- We are born to get married -

A case study exploring young men and women's understandings
and agency around (child) marriage in Iganga, Uganda

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HER CHOICE

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THE HUNGER PROJECT UGANDA

UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

Graduate School of SocialSciences

In partial fulfilment of the requirements of the

Master International Development Studies

Master's Thesis

Title: We are born to get married.
A case study exploring young men and women's understandings and agency around (child) marriage in Iganga, Uganda

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Date of submission: 14 January 2018

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

In the global development agenda child marriage is as a marriage where at least one of the spouses is under the age of eighteen. In the dominant discourse on child marriage, the practice is understood as a violation of human rights. This rights-based discourse receives criticism for being too universal and neglecting local contexts, tradition, norms and values. Critics argue that the dominant discourse decontextualizes women's lives and portray young men and (especially) women as helpless victims. Moreover, scholars argue that the bulk of literature found on child marriage is produced by, or in cooperation, with development agencies, and does not necessarily describe local, and young, people's understandings, feelings or experiences related to child marriage. Following the critiques on the human rights-based discourse around child marriage and contributing to the elimination of gaps in the literature, this thesis aims to give in-depth insight into the perceptions and agency of young people related to marriage and child marriage, focusing on Iganga, Uganda. Based on data collected from in-depth interviews, photo voice sessions and participant observations, the study found that young people consider marriage as part of their life: there is no option of not getting married. Young people have a functional view of marriage, with functions such as reproduction, economic support and providing status, and respect. The young people in this study share negative associations with child marriage and distinguish different reasons for it still occurring in their communities. Remarkable is how young people emphasize that a seemingly increasing proportion of child marriages results from the own choice of minors. Young men and women's descriptions disclose that, although they all have their own motivations to get married, dominant social and cultural norms and gender relations strongly influences these. The study discusses the extent to which young people feel able to make decisions about their lives and marriage options. The study concludes that young people should have an active role in research and development and calls for more in-depth research with local participation to enhance the understanding of child marriages. As such the thesis contributes to a better understanding of the views and feelings on marriage of young people and can support development organizations by designing practical and efficient interventions based on the voices of young men and women. The study recommends improving the role of formal and informal education in strengthening young men and women's agency in order to enable them to make decisions about their lives and exercise their agency in changing societal norms.

Key words: child marriage, early marriage, perspectives on marriage, agency, youth participation, Uganda, gender relations, social norms, decision-making, youth voices, education

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Abbreviations

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
GNB	Girls not Brides
I	Interviewer
ICWR	International Center for Research on Women
(I)NGOs	(International) Non-Governmental Organization
SDG's	Sustainable Development Goals
SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights
THP	The Hunger Project
THPU	The Hunger Project Uganda
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USE	Universal Secondary Education

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1. Introduction

Child marriage is a widespread phenomenon which endangers the healthy development and wellbeing of girls and young women all over the world. Each year, 15 million girls get married before the age of 18. Her Choice aims to build child marriage-free communities where each girl is free to decide if, when and whom she marries. Where this will be HER CHOICE
- Her Choice, 2017

Picture 1 Students within Her Choice programme prepare their dance performances on the Day of the African Child

This study consists of a case study on young people's understanding and agency related to (child) marriage in Iganga, Uganda, and took place within the Her Choice program. In this introduction, the problem statements and research rationale will be presented. Furthermore, the outline of this thesis is given (1.3).

1.1 Problem statement and research rationale

Globally the rates of child marriage are declining, especially marriages among girls under fifteen years of age. However, as illustrated by the quote of Her Choice beginning this chapter, the practice remains highly prevalent worldwide. Today, more than 700 million women married before their 18th birthday (UNICEF 2014). The rates of child marriage vary considerably within and across countries and continents, and are highest in rural sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Within countries the prevalence of the child marriage rate is highest among the poorest 20 per cent, as well as among those living in rural areas. While globally the rates of child marriages are declining, the level of child marriage among the poorest in Africa has remained unchanged since 1990 (UNICEF 2016).

Although child marriage is an issue affecting millions of young people, it is only relatively recently that the issue has moved up the international agenda. It now has is has been included in the Sustainable Development Goals under Goal 5.3: *Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation'* (United Nations 2017). Similarly, there has been more attention to child marriage in international campaigns, such as within the Girls Not Brides Alliance (GNB).[1] Hence, child marriage has now become a priority on the international development agenda. The dominant discourse on child marriage has mostly been framed by rights-based approaches of international development actors and the bulk of literature found on child marriage is often produced by, or in cooperation with, development agencies (Camfield & Tafere 2011; Callaghan et al. 2015; Murphy-Graham & Leal 2015).

Child marriage is internationally recognized as a violation of human rights in various declarations and conventions, such as: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (UNFPA 2012). Following these declarations and conventions, child marriage violates human rights because minors, being under the age of 18, are not capable of giving full consent and are considered not to be in the position to overlook the consequences of their decisions. Moreover, international development agencies recognize child marriage as a direct threat to the health and wellbeing of girls in developing countries around the world. Portraying the practice as harmful, there is a focus, within the dominant discourse, on the causes and negative consequences of child marriage, like dropping out-of-school, social exclusion, inability of gaining agency over their lives and reinforcing the cycle of poverty and gender inequality (Callaghan et al. 2015; Murphy-Graham & Leal 2015; Svanemyr et al. 2015; Wodon et al. 2016).

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[1] The GNB Alliance is an international alliance of more than 700 (International) Non-Governmental Organizations and civil society organizations from over 90 countries around the world, and strived towards child marriage free communities.

Over the years, critics emerged and the dominant rights-based discourse on child marriage has been receiving criticism for capturing mostly a Western view on human rights and being too 'universal', neglecting local contexts, traditions, norms and values (Archambault 2011; Callaghan et al. 2015). The universality of the international laws and conventions causes them to conflict with customary and religious laws, resulting in different standards nationally and internationally (Archambault 2011; Callaghan et al. 2015; Clemmer 2014; Donelly 1982).

In addition, child marriage prevention programs get criticized for oversimplifying child marriage and neglecting the complex structural and socioeconomic factors that influences the practice. The rights-based discourse that is used by these programs *decontextualizes women's lives, constructing an unhelpful dichotomy of 'victim' versus 'violator', with girls positioned as helpless victims, and parents/society as violators of their right*' (Callaghan et al. 2015: 508). In the UNFPA report (2012: 12) it is stated that 'once parents and communities understand the irreparable harm that the practice of child marriage can inflict on girls, practices can shift'. The youth themselves are not mentioned in this statement, which poses the question why youth are not considered actors of change in the view of the UNFPA. The construction of young people as passive victims undermines their capacities and their opportunities to act upon their agency (Callaghan et al. 2015). It is even argued that when there is attention for girls' voices that '*they are often a mere add-on; that is, girls' voices are deployed only to re-amplify the already-established consensus around possibilities and limitations for girls in the global south, and often serve to reinforce the solutions/programmes already in place*' (Khoja-Moolji 2016: 746).

Young people's voices are largely absent in the current body of research and literature, and young people (mostly girls) often portrayed as passive victims with little capacity and opportunities to act upon their agency. There are few in-depth descriptions of young local people's perceptions and feelings on child marriage (Callaghan et al. 2015; Hodgkinson 2016; Murphy-Graham and Leal 2014).

Hence, there is a demand for more in-depth insight in the local understandings of child marriage (Hodgkinson 2016). Following the critiques on the human rights-based discourse on child marriage and contributing to the elimination of gaps in the literature, this study aims to provide insight into the perceptions, preferences and agency of people related to (child) marriage. The study focusses on youth in Iganga, Uganda. Uganda is one the 20 countries worldwide with the highest rates of child marriage, with ten percent of girls marry before the age of 15 and 2 out of 5 girls married before their 18th birthday (Girls Not Brides 2017; UNICEF 2016).[2] A better understanding of young people's views and agency related to marriage can contribute to (inter)national youth-programs that work on these topics.

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[2] Uganda is listed as number 18 among the 20 countries with the highest rates of child marriage.

In addition, this study can contribute to the existing literature on broader topics regarding agency of young people. The research question that this study tries to answer is:

How do young people in Iganga, Uganda understand marriage and how do they exercise agency in relation to marriage decisions, in the context of (changing) community values and norms?

1.2 Thesis Outline

This thesis is organized into eight chapters. Firstly, recent debates about child marriage, youth agency, gender structures and social and cultural norms will be explained and will be reflected upon in the first chapter. Then, research questions, methodology and limitations of this research will be subsequently clarified in chapter three. Chapter 4 describes the context of child marriage in Uganda and gives an introduction to the research location. The subsequent three chapters present the data analysis and empirical findings of this study, with an in-depth description of young people's understandings of marriage in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 presents an analysis of young peoples' understanding of child marriage. Chapter 7 focuses on the perceived agency regarding (child) marriage of young people and the factors that strengthen or weaken young people's agency. Finally, Chapter 8 discusses the findings of this study and presents the conclusion and recommendations for policy and practice.

2. Theoretical Framework

> There is a tendency to contrast the children's singular 'voice' with the adult 'voice,' without acknowledging the many opinions within each group and the processes of power that ensures some 'voices' are audible and others are not.
> - Camfield & Tafere (2009:120)

As discussed in the previous chapter, the current bulk of literature on child marriage neglects the perceptions and experiences of young people. The aim of this study is to give an in-depth insight into people's perceptions, preferences, and agency around (child) marriages. This chapter presents the different theories and relevant concepts that underpin this research. First, I will discuss briefly why I choose to use the term 'child marriage' in this study. Then, universalists and cultural relativists' perspectives on child marriage are discussed (section 2.1.1). In the following section (2.2), the concept of agency is discussed, with a specific section on youth agency. Then, gender structures are discussed (2.3), and finally, the conceptual scheme that follows out of these approaches is presented.

2.1 Child Marriage

Prior to presenting the theoretical framework that guides this study, it is important to briefly discuss the term 'child marriage'. In literature on child marriage there are different terms used for the same practice, but most used are 'early marriage' and 'child marriage'. The term 'early marriage' is relatively more flexible as it is not per definition tied to a certain age (whereas countries differ in their legal definition of a child). The term 'child marriage' is commonly used in international development organizations, politics, and campaigns, which is also the case for the Her Choice Alliance and The Hunger Project Uganda (THPU). As the Her Choice Alliance and THPU use the term, it is relevant for the current study to identify how - and if - young people relate to the term 'child marriage'. As the study seeks to identify what the term child marriage means to young people in Iganda, this term was used during fieldwork, when discussing the issue with respondents. Subsequently, in this thesis, I will use the term 'child marriage'.

2.1.1 Universalists vs cultural relativists approach

The human rights discourse and practice thrived in the development sector since the mid-1990s, particularly through rights-based approaches incorporated by international agencies, multilateral agencies, United Nations (UN) agencies and local NGOs and social movements. Researchers, following this trend, focused on the many translations of these approaches in theory and practice, contributing to the dominant position of this discourse (Miller 2017). The contemporary human rights discourse is rooted in the notion of universalism and holds the assumption that local context or culture is irrelevant to universal-set rights, which are set as a standard for all people across countries and cultures (Clemmer 2014; Donnelly 1984). Scholars and

practitioners argue that violations of these rights and rules should be eliminated (Chantler 2012; Clemmer 2014; Donnelly 1984).

The dominant rights-based discourse on child marriage reflects the universalist perspective, whereas the practice is referred to as harmful according to universal standards, and thus accused of violating universal human rights (Chantler 2012). Over the years, the dominant discourses on human rights and child marriage have received an increasing amount of criticism for solely reflecting the Western understanding of human rights, not considering the importance of understanding different everyday life situations (Clemmer 2014). Critics of the human rights approach share skepticism about these supposedly universal values and the premise of universality.

Opposing universalism, cultural relativism holds that because societies differ, they also differ in their conception of human rights. In the view of cultural relativists one could not judge a practice, custom or tradition without taking the cultural context into consideration (Donnelly 1984; Reichert 2006). Universal values are critiqued for representing the values of Western societies and, with that, placing the Western values above those of the global south (Archambault 2011; Donnelly 1984; Reichert 2006). Archambault (2011) and Callaghan et al. (2015) argue that the dominant discourse on child marriage victimizes women and steals them off their agency; as the women are seen as incapable of making choices themselves. In addition, the dominant discourse on child marriage uses age as a cut-off, and thus, child marriage is defined as a marriage between two people whereby at least one of the spouses is under the age of 18 years old (UNFPA 2012). According to Chantler (2012), setting a legal minimum age for marriage carries the assumption that anyone below eighteen years is not able to give full consent. This assumption can lead into the interpretation that all marriages of people below eighteen are forced marriages: an interpretation that is often seen in international developmental organizations and which receives criticism for denying young people agency. In sum, the universality of human rights is accused of ignoring the complexity of local contexts and the cultural and societal construction of marriage and child(hood), resulting in a narrow analysis of child marriage (Archambault 2011; Bunting 2005; Callaghan et al. 2015).

In turn, cultural relativists have been criticized for failing to recognize that the universality of human rights comes forth out its universal application to all human beings across the world, regardless of race, colours, ethnic origin or social class (Durojaye 2016). Moreover, cultural relativists are criticized for protecting certain harmful practices, like child marriage, because they are embedded in a groups' cultural tradition, but meanwhile are excusing the abuse of individuals' human rights, and therefor overemphasizing the rights of a group over those of the individual (Durojaye 2016; Reichner 2006; Zechenter 1997).

Thus, what seems to be an obvious human right, can be overpowered by deeply-rooted cultural, legal, moral and religious norms. Cultural relativism often represents a challenge to the concept of human rights, because

although everyone has the human right to participate in cultural life - the human right of culture does not validate practices that cause physical or mental harm to others (Reichert 2006). For universalists, child marriage violates human rights while for cultural relativists, child marriage can be an important cultural norm with underlying motivations that should be seen in local context prior to judging the practice as harmful. Between the two radical standpoints of universalism and cultural relativism, there are various argumentations that acknowledge both cultural differences and universal norms and values. Various scholars have attempted to strike a balance between cultural relativism and universalism. On the one hand, cultural relativism can play an important role in understanding how human rights are applied to daily life, as it requires taking culture into consideration. On the other hand, universalism can serve as a check whether nations take up responsibility in striving for equal rights, linking local contexts to global regulations (Donnelly 1984; Durojaye 2016; Reichert 2006).

2.1.2 Implications for the present study

International campaigns and programs often focus on the elimination of child marriage, following the human-rights based discourse in describing child marriage as a harmful practice that violates the rights of young men and women. The dominant discourse on child marriage connects child marriage with forced marriages, as minors are not able to give full consent. However, over the years there has been more attention to the local context and its influence on the (understanding of the) practice. The section above disclosed the tension between the universalist approach- and the cultural relativist approach to child marriage. This thesis aims to provide a better understanding of the perceptions, preferences and agency related to child marriage of young people in the case of Iganga, Uganda – and thus will shine light on the tension between the universalist and cultural relativist approach towards child marriage. While using vocabulary ('child marriage') of international campaigns and programs, this thesis seeks to identify if – and how – young people relate to the term and the practice. It looks at (child) marriage and its causes and consequences through a socio-cultural framework. This study acknowledges that local contexts shape the way child marriage is understood and experienced. Hence, this study departs from a more cultural relativist approach.

In the human rights discourse, young people are often presented as passive victims. Yet, this study seeks to identify to what extent young people (feel able) to exercise agency related to marriage. This concept of agency will be discussed in the next section.

2.2 Agency

Agency has been interpreted and conceptualized in various ways in social sciences. Although there is an on-going debate about the exact definition of agency, scholars across different disciplines emphasize on the notion of agency as the individuals' ability to define goals, make (free) choices/decisions and the capacity to act upon these (Bell 2012; Kabeer 2008; Spencer & Doull 2015; Wodon et al. 2016).

As individuals' actions can either reproduce or transform social structures in society, they should be examined within these social structures (Björkdahl & Selimovic 2015; Murphy-Graham & Leah 2014). Murphy-Graham and Leah (2014) emphasize on this in their research on early marriage in Honduras, as they discovered that their young female respondents did exercise agency, although it needed to be seen in context. The choices the girls made were '*embedded in social structures and power relations that both constrained and enabled their scope of action*' (Murphy-Graham and Leah 2014:4). Ahearn (2001:112) describes agency as '*the socioculturally mediated capacity to act*', indicating that the capacity to act is context and time bound and thus will differ in different places and times. Various scholars underline the importance of studying agency in context and in relation to (power) structures and dominant norms in communities, as they are of great influence to the extent in which people feel the capacity to act (Bell and Payne 2009; Klugman et al. 2014). Moreover, Kabeer (2008:20) states that 'agency operationalizes the concept of choice' and refers to agency as an individual's capacity to bring desired forms of change in their life. She argues that this capacity to bring change is closely related with being able to leave unfavorable situations and thus is dependent on opportunities (resources) an individual has.

Individual's agency is influenced and limited by norms in society, as non-conformance of these norms can lead to social exclusion and disappointment of parents, family- and community members (Bell and Payne 2009). Social, economic, cultural, and political norms within societies have their direct influence on the way people behave and are expecting to behave. Certain expectations are placed upon people and those expectations can have strong influence on the way they behave and the freedom they experience. Thus, people's behaviors are typically influenced by their surroundings: how other people act and think others should act (Bantebya et al. 2013; Bicchieri et al. 2014). Bicchieri et al. (2014) explain these social norms as collective practices and these collective practices as clusters of individual behaviors. If we want to understand people's agency regarding child marriage, we have to understand why individuals behave in certain ways and how their individual behavior is influenced by their own beliefs, the beliefs of others, and the behavior of others. When decisions around child marriage are mostly shaped by the expectations of the community, it can be explained as a descriptive or social norm (Bicchieri et al 2014; Delprato et al. 2017). Norms in society can play a crucial role in shaping people's perceptions, experiences and behaviors.

According to Bicchieri et al. (2014) behaviors of individuals can be explained through their preferences, the options they have, and the beliefs they have about these options – and these are again influenced by the social norms in their community. The preferences, options and beliefs model of Bicchieri et al. (2014) reflects Kabeer's (2008) argument, whereby an individual's opportunities are of great influence to their capacity to act as she exemplifies '*women are more likely to voice their dissatisfaction with abusive relationships with husbands if they know […] they will not be rejected by their natal families*' (p.21). Choices of individuals depend on whether an individual has resources to fall back on, should they choose differently from the social norm. Klocker (2007) describes agency as a continuum, whereby 'thin agency' refers to decision-making and the capacity to act within a context with high restrictions: context with few possible alternatives. At the other side of the continuum 'thick agency' refers to having the freedom to act within a context with a wide variety of options. Agency, according to Klocker (2007) can be thickened or thinned, and is context-, location and time bound.

2.2.1 Youth Agency

Young people and children have often been portrayed as passive victims in international development and research (Bell and Payne 2009). For many years, children and youth have been studied without being consulted themselves. With the United Nations International Year of the Child in 1979, researchers for the first time focused on the child as an individual, with their own agency, voice and needs (Boydon & Ennew 1997; Chilisa & Ntseane 2010; Fraser et al. 2003). Over the years, young people's agency has been increasingly discussed, with scholars recognizing that young people are not just passive victims, but rather are agents in shaping their own lives and the environment around them (Spencer & Doull 2015). In doing so, young people were no longer considered 'human becomings', they are considered social beings, or 'thinkers' and 'doers' (Robson et al. 2007). However, scholars argue that within the dominant discourse on child marriage young people are still portrayed as passive victims, underestimating their capacity to act (Callaghan et al. 2015).

Spencer & Doull (2015) argue that despite the increased interest in the concept of agency, the concept has not been defined and recognized in research with young people. In various studies of young women's sexuality and sexual choices, it is argued that they have agency when they have the power to make choices and decisions that support their values (Spencer & Doull 2015) In addition, Bell (2010) explains the term 'agency within constraint', whereby the agency of young people is dependent on their interaction with their environment, the impact of social norms and values and the impact of poverty and rural location; reflecting the continuum of Klocker's thin and thick agency (2007). When examining young people's agency, it appears to be crucial to look at the links between agency, power and empowerment – with a strong emphasis on the societal structures in which these young people live (Bell and Payne 2009).

2.3 Gender structures

Like agency, gender is a concept that has been interpreted and conceptualized by many scholars. Gender is '*a complex, multilayered, and contested* concept' (Björkdahl and Selimovic 2015:168). Connell (2009) defines gender as the social construction of roles and identity that are appointed to being a male or a female. Hence, gender goes further than the biological differences of men and women. Although definitions and understandings of gender roles differ across societies, it is noteworthy that in most societies the male gender is privileged, being of higher value than the female (Connell 2009). Societies with a patriarchal tradition, like Uganda, are built upon a social system in which most power is in the hands of men and most of the decision-making and positions of power are appointed to men (Banetebya et al. 2013; UNFPA 2012). The gendered division of labor and responsibilities illustrate these gender structures, as men often have more decision-making and power in the family or community. Men are expected to provide most of the income. Women, on the other hand, are often expected to take care of the household and the children. The impact that these normative structures have is extensive, as young children are socialized to act according to these structures: young girls helping in the household or taking care of a doll while the boys help with the cattle or in the harvest (UNFPA 2012). According to the UNFPA report (2012) unequal gender norms are putting a higher value on boys and men than on girls and women, leading to less opportunities for girls to get education (as the benefits of it are not recognized) and develop themselves.

Over the years more scholars have critically reviewed the way gender is addressed in international development. In section 2.1.1 I discussed how the dominant discourse on human rights and child marriage is critiqued for being based in Western ideas. This discussion comes back strongly in the gender discussion. Callaghan et al. (2015) reason that the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals) are imposing neoliberal constructs on a concept like gender equality. Furthermore, Palmary & Nunez (2009:76) argue that development organizations have the tendency to '*teach gender to communities […] rather than to attempt to understand local gender movements*'. These critiques can be found in the critiques of Western feminists applying Western methodologies to study non-Western women. The experiences of women within formerly colonized and historically marginalized places will hardly be recognizable for non-colonized and non-marginalized Western women, resulting in difficulties of placing the non-Western women's experiences and ideas into a context or structure based on Western ideas and theories (Chilisa & Ntseane 2010). It is argued that although there has been progress in the investment in girls over the years, there is a need for a '*more nuanced understanding of gender discriminatory norms, attitudes and practices and related change pathways'* (Bantebaya et al. 2013: 1).

2.4 Conceptual scheme

In the conceptual scheme the main concepts in this study and their interrelationship between is presented. As this study predominantly looks at the understanding and agency of young people related to marriage, the concepts of young people's understanding, young people's choices and young people's agency are situated in the center of the scheme. Built upon the cultural relativist approach, this study aims to understand the practice of child marriage in context, consisting out of social, cultural and gender norms. This study argues that this context will influence the way how young people understand marriage, make choices regarding marriage and will constrain or enhance their agency (moving along the thick/thin agency continuum).

The study analyses to what extent young people feel able to make marriage choices and act upon them. As the social structures will influence young people's agency, the extent to which young people experience agency will also influence social the social structures in society, and, the practice of child marriage in the communities; the reason why there is a bi-directional arrow between their agency, and the practice of child marriage. Furthermore, the conceptual scheme shows (in)formal (SRH) education, government intervention and social organizations as efforts in changing social norms and the practice of child marriage.
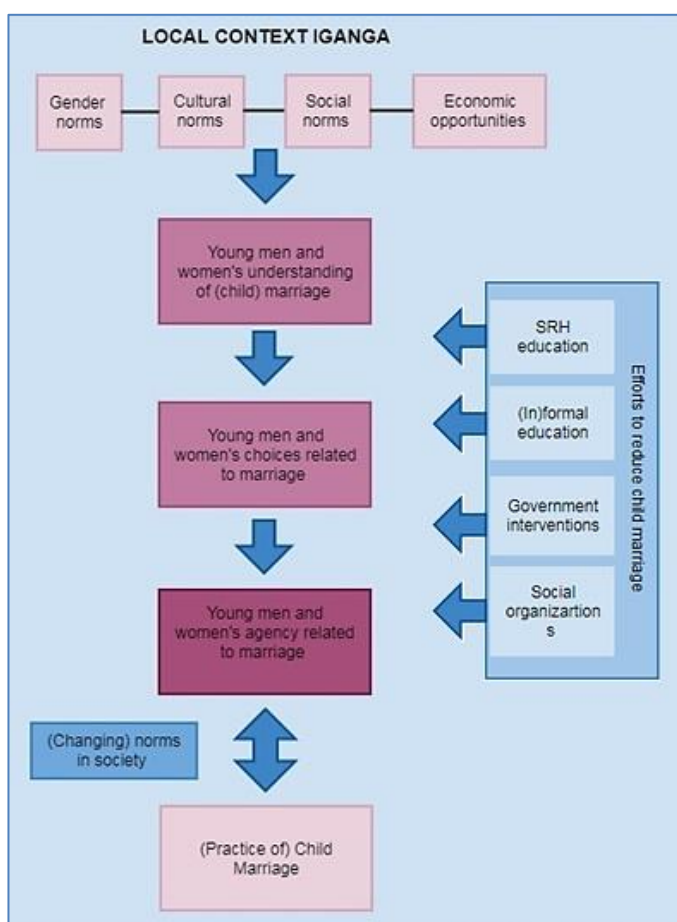
Figure 1 Conceptual scheme

2.5 Concluding remark

This chapter described the theoretical background upon which this research is built. Firstly, I use the term 'child marriage' as it is interesting, considering the tension between universalists and cultural relativist, to identify what definition young people in the case of Iganga, Uganda give to the term 'child marriage', since this is term that is commonly used by (I)NGOs, including THPU and the Her Choice alliance. Subsequently, the main debates literature on child marriage were presented, emphasizing on how child marriage are often seen from a human-rights perspective and discussing the tension between the universalist- and the cultural relativist approach to child marriage. While using vocabulary ('child marriage') of international campaigns and programs, this thesis seeks to identify if – and how – young people relate to the term and the practice. This study aims to look at (child) marriage through a socio-cultural framework, acknowledging that local context shape the way child marriage is understood and experienced by young people. Furthermore, I explored the concept of agency, emphasizing on the social structures enhancing or restricting individuals' agency. Fourthly, gender structures were discussed while emphasizing on the need for a more nuanced understanding of local gender structures. Lastly, the influence of sexual and reproductive health education on the practice of child marriage has been problematized. The next chapter will discuss the research methodology.

3. Research Methodology

When, where, and by whom should social research be done?
- Lewin (1948:37)

Picture 2 Photo voice participant in action. Picture by R.14

This chapter presents the research questions, methodology and limitations. The fieldwork took place in a period of 2.5 months in Iganga, Uganda. Firstly, section 3.1 describes the ontological and epistemological assumptions on which the research was built; the next section (3.2) presents the research questions. Followed by section 3.3, in which the methods of data-collection are described. Further, the sampling (3.4) and data-analysis (3.5) techniques are presented. The chapter closes with quality requirements for qualitative research that have been taken into account (3.6), the relevant limitations of the research (3.7) and the ethical considerations (3.8).

3.1 Ontological and Epistemological assumptions

This research is built upon the assumption that there is no such thing as one single reality and that individuals create meaning and shape their own experienced reality through their interactions with others and the world around them. This assumption is reflected in the social constructivist theory, which poses that people create their own - and each other's reality. In the social constructivist theory, knowledge can be seen as a construct of different understandings and ideas created by individuals. Social constructivism does not necessarily deny an objective reality, it rather emphasizes on the experienced different realities (Guba & Lincoln 1994). As this research aims to examine people's perceptions, preferences and agency in the specific case of Iganga, Uganda, the ideas of the social constructivist theory are relevant.

In this research, people's perceptions are perceived to be a result of their engagement and interaction with the world and the people in it. This research aims to understand young people's mindsets related to (child) marriage and what influences their understanding. It is thus important to note that the researcher and researched also will influence each other, as they explore the concept of (child) marriage. In this interpretivist epistemological approach, the units of analysis and the researcher are part of each other's reality and therefore shaping it.

3.2 Research Questions

The main objective of this research is to understand the perspectives, preferences and agency of young people related to marriage. Not through numbers, but, through real stories concerning marriage-related topics like relationships, children, sexuality, and dreams in life. In addition, the thesis aims to give insight in young people's daily lives, and the expectations that they have of their own lives and those of others. The main research question is:

How do young people in Iganga, Uganda understand marriage and how do they exercise agency in relation to marriage decisions, in the context of (changing) community values and norms?

Sub questions

The following sub questions have been formulated to help explore the main question:

- o How do young people in Iganga understand marriage?
- o What does child marriage mean to people in Iganga, and how do they see the practice of it around them?
- o What are the preferences around marriage of young people in Iganga and how do they exercise agency in relation to marriage decisions?
- o What influences young people's perceptions and agency regarding (child)marriage?

3.3 Sampling

All respondents were selected through purposive sampling. Bryman explains the goal of purposive sampling as: 'to sample cases/participants in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed' (Bryman 2012: 418). Purposive sampling means that respondents have been selected according to the focus of the research and goals of the researcher. In this study, all participants were selected on the basis of their age ('young Ugandans') or their involvement in the projects of The Hunger Project (such as with the animators, interns and peer educators within The Hunger Project). Other criteria that guided the sampling included: education (schooling and non-schooling youth), marital status (married and unmarried) and gender (male and female). The respondents were largely selected by The Hunger Project, the local organization where I stayed during my fieldwork and who have a large network of schools, youth, and volunteers. The in-school youth came from four different schools. The out-of-school youth were more difficult to find and were mostly found through snowball sampling, whereby the social networks of respondents were used to find other individuals relevant to the research (Bryman 2012). The networks of the volunteers (animators and peer educators) of THPU were also used to find non-schooling youth for interviews.

3.4 Methods of data collection

The methodologies that follow from the ontological and epistemological assumptions described above are qualitative in order to provide an in-depth understanding of the perceptions and agency of young people related to (child) marriage. This research does follow a mixed-method approach since different qualitative methods were used in order to support and complement each other: in-depth interviews guided by a topic list, photo voice sessions, non-participant and participant observations. In addition, I have studied different newspapers, articles, and pages on Facebook. The data collection took place during a 2.5 month fieldwork in Iganga. Following are sections that discuss each data collection method and the participants, whereas Table 1, 2 and 3 give an overview of the respondents. More details on the respondents can be found in Annex 2.

3.4.1 Photo voice

The quote at the beginning of this chapter (by Lewin 1948) guided my search for effective and relevant research methods. This research aimed at engaging young people in the data collection, as getting youth involved in research activities can not only help getting a deeper understanding in their daily lives, it can also empower them. Participants are able to enhance their skills in interviewing, research and (in this case) photography and participating in the research can have influence on their own lives, by becoming more aware of the choices that they make and the possibilities that they have (Nykiforuk et al 2011; Winton 2016).

The limited time of this study did not allow a full participatory action research process[3], instead the photo voice method was used to engage youth in the research activities. I have chosen to conduct the photo voice method with four groups of young people. Two groups consisted of four female students each, and two groups consisted of three young men each (see Table 1). The photo-voice methods consisted of two sessions (an additional re-take session was organized for the youth who had difficulties with the cameras).

The first session consisted of an introduction and getting-to-know-each-other exercise, followed by a discussion defining marriage and illustrated by particiapants experiences. The second part of the session was devoted to explaining the digital cameras, as very few of the participants had experience with digital cameras. Lastly, the participants filled in a small baseline survey (see Annex 4).

The participants were sent home with the assignment to take photos of what they felt 'married life' entailed and also to ask their community members (of all ages) what marriage meant to them, and to select ten stories to present in the second session.

In the second session, a week later, the students presented their pictures and stories they collected within their own communities. The first part of the question, 'take pictures of what you feel married life is', turned out to be too abstract for the participants. There were only two pictures of things they felt were part of a marriage. The other part of the assignment, 'ask your community members what they feel marriage is', was better understood, as a total of 105 small interviews with community members were held. Each participant presented their photos, as we sat around the laptop, and answered questions from me and the other participants. Together we discussed the situations in the photos and interviews, which helped me to analyze whether a story was an exception or more common in their communities. See Table 2 for an overview of respondents interviewed by the photo voice participants (from now on: respondents photo voice indirect (RPVI)), see Annex 2a for an more in-depth overview of the respondents including summaries of the interviews. In Annex 1 some of the pictures and corresponding stories can be found.

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[3] Generally speaking Participatory Action Research (PAR) is increasingly used and viewed as a good practice within international development and especially when working with youth and community-based organizations (Chambers 1997; Fals-Borda & Rahman 1991; Kim 2016). PAR focuses on the process of involving local knowledge and local people in the research.

Table 1 Background information of participants photo voice sessions, by sex (N=14)*

Variable	Women (N=8)	Men (N=6)	All (N=14)
Age			
14	1	-	1
15	1	-	1
16	3	2	5
17	2	3	5
18	1	1	2
Religion	Women (N=8)	Men (N=6)	All (N=14)
Christian	6	4	10
Muslim	2	2	4

*all in school and not married

Table 2 Background information respondents photo voice indirect RPVI

Variable	Women (N=60)	Men (N=27)	Children* (N=8)	Couple (N=10)	All (N=105)
Marital status					
Not married	6	4	8	2	18
Married	34	20	-	8	54
Divorced	15	2	-	-	17
Widowed	5	1	-	-	6
Age					
10 - 13	3	-	-	-	3
17 - 24	8	6	-	4	18
24 - 35	10	3	-	-	13
>35	13	5	-	2	20
Unknown	26	13	8	-	47

*when not specified whether boys/girls

3.4.2 In-depth interviews

Throughout the research period in-depth interviews have been conducted with young people (see Table 3) and with people involved with THPU (see Table 4). The interviews are semi-structured: allowing the interviews to be guided by the answers of the respondents. This method has been chosen because it allows participants to raise issues they feel are important, while still following a certain structured topic list (see Annex 3 for topic lists). In total 47 interviews were conducted, which all lasted between 20 minutes to an hour and fifteen minutes.

Picture 3 During interview. Picture by Anthony Musire.

As illustrated in Table 3 and 4, I conducted 47 interviews of which 32 were with young people (in ages between 13 and 24). An additional 11 interviews with young people involved with THPU, as intern or as peer educator, were conducted (in ages between 21 and 26). Furthermore, 4 interviews with animators of THPU were conducted (all above the age of 26). Table 3 shows that the majority of the young respondents interviewed were out of school (21) and a minority in school (11). Since all of the photo voice participants (Table 1) are schooling, I focused mostly on out of school youth for the interviews. Most of the young respondents are not married. Initially it was the intention to have a more equal division between married and not married respondents, however this was not possible unfortunately (also see 3.7 Limitations).

Most of the interviews were conducted in English, in most cases with support from Anthony[4], Lilian or Joan[5] When respondents did not understand me, or the other way around, they supported by translating Ugandan English to European English and vice versa, or translate from English to the local language Lusoga and vice versa. Four interviews have been conducted in Lusoga by Lilian and afterwards translated and analyzed together. All interviews took place at the house, school, or workplace of the respondent.

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[4] Anthony is an animator at The Hunger Project Uganda and has helped me greatly with my research. He connected me with the bulk of my respondents, drove me around on the motorbike and helped when needed with translations.

[5] Lilian and Joan lived with me in the compound. Both were doing a two month internship at The Hunger Project Uganda. They have helped me with the interviews but also with cross-checking data and were always available for clarifications and answering many of my questions. Lilian has done some interviews on her own, which we later transcribed and analyzed together.

Table 3 Background information of respondents in interviews, by sex (N=32)

Variable	Women (N=16)	Men (N=16)	All (N=32)
Schooling status			
In school	6	5	11
Out of school	10	11	21
Age			
13	1	-	1
16	2	1	3
17	3	1	4
18	2	2	4
19	4	3	7
20	1	6	7
21	2	-	2
23	1	1	2
24	-	1	
Marital status			
Not married	13	15	28
Married	3	1	4
Religion			
Christian	10	9	19
Muslim	6	7	13

Table 4 Background information of THPU interns, animators and peer educators, by sex (N=15)

Variable	Women (N=11)	Men (N=4)	All (N=15)
THPU status			
Intern	6	-	6
Peer educator	2	2	4
Animator	2	2	5
Age			
21 - 26	9	2	11
>26	2	2	4
Marital status			
Not married	4	1	5
Engaged	3	1	4
Married	4	2	6
Religion			
Christian	10	3	13
Muslim	1	1	2

3.4.3 Participant observations and informal conversations

> It is my first night at my compound. Two Ugandan female interns are also staying in a room in the compound. At night I join them in their room for some food and together we watch a Nigerian movie. It is a movie about a cheating husband. While we are watching the movie my roommates explain to me about the procedure of getting married in Uganda. They tell me about the visitations or pre-visits whereby the man visits the family of the woman before they go into the official introduction. […] They tell me anecdotes about the introduction ceremonies they've attended, and we discuss cheating.
> - Excerpt field notes July 3rd.

During the 2.5 months in the field I have spent a lot of time with the two young women, mentioned in the excerpt above, and other Ugandan colleagues and friends, who were always available for questions, clarifications and cross-checking the information I got from my respondents. These interactions were not only a lot of fun; they provided information of great value. The informal conversations, as well as daily observations in the field, helped form a better picture of the situation in Uganda and made me conscious of my own presumptions and those of my respondents. It turned out to be one of the most important parts of the study: having informal talks and observing what is actually happening within the lives of young female Ugandans. Since I was living in Iganga district, the district where the research took place, staying in the compound of THPU, being around women of my age, I could join into a lot of activities and conversations. These interactions made that I was able to observe how young women (mostly the interns of THPU and their friends) dealt with issues as gender inequality, unfaithfulness, and the pressure to get married. Crucial for these observations and informal conversations is making accurate field notes and maintaining a field diary and logbook and so every night I kept track of my observations.

3.5 Data analysis

All interviews and photo voice sessions were recorded and digitally stored on an external hard drive and on an online storage site. I tried to transcribe as much as possible while in the field, however, due to limited time I only transcribed the photo voice sessions and difficult interviews, the ones with a lot of background noise or respondents with strong Ugandan accent, within a few days after the interview or photo voice session took place. The interviews held in Lusoga were translated and analyzed while still in the field. Upon arrival in the Netherlands I did the transcribing of the remaining interviews.

Most of data analysis took place in the Netherlands after returning from fieldwork. For the data analysis I started with coding the transcriptions in Atlas.TI. I did several 'rounds' of coding, starting with open coding (without pre-defined categories). The open coding exposed the first general patterns and corresponding concepts and themes, which enabled me to start with thematic coding and grouping of similar themes and concepts. This was partly done in Atlas.TI and partly by hand by printing out interviews and organizing the quotes by different themes. These themes and concepts were, among others: 'definition of marriage', 'positive association with marriage', 'gender structures', 'living together before marriage' and 'youth as actors of

change'. All pictures that were made during the photo voice method, as well as the field notes and articles, were linked in Atlas.TI.

3.6 Research Quality

To evaluate the process of data collection I used five criteria for qualitative research, as defined by Lincoln and Guba (1985): credibility, transferability, dependability, conformability, and authenticity.

Credibility of the research is gained through cross-checking the findings of the research with either the respondents themselves (respondent validation) or by '*using more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena*' (Bryman 2012: 392). The latter is also known as triangulation. As described above this research made use of different qualitative methods that can complement each other and help ensure triangulation of data. Moreover, I did not only conduct interviews with young Ugandan's, but also with other actors who are in close contact with the target group: the interns, peer educators and animators of THPU. This gave me the opportunity to cross check if certain findings were also seen by the interns, animators and peer educators.

Transferability is described as the way the findings can hold in another context, but Bryman (2012) argues that for qualitative researchers, it is better to focus on giving a 'thick description'. This means that qualitative research findings should be presented within a detailed description of the context. By linking findings to the context, certain meanings can be connected to those findings that may not have been found without knowing the context. In terms of this study, the 2.5 month stay in the study area allowed for an in-depth description of the experiences and views of young people in the specific local context – which could be representative for young women and men in similar settings. Moreover, the thick description allows readers to judge themselves whether the findings are transferable to another location, setting or time (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

Dependability, described as auditing of the research, was ensured by keeping detailed records of all phases of the research. All interviews and photo voice sessions were recorded and during all of them I kept notes to make sure that I did not miss important information. The photo voice sessions were transcribed the same day; the interviews were partly transcribed when still in the field and partly transcribed upon arrival in the Netherlands. Preliminary findings and reflections on my research were shared with both of my supervisors (academic and local). However, I acknowledge that this study is very context- and time- specific.

Conformability, or complete objectivity, is not possible when doing social research. However, the period of fieldwork allowed for critical reflections on my personal values that could possibly influence the data collection, analysis, and findings. As a young researcher from a different background than the respondents, it is important to be critical about my own values and background and how that influences the research. During interviews and the photo voice sessions I did sometimes struggle with my own values and the stories I heard

from the respondents. Depending on the situation I sometimes chose to stick to being the listener (as illustrated in the excerpt below), and sometimes to name the differences I noticed in their experiences and views on it – and those of mine. After such an encounter I reflected on how I reacted and discussed it with some of the THP-colleagues, in doing so and learning from it, and striving for greater conformability.

Authenticity is described as contributing to the interest of the research' participants and the wider political impact of research. In terms of fairness, authenticity is found in this study by representing young peoples' voices and in the provision of an in-depth insight into the perceptions and feelings of young people on (child) marriage. In terms of ontological and educative authenticity, participants of the photo voice sessions were encouraged to look at their own social environment from an researchers perspective which possibly enhanced their understanding of it. Moreover, the participants of the photo voice were encouraged to listen to the stories of their community members; helping them to appreciate the perspectives of their community members better (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

3.7 Limitations

In every research there are limitations which need to be taken into account. In this section I emphasize on the main limitations.

3.7.1 Changed research question

The initial idea of this research was to study young people's understanding of (child) marriage, and the role that the Her Choice-related activities of THPU had on their perceptions. The Her Choice-related activities were not yet executed on a regular basis, which made it impossible to measure the effect. Hence, in consultation with my supervisors from THPU and Her Choice, I decided to change the focus of the study: focusing on the understanding and agency related to (child) marriage of young people, with support of the statements and interviews of the THPU animators and interns. Although the revised research- focus and question build on the already collected data (avoiding wastage of resources), revising the research- and interview questions meant I did not ask all respondents the same questions, which may have led to loss of valuable information.

3.7.2 Own position as researcher

For different reasons me being a young, white, Dutch, and female researcher will have had some effect on the research and its outcomes. Firstly, because I and the interviewees came from different backgrounds, we sometimes had assumptions that could lead to incorrect or incomplete stories. For instance, interviewees would assume that I knew about certain traditions or aspects of a marriage and thus not tell me about it or vaguely mention it. This was the reason why I asked each interviewee what they mean by certain concepts like 'visitation', 'dowry' (bride-price), 'coupling' and 'cornering'. I as a researcher also had my assumptions. For

instance, when I was interviewing a woman and there were children running around. My interviewee told me she had children and I asked her if the children running around were hers. She replied that they were. I assumed that these children were her biological children. However, later I found out that my interviewee was their aunt, her biological children were not around. In Uganda, children are often not considered to be just from the mother and the father, so also aunties will call them their children.

A consequence of my position of being a young (white) female researcher is that some male interviewees did not tell me about their wife, fiancée, or girlfriend because they did not want to, in the words of my Ugandan colleague, 'blow their chance' with me. At different occasions I later found out that a male interviewee did not tell me the truth about his marital status, so there is a chance that there are some incomplete interviews.

In addition, I needed to be aware of how I positioned myself between being an independent researcher and being linked to The Hunger Project and the Her Choice alliance. Since they strive for child marriage free communities, respondents might have been hesitant to openly support child marriage. One of the animators was interpreter during some of the interviews while wearing a Her Choice t-shirt with text supporting the abandoning of child marriage – this might have had influence on the answers respondents gave.

3.7.3 Language barrier

Language formed a barrier in this study. Most interviews were conducted in English. However, the English I spoke differed from the English of my respondents. Anthony, Lilian and Joan helped me in the interviews with clarifications or translations. Moreover, Lilian solely conducted some interviews in Lusoga, which were translated and analyzed together afterwards. However, it is likely that certain things were not interpreted or translated in the correct way resulting in the loss of some of the information.

3.7.4 Sensitive topic

Lastly, dealing with sensitive topics like (child) marriage and relationships it was sometimes difficult for respondents to talk about these issues. From one of my interviewees I found out that he had a child which he did not tell me about during the interview. After asking him, he did tell me about the girl that he impregnated when she was 16 while he was 18. He also told me about the threats from her parents to put him in jail. He was hesitant to tell me before because it was a sensitive topic for him. Fortunately, he felt comfortable enough to tell it later and agreed on including this in his interview. However, it is possible that there are more stories that do not represent the reality and respondents did not give the complete truth because it was difficult for them to do so (too sensitive to talk about for instance).

3.7.5 Photo voice method

The photo voice method did not only expand the amount and quality of data, it has also proved to be a productive, time-efficient way of capturing young people's voices. However, the photo voice method also

brought some challenges. Firstly, there may be a bias in the photo voice as most participants collected 'bad' stories, and other stories were seen 'as not even interesting' (see Annex 1 picture 5). Secondly, although the photo voice resulted in a great amount of additional qualitative data, derived without interference of an 'outsider' researcher, it also made it difficult to keep an overview. Especially because the photo voice participants did not asked their interviewees the same questions, which I did not want as I did not want to direct them. However, this meant that the bulk of qualitative data collected through the photo voice method included very many and different topics and thus was difficult to categorize in the relatively short time for this thesis.

3.8 Ethical considerations

For this study the foremost point of attention was not to do any harm. As child marriage can be a sensitive topic to talk about for people and I am dealing with young people, I needed to be aware of the unintentional effect my research and questions could have on the informants and communities. During interviews, the photo voice sessions, and some informal encounters, I would not express my view on issues in order to avoid offending any of my informants, and give them, or other community members, the impression that I thought something was right or wrong. During the fieldwork I tried to position myself as a non-judging and open listener. I tried to build up trust between me and my respondents and made it clear to them that I was doing this study as part of my Masters and that I was not there as part of an organization or to judge them.

Because of the sensitivity of the topics, I ensured that the interviews took place in a quiet setting, preferably away from friends and family who could influence the answers of the respondent. Also, I ensured all respondents that everything said would be confidential and that they would not be called by name in the report.

To ensure the participants in this research felt comfortable, all respondents were fully informed about the research and its process. They were informed that I would change their names and that would avoid as much as possible any other possible identification in the report. Also, they were informed that they could withdraw themselves at any moment in the research. In addition, respondents were free to choose not to answer specific questions and leave the interview or photo voice session at any time. All of the above was discussed at the beginning of an interview or group meeting. The participants of the photo voice also signed an informed consent, the interviewees gave it orally. No one in the study refused to give consent.

4. Research Context

Child marriage is mostly in the villages because they [village people] don't have the knowledge. The knowledge about [that] a child is not supposed to be married […] That is why they still do not care and marry off their kids. But, in towns, people have the knowledge. Now, that people [in towns] have been taught of their rights. If I am a child [in town] and my parents are trying to marry me off, I know I have a right. […] And in town, if my neighbor sees they are marrying me off when I am still young, they can easily go to the police and tell this woman is marrying of her child. So, even the community will be like: 'that is not right'. In town people know that.

- R. 3 young woman

Picture 4 View from THPU office in Iganga town

This chapter provides more insight into the research context. In section 4.1 general information on Uganda is given, including information on the educational system and the national legal context of marriage. Section 4.2 provides information about The Hunger Project Uganda. Lastly, I explain more about Iganga, the actual research area (4.3).

4.1 Background information Uganda

Uganda is a country in East Africa, landlocked by Kenya in the East, South Sudan in the North, Democratic Republic Congo in the West, Rwanda in the South West and Tanzania in the South. Uganda has four regions: Central, Western, Eastern and Northern and there are 111 districts, excluding the capital Kampala (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2016). Uganda is considered to be a low income country, according to Worldbank data (2017). The country has a total population of an estimated 34,6 million people, with 33% of the population being young people below the age of 19 (National SE Framework 2017). According to Worldbank data, 84% of the population live in rural areas of the country and the other 26% reside in urban areas (Male & Wodon 2016).

In the 1995 Ugandan Constitution the official language is English, however it is also stated that any other language can be used as 'a medium of instructions in schools or other educational institutions or for legislative, administrative or judicial purposes'. Uganda has a population that is characterized by a diversity of ethnic and religious groups. In terms of religion, Catholics are the largest religious group (40%), followed by the Anglicans (32%) and Muslims (14%) (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2016).

4.1.1 Education in Uganda

Child marriage is believed to be a cause and a result of lower educational attendance and illiteracy (Delprato et al. 2016; Kalamar 2016; UNICEF 2015). Increasing school enrolment and creating more accessible education opportunities is one of Ugandan's strategies in preventing child marriages. Education is considered to be an efficient intervention in preventing marriage among young women and men as the median age at first marriage is higher among the better educated (Kalamar et al. 2016; UNICEF 2015).

Uganda's education system consists of seven years of primary education, four years of junior secondary education, followed by two years of advanced or senior secondary education. Tertiary education entails between three and five years. In 1997 the government introduced Universal Primary Education (UPE) and offered free primary education. Primary education was not made compulsory, and was not entirely free, since parents still have to provide for books, uniforms and supplies. UPE resulted in an increase in primary school enrolment: from 3.1 million in 1997 to 7.6 million in 2003, which equals with an increase of 145% (4.5 million children) compared to the increase of 39% (0.9 million) between 1986 and 1996 (ODI 2006; Omoeva & Gale 2016). In addition, the number of qualified primary school teachers increased by 32% (from 144,832 in 2005 to 191,217 in 2014) (UNFPA 2015).

In 2007, Uganda became the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to introduce Universal Secondary Education (USE), whereby the government pays schools annually around UShs 141 000 (around fifty USD) per student. Other costs, school fees, uniforms, supplies and meals are not included and must be provided by the parents or guardians. Selection of USE policy secondary schools has been done by Uganda government. Parents are free to send their children to any secondary school, they also may send their children to schools that do not take part in USE policy. USE has not resulted in a great growth in enrollment rates (Omoeva & Gale 2016). However, Ashankha & Takshi (2011) argue that the enrollment rates to public secondary school of girls from poor households did increase.

4.1.2 Legal Context Child Marriage Uganda

Uganda has ratified the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) as part of the law. The UNCRC specifies the age of childhood as under 18 and it is postulated that no activity, such as a marriage, should compromise a child's education. In addition, the 1995 Constitution of Uganda sets the minimum age for marriage at 18 and the Penal Code (Amendment) Act (2007) section 129 illegalizes child marriages. The government of Uganda has ratified other international conventions as part of this law: International Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), African Charter on the Rights of the Child and the Children's Act. However, the law did not have a great effect in reducing child marriage as it remains an important part of cultural and religious traditions. In her paper on early marriage in Kenya, Archambault (2011) argues that the (international) laws and conventions are often conflicting with customary and religious laws, resulting in different standards and customs international, national, and local. The Ugandan Penal Code forbids child marriage, yet Ugandan's Marriage Act of 1904 permits young people under the age of 18 to be married with parental or guardian consent (UNICEF 2015).

The legislation around child marriage has been accompanied with numerous interventions and campaigns in Uganda over the last decades. In 2015, the Ugandan Government launched the National Strategy on ending Child marriages and teenage Pregnancy 2015 (UNICEF 2015). The strategy, developed in collaboration with social organizations, is a five-year plan that strives for a child marriage and teenage pregnancy-free society. The strategy focusses on policies, laws, empowerment, sexual and reproductive health services, education and protection, changing 'dominant thinking and social norms related to child marriage in the communities', among other things (UNICEF 2015:13).

4.2 Her Choice alliance & The Hunger Project

This study was conducted within the framework of the Her Choice program, and although the present study is independent from the Her Choice alliance and The Hunger Project Uganda (THPU), it is relevant to emphasize that all data has been collected while working within the Her Choice structure and with THPU, particularly within the Iganga office.

Her Choice, an alliance of four Netherlands-based organizations, works with 32 local partner organizations in 11 countries in Sub Saharan Africa and South Asia, striving for child marriage free communities and increasing decision making power of young people on their marriage. The University of Amsterdam is one of the partners and primarily involved in research.

In Uganda many efforts have been made in ending child marriage, Her Choice being one of the initiatives working towards child marriage-free communities. The partner organization of Her Choice in Uganda is The Hunger Project Uganda.

The Hunger Project is defined as a global, non-profit, and strategic[6] organization that strives to '*a world where every woman, man and child leads a healthy, fulfilling life of self-reliance and dignity*' (The Hunger Project 2015a: 1). The Hunger Project (THP) works at grassroot level and strives in meeting local challenges and opportunities from a foundation of three essential pillars: empowering women as key change agents, mobilizing entire communities into self-reliant action and fostering effective partnerships to engage local governments (THP 2015b:1). THP works on these pillars through 'epicenters': clusters of rural villages that work together on their community-led strategies to meet their basic needs and priorities. An epicenter covers and mobilizes the inhabitants of villages within a 10 km radius: creating an epicenter. These epicenters work on a 4-phased program which ideally results in a self-reliant epicenter after eight years. An important aspect of the program is the work of the animators: local volunteers that work within their community.

The Hunger Project Uganda has been operating since 1999 and has established 11 epicenters that serve 494 villages with a total population of 287,807 (THP 2017c). Iganga is one of these epicenters.[7] Iganga is currently in Phase 3 of the 4-phased program. In Phase 3, the community is planning the transition to self-reliance (Phase 4). Iganga epicenter covers 30 villages, with a total population of 29,163 (NGO Aid Map 2017). The Hunger Project Uganda has worked together with the Her Choice alliance since 2016. This collaboration strengthens THP Uganda's mission to empower women through community action.

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[6] THP explains that they are strategic, because they try to meet every challenge and opportunity and reinvent themselves every time to meet these challenges.

[7] The other epicenters are: Bulamagi, Kenshunga, Kiruhura, Mbale, Namayumba, Kiboga, Kiringente, Mbarara, Mpigi & Wakiso

4.3 Research site

My fieldwork took place in the Iganga district (1,019 km²/393 sq mi) . Travelling to Iganga from Kampala can take up to eight hours, depending on the traffic. From Kampala there is a highway (A109) going all the way to Tororo, which boarders Kenya. The Iganga District lies between Jinja (famous for the source of the Nile) and Tororo in the South-Eastern Region of Uganda. It consists out of 3 counties, 19 sub counties, 115 parishes and 695 villages, that a total population of 499,600 (UBOS 2009).

The district accommodates diverse tribes, with the bulk of people being Busoga. The common language spoken is Lusoga (local language of the Busoga) and Luganda (most spoken language of Uganda, local language of the Buganda). In the Iganga district most income is generated through agriculture, approximately 80% of the households are engaged in agriculture. The sub-region of Busoga comprises of a number of districts in the south east corner of Uganda, to the west of the Nile, with its capital in Jinja. The Busoga are estimated to account for around 8% of the total population of Uganda.

I stayed in Iganga town, but the research took place mostly in the villages in Iganga district. The epicenter (building) of The Hunger Project Iganga is situated in sub-county Nakalama. The photo voice sessions and most interviews and observations were conducted in the villages in Nakalama. A total of six villages in five different parishes and 2 sub counties have been visited for the research.

Figure 2 Map of Iganga. Left: Iganga's position in Uganda, right: Iganga

4.3 Concluding remark

This chapter presented the research context. First of all, general information about Uganda presented emphasized on the diverse population and the language spoken. The chapter discussed the educational system of Uganda, relevant because education appears to play an important role in relation to the practice of child marriage. The educational system has changed due to governments' interventions such as the UPE and USE. Further, the chapter discussed the legal context of child marriage in Uganda, which shows a contradiction in Ugandan law as The Ugandan Penal Code forbids child marriage, but the Ugandan's Marriage Act of 1904 permits young people under the age of 18 to be married (UNICEF 2015). Lastly, the chapter gave insight into to THPU, and the actual research site of Iganga.

5. Defining marriage

People look at marriage as something that is normal. I hear people say that in the Bible they have verses where they say 'you go in the world and you produce'. So that's what they consider. We are born to get married. If you don't get married you don't qualify to be a man or a woman.
- R.20 young man

Picture 5 Participants photo voice ready to go into the field

In this chapter I present the understandings of marriage of young people in Iganga. The chapter starts (5.1) with a discussion of definition respondents give of marriage. I discuss the different steps towards marriage and different types of marriage as distinguished by the respondents. Secondly (5.2), I discuss different functions respondents appoint to marriage. The last section (5.3) presents the negative and positive associations youth have of marriage.

5.1 Young people's general understanding of marriage

> It is a marriage when a women and man come together to become husband and wife. To form a family.
> - R.33 young woman

All young people (in- and out-of-school, married and unmarried) in this research describe marriage as a union between two people: a man and a woman. Most of them stated immediately that the aim of such a union is to start a family and produce children, as illustrated in the quote at the beginning of this chapter.

5.1.1 Steps towards marriage

Respondents distinguish different types of marriages (see section 3.1.3), but these all appear to share the first steps in the process towards a marriage. Below I give a short description of these different steps: starting from having a relationship up to the actual marriage.

Pre-marital relationships

Friendship between boys and girls is accepted until they reach adolescence, as respondents explain that when an adolescent boy and girl sit apart from others the community believes them to be in love. Respondents explain that it is commonly not accepted to have pre-marital relationship, and that it therefor is common for young people to seek each other's company in secret.

However, in an informal conversation, two men (R.20 young male peer educator and an adult man who has not been interviewed) explained that although taboo, having a pre-marital relationship is also expected of young people. According to them, the pressure to marry for, especially, young women is high and for this reason, parents worry when they do not hear rumors about the romantic life of their child by the time they are twenty. Parents expect these kinds of rumors about their children because it means that their child has interest in the opposite sex and thus 'is normal'. The men argue that parents do not show their satisfaction with their child and urge them to finish school first before engaging in romantic relationships (Informal conversation 20/07/2017 Iganga).

Moreover, respondents in interviews easily shared whether they were in a pre-marital relationship and did not seem to be afraid to acknowledge if they were. The photo voice also showed the ease in which young people acknowledge relationships, as the photo voice participants presented multiple pictures and interviews of young people in a pre-marital relationship.[8] Although young people emphasize on pre-marital relationships being taboo, they are relatively open about their relationships among peers and community-members (and outsiders, like myself). This implicates that it is especially common to hide a pre-marital relationship for parents.

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[8] See Annex 1 story 32

For young men, the process towards a marriage starts at making a move; asking a girl they fancy if she is also interested, in the words of male respondents called '*cornering*' a girl. A girl that is 'cornered' has agree upon being in a relationship with the young man. It is remarkable that respondents link pre-marital relationships almost immediately with pregnancies, which therefor indicates that young people start having sex, and that using protection during sexual activities is not common. Also, one of the respondents told me about the saying in Lusoga: '*Sweetie owo mukavera tawooma*' which can be translated as 'A candy that is wrapped, you can't enjoy'. The saying is used to say that with a condom, the sex feels less good and implicates that the use of condoms is not only uncommon; it is also resisted by young men.

Pre-marital relationships thus have a function in fulfilling sexual desires. Moreover, according to respondents relationships have a function of taking care of each other: when you have problems you can share them and you take care of each other. In addition, for girls having a boyfriend can help getting (material or financial) things they need or want.

Courtship

When in a relationship the couple starts with what respondents describe as courtship: a period in which the couple is in a relationship, mostly kept secret, to 'study' each other. In addition, they agree and plan for their married life.

> So first you go to courtship. You get to know each other's religion, tribe, everything. You can spend one year or two years: that is courtship. After that you plan for introduction.
> - R. 9 young woman during photo voice session

Living together before marriage

The following step can either be marriage or a period where they live together before they enter the process towards a marriage. Living together before marriage[9] appears to be increasingly common, mostly because of a lack of money for the introduction and marriage ceremony. It also appears to be more accepted by the families and communities, as illustrated by the excerpt below. The respondent below is one of the peer educators, a young male living together with his girlfriend and their child. They live in the same village - and nearby - his family:

> I: Is it common here? To do what you are doing, to live together and not be married?
> R: Yes, I think it is due to poverty. Many people want to do the introduction but it requires money, because you cannot just go and approach the parents of your fiancée with not having money.
> - R.18 young male peer educator

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[9] Interesting is that only the interns, all female University students, describe 'living together before marriage' as an actual step in marriage, which they call 'co-habiting'. A practice that appears to be mostly known on University campuses, as boyfriends and girlfriends live together on campus without having introduced their partner to their parents.

His story does not stand on its own as three other young married respondents acknowledge not having done the ceremonies. They do all express the desire to do so in the future. Respondents express how it is socially desired to do the ceremonies, but also acknowledge that it is difficult to do so (mostly because of poverty) and therefor it is common for young people to live together before being married. The following excerpt illustrates this dilemma:

> I: So do you do an introduction and wedding or is that not necessary?
> R: For me, I cannot go for introduction or wedding because I will not have the money for it. But it is a must here, but for me I do not have the money; it is not the priority.
> I: Is that accepted in the community? To take the girlfriend without marrying or introduction?
> R: It is accepted.
> I: People will see you as married?
> R: Yes.
> - R.60 young man

Visitation

The majority of young people in this research underline the importance of consent of parents within marriage. Without consent you are '*stealing a girl*' and thus not showing respect to her family.[10] And thus, after courtship, a visit of the family of your partner is considered: called the pre-visits or visitations. Some of the respondents emphasize that both partners (male and female) should visit the family of the other, however most of them focus on the man visiting the family of the woman. One young man explains:

> They [my parents] talk to the elders of the girl. My work was to persuade the girl, their work [work of parents] is to persuade the parents of the girl. After them talking to the parents of the girl and they accept. Then the parents of the girl will say: 'now, we want this, this and this'. All that what they want is dowry [bride price[11]]
> - R. 49 young man

During the (pre)visits the family members of the woman decide if they agree with the marriage or not. If they do agree, they discuss the bride price.

Introduction

If both parties agree on the bride price, the couple and their families prepare for the introduction, explained by the quote below:

> Introduction is when your father and mother, when your close relatives come together to enjoy what the husband has brought for them. He brings for them sugar, drinks. He can carry everything: cooking oil, rice. In Uganda now, we bring cows. And then drinks.
> - R. 40 young woman

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[10] See also Annex 1 picture 22
[11] All respondents used the term 'dowry' indicating the payment of the groom or his family to the family of the woman; which is internationally known as 'bride price'.

The introduction is described as a big happening: it is as important as or even more important than the actual wedding ceremony. During the introduction the family of the husband brings the bride price during a festive ceremony. Some families agree on receiving only a part of the bride price if the husband and his family do not have enough money for the full bride price. Some families also accept a delay in the introduction: they then have agreed upon the marriage and delay the official introduction so that the husband gets more time to gather the bride price.[12]

Wedding

Respondents are less specific about what happens after the introduction. According to some, most couples wait a couple of years after the introduction before they go for a wedding ceremony. Others state that a lot of couples do not go beyond the introduction. Nonetheless, the majority of respondents state that after an introduction you are supposed to go for a wedding, revolving mainly around the marriage contract, which proves that they are legally married.

Due to the marriage contract, respondents consider a marriage to be a more serious bond between two people, than a pre-marital relationship. According to the respondents, a marriage is also more difficult to break up: '*with boyfriend and girlfriend for you, you love each other but when you get tired, you leave. Then when you are married, you love each other for life. The boyfriend and girlfriend can quit and leave for another*' (R. 60). However, data also shows that a divorce is actually quite common, considering that 17 stories of the photo voice participants included divorced people (see Annex 2a).

5.1.2 Types of marriage

Respondents describe three types of marriages, distinguished by the method of wedding. First, there is the church wedding, also known as a religious wedding, whereby the couple marries within the church or mosque.[13] There is the traditional wedding (also called custom, social and community based) whereby the couple marries within their community and mostly at their house or in a shrine. Then there is the court wedding (also called law or civil wedding) whereby the couple marries within the court hall. The latter is the least mentioned and known by respondents, some respondents had never heard of it. Most respondents talked about the religious wedding: in a church or mosque.

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[12] I have attended an introduction (in another part of Uganda – but it appears to be the same) whereby the official introduction was years after the couple started living together – and had children together.
[13] Respondents use the word 'church wedding' for both Christian as Muslim weddings.

5.2 Reasons for marriage

> I: Would you like to get married?
> R: Yes, but not now.
> R: In the future we shall.
> R: One is born for that. You cannot avoid that. We are future mothers.
> - During photo voice Group 18/07/2017

All young people interviewed considered marriage to be an important, if not the most important, part of life and did not see an option not to get married, which is illustrated by the excerpt above. The following sections will elaborate on this perception of marriage and discusses the different functions of marriage respondents distinguish.

5.2.1 Marriage for producing children

All young people in this study referred to the function of reproduction when asked about marriage, where not having children in a marriage automatically leads to problems. Not only will it lead to problems within the marriage, it will also harm the position one has in society: '*If someone is impotent and not producing children; that person will not be respected in the society*' (R. 38 young man). As reproduction is commonly only accepted within marital union it is a logic order for the respondents: you get married and then you have children. However, it often happens that a pregnancy precedes marriage, which then again is a reason to get married: '*by bad luck, you conceive and get pregnant. So you have to go and get married*' (R.7 young woman).[14]

According to the respondents, children are necessary in a marriage because of the status and respect it brings. In addition, respondents argue how children are a way of leaving something behind when you die: children as your legacy on the world. Another function of producing children respondents mention, is having extra labor (on the farm or in garden) and domestic force: '*another thing is also that when someone is married, that person stands for her chances for producing children who can help that person in the future*' (R.51 young woman).

Not having children in a marriage

All young respondents in interviews (N=32) and all participants of the photo voice (N=14) consider a marriage without children as a failed marriage, or did not answer or were not asked the question (see Figure 3).
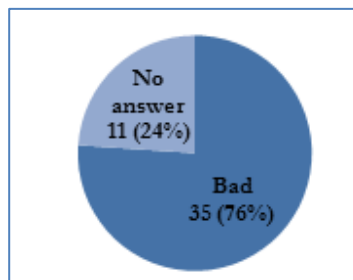
Figure 3 Respondents in interviews and the photo voice participants' opinions on marriages without children (N=46)

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[14] Also see Annex 1 picture 8, 14 and 25

Young people feel pressure to have children and, on the other hand, state that they fear it because of the responsibility (mostly the young men) and the pain during labor (young women). In a childless marriage, the woman mostly gets blamed for not producing children, and is also the one suffering the greatest consequences. That is, when a married couple delays to have children, there is a risk for the woman to be mentally and physically abused, by her husband and by her community members and there is a great risk that her husband leaves her or marries a second wife. The following story, collected by a photo voice participant (R.29) illustrates the severe consequences of not bearing a child and the high pressure put upon young women to have children.

Picture 6 Abused women (RPVI.95) for delaying in giving birth with her, later born, five children. Picture and photo by R.29

She got married in 2007, she was 13 years. She faced problems; the situation that she is in since she is married is bad. The mistreatment of the man [her husband], the man wasn't giving enough care. The lady delayed in giving birth, and the man [her husband] came home with a knife and speared it in her eye.

Picture & story by R.29 young man, about his interview with RPVI.95

The interviewed woman (RPVI.95) was thirteen when she got married and did not produce children in the first years of her marriage. Her husband physically abused her by spearing her eye. She still is married to her husband and did produce children: she now has five. The insulting of women who do not produce are common, as almost all respondents agree that not-producing women will be made fun of and physically and mentally abused by their husbands, family members and community.[15]

Moreover, asking young male respondents what they would do if they would not have children in their marriage, the majority answered that they would either leave their wife or marry a second wife. In these conversations the functionality of marriage and producing children is reflected in the use of language, as appears from the following excerpt of an interview I had with a young man, asked what he would do when his wife did not produce children:

> Respondent: On my side? I get another one [another wife].
> I: Will you keep the first one [can the first wife stay in your family/under your care]?
> Respondent: Yes, I get an extra [wife] who can produce children.

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[15] Also see Annex 1 picture 12 and 30

I: Is it always the woman that cannot produce?

Respondent: For me, when I have a problem [of not producing] I can solve it. But when it is woman, I add. I try, but if it is impossible, I leave [the marriage] and get someone else [another wife].

- R.47 young man

The excerpt illustrates a certain pragmatism when discussing marriage and having children. It also illustrates that the blame of not having children is primarily appointed to the woman. Remarkable is that a few of the respondents noted, alongside the respondents above, that if the man is infertile there are more solutions than when the woman is. They did not mention what kind of solutions (and I did not ask).

Some of the respondents explain marriage as an agreement between families, one family takes in the daughter of another family by paying bride price, where the bride price is payment for children born out of the marriage: '*because, let's assume someone paid the dowry [bride price] and the woman is not producing, […] we know that the reward to a smaller extent [after marrying the wife] of bride price is children, that one [not having children] automatically brings separation*' (R.51 young woman). The quote underlines the pressure on young people, but especially young women, to have children in a marriage. Young men experience more pressure in gaining income and providing for their family, which will be discussed in the next section.

5.2.2 Marriage for economic support

Young women in this study often refer to marriage as a way of economic support, whereas young men speak about the responsibility to economically support their families a marriage puts upon them. Female respondents commonly express their happiness in their marriage in terms of being provided for and young men express according to their ability to provide for their family. As the following quotes of photo voice participants illustrate:[16]

> She has five kids, she got married when she was 18 years old. She loves her husband because he is able to provide her with what she needs. And she is happy to be married with that man.
> R.23 young woman

> He got married when he was 20 years. He is happy because in his family there is happiness, he loves his wife and child. He can give support to his wife and child.
> - R.24 young woman

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[16] Also see Annex 1 picture 26, 27, 28 and 29

5.2.3 Marriage for status and respect

Lastly, respondents describe marriage as a condition in gaining status and respect within their communities. Marriage is seen as something that you should accomplish in order to be seen as a successful man of woman. The young people in this study appear to be very conscious of it: *'when somebody is married, that person gets respect'* (R.51 young woman).

The perceived status and respect a marriage brings to a person in a community is reflected in the fear of young people not to marry. For respondents it is hard - if not impossible - to imagine a life in which they would not get married. All respondents mention negative consequences of not marrying: from being teased and called names up to physical abuse. Not marrying appears to have more negative consequences for women and they are expected to marry earlier, as most of the respondents share the idea that women should marry around or before their 25th birthday. Respondents argue that especially uneducated unmarried women of 25 years or older will be called names and experience abuse[17], which reinforces the feeling of young women that they must marry: *'they start abusing you, if you are not married in Uganda. So you like it or not, in Uganda you have to get married'* (R.19 young married woman). Most of the young people could tell stories about unmarried women (or men) that got mentally abused, whereas physical abuse seemed to be more by hearsay. Community norms on marriage are strong, as exemplified by the following excerpt of a discussing during a photo voice session:

I: What happens when a women doesn't marry?
Female, 18: Problems, conflicts.
Female, 17: Abusing here, around, waiting her to get married, engaging her in prostitution because she is not married and doesn't belong to one man [physical abuse and rape by male members of community].
Female, 16: They'll ridicule the parents.
Female, 17: Then you don't fit in the society.
- during photo voice session 18/07/2017

The excerpt illustrates the mental and physical abuse, even going as far as rape. It presents the idea that a woman belongs to one man and if she deviates from that idea, she runs the risk of being abused. It also illustrates how parents are being ridiculed because their child has not married, and thus are also blamed. For men, the pressure to marry appears to be lower and the consequences less serious.[18]Although not being married as a grown man is seen as not succeeding as a man; the abuse appears more teasing: *'[Laughs] Sometimes they call you thief, impotent, they will find funny words for you. They will call you funny words'* (R.57 young man).

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[17] see more in section 7.1.1 when to marry and 7.4.1 role of education
[18] See also Annex 1 picture 16

5.3 Marriage is: 'death indeed' vs 'enjoying without fear'

> There is no happy stories about marriage
> -R.8 young woman

As all respondents state that marriage is an inevitable part of life, it is remarkable that a small majority of respondents, and especially young women, share more negative than positive associations with married life than positive associations. Table 5 presents an overview of the young respondents in interviews (N=32) and their more positive or negative association with marriage. The quote above illustrates the negative association on female respondents has with marriage. Furthermore, in their interviews, the THPU-animators, interns and peer educators also shared the belief that young people in their communities indeed think negatively about marriage.

Table 5 Young people's more positive or negative associations with marriage, by sex (N=32)

Variable	Positive	Negative	50/50	No answer	Total
Women (N=16)	3 (18.5%)	6 (38%)	3 (18.5%)	4 (25%)	16
In school	2 (33.33%)	2 (33.33%)	2 (33.33%)	-	6 (100%)
Out of school	1 (10%)	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	4 (40%)	10 (100%)
Men (N=16)	7 (44%)	5 (31%)	2 (12.5%)	2 (12.5%)	16
In school	2 (40%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	1 (20%)	5 (100%)
Out of school	5 (46%)	4 (36%)	1 (9%)	1 (9%)	11 (100%)
Total	10 (31%)	11 (34%)	5 (16%)	6 (19%)	32
In school	4 (37%)	3 (27%)	3 (27%)	1 (9%)	12
Out of school	6 (29%)	8 (38%)	2 (9%)	5 (24%)	20

That especially young women share negative feelings towards married life could be explained because women experience more restrictions after marriage than men: they are expected to produce children and care for them, stay at home and take care of the household. Men can move around more freely in a marriage: *'yes, marriage is more fun for boys'* (R.19 married young woman).[19]

Table 5 also shows that the non-schooling youth have more negative associations with marriage, which is possibly related to the higher pressure for non-schooling youth to marry (see 5.2.3). There is also a part of respondents that see marriage a bit more neutral: they see marriage both as something negative as something positive, depending on the situation.

In addition, the stories collected by the participants of the photo voice also show more negative than positive stories. Table 6 shows a large part of married interviewees (RPVI) describing their marriage not as a happy one. In addition, 15 out of the 18 divorced RPVI shared negative feelings towards marriage; the remaining three were not asked the question. Furthermore, Table 7 presents the photo voice participants' opinions on

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[19] Also see Annex 1 picture 6

the collected stories: whether the participants of the photo voice regarded the interviewees' stories as 'good' or 'bad'. The table shows that the photo voice participants describe the majority of stories as 'not good', which could influence their own view on marriage and family-life. There were even some stories whereby the interviewee themselves considered their life-story as a good one, but the photo voice participants' did not agree, indicating a difference in the photo voice participants' preferences on their future marriage and family life and the experiences of their interviewees.

Table 6 Married RPVI's view on their marriage situation (N=62)

RPVI happy in marriage?	
Yes	26 (42%)
No	19 (31%)
Somehow	5 (3%)
No answer	14 (22%)
Total	62 (100%)

Table 7 Photo voice participants' reaction on RPVI's stories (N=105)

Story good according to participants photo voice?	
Good	9 (9%)
Not good	47 (45%)
Somehow	3 (3%)
No answer	45 (43%)
Total	105 (100%)

Respondents mention how that marriage is something difficult and easy to fail, with problems like poverty, unfaithfulness, lack of education, lack of children and violence: the kind of problems that respondents see around them and in their communities. Many respondents mention cheating or being unfaithful as a concern in (and before) marriage. Especially female respondents share their concerns with the issue, mostly because they are convinced that all men cheat:

> Hmm, I would like to get married to someone who loves me and of course can't leave me without anything [taking care of all her needs and wishes]. But those [cheating] man [in the community], I don't think they love their women. They stopped loving them.
> - R.30 young woman

However, it is noteworthy that respondents, both male and female, express that it used to be only the men who would cheat, but that now also women cheat. Both male and female respondents express having trouble trusting their fiancé or partners.

Respondents mention another notable problem in marriages: domestic violence and alcohol abuse, of which they argue that the two often go hand in hand. Out of the 105 interviews by participants photo voice, 14 include domestic violence or alcohol abuse (see Annex 2a).[20]

Nevertheless, there are also respondents who feel positive about marriage (as shown in Table 5, 6 and 7), and as illustrated by the story below:

Picture 7 Happy marriage (RPVI83). Picture and interview by R.25

R: They married when they were almost the same age, and they love each other and living a happy life. I found them at the borehole [water well]; they followed each other, even when they go to the garden they go together. Even they share work; domestic work.
I: Would you like a marriage like this?
R: Yes, when I finished school and employed.
I: Do you see a lot of happy marriages around you?
R: That is the kind of marriage that I have even seen; only happy marriages.
- R. 25 female student 16

Respondents list conditions for a good marriage, including being educated, having a job, enough money and being ready for marriage. Some of the respondents, as the one above, share how they only see happy marriages around them. Others point out how their opinion differs from their peers: *'For me, I think marriage is good. There are people in my friends who think that marriage is bad'* (R.44 young man).

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[20] Also see Annex 1 picture 1 and 4

5.4 Concluding remark

This chapter has given a detailed insight in respondents' understanding of marriage. Respondents list distinct steps (pre-marital relationship, courtship, visitations, introduction and wedding ceremony) towards marriage. However, it appears to be common to live together before the official ceremonies (introduction and wedding), mostly because of a lack of money. It also appears to be more accepted by the families and communities, as young unmarried couples living together (and have children) is known by their relatives and community members.

Marriage is for respondents an inevitable part of their lives and respondents list three main reasons for a marriage: reproduction, economic support and status. Marriage is the only socially acceptable manner to fulfill these functions, and fulfilling these is necessary for a successful life. As respondents consider marriage being a non-disputable part of life, it is remarkable that a (small) majority of respondents show negative associations towards marriage. However, marriage being functional could also explain the negative associations with marriage, as it is a 'must' instead of a 'wanting'. Especially young women share negative associations towards marriage which could be explained by the perception that women go into a more restricted life than men, when getting married. Moreover, out of school youth also share more negative associations towards marriage, which can be explained due to the relatively more pressure put upon them to marry, as they are expected to marry earlier.

This chapter showed how young people have a functional view of marriage; the next chapter will look into their specific views on child marriage.

6. Defining child marriage

It simply means the marriage before the right time or right age.

- R. 39 young woman

Picture 8 Family, of RPVI 101 who married aged 17, in their compound. Picture by R.28.

This chapter presents the understandings of child marriage among young men and women. It describes how they look at child marriage, what it means to them and how they experience child marriage in their own communities. The chapter starts with the general definition young people appoint to child marriage. It then goes into their experiences of child marriages in their communities (section 6.1.1). Section 6.1.2 discusses the associations young people have with child marriage. Section 6.2 gives a description of the perceived reasons for child marriage, as distinguished by the respondents.

6.1 Young people about child marriage

The majority of respondents explain child marriage to be a union whereby one or both spouses are below the age of eighteen years, a definition in line with the national and international conventions and laws (CRC 1989; Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948). A few of the respondents did not know what child marriage meant, as one of them explained '*I've ever heard of it but I have not investigated it. On my side, it is like a marriage whereby you are in, but when the things you are doing are childish*' (R.49). Others refer to a marriage before the right time, without specifying what the right time exactly is (also see quote R.39 at beginning chapter). Across different groups of respondents (out-of-school / in school / involved in THPU) there are no substantial differences in the understanding of child marriage.

6.1.1 Child marriages in communities

Respondents note that there is an increasing consensus in the communities that one should marry when above eighteen, mostly because the Ugandan law around child marriage is better known, and is better followed up on by the police. Respondents note that young men (and women to a lesser degree) fear being imprisoned. The quote below is from one of the THPU animators and illustrates the increasing awareness of the threat of imprisonment among young people. Moreover, it illustrates how elders in the community are increasingly trying to sensitize young people not to elope at a young age.[21]

> We [community members] threaten them [young people]. At times some of them are stubborn and they proceed, we put them in [prison] so that they can learn. And what we do, we don't only put in the boys. It's not only boys that hunt for girls, we also have stubborn girls that hunt for boys. […] We just put them [both boys and girls] in prison for two days or three days to change their mind.
> - R.15 animator (40 years)

Although an increasing part of the community starts to comply with the national and international law regarding child marriage, young people in this study also experience people in the communities who know the law, but do not act accordingly: '*If you ask someone, what age should someone get married? They will tell you 18. That is what they know. But they don't act upon it. But most of them, that is what they would prefer*' (R.1 intern THPU). The quote also illustrates how some people do not feel in control of the decision to marry, or to marry off their child: as they would prefer to obey the threshold of eighteen years, but do not act upon it. This feeling of not being in control is fueled mostly by poverty and the situation at home (i.e. if the situation at home is bad – there is a greater risk that one would choose to marry at a young age or to marry off their child at a young age).[22]

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[21] See also Annex 1 picture 7 and 23

[22] See also Annex 1 picture 4 and 21

Respondents' opinions differ on how often child marriage occurs in the communities; even among respondents living in the same community. The following two quotes are answers of two young women in separate interviews living in the same community (both out-of-school and aged 18 and 19) on the question whether child marriage occurs in their community:

> There are many! Because of [lack of] money for going to school, others do not have school fees, others their fathers do not have money. They left going to school and then they get married when they are not yet aged. It is common. (R.61)

> There is no one that can support it here in the community. (R.58)

Although opinions on this matter differ, the majority of respondents state that child marriage is happening in their communities, and all respondents share negative associations with child marriage.

6.1.2 Respondents' view on child marriage

The majority of respondents argue that child marriage is bad because of the possible complications; being concerned that the body of the girl is not ready to produce and bear a child. Other explanations are more concerned about the young women and men not being able to finish their education and thus risking not having a job and living in poverty. Lastly, respondents argue how young people are not ready mentally to take care of a child, not able to handle the responsibility and not having practical knowledge that they need for raising a child.

Table 8 Married women's perceptions of marriage

R	Age	Married at age	Reason for marriage	Pos/Neg associations with marriage	Would have chosen otherwise now?
R.19*	26	22	Lack of school fees	Negative	Yes
R.21*	22	19/20	Lack of school fees / parents died	50/50	Unknown
R.32	23	18	Lack of school fees	50/50	Yes
R.36	18	17/18	Parents died / pregnant	Negative	Yes
R.54	21	Unknown	Pregnant	50/50	Yes

*peer educator THPU

The opinions of the married female respondents reflect the perception of child marriage as being something bad. However, here it is more accurate to talk about early marriage[23] as most of them married being older than eighteen (see Table 8). The women did not refer to themselves as being part of a child marriage (or early marriage) but did feel that they married too early.[24] Four out of the five young married women regretted

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[23] The term 'early marriage' is not per definition tied to age as 'early' can refer to other factors that make a person not ready to consent to marriage. One could think of the information one has of his/her possibilities other than marriage, the level of personal development and the level of education. Early marriage can thus refer to people above eighteen who are unable to make informed consent to marry (Bunting 2005).
[24] See also Annex 1 picture 2

marrying early and would choose differently if they could. They regret not being educated and consider it as the biggest consequent of marrying early.

6.2 Perceived reasons for child marriage

In the introduction and theoretical framework, I touched upon the causes described in literature for child marriage, in this section I elaborate on the causes identified by respondents. The most highlighted reason for child marriage is poverty, which also is the underlying motivation for almost all other reasons mentioned. These reasons can be divided in two categories: 'own choice' and 'forced by elders/parents'.

Poverty was reported to lead to forced marriages, as parents are more likely to marry off their child (mostly daughters) when they have little money and feel that they cannot provide enough care. Parents can see marriage as an economic relief and as an economic activity.

Marriage can be seen as an economic relief as there is 'one mouth less to feed' and a loss of economic burden for a family. Both sons and daughters in a family can be seen as an economic burden in terms of their educational, health and other living expenses. This is illustrated by the story of a young man of twenty years who married an older woman of thirty-six (RPVI.15), the young men got interviewed by one of the of photo voice participants (R.9). The young man had lost his mother. His father, who had no money for school fees, urged his son to marry the woman. The young man is not happy in his marriage as he '*wanted a woman of his own age, but for now that is not possible. He has to wait until this woman dies before he can go and get another*' (R.9 young woman).[25] The story illustrates how marriage as economic relief is applicable to both young men and women; however, respondents argue that it is more beneficial to marry off your daughter than your son. According to respondents, a young man is considered more valuable within the work in the gardens and farms. Moreover, a family receives a bride price when their daughter marries. Hence, a marriage of a daughter can be seen as an economic activity as the bride price generates income for the girls' family: '*If they marry off their daughter and get dowry [bride price], they are selling their daughter. Some of them they see it that way: they gain*' (R.7 intern THPU).[26]

Besides economic reasons, respondents mention Islam as a driver for forced child marriages, although almost always described in combination with poverty. Interestingly, it is most mentioned by Christian - and not Muslim - respondents. Some of the Muslim respondents also point out Islam as a driver for child marriage, although they immediately point out that this is changing in the community and in Islamic culture, as illustrated by the quote below:

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[25] see also Annex 1 picture 9
[26] See also Annex 1 picture 17 and 21

It was common in Islamic religion because they used to take their girls, if you go under menstruation period immediately; they give you out for a man that you can marry. If you are nine years, ten years; you don't put any excuse. But now, it is going on changing. It is changing somehow. And now they [Muslim families] also know how to educate their girls.
- R.19 young female Muslim

6.3 Own choice?

Apart from the motivations of parents pressuring young people to marry, it appears that marriages are increasingly the choice of (under-aged) young men and women themselves. Figure 4 gives an overview of respondents' answers on what they think happens: forced under-aged marriages, under-aged marriages by own choice, or that it happens equally. Interesting is that none of the school-going respondents think under-aged marriages are mostly forced, they agree that child marriage happens more due to the own choice of young men and women, or that it happens fifty-fifty. For the out-of-school youth there is greater part (19%) that thinks that most child marriages are forced. This could indicate that out-of-school youth see more forced child marriage around them than the schooling youth, whereas schooling youth see more young people choosing to marry early.
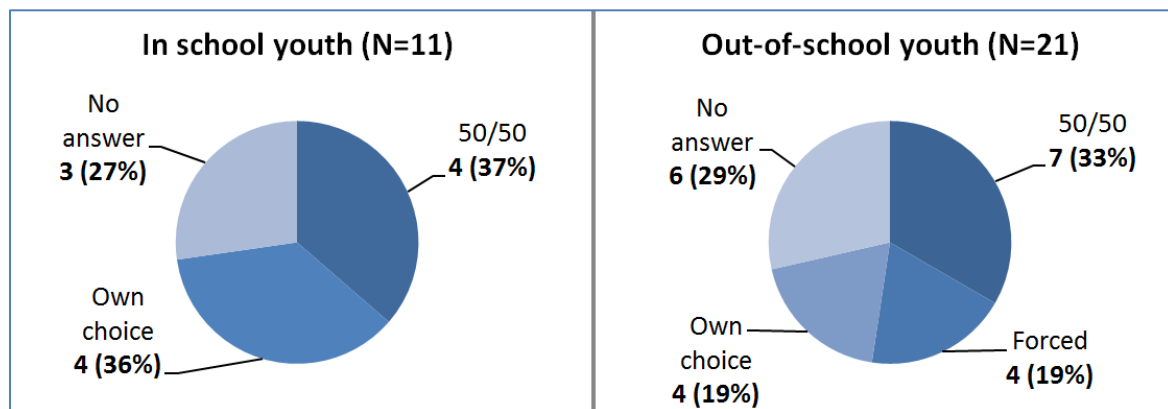
Figure 4 Respondents (in interviews) opinions about child marriages being own choice vs forced (N=32)

Respondents mention that the main reason for choosing an under-aged marriage is not receiving enough care at home. Engaging with boyfriends then becomes a way of income as girls can ask them for gifts and presents: *'The situation at home can lead to some girls marrying when they are still too young. Lack of something. Lack of basic needs, they can say that: let me go and married'* (R.41 young man).

Iganga is mostly (semi)rural and has a high poverty rate. Respondents often mention poverty as a reason for child marriage, specifically when it results in a lack of money for school fees. Respondents argue that when young people, and especially young women, drop out-of-school, they immediately have a higher chance of getting married early. In their reasoning, when young women drop out of school, they will get a boyfriend and

get pregnant. Respondents explain this as young people getting 'bored' and searching for entertainment, which they find in a boyfriend or girlfriend. A logical result of having a boyfriend is, according to the respondents, a pregnancy and when pregnant there is more pressure put upon you by your relatives and other community members, to get married.

However, respondents report that young women also have boyfriends when in school. When they get pregnant in school they often drop out which then again can lead to pressure of family and society to get married. One of the photo voice participants held an interview with a young woman who dropped out-of-school because of an unplanned pregnancy, as described in the excerpt below:
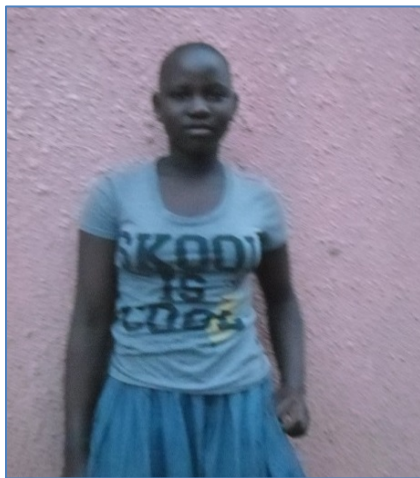
She was 15 years. She was forced [by her family] to go with the owner of the pregnancy but she wasn't ready for marriage. She is facing very many difficulties because the boy stayed with her until she delivered the baby. After that she did not again agree to see him anymore. She sells tomatoes, onions, cabbage alongside the road. But yet she was to pay school fees for her daughter in baby class [she has not gotten enough money for her child to go to school], buy food, clothes and also pay rent. She says married life is death indeed. Because, she didn't expect that, and she was not ready for marriage.

- R.8 young female

Picture 9 Young women forced into marriage because of pregnancy (RPVI.5). Picture and interview by R.8

Almost all respondents knew stories of young women getting pregnant and pressured to marry. For young men it is different as they can also deny the pregnancy. One of the male peer educators exemplified it as follows: '*so when a girl would come up to me saying she is pregnant, I would just deny the pregnancy and say that I do not impregnate girls*' (R.20 young man). This indicates that a pregnancy has more consequences for young women than for young men.

Dropping out-of-school is often an immediate motivation for marriage, also without a pregnancy. Some respondents argue that young men and especially women do not see other options than marriage, or, feel that it is the only way of gaining respect in the society now that they have left school. One of the respondents explains: '*She [her sister] feels pressured because she is at home [not schooling], […] our parents begin putting pressure on her,*

the village men, the neighbours they [all] begin putting pressure: […] "She is not in school, why is she staying at home?" (R.46 young woman).

Other motivations to get married when under-aged, according to respondents, are: peer pressure, being mistreatment by (step) parents, lack of opportunities (or not seeing opportunities) and 'feeling mature'. These motivations are, including with dropping out-of-school, often interlinked and combined.

6.4 Concluding remark

This chapter described how respondents define the concept of child marriage. Their definition reflects the definition in international conventions and laws: a marriage whereby one or two of the spouses are below eighteen years. Additionally, the chapter gave insight in their positive, but mostly negative associations with child marriage. Respondents mostly consider it as bad for the physical health of young people.

Opinions on how often child marriage occurs within their communities differ, even among respondents from the same community. However, respondents acknowledge that the practice still occurs in their communities. They list different reasons for child marriages, and poverty appears to be the underlying motivation for most of the other reasons the respondents identified. In the chapter I make a distinction between reasons that implicate a 'forced' under-aged marriage and under-aged marriages which are more the young people's 'own choice', the latter increasingly occurring, according to the respondents. Figure 5 gives an overview of the economic reasons distinguished by respondents.
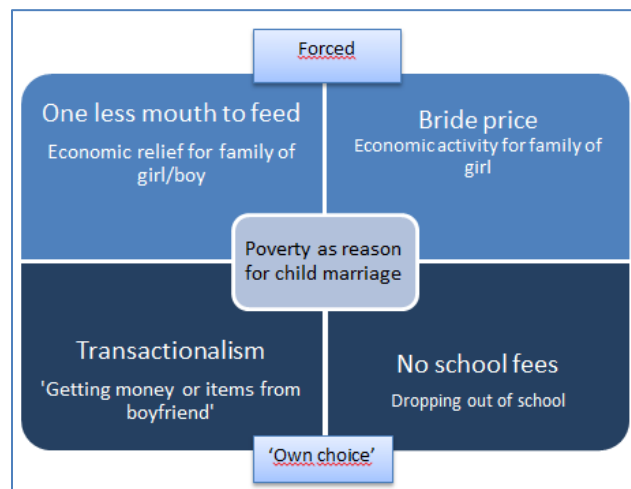
Figure 5 Implications of poverty in the practice of child marriage. Own elaboration.

The next chapter focusses on the marriage preferences of respondents, and explores to what extent young people feel able to make their own decisions on who and when to marry.

7. Agency

> Uganda is capable of doing everything but always, they don't implement what they say. Everything ends on paper and just talking, it normally doesn't end in action.
> -R.2 intern THPU

Picture 10 Young woman (RPVI.14) who refused to get married to the man who impregnated her. Picture by R.9

This chapter presents how respondents' preferences regarding marriage, and their perceived agency regarding (child) marriage, and how they see their role in changing social norms and values regarding (child) marriage. Section 7.1 discusses respondents' preferences around marriage and forming a family. Section 7.2 elaborates on decision-making processes in the family and in the community. Followed by section 7.3 that discusses whether respondents feel that they can achieve their dreams. The chapter closes with section 7.4, which discusses whether norms and values in communities regarding child marriage are changing and what the factors of change the respondents distinguish.

7.1 Young men and women's preferences around marriage

Young people see marriage as an inevitable part of life. In line with this inevitability of marriage, all respondents express that they want to marry and have children, and share their preferences around marriage and family formation. This section discusses these preferences according to when and whom to marry and the preferred number of children, and whether they feel in control over these choices.

7.1.1 When to marry

> For me, [I want to marry when I am] at least 25 and above. For girls they [people in the community] usually say that when you reach the age of thirty without getting married you are wasting your time. So girls, at least must start [looking for a marriage partner/getting married] at the age of 20 and above. For boys it is 25 and above because for us we are, let me say if you are cooking food, we are the charcoal. We are the foundation of these ones [of marriages – thus have to provide for the family] - R.35   young male

As shown in Section 5.2.3, and as the quote above suggest, there appears to be more pressure on young women than on young men to get married. Twenty-five appears to be the breaking point for young women: if a woman is not married by then she has a higher risk of physical and mental abuse.[27] For respondents, when to marry is not only linked to age, but is also linked to other factors that prove you are mature enough, like being able to take care for your family (financially).

Moreover, respondents, both in and out-of-school, consider it important to finish education (and get a job) before getting married. One schooling and unmarried young woman expresses: '*without completing your studies it is bad to get married*' (R.26). Out-of-school youth also express the desire of going back to school and finish before being ready for marriage. The respondents indicate that education has an increasing important role in their lives, and the lives of their peers. In the words of a young unmarried woman (out-of-school): '*[…] The world is running at high speed, you have to study and qualification in order to be in good life. So, I am planning that after my studies I get married*' (R. 51). Respondents also indicate that their relatives and elders in the community increasingly acknowledge the value of education, which results in them accepting schooling young people to marry at a later age, which is not the case for the non-schooling youth.

In addition to the importance of being of a certain age and having finished school, young men want to have reached a certain socio-economic standard, which means: having enough money, having finished building a house and also being able to furnish the house.[28]

Although respondents name these conditions prior to a marriage, they also share the experiences of peers who married before reaching these conditions. It appears that many young people marry before reaching all

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[27] See also Annex 1 picture 31
[28] See also Annex 1 picture 29

conditions. Hence, there is a difference between young people's perceptions of the ideal time to marry and the current practice of marriages.

7.1.2 Whom to marry

The characteristics of an ideal marriage candidate, described by the respondents, relate to the functions of marriage (as described in Chapter 5.2): economic support, reproduction, and status. For young women it is important that their future husband can provide for them and so, the man's socio-economic status is important to them. Young men mostly focus their choice of partner on reproduction and status: their future wife should be producing children and should be a good and respectful wife. Young men look at the behavior of the potential bride as she is expected to behave like a good daughter and women in the community. They explain studying their potential wife and her the family: '*because for me, I have a principle that I need to get a wife who is hard working and has had education*' (R.49 young man). Striking is that some young men specifically highlight having a problem with a woman being higher educated or having a higher income than the husband, because she would undermine the position of the husband. In the words of one male respondent:

> We know very well that however much the man is poor or rich; he remains the boss of the family. In some families it is causing problems when the woman has some money and has a higher income than the man. So, if the woman is taking the biggest percentage of providing the basic needs of the family, she undermines the man just because of that. And that's what I mean: they [men] desire respect. So if you are not respecting me, automatically the man will go in and get some other woman who can provide the needed respect' (R. 11).

In addition, is not only the economic and social status that are important in young people's preference for a spouse, as both young people mention looking for someone who they can trust and understand. When asked if you need to love or be able to laugh with your (future) spouse, respondents acknowledge it as important. However, in their search whom to marry other characteristics appear more important.

Only a couple of young men and women specifically highlighted religion as being important in the search for a compatible partner. However, it does appear to be important for families, as illustrated by the quote of a female respondent, who explained that she could not marry the father of her child because they belonged to different religions: '*The first born' father, I did not get married to him [...] that man was not a Muslim but at my home they prefer Muslims, so I had to look for a Muslim*' (R. 19). She now is married to a Muslim man with whom she got another child.

In this research, respondents differ on their opinions and preferences around polygamy, but most young women express wanting a non-polygamous marriage. Polygamous marriages are most common within the Muslim community, and young Muslim men are equally divided in whether they want to marry more than one wife or not. They give different reasons for their point of view. One young Muslim man explains why he does not want a polygamous marriage: '*the case of being with two wives, it is not good; because I might not be giving them the*

same love. I might end up giving one more, when I love the one most, there can be a situation. So, I have to get one wife' (R.12 unmarried young man). Other young Muslim men do express the desire to marry more than one wife, on the condition that they have enough money to provide for them. Meanwhile, there are some Muslim young women those also express the desire to marry in a polygamous marriage. Although, they express it more as accepting the desire of the man, as illustrated by the quote of one young woman (R.45), who would agree with her husband having more than one wife as '*the Islam teaches us for a man to have more than one wife'*.

According to the respondents, Muslim men can have up to four wives and a Christian man up to two, but both Christian and Muslim respondents argue that polygamy is more prevalent within Muslim families. The respondents describe how the Quran entails how a man can have four wives as long as he can provide for them all. Although arguing that polygamy is most common in Muslim marriages, most young people acknowledged that it also happens in Christian marriages but with a maximum of two wives.[29]

Moreover, it is interesting that respondents note how in Christian marriages a husband could have two wives, but can also have additional girlfriends. In these cases, the two wives are publicly known and the girlfriends are kept secret. Respondents, especially the young women, mention seeing this in their communities but show no sympathy for it. One respondent expresses her confusion in the following quote: '*here in our community, you can find someone who is not a Muslim but having many wives. Moreover, not wives, but girlfriends. Can have like two wives and four girlfriends and you can wonder: how come? Is it because they love so much?'* (R.30 young unmarried woman).

7.1.3 Number of children

All respondents express the wish to have children when married. The number of desired children is significantly lower than the amount of children in the families in which these young people are raised. The number of desired children varies from two to six, with the majority wanting to have two, three or four. The respondents underpin their choices with economic reasons and give examples of big families living in poverty. It appears that the use of family planning when married is getting less of a taboo, as multiple respondents want to use it when they get married.

Although respondents appears to be determinant in their decisions not to have large families, they do acknowledge that the amount of children depends on whether the couple has already given birth to a son: as they would continue trying until they get a boy - even if that meant they would exceed their desired maximum of children.

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[29] In Ugandan law, polygamous marriages are recognized in the Customary Marriage Act 1973. The Marriage Act of 1904 recognizes 'Mohammedan marriages' (see Customary Marriage Act 1973 and Marriage Act of 1904)

7.2 Decision-making

This section describes the role that young people see for themselves in their families and communities. It is important to understand to what extent young people feel able to make decisions, in the context of their family and community, because this has influence on their own lives and choices on marriage and family formation. Moreover, the way they see themselves situated in their families and communities can either motivate or withhold them from feeling able to make changes in their community.

Considering their roles in their families, the respondents describe their foremost role as helping in the house and in the garden, taking care of and advising (younger) siblings, supporting their parents by taking care of them (when their parents are older) and, when possible, contributing financially. The schooling youth consider their role more to be advising their younger siblings and helping out in the house and garden. They do not feel fully responsible for the family as they feel they are still growing up.

Out-of-school youth show greater responsibility as they speak more about supporting and providing for their siblings, own children, parents, and husband or wife. They express that they are now mature and should be able to take care of the family. Most of them do not have a permanent job but have different smaller jobs where they earn some money enabling them to contribute. Hereby it is important to take into account that the school going youth in this study is generally younger than the out-of-school youth (see Annex 2).

On the question 'who makes decisions in the family' respondents allot most of the power to make decisions in the family to the father (see Table 9). Respondents refer to the father as the one to have the last say in the decision-making process: '*Everyone is a decision maker. The dad is the last one, always*' (R.51 unmarried woman). Although the father often has the last say, the opinion of the mother is considered to be an important influence. The extent of influence of mothers' opinion is dependent on the topic of decision. Respondents argue that a mother has more to say when its concerning the children. One married woman explains it as follows:

> It depends [who makes the decisions]. Like when we are discussing, my husband can bring an issue that is not constructive for the family. It depends on the concern [...]. For instance, about the children, when the husband is saying that one child has to stop with their studies, that is when I come in. (R.32 young married woman).

Table 9 Respondents (in interviews) answers on 'Who makes decisions in the family' (N=32)

Who makes the decisions in the family?	N=32
Dad	11
Mum and dad	6
Mum	2
Family	3
Both of us*	2
Husband*	2
Grandma	1
I myself	1
x	4

*married respondents

Noteworthy is that a small majority of respondents feel they have (some) power to make decisions in their families (see Table 10: column two 'Yes' plus column three 'Somehow'). There is a slight difference between the schooling youth and the out-of-school youth, as more schooling youth think they can make decisions, and they are more convinced (more 'Yes' instead of 'Somehow'). There is no significant distinction between the answers of female and male respondents.

Table 10 Respondents in interviews view on their decision-making power in families, by schooling status (N=32)

Can you make decisions? (N=32)	No	Yes	Somehow	No answer	Total
Schooling status					
In school (N=11)	5 (45,5%)	5 (45,5%)	1 (9%)	-	11 (100%)
Out of school (N=21)	8 (38%)	7 (33%)	3 (14.5%)	3 (14.5%)	21 (100%)
Total	13 (41%)	12 (37%)	4 (13%)	3 (9%)	32

Table 11 Respondents in interviews view on their decision-making power in their future family, by schooling status (N=28*)

When you get married, who will make the decisions? (N= 28)*	Husband	Both	No answer	Total
Schooling status				
In school (N=11)	2 (18%)	1 (9%)	8 (73%)	11 (100%)
Out of school (N=17)	8 (47%)	1 (6%)	8 (47%)	17 (100%)
Total	10 (36%)	2 (7%)	16 (57%)	28

*total of respondents (N=32) minus those married (N=4)

Table 11 depicts respondents' view on their future, when they would be married themselves. Not all respondents were asked this question, resulting in a large part having no answer on the question. However, the data shows that especially out-of-school youth appoint the decision-making to the husband, more than the schooling youth. Arguing why the husband should have most of the decision-making power, respondents often refer to culture, as exemplified by the following quote:

R: I, I make the decisions.
I: Would you wife ever make decisions?
R: No, in our culture they say that the women does not make the decisions.
- R.34 young unmarried man.

The respondent refers to culture in his quote, which implicates a norm in society: influencing the way people behave and are expecting to behave.

When asked about feeling power to make decisions in the community, the majority of respondents (44%) react positively (see Table 12). Respondents translate decision-making into changing norms and values in the community and being consulted about issues, like child marriage. Respondents see their role in their community mostly in helping others, giving advice and being a role model for the younger ones in the community. Notable is that especially those involved in The Hunger Project strongly expressed seeing their function as a role model. Moreover, schooling youth show the most belief that they can change the community they live in (55% of schooling youth compared to 43% of the out of school youth). Especially schooling youth involved in extra activities at school, for instance being the student head, show the belief they can be an actor of change.

Table 12 Respondents in interviews and THPU interns and peer educators view on their decision-making power in communities, by schooling status (N=43)

Can you make decisions in the community? (N=43)	Yes	In the (nearby) future	No	No answer	Total
Schooling status					
In school (N=11)	6 (55%)	2 (18%)	1 (9%)	2 (18%)	11 (100%)
Out of school (N=21)	9 (43%)	-	6 (28.5%)	6 (28.5)	21 (100%)
Interns and peer educators THPU (N=11)	4 (36%)	2 (18%)	-	4 (46%)	11 (100%)
Total	19 (44%)	4 (9%)	7 (16%)	13 (30%)	43 (100%)

Respondents feel that they have the power to advise community-members: '*I can at least talk to them [community members]. If they have ears, they can hear*' (R. 35). They list how they can exercise power by going to the local council, by being part of the local council in the future, by giving advice and being consulted, as exemplified by the quote below:

I: Do you have the power to make decisions in the community?
R: Not [about] everything, but there are those [things/issues] that I can decide on, like I can wake up one morning and decide that the gambling place should be closed. I can talk to the LOC [local council] and all that, and they can decide that it can be removed.
- R.55 young man

In this study, out-of-school young women express the least power in making decisions in the community. Table 11 shows that seven respondents did not feel able to make decisions in their communities, and five out

of them are female out-of-school respondents. Moreover, when asking the respondents if they would report problems in the community, like a violent marriage or a girl that is forced by her parents to marry, the majority (77%) of respondents answer that they would (see Table 13). However, female respondents, and especially those out-of-school, display more doubt or say they would not. One female respondent (married, 18 years) explains how she would not intervene when seeing problems:

> R: I cannot do anything.
> I: Why?
> R: I just came here, I am not born here, so I cannot do anything. They will look at me and say who is that person talking?
> - R. 36

Respondents involved in The Hunger Project all express that they would intervene when seeing problems in their community (only one answered 'maybe').

Table 13 Respondents in interviews and THPU interns and peer educators view reporting problems in communities, by schooling status (N=43)

Variable	Yes	Maybe	No	Total
Men (N=18)	**16 (89%)**	**1 (6%)**	**1 (5%)**	**18**
In school	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	-	5 (100%)
Out of school	10 (91%)	-	1 (9%)	11 (100%)
Interns and peer educators THPU	2 (100%)	-	-	2 (100%)
Women (N=25)	**17 (68%)**	**5 (20%)**	**3 (12%)**	**25**
In school	4 (67%)	1 (17%)	1 (16%)	6 (100%)
Out of school	5 (50%)	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	10 (100%)
Interns and peer educators THPU	8 (89%)	1 (11%)	-	9 (100%)
Total	**33 (77%)**	**6 (14%)**	**3 (75%)**	**43**

7.3 Achieving dreams

All respondents were asked about their dreams in life; what they would really want to accomplish. Most respondents dreamed of having a job, finishing or going back to school, being able to take good care of their families and (future) children and having a 'good life'. Almost every respondent believes that they can achieve their dreams (67%, see Table 14).

Table 14 Respondents in interviews and THPU interns and peer educators view on achieving their dreams, by schooling status (N=43)

Variable	Yes	Yes, if	Somehow	No	Total
In school	7 (64%)	4 (36%)	-	-	11 (100%)
Out of school	11 (52%)	7 (33%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	21 (100%)
Interns and peer educators THPU	11 (100%)	-	-	-	11 (100%)
Total	**29 (67%)**	**11 (26%)**	**1 (2%)**	**2 (5%)**	**43 (100%)**

Some of them mention conditions for achieving their dreams, mostly related to money. For example, a non-schooling single young woman said: '*If I am supported and taken back to school, I can do everything*' (R.30). Availability of money also depends on their social network (i.e. if someone in their network would give money and support them they would be able to achieve their dreams). The following excerpt, from an interview non-schooling young woman, demonstrates this dependency and also illustrates how respondents would re-formulate certain dreams in order to have greater chance of achieving them, showing flexibility and resilience:

> I: What are your goals in live?
> R: I dream to be someone different than from what I am now. Because I used to like education and I wanted to be someone, somewhere. But that chance was not there. Now, in the future I want to get a man who would be able to look after me, who would be caring. Yes, and we live that happy marriage and happy live.
> I: Do you still think that you can achieve your first dream? Or is it now your dream to have a happy marriage?
> R: As per now, maybe when I am given the change I can be that some person I dream of.
> I: Can you achieve having the nice husband and good marriage?
> R: Yes.
> - R.46

7.4 Changing community norms regarding (child) marriage: factors of change

Most of the respondents see a change in their communities regarding behaviors, expectations and beliefs related to marriage and child marriage. The majority of respondents refer to this change as positive, although some emphasize on negative changes. This section examines the factors of change named by respondents, starting with the role of education, followed by the role of the government and, finally, the role of social organizations like the Hunger Project.

7.4.1 Role of education in changing norms on (child) marriage

Respondents indicate education as a key factor influencing decision-making processes regarding marriage and family formation. Respondents state how school drop-outs are expected to marry early, while young people who study are expected to finish their education and even get a job before getting married. Out-of-school youth experience more pressure from their families and community to marry (see section 6.2). One of the photo voice participants explained how, in his opinion, education would have influenced the life of one of his interviewees (RPVI.95, married at thirteen and is unhappy in her marriage):

> Before she got married she did not go to school. I think that when she would have gone to school, by now she would be at University. But now she entered a marriage when she was very young; that is why she is facing many problems. […] If you complete education you may have a better life. You may have better opportunities to choose for yourself. (R.29 young male)

The quote illustrates the role of education in motivating young people to make choices of their own, and it appears that they feel more able to make these choices when in school or when educated. Moreover, almost all schooling young women want to get married after their schooling or University, and even after getting a job. Respondents argue that those who are in school are not yet thinking about marriage. Overall, respondents argue how people, young and old, value education more nowadays: *'The difference is that before they [youth] didn't think education was that important but as for now they are keeping themselves in school and most of them want to keep in school', said young out-of-school respondent'* (R.32). Respondents note that parents generally also see more value in education, both for young men and women.

The increased value appointed to education corresponds with the overall increased enrollment rates of, predominantly, primary schools. It appears that people also see an increased quality in the education, which might be influenced by increased rates of qualified teachers (see section 4.1.1).

7.4.2 Role of government

Respondents see an important role for the government in preventing child marriage. Firstly, respondents emphasize the role of the government in enforcement of the law against child marriage. More than a quarter of interviewees accentuate the fear of imprisonment as one of the motivators not marrying before their 18th birthday, or for parents not to marry off their child before their 18th birthday.

Respondents argue that Ugandan laws are increasingly enforced on by actively searching for violators and imprisoning them. The respondents support this and would like to see it more. Moreover, according to the respondents, enforcements of these laws give out a sign that child marriage is something illegal and thus that it is good to have these laws because, in the words of a male respondent, it is the *'only thing that can make those people [community members] to stop seeing child marriage as very good'* (R.38). In addition, the respondents mention how the government has created more schooling opportunities, which correspondents with the implementation of UPE and USE (see 4.1.1). Respondents list other possible government' interventions to increase the change, these interventions will be presented in section 8.2.2. Overall respondents see an important role for the government and most are happy with the interventions so far. However, there are also respondents that are a bit more hesitant and show a certain distrust in the government (also see quote of R.2 at the beginning of the chapter).

7.4.3 Role of social organizations and The Hunger Project Uganda

> I can change other people to change their ways. I can learn them their rights, what they are supposed to do and what they are supposed to have. So when these people get to know about their rights, they end up empowered, they end up changing
> - R.6 young female animator THPU

As discussed in the study limitations (3.7), I changed the focus of the research while in the field because the current state of implementation of the Her Choice activities did not allow addressing the initial research question and most respondents had only heard of THPU and Her Choice and did not attend activities. However, respondents did stress the importance of social organizations and interventions. Moreover, this study included the peer educators, animators and interns of THPU, who all stressed upon THPU, and other social organizations, as factors of change.

According to the respondents, THPU and other social organizations can enhance the capabilities of young people, and especially young women, as their activities can empower them. Respondents mention changing attitudes towards marriage by showing other opportunities and possibilities, as exemplified by the quote below of one of the THPU interns:

> In the African tradition the woman has to stay in the house, do housework. That was the major rule of a woman; you didn't find her in politics. But with todays' involvement and THPU's sensitization and mobilization, it has helped me to know that even women can do politics and can do big businesses to earn a living. For example, I myself, it is my mum paying my tuition, besides being a politician, she is a farmer, she does agriculture very well (R. 7 young unmarried woman).

The Hunger Project and other social organizations help young women to speak out and make decisions for themselves. Noteworthy is how young men and women involved in The Hunger Project (or other social organizations (such as Reproductive Health Uganda (RHU), another NGO based in Iganga) strongly feel that they are actors of change because of the skills developed during trainings, and the experience gained though talking to community-members.

Although respondents are positive about the change social organizations bring, there are also respondents that have critiques. A few male respondents argue that men in Uganda lose respect due to the empowerment of women, in the words of one of them:

> My parents they respected themselves but these times […] These days we are equal. So, the wives we got, they do not respect us because we are equal […]. Because anything I can do, my wife can do. So, there is nothing she want from me that she cannot get. It is bad. Somebody may see you as you are useless, because they want something, and they can get it themselves. (R.31 young married man)

This critique illustrates an unexpected effect of programs like The Hunger Project Uganda and highlights the importance of programs to be inclusive and comprehensive: hence, also targeting boys and men.

7.5 Concluding remark

This chapter discussed respondents' preferences in marriage and family formation, and, to what extent respondents feel able to make decisions within their families and communities.

The chapter elaborated on the different expectations society has of women and men, as young women are expected to marry earlier than young men. It also emphasized the role that education has on these expectations, as it is accepted of schooling young men and women to marry later. Respondents gave insight in their preferences and expectations of their future husband or wife and family formation; whereby their preferred amount of children in considerable lower than the amount of children in their own families.

Furthermore, the chapter provided insight into the power respondents feel to make decisions in their families and communities. Although most of the power is appointed to the elder men, respondents also feel empowered to be part of decision-making in their families. Respondents translate decision-making into changing norms and values in the community and being consulted about issues, like child marriage. In their communities respondents foremost feel able to advise. The interns and peer educators of THPU strongly emphasize on their function as a role model. Moreover, schooling youth show the most belief that they can change the community they live in, and the out-of-school female respondents express the least power to make decisions in the community.

Picture 11 Inscription Her Choice t-shirt.

8. Marriage as part of life: discussion and conclusion

I: Would you like to marry in the future?
R. That one is compulsory.
- R.40 young female

Picture 12 Young women within the Her Choice program dancing on the Day of the African Child in Iganga

The previous chapters provided an in-depth view on the different perspectives, understandings and decision-making processes regarding (child) marriage. The findings in the previous chapters revealed that there are various ways to look at child marriage and demonstrate the complexity and interconnectedness of its causes and its consequences. The findings illustrate how youth's agency is embedded in the social and power structures they live in. In this chapter, I firstly discuss these structures and give insight into the factors that can restrict and enhance young people's agency. The discussion is then followed by the conclusion, in section 8.2, which answers the main question. In addition, recommendations for future research and policy and practice are presented in 8.2.1 and 8.2.2.

8.1 Discussion

Child marriage is still highly prevalent in many countries and is a priority on the international development agenda. The dominant discourse on child marriage, reflecting the notion of universalism, considers child marriage as a violation of human rights and a direct threat to the health and wellbeing of young people in developing countries. The dominant discourse on child marriage receives criticism for representing mostly a Western view on child marriage, ignoring the complexity of local contexts and cultural and societal constructions of marriage (Archambault 2011; Bunting 2005; Callaghan et al. 2015). This study has tried to represent local, young voices on child marriage in the case of Iganga, Uganda. In current literature, youth voices are mostly unheard, and they are often forgotten as actors of change. I argue that in order to understand the way young people make choices and exercise agency related to child marriage, there is a need to understand how they understand marriage, child marriage and the social, cultural and power structures that shape their understanding.

Marriage as dominant social norm in change

This study shows that young people in Iganga believe marriage is an inevitable part of life. That is, young people believe marriage is not a choice or an option, but a necessity in order to be respected by society. Young people believe they are expected by society to marry and produce children, preferably before the age of 25. Respondents' perceptions and agency are influenced by social expectations, as respondents do not feel like they have an option not to marry – risking (physical or mental) abuse when unmarried. The respondents share negative associations towards marriage, which could implicate that they would prefer not to marry or at a later age, but as they feel they have to obey to the social norm, they do as their society expects them to.

Bicchieri et al. (2014) explain how individuals make up an interdependent social system built on implicit agreements of behavior. A social norm is then a 'collective practice sustained by empirical and normative expectations and by preferences conditional on both these expectations' (Biccherie et al. 2014:4). Empirical and normative expectations are social expectations: they are beliefs about others; empirical expectations are beliefs about what others do, whereas normative expectations are beliefs about what others think should be done.

The findings show that there is change within the dominant social norm of marrying before your 25th birthday, since the societal expectations of young people differ depended on their schooling status. That is, respondents argue that there is an increasing support from within communities for young men and young women to continue their education, and that education has influence on the expectations community members hold of young people. Namely, out-of-school youth are expected to marry at an earlier age, whereas schooling youth are expected to finish their education first. Furthermore, the study shows that school-going youth themselves also believe that they have more time before marriage. This is supported by the statements

of Klugman et al. (2014) and Svanemyr et al. (2014) who argue that formal education can lead to more empowerment among young people, 'thickening' their agency as it widens the variety of options they have and see for themselves.

Further, respondents share how there is an increasing consensus in communities on the appropriate age for marriage (above eighteen). The increasing consensus indicates a change in social expectations, as people are increasingly expected to marry when above eighteen. The findings show that there is even social control as parents who try to marry off their under-aged child are being told off by community members, and being (threatened to get) imprisoned. In addition, young people who try to elope are also warned and threatened by their community members; reflecting a punishment for non-conformance to this new emerging social norm of 'not getting married before your eighteenth'. However, the findings also show that the practice of child marriage is still common and some community members are openly not complying to this emerging social norm. Moreover, deeper in the rural areas and in villages further away from town there is more social support for under-aged marriages. Hence, the emerging social norm has not yet found a wide social support.

Bicchieri et al. (2014) argue that collective practices supported by social expectations are social norms; and thus I argue that there is indeed change in social norms. When expectations change, as is the case with education, it can thicken someone's agency. Expectations can thus either restrict or enhance the agentic space for young people to make decisions.

Agency and the preferences, option and beliefs model

In order to understand the practice of child marriage we have to understand why individuals behave in certain ways, and how their individual behavior is influenced by their own beliefs, the beliefs of others and the behavior of others. To do so, Bicchieri et al. (2014) use a model of preferences, options, and beliefs. To understand someone's behavior, one must appreciate both their preferences and the limited options they have to satisfy these preferences. In addition, to truly comprehend the decision-making processes of people, it is important to also understand the beliefs one has about their options (Biccheri et al. 2014).

The dominant discourse on child marriage connects child marriage with forced marriages, as minors are not able to give full consent. Furthermore, in the dominant discourse young people are often portrayed as passive victims of the practice. The findings in this study show that child marriages are increasingly the choice of young people themselves. The model of Bicchieri et al. (2014) can be used to explain why an increasing portion of minors choose marriage. For instance, respondents argue how young women want material things, and as their parents cannot (or do not want to) provide it, they seek a boyfriend who can. In other words, they try to satisfy their preference of getting things, within the limited options of their parents not providing and a possible boyfriend who can. As a result of the normative expectation that young people should refrain from pre-marital relationships, young people either have a relationship in secret or they elope. When they

elope and live in a different community, they are, because they are living together, considered to be married. In this case, young people make decisions of their own to satisfy certain preferences within the limited options they see for themselves.

The understandings of marriage and the agency expressed by respondents are strongly influenced by certain gender structures in their communities. Marriage in Iganga has been built upon strong gender structures: whereby young women are often dependent of the income of a husband, and, men are expected to pay a bride price for their future wives. In return for the bride price, men get a wife that can produce their children, and who can help with domestic work. If a woman is not producing, the woman gets blamed and loses respect and status, whereas the husband has the choice to either leave the woman or marry a second wife; illustrating unequal gender relations. Moreover, after marriage, a woman is dependent on (the income of) her husband which creates unequal power relations, strengthening the gender inequality in the communities. This is exemplified by the finding that the majority of respondents appoint decision-making in their own (future) marriages towards the husband.

However, the findings also show that gender structures are subject to change. This change is seen through the increasing support for young women's education, but also in the determination young women express when talking about their preferences around marriage: for instance through not supporting polygamy, and expressing a maximum of children. It is noteworthy that respondents express that it used to be only the men who would cheat, but that now also women cheat. This could indicate a change in the power structures between men and women. Furthermore, it appears that there is an increasing tendency for young men and women to discuss certain terms of marriage during the so-called courtship, as they discuss the number of children or when to marry.

This study showed changes in normative beliefs, exemplified by young people deciding that they do not want many children, schooling youth expressing wanting to finish education and get a job prior to a marriage, out-of-school youth expressing wanting to go back to school prior to marriage, but also through the increasing support for women's education within communities, and the increasing consensus of community members that marriage should involve people above eighteen.

The findings presented follow Klocker's (2007) view on thick and thin agency, and follow the reasoning of Murphy-Graham and Leah (2014) who argued that their respondents did exercise agency, but it needed to be seen in context, as the choices their respondents made were both constrained and reinforced by social structures and power relations. This study showed that young people's agency towards their own marriage choices, and towards the dominant norms on marriage in society, gets enhanced through education, engagement in social organizations, and through changing gender structures. Young people's agency gets restricted when having limited (economic) opportunities, when having (pre-marital) children (mostly for

women) and when not being educated. Agency of young people towards marriage-decisions needs to be understood within the preferences, the options, and beliefs they have.

8.1.5 Adapted Conceptual scheme

Figure 6 shows the adapted conceptual model presented in the theoretical framework with adaptations according to the findings and discussion. This study tried to understand the practice of child marriage in context, coming from a more cultural relativist approach. This has not changed and so the conceptual scheme departs from the local context. In the adapted scheme the expectations form social, gender and cultural norms – providing the context in which young men and women's perception and agency are formed. The greatest adaption is how the scheme now anticipates changing expectations, which can change social norms, leading to either an enhanced or restricted agentic space.
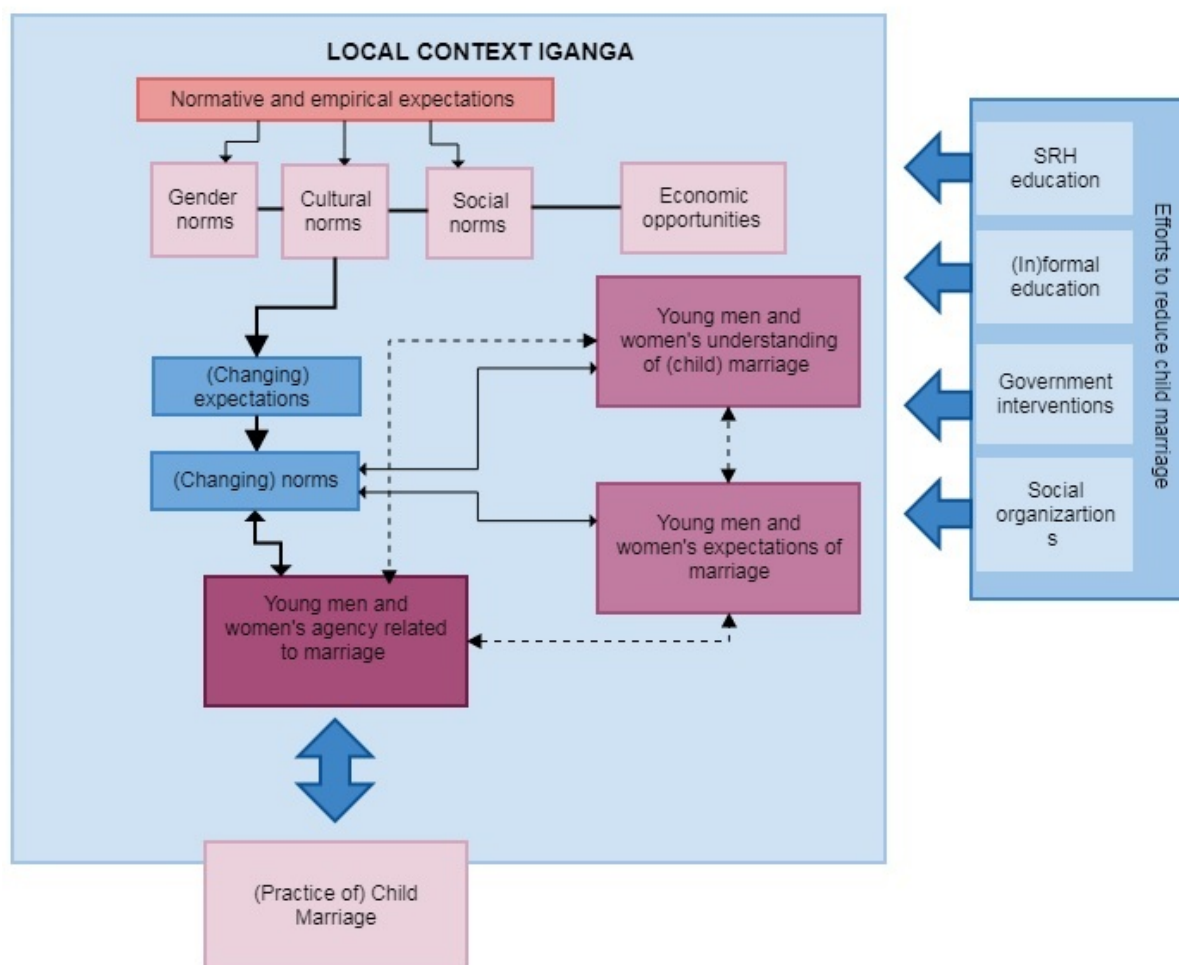

Figure 6 Adapted Conceptual scheme

8.2 Conclusion

How can we understand the perceptions, preferences and agency of young men and women in Iganga, Uganda related to (child) marriage, in the context of their community values and norms?

The way respondents look at (child) marriage, appears to be formed out of their own expectations, and those of their family- and community members. Moreover their agency towards marriage-decisions can be seen as complex, and dependent on social structures and power relations. Young people do not feel like they have an option to not marry, as they believe that they are expected by the community to marry – risking (physical or mental) abuse when unmarried. The study distinguishes three major functions of marriage: reproduction, economic support and status. Marriage is seen as the only socially acceptable manner to fulfill these functions, and fulfilling these is necessary for a successful life. In line with their belief of marriage as part of life, the respondents all express the desire to marry and have children. However, a large part of respondents show negative associations towards marriage, indicating marriage being a 'must' instead of a 'want'.

The agency young people exercise towards marriage- and family formation-decisions are dependent on multiple factors. This study shows how young people belief that they are able to be part of decision-making processes in their families, and are able to change community norms and values, and belief they can achieve their dreams. The study shows how young people's agency towards marriage- and family formation-decisions gets restricted by poverty as it limits the options young people (believe they) have. On the other hand, young people's agency gets enhanced predominantly through education, as it does not only change the expectation society has of young people; it changes the options young people (believe they) have.

8.2.1 Recommendations for future research

This study tried to incorporate the voices of young people themselves through the photo voice method. The incorporation of the research group as researchers did not only expand the amount and quality of data, it has also proved to be a productive, time-efficient way of capturing young people's voices. The method also helped in tackling a bias through my Western understanding of certain customs, expressions, and behaviors. And taking the limitations into account (see 3.7.5), for further research I would strongly advise participatory methods and inclusion of local researchers. Ideally, research like this would be conducted by local researchers or by a combination of a researcher from outside the country or area and one local (to avoid overlooking certain naturalized customs).

A second recommendation for future research would be conduct an in-depth study on pre-marital relationships. Child marriage is often presented through percentages (x% of girls married before the age of 18). Currently, the percentage of child marriage includes minors who live in the same house as their partner. Meaning, they did not necessarily gone through marriage ceremonies. This study showed that pre-marital

relationships are common, and it is increasingly common to live together before marriage. When living together, partners are often considered to be married. I wonder if there are communities or families in Uganda in which young people can have pre-marital relationships, which are not in secret, and whereby the young people involved are not considered to be married. And if so, what influence that has on the perceived agency towards marriage of the young people involved. I assume the option of having a boyfriend without the pressure to get married would thicken their agency.

Furthermore, this study shows that on the one hand, pre-marital relationship are taboo but on the other hand, pre-marital relationships of young people are expected by their parents, and are common in their communities (see 5.1.1). There appears to be a contradiction in the dominant social norm ('do not have pre-marital relationships') and the normative expectations of parents as they believe their children should have secret pre-marital relationships. It would be relevant to examine contradictions in social norms and practice further, as they could indicate a changing norm in society.

8.2.2 Recommendations for policy and practice

This study contributes to a better understanding of the views and feelings on marriage of young men and women, and contributes to the literature available on child marriage. In the study, I argue that child marriage cannot be looked at as a practice by itself; it needs to be looked at in a local context with social, cultural, and power structures that shape the expectations and beliefs of young men and women. I argue that young people exercise agency within the opportunities they see for themselves. I support a more nuanced analysis of child marriage that considers structures and the complexities within a local context. Therefor I am advocating policy and practice to more effectively address this issue by looking at the local context and to listen to those who they are talking about. In this section I present five recommendations:

1. There is a need for a more nuanced portrayal of child marriage in (inter)national campaigns and programs, as the current portrayal victimizes young men and women. I am not advocating downplaying the issue of child marriage, the consequences or related challenges, as they are not untrue. The problem lies in the portrayal only showing one side, contributing to a stereotype of young Ugandan men and women, that in the long term can create more problems than it solves, as it denies them agency and stigmatizes them as 'people in need of help'. (Inter)national development agencies should focus on providing a more nuanced portrayal of child marriage.

2. The government and (inter)national development organizations should not only focus on young people below a cut-off age in their programs and interventions on child marriage. This study, for instance, shows married young women regretting the fact they were married although they were married above the age of eighteen. Focusing on the eighteen-year-old threshold can exclude young

people above eighteen. Furthermore, it again risks victimizing young people below eighteen years – implicating they are not able to give their consent to a marriage or co-habitation.

3. In their policies and interventions, the government and (I)NGOs should take local realities into account. That is, they should not implement a one-size-fits-all intervention between and within countries. Additionally, there is a need for a comprehensive and inclusive approach. For instance, in this study, poverty has been highlighted as the primary cause for child marriage. Thus, an integral and comprehensive approach towards child marriage could include programs of economic empowerment of young men, women, and families. Furthermore, approaches should take into account that young people situate themselves within the expectations that others, and they themselves, have of them. Programs should thus not only include the empowerment of young women, it should also emphasize young men, parents, grandparents and anyone participating in society.

4. As education is pointed out as a key driver in abandoning child marriage, and in supporting young people in striving for their ambitions and dreams, I recommend the government to improve the role of formal and informal education in strengthening young men and women's agency, in order to enable them to make decisions about their lives, and, exercise their agency in changing societal norms. Firstly, parents should be motivated even more (especially in the rural areas) to send their children to school. Secondly, the curriculum in schools should emphasize speaking out, having discussions, and enabling young people to act as actors of change. This is now predominantly done by social organizations like The Hunger Project, but should be included in regular schooling.

5. I strongly recommend the government to to involve young people in their policy and practice, as youth should be included in every step of striving for child marriage free communities. They are the experts as they are living in the situations policy and practice handle. Including young people in research, in consultations and in advisory boards does not only enhance their agency, it establishes the full story with the challenges as seen by the young people themselves.

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Annex 1. Additional photo voice pictures and interviews

The participants in the PhotoVoice method have managed to interview and collect stories from 105 respondents. These interviews and pictures could not all be integrated inside of the thesis. Below, an additional selection of stories and pictures are presented, that support the arguments in the thesis.

1. **Forced marriage. RPVI.3. Picture and interview by R.8**

R.8: She explained that she was forced into marriage because her father wanted money so much. He wanted money for drinking. She was taken to an old man, who later died when she already had two children [she is a widow now]. She is not happy with the condition where she is staying in, with a grass stuffed house, she says life in marriage is really hell.

I: She was forced in marriage; do you know what her age at that time was?

R.8: She was seventeen.

I: When she told you this story, what did you think about it?

R.8: It was bad.

I: Why was it bad?

R.8: She was narrating her life, concerning her life; her father was also a drunkard. He wanted money to go for drinking and he decided when an elderly man came home, he told that old man to go with that young girl to give him money. To go for drinking. He used to come back home when he was drunk and beat the mother and all of them. When that old man came, she was also tired of the condition her father was in, the way he could behave. So she decided to go with that old man.

I: So it was two ways: forced into the marriage by her parents because of the money, and forced because there was violence in the house and she wanted to escape it.

2. **Own choice marriage. RPVI.5 and RPVI.6 Picture and interview by R.8**

R.8: It was a bit night. Two ladies explained that marriage is not something to joke with. They found themselves in married life which they were not ready for. One has five children and one has three. They have found life very difficult to withstand but they don't have nothing to do.

I: They thought they were married too young, do you know on what age they got married?

R.8: I didn't ask.

I: […] What do you think about this story?

R.8: When they told this story they were dwelling, they came from a very long journey. They started in a grass fetched house with their parents and they dropped out of school. One dropped out of school when she was pregnant, she was in primary 7. She decided to go with the one in charge of that pregnancy and afterwards the guy decided to run away. She started staying with what that guy left her with and then she got another one.

3. Marriage is difficult. RPVI.1 Picture and interview by R.8

R.8: He told me that marriage is like a journey, you must face everything that comes. That he had four kids with one wife but it is not simple to run that family when he does not have a permanent job. He sells charcoal stoves for a living.

4. Own choice marriage RPVI.2 Picture and interview by R.8

R.8: He got married when he was 18 years of age. He was not yet ready but because of the problems in his family, he decided to leave his family and to begin a new live with his own family. Now he has two children […] now he is 30.

I: What do you think about his story?

R.8: His story is not good, because he narrated that the family; his father would come back when he is a drunk, he is a drunkard, and could abuse. He decided to leave.

I: Actually what we talked about last week, when there is violence in the house, some children decide to go and get married. That's what he did?

R.8: That's what he did.

5. Marriage is difficult. RPVI.4 Picture and interview by R.8

R.8: She is a resident of Nakalama village. Her husband is a disabled person. She said it is very difficult to run a family when she is the only one. She is a farmer and what she gets from farming has helped her to meet the family needs. She was married when she was 20 years. She spend 25 years in marriage, she life in marriage is not so good and not so bad.

I: What did you think about her story?

R.8: Her story is somehow, not even interesting.

6. Forced marriage. RPVI.9 Picture and interview R.9

R.9: That is a married couple and they are farmers. They are having many children; they having eight children. This woman was forced to marry this man. She says that the marriage is not good at all because they get their school fees for the children from farming. And now, the man doesn't want to work, it is only the woman to work for the family. And she says life is not good in marriage.

I: Did she say that life in marriage was not good when her husband was sitting next to her?

R.9: No, she says marriage is good when you all work. But now the man gets up and leaves her there to take care of

the family.

I: Did you talk to the man as well to ask him?

R.9: No, I just spoke to the wife. […] Her parents started telling her 'you can go and get married, you should marry'. Her parents will tell her every day that you can marry, you are mature and you go and marry. So she decided to marry to that man.

[…]

I: What did you think about her story?

R.9: Her story is not good according what she narrated to me. Because she said she is the only one to work and to pay school fees and the man is just there. Just to represent that he is a husband to her. But he doesn't care about the family. […] He leaves very early in the morning.

I: And she doesn't know where to?

R.9: No

I2: And the other thing, these men you find them they waking up very early. They go to the nearby trading centers; you find them gambling and making noise around. Rather than being at home and helping their wives to do some work. Especially before campaigns you see the making noise on the streets.

I: Do you see this more often that these husbands leaves the family? They just go off.

R.9: Yes, they just go off. There are very many.

7. Own choice marriage. RPVI.13 Picture and interview by R.9

R.9: I found this one on the streets moving and I asked him. He took time to tell me some stories that he is married but he doesn't have a permanent job and he is having two children. And even, his wife is a drop-out. She dropped out when she was pregnant.

I: What did you think about his story?

R.9: His story is not good because he even told me that the parents of his wife were looking for him to arrest him. […] That he gave the daughter the pregnancy and the daughter was not yet mature enough. […] He is older than the girl because the girl is 18 and for him, he is 30. […] That she got married when she was pregnant [she was sixteen when she got pregnant and married].

I: How do you think the community sees a family like this? […]

R.9: Of course he has done something wrong because now the girl was getting pregnant. […] but they [the community members] didn't know from where they have come, they are now in a different community so they didn't know him.

I2: To add to that, in Uganda, the girl was sixteen and that is under 18. It happened that this guy was above 18 by the time he made that girl pregnant and to make things worse the girl was still in school. So he impregnated a girl and spoiled her future. If you talk such case to the police, they can arrest the boy. Why? 1. Defilement, the girl was under aged. 2. Spoiling the girls' future. Because you, you are not in school, you dropped out and now you go and spoiled someone's future.

I: So they run away from the community to avoid being arrested.

R.9: Yes

I2: In most cases, some parents can arrest you because they want you to make a commitment that you will support their child. It is not like everybody that is arrested is going to jail.

I: So it is more a warning? Either you provide for my daughter or you will go to jail?

R.9: Yes

8. Refusing marriage. RPVI.14 Picture and interview by R.9

R.9: I found her at a certain primary school. She is living alone, she was a school drop-out and now she works near a school. She is now at her work, she is on duty. […] She left school when she was in senior 1. […] Now she didn't get married and now her family jacked her from the family and said 'now you go and get married' and she didn't want to get married. So she decided to rent and now she got work to earn a living.

I2: Is she a single mother? Who is the father?

R.9: I don't know. She told me when she got pregnant, her parents kicked her from home and she didn't want to get married to the man who impregnated her.

I2: Why would you have sex with someone that you don't love?

I: What do you think about this story?

R.9: Her story is not good because she told me her parents were not happy with her and they just kicked her from the family and now she is just working at school. Life is not good at her side.

9. Forced marriage. RPVI.15 Picture and interview by R.9

R.9: That boy was forced to marry that woman. This is a young boy of 20 years and the woman is 36 years. The parents of the boy forced the boy to marry that woman. […] His mother died and he remained with only the father and the father started to tell him that he don't have properties here, I don't have your school fees, unless you get married to that woman; that's when I give you the properties.

I: So there was no money for the school fees, so he said you go and marry this woman?

R.9: Yes. The woman is 36 and the boy 20 years. […] The boy says he is not happy because he was forced to marry the old woman.

[…]

I: What do you think about this story?

R.9: The story is not good because the boy was forced to marry the old woman.

I: Did you talk to the woman as well?

R.9: That she is happy with their marriage. […] I think the boy is not happy because he told me he was forced to marry and for him he wanted a woman of his own age, but for now that is not possible. He has to wait until this woman dies before he can go and get another.

10. Own choice marriage. RPVI.16 Picture and interview by R.9

R.9: This one is a school drop-out, but for this one she is married with her husband.

I: And is she happy?

R.9: Yes. She dropped when she was in Senior 4 Vocation. […] She was 19, and now she is 23.[…] She has two children.

I: And is she happy in the marriage?

R.9: Yes because the husband gives her whatever she wants. […] She told me her marriage was good because she has a husband that cares for her and can give her whatever she wants. Then I asked if her parents were aware of her marriage and she said that even when that they are not aware, as long as she is happy with her marriage.

I: So what do you think about that?

R.9: According to me, that is not a good marriage because her parents don't know the husband.

11.   School drop-outs. RPVI.19 and RPVI.20. Picture and interview by R.9

R.9: Those are also school drop-outs.
I2: Are they married?
R.9: Yes
I: And children?
R.9: No.
I: They look young, what age are they?
R.9: This one is 17 and this one is 19.
I: So 17 and 19. And do they work?
R.9: The man just stays there at home and then when the boda boda comes, he does that work. He doesn't have a permanent work.
I: Are they planning to have children?
R.9: Yes.

12.   Not producing children in a marriage. RPVI.24. Picture and interview by R.10

R.10: That woman is renting. She has a man but she doesn't have a child.
I: No child, do you know why?
R.10: Maybe the woman has a problem. […] She is 28.
I: And how old was she when she got married?
R.10: Didn't ask. She told me those years she had pregnancies but at the time of delivering the children died.
I: She never delivered a living child? R.10: Yes.
I2: Is she happy in her marriage?
R.10: No, because of no child.
I2: Is the husband having another woman?
R.10: Yes, the husband has another woman with four children.
I: So the husband has two wives now. And she lives on her own? R.10: With the man.
I: But he lives also with the other wife?
R.10: Yes
I: And when she couldn't deliver, was that the moment the man went to find another wife?

R.10: Yes.
I: What do you think about this story?
R.10: It is not good. […] Because there are no children in the marriage.
[…]
I: So the moment you can't produce as a woman, it is not good. And what if you have one child?
All: at least it is one.
I: So that's all right? You don't have to produce ten?
All: Yes
I2: But still, she says what if you produce one. If you look at the local context, if you have one child people will ask: what happens when that one dies? So they rather see you producing many children, not bearing in mind that such many children have more needs.
R.8: You can get as many as possible. But if you can take care of them and give them their needs, then you can give birth to as many as you can, very many.

13. Family situation: poverty. RPVI.30 Picture and interview by R.10

R.10: Those children, their mother and father. The mother sells cassava. […] So the mother left them with that child [in black dress]. She is the one to cook.

I: Where is the mother?

R.10: The mother works. That girl is in P3, but when she comes back home she takes care of the children.

I: And the man is working as well?

R.10: I don't know.

I: What age is this child?

R.10: She is ten.

14. Young married women. RPVI.32 and RPVI.35 Pictures and interviews by R.10

R.10: This girl is pregnant. She ended in P3. She was forced to marry an old man. […] The man is 30. But that girl is now 17. […] She was sixteen [when they married].

I: How was she feeling about her marriage?

R.10: She is happy, she started a program.

I: So she doesn't mind being married to the old man?

R.10: No

R.10: This one was supposed to be in Senior 5 this year. She got married in Senior 4 [she was 17], first term. She got impregnated. […] Her parents told her to leave and go get married to that man. So she is married.

I: This is not her child?

R.10: No, she has one child. And she is now pregnant [with second born]

15. Abuse by stepparent. RPVI.42. Picture and interview by R.11

R.11: Those children, I found them with the stepmom, cultivating a banana plantation. She had given them a very large piece of land to cultivate within five hours. […] I asked the mom, she told me they must grow their food. Because, the food she grows is for her children. Even this one, they plant it for their food. […] They are not schooling. Their mother died. Now the father married another wife, but the wife is so rude. These are the ones to plant their own crop, after that they harvest, after they harvest, they buy their clothes and they prepare their meal. The stepmother only prepares for her children; she has now two of her own. For these kids, one is the elder and the others are twins.

[...]
I: And the dad, where is he?

R.11: I don't know, but he works. The eldest told me that if they meet their dad and tell him about the situation, the dad can't accept them. He will say that they are lying. The dad can spend like a month out of home, when he comes home and the children tell him; he can't accept. But what the stepmother tells him, he accepts.

16. Unmarried man. RPVI.45 Picture and interfview by R.11

R.11: That man also told me his stories. He never got married, and he is 28 years old. He prepares food for himself; he has no child and no wife. He fears to try marriage, he fears people who are thieves, and he fears prostitutes, so he loves staying alone. And even, he doesn't have enough food to provide for the woman and these days women eat a lot. He loves staying alone. I found him lingering one kilogram of posho. His desire is to stay alone. But he told me in the future he will get a wife.

I: And the community doesn't disturb him or abuse him for being alone?

R.11: They abuse him.

I: Doesn't he care?

R.11: No.

17. Own choice marriage. RPVI.38, RPVI.39 and RPVI.40. Picture and interview by R.11

R.11: This woman, the other leg is lame. And those girls, they are her daughters and the other child is her grandchild.

I: These are her daughters?

R.11: So before she married the father of these two girls [in the right picture], then the father died. As he died, these girls stopped schooling because of school fees. Now this girl because of the situation at home, she suggested to marry. So this one married, she produced three children. But the situation with the husband at home was so bad, that she left. But when she left, she left with a pregnancy. So she came back with three children, she left one at home with the husband. Now the other one [in the pink shirt], she went up to Senior 2 but after there, the group influence made her to conceive also from within the village; the boy was their neighbor. He was a boda boda. Because that boy was catering for her, buying her clothes, because the mother couldn't take care for her, so the boy was caring for her. She conceived, they took her to his home and then she conceived. After conceiving, the boy ran away from the house. Now the girl is back to the mother. Now, as the father of the two girls died, the woman went and married another. When she married, she produced those four children but after that, the man again divorced her. She doesn't know where the man is. She is just there. I found her cooking silver fish. The woman doesn't know where the husband is, struggling like that and is lame [disabled].

18. Forced marriage. RPVI.41. Picture and interview by R.11

R.11: Those people; the one is married to the other one. I found them in their garden when they were quarrelling. They are rice growers. I found them quarreling, I first went to them, talked to them and then they accepted. I brought them into contact and they told me their story about marriage. They told me they married at a very early age. One was 18 and then the other one was 16 years. The parents of the woman forced her to marry this man because the parents of the man were somehow richer than the parents of the other one. So the family of the girl admired this boy and forced her to marry him. So, as she married him, immediately she conceived the first born, but the first born was aborted because they were not ready to get pregnant. After that, they stayed for three years at the family of the boys. After that, the woman conceived again and she produced twins; a boy and a girl. Then, these people they went and hired someone's garden, to be staying there. They grow rice for the boss, to save them from paying the rent. They live in that situation, they have seven children. They don't have land for themselves; they just grow rice for the boss, to allow them to stay in his house. The boss gave them two rooms, while they are with seven. One is where the children are staying and one is where they are staying. They don't parent, because they grow rice for the boss.

I: And do the children go to school?

R.11: They study. The boss gave them one plot to care for their children. The boss has ten plots, but he gave them one, just for caring for their children and the remaining is for him. They want to cultivate only rice. They told me they were happy in their family.

I2: While you found them quarrelling. [laughing]

R.11: They were quarrelling for porridge, the porridge was over and then the man was very angry because he wanted to take some porridge.

19. Goat with baby goat. Picture and interview by R.11
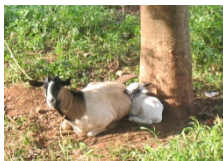
R.11: This goat, it amazed me. The owner told me the story its stories. He told me that that goat gave birth to this kid. The goat can't sleep when the kid is still awake. It first prepares for its kid where to sleep, uses its mouth to clean where the kid is about to sleep. He then breastfeeds it.

20. Happy marriage. RPVI.54. Picture and interview by R.13

R.13: In that family, I decided to take their photo because that man, I see him as hard working. And that woman, there is love in that family. Sincerely, the woman [on the right] is married to this man [left]. The man is a boda boda driver, but he rides the bicycle. In the morning, very early he gets up and goes to town, Iganga town, riding the bike as the woman goes to the garden. They had a small hut, where they lived before. But now, out of the little income the man is getting, they build this house here. So I decided to take their photo because they were cooperative and very happy.

I: It was a happy marriage?

R.13: Yes. They live in a happy marriage, how poor the man is and the woman.

21. Own choice marriage. RPVI.58 Picture and interview by R.13

R.13: That young girl is called [ ]. She got married at tender age, she was in Senior 2. She got married after her parents denied her the help. She was living with the stepmother, and the stepmom used to mistreat her. She used to go to school in boarding, things were not all that good because you can't throw someone in boarding and then just leave her there. So she decided to get married to a boy, uneducated. She got married and now she says that they are living in a happy marriage. She is just living in that house. [...] She is around 22. [...] When she was in Senior 2, around 18.
I: And this is her child? She has one?
R.13: Yes, she has only one and like if she is pregnant again.

22. Consent parents. RPVI.75 Picture and interview by R.14

R.14: He got a girl when he was in Senior 2. He was 18. He did not get request from the girls' side. So now I found him preparing for himself, because the girl is not around.
I: Because the parents of the girl didn't accept? So the girl has gone back to her parents?
R.14: Yes.
I: Do they have children?
R.14: No.
I: But they stay married until the girl comes back from her parents?
R.14: Yes.

23. Forced marriage. RPVI.76 Picture and interview by R.14

R.14: They forced her to marry. [...] She is now pregnant. She was 12. She is now 17. [...] The parents were looking for money. They were poor and they gave their daughter to the husband.
I: How old was the husband?
R.14: 40.
I: And she is pregnant for the first time?
R.14: Yes.
I: What did she tell you?
R.14: She is not happy because they forced her.
I: What did you think about it? How did you feel about it?
R.14: Sad. I wish they get that husband.

24. Own choice marriage. RPVI.78 Picture and interview by R.14

R.14: That couple, that girl who they forced to marry [picture 24], this is the husband. And this is his girlfriend [17 years old], the wife.
I: So this man has two young wives?
R.14: Yes
I: Are they married?
R.14: Not yet.
I: What did he tell you?
R.14: He is very happy.
I: And she?
R.14: Also
I: But the other wife is not happy?
R.14: No.

25. Unplanned pregancy. RPVI.79 Picture and interview by R.14

R.14: This girl was pregnant, a certain boy got her pregnant; unwanted pregnancy. Now she is just at home. The boy disappeared.
I: Does her family know that she is pregnant?
R.14: Yes.
I: And what did they think about it?
R.14: They just left her there. She lives with them. She is 18.

26. Own choice marriage. RPVI.81 Picture and interview by R.23

R.23: She has five kids, she got married when she was 18 years old. She loves her husband because he is able to provide her with what she needs. And she is happy to be married with that man. […] Because she was at home at her parents, and she was not doing anything and that why she loves the husband [laughing]
I: She didn't go to school?
R.23: She lacked school fees. […] The gentlemen talked to the parents, and then the parents consented. Then they allowed her to go and get married.
I: What did you think about her story?
R.23: She was not forced to marry. So that is good.
I: Why is that good?
R.23: Since she wasn't in school and she was just at home, she had to go and marry.
I: And is that good or bad?
R.23: It is good.
I: Would you like to have her life?
R.23: No.
I: Why not?
R.23: I don't know.

27. Providing for family. RPVI.85Picture and interview by R.24

R.24: This one is married, his name is [ ]. He has one child. He is a shop keeper. […] He got married when he was 20 years. He is happy because in his family there is happiness, he loves his wife and child. He can give support to his wife and child.
I: And his wife works or staying home with the child?
R.24: Staying home. […] She is 18.
I: Did she drop out of school?
R.24: Yes.
I: What do you think about this story?
R.24: It is good, because the man has a job and he can provide for the family, he can take care.
I: Would you like to have a marriage like this one?
R.24: For me, I want to be better than that. His wife is just staying home, for me I want to have a job.
I: So it is somehow good this story, but you don't want it.

28. Own choice marriage. RPVI.92 Picture and interview by R.27

R.27: This one is just two months married, he is 18. […] I asked him, how is marriage? And he said my friend, marriage is not good. I asked him why. He told me, you need a lot of money, you need to work.
I: He just got married and he is struggling already?
R.27: Yes
I: Why did he get married?
R.27: Maybe to enjoy life.
I: And now he has to work hard?
R.27: Yes
I: What do you think about his story?
R.27: His story is bad because he told me that he needs to work hard to be a man and support your family.
I: Do they have children?
R.27: No.

29. Refusing marriage. RPVI.93 Picture and interview by R.27

R.27: This one was about to marry, but he refused. Because he didn't have money to support the family, I don't have money to take to the woman's family.
I: What did you think about this?
R.27: It is not good, he has to work hard.
I: So now he doesn't want to get married anymore?
R.27: No he doesn't want to get married.

30. Not producing children in a marriage. RPVI.96 Picture and interview by R.29

R.29: I asked that lady in our local language, what is marriage? She told me, marriage is when you have authority. She told me that, she got married in 2002, she was 17 years old. I asked her, what are the problems that you face when you are married? She told me that she faced a problem because she and her husband were not associating. She did not give birth at that time, she said that she went to the hospital and they checked her. The doctor told the husband; your wife can't give birth. She told me that marriage is good when you have money, when you have a humble husband. She told me that, marriage is bad when you don't associate with the husband and you don't have money.

I: She didn't produce? They went to the hospital and the doctor told the husband that his wife couldn't produce, what did the husband do?

R.29: He just left here there. […] And these children you are seeing, they came from another woman. They came from the neighborhood.

I: So these are not her children?

R.29: She does not give birth.

I: How does the community look at her, being a single woman that can't produce?

R.29: For her case, in the morning she goes to the garden, when she comes back she doesn't move, anywhere. She says that she is afraid to move, she is afraid her fellows will say that she can't give birth. And she fears the village. One time, she tried to take poison.

I: Does she have friends?

R.29: Yes, she asked the friend for babies to care for, for her case, to have some parental love.

I: Is she happy?

R.29: She is happy because she is used to the live.

I: So she doesn't want to take the poison anymore?

R.29: She doesn't, because she tried and the poison refused to work.

I: Okay, what do you think of this story?

R.29: For her case, she was living with her parents in a home. But the dad she was living with was not the real father. When this man got her mother, he said if you want to stay with me, send that girl away. Sometimes in our village, when a lady has a daughter and the daughter grows, the husband can use the daughter, forcefully. So this man told his wife to send her away when she was 16 and she got married.

I: That's the reason she got married?

R.29: Yes. And later, she did not give birth. The husband decided, when the doctor told him that your wife does not give birth, to build a house for her. After building the house, the man gave everything the woman has, and he left. When time reaches, the man sends some money to the wife. He bought enough land for her.

I: So the husband left, but provided for her? What do you think about that?

R.29: The man would have remained with the wife, near. That lady always comes to our house and talks to my mother. She says that she fears because her husband is not near. I don't know what he is doing and where he is.

I: So you think that he should be staying with her even though she can't have children?

R.29: Yes.

I: And do you think that he can get a second wife?

R.29: I think so.

I: So if somebody doesn't produce it gives the right to get another wife.

R.29: Yes

31. Appropriate age to marry. RPVI.80. Picture and interview by R.23

I: Can you tell me, why did you take this picture?

R23: She was telling me about her history. Her name is [ ]. She has eight children, and she married when she was fifteen years. She says marriage is good because when she asks for something the husband gets it for her. That was it.

I: She got married when she was 15, did she choose to get married?

R23: On her own [she decided herself]

I: Why did she want to get married?

R23: Because she dropped out-of-school.

I: Why did she drop out-of-school?

R23: She liked the husband.

I: What do you think about this story?

R23: You finish the studies before you get married.

I: Would you like to have her life?

R23: No.

I: Why not?

R23: Because she got married when she was young. I will be affected by that marriage, because I am still young. When you are old you can manage how to plan a family, when you are young, you don't have any plan.

I: So when you get older you get a plan. How old do you want to be when you get married? What age?

R23: You should be 30.

[Conversation about appropriate age for marriage]

I: What would happen in your community when you reach the age of 30 and you are not married and have no children?

R23: They take you as someone who is unable to produce a child. According to how it is in Uganda here, a girl is not supposed to sit at home at 30 years.

32. Pre-marital relationship. RPVI.46 interview by R.11

R.11: Those ones are from our school, but I found them coupling. So they told me their stories. Each one loves each other. I found them coupling. They are preparing their official marriage. Each one told me they love each other. They began their love in Senior 2, and they are now in Senior 5, they are in the same class. They told me they love each other and they told me they haven't experienced any difficulties in their love.

[Lot of giggles in between]

I: We finally have a happy story!

I2: Yes of teenage love, upcoming couples.

R.11: The boy he doesn't work but out of his school fees, he cares for the girl.

I2: Out of his school fees?

R.11: Yes, he gets from his parents. And then he gets half to give to the girl.

I2: How does he pay for his school fees?

R.11: That he goes back and deceives the parents. So they told me they are preparing for their future marriage.

Annex 2. Overview respondents

Table 15 Overview young respondents in interview

R#	Schooling status	Gender	Age	Marital status	Religion		Place of residence	Date
30	Out of school	Female	21	Not married	Muslim		Kigulu, Iganga district	25/07/2017
31	Out of school	Male	24	Married	Muslim		Kigulu, Iganga district	25/07/2017
32	Out of school	Female	23	Married	Born Christian	Again	Kigulu, Iganga district	25/07/2017
33	Student Senior Secondary School	Female	13	Not married	Christian		Igombe, Iganga district	26/07/2017
34	Out of school – ended senior 3	Male	20	Not married	Muslim		Nakigu, Iganga district	28/07/2017
35	Out of school – ended senior 6	Male	24	Not married	Muslim		Nakigu, Iganga district	28/07/2017
36	Out of school – ended primary 6	Female	18	Married	Muslim		Nakigu, Iganga district	28/07/2017
37	Student Senior Secondary School	Female	16	Not married	Catholic		Budama, Iganga district	02/08/2017
38	Student Senior Secondary School	Male	16	Not married	Born Christian	Again	Bulamagi, Iganga district	02/08/2017
39	Student Senior Secondary School	Female	17	Not married	Born Christian	Again	Busesa, Iganga district	02/08/2017
40	Student Senior Secondary School	Female	17	Not married	Born Christian	Again	Karibu, Iganga district	03/08/2017
41	Student Senior Secondary School	Male	18	Not married	Catholic		Iganga district	03/08/2017
42	Student Senior Secondary School	Male	20	Not married	Born Christian	Again	Iganga town	03/08/2017
43	Student Senior Secondary School	Female	17	Not married	Born Christian	Again	Iganga district	03/08/2017
44	Student Senior Secondary School	Male	19	Not married	Protestant		Iganga district	03/08/2017
45	Out of school – ended senior 2	Female	16	Not married	Muslim		Nakalama, Iganga district	07/08/2017
46	Out of school – ended senior 4	Female	19	Not married	Muslim		Nakalama, Iganga district	07/08/2017
47	Out of school – ended senior 3	Male	17	Not married	Muslim		Nakalama, Iganga district	07/08/2017
48	Student University	Female	20	Not married	Muslim		Nakalama, Iganga	07/08/2017

						district		
49	Out of school – ended senior 6	Male	20	Not married	Muslim	Bukoteka, district	Iganga	08/08/2017
50	Out of school – working	Male	23	Not married	Protestant	Bukoteka, district	Iganga	08/08/2017
51	Out of school – ended senior 5	Female	19	Not married	Adventist	Bukoteka, district	Iganga	08/08/2017
52	Out of school – ended senior 4	Female	19	Not married	Born Again Christian	Bukoteka, district	Iganga	08/08/2017
53	In school	Male	20	Not married	Muslim	Bukoteka, district	Iganga	08/08/2017
54	Out of school – ended senior 4	Female	21	Married	Catholic	Bukoteka, district	Iganga	08/08/2017
55	Out of school - ended primary 2	Male	20	Not married	Catholic	Kagonkoka, district	Iganga	10/08/2017
56	Out of school - ended primary 7	Male	20	Not married	Unknown	Kagonkoka, district	Iganga	10/08/2017
57	Out of school - ended primary 7	Male	19	Not married	Muslim	Kagonkoka, district	Iganga	10/08/2017
58	Out of school - ended senior 4	Female	18	Not married	Muslim	Kagonkoka, district	Iganga	10/08/2017
59	Out of school - ended senior 7	Male	19	Not married	Protestant	Kagonkoka, district	Iganga	10/08/2017
60	Out of school - ended primary 7	Male	18	Not married	Catholic	Kagonkoka, district	Iganga	10/08/2017
61	Out of school – ended senior 4	Female	19	Not married	Born Again Christian	Kagonkoka, district	Iganga	10/08/2017

Table 16 Overview respondents interview involved in THPU

R#	THPU status	Schooling status	Gender	Age	Marital status	Religion	Place of residence	Date
1	Intern THPU	In University	Female	22	Not married	Anglican	Iganga town	05/07/2017
2	Intern THPU	In University	Female	21	Not married	Protestant	Iganga town	06/07/2017
3	Intern THPU	In University	Female	23	Not married	Born Again Christian	Iganga town	06/07/2017
4	Intern THPU	In University	Female	21	Not married	Adventist	Iganga town	07/07/2017
5	Intern THPU	In University	Female	21	Engaged with fiancé	Protestant	Iganga town	07/07/2017
6	Animator THPU	Working	Female	26	Engaged with fiancé	Born Again Christian	Nakalama, Iganga district	07/07/2017
7	Intern THPU	In University	Female	24	Engaged with fiancé	Anglican	Iganga town	10/07/2017
15	Animator THPU	X	Female	40	Married	Catholic	Kakongoka, Iganga district	12/07/2017
16	Animator THPU	X	Female	56	Married	Christian	Kakongoka, Iganga district	12/07/2017
17	Animator THPU	X	Male	60	Married	Christian	Kakongoka, Iganga district	12/07/2017
18	Peer educator THPU	Out of school	Male	24	Engaged with fiancé	Muslim	Namundudi, Iganga district	12/07/2017
19	Peer educator THPU	Out of school	Female	26	Married	Muslim	Nakalama, Iganga district	13/07/2017
20	Peer educator THPU	Out of school	Male	25	Not married	Protestant	Nakalama, Iganga district	13/07/2017
21	Peer educator THPU	Out of school	Female	22	Married	Protestant	Nakalama, Iganga district	13/07/2017
22	Animator THPU	X	Male	57	Married	Christian	Kakongoka, Iganga district	13/07/2017

Table 17 Overview participants photo voice

R#	Form	Gender	Age	Marital status	Religion		Place of residence		Date
8	Senior 3	Female	16	Not married	Muslim		Nakalama, district	Iganga	11/07/2017, 18/072017
9	Senior 4	Female	17	Not married	Born Christian	Again	Kigulu, district	Iganga	11/07/2017, 18/072017
10	Senior 4	Female	17	Not married	Born Christian	Again	Nakalama, district	Iganga	11/07/2017, 18/072017
11	Senior 5	Female	18	Not married	Protestant		Nakalama, district	Iganga	11/07/2017, 18/072017
12	Senior 5	Male	17	Not married	Protestant		Nabusere, district	Iganga	11/07/2017, 18/072017
13	Senior 3	Male	18	Not married	Born Christian	Again	Bukoona, district	Iganga	11/07/2017, 18/072017
14	Senior 5	Male	17	Not married	Muslim		Nakalama, district	Iganga	11/07/2017, 18/07/2017
23	Senior 2	Female	14	Not married	Protestant		Bukoona, district	Iganga	20/07/2017, 27/07/2017
24	Senior 3	Female	16	Not married	Muslim		Bukoona, district	Iganga	20/07/2017, 27/07/2017
25	Senior 1	Female	16	Not married	Protestant		Bukoona, district	Iganga	20/07/2017, 27/07/2017
26	Senior 1	Female	15	Not married	Protestant		Bukoona, district	Iganga	20/07/2017, 27/07/2017, 04/08/2017
27	Senior 2	Male	17	Not married	Muslim		Bukoona, district	Iganga	20/07/2017, 27/07/2017
28	Senior 1	Male	16	Not married	Christian		Bukoona, district	Iganga	20/07/2017, 27/07/2017. 03/08/2017
29	Senior 2	Male	16	Not married	Christian		Bukoona, district	Iganga	20/07/2017, 27/07/2017, 03/08/2017

Annex 2a Overview in-direct respondents (interviewed by participants photo voice)

RPVI #	Sex	Age	Marital status	Story	Theme	Theme
1	Male	-	Married	Marriage is like a journey, you must face everything that comes. It is not simple if you don't have a permanent job.	Marriage is difficult	
2	Male	30	Married	Married when he was 18. He wasn't ready, but Married because of situation at home.	Own choice marriage	Alcohol/cigarette abuse
3	Female	-	Widowed	Forced into marriage because of money and situation at home when she was 17 with an older man who later died.	Forced marriage	Alcohol/cigarette abuse
4	Female	45	Married	Married with a disabled man, running the family is difficult. Marriage is not so good and not so bad.	Marriage is difficult	Disabled spouse
5	Female	-	Married	School drop-out (P7) because of pregnancy, Married the man in charge of the baby, who ran away. Has another husband.	Own choice marriage	Marriage because of pregnancy
6	Female	-	Married	Married when she wasn't ready, dropped out of school.	Own choice marriage	Marriage because of dropping out of school
7	Female	-	Divorced	School drop-out (P6) because of pregnancy, refused to marry the man/man left. Says 'marriage is death indeed'	Refusing or leaving a marriage	Marriage because of pregnancy
8	Male	40	Widowed	Widowed man takes care of their four Children. Does not have a permanent income (boda boda).	Widow	
9	Female	-	Married	Woman forced to marry. Marriage is difficult because of poverty and her husband doesn't want to work.	Forced marriage	Providing for family
10	Female	36	Divorced	She was Married, but her husband ran away. She has four Children and is pregnant.	Spouse leaving marriage	
11	Female	37	Widowed	She was Married but her husband died in an accident. She is left with ten Children.	Widow	
12	Female	-	Widowed	Grandmother takes care of grandchild; daughter (20) has died.	Family situation	
13	Male	30	Married	Married his wife when she was 16 (he was 28) because of pregnancy. Parents of wife are searching for him to get him arrested.	Own choice marriage	Imprisonment (fear of)
14	Female	27	Not married	School drop-out (S1), because of pregnancy. Forced to marry but refused and abandoned by family.	Refusing or leaving a marriage	Abandoned by family
15	Male	20	Married	Forced to marry an older woman (37). His mother died, his father refused to pay school fees unless he would marry.	Forced marriage	Marriage because of poverty
16	Female	23	Married	School drop-out (S4), Married when she was 19. She is happy in the marriage because the husband can provide for her.	Own choice marriage	Providing for family

17	Female	-	Married	Married and pregnant. She stays in the house alone, waiting for her husband who sometimes doesn't come back.	Spouse leaving marriage	
18	Female	20	Married	School drop-out, Married and pregnant. Eloped, parents don't know where she is.	Own choice marriage	Marriage because of dropping out of school
19	Couple	17	Married	Both school-drop outs, no permanent work.	Own choice marriage	Marriage because of dropping out of school
20	Couple	19	Married	Both school-drop outs, no permanent work.	Own choice marriage	Marriage because of dropping out of school
21	Female	-	Divorced	Woman with four Children and pregnant. Husband ran away and she doesn't know where he is.	Spouse leaving marriage	
22	Couple	19	Married	Both school-drop outs and forming a family now. They don't have a permanent job and don't have Children yet.	Own choice marriage	Marriage because of dropping out of school
23	Couple	17	Married	Both school-drop outs and forming a family now. They don't have a permanent job and don't have Children yet.	Own choice marriage	Marriage because of dropping out of school
24	Female	28	Married	Marriage with no Children, her husband got a second wife with who he has four Children.	Marriage with no children	Polygamous marriage
25	Female	-	Married	Woman with eight Children, Married in polygamous marriage. Doesn't like it as there is not enough food.	Polygamous marriage	Providing for family
26	Male	38	Not married	Unmarried man.	Not marrying in Uganda	
27	Male	-	Divorced	His wife left and went with another man. He is happy now 'he is free'. He is a drunkard.	Spouse leaving marriage	Alcohol/cigarette abuse
28	Female	-	Divorced	Mother of five, left her husband's house (reason unknown) and came to live with her mother.	Refusing or leaving a marriage	
29	Female	13	Not married	Didn't go to school and stays home with her parents. Her parents can't afford school fees.	Family situation	Poverty
30	Female	10	Not married	Girl (P3) takes care of her four siblings because her mother works.	Family situation	
31	Female	30	Married	No Children in the marriage, the husband doesn't have a second wife.	Marriage with no children	
32	Female	17	Married	School drop-out(P3). Forced to marry an older man (30 years - she was 16). She is now pregnant and is happy in the marriage.	Forced marriage	
33	Male	40	Married	Unhappy in his marriage (Married to an older woman, who has Children from an earlier	Marriage with no	

				marriage) because he wants a Child.	Children	
34	Female	-	Divorced	Disabled woman, Married but the husband left: he got another wife and let her there.	Spouse leaving marriage	Unfaithfulness
35	Female	18	Married	School drop-out (S4) because she got pregnant (at 17) and forced to marry by her parents.	Forced marriage	Marriage because of pregnancy
36	Female	12	Not married	Young girl taking care of her family. Father is a drunkard and the girl fears abuse	Family situation	Alcohol/cigarette abuse
37	Female	-	Divorced	Mother of nine Children and pregnant with the 10th, they are all not in school because of school fees. Her husband divorced her.	Spouse leaving marriage	Poverty
38	Female	-	Divorced	School drop-out because of school fees, Married. Left the marriage because it was not good.	Refusing or leaving a marriage	Marriage because of dropping out of school
39	Female	-	Divorced	School drop-out (S2), peer pressure made her to conceive. She went with the boy, delivered and then the man divorced her.	Spouse leaving marriage	Marriage because of pregnancy
40	Female	-	Divorced	Widowed woman, so she re-Married and produced four Children. Their father ran away, so now she is a single mother again.	Spouse leaving marriage	
41	Couple	-	Married	Married (when 18 and 16), woman was forced. They have 7 Children. They are happy in their family.	Forced marriage	
42	Siblings	-	Not married	Out of school. Stepmother doesn't take care of them. They harvest their own food.		Abuse by stepparent
43	Male	-	Married	He has a wife and a Child but there is confusion about the father of the Child, as the mother argues it is from two men.	Marriage is difficult	
44	Female	-	Divorced	Orphan at 15. Neighbour gave her medicine that made her fall in love with her son. They Married, but she left.	Refusing or leaving a marriage	Husband not providing
45	Male	28	Single	Unmarried man, will get Married in the future. In the community he gets abused but he doesn't care.	Not marrying in Uganda	
46	Couple	-	Coupling	Preparing for their marriage, they began their love in Senior 2 and are now in Senior 5.	Own choice marriage	
47	Couple	-	Coupling	Preparing for their marriage.	Own choice marriage	
48	Male	19	Not married	Orphan, lived with community members until 15 and lives on the streets now.	Family situation	
49	Siblings	-	Not married	Two Children. Father in the family left 'because the women always took the power in the marriage'	Spouse leaving marriage	
50	Siblings	-	Not married	Playing Children, parents (school drop-outs) have gone to work. The neighbours look after the kids.	Family situation	
51	Siblings	-	Not	Again: their parents left and went to work. The Children they are at home, without their parents.	Family situation	

			married			
52	Male	-	Married	This man has to take care of the house as his wife takes care of him, the wife 'just leaves him there. He is not happy'	Marriage is difficult	Woman is breadwinner
53	Siblings	-	Not married	Poor family: Children are searching for some foods.	Family situation	Poverty
54	Siblings	-	Not married	These kids are taken care of by their grandmother. They go to school.	Family situation	Poverty
55	Male	-	Married	This man got Married, but he just picked the women of the road. Both are sick. Woman is pregnant.	Family situation	Disabled spouse
56	Male	-	Married	There is love in the family. They work hard.	Happy marriage	
57	Female	85	Widowed	Married, but the husband died when she only had one son.	Widow	
58	Female	23	Married	School drop-out (S2), Married because her stepmother used to mistreat her. She is happy now in her marriage.	Own choice marriage	Abuse by stepparent
59	Female	-	Married	Married as second wife but mistreats the Children. Her Children are dropping out of school and getting early marriages.	Polygamous marriage	Abuse by stepparent
60	Female	-	Married	Married to husband with HIV. Husband has a lot of wives.	Polygamous marriage	HIV and contraceptives
61	Female	-	Married	Women couldn't produce, so the husband Married a second woman.	Marriage with no Children	Polygamous marriage
62	Female	-	Married	Married with many Children but in poverty.	Family situation	Poverty
63	Child	-	Not married	The mother left the family, so now the father has to provide. There are three Children in the house, all going to Primary.	Spouse leaving marriage	
64	Female	42	Divorced	Mother of two, husband abandoned the house two years ago. She never spoke with him again.	Spouse leaving marriage	
65	Female	50	Married	Mother of three Children. She is happy in her marriage.	Family situation	
66	Female	-	Married	She is in a happy marriage. Both work and are happy. She has two Children.	Family situation	Providing for family
67	Female	43	Married	She isn't happy in her marriage, because of domestic violence.	Domestic violence	
68	Female	50	Married	Mother of five, she is happy in the marriage because the man provides for her.	Family situation	Providing for family
69	Child	-	Not married	Abandoned by the parents, and was a street Child.	Family situation	
70	Female	35	Divorced	Husband got another wife and left her. She is mother of two and the husband doesn't provide in her basic needs.	Spouse leaving marriage	Unfaithfulness
71	Female	60	Divorced	Her husband disappeared. She dropped out of school in Senior 2, she has three Children.	Spouse leaving marriage	

72	Male	-	Married	Happy in his marriage, has one Child.	Happy marriage	
73	Couple	50	Married	They have one Child and are happy.	Happy marriage	
74	Couple	40	Married	They have one Child and are happy.	Happy marriage	
75	Male	18	Married	Married but the parents of the girl didn't accept. So now he is alone, waiting for the girl to return from her parents.	Consent of parents	
76	Female	17	Married	Forced to marry (at 12 / husband 40) by her parents for money.	Forced marriage	Marriage because of poverty
77	Female	-	Not married	Two orphans, but they go to school. Their family provides for them.	Family situation	Orphans
78	Male	45	Married	Husband of RPVI.67. He also has a girlfriend, she is 17.	Polygamous marriage	Husband and his girlfriend
79	Female	18	Not married	She is pregnant, unwanted. The boy disappeared.	Unwanted pregnancy	
80	Female	-	Married	School drop-out, got Married when she was 15 out of love. Is happy in her marriage because the husband provides for her.	Own choice marriage	Providing for family
81	Female	-	Married	Married (at eighteen) because she was out of school and doing nothing.	Own choice marriage	Marriage because of boredom
82	Female	34	Married	Married woman (Married when 19) with seven Children. Poverty in the family, their Children are not going to school.	Marriage is difficult	Poverty
83	Couple	-	Married	Happily Married couple. Married because they wanted to be like adults; they dreamed about having Children.	Own choice marriage	Happy in love
84	Male	-	Divorced	The woman left the family, the man now takes care of the Children.	Spouse leaving marriage	
85	Male	22	Married	Married young men (Married when 20 and his wife 16). They are happy in the marriage because he can provide for the family.	Own choice marriage	Providing for family
86	Male	-	Married	He is Married, has four Children and is a boda driver.	Happy marriage	Alcohol/cigarette abuse
87	Male	-	Married	Married man, with eight Children. His marriage is good because he and his wife have been together long and he has a job.	Happy marriage	Providing for family
88	Male	-	Married	Polygamous marriage, man has 12 Children. He is happy because his wives are taking care of the families.	Polygamous marriage	Providing for family
89	Female	-	Married	Happily Married with eight Children.	Happy marriage	
90	Female	27	Married	Happy Married woman.	Happy marriage	Providing for family
91	Male	60	Married	Happily Married man, says marriage is good when you have many Children	Happy marriage	Reproduction
92	Male	18	Married	Just got Married two months ago, but is struggling now. He says you need to work hard when you are Married.	Marriage is difficult	Providing for family

93	Male	20	Not married	Wanted to get Married but refused due to money. Says he hasn't got enough money to support a family.	Refusing or leaving a marriage	
94	Female	54	Married	Forced marriage (at 16) by her stepmother. Was in an abusive marriage, but now it is better. Teaches people not to marry young	Forced marriage	Change from bad to good
95	Female	24	Married	School drop-out, Married (at 13). Did not produce Children yet; violence in marriage. She isn't happy in her marriage.	Marriage with no children	Polygamous marriage
96	Female	34	Divorced	Forced to marry (at 17) because stepfather feared forcing himself upon her. Marriage with no Children, so husband left her.	Spouse leaving marriage	Abuse by stepparent
97	Male	-	Married	He is a smoker, and says he doesn't care about his family. He has two wives (one is RPVI.95).	Marriage is difficult	Alcohol/cigarette abuse
98	Male	-	Married	He used to be a drunkard and mistreating his wife. Now he is a pastor and doctor and is happy in his marriage.	Happy marriage	Alcohol/cigarette abuse
99	Female	-	Married	Is Married to a man that used be a drunkard and mistreating his wife. Now he is a pastor and she is happy in the marriage.	Happy marriage	Alcohol/cigarette abuse
100	Female	32	Married	Married woman says marriage is good when you are old enough and have money. She is educated and happy in her marriage.	Happy marriage	
101	Female	29	Divorced	Divorced woman (got Married at 17), husband is a smoker and left her because she didn't want to produce more Children.	Spouse leaving marriage	Alcohol/cigarette abuse
102	Female	38	Widowed	Widowed woman is a drunkard since her husband died. Her Children don't go to school because she drinks the money.	Widow	
103	Female	32	Married	Married (at 18/P7). Husband has a second wife and doesn't have time for her; he comes to check up on her and then leaves again.	Polygamous marriage	Husband not providing
104	Female	30	Married	Happily Married, both have a job. She has one Child, and wants to produce another one or two.	Happy marriage	
105	Female	40	Married	Mother of 10, husband left because they are poor. The Children don't go to school because of the lack of money.	Marriage is difficult	Poverty

Annex 3. Topic lists interviews

3a Topic lists semi structured interviews THP Uganda: interns, animators

- Welcome, thank you for being part of this research. In this interview we're going to ask you questions about marriage. If you at any time wish to stop with the interview, just let us know. This interview will be recorded. The recording will be used for writing out the interview.
- First, let us introduce ourselves

1. Could you tell us a bit about yourself? Sex, age, education/level of education, married/unmarried, religion, living situation, village.

2. THP Programme
   a. How long?
   b. What activities?

3. Perception
   a. Definition marriage
      i. How would you define a marriage?
      ii. How would you define a good marriage?
      iii. How would you define a bad marriage?
      iv. Would you like to marry?/Do you like to be married?
      v. When is a marriage official? If you are not registered in church/mosque/government, are you married?
   b. Definition child. How would you define a child? Childhood?
   c. Have you heard of child marriage? What do you think about it? How would you define it?

4. Influence
   a. How does your community define marriage, childhood and child marriage? Is it the same for you or is there a difference?
   b. How does your family define these concepts? Difference between their and your view?
   c. How do young people in Iganga define these concepts? Difference between their and your view?
   d. Have your views changed because you are a THP animator, how?
   e. Do you think people in your community are starting to think differently about marriage? Childhood? Child marriage?

5. Agency
   a. Role/Position
      i. How would you describe your role or position in your family? Tasks? Responsibilities? Who makes the decisions in your household? Do you make decisions? About what?
      ii. How do you see your role in your community? Among your peers?
   b. What are your goals in life?
   c. Do you think you can achieve those?
   d. Do you have someone that inspires you in achieving your goals, why is this person inspiring to you?

e. Do you feel that you could inspire people? Do you feel that you are able to change the way people think? Can you convince people?
    i. in your family/community/among peers/in society?
f. Do you feel you have the power to be part of making decisions in your community?
g. Would you report problems or difficulties (sexual abuse, being forced to marry or noticing that child marriage is taken place)? Where would you go to?
h. Motivation to enroll in THP project
    i. Selection process
i. Do you feel that, being an animator, you are able to change the way people think? Among young people? In family, community, among young people, in society?

6. THP programme
    a. Does the THP Uganda programme change people's perceptions? How?
    b. What could be better within the project?
    c. What do you like most?

3b Topic lists semi structured interviews Youth

- Welcome, thank you for being part of this research. In this interview we're going to ask you questions about marriage. If you at any time wish to stop with the interview, just let us know. This interview will be recorded. The recording will be used for writing out the interview.
- First, let us introduce ourselves

7. Could you tell us a bit about yourself? Sex, age, education/level of education, married/unmarried, religion, living situation, village.

8. Perception
    a. Definition marriage
        i. How would you define a marriage?
        ii. How would you define a good marriage?
        iii. How would you define a bad marriage?
        iv. Would you like to marry?/Do you like to be married?
        v. When is a marriage official? If you are not registered in church/mosque/government, are you married?
    b. Definition child. How would you define a child? Childhood?
    c. Have you heard of child marriage? What do you think about it? How would you define it?

9. Influence
    a. Who has influence on your thoughts about marriage?
    b. How does your community define marriage, childhood and child marriage? Is it the same for you or is there a difference?
    c. How does your family define these concepts? Difference between their and your view?
    d. How do your peers define these concepts? Difference between their and your view?
    e. Do you think people in your community are starting to think differently about marriage? Childhood? Child marriage?

10. Agency

a. Role/Position
      i. How would you describe your role or position in your family? Tasks? Responsibilities? Who makes the decisions in your household? Do you make decisions? About what?
      ii. How do you see your role in your community? Among your peers?
   b. What are your goals in life?
   c. Do you think you can achieve those?
   d. Do you have someone that inspires you in achieving your goals, why is this person inspiring to you?
   e. Do you feel that you could inspire people? Do you feel that you are able to change the way people think? Can you convince people?
      i. in your family/community/among peers/in society?
   f. Do you feel you have the power to be part of making decisions in your community?
   g. Would you report problems or difficulties (sexual abuse, being forced to marry or noticing that child marriage is taken place)? Where would you go to?
11. Influence THP programme
   a. How did you learn about the programme?
   b. How do you engage in the project? What activities?
   c. How do you engage with the animators?
   d. What other SHRH services do you know and engage in?
   e. Has the THP Uganda project changed anything in your thinking and/or behavior? Can you give examples?
   f. Has the THP Uganda project changed your perceptions about (child)marriage?
   g. Are your ideas about marriage similar to your peers? Those in the THP project? And those out of the THP project?
   h. Did the THP project change your engagement within the community?

Annex 4. Baseline survey photo voice participants

R#	Community / village	Religion	Q1 Age	Q2 Male/Female	Q3 Education	Q4 Marital status	Q5 Children	Q6 Connection with THP	Q7 Where do you get info on body/health
R.8	Nakalama	Muslim	16	Female	O'level S.3	Not married	No children	Two activities: debate and Day of the African Child (Her Choice)	From reading books, Reading science book, About THP Uganda
R.9	Kigulu	Born Again Christian	17	Female	O'level S.4	Not married	No children	Two activities: debate and singing	Hospital
R.10	Nakalama	Born Again Christian	17	Female	O'level S.4	Not married	No children	One activity: Day of the African Child (Her Choice)	Hospital, THP
R.11	Nakalama	Protestant	18	Female	S.5	Not married	No children	Two activities: Day of the African Child	Health Centre
R.12	Nabusere	Protestant	17	Male	A-level S.5	Not married	No children	No activities	X
R.13	Bukona	Born Again Christian	18	Male	O'level S.3	Not married	No children	No activities	No information
R.14	Nakalama	Muslim	17	Male	Advanced level S.5	Not married	No children	No activities	Health assistant
R.23	Bukoona	Protestant	14	Female	O'level S.2	Not married	No children	No activities	To the hospital or health center
R.24	Bukoona	Muslim	16	Female	O'level S.3	Not married	No children	No activities	Nakalama health center III
R.25	Bukoona	Protestant	16	Female	S.1	Not married	No children	No activities	To the hospital or health center
R.26	Bukoona	Protestant	15	Female	O'level S.1	Not married	No children	No activities	To the hospital or health center
R.27	Bukoona	Muslim	17	Male	S.2	Not	No	No activities	Nakalama Health Center III

						married	children		
R.28	Bukoona	Christian	16	Male	S.1	Not married	No children	No activities	Nakalama Health Center III
R.29	Bukoona	Christian	16	Male	S.2	Not married	No children	No activities	X