%20abstract.pdf

and define lives, as well as exploring the different meanings that people attach to their own lives through use of inductive logic.

Additionally, (Flick et al. 2004:3) recounts that qualitative research 'claims to describe the inside out of the life of those who participate'. The choice for semi-structured interviews was to give room for a one-on-one open discussion with more room for probing. Thus the reason for using this method was to understand and reflect on the issue of child marriage, the different exclusions that foster the problem on a personal level, with those who have experienced it. In addition, this method allows the researcher to dig deeper than the topics in mind, (Payne and Payne 2004, Corbetta and Patrick 2003) making it flexible to use. In addition, using this method enabled me to understand all details about each respondent which I would have otherwise missed.

Further, non-participant observation method was used especially to interpret behaviour of the participants.

Notably, through these methods, I was able to make important discoveries that may or may not have ever surfaced in any of the literature used in this paper through descriptions and narrations of experiences from the participants.

2.4 Selection of research participants

Participants were mobilised by local leaders and others were found through snow balling from those who were initially interviewed. Selection was based on age with the assumption that age is an important determinant for child marriage. The use of age as a selection criteria was due to the fact that my topic sought to explore and reflect on child marriage specifically from lived experiences of those to whom it has happened. However, I also interviewed three elderly women between the ages of 65-75, in order to get a broader perspective of the subject. Additionally, I got other participants after watching a news clip on a local television Channel (NTV Uganda) which was talking about child marriage in Kamuli district.

2.4.1 about the Study Population

The research population comprised of thirty girls between the ages of 14-17 years, three elderly women between the ages of 65-75 years, four key inform-

ants who were all males between the ages of 27-35. These included the probation officer of Kamuli District, a child protection project facilitator of Plan Kamuli, the Kiyunga youth drama director and kidera sub county chief.

Majority of the girls lived in simple grass thatched homes, made out of mud while others lived in semi-complete houses built with mud bricks (refer to chapter four for detailed description). On average, majority of these girls had two children. The majority of the participants (girls) were subsistence farmers and so were their husbands. Most of them had an education level that did not exceed primary seven. The age difference between the girl and her spouse was on average 10years.

2.4.2 The interview setting

Most of the interviews were conducted in the homes of different participants. In some homesteads, there were more than one couple in a young marriage where either the girl was young or both girl and boy were young. In majority of the cases where the girl was younger the husbands were away from home. Where the husbands were at home, they willingly let me talk to their wives because they thought I was from a reputable NGO- Plan International which I later realized they trusted.

Besides, for the cases where the couple was younger (both girl and boy young) the boys would leave after seeing, me even though I moved with a representative from Plan or a local council chairperson. This they did because they thought I had come to arrest them. However, the people I moved with would endeavour to introduce me and explain to them the aim of my visit before leaving me alone with the participant. Some of the girls, on the other hand, were shy and nervous which I presume is due to the fact that they were very young (about 12-13 years) and others were very bold and open to share their experiences.

Other participants I met were at different sub counties. This is because they were living very far apart from each other and about one hundred kilometres from where I was staying. The probation officer together with the sub county chiefs mobilised them and gathered them at the sub county offices. This is because it was the central place that most of them were comfortable with. It created a relaxing environment for the participants to share their experiences. This

also gave me an opportunity to have ample time with each respondent without the rest feeling bored. I am however aware of the fact that meeting and interviewing these participants outside their homes may have limited my discoveries especially in regards to their homes and surroundings. I however did my best to probe as much as possible.

The interviews were a one-on-one with each participant. For those interviewed at the sub county, interviews were carried out from under a tree shade. This was done as part of creating a relaxed environment for them to open up without feeling like they are in a formal questioning session. In addition, the individual interview sessions enabled me hear each one's story separately, since some of the things they discussed were very sensitive.

Each interview took at most 40 minutes because I wanted to understand the participants' experiences in depth and also because some of them had a lot to talk about, some of which were very emotional. During moments of emotional break down, I had to pause for about three minutes to allow the participant to recollect themselves and inquire whether to stop or proceed with the interview.

The interviews were done in the local language (Lusoga) since that is the language that all the participants could easily speak. Most of the interviews were not recorded because of objection from the participants but also because of the amount of time it would take me to transcribe them. But with the consent of the participants, notes were taken and since I had already created themes in my book it was easy to note major points under the different themes and expanded on them later after the interviews each day.

Secondary sources also were used; for example, review of existing Literature on child marriages, review of case books at the Kamuli district probation office, newspaper articles. Additionally, Journals, articles, books, and video clips, as well as news clips were used to gather information on the subject before and during the fieldwork.

2.5 Challenges encountered

The biggest challenge I faced during the research process was uncooperativeness from some people who I had contacted to work with. Some of them were

not willing to help me access their areas of operation in which there were participants without giving them money. This happened even after presenting the letter from ISS and explaining that the research was purely academic. It seemed to me to be a characteristic of corruption which is prevalent in Uganda where people expect and want to have allowance for everything they do. Nonetheless, I engaged the district probation officer who, knowing some of these people better, convinced them, and they later agreed to help me and some even took me to the villages where child marriages were happening.

Since child marriages in Uganda are informal unions that are not registered anywhere, it was difficult and challenging to find any official documented records (Statistical, magnitude) of the occurrence of child marriages both at the district probation office and at Plan International Kamuli Branch as well as the police. The only way I was able to know about it was through informal means (in this case by word of mouth from those who worked in the different sub counties, the residents, and friends who work and live in Kamuli). Together with the contact person I had made before going to the field, I was able to collect data, but importantly, I relied on the statistics I had gotten through secondary material before going to the field.

Initially, my desire was to interview both girls and boys to get a gender balanced experience of what they go through. Although cases of boy child marriage were there in my research area, getting interviews with them was challenging and impossible. This is because the boys were not willing to be interviewed for fear of being arrested. Often times I made appointments with them but would not find them at the scheduled place and time of the interview. Instead they would leave their wives. To compensate for this I used male key informants to who are knowledgeable about the topic.

Moreover, at the start of the data collection there was perceived misunderstanding of child marriage and child pregnancy. Some of the girls that were referred to me at first all had cases of early pregnancy and were not necessarily in an early marriage. This was also the case for the parents that I met at the start. However I explained a second to the people I was working with the kind of respondents I was interested in and this eased my later data collection because I was able to discover that there were child marriages happening on a

wider scope than anticipated, and given the limited time in the field, I could not explore further than my time could allow. Therefore, I will keep this for future research studies on this subject.

As someone interested in this topic, I had to do my best to get information to help me better understand the problem. This involved travelling over 80 km to the participants, on bumpy and dusty roads because it was hard to get the information in the town centre where people were aware of the illegalities involved in the practice of child marriage. Moreover, I used to travel all this distance on a motorcycle, and during the process of fieldwork, I miscarried. This was an emotional and depressing incident for me and my family which almost made me not to go back to the field. However, the help of my family, together with the motivation I had for this topic, and my desire to dig deep into the subject, enabled me continue with data collection.

Chapter 3 : THREETHEORETICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK.

3.1 Introduction

Before going to the field, I had based my theories of analysis on the underlying assumption I had that child marriages were the result of coercion from parents and guardians as a way of getting wealth and that there was no agency (free will to make a choice) whatsoever on the part of the girls. From my assumption and perspective the issue of child marriage was entirely due to the fact that society at large undervalued the importance of women and therefore subjected them to demeaning practices like child marriage.

In the research design process, I assured my supervisor that this was the case for many girls in Uganda whose voice was silenced by cultural norms and beliefs about girls as sources of financial redemption to their poor families. However, after going to the field and interacting with a number of people on the subject, it became necessary for me to change my theoretical and analytical framework because of the findings I got, as will later be discussed in chapter four of this paper.

Therefore, this section centers on the new analytical framework drawn from the findings and reviewing of articles on the concept of social exclusion and the post- development theory, as well as the role of the state in providing for its citizens. These are used to understand, explain scrutinize and reflect on the dynamic factors behind the practice of child marriage in Kamuli district. In addition the concept of agency will be briefly used to assess the level of freedom possessed by the girls in the process of decision-making regarding marriage.

3.2 Social Exclusion

Social exclusion is a common problem in many societies. The concept emerged during the time of Jacques Delors a former president of the European commission and mainly related to poverty alleviation. Social exclusion, according to (Ziyauddin 2009), is a 'process of marginalization and discrimination' which

occurs differently in different time and space hence it is not static. Its analysis ought to be contextual and historical.

According to (Beall and Piron 2005), it is a multi-dimensional concept also used to analyse reason and outcome, as well as dynamic processes of social disadvantage. Social exclusion, is a result of a certain category of people being unable to fully participate in their society due to their identity (religious affiliation, gender race and others) or because of their geographical location. (Ibid).

Additionally, as a multi-dimensional process, social exclusion occurs when equal citizenship opportunities and livelihoods are obstructed by social relations and structural barriers (Beall and Piron 2005).

Thus from the above, social exclusion is a process where a particular group of people are hindered from fully engaging in their social, political and economic life. It is said to have some form of power relations involved as elaborated on figure 1.

It is about social and institutional interventions that exclude and isolate particular groups of people from accessing social services based on identity, class, gender, etcetera, (Ziyauddin 2009).

The concept has been used to advocate against unemployment, gender inequality, low income, early school dropout, discrimination and mainly concerned with labour market issues (Ziyauddin and Kasi 2009). Besides, (Ziyauddin 2009) says that social exclusion is used to refer to what happens to people or areas that are isolated from everyday services which traps them in a cycle of problems like unemployment, poverty, ill health, malnutrition, illiteracy etc. Social exclusion therefore results in frustration and dissatisfaction on the part of those facing it. Within the household, (Ziyauddin and Kasi 2009) add that social exclusion can occur within the household where the young (children) are disadvantaged compared to the adults in terms of access to jobs, or financial services which puts them in a vulnerable position. In addition, gender roles also accentuate the issue of social exclusion and affect women more than men. Also, social exclusion creates vulnerability (Ziyauddin and Kasi 2009).

While social exclusion is often synonymously used with poverty, it does not necessarily mean that it occurs to only the poor. There is a possibility of being excluded without being poor (Hickey and Du Toit 2007). Nonetheless, in this case, using the concept of social exclusion allows a broader view of deprivation

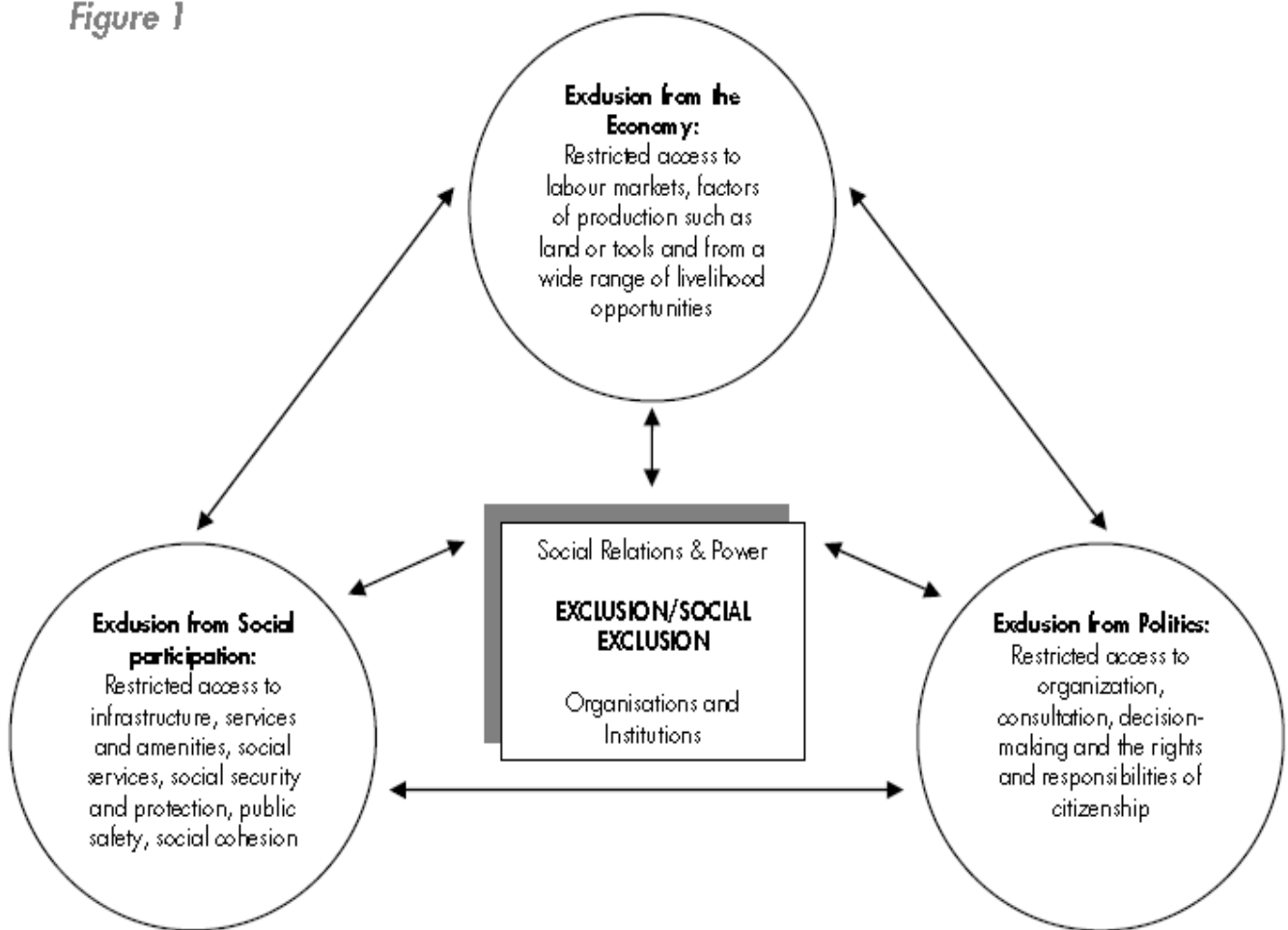
than can be viewed by poverty. Social exclusion appears in three forms as in illustrated in figure 1.

First, there is economic or labour market exclusion. According to (Giddens and Griffiths 2006), work is important in not only providing an adequate financial support but also because through the labour, market, social interactions are reinforced, thus reducing exclusion. Therefore, exclusion from the labour market may result in 'other forms of exclusion- poverty, service exclusion and exclusion from social relations' (Ibid: 357).

The second form is service or social exclusion which entails the lack of access to basic services, like shelter, water, health facilities, food, or in other cases, even lack of access to financial services. This form of exclusion according to (Giddens and Griffiths 2006) can be collective, where services are not provided to the people, or individual, where access is restricted by inability to afford the services. These two forms of exclusion (economic and social) may also result in exclusion from social relations, whereby individuals are unable to participate in common social activities and are isolated from family and friends either due to geographical location, physical disabilities, and wars (Giddens and Griffiths 2006).

Moreover, (Giddens and Griffiths 2006) supplement that isolation of people from civic engagement or political participation may also result in exclusion from social relations because of lack of opportunity to express themselves in decision-making regarding issues that concern them. This may be due to poverty and or economic exclusion. This concept is going to be applied in chapter five to analyse the different forms of social exclusion that could perpetuate child marriage in Kamuli.

Figure 1



Source: (Beall and Piron 2005:9)

As illustrated in figure 1, the interactions between social-economic, and political exclusion results in some form of powerlessness due to the limited participation of individuals in institutions of power like the labour market, social cohesion and political participation. In addition, the above illustration depicts how these three forms of social exclusion reinforce each other in such a way that when one is excluded from the labor market (employment) they may also be excluded from accessing basic services because they cannot afford them and also excluded from social interactions in regards to their civic duties.

The diagram further illustrates the importance of social institutions and organizations in the exclusionary processes because they structure the relationship between local and international relations and growth as argued by (Kabeer 2000). It therefore depicts a chain of disempowerment.

3.3 Gender as a concept and powerful tool of analysis

Gender has commonly been conceptualized as a dichotomous interactive concept to refer to men and women or masculinity and femininity and according to (Freimuth and Hornstein 1982), this interactive conceptualization has been based on the biological and psychological assumptions that as much as men and women differ biologically, so are their differences psychologically, in terms of masculinity and femininity. However, this has been said to give a narrow definition of the concept as it leaves out individuals with both male and female traits- the hermaphrodites. (Ibid).

Consequently, there have been a number of debates surrounding the definition and use of the concept of gender, ranging from feminist, sociologists, to psychologist scholars such as Bern, 1974, 1976; Constantinople, 1973 ; Jung, 1953; Money & Ehrhardt, 1972; (Freimuth and Hornstein 1982). Moreover, even with this argument, there is still an ambiguity in defining the concept, for example, basing on one's masculinity or femininity, like possession of breasts to mean femininity and beards for masculinity. Somewhat, (Freimuth and Hornstein 1982) emphasize that gender usage should go beyond mere physical masculinities and femininities and look at different diversities embedded in the concept such as gender roles, identities, etc.

That said, (Scott 2010) tackles the concept of gender from a different dimension of social construction. In her analysis and use of the concept, (Scott 2010) defines gender as a social construction of expectations of men and women and a manifestation of the power relations between the two groups and these power relations can determine what a woman or man can be or do. She argues that what has been seen as natural for a woman (in this case resulting out of the biological understanding of the word) like motherhood, or a man like father-

hood are all as a result of what has been culturally constructed to patch up men's oppression of the women (Scott 2010). Similarly, (Ilcan 1996:36) restates that '...the value of natural has been used to rationalize hierarchy and subordination with in the household'. In other words the expected roles of men and women are socially constructed over time and can change.

Furthermore, (Scott 2010:8), argues that gender brings up the question of 'how and under which conditions the perceived roles for each sex have been constructed, how meanings of man and woman have changed over time, how issues of power have determined the meanings of femininity and masculinity, how symbolic structures affect the ordinary lives of people, and finally, how sexual identities and expectations are forged against social expectations.'

Therefore, the characteristics of gender are said to be framed over time by society resulting in powerful knowledge of what is expected of a man and a woman. According to (Ilcan 1996), gender expectations are shaped right from the household and 'reproduces gender hierarchies' which in turn shape social behavior and attitudes towards women, and also create power hierarchies which further their oppression (Marcus 1992a in Ilcan 1996:33). This concept will be used hand-in-hand with social exclusion, since gender in so many ways leads to exclusion. Therefore, it will be used to understand in what ways girls have been excluded based on their gender characteristics, to the point of having to end up in marriage.

3.4 The development theory and the post-development critique

This theory will be used to analyze the failure of the post-developmental state to address the problems of the poor, in relation to its role as an agent of development and how this has fostered social exclusion in access to social services like health, education, markets, proper housing and others. The purpose will be to understand the lack of access to social services has pushed girls into marriage as the only choice available for them with in the wider imagery of the development discourse.

To fully understand the meaning of development it is fundamental to recognize the emergence of the term, how it has been applied especially in the international development discussions and how the notion of post-development emerged. The background of all under development narratives lies in the statement made by President Truman's program of developing under developed Africa, Asia and Latin America (Ziai 2007). Truman believed that the only way to achieve social, cultural and political progress for the third world was through development- industrialization and urbanization which would ultimately result into modernization. Consequently, for more than fifty years, development as a concept has been tagged with different meanings, such as, modernization through industrialization and advancement in technology as well as economic growth, (Escobar 2007).

Modernization and economic growth dominated the theory of development and were seen to be the way out of poverty and ensure social justice for all. This dream was embraced by all people as the only way to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor (Escobar 1995, Rist 2007). Thus, this development promise was to be embraced by different states from developing countries even after the colonization era. Nevertheless, after years of self-rule with no so much as progress towards poverty reduction (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2006), development was rendered a 'buzzword, vague and only a list of unrealistic assumptions for social progress' (Rist 2007:485). It had failed to meet its goal of poverty reduction and bridging the poverty gap between the rich and poor, (ibid) and hence a new discourse emerged- the post-development critique.

Within the wider development discourse the post development critique materialized after different scholars like Arturo Escobar, Rist, and Rahnama were dissatisfied by the notion and practice of development which conditioned poor countries to massively advance in industries, technology and infrastructure in order to be modernized (Escobar 1997). Whereas this was the solution, the third world was seen as poor and yet the infrastructure and industries were intended to come from domestic savings which they didn't have.

The plan was then for the north to invest in the south in all aspects ranging from education, industries, infrastructure, and to effectively do this, it necessitated the creation of avenues through which the whole development process

would run hence the creation of international organizations like the world Bank, International Monetary Fund to help in regulating policies in the third world countries (Escobar 1997). The state's role in all this was vital because it was supposed to act as the apparatus to the whole process.

Consequently with the help of experts, development then embarked on massive transformation of 'poor' countries from 'poverty, inadequate public services, population growth, insufficient technology, cultural attitudes as well as racial, religious, geographical factors believed to be associated with backwardness.' (Escobar 1997:87). Notably all these changes were made in the name of making the poor countries better to the level of the rich developed countries. Conversely, the problems of the poor countries were viewed from the eyes of western experts. These beliefs were heavily criticized by Escobar, Rist, and Rahnama whose arguments basically were against the way development enslaved poor countries making them poorer and made human beings 'a target of consumption and profit' (Rist 2007:485). According to Escobar, the notion of development only produced knowledge about the third world countries and also used it to exercise power over them. (Escobar 1997)

The development discourse produced a chain of relations between institutions and socio economic processes, produced knowledge, technological factors and conditions under which objects, concepts, theories and strategies can be incorporated into the discourse... these relations established a set of rules of the game: who can speak from what point of view, with what authority, and according to what criteria of expertise. It sets rules that must be followed for this or that problem, theory or object to emerge and be named, analyzed and eventually be transformed into a policy or plan (Escobar 1997:87).

In the same way, (Rahnama 1997) asserts that the notion of development was used by the North to exercise power through economic and geographical expansions to the south, and dehumanizing their culture to a point where the only thing believed to bring redemption to the south was the western notion of development. However, with all the development promises, it has not seen so much success especially for the developing countries since untold poverty, hunger, and deprivation has become the life of the people (Escobar 1995).

Therefore, this theory will be used to identify and analyse how the state as an agent of development has reinforced social exclusion and poverty to perpetuate child marriage in Kamuli district Uganda.

Chapter 4 : DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will give a detailed description a sample of the main participants from the research conducted in four sub counties in Kamuli district. Due to the word limit it is impossible to describe all the thirty girls, although as will be noticed later, there is a commonality in the problems faced by these girls. The purpose is to clearly bring out traces of exclusion, gender, poverty, pregnancy, school dropout, lack of support from family and other factors that led these girls to marry. These will be elaborated further in the analysis chapter using the concepts of gender, social exclusion and the development discourse at state level. It is important to note that due to identity issues and research ethics, the names given below do not symbolise the actual names of the participants that took part in this research.

4.2 The research population and their ages

A total of 30 girls were participated in this research study from four different sub counties. Of the 30 participants, 2 were forced by their parents into marriage, that is, marriage was a result of arrangement by the parents of the girl and the boy or man. In addition, the 30 participants were between the ages of 14 and 17years. There were 12 aged 17 years, another 12 girls aged 16 years, 3 girls aged 15 years and 3 girls were aged 14 years.

Eight girls from Balawooli Sub County were interviewed from the sub county headquarters. These were Kathy 14, Florence 17, Maria 16, Scovia 16, Joy 17, Martha 16, Jane 16 and Farinah 16. As explained in chapter two, it was hard to meet the girls in their respective homes because of the distance to their homes and because their households were far apart from each other. The time limit of the fieldwork study was also put in consideration in this case.

Eleven girls were from Kidera Sub County and these were Jamawa 17, Nakayima 15, Maliza 16, Edith 17, Diana 17, Agnes 17, Stellah 17, Maureen 16, Meldah 17, Mary 17 and Silvia 16. These participants were interviewed from

their respective homes. Six participants were from Butansi sub country and these were, Betty 16, Joan 15, Phina 17, Sanyu 16, Josephine 17, and Mariam 17. These, too, were interviewed from their homes. The last group of girls was from Mbulamuti Sub County and this included Sarah 16, Saniya 17, Faith 14, Liza 15, and Oliver 16, who were also interviewed from their respective homes.

As earlier noted in chapter two, my interview group also included three elderly ladies- Nanyonga, 75, Kagodha 67 and Naibooka 65. These were interviewed to get a different interpretation of marriage today and how it was done during their time. This was to enable me to make a comparative analysis to understand whether the factors at play in child marriage today could be the same in the years before. Furthermore I interviewed key informants who were knowledgeable about the subject of child marriage in Kamuli and why it was rampant in this place. These were also interviewed to get a different perspective of the practice from that given by the girls.

In order to give a clear description, I will base on five traits to bring out the income and educational level of the participants, as well as the parents and husband, the household demographic status, the social ties (friendships and relations with her family and friends) individual gendered beliefs, and the gender characteristics of the participants. All these are going to be used as yard sticks to analyse the responses of the participants and clearly bring out social exclusionary processes and gender dynamics as well as the state's role as an agent of development, which perpetuate child marriage in Kamuli district.

4.3 Participant Narrations

4.3.1 Maliza 16 years: Kidera

- **House hold level characteristics, income and educational level**

Maliza was interviewed at her home where she lives with her 28-year-old husband, a primary three drop-out who does farming for a living. She lives in an unfinished brick structured house with her two children, 2 years and nine months, respectively. Maliza comes from a family of eight children and she is the second borne in the family, the eldest being a boy. Her parents who are

both unschooled are farmers, and labour in peoples' farms for a living. They stay about three villages from Maliza's marital home in Kidera.

Before getting married Maliza's parents were struggling to pay school fees for her and her seven siblings. Since she was not getting enough from her parents, she got a boyfriend who used to buy her small gifts and cater to some of her basic needs like soap, Vaseline and sanitary pads which are quite essential for an adolescent girl. However she was impregnated by the boyfriend, something that her father did not take well.

She narrated that when her father found out that she was pregnant he was very bitter and asked her to find the man responsible for the pregnancy as he was unable to take care of another extra head with the already big burden of nine people in the family. This led to her dropping out of school because the only support person was not willing to continue paying her school fees and so she ended up getting married to the father of her child.

From my observation, Maliza looked over worked from her strained face that made her look twenty years older than her age. Her children were clearly looking hungry from the constant crying and yawning. Asked whether she and her children had had lunch Maliza responds that she had just returned from the farm, at 3:00 pm.

- **Household and individual gendered characteristics**

During the research, I included a couple of questions concerning the expectations of women and men, girls and boys in their household and this society at large. These were based on the domestic burden, the parents' support for girls' education as well as the responsibilities in the household and the decision-making process with in the household.

According to Maliza, she reflected on how as a girl she was expected to do housework from cooking to helping in the garden, roles that she continues to do even in marriage. While talking about this, Maliza seems to see the significant domestic responsibility as a normal state of affairs for girls in this society that every girl ought to be part of.

In terms of covering household expenses, Maliza, says her father was the major household provider with little supplement from her mother. And so as an in-

dividual Maliza said and believed that the man should have the final say in regards to family matters. From my observation Maliza's is an extreme case of gendered power relations within the household that have been specifically framed by the social constructions of gender and gender roles. In addition, there is a visible lack of sustainable means of survival (poverty). Hence these two aspects will be addressed further in the analysis chapter using the concepts of gender and social exclusion.

4.3.2 Mukyala 17 years: Kidera

Currently married to a 26-year-old man who is a brick layer. Mukyala lives with her husband in a small one roomed grass-thatched house. During the interview I found Mukyala shelling corn which I later found out she was to take to the graining mill to make flour for food. Beside her small house was a small goat which she told me she is rearing as a security in case of an emergency.

Mukyala is a primary three drop out whose father died when she was about 14 years. Before the death of her father who was a motorcycle rider in Kamuli town, Mukyala used to go to school with the support of her father but had to stop after his death since her mother who is a stay home mum did not have money to continue paying her school fees.

Her situation was worsened when her mother remarried after her father's death and left her and her five siblings to fend for themselves. Because she was not in school and had no hope of returning to school, Mukyala decided to look for an alternate way of survival and take care of her five siblings who are younger than her. This led her to get married in order to support herself and her siblings.

From this case it is clear that poverty is a major problem which intersects with other factors like gender (the fact that a girl's way out is marriage), together with child headed families after the loss of a parent. These aspects will bring us to the use of the concept of social exclusion and the failure of the state in providing proper affordable education and other social welfare benefits especially to orphaned poor children to keep them away from marriage in search for a better life.

4.3.3 Namulondo 17years: Kidera

Namulondo lives in a small village in Kidera Sub County with her 25-year-old husband who is a farmer. She got married while still in school without the knowledge of her parents. Her parents are both farmers who do subsistence agriculture. Her mother passed away when she (Namulondo) was 12 years old, leaving her and her three siblings with her dad and step mother. Namulondo narrated that she got married because life at home was miserable. Her father used to drink too much and would always beat them (her and her siblings) for any slight offense that was reported to him by the step-mother.

In addition, she used to be over-worked and the least-loved among her 6 siblings. She said that she did not want to get married but the situation at home forced her to. In search for comfort and love, she fell in 'love' with her current husband, who was living next to the school she used to attend. He used to comfort her, and buy her the things she needed and also provided some needs for her siblings. With him, she felt loved and accepted. After school she would always spend time with him which resulted in pregnancy. For fear of scorn from her parents, Namulondo decided to run away from home to go and live with her boyfriend, who did not reject her.

Namulondo's cases depicts exclusion right from the household where there is unequal relations among the members of the household and lack of emotional support which on the other hand makes the victim exclude themselves. This indirectly translates into exclusion from access to the basic needs within the household. Therefore using the concept of social exclusion I will analyze the social exclusionary processes within the household which force girls into marriage.

4.3.4 Faith 14 years: Mbulamuti

Faith is married to a 27-year-old man who is a motorcycle rider⁹. Faith is an orphan who, prior to marriage was living with her maternal grandparents. She is an only child and her mother died while giving birth to her. Because of the

⁹ A motorcycle rider is someone who carries passengers on the motorcycle. It is a business in the transport sector.

pain of losing his wife, her father abandoned her at her grandparents at the age of eight months and never returned to check on her or bring any help to her grandparents. Therefore she never got a chance to see any of her parents. *“I don’t know my parents. I was told my dad left me with jjaja (grandparent) and never came back and grandmother does not know where he went.”*

She grew up with her grandparents who are in their 80’s now and doing minor subsistence farming that can barely be enough for their daily food consumption. Before getting married her grandparents struggled to pay her school fees in a public school but time came when they could not afford it anymore and she would constantly miss school. She would labor in the neighboring gardens to raise money to help her grandparents but even that was not enough. The situation got worse when her grandfather passed away two years back and everything became hard. Because of the situation, her grandmother explained to her how hard it was for her to take care of Faith and suggested she finds a man and get married.

However, even though the situation was not good economically, Faith did not want to get married at that age and leave her ailing grandmother alone. Instead she continued struggling to make a living. She narrates that one day, unexpectedly her grandmother found a man for her who was willing to take care of both of them. And even though she resisted marriage at first, there was simply no other choice than to go with the man they got for her. From this case we see a little bit of forced marriage but even then the circumstances surrounding it are not negligible. The entanglement of poverty leaves no other choice for Faith, an aspect that will be analyzed using social exclusion resulting out of poverty.

4.3.5 Agnes 17 Years: Kidera.

At the time of the interview, I met Agnes lying down with her baby of about one year old. She looked sickly and weak. On asking her how she was doing? She responded *‘bizibu byansi byebinsumbuna’* meaning *‘problems of this world are troubling me.’* Indeed her appearance said it all, for she looked twice her age. I asked her about her family and she said she did not know how they were do-

ing. She had not heard from her parents for almost a year since she was given into marriage to a witch doctor to whom she was a patient.

Agnes said her ordeal began when she suffered a strange illness that made her loose concentration in class something she said was a result of witch craft from her paternal relatives. Her parents arranged for her to see traditional healer to treat her, so she could get better and go back to school. Asked why go to the traditional doctor and not the hospital? Agnes replied, "*Hospitals here are very expensive and not so good. They will diagnose you with malaria even when you don't have it just to make money. The better ones I have heard about are in Jinja and my parents did not have money to take me that far.*" However, even the cheap option of the traditional doctor eventually became unaffordable for the poor family which was just involved in subsistence farming.

After failing to raise money to pay off the traditional doctor, Agnes said he demanded to take her as a wife in exchange for a debt relief. The parents had no choice but to accept because according to Agnes the doctor had threatened to kill her if they said anything to the authorities. For fear of being killed and relieving her parents from the debt burden, Agnes accepted to be given in marriage to a 31 year old man.

From my perspective, had Agnes' parents had money to take their daughter for medical examinations and ascertain the source of her problem, probably her story would have turned out different. Secondly there is clear loss of hope in modern hospitals which according to this story are depicted as so corrupt and dysfunctional, that people have resorted to traditional diviners. The fact that better hospitals are far from people and those near are dysfunctional, is a clear indication of exclusion from health services which are part of the state's provision to the people. This brings me to the aspect of the failed post developmental state which has reinforced disparity and exclusion.

4.3.6 Phina 17 years: Butansi

Seated in her grass-thatched house nursing her 10-months-old baby, Phina narrated to me the events leading to her marriage. But first, she quickly interrupts my interview and tells me that if she had a choice she would not be in marriage and she would also not allow her daughter to get married before eighteen

years, no matter the circumstances. Phina's father died when she was in primary seven waiting to do her final exams. He was the sole provider of the family through his mechanic business and her mother is a farmer. She is the third borne out of seven children.

After the death of her father, Phina could not continue with school, although she passed well in her final exams, because there was no money. Her mother had to struggle to take care of her and her siblings from the little she would get from selling farm produce and digging in other people's farms. Time came when they could not afford sugar or soap and sometimes they had to eat once a day. Life became very hard for the family. Because she was not in school, and she was growing old, Phina said she decided to get married to reduce the burden that her mother was carrying, but also to be able to help out her siblings. She discussed this idea with her mother who didn't refuse. In her mothers' opinion it was better for her to get married than to get pregnant outside marriage, as this would imply that she has failed as a mother.

Her mother also hoped that her daughter's marriage would be the light at the end of the tunnel for the rest of the siblings, given she was the eldest girl. Because there was no other choice, Phina decided to get married. According to Phina, poverty and not being in school made her end up in marriage. These aspects will analyzed by the theory of development whose promise failed to fully manifest in the developing countries and instead exacerbated poverty and deprivation as discussed in chapter three.

4.3.7 Stella 17 and Maureen 16 years: Kidera

These are sisters who got married in the same area and their husbands are brothers. At the time of the interview, Maureen had come to Stella's house to collect fire. And they were both comfortable to be interviewed together. Maureen's husband is 30 years old and he is a mechanic while Stella husband is 28 years old and is truck driver. They live in brick houses and from my observation, they are not very poor. Stella has a retail grocery shop on her verandah and Maureen does tailoring from her verandah as well.

They narrated that they got married after their father died and his relatives took all the property and chased their mother from her marital home. There

were five children and Stella is the eldest followed by Maureen. After everything was taken by their father's relatives, they stopped going to school because their mother could not afford to pay their school fees. In search for a better life, Stella left home and went to Kampala where she got a job as a maid and helped to take care of her mother and siblings. However, she left the job because she was being mistreated, overworked and underpaid and decided to go back home to her family.

In Kampala she had got a boyfriend who is her current husband, and she decided to take him to her mother. He came with his brother who fell in love with Maureen. They brought sugar, soap, and other items as appreciation to the mother and asked to marry her daughters. Their mother did not reject because she could not support them and provide for them so she let them get married to reduce the family burden. In this case the state's role in providing social welfare and security for people is clearly absent, consequently basing on the development theory through state institutions and apparatus for development this case will be analyzed together with lack of access to social amenities resulting out if poverty.

4.3.8 Nangobi Martha 17 years: Balawooli.

Nangobi is a primary seven dropout who comes from a family of five. Her parents died two years back from witch craft leaving her with her siblings to fend for themselves. Nangobi said that after the death of her parents who were their only source of survival, life became very hard and "*the world turned its back against us.*" Knowing what had killed her parents, Nangobi says she and her siblings remained in fear of what awaits them, having no one to run to provide for them or protect them.

Being the oldest of them all, she said that she had to struggle every day to fend for the family, slaving on people's farms. The only activity she called a job was cleaning hospital wards and washing sick peoples' clothes in Kamuli Hospital which is about 15 Kilometers from her village. She would do all this to ensure that her siblings had food, and some other basic needs. With time, due to the hard work, she could not stand being the family provider anymore because it started to wear her down and therefore decided to get married with hopes of

getting physical and financial security. She narrated that although life was hard, she wished for her siblings to have a fair life and be able to go back to school. Nangobi is a mother of one beautiful girl aged one year.

In this case we realize the struggles orphaned children face every day with no external source of help at all. Some of them don't delight in their childhood because the conditions force them to mature up in order to survive as seen in this case. The chance to be in school is impossible because of the lack of means to afford it. Had there been at least state provisions for a complete welfare benefit for such children, the case would probably have been different.

4.3.9 Sarah 16 years: Mbulamuti

Married to a witch doctor, Sarah is wife number three with two children aged 1.5 years and 9 months, respectively. She lives with all her co-wives in a three-roomed, brick built mud floor house in Kabukye village Butansi Sub County. Sarah's mother died when she was in primary four at the age of 13. This was the end of her education. Her father; who had another wife, stopped paying her school fees saying he did not have money to keep her in school. Instead he advised her to leave school and help out on the farm. With no alternative, Sarah left school and became a major source of labor on her father's farm.

Sarah's father is unschooled and his main source of income is farming for subsistence. He has six children, who according to Sarah all are not in school. She said that she would work long hours on the farm but go without food and only when she was lucky she would find a potato in the pot. Her step-mother used to constantly batter her on top of over working her. The situation became unbearable for her and Sarah said she decided to find a man and get married in order to escape the suffering and lack. Gender roles exclusion is what this case is about and this will be modified in the later chapter.

4.3.10 Kalembe 17 years: Butansi.

Kalembe's story is quite different from the rest. With a smile, she greets and welcomes me to her home. Her house is a simple grass-thatched house. She offers me a bench and as we talk, she is pounding ground nuts to make lunch. Kalembe stopped in primary seven. Her father who is a farmer used to pay her

school fees and buy her necessities. However, she said that her reasons for getting married were mainly related to peer group influence. Kalembe said all her friends had boyfriends and some of them were cohabiting with them.

They would always tell her that she was missing out if she didn't have a boyfriend, something which forced her to get in a relationship with a man 10 years her age. She said she did this to fit in the group of her friends but also because the man gave her gifts and bought her clothes.

Eventually, she lost morale in school and told her father that she wanted to leave school and get married. She says her father objected to this and was very bitter with her. Because of peer pressure, Kalembe got pregnant, something which did not please her father. Kalembe says her father was still willing to pay her school fees after she gave birth but Kalembe was not interested in school anymore, so decided to run away with the man who impregnated her, and they started living as husband and wife. This case shows the pressure that young people face in order to fit into the already constructed way of behavior and expectations. This will be elaborated further with the concept of gender. Being a social construct put some form of pressure on girls to be and do their gender.

4.4 Conclusion.

Having described the different life conditions of selected participants, it's important to realize that child marriages in Kamuli are not a result of one single factor but from many interlocking problems that shape people's experiences and definition of poverty and social exclusion. As illustrated above, to different people, marriage is a result of lack of different things from the lack of basic needs which is their own perception of poverty, while to others, it's as a result of exclusion from social amenities like education, infrastructure, and still to others its, as a result of gender expectations that put pressure on young girls and also reinforce exclusionary processes which leave girls with no choice but to get marriage, for example pregnancy. All these different aspects are going to be explored and analyzed in detail in the next chapter with the concepts and theory discussed in chapter three.

Chapter 5 : FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

'Being poor is the worst thing one can be. It means your life choices are limited, your boundaries fixed, and you have to take what life gives. You are nothing even to your own family'
Martha- Participant, in Balawooli Sub County.

This chapter analyses the major reasons for child marriage in Kamuli using the concept of social exclusion, gender and the development theory. From the descriptions in chapter four, there are a number of factors that interplay and determine girls' choices for marriage over other options like education. These factors were identified to be poverty which limits peoples' access to resources (exclusion from access to food, proper schooling, health facilitates, markets and jobs), and confines them to a life of lack and need.

There was domestic violence which in my perspective is a form of gender stereotypes which makes women subjects of torture. It is seen to leads to parental separation and creating child headed households. Lack of state support in form of social welfare (for instance providing care support to children who lose their parents, elderly in the community or providing avenues for income generation and financial sustainability to the poor households), poor education system with low retention and poor quality education, which has resulted into parents losing hope in the prospects of education for their children. Additionally, there were gender dynamics which put unnecessary pressure on young girls to conform to the expectations of being a woman, political exclusion as a result lack of proper representation of people and lack of proper platforms for the people to air their concerns.

5.1.1 Figure 3: The sequential aspects that interplay to cause child marriage in Kamuli District



Source: Author's fieldwork study July/August 2015

The research did not explicitly look at forced marriage, although it was the initial goal of the researcher. This changed after reaching the field and realizing that informal child relationships which ended in marriage were predominant, and not necessarily forced and hence the interview themes were also organized along this discovery. It was also discovered that although it is said that education is free for all through the (UPE and USE) program, many poor families in this place cannot afford the user fees and scholastic materials to sustain their children in school (ODI. 2006), a factor that has led to many of them dropping out of school and opting for marriage. It would have been a different case if the state provided social welfare benefits to the citizens in form of complete free education and health services without user fees, as well as housing.

5.2 Identity and conformity to gender roles - Pregnancy

In reference to chapter four (*case of Maliza*), when a girl gets pregnant outside marriage, society sees it fit for her to get married to the person responsible for the pregnancy or someone else for that matter irrespective of whether she is ready for marriage or not. It does not matter whether the pregnancy was out of rape or otherwise. This is because marriage is not only seen as an avenue for procreation and a place where the gender role or rather biological sex role of child bearing is reinforced by society can be fulfilled (Bernstein 2011, Lopata 1973). In addition, (Lopata 1973) argues that marriage has an effect in shaping social reality and self-identity of women through their gender roles like motherhood, or wife. Therefore carrying out this role (of child bearing) outside the boundaries of marriage is seen to distort the gender roles which are prescribed to be done within the boundaries of marriage, hence the public scorn which drives girls into marital unions at a young age due to social pressure.

In regards to social exclusion, (Kabeer 2000) asserts inner and outer institutions like social norms and family rules and values may be avenues for inclusion and exclusion. In other words, girls' being pushed to get married out of pregnancy is not a general rule for everyone but depends on family and social values and rules from which one belongs and so these values can be inclusive or socially exclusive. This is true for attitudes towards men, where in this case the man is still seen as the one responsible for and in charge of taking care of the family therefore required to marry the girl he impregnates as a sign of masculinity.

As a result of creating identity, reinforcing gender roles and trying to live up to their social expectations, many girls have ended up in marriage simply because they are pregnant and condemned by their own families even when they are not ready for it. The common beliefs and attitudes that pregnancy should end in marriage even when the girl is not ready for it are some of the factors that have made child marriage persist in Kamuli.

5.2.1 Conformity and identity due to peer pressure

The findings also suggested that some girls' got married as a result of peer group influence as in the case of *Kalembe 17years*. Research by (Clasen and Brown 1985) shows that peer pressure is a form of identity and socialization

among adolescents, although it differs significantly among different groups with each group having unique characteristics.

The groups that girls conform to are often with the same characteristics and age groups. Their desire to be a part of certain groups would be to feel a sense of belonging and identity *“My friends had boyfriends and good staff and I was the odd man out. They often made fun of me that I was still a child since I had no boyfriend” (Maliza 17)*. Pressure to conform to what is expected becomes adopted and normalized just as the pressure to conform to gender roles. Maliza for example had to conform to a set of expectations that were only social constructs about maturity. In order to fit in she had to do those things that her fellow girls such as having boyfriends-expectations of what is right for a young girl.

Such beliefs, and pressures are deep rooted with in the general social expectations of gender, gender roles and identity that put pressure on young girls to behave in a certain way. However, although gender is a social construct of expectations (obligations and pressures), (Kabeer 2000:88) explains that ‘in itself gender does not translate unproblematically into exclusion but is rather exacerbated by other forms of disadvantage’. It intersects with various factors to bring about exclusion and marginalization. In the case above, a girl is not forced into marriage merely because she has got pregnant, or involved with a particular peer group but because she is probably less advantaged, in access to resources, which exacerbates her social status and identity and the only right thing to do to feel a sense of belonging and avoid rejection is to get married.

5.3 Child marriage and economic exclusion

Peasant agriculture and small scale fishing is the main economic activity and source of survival for people in Kamuli¹⁰ which is also emphasized by the narrations of participants as indicated in chapter four. Participants expressed inability by their parents to provide basic needs like food, decent shelter, medication and proper schooling because of the limited finances got from such activities. In worst case scenarios participants said that Vaseline, sanitary pads

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http://www.mmv.org/sites/default/files/uploads/docs/events/access/District_profile_narratives.pdf

and soap that are seen as basic for the hygiene of adolescent girls were not easy to get because their parents could not afford them. *“A man with seven heads to feed with a meager peasant income will hardly think of soap and pads for his daughters. This is a luxury yet these are delicate needs for adolescent girls. If they don’t get them, they resort to other means like boyfriends who end up impregnating them. And in this case, parents are also very powerless to save the situation because of their financial status.”* (NGO Staff Kamuli).

It was discovered that most families in Kamuli are peasant farmers and small-scale fishermen. The little they harvest for home use is sold cheaply to get an income to sustain their families which is hardly enough given most of them have large families of at least five children.

Moreover, this is worsened by the market price asymmetries between the rural farmers and the key trade area. Because their geographical location set far off from trading center, the prospects of getting reasonably fair prices for their commodities are less because of their lack of knowledge of the market prices. This is exacerbated by the poor road net which makes it hard to transport even the little they produce to the market centers. Therefore, many trade their produce amongst themselves with little profit gained.

On top of that because there is no value added to the produce, the possibility of selling their goods beyond their villages is low. It would be possible with the help of state intervention in providing market information to all people at all levels, which is not the case for people in Kamuli and rural Uganda. Hence a number of families from which these girls come are in poverty. There were some participants who confirmed that the financial situation of their families prompted them into marital unions as a way of escaping the vicious cycle of deprivation. They believed that by getting married to an older man would help improve not only their social but also their financial status.

“My parents were not able to provide for us because they did not have money. Sometimes we would have one meal a day with just hot water because sugar is also expensive. Life was very hard for us. This forced me to get a man to be able to get some of the things I could not get from my parents.” (Maliza, participant from Sub County).

In addition, (Hickey and Du Toit 2007) affirm that economic constraints are not only limited to markets of trading goods but to the labor markets as well.

Labor market is another way of including people in the economy and not necessarily looking at just their ability to exchange goods. When people are excluded from the labor market (in this case employment opportunities) either because of lack of required skills, or due to tribalistic tendencies or failed institutional mechanisms, it may exacerbate social problems like child marriage.

In rural Kamuli for example, because many people are not schooled, (a factor that leads to their exclusion from meaningful employment), many of them provide labor on the farms of those who are better off, for a very small fee as seen in chapter four a good example of Maliza and Faith. Faith for instance used to dig in peoples' farms to get an income for her and her elderly grandparents until they got her a man to marry because it was becoming hard for the family to survive. This has kept and enslaved people in poverty and deprivation making them unable to meet their daily needs. It is because of this that girls are seeking optional means of survival to try and redeem themselves and their families out of poverty by going into marriage.

5.4 Multiple exclusions, and multiple outcomes

Despite the availability of UPE and USE schools in Kamuli district, access to education for a number of girls is still a problem. This is related to the fact that these schools have a user fee required for scholastic materials and food which are not affordable for children from poor households, implying that without the ability to pay the user fees, the chances of staying in school are low (ODI. 2006). According to the millennium development report 2014, the biggest factor for school dropout is poverty. Children from poor household are reported have less access to education and other social services like health or water compared to those from rich households (United Nations 2014).

This is no different from the case of Kamuli district. From the research conducted, most girls left school because of their parents' financial inability to sustain them in school. In the process of being out of school, and having no other choice to turn to some of them found themselves opting for marriage. Many of the participants stated that if they were in school their chances of being married would have been low. Even those who got pregnant while in school still expressed their aspiration to return to school.

In relation to (Kabeer's 2000:87) analysis of social exclusion, '...exclusion from one institutional domain can lead to exclusion in another.' Girls' inability to complete school, directly impacts on their access to social networks to help in building and improving their lives. Although the problem may not be because they are excluded from services due to the fact that they are poor, leaving them with no other option exacerbates their vulnerability and limits their life choices.

5.5 Marriage as a source of economic and physical security.

In relation to the descriptions in chapter four, reference to Nangobi 17 years from Balawooli, and other participants mentioned that their decision to get married was based on the need to secure a better life in the form of access to basic survival like food, health, and sometimes shelter for themselves and their families. This shows that peoples' hopes and life choices are limited by poverty which makes them vulnerable. In particular, families where children are orphaned with no one to help, stand more chances of experiencing what (Kabeer 2000) calls 'hard-core exclusion' which leaves people radically disadvantaged, especially the girls. This is, for example, visible for Nangobi's situation who narrates in her own words: *"...I would not have got married if I had parents to take care of me and my siblings. Even if my parents were not that rich, we did not have to worry about life so much because we were safe. But after the death of our parents, the world turned its back against us, no one seemed to care and we became our own parents. Being the oldest, I had to ensure the safety and survival of my siblings and I could not do it on my own but to get married."*

Research by (Evans 2011) shows the complexities that orphaned children go through after losing their parents and are left with no one to care for them. Based on age seniority and gender, children in child-headed households often look at one person for their survival and house chores. In cases where the eldest child is a girl, the gender constructions of household roles are more likely to wear her down for taking care of the young ones to doing paid work in order to ensure their survival. In addition (Evans 2011) discusses the difficulty involved in sibling care as they struggle to take care of their young siblings' emo-

tional and material needs and also requiring their own needs to be taken care of. Implicitly orphaned children in this case girls may resort to marriage for more reasons than just material security but also emotional satisfaction.

5.6 Child marriage as a result of exclusionary state policies

5.6.1 The ‘song’ of good governance, pro-poor strategies: Hope for or exploitation of the poor?

According to the international development discourse, social capital and good governance through democratic decentralization have been highly encouraged as policies to reduce poverty and promote development (Hickey 2005). Decentralization as an institutional reform of the state and good governance, has been supported as one of the pro-poor policies of the state which allows for local associations with the state.

Relatedly Uganda’s case is not different. The struggle to fight poverty has been ongoing and reported great ‘success’ in the 1990s which was attributed to the so-called favorable, and pro-poor political regime that stressed UPE and the fight against HIV/AIDS as some of the strategies to show progress towards poverty reduction (Hickey 2005). However, there have been reported variations in accuracy of the poverty reduction as opposed to the real life situations of the poor people. It’s been indicated that there is uneven poverty reduction trends between the urban and rural areas in Uganda with the rural areas suffering more poverty than the urban centers (Hickey 2005).

In other words, social exclusion is predominant for rural poor people compared to the urban areas. Although state institutions like education system, health systems, legal and judicial systems, are in place to avail equal services to all the citizens these institutions are said to be dysfunctional in addressing the real problems of the poor people. (Narayan-Parker and Patel 2008:83) argue that cases where the institutions are ‘...ineffective, inaccessible and disempowering...’ they nurture corruption, intimidation and helplessness for the poor people and are often seen as irrelevant.

On the other hand, while these institutions may be accessible through decentralization, the poor are usually unable to access the services because of the

politics of representation and power relations that may exist between the state and the poor citizens. Hence, the space for expression of needs and interests by the poor is often covered up by these power relations (Hickey 2005).

Taking a case of Kamuli and most rural areas in Uganda, service accessibility by the local people is politicized and often characterized by corruption by those representing the state. One of the local leaders in Kidera narrates his peoples' total loss of trust in the state systems something that he says has led parents to withdraw their children from school, or resort and use them as labor in their gardens or otherwise advise them to get married for they are pessimistic about the future “...although the government has planted many schools and other social facilities in this district, it is almost impossible to see their benefits to this community... the schools have low motivates staff, the hospitals have no medicine, the roads are flooded during the rainy seasons, government officials are corrupt... it seems like this place is a separate district from the rest of the country. The government only remembers its existence during election time. For that matter, people here are fed up and everyone does what think is best for them.”

In emphasis, (Kabeer 2000:87) argues that institutions are the ‘rule of the game’ and determine ‘who accesses resources and under what terms or with which degree of certainty’. These determine the level of access (inclusion or exclusion). In such cases the role of the state in ensuring access to basic services for even the poorest is dysfunctional. The state through institutions like education systems, health, justice systems like the police, as well as financial institutions lie the banks is supposed to ensure equal service access to every citizen regardless of social status which is not really happening based on the field observation and responses from some participants. In addition, due to corruption, the people stated their frustration in participating in politics. For example, one respondent said that “...the government only remembers us (people at the grass root level) during national elections. They promised a salary for LC representatives but the money disappears at the district council and the local leaders are cheated. Because they have no motivation, they cannot do their work diligently. Now wonder vices like child marriages are happening under their nose” (Naibooka 65).

Although the development agenda advocates for poverty reduction and equal access to resources (Escobar 2007, Ziai 2007), this seems to be frustrated at the state level by the untold corruption and misallocated policies. It is no wonder

that people's mind-sets in regards to development and poverty reduction which shaped the way peoples' reality was reimagined have become negative and the prospects of good life are frustrated since the development progress is not seen Quoted by the United Nations department of Social and Economic affairs "...economic progress is impossible without painful adjustments... large numbers of people who cannot keep up with progress have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated..." (Development and Anthropology of modernity in (Escobar 1995:4)

Whereas this was a massive plan to change the world by development theorists in the 1950s, it has not been achieved and the dissatisfaction from this has resulted into diversion towards seeking another reality.(Escobar 1995) and other options in order to survive.

Chapter 6 : CONCLUSION AND REMARKS

Engaging with the topic of child marriage for me was more than just the necessity to fill the academic gap. As a woman, once a girl who has roots in Kamuli, I observed the situation of young girls on different occasions and was inspired to do something about it. I would call it giving back to my community. But like any authentic and serious researcher, I had to first do my homework lest I fall wholly for the ‘one sided’ story about child marriage. My desire to fight for social change and the rights of the most vulnerable was one of the inspirations for this research. The research took a different direction by looking at child marriage as a result of social exclusions faced by young girls as subjects of poverty and gender expectations. This dimensional approach to the subject has not been highly ventured into.

Thus, the paper explored and analysed the different exclusionary processes through close narrations with young girls, and it was discovered that there are inevitably many issues that drive young girls into marriage. These range from issues right from within the household which are likely to make girls go into marriage for example mal treatment by stepmothers to rigid social institutions and values that define what is right and wrong, the gender expectations that have made girls bow to social pressures of being a woman, and exclusion from education as a social amenity that they are entitled to.

In addition to exclusion as a result of poverty, I looked at the lack of state welfare apparatuses and institutions that can cater for the most vulnerable groups like the orphans, widows and elderly in order to guarantee a better life. The paper also talked about the state’s role through policies such as good governance, pro-poor, which directly or indirectly exclude poor people yet disguising as development strategies.

6.1 Unexpected discoveries

I would like to debate that through interaction with the previous literature on the subject and the rich information got from my fieldwork, the role of parents as direct partakers in child marriage has been highly embellished by previous researchers (Davis 2013, Gaffney-Rhys 2011, Ouattara et al. 1998, Mganga

2009). With the aid of the framework of exclusion and gender, I sought to reconnoitre different facets to the practice of child marriage. My initial hypothesis was based on what has been written that parents and guardians have a big role they play in the marriage of their children which was conveyed to be resulting from greed and culturally constructed ideologies about gender.

However my assumptions altered and so did my initial theorizing of the problem after three days in the fieldwork and finding no respondent pointing towards parental coercion in as far as child marriage is concerned. For me, this discovery was at first implausible given what I had read. As a matter of fact I first took it as timidity from the participants but later discovered that it was indeed the reality.

This led me into redirecting my research to another area in the same district but still the responses revealed less parental involvement in the marriage of their children. In other words, after the field work I can confidently conclude that in Kamuli and maybe Uganda in general, child marriage is unlike what the earlier researchers have written and portrayed. I would say that it has been narrowly explored. From my point of view, child marriage generally is beyond simply what human eyes can see.

It is beyond negative assumptions about parents and their greed that drives them to “sell” their children. Girls opt for marriage not because they want to or forced, but because of the circumstances they are in which make marriage the only available option. I for instance refer to orphaned cases in chapter four, where girls have no fall back after their parents pass on. However even for those whose parents are alive, still their choices are limited with the high level of poverty exacerbated by their geographical locations which make it difficult to access social services, and towns where they can have an option of doing informal jobs for survival. Instead they are stuck to low agricultural yields which they can't sell beyond their own villages

Based on these discoveries, child marriage in my opinion relates to more complex institutional structures and practices such as the role of state institutions in service provision and delivery that have reinforced the practice (through corruption in service provision) and other overpowering factors which make young girls seek marriage as the only option to escape from poverty.

In other observations, I discovered that when talking about child marriage most people will immediately think of girls as the only victims. However, I discovered that boys were not impervious to the practice (in this case both partners married below 18 years). I came across such cases although these were difficult to interview during my research.

In an attempt to understand marriage today and marriage in the past, I was also brought to the understanding that today girls marry for love and have a higher percentage in choosing who to get married to unlike in the past where it was arranged between the families of the children. The respondent (*Nanyonga*) said that due to the children's rights, it is rare to find arranged marriages and therefore forced marriages are not a common practice in Kamuli. This strengthened my arguments that child marriage is certainly not really from parental coercion but a free choice made simply out of circumstances that girls find themselves. Although parents want to keep their children away from marriage until they are at least 18 years, they are not able to do so because they don't have the means to sustain them.

6.2 General Recommendations

Although there are International Conventions¹¹, regional¹² and local laws against the practice of child marriage some of these are simply documented, piled away and not enforced. According to the Uganda Penal Code, there is no independent law against child marriages. Because it involves sexual intercourse with a minor it is categorized under defilement which is punishable by death or imprisonment for eighteen years¹³. (Justice Law and Order Sector: A Study on Sentencing and Offences Legislation in Uganda; 'n.d). Assumedly, this maybe one of the reason why the practice is happening unabated on top of less information regarding child marriage at the local level.

¹¹ <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>

¹² http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/Charter_En_African_Charter_on_the_Rights_and_Welfare_of_the_Child_AddisAbaba_July1990.pdf

¹³ Chapter 14 section(129) articles (1&2) of the Uganda Penal Code Act <http://opm.go.ug/assets/media/resources/290/PENAL%20CODE%20ACT.pdf> accessed on May 19, 2015

For that reason it would be crucial to have in place a clear law against child marriage upon which fighting the practice can be based. In addition, the involvement of all institutions like parliament, judiciary, and executive in prioritizing the welfare of children, creating local mobilization and massive awareness about the danger of child marriage on sustainable development, even at the lowest levels of society is necessary.

Further, there is need for the state to provide for the citizens avenues to sustainably fight against poverty and ensure equality for all through social protection programs to help vulnerable people in the community especially orphans, widows, elderly and women. From the findings it is clear that these groups suffer the greatest exclusion and desperation because they are vulnerable and bound to succumb to anything like child marriage. Many orphaned children as per the research ended up in marrying to be able to survive and find emotional security. Widows and the elderly, who were parents or guardians to some the girls were unable to sustain them and provide for them hence making them look for alternatives in marriage. Additionally the state should diligently support local leader in sensitizing the communities about child marriage and strongly take part in protecting the rights of children by seriously enforcing the law against defilement.

For the case of Kamuli specifically there is low penetration of humanitarian NGOs working with issues of children and gender. Therefore it is still a fertile ground for proliferation of child and gender based organizations to help in creating awareness and empowering people mostly deep in the rural areas to access basic services and also involve community members in seeking strategies to end child marriages. During the research I came across only one youth drama group directly working on child marriage in Mbulamuti. However due to the magnitude of the problem, more training and education programs targeting young people, parents and local leaders are necessary help in creating massive awareness about child marriage.

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Appendix A: Interview guide for the participants (girls):

N.B Due to the reality on ground, the guide was not really followed systematically as the order below

How old are you?

How did you end up in marriage?

At what age were you?

Were you in school? IF YES

Who was paying your school fees? (Probe more)

Were you in love with the man? IF NO,

Why then did you marry him (probe more?)

Who decided you get married?

Did you try to refuse? IF NO why

IF YES HOW and why did it not work?

Why didn't you refuse?

Did your husband pay bride price? IF YES

What was it and who decided upon it?

What does your husband do?

Does he give any financial support to your family? IF YES (Probe more)

And you what do you do for a living?

Did any of your classmates go through this? OR

Do you know of any girl/woman outside your family who went through this?

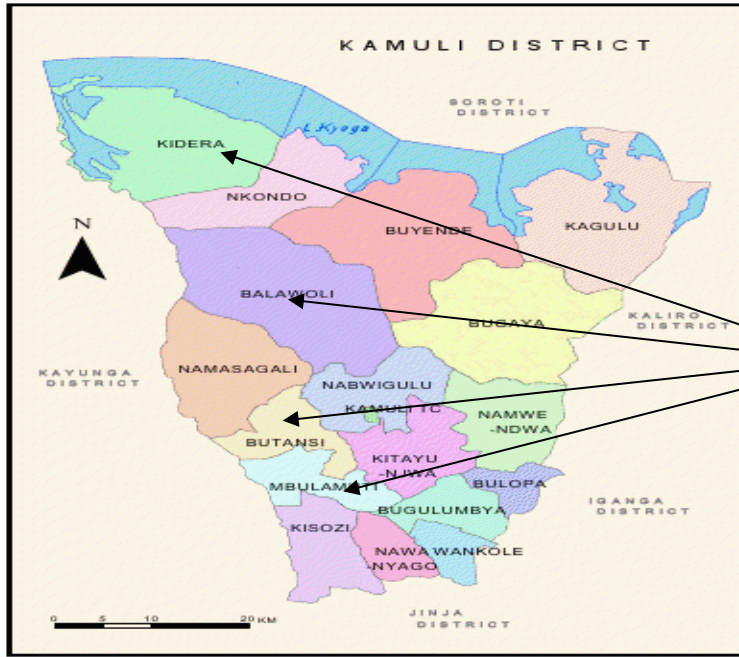
How do you find married life?

Appendix B: Table showing the list of developing countries with high child marriage cases

Number	Country name	% of girls married below 18 years
1	Niger	74.5
2	Chad	71.5
3	Mali	70.6
4	Bangladesh	66.2
5	Guinea	63.1
6	Central African republic	57
7	Mozambique	55.9
8	Burkina Faso	51.9
9	Nepal	51.4
10	Ethiopia	49.2
11	Malawi	48.9
12	Madagascar	48.2
13	Sierra Leone	47.9
14	Cameroon	47.2
15	Eritrea	47
16	Uganda	46.3
17	India	44.5
18	Nicaragua	43.3
19	Zambia	41.6
20	Tanzania	41.1

Source (Walker 2012:232)

Appendix C: Map of Kamuli showing areas where the research was done



Sub counties where research was done