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Erasmus

**ADDRESSING THE PERSISTENCE OF CHILD MARRIAGE IN
AMUDAT, UGANDA**

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List of Acronyms

CL1, 2	Community Leaders
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer.
CDO	Community Development Officer
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
ToC	Theory of Change
UBO	Ultimate Beneficial Owner
W1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Women
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities

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Abstract

The prevalence of child marriage is still persistent and practiced on daily basis in the communities in Amudat. This culturally embedded practice is an unjust violation against girls and endangers their potentials in life. Apart from the fact that these young girls are married off without their prior consent, they are seen as asset of wealth for the family. This study found that these young girls are married off in exchange of cattle paid as dowry or bride price ranging from 30 to 50 cattle. Virginity of the girl is considered a bargaining power for families. Virgin and younger girls are value more than older women and thus more dowries paid. I identified poverty, cultural beliefs and norms and gender inequality as the key socioeconomic factors that drive the persistence practice of child marriage in Amudat.

Through the use of in-depth interviews with women married as children I identified lack of financial independence, health complications, domestic abuse as some of the negative impact of child marriage. Although these consequences are known to many families the practice of child is still seen as a normal practice. The study also showed that many of women and girls are suffering in silence due to lack of opportunities to take up leadership positions to participate in decision making in the communities.

Using the lens of theory change to analyse the strategies to address child marriage, involving and integrating all stakeholders including the child, family, community leaders, civil society and government will ensure that child marriage is addressed. The integration and partnership of stakeholders will facilitate the education on eradicating outmoded norms and attitude towards girls and improve the value of the girl child.

Relevance to Development Studies

The study contextualises how girl child marriage persists and how to address it in Amudat, Uganda. The study contributes to the literature that critically analyses issues of cultural practices that violates human rights especially women and children, and the role of gender power relations in perpetuating these practices.

Keywords

Child marriage, human rights, cultural practices, bride price, dowry.

Chapter one

1.0 The narrative of child marriage in Amudat

1.1 Addressing persistent child marriage in Amudat through stakeholder consultation

This study explored and analysed the reasons behind the persistence of child marriage in Amudat and how one can address the same. I argue that colonial and post-colonial history of opposition to the government intervention in the study area and their strict adherence to their cultural beliefs and norms is a critical driver that influences the persistence of child marriage in Amudat. I also argue that despite the known harmful consequences child marriage poses to the girls, they are still initiated into child marriage due to its particular cultural value (prestige) attached, especially with girls. I conclude by using the theory of change (ToC) framework to argue that integrating diverse opinions of all stakeholders and collaborating with all stakeholders such as the child, family, community, civil society, and the government is vital in addressing child girl marriage in Amudat. It also includes negotiation with the traditional leaders to understand the need to change the outmoded cultural practices that affect the community. Finally, I argue that addressing the child marriage practice will add value and respect to the girl's life and promote gender equality and justice. I also recommend enrolling girls in school, vocational skills training, and scaling up measures to eradicate poverty to help curb the drivers influencing child marriage.

1.2 Definition of child marriage in Amudat

Marriage may appear as a simple concept mainly based on legal definitions; however, literature has shown that marriage as a practice symbolises a union that has different meanings. Marriage in traditional societies like Amudat is deeply rooted in a socio-economic and socio-cultural context. It involves the coming together of two families rather than a consensus between two individuals alone (Chinwuba, 2016:50). Understanding girl child marriage requires a complete understanding of the construct of marriage (Efevbera and Bhabha, 2020: 5-7). Child marriage is defined as “any legal or customary union involving a girl below the age of 18” (Parsons et al., 2015:12). According to UNICEF (2005:2), girl child marriage has become a significant concern in many developing countries, including Uganda. It remains a painful reality and a violation of human rights in Uganda (UNICEF, 2017:4). The 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, the Children Act, and Chapter 59 of the Laws of Uganda provide for the child's rights, including education, health, and protection from exploitation. It also notes the associated responsibilities of duty bearers to protect these rights. However, child marriage remains a threat to these rights because of its consequences on the child's health, education, and total wellbeing. According to Parsons *et al.* (2015:12), girl child

marriage remains a widespread child rights violation that impedes the socio-economic development of the child. It is a practice rooted in gender inequality and is a hurdle in a very crucial phase of a child's life, constraining their choices and fulfilment of their future goals and ambitions.

The girls involved in child marriage are not aware of the arrangements of the marriage. It is more of a negotiation between the families of both parties. Before the marriage, the girl is prepared by her family in her early years. This process begins once the girl starts to develop breasts and/or menstruate. To the Pokot community, these signs signify that the girl is ready for marriage. It also means that the legal framework mandating the girl's age to be eighteen and above is not a prerequisite for the people of Amudat. The inability of the state to enforce the laws guiding the legal age of marriage in Amudat makes child marriage persistent.

1.3 The prevalence of child marriage

An estimated 50 million girls and women alive today were married before their 18th birthday (Efevbera and Bhabha, 2020:2, UNICEF, 2018:6). In developing nations, one out of every three girls gets married before they are eighteen years old, and one out of five girls is married before she is fifteen (UNFPA, 2016: 7). According to the World Bank, citing UNICEF Uganda (2019:4), Uganda has the sixteenth highest prevalence rate of child marriage in the world and the 10th highest (787,000) in terms of the number of children in marriage worldwide (ibid.). The World Bank 2016 report indicates that approximately 36.5% of Ugandan women aged 18-22 got married before attaining the age of 15 (Male and Wodon, 2016:17). According to UNICEF (2017:2), about 36% of young girls in Uganda enter marriage before they reach the age of 15, while up to 46% enter marriage before they are 18. The high prevalence of child marriage in Uganda is an issue of concern to the Ugandan government, parents and education stakeholders owing to the adverse effects of early marriage on girl children and their rights. The situation has persisted for years, despite a law that sets 18 as the legal age for marriages. A March 2012 exposé by a Ugandan journalist Mutegeki Goffrey showed that 20 primary school girls in Kabarole district were married off in the last three months before the date of the report (Ayebare, 2020).

In traditional ethnic Ugandan communities, girl-child marriage is linked to the parental desire to protect their daughters from early sexual encounters and pregnancy to maintain the family's dignity/honour (Shomali, Dubin and Lawson, 2020). To some, girls are considered as economic assets from which families can profit. Some parents see their daughters as a source of wealth through the

payment of bride price. These girls are either encouraged or forced to marry older men who can pay the bride price (Tenkorang, 2019:49). Some scholars such as Kohno *et al.* (2020:10) also associate child marriage with family circumstances such as the insufficient provision of necessities, lack of control over girls' mobility, lack of parental care, and mistreatment of girls at home. Evidence shows that child marriage is associated with poor health outcomes, including poor nutrition, high maternal mortality, and an increased risk of HIV infection (Irani and Latifnejad, 2019:1585-1587). Child marriage is also exacerbated by cultural and religious norms, values, traditions, poverty, concerns about girls' safety and protection, lack of education, ineffective legal and policy responses (UNICEF, 2017:4).

Although the concept of child marriage can bring about positive benefits to those involved in the practice, there are several negative consequences. These adverse effects include school dropout, teenage pregnancy, and other health-related problems (UNICEF, 2017:3). Additionally, Svanemyr *et al.* (2012) argue that child marriage extends the cycle of illiteracy and poverty. Economic conditions of families and ignorance about the consequences of child marriage are critical drivers of child marriage. Household's poverty pushes parents to marry off their children for financial gains as a livelihood coping strategy. They consider it a waste keeping them in the family when they can marry them off instead for financial gains. The parents see child marriage as cost-effective where their burden is taken off with the marriage of their daughters. Ignorance of parents on the child's basic rights and the negative consequences on the child gives particular sanction to child marriage. In most patriarchal communities where child marriage is persistent, child marriage is seen as a favour to the child. The girl children who want to educate themselves and marry later in life are perceived as rebels and are frowned upon in the community (Neema *et al.*, 2021:86). This ignorance lure/pressure young girls into child marriage to gain respect for their community members. According to Walker (2012), girls who engage in child marriage have a high probability of not schooling, living in rural regions, and being unlikely to adopt any modern contraceptive techniques. This further increases the risks of a health complication for such children because in cases where they are married into polygamous families, due to the lack of health education, their ability to minimise infections (Sexually Transmitted Infections) from the side of their partners becomes questionable. The girls may not be able to secure gainful employment due to the lack of education. Consequently, they lack financial independence. Klugman *et al.* (2014) argued that there is an apparent multiplier effect of educating a girl child since women who are educated tend to be healthier, engage in more informal labour practices, earn a higher income, raise fewer children, and offer better education and healthcare to their children in comparison to their counterparts with less or no education.

The prevalence of child marriage in Uganda varies across regions. Northern Uganda, Karamoja and Amudat, recorded the highest prevalence of child marriage. This prevalence is partly attributed to the patriarchal practices of the community. The community places priority on preserving cultural and traditional values, with men exercising dominance over women.

In this community, women's rights to make decisions regarding their own lives have been taken away from them. As a result, men, usually fathers, uncles and brothers, make decisions about women and children, including their marriage (when, who and how a girl will marry). It has led to the continuous violation of girls' rights, increased child marriage rates, denying girls' right to education, and other rights (Datzberger, 2017:327). Women are also denied the right to own properties like land and cattle, which are key assets to livelihoods in the community, making women and girls more vulnerable to poverty. Important to note that Amudat is considered one of the country's poorest districts due to conflict, environmental degradation, underdevelopment, and lack of education (Efevbera and Bhabha (2020: 5-7).

The government of Uganda has not been oblivious to the challenges faced by girls in Amudat. In the last decade, the government of Uganda has made efforts to improve the status of the girl child, most notably reflected in the steps taken to increase opportunities for girls' education and to create and promote a favourable legal and policy environment for women's protection and advancement as well as children's rights (Prakash., *et al*:9-10). Furthermore, numerous pieces of legislation, such as the Female Genital Mutilation Act, the Children's Act, the Domestic Violence Act, and Penal Code Act, have all worked in collaboration to create an environment in which Uganda's girl child is protected and respected (UNICEF, 2015: 5-7). However, despite these numerous efforts by the government to end child marriage and protect the child's rights, evidence indicates that child marriage persists and is prevalent, especially in war and conflict zones such as Amudat (Schlecht, Rowley, and Babirye 2013). The Global Programme to End Child Marriage, supported by UNFPA and UNICEF, also supported the government to implement programmes to eliminate child marriage, promote rights and equity-based services UNICEF, 2017:3). While the government and other stakeholders have made several interventions to address child marriage in Uganda, the continuous practice of child marriage affects the total development of the girl child. Thus, it calls for government and other stakeholders to take a second look at the reasons for the failure of these interventions. Girl child marriage is one of the main socio-cultural factors that can influence the wellbeing of the girl child in general, especially in patriarchal Amudat rural settings where efforts are made

to preserve the culture and traditional practices. Thus, comprehending the causes, nature, and consequences of girl child marriage is very important to formulate and design locally appreciated interventions to address the problem in Amudat. Hence the study examines the perpetuating factors and consequences of girl child marriage and how to address child marriage in Amudat District in Uganda.

1.4 Study Objectives and Research Questions

1. Ascertain why child marriage persists in Amudat, despite efforts to eliminate child marriage
2. To identify the effects (both positive and negatives) of child marriage
3. To ascertain interventions on girl child marriage in Amudat district.
4. To identify appropriate local actions to address child marriage in Amudat.

Research questions

1. Why does girl child marriage persist in Amudat?
2. What are the effects of child Marriage?
3. What interventions have been implemented to address child marriage?
4. How can this problem be addressed locally?

1.5 Organisation of study

The thesis has been grouped into five chapters: Chapter one gave a perspective on the definition of child marriage according to the people Amudat that is in tension with the legal definition of the same. Child marriage is described as a union between a man and a woman regardless of age. The concept of marriage goes between the nuclear family but involves extended family members as well. The chapter also argued that the prevalence of child marriage in Uganda and Amudat is explicitly still high. There is the persistence of child marriage in Amudat because of their history of opposition to government intervention and policy and strict adherence to their cultural beliefs and norms. The main objective outlined was to identify local strategies to address child marriage. Chapter two entails a literature review of studies previously carried out in related fields to understand the study area. The chapter argues that poverty, cultural beliefs and norms and gender inequality are key factors that promote the practice of child marriage in Amudat. The chapter also argues that gender inequality influences the practices of girl child marriage in that women are

denied opportunities in decision making. Chapter three presents the methodology of the research. Chapter four presents the analysis and discussion of the results.

I found that child marriage is still prevalent in Amudat, especially during the COVID-19 lockdown period, where low-income families found it difficult to sustain livelihoods. Child marriage in exchange for cattle as bride price became a source of livelihood coping strategies. The chapter also argues that lack of freedom, poor health care and complications, domestic abuse and lack of economic independence are the effects of child marriage on the girl child. In order to address child marriage, stakeholders—including the child, family, community, civil society, and the government—need to integrate diverse views and collaborate with roadmaps to addressing child marriage. Therefore, using the theory of change (ToC) framework that is planning, participating and evaluating strategies, it will enable complete analyses of strategies of the five key stakeholder pillars: the child, family, community, civil society organisations and government that influence child marriage to promote social change.

Chapter Two

2.0 Socioeconomic factor that influence persistence of child marriage

2.1 Literature review on child marriage

This section entails comprehensive summary of previous research conducted in the area child marriage. The section summaries arguments advanced by previous studies on the factors that drive child marriage. The literature argues that poverty compels families to marry off their daughter to wealthy families to offset their financial burden and as a means of livelihood coping strategies. Scholars also argued that child marriage is so embedded in the cultural norms and beliefs of the society. This embedment has resulted in the appreciation of child marriage in the community hence the persistence of the practice. As a result of this persistence practice of child marriage literature revealed that, it has triggered responses from the Ugandan government to deal with the problems through policy interventions and public sensitisation.

2.2 Gender and power play in child marriage

This study employed Connell's (1987) theory of gender and power as a tool to analyse how gender power relations led to the practices that violate the rights of the girl child in Amudat. Power is an element of social relationships that is inextricable from related concepts of authority, influence, control, and domination (Murthy, 1998:203). Connell's (1987) theory of gender and power provides a theoretical basis for the vulnerability paradigm that defines the three social structures composing the relationship between men and women (Connell, 2013:92). These include "the sexual division of labour; the sexual division of power; and cathexis, or social norms and affective attachments around femininity and masculinity" (ibid). Connell argues that this social structural theory depicts gender and power imbalances and, sexual inequality (ibid). Social norms and affective attachments (cathexis) describe how men and women should express their sexuality. This means using the hegemonic norms of masculinity to marry girls even at young age to assert the status of marrying a virgin (Connell, 2013:11). Sexual division of labour assigns women to lower positions such as low paid jobs and unpaid reproductive roles which limit the economic potentials of women resulting in economic dependencies from men (Connell, 2013:99). This results in poverty, encouraging young girls to rush into marriage and hence child marriage. Lastly, it results in the sexual division of power that men use for their hegemonic social mechanisms to make decisions for young girls to go into early marriage to satisfy their social status in society (Connell, 2013:107).

Gender power relations imply the conventional approach of males having superiority over females. In a patriarchal society like Amudat, the dominance of males is obviously resulting in

discrimination against female children (Ademiluka, 2018:342). This superiority of men over women, makes women being on the receiving end alone. For instance, men in Amudat make exclusive decisions regarding the timing and groom of a girl. The theory was used to analyse how the decision-making process brings about gender inequality or disparity and the hegemony of men over women. the focus on the inclusivity of all stakeholders especially women, and the girl child are key stakeholders in child marriage.

2.3 Poverty

Child marriage is still practiced in Amudat and other parts of the world mainly because of several compounding factors although several interventions have been implemented to curb it.

One of the major causes of child marriage is poverty. Many parents believe that marriage is an investment in the best interests of their daughters. In other cases, children and girls can be viewed as a burden or even a commodity, a means to pay debts, settle disputes, or cement family alliances. In the context of humanitarian emergencies, economic causes take on even greater importance. Giving a daughter in marriage can provide a financial entry point for the girl's family while at the same time, also provide protection for the girl child since they are the most vulnerable in the society (UNFPA, 2012). It was also argued by Kabir, Ghosh, and Shawly (2019:291-292) in the context of Bangladesh that male children are regarded as a source of income and female children are regarded as an economic burden. To alleviate this burden, parents of female children turned to marriage as a solution. In Uganda, it was established that the girl-child brides were forced to marry at a young age because their parents disregarded girls and saw it fit to marry them so that the little money they had could be used for the other children. At times, poverty is so severe that poor families attempt to achieve economic security by marrying their young daughters to much older men in times of war or poor harvest (Yidana, 2018).

According to Aduradola (2013), there are a variety of causes of girl child marriage, including: cultural and social pressures; persecution, forced migration, and slavery; financial difficulties; politics, financial relationships and religion. In addition, Kabir et al (2019:290) associate the common causes of such high rates of child marriage to lack of employment and economic opportunities, followed by widespread poverty. There are three major forces that drive child marriages: poverty, the need to strengthen social ties, and the belief that it provides protection. Kabir et al. (2019:289) further stated that parents must ensure their daughter's financial security as well as reduce the economic burden of her position. Regarding the economic burden of girls for their families, it is believed by some communities that girls are expensive to feed, clothe, and educate, and, that there

is no output from the girls to their families after they leave the household. Marriage, in general, brings a dowry to the bride's family. It has been observed that the younger the girl, the higher is the dowry or bride price. As a result, the sooner the financial burden of raising the girl is lifted, the better (Mahato, 2016:699). Thus, poverty among families has a greater influence on child marriage. A classic example is a recent publication that showed that there is an increase in girl child marriage in Karamoja, Uganda during the Covid-19 lockdown because of an increase noted in the poverty condition (Karamoja District Assembly report, 2020)

2.4 Cultural social norms and gender inequality

According to Vaitla et al. (2017:5-7) and Bicchieri et al (2014:14) social norms are grammatic expressions in a society or among a group of people. They are unplanned (informal) results of individual interactions. These norms define what is acceptable and not acceptable in a particular society. The authors argue that the key element in sustaining social norms is the condition preference and the belief in people's conformity. They argued that social norm is a rule of behaviour that individuals prefer to conform to it. In this case the individuals believe that most of the people ought to conform to it which is a normative expectation (Bicchieri et al., 2014:14)

Based on the above definition Bicchieri et al. (2014:11) argued that child marriage is as a result of social norms. Thus, child marriage accepted by the people becomes a social norm that the people believe in.

Nasrin and Rahman, (2012:54) argued that one of the motivators for child marriage is gender inequality. There are communities from all over the world that have norms and customs that discriminate against women and girls. Cultural norms and the social pressure attached to them are one of the leading causes of child marriage.

Morality and honour are regarded as powerful motivators for families to enter into child (forced) marriages. In Islamic countries such as Pakistan, a girl's virginity is highly valued, and it is considered a shame for a family if a girl is not a virgin when she marries. As a result, in order to preserve the honour of the family and the morality of the adolescent girl, she is likely to be married before her age or sense of maturity (Granata 2015:41). This is not different from the findings of Bhanji and Punjani (2014:3) where people in the community tend to gossip about girls who are not married within their early ages. It is noted that the image of such girls is tarnished as people suspect them of having affairs. It is less of an issue for a man. In order to preserve the image of family, parents tend to marry off their girls. In many societies, including those of the industrialised countries such as China, girls who marry "late" are reviled by the community and treated as if they were

expired commodities. In fact, it is widely held that if a woman does not marry when she is young, she may never marry (Granata, 2015:42).

Girl child marriage is considered as a traditional practice in many communities and deviating from tradition may be interpreted as a risk of exclusion from the community. Thus, many families tend to continue with this practice by marrying the girl child in the name of fulfilling tradition (Brides, 2016:3). According to Save the Children (2005), cultural norms and beliefs greatly influence girl child marriage, particularly in many developing countries. Traditional values and religious beliefs in these societies prevent girls from making their own decisions and expressing their own opinions on who they want to get married to. Hence, many times the girl child marriages are a result of cultural norms and beliefs. In addition, some unexpected circumstances such as the lack of social and economic opportunities for girls and gender inequality in the education system, lead to motherhood and, as a result, dropout from school. Teenage girls who become pregnant because of unprotected sex are then pushed in getting married to the one who impregnated her in order to avoid embarrassment to their families. Some parents also force such girls into marriage to avoid taking care of the girl and her unborn child who are often considered as a burden.

2.5 Insecurity and Conflict

Studies have revealed that the rate of child marriage is higher in the areas affected by conflicts due to the insecurity and poor socio-economic conditions (Nsingi, 2016). Parents marry off their girls for the sake of safety. According to Brides (2016:3) girls who are at high risk of physical or sexual abuse are marry off by their parent at very young age believing that it is in the best interest of their daughter. Fear for a girl's safety may rise during disasters and humanitarian crises, such as conflict and fragile situations (Brides, 2016:3). For example, the child marriages became very common in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Somalia during the civil wars in these countries (Nsingi, 2016) in order to ensure protection and security of girls by marrying them, often to older men.

2.6 Programmes and policy interventions on child marriage in Uganda

The continuous practice of child marriage in Uganda has not only triggered responses from the government of Uganda but attracted attention of both civil society organisations and international organisations to help address child marriage in Uganda. Several interventions have been implemented throughout the country in the fight against child marriage through collaborations between government of Uganda and other organisations. However, these interventions have not been effective in Amudat due to the embedded sociocultural factors. The inability of these interventions to the underlying causes of child marriage in Amudat has rendered these interventions ineffective

((Brides, 2016:3). Some of the nationwide interventions implemented to tackle child marriage in by various organisations as part of the National strategy to end Child marriage include the following as showed inn table 1 below.

Table 1: Nationwide Interventions on child marriage by various organisations

Organisation	Intervention
Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community mobilization and awareness raising about child marriage • Nationwide child rights campaigns using the media • Healthcare and psychosocial support, for victims of teenage pregnancy and early marriage • Facilitation of enactment of local by-laws by traditional authorities to address child marriage
United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support to Girls Education and Child Marriage Movement activities re-entry of girls back to school • Training of formal and informal support teams in the communities to fight child marriage and FGM
Transcultural Psychosocial Organisation (TPO) Uganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community dialogues with local authorities

Source UNICEF Uganda (2015)

The table listed the key programmes and activities various organisations and government have done to tackle child marriage in Uganda. Although the objectives of these programmes are laudable, not all communities benefited from them. Because of lack of funds and qualified human resource the programmes were not implemented in full scale but in selected areas (UNICEF, 2015). Even policies implemented to protect the child in the constitution such as the Children’s acts including right to education, marriage etc are not enforced. However, campaign against FGM has been successful nationwide.

Chapter Three

3.0 How the field data was collected and analyzed

3.1 Study area

Karamoja is a region in North-eastern Uganda bordering Kenya and Southern Sudan. Karamoja is the poorest and least developed region in Uganda (Powell, 2010; Gelsdorf *et al.*, 2012). According to Mamdani (1982), the extreme poverty and poor development of the Karamoja region and its surrounding districts including Amudat are partly attributed to the uneven development of Uganda. (Daily Monitor 2012; Ayoo *et al.*, 2013:17). This profound statement by the president clearly shows the extent to which the region is underdeveloped. The study was conducted in Amudat district of Uganda. Amudat district is located in the Northern part of Uganda. Amudat District is bordered by Moroto District to the north, the Republic of Kenya to the east, Bukwa District and Kween District to the south and Nakapiripirit District to the west. Amudat, is the district capital, which is about 400km from the Capital of Uganda, Kampala. The district has an estimated population of 113,700 people (UBOS, 2011). The main ethnic group in the district are the Pokots and the main language spoken is Pokot. The community is pastoralist and agrarian and they depend largely on farming for their livelihoods. Most of the crops grown here include maize, groundnut, soya beans etc and animals reared include cattle, sheep, goats. Although most of the farming and animal rearing are for home consumption, the excesses are sold in the markets while some of the cattle are used to plough in the farms.

The community has one raining season between the months of April and November every year. According to Freeman and Nyasimi (2017), the community is extremely vulnerable to climate change, which calls for new adaptation strategies (Opiyo *et al.*, 2016:179).

In terms of governance structures, apart from the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO) who superintends over the affair of government business at the district level, there are elected assembly member, unit committee members who represent the people in various communities in Amudat district and assist the CAO in the management of government projects. Amudat District is a classical patriarchal community where cultural norms and traditions are still held in high esteem, dominated and dictated by men. In this community, women have limited decision-making power, even in matters that affect their lives and welfare. Men make decisions for girls, such as when, who and how to marry. This has led to continuous violation of girls' rights, including the right to education. Unlike boys in Amudat, girls are prevented from going to school with the simple reason of

preserving them for their future husbands. Cultural norms and traditional practices such as preservation of girls' virginity is seen as prestigious (UNICEF, 2017). Parents who are able to marry off all their girls are highly respected in the community. This motivates fathers to quickly arrange for early marriage for their girls in order to earn that respect. Many of the girls married young, with no or little education. To the people of Amudat, girls are source of wealth because of the bride price paid to the girls' family, so once a young girl begins to develop breasts, she is assumed to be ready for marriage and is prepared for suitors. Educated girls in Amudat are valued less: educated girls receive a smaller bride price (dowry) compared to girls who go through traditional early marriages. However, early marriage violates girls' rights to education and other rights that predispose girls to health and economic problems. This problem of child marriage is compounded by the female genital mutilation (FGM) which these young girls go through as part of the early marriage process.

This also means the dominance of men in all spheres in the community. This includes the segregation of duties among men and women in the community. Women and children are only assigned to household domestic duties and reproductive roles such as care for children, cooking, fetching water and firewood, garden work and building of thatch houses (28 Too Many reports, 2017). Men on the other hand are responsible for productive roles such as farming, rearing, wage labour work. This segregation of roles creates socioeconomic class differentiation which favours men. This is because men are engaged in paid work while women and children are engaged in unpaid work. This result in the control of household resources by men making women economically dependent on the men. The low socioeconomic status of women and children as a result of their lack of opportunity to engage paid work and contribute to decision making affect their agency power and potentials. The people of Amudat are governed by the elders within the community at village level with the help of the government officials that are appointed by the president like the RDC (District Resident Commissioner) and the elected leaders from the community. Family heads also play critical roles in the traditional governance in Amudat. Decisions regarding inheritance, marriage, child naming and funerals are made by the family heads. However, what is so intriguing in Amudat is that, in families headed by females, decisions are made by uncles or male heads of the extended families on their behave. This makes women and children at the receiving at the end since they do not participate in decision making. It must be noted here that traditional norms are still held in high esteem in the communities including child marriage thus making the area appropriate for the study.

3.2 Research Design

The study used qualitative methods, which according to Thomas (2010), offers high capacity for exploring the issue under investigation through the in-depth information/ knowledge and experiences supported and derived from the methodology. This allowed participant to share their feelings and thoughts. One major strength of qualitative method is that is an appropriate tool in exploring and accessing information on problems based because it gives participants the opportunity to freely express their opinion, feelings and experiences, and share personal thoughts (Creswell, 2013).

3.3 Study population and sampling

The study used purposive sampling to select participants. This method was appropriate because it allowed for the selection of participants who had adequate knowledge on child early marriage in order to solicit detail information. The participants were recruited with the aid of the community leaders and key informants. These participants and counties selected for the study were based on criteria set up for the study. Out of the four sub counties in Amudat district three sub counties namely; Loro, Karita and Amudat. These were selected because they recorded high number of child marriage in the district. These women recruited to participate in the study, were purposively selected in consultation with the key informants in these sub counties based on villages where child marriage was quite common and got married below the age of 18 years. This was to help the researcher ascertain key information on child marriage. The District Community Development Officers were selected because they work directly with women and children in the communities who report to the district community development officer (DCDO). Two elders were selected based on recommendations from the district development officer that they had in depth knowledge of child marriage and were willing to grant the researcher interviews. Also, the NGO that works on the welfare of children in the district was conducted and two staff were assigned to grant us interviews on child marriage. Prior to the data collection, the researcher had already contacted community leaders and key informants who have been working with Save the Children to assist me in recruiting participants for the study. Also, the research assistant contacted participants and they are willing to participate in the study.

The total number of participants for the study were seventeen (17) that included the following as showed in Annex table 1.

3.3.1 Five (5) Community Development Officers (CDOs) of Amudat

These people have the oversight responsibilities of the welfare and protection of women and children in the community. These participants gave relevant information on why child marriage interventions have not addressed the problem.

3.3.2 Two (2) Staff of Care International and Save the Children Uganda

This organisation also works on women, children, youth, and early child marriage in Karamoja. Also, one of the staff was married off by the parents at the age of 15 (child marriage). However, she was able to continue her education after child marriage and gave useful information of her experience. They also gave useful information on the challenges they face in implementing interventions on early child marriage.

3.3.3. Two (2) Community male elders

These are leaders in the communities who lead the members in holding onto or protecting the customs of child marriage. These participants are enriched with information on the rationale for the practice and through consultation suggested measures that can help in addressing child marriage in an inclusive and acceptable way.

3.3.4 Eight (8) women who married as children

These were women who got married before the age of 18 years old (child marriage) who shared their knowledge and experiences of child marriage. They were interviewed on their perspective of why previous interventions on child marriage could not successfully address the problem.

3.4 Research assistant/Interpreter

As a result of covid-19 restrictions I was not able to travel to Uganda to collect the data but employed the services of a research assistant. The research assistant, (Ilukol Lucy), works as a research assistant of MERCYCORPS Uganda. She has vast experience in conducting student research and is fluent in both English and the local languages (Pokot and Swahili). She facilitated the data collection by helping mobilize participants and translate to participants where necessary. In order to ensure that accurate data was collected, I was in constant contact with the research assistant via phone calls while the research interviews are conducted. I was in regular contact with the research assistant during data collection to enable and facilitate the research assistant in conducting the interviews. There was a recording of interviews which were replayed to take notes of missing data. I provided airtime, Data bundle, breakfast, lunch, Fuel and transport to allow easy movement

to the field. The research assistant facilitated in moderating the focus group discussion while ensuring that all the covid-19 health protocols of wearing nose masks, 1.5m social distance and use of hand sanitizers were strictly adhered to.

3.5 Data collection process and tools

The primary data was collected using an interview guide to conduct one-on-one interviews and narratives, focus group discussions (through which participants can share their experiences. One-on-one interviews will be used to gather data on personal experiences, narrative and knowledge about child marriage in the community). This served as data to understand the context of child marriage in the community. Focus group discussion (FGD) was also be organised to help delve and discuss intensively collective on issues regarding why child marriage interventions have not successfully addressed the problem.

3.5.1 Field entry procedure

Before the data was collected, the research protocol for the study was submitted to Institute of Social Studies (ISS) for approval. This approval letter from ISS served as a guideline on how the data was going to be collected taking into considerations the Covid-19 safety protocols. The research assistant met with the community leaders and the key informants who introduced her to the participants. She was given assurance of their support throughout the period of data collections. Participants were contacted earlier through the key informant who built a rapport with the participants. I discussed the objectives of my study to all of them and assured them of strict confidentiality of their identity. This discussion created a good rapport between us. My research assistant was in daily contact with them to check on and educated them on the health protocols of Covid-19. Also, during the data collection alcohol base sanitizers, nose masks were issued to them to support them protect against Covid-19 virus. This gesture created a family cordiality that made the data collection easier and successful.

3.5.2 In-depth Interviews

I engaged seventeen (17) participants in a one-on- one in-depth interviews on the field. Each interview lasted 30 minutes up to 1 hour. We conducted all participant interviews at their own time of convenience prearranged with the research assistant. Because of the farming season, most of the interviews were conducted very early in the morning and few in evening. The interviews covered areas broadly on demographics, narratives of experiences of child marriage, interventions on child marriage and how to address child marriage.

3.5.3 Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

A FGD is a type of group discussion involving 5-8 members usually of similar characteristics to facilitate smooth articulation of ideas. Because of the heterogenous nature of the sample population two Focus groups discussions were formed to provide a free and enabling environment for the discussion. According to Dahlgren et al. (2007) FGD is appropriate for gathering wide range of views on decision making and how people negotiate belief systems and norms. The first group comprised of 5 females to collaborate information on child marriage including, the effects (benefits and challenges) and how child marriage can be addressed in their perspectives since they have experienced it. The second focus group comprised of 5 men selected from the participants including the community leaders to elucidate their individual reasons why child marriage is persistent in the community. Information on the effects (both positive and negative effects) child marriage has on children were also discussed. They also suggested how negotiations can be done to address child marriage. The groups were formed using purposive sampling of participants based on the depth of their knowledge and experience of child marriage during the one-one-interviews.

In addition to the primary data collected, secondary data from UNICEF, Save the Children and BRAC, non-profit organisations what work in Amudat on girl child marriage were used as reference data for the analysis.

3.6 Data analysis

Both primary and secondary collected data were analysed through thematic and content analyses as guided by the research questions and supported by related literature. Thematic analysis is a reiterative technique of organising unstructured data into essential themes that make useful meaning. According to Pope and Mays (1995) content analysis is a systematic analysis of information through classification and coding and forming of groups of themes. This approach was most appropriate because the study involved different participants with varying views that need to be put in perspective for better understanding. Thus, content and thematic analyses were used to structure the diverse views of the participants.

The data were categorised into various themes based on the topics and objectives of the research. The themes include responses on why child marriage persist in Amudat and how to address it. The analytical strategy used an inductive approach which focused on the live realities of the participants who were involve in the act of child marriage and witnesses of child marriage interventions (Clove et al., 2004). The analysis process begun with the notes form the field diaries, followed by the transcription of data from the participants. Themes were formed out of these transcriptions and finally analysed using content analysis.

3.7 Risk/Ethics.

During the data collection, the research assistants sort the consent of the participants and asked them to sign the consent form. Also because of the Covid-19 pandemic, the research team strictly adhered to the health safety rule and Standard Operating Procedures such as use of sanitizers, wearing of face masks, and social distancing.

Because of the sensitive nature of the research, confidentiality, and anonymity of the participants data during and after data collection were assured and complied. Participants' identity were represented with codes (coding of names) and interviews were conducted strictly in private, that is with only the research assistant in contact with the researcher and one participant at a time. Prearrangements were made with participants to schedule a convenient time and place the best fit for the interviews. This ensured privacy and confidentiality of data. Data obtained were stored in Secure cloud storage for safe keeping.

3.8 Positionality in the context of Karamoja

My inspiration and motivation to conduct this study on child marriage in Amudat was founded on personal observation of the predicaments of vulnerable girls in Amudat and my passionate motivation to help unpack the challenges they confront in the region where I grew up.

Amudat District is one of the nine districts in Karamoja region. It is an agrarian community with few engaged in animal husbandry. Growing up in Abim District, Karamoja, which has similar cultural characteristics to Amudat District, I witnessed how extremely difficult it was for girls to attend school. In Amudat, formal education is the preserve of boys and privileged girls. I feel privileged as a girl from my community to have had a tertiary-level education, and by extension I feel passionate to help deal with issues of inequality, injustice, marginalization and violence against women, and violation of girls' rights to education (Ugandan Constitution 1995, article 34). When I supervised a girl-child health awareness and campaign against female genital mutilation got CARITAS in Amudat, I noticed how common early girl marriage is in the community.

All these challenges raise the question how can child marriage of the girl child in Amudat community will culturally addressed appropriately?

3.9 Achievements of the study

The strength of the study was the research assistant had an experience in data collection and evaluation and speaks Pokot fluently. This enabled the research assistant to relate very well with the participants especially the women who spoke only Pokot. Due to the experience of the research assistant in data collection she was able to probe questions bearing in mind the sensitivity of the

topic. The research assistant was also able to sensitise the participants on the Covid-19 health protocols before interviewing them. This was because she was part of the community advocates recruited and trained by the ministry of health to educate people on the Covid-19 health protocols. The research assistant was also from the communities that the participants were recruited hence it made it comfortable for the participants to express their opinions. In overall, the achievements were that the participants were educated on Covid-19 health protocols, the data collection was smooth and detailed due to fact that the researcher could speak the language fluently.

3.10 Limitation of the study

Notwithstanding the successful data collection, a few caveats were encountered during the data collection. One key challenge was that the period of the data collection coincided with the planting season which made it difficult to meet all participants at appointed time. As a result, interviews were rescheduled and mostly in the evenings when they had returned from their farms. There was also network challenges connection research assistant with researcher during interviews. However, this challenge was overcome by recording the interviews for the researcher to review later. Initially, the participants were very reluctant to volunteer key information with the fear that traditional elders warned them not to speak about the community to strangers. But after a detailed explanation of the objectives of the study and the assurance of their confidentiality they opened up to give detailed information.

Chapter four

4.0 why child marriage persists in Amudat and how to address child marriage

4.1 COVID-19 and Child marriage in Amudat

My study notes the negative impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the already prevalent child marriage practice in the Amudat region. The number of child marriages increased under the pandemic due to the lockdown measures implemented to curtail the spread of the virus. It resulted in the economic downturn, resulting in a decrease in the household income leading to the low purchasing power of families and food shortage. Consequently, families were pushed into marrying off their daughters for dowry as a livelihood coping strategy and lessened financial burdens (Krop, interviewed 26th August, 2021). A study by World Vision (2021:5,22) in Uganda similarly noted that the girl-child marriage increased three-folds during COVID-19 among low-income families.

The study argued that families who struggled financially see the short-term solution as resorting to encashing the 'value' of their daughters to lift their financial burden. The surge in child marriages during the COVID-19 pandemic was reported by the Ugandan media both locally and internationally (29th June 2021 by Mudangha Kolyangha). According to the FGD detailed discussion, under the pandemic, as compared to before, the bride price also dropped and could be paid in instalments that only rendered more support to child marriages. During the interview, a 45-year-old Rotich, a community development officer, stated that: *"many girls were married during the lockdown because the number of cows reduced drastically from 30 to 15 and even some 10 cows. Men were allowed to pay half and settle the remaining later. Families were suffering so they needed a way to find food"* (Rotich interviewed, 24th August 2021). Thus, the economic impact of COVID-19 fueled the increase in child marriage. Daughters as financial assets were leveraged for bride price by poor families in the dominant Pokot tribe to pay off debt and livelihood sustainability.

4.2 Is child marriage a 'problem' for the Pokot tribe?

Interestingly, the Pokot people child marriage is not a problem. According to their understanding of marriage, all girls who get married are not children but are ready for marriage. To the Pokot people, marriage is a union between a man and a woman. It is a deliberate definition of marriage to disregard age as a necessary factor in determining marriage. There is no clear distinction between child marriage and legal marriage. Child marriage is defined as marriage under the age of 18 years

according to the constitution of Uganda is not adhered to in Amudat (Republic of Uganda, 1995). The study revealed a contextual understanding of a girl child in the community rather than the legal definition of a child (FGD, 2021). According to the Republic of Uganda 1995 constitution, a child is any person below 18 years (Republic of Uganda, 1995). However, a child means a girl who has not developed breasts and started menstruation. This skewed picture of understanding a child makes them believe that there is nothing like child marriage.

Lotai, a 68 years old man who works as one of the community development leaders, stated:

"in this community our understanding of a girl child is different. Once a girl starts developing breasts and begins menstruation, she is no more considered a child" (Lotai, interview 24th August 2021).

The overall idea is that though some of the girls get married young, they are not considered children. This finding was noted by another study conducted by Efevbera and Bhabha (2020:7-10) on defining and deconstructing girl child marriage and applications to global public health. The authors found a similar perception about the practice of child marriage. This perception has been indoctrinated in the minds of the community members, including girls making it difficult for them to see anything wrong with marrying below the age of 18 years.

Pkemei, who got married as a child at the age of 15 and a mother of 3 children, emphatically stated that it is only the understanding of foreigners that consider us practising child marriage, but we do not. She stated

"I do not think there is child marriage. All of us got married when we developed breasts, so we are not children. Our grandmothers married the same way so is not bad because if you delay in your parents' home you would not get a husband" (Pkeme interviewed 20th August 2021).

In the Pokot tribe, marriage is simply seen as a crucial part of a girl's life and an integral aspect of the culture. They believe that early marriage for girls benefits them and is not an abuse of their rights. Chepkiror community leader, who is 82 years old with no formal education and has lived all his life in Amudat with nine girls, stated that,

"Marrying early in the Pokot culture is very good because they value girls who are virgin. All my daughters married as virgins and their husbands are happy for them. We don't look at age, if the girls start developing breasts, we know they are ready for marriage, so we look for suitors" (Chepkiror interviewed 21st August 2021).

To re-emphasise, child marriage is embedded in the cultural fabric of the people of Amudat as it is not only done for financial reasons. The findings also concur with research conducted by Haaland (2017:75) on Child marriage, well-being and health-seeking behaviour that showed that girls

marry very early as children because of the fear of either losing their virginity before marriage or not getting husbands when they grow older. The findings also confirm the value attached to girls who marry as virgins historically among the Pokot. Historically, the Pokot tradition frowns on older women who cannot get married, thus putting pressure on girls to get into child marriage (Efevbera and Bhabha, 2020:5-7).

The practice is common among uneducated girls compared to educated ones because they can be easily manipulated into child marriage. Hence there is a deliberate attempt to target this group of girls. Wodon *et al.* (2016) study on child marriage, education, and agency in Uganda also found similar results. The findings showed that educated girls are less likely to be engaged in child marriage because of their time spent in school and their awareness of their rights. In other words, education is an essential aspect in resisting child marriage as it contributes to better agency among women.

4.3 Child marriage ceremony among Pokots

Child marriage ceremony among the Pokots has various stages, and men in the family only make the decisions regarding marriages. According to the traditional marriage process of the Pokots, the girl child must undergo several stages before eventually being initiated into marriage. These stages include FGM, tattooing, bride price negotiation, kidnapping and breaking of virginity to prepare her for a successful marriage.

According to Efevbera and Bhabha (2020:7-10), a proposal is given to the daughter's family before the arrangements for marriage. MEN in the family decide on the proposal except sometimes mothers of the girls wish they marry, they cannot take part in the decision process but can only convince their daughters to talk to their lovers to come for them. This practice shows discrimination against women and children as they are not given the opportunity to participate in decisions that affect their LIVES. In Pokot's marriage practice, before the girl is brought to the husband's house, a traditional marriage ceremony occurs with drumming and dancing. In many circumstances, the girl is aware of the marriage arrangements, but in some cases, she is kidnapped into the husband's house. Chepnangat, 65 years old married woman with six children who was a victim of such kidnapping, shared:

“I was 13 years when I was kidnapped by my husband. I was not informed of any marriage arrangements, and I wish this process changes. I do not wish it for my children. Is very painful to be married to someone you do not know. Apparently, my father was aware of the arrangements on my blind side.” (Chepnangat, interviewed 23rd August, 2021).

It shows a clear play of gender power relations. The context of gender inequality is mostly exercised during decision making wherein only men make decisions for the family without the involvement of women and children themselves. In the Pokot culture, roles are clearly defined for children, women and men. Women are responsible for reproductive duties such as household activities and care for children. Women and children are traditionally barred from actively participating in the community and family decision-making process (Dektar et al., 2021). A study by Shomali and Lawson (2020:45) on children, forced and early marriage in Uganda noted gender inequality in the decision-making process. They also found that only men in the family took especially marriage related decisions in the family. Gender equality remains a massive challenge due to the persistent patriarchal values and norms of the Pokot that do not favour women. These values and norms suppress women and children's rights, who are seen as the property of men.

Traditionally, Pokots perceive child marriage as beneficial to them as it preserves a girl's fertility and chastity and is regarded as an honourable marriage. Thus, all the stages leading to marriage are also regarded as essential in marriage. Marriage among the Pokot people consists of a series of steps or processes beginning with the negotiation between the families of both parties. These steps were narrated and discussed during the focus group discussion by a traditional FGM practitioner, a key stakeholder in child marriage. The first step is the courage test. It involves tattooing and the removal of two teeth from the lower jaw and signifies the bravery and beauty of the young girl. The process is to distinguish the girl from her peers who are not ready for marriage. In addition, it prepares her for the next stage, involving responsibilities such as care and domestic duties. The second step is female genital mutilation (FGM). According to the tradition and culture of Pokot, girls are circumcised once they start to develop breasts. More value is given to the girls whose breasts are barely developed and undergo circumcision at this stage. Though this practice has many health implications, they believe it prevents the girls from engaging in infidelity in marriage when they travel or are away from home. Bride price negotiations and the parents' selection of a potential husband is the third stage in the marriage process. Traditionally, the bride price is negotiated by the parents of the groom/husband, and after the negotiations are concluded, the girl is just informed of their decision. It again is barbaric because the bride price paid enslaves the girl to the husband, and she becomes a bonified property of the husband. It causes abuse and discrimination against women. The fourth step entails kidnapping the potential girl by the husband's family into the matrimonial home. Most of the girls are not informed of this step beforehand. They only become aware of this arrangement during the kidnapping and try their best to escape. However, they are forced in some instances. This entire process is always accompanied by the songs praising

the girl for keeping her virginity intact. Interestingly, the married girl cannot sleep with her husband on the first night of her kidnapping; instead, she must only sleep with her mother-in-law. The final step in the marriage is breaking the virginity (hymen of the vagina) of the girl. Then, the husband must report the first sexual (penile-vaginal sex) intercourse to the family. If the husband could not penetrate the girl's vagina on the night of their first sexual intercourse, his mother insets a horn smeared with oil into his wife's vagina to enlarge her vagina opening for easy penetration by the husband's subsequent sexual intercourse. Alongside this practice, it is also worth noting that polygamy is a common practice in Pokot culture, and thus, many of these young girls are married into polygamous families.

4.3 What do they think of the transition from unmarried girl to a wife/effects of child marriage?

Several scholars have outlined the adverse effects of child marriage (Wodon et al., 2016). However, unlike other scholars who see child marriage only as a crime and the children married off as victims, the people of Amudat see them as heroines making their families and society proud. I found mixed reactions and experiences from the participants interviewed. Ten out of the seventeen participants indicated that child marriage was 'normal', including the women who had experienced child marriage.

Also, six out of the eight married women interviewed during the FGD agreed that life before marriage was simpler and more comfortable with few responsibilities at home. However, once you get married, responsibilities triple. For instance, all the eight married women stated that marrying is a different arena of life that cannot be compared to their homes.

One of the married women called Chepkite, who is 15 years old with two children and married at the age of 10, lamented,

"when I first got married, I ran back to my parents' house several times because I could not bear the work in my husband's house. But, I was forcibly sent back to my husband's house by my parents to avoid embarrassment" (Chepkite interviewed 23rd August 2021).

She indicated that she had to wake up very early to prepare food for the people to eat before going to the farm. She explained that she cooks for about 12 people in the matrimonial home compared to four people in her parental family. She grieved that marrying at that age is very sad. Five of the married women interviewed also complained of multiple tasks they have to adapt to in their husbands' homes, including travelling far distances to fetch water, fetching firewood cooking, and bathing children in the house. One of the older women, Chepnangat, who is 73 years old and married with six children also shared:

"...I got married as the third wife. The other wives see you as a slave with much energies, so they transfer all responsibilities to you. My mother-in-law told me I am the junior wife and I must perform the responsibilities. I really suffered but my husband never said anything" (Chepnangat, interviewed 24th August, 2021)

The revelation shows that women are engaged in unpaid domestic work. It consequently affects their economic independence. These findings concur with a previous study conducted by Parsons et al. (2015:15) on the economic impact of child marriage in Uganda. They found child marriage to be associated with child labour and maltreatment at work. The study also found that child marriage is associated with overburdened reproductive roles and domestic responsibilities that are not paid. In addition, it leads to a lack of women's financial dependence and over-dependence on men, which further leads to marital disputes. Some of them regretted marrying because they said their freedom was completely taken away from them. Chetech, who got married as a child at the age of 17 and a mother of eight children, stated that

".. I had 4 friends before getting married. Fortunately, my husband's house is close to my house but they prevented me from seeing my friends because they are still single saying they will influence me to break my marriage and that they are girls and I am a woman. But I do not see that because we are age mates, even one is older than me yet they call her a girl" (Chetech, interviewed 24th August, 2021).

In the Pokot community, married women do not mingle with singles because one has transited from that stage and now have a higher status in the community. Thus, making friends with singles is like you are downgrading yourself. To some women, child marriage is like a prison to thwart and truncate all your future ambitions. She continued by saying,

"when I was home though my parents were poor, I was learning beads making with my friends but after marrying I could not continue but my friend now sells beads in the market" (Chetech, interviewed 24th August, 2021).

Child marriage thus creates an environment for only reproductive responsibilities rather than a balanced environment for both productive and reproductive roles. Furthermore, it increases the financial burden of women in child marriage because the women are not educated and lack skills training; hence, they cannot get gainful employment. Also, Amudat is a deprived agrarian community that depends only on foodstuffs and animals for income. Unfortunately, the findings showed that women do not have any right to own animals and farms. Thus, it is difficult for women to earn enough income. The only means women earn an income is by selling vegetables in small quantities in the local markets. It also translates into abuse as many complain of verbal abuse anytime they ask for money from their husbands for cooking, clothing etc. It is similar to findings by Parsons et al. (2015:15) about the economic impact of child marriage in Uganda. It showed that

child marriage exacerbates the financial dependence of girls on their husbands. This financial dependence on their husbands increases the risk of violence, abuse and dictatorships.

In terms of their health care, all of the women interviewed agreed that they faced health problems in their marriage such as pregnancies complications and infections.

“the sickness is true especially when you are in a polygamous marriage. I remember I fell sick and few weeks after the other two wives also fell sick and the doctor said my sickness infected them” (Chepkite, interviewed 23rd August 2021).

Although infections are not only present in child marriage, women's lack of experience in child marriage makes it problematic. As a result, they lack the knowledge to take precautionary measures to protect themselves and other people. A study conducted by Efevbera and Bhabha (2020: 7-10) on defining and deconstructing girl child marriage and applications to global public health showed similar findings that uneducated women and girls lack adequate knowledge of reproductive health practices leading to infections and pregnancy complications. The study also revealed that multiple sex parties resulting from polygamous marriages increase the risks of infections among partners.

However, only Kocho a 39-year-old woman interviewed who married as a child at the age of 13 years with six children, said she could adjust to life in her new home and enjoy it. She mentioned the relief from financial difficulties faced in her parents' home. She responded,

“I'm financially stable, healthy and there is no shortage of food”.

To her, life is good as there is no food shortage and no fighting, and that life seems better for her after getting married. Her family too is doing well with the dowry paid to them:

“I can say my marriage was a blessing to the whole family. The dowry my husband paid, some were sold to build a house for my parents and some sold for my brother to start a business and also marry”.

Contrary to others, she said she had the freedom to cook whatever food she wanted to eat in her husband's house. It, in turn, shows that financial insecurity was the main reason for her marriage. These findings from the study also concur with findings from Neema et al. (2021:86) on the topic "Trading daughters for livestock": An ethnographic study of facilitators of child marriage in Lira district, Northern Uganda. The study found that poverty and financial insecurity of families compel them to give up their daughters out for marriage to wealthy families for livestock. Thus, it serves as one of the livelihood coping strategies for poor families. Also, the study found that low-income families usually marry off their older daughters to use the dowry paid to cater for the other siblings and the family.

4.4 What has been done so far about child marriage in Amudat?

In collaboration with non-profit organisations, the Ugandan government has implemented programmes and activities as efforts to help promote the welfare of girls. However, these interventions were not effective in Amudat due to face challenges. Nevertheless, Amudat has benefitted from a few of these programmes that have directly and indirectly helped address child marriage. The people of Amudat, especially the Pokots, are strictly secretive and conservative. They are bent on protecting their traditions and culture, making it difficult for interventions alien or against their culture to penetrate easily in the community. The aforementioned is based on the fact that some participants did not see anything wrong with child marriage. The programmes and activities by government and civil society organisations have also changed some of the people's opinions who thought that child marriage should be addressed.

For example, Chetech, a 30-year-old mother of 8 children, married at age 15 during the interview, responded that:

“it is true that our era has failed us but we need a change to help our daughters. I see many women in high positions on televisions, and I hear about them on radio, "I want our girls to also get the opportunity to get to those positions and help us develop. Look at our community is one of the poorest in the countries because we do not have people at high position to help us. Our people do not want to attend schools so we remain poor” (Chetech, interviewed 25th August 2021)

This shows that women are beginning to realise the adverse effects of child marriage and how the system has failed them. Thus, yearning for a change. However, the inability of the women to express these feelings and disappointment is a result of the gender inequality that suppress women from speaking out and taking part in decision making. This further highlights the culture of "suffering in silence" among women in the community. This finding gives a glimpse of hope that women will be able to defy the odds to use their agency to fight for their rights and their daughters in the near future. It also shows the impact these programmes are making in shifting and reconstructing individuals' opinions about child marriage by mainstreaming and intensifying the need to abolish cultural practices that are not harmful to women.

Of all the women interviewed, only two were aware of child marriage interventions and benefitted from them. These benefits include paying school fees for their daughters, providing financial support for women empowerment, and providing vocational training to women. It implies that programmes targeted at addressing child marriage are not easily accessible to everyone in the communities. It could result from fear of attacks on staff and community members who are facilitating these programmes. Thus, efforts to address child marriage are always part of the central intervention, such as girl-child education, FGM eradication and domestic violence against women. Some

of the respondents lamented how difficult it is to talk about child marriage issues in Amudat because the people do not believe that child marriage exists in their community and that foreigners cannot define who a child is. Kipalangat, a 65-year-old man community leader who is married with ten children, stated that:

“it is extremely difficult to talk about child marriage here. Even we the indigens who are enlightened cannot talk about it. It is shameful and embarrassing. We all pretend to believe there is no child marriage here. If you talk, the elders in the community regard you as a rebel to the community” (Kipalangat, interviewed 26th August 2021).

It further explains the efforts made so far and how difficult it is to implement a full-scale intervention on child marriage. However, on the other hand, it is encouraging because there is a sense of awareness among community members about the importance of addressing child marriage. Thus, the situation can be addressed with time and a deeper understanding of the complexities of child marriage's cultural underpinnings.

The efforts on girl child education are producing positive results. There is currently an improvement in the enrolment of girls in both primary and secondary schools. It prevents most of the girls from getting into early marriage as they spend more years in school. Education also enlightens them on their basic human rights, which eventually reduces child marriage. Efforts to eradicate FGM is also progressive because FGM is a prerequisite for marriage in Amudat that initiates the girl into womanhood. Thus, once a girl has not undergone FGM, she is deemed unqualified to marry. Perhaps, if FGM is eliminated, it will create a road map to addressing child marriage. Through sensitisations, advocacy and campaigns by the local government through the ministry of gender and other NGOs, the prevalence of FGM have considerably reduced. The interviews from the participants show that some programmes have been implemented as part of the efforts to address child marriage. The detailed analyses of the programmes showed the successes and challenges of these programmes. The table below shows the organisations and activities carried out in the communities. These programmes helped to understand and identify interventions that are likely to make an impact upon implementation and methods to implement them.

Table 2. Programmes on child welfare in Amudat

Organisations	Programmes	Success	Challenges
Local government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girl child education • Women empowerment training 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased school enrollment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Funds misappropriated by men in the family
Joy foundation Uganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sensitisation on child marriage • Reproductive rights and health 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduction in FGM 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No consensus with community leaders
Transcultural Psychosocial Organisation (TPO) Uganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Funds to support women • Campaign against child marriage 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficulty getting information from the people
Vision Care Foundation (VCF)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of psychosocial support, health care and legal redress 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interventions seen as dictatorship and foreign
Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) Uganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community dialogues with parents and other community members • Girl child education 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor handling of cases of child marriage by security services and legal authorities • Lack of enforcement of laws

Source: Field survey, August 2021

The above, listed the agencies and activities carried out in Amudat communities to support the welfare of girls and help address child marriage. However, the challenges are a lack of cooperation

from the local people and misapplication of resources for programmes. Therefore, to address child marriage in a specific cultural setting of Amudat, effective consultation with the local people is required. This is to enable the local people to embrace and appreciate interventions in their community and participate actively and effectively.

4.5 Ways to address child marriage in Amudat

A detailed analysis of the key drivers and effects of child marriage clearly points to the fact that addressing or ending child marriage requires both micro and macro levels approach to impact the lives of girls in Amudat. Addressing child marriage means ending child marriage practice and unpacking the cultural value placed on the girl as only worthy as a wife and making her attain a productive value in the community. The recognition of the productive value of girls will empower them to take positions that will enable them to make decisions that would benefit them and create a conducive environment to operate. Addressing child marriage also requires long-term, sustainable efforts. The change will occur within micro and macro levels if catalysed and supported by all stakeholders' collective efforts, including both local and international levels. There must be adequate allocation of resources to support programmes geared towards ending child marriage. These resources will help evaluate, monitor and coordinate efforts in order to attain full scale and impact. Acknowledging that child marriage does not occur in a vacuum gives an idea that addressing child marriage should not be isolated from broader development efforts but should involve all stakeholders in achieving its goals. For example, Chepporit, a staff of one of the NGOs during the FGD, reiterated the importance of stakeholder engagement as a pivotal point in addressing child marriage.

"...I think addressing child marriage must involve both the micro level that include the child, family and the community leaders and the macro level such as government and international organisations. The collaboration will help the local people appreciate the changes coming into the community..." (Chepporit, interviewed 25th August 2021).

All the members of the FGD supported this opinion. However, the local people often are not at the receiving end of these programmes where they are only made aware at the implementation stage. This approach does not allow the local people to express their opinions and contribute to policies' formulation. Bearing in mind the roles local people play in the acceptance and sustainability of programmes, it is thus, imperative to prioritise stakeholder engagement. According to a study by Malhotra et al. (2011:25) on the topic; solution to end child marriage, the study described stakeholder consultation with the programme's beneficiary as the most critical weapon in dealing with child marriage. The authors likened stakeholder consultation at the micro level to crucial

ingredients in preparing food. The fact that child marriage is culturally embedded in the lifestyle of the communities requires deeper consultation to unpack their perspectives on child marriage. It was reaffirmed during the FGD by Chepnangat, a 65-year-old widow with eight children. She opined that:

“.. I do not think bringing a sudden change to the community will work. We need to understand what they are bring so that we can also share our opinion. We have lived all our lives with this practice so suddenly changing it will be difficult especially our men. In this community if you are a woman who is not married at an old age people mock at you. So telling our girls not to marry early will be difficult to accept...”
(Chepnangat, 24th August, 2021)

The fact is that culture is a repeated lifestyle accepted by the people. Hence conscious efforts should be made through engagement to change their attitude towards child marriage practice. Therefore, putting stakeholder consultations at the centre at both micro and macro levels will promote inclusivity and corporations.

Based on the finding from the study addressing child, participants identified five key pillars that will influence the child's life using the theory of change (ToC) adopted from Ravi Srinivasa (2014:8) and modified to suit the case of Amudat. In addition, the study revealed that the actors responsible for addressing child marriage at both micro and macro levels include; government, parents, children, civil society, and NGOs, as shown in Figure 1.

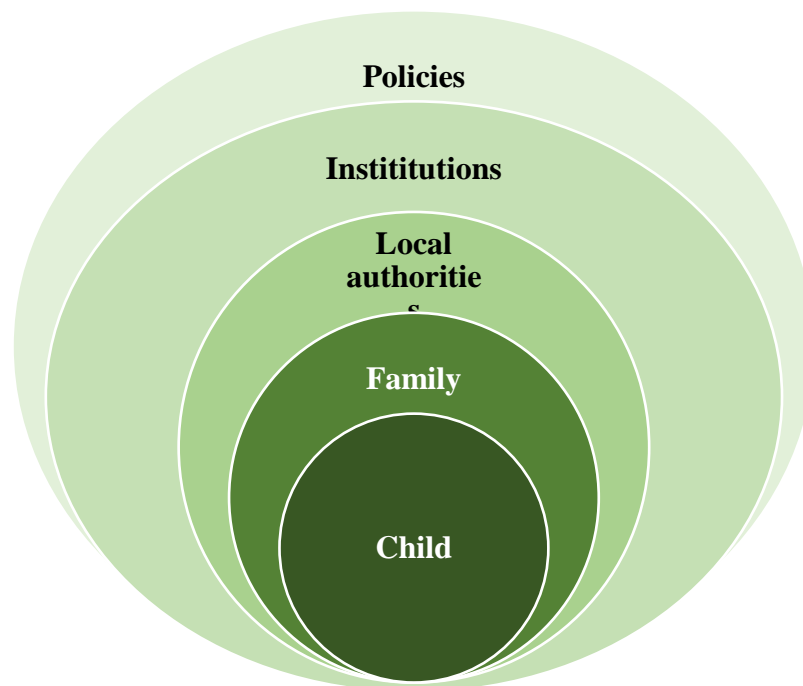


Figure 1: ToC in addressing child marriage in Amudat

4.5.1 Child Level

Empowering the girl child is an important step in building the girl's agency to make informed choices without fear or prejudice. It includes providing legitimate platforms for girls to report cases of child marriages in the community with protection. In addition, there should be an increased access to education for both married and unmarried girls to curb dropouts among them. Providing these girls with education even when they are married will help reduce poverty and illiteracy in their families, the main drivers of child marriage. Skills and vocational training should also be targeted to girls interested in these areas to help gradually fade off the culture of financial dependency on men. According to a study by Murphy-Graham and Leal (2015:24) on Child marriage, agency, and schooling in rural Honduras, educating the girl child enhances her agency power, which helps her transform the sociocultural conditions and structures that transform the constrain her decisions and actions. It means the agency power of the girl child is the primary target to initiate the process of child marriage.

4.5.2 Family Level

The family support system for the girl child forms the base support layer of the girl child. The family is an integral stakeholder in child marriage arrangements. Thus, it is essential to target the family to serve as a primary protection and support system for the girl child. Most importantly, it must be recognised that different families expose the child to different levels of risks. For examples, girls from poor families, displaced families and single-headed families are more likely to face the risks of child marriage. Thus, measures should be taken at the family level to protect the girl. This could include helping families to understand and perceive the value of the girl child. The study found that nearly all families that marry off their daughters think keeping girls at home is waste of family scarce resources, so child marriage serves to cut costs in families. Kipalangat, 65-year-old man, community leader, married with ten children stated that:

“...in my family all the girls got married early, in our family we marry off our daughters early because that is the practice. When we marry off our daughters then the bride price is use to marry wives for the men in the family...” (Kipalangat, interviewed 26th August 2021).

It implies that the family plays a crucial role in influencing child marriage. Family members try to keep to the best practices or maintain standards of the family by obliging to pressure to marry off their daughters. Therefore, families should be dialogued with to understand that girls are equally valued as boys and could be useful to the families and society if given the same opportunities. Families should be educated on the negative consequences of child marriages and the opportunity they are missing from making their girls support them develop the community through education.

4.5.3 Community level

The community form a broader platform to offer opportunities to the young girls just as the support communities give to boys. It is worth noting that the community define the practices of the people. The sense of belongingness to the community influences families to conform to the community common practice. For example, the idea of the community ridiculing girls who grow older without getting marriage pushes people to opt for child marriage. This singular act by the community compels girls to offer themselves to avoid embarrassment in the community. Pkemei, who got married as a child at the age of 15 and a mother of 3 children, stated that.

“...All of us got married when we developed breasts, so we are not children. Our grandmothers married the same way so is not bad because if you delay in your parents’ home you would not get a husband and the community mock at you.”(Pkeme interviewed 20th August 2021).

Again, there should be a fundamental attitudinal change in society towards girls and women. More efforts should be made to change the norms and values that discriminate against women and children. If this is not done at the community level, effort at both the family and the child levels will be futile. Setting up a community "watchdog" on child marriage will be very important in protecting the girl child. These people live in the community and will have information on child marriage and will not be seen as evaded but as their people. Regular dialogue and strengthening peer-group networks among the youth in the community would help address child marriage. The religious and female role models in the community should be involved in advocacy in the community. Ahmed (2015:12) argued that mobilising community support and educating the community on changing child marriage will create enabling support.

The continuous dominance of the traditional structure of governance in the community should have been restructured. Placing traditional norms and values above the constitution of Uganda serves as a stumbling block to programmes that are deviant to the culture of the people, such as the campaign against child marriage. Thus, there is the need to train these leaders to be abreast and meet the needs of today and have reverence to the constitution governing the country.

4.5.4 Institutions

Key institutions within the immediate environment of women and children would guarantee the safety of these girls. Establishing boarding schools for girls will cut them from the families and perhaps delay them from getting married early. On the other hand, this will create value for the girls and empower them to make informed decisions. Girls' welfare organisations could also serve as platforms to help girls develop their potential. Lokiru, a graduate who is 35-year-old man

married with two children, expressed the need to build strong and effective institutions to deal with child marriage:

“...we have one rescue centre, but it is not functioning well. This centre houses girls who escape from child marriage and fear to go back to their families. If the centre is well resourced, it can help train the girls.”

(Lokiru, interviewed 25th August 2021)

Burris (201) collaborated on this finding when he argued in the paper *Why Domestic Institutions Are Failing Child Brides* that institutions should be designed for the purpose, that is, to address the underlying causes of child marriage. It means institutions should give skill training, education and above protection for the girl child.

Efevbera and Bhabha (2020) also argued in the study "Defining and deconstructing girl child marriage and applications to global public health" that reproductive education reduces the likelihood of child marriage since girls are enlightened on the adverse effects associated with child marriage. Therefore, health institutions should embark on reproductive health education to equip girls with knowledge on reproductive cycles. It will help them clear the notions of breast development and menstruation as signs of maturity for marriage.

4.5.5 Policies by government

In order to implement an effective policy, it should be backed with resources to coordinate and monitor. Birth registration policies should be made accessible and easier to use, especially those in rural communities like Amudat. Ahmed (2015:13) argued that a multi-strategy approach that combines legal advocacy with child, family, and community-focused approaches would help tackle child marriage. First, build the capacity of the local people to enforce laws on child marriage. Second, deeper stakeholder consultations through dialogue with local authorities should create a road map for addressing child marriage. Kipalangat, a 65-year-old man community leader who is married with 10 children, suggested the need for policies by governments to have the full backing of the community in order to help in the implementation:

“...I am old now but the government should involve the young people to help them enforce the laws if they think child marriage is bad. The young ones have telephones they can communicate with the authority. I think this will help because child marriage sometimes is secret and is only the local people who have the information.” (Kipalangat, interviewed 26th August 2021).

It could also be enhanced through the enforcement of legal instruments on child marriage and preventing the interference of politicians. There should be coordination across all stakeholders to ensure a cordial relationship in implementing policies to address child marriage. Policies should mainstream child marriage and programmes scaled up to address child marriage.

Chapter five

5.0 Recommendations on how to address child marriage in Amudat

5.1 Strategies to address child marriage in Amudat

The prevalence of child marriage is persistent and is practised on a daily basis in the communities in Amudat. This culturally embedded practice is an unjust violation against girls and endangers their potentials in life. Thus, identifying the fundamental drivers of child marriage is very important in addressing the persistence of child marriage in Amudat. Socioeconomic factors such as poverty, socio-cultural beliefs and norms and gender inequality were identified as key drivers of child marriage. These factors are intertwined as cascades of issues that lead to persistent child marriage in Amudat. I found lack of freedom, domestic abuse, morbidity, and mortality as a few consequences of child marriage on girls. These consequences continue to persist because women and girls are denied the opportunities to participate in decision making and suggest solutions. Gender inequality emerged as a key driving force in gender parity which goes against women and contributes to the persistence of child marriage. Trading of girls in exchange for livestock appeared as a livelihood coping strategy for poor families in Amudat.

In light of these findings, I recommend that girls be enrolled in school to prevent child marriage. Ignorance and illiteracy of girls about the negative effects of child marriage contribute to child marriage's persistence practice. Enrolling girls in schools and supporting them to stay in school will prevent them from child marriage. The girls will also be enlightened on the legal marriage age of 18 years and above and work hard to achieve their future goals. Education will also serve as a weapon for the girls to decide when and whom they will marry in the future.

Parents and community leaders should be sensitised on the importance of ending child marriage through training and public education. In the context of Amudat traditions, the value of a girl is only recognised when she gets married as a virgin. Thus, it is very expedient to educate the people to understand that the girl's value goes far beyond marriage as a wife only for reproductive roles. Mentorship training and the use of accomplished women in society as role models to educate the local people to understand the power and capabilities of a girl or woman will help address child marriage. This will convince the community leaders to understand the need to seek the girl's total welfare rather than raising them as wives. Furthermore, it will help the community leaders

appreciate the value or the reward in investing in their girls in education and skills training instead of trading them for cattle.

Poverty among families and girls should be targeted and addressed at all levels through livelihood empowerment, skills training, and incentives to address the economic needs of families and girls to end the trading of girls. Household poverty is a crucial driver of child marriage in Amudat. Amudat District is one of the poorest districts in Uganda. The people of Amudat are mostly subsistence farmers with meagre yields produce. The high illiteracy rate also means that the people cannot get gainful employment in the formal sector, thus contributing to low income. These factors increase household poverty, especially the rural areas. As a result, poor families marry off their girls in exchange for the dowry to cater for their financial needs. Some families also wish to either educate or enrol their children for vocational training, but poverty pushes them toward marriage. Hence, supporting low-income families financially to engage in trading or farming will improve their socioeconomic status. It will prevent these families from marrying off their girls for economic reasons. Assisting girls to educate and attend vocational training will equip their skills for gainful employment to prevent running into child marriage for financial security.

It can also be promoted through the social intervention programme (Assistance Grants for Empowerment (SAGE) targeted at supporting people aged 65 years and above should be extended to poor households at risk of child marriage to support girls' education. There should also be a determined effort by community leaders and other influencers in the community, such as religious leaders, political leaders, and all relevant stakeholders, to facilitate the enforcement of bylaws to address child marriage. One more key finding which was typical about the people of Amudat is the high secrecy of community members in volunteering information. It has resulted in the culture of "suffering in the silence", hence promoting the practice of child marriage. I, therefore, recommend stakeholder engagement with the community members to convince them to share information to help understand the problem of child marriage. This can be achieved by first training community leaders and recruiting them to participate in civic education on the importance of volunteering information on child marriage.

Critically analysing the participants' views, it is evident that there is the need to mainstream and prioritise programmes and intervention Evidence-based intervention through the different levels of the framework should converge and integrate the common goal of addressing child marriage.

These are programmes practices proven to be effective in dealing with child marriage. This includes baseline consultation with the local people to develop strategies for implementing behavioural and attitudinal change interventions. To unpack the traditional beliefs and norms associated with child marriage, there is a need to change the attitude and beliefs of the people towards child marriage. This behavioural and attitudinal change will target the individual level, family and community level to train and educate people on the value of girls, the need to invest in their development, and see the change, not as an evasion of their culture but a way of integrating diversity to ensure development. The objective is to collaborate with all stakeholders, including children, parents, community leaders, traditional authorities, civil organisations and government, to change the norms regarding the attitude towards girls and improve the value of the girl child. It is worth stating that the end product is not only to end child marriage but by so adding value to the girl child, and provide gender equality, justice, and protect their basic human rights. Ending child marriage will not be enough to ensure that the girl child fulfils her potentials. The girl child must be seen with equal capabilities just as the boy child and should be given equal opportunities. The change should ensure a conscious effort to value the girl child and invest in her education, skills training and health. This will ensure gender equality and justice and create an enabling environment for girls to fulfil their potentials and contribute to development.

Further recommendations to address child marriage

5.1.1 Government and civil organisations

Since the people of Amudat are mostly pastoralists, they need to be supported to farm in commercial quantities. The study found poverty as a key driver of child marriage. Thus, scaling up these peasant farmers into commercial farmers will increase their income and make them financially stable. This will reduce the push for parents from low-income families to trade their girls for cattle. It could be achieved by;

1. Providing farm inputs such as tractors, fertilisers
2. Providing improved seedlings and animals
3. Giving loan facilities to farmers to hire labour to cultivate in large quantities
4. Constructing irrigation dams for dry season farming

Through the ministry of gender child and social welfare and civil organisation, the government should collaborate with the local authorities to open many satellite offices for child welfare in the district. Local people should be recruited to work in these offices to create easy rapport and access to families who need support.

5.1.2 Traditional authorities

As the custodians of the land, traditional leaders protect the values and norms of the society. However, they should be trained to accept diversity and be flexible to change certain practices that do not benefit their members and society. Traditional authorities should spearhead the change and make bylaws such as compulsory education of girls to address child marriage. Can these laws then be enforced through the community task force and families

Girl child marriage remains a global threat to the full development of girl children. This culturally embedded practice violates the basic human rights to education, right of choice of relation and above all the children's act to protect the child's welfare. The colonial and post-colonial history of opposition to government intervention in the study area and their strict adherence to their cultural beliefs and norms are key drivers influencing the persistence of child marriage in Amudat. Thus, addressing child marriage requires attitudinal change towards the girl. This will involve all the key stakeholders, including the local authorities, to understand the need to change socio-cultural norms and values. It will promote gender equality, respect for human rights and the value of the girl child.

ANNEX 1

Demographic characteristics of participants in the study

Group	Name	Sex	Code	Current age in marriage	Education level	Years in marriage	Marital status	No. children
Women	Chepoisho	F	W1	38	none	20	Married	9
	Pkemei	F	W2	29	primary	14	Married	3
	Chepkite	F	W3	15	None	5	Married	2
	Chepnangat	F	W4	65	none	45	widow	8
	Cheppureto	F	W5	14	none	3	Married	2
	Chetech	F	W6	30	none	15	Married	8
	kocho	F	W7	39	none	4	Married	6
	Chepshok	F	W8	20	primary	5	Married	3

CDOs

Group	Name	Sex	Code	Current age in marriage	Educa- tion level	Years in mar- riage	Marital status	No. chil- dren
CDOs	Rotich	M	CDO1	45	Masters	20	Mar- ried	7
	Kibet	M	CDO2	39	Diploma	10	Mar- ried	5
	Lotai	M	CDO3	40	Bachelor	5	Mar- ried	2
	Cheptoo	F	CDO4	35	Bachelors	3	Mar- ried	1

	Krop	M	CDO5	27	Diploma	0	Married	0
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NGOs

Group	Name	Sex	Code	Current age in marriage	Education level	Years in marriage	Marital status	No. children
NGOs	Chepporit	F	NGO1	32	Bachelors	5	Married	1
	Lokiru	M	NGO2	35	Bachelors	6	Married	2

Male community Leaders

Group	Name	Sex	Code	Current age in marriage	Education level	Years in marriage	Marital status	No. of children
Communty leaders	Chepkiror	M	CL1	82	None	50	Married	9
	Kipalan-gat	M	CL2	65	Primary	42	Married	10

Focused Group Discussion.

Group	Name	Sex	Code	Current age in marriage	Education level	Years in marriage	Marital status	No. children
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FGD	Wekesa	F	FGD1	14	None	1	Married	1
	Pkemei	F	FGD2	28	primary	8	Divorced	5
	Limareng	F	FGD3	17	primary	2	Married	2
	Kemboi	F	FGD4	18	None	4	Married	3
	Chepkemioi	F	FGD5	31	None	15	Separated	6
	Chemtai	F	FGD6	16	None	4	Married	2
	Chebet	F	FGD7	20	None	6	Married	4
	Cherop	F	FGD8	15	None	3	Married	2

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