

An Exploration of the Impact of Social Enterprise Projects on Women's Health in Teso,
Uganda

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the memory of my dear friend Melissa Irwin. A beautiful soul both inside and out. Your courage, kindness, and encouragement helped me continue this journey. Every day I thought of your wisdom and words of support. I know that you would have been proud to know that I completed this work. You were my inspiration throughout. I miss and love you.

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Abstract

This research explores the health and wellbeing of women living in the Teso sub-region, Uganda, a rural area in the North-East of the country experiencing high levels of poverty. It examines the impact of social enterprise projects (SEP) on women's health through a lens of intersectionality. The study also investigates the implications of a researcher from the minority world studying an Indigenous population. The social enterprises researched include tailoring schools, agricultural projects, and a girls' football team.

Various evidence suggests that increasing women's income intensifies their work burden leading to greater health issues (Rujumba and Kwiringira 2019). Other studies propose that economic empowerment is necessary to autonomy (Sen 2001). This research seeks to understand how SEP impact on Iteso women's health.

The study draws on a qualitative approach using bricolage, rapid- ethnography, and autoethnography as methodologies due to their adherence with the Afrocentric values which guided the research. The research presents narratives from 63 semi-structured interviews, alongside field notes, autoethnographic extracts, photographs, and artwork. Analysis of the findings was conducted through a conceptual framework combining intersectionality, new materialism, and Indigenous Knowledge.

The results of this research demonstrate that women in Teso are subjugated to issues relating to climate change, particularly poverty. Such issues include diseases such as malaria and HIV, along with non-communicable illnesses concerning mental health. Gender-based violence, in its many forms, impacts women's health and intersects with customs such as bride-price and polygamy.

The enterprise projects provide resources which lessen violence and improve health. The communitarian values of the participants reflect an ethics of care encouraging relationality and reciprocity. However, this research also demonstrates the need involve men in enterprise projects. This research contributes to existing knowledge on issues of gender and development within majority world settings. It reveals the propensity for SEP, based on communitarian values, to improve community health in marginalised areas. Analysing the lives of some of the world's most marginalised women provides an inclusive paradigm for considering global social justice.

List of Outputs

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Mullany, L., Trickett, L., **Bashford-Squires, S.**, 2023 Tackling online misogyny: what needs to be done in schools – and our communities. *The Conversation* [Online]

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AIDs	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
COU	Church of Uganda
DRB	Domestic Relations Bill
GSD	Gender, Sport, and Development
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
IK	Indigenous Knowledge
ITN	Insecticide-Treated Mosquito Nets
MDD	Music, dance, and drama
MHC	Malaria HIV co-infection
MMR	Mixed method research
NGO	Non-government organisation
NM	New materialism
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NTD	Neglected tropical diseases
SAP	Structural Adjustment Packages
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SEP	Social Enterprise Projects
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TMSPU	The Mustard Seed Project (Uganda)
UH	Universal Healthcare
UN	United Nations
WED	Women, the Environment, and Development
WHO	World Health Organisation

1: Introduction

1.1 My journey towards a PhD exploring the relationship between social enterprise projects and women's health.

In 2016 I stood on Tisai Island, Teso, Uganda under a mango tree and observed children being instructed by an unqualified teacher to write their numbers in the sand (figure 1).



Figure 1 Children are taught under a mango tree.

There was no accessible drinking water on the island, which could only be reached via a boat. The children were suffering due to famine, and I was told that many of the children had diseases such as typhoid due to the lack of clean water. At the time I had been a teacher for over twenty years, as well as being a mum to an eleven- and fourteen-year-old. Interacting with

the island children made me reflect that only geography stood in the way of these being children in my class or my own children. Consequently, I felt moved to assist them in whatever way I could. If the children had been suffering in my hometown, country, or continent I would have felt compelled to help. Consequently, on returning to Nottingham and sharing the plight of the island children with my community. via the school where I worked, we began fundraising and initially provided the children with water harvesters, and then a school. The support of my local community led to the founding of The Mustard Seed Project (Uganda) (TMSPU), a registered UK charity, which I chair.

Subsequent visits to Uganda, under the umbrella of my charity, incited my interest in gender equity in the region. My concern for gender rights was especially stirred when I witnessed that there were few girls in Teso attending school past the age of 10. I have always been an advocate for gender equity. I faced issues of gender inequality growing up in the 1980s and 1990s. No women in my family had attended university, and the schools I attended perpetrated gender stereotypes, including a lack of aspiration for girls. As a young teacher in 1997 I witnessed intelligent girls, in the large London comprehensive where I taught, being sent abroad for arranged marriages. The situation in rural Uganda palpably brought the intersections of gender subjugation into stark and bold reality.

Due to my interest in social justice, I was an advocate for respect and equality through education. As an assistant head I lead my school to achieve *The Stephen Lawrence Educational Standard* by ensuring the school enshrined respect for gender, sexuality, and race within its community, environment, and curriculum. We became the lead school in Nottinghamshire for the standard, had messages of support from Doreen Lawrence, and I lead training for other schools in the county concerning inclusivity. However, I never felt that being an educator was enough to achieve global change. I felt that schools had little time to teach about respect and advocacy due to the pressures of teaching a narrow-focused curriculum. Through TMSPU I was working towards social justice but often felt like a ‘white saviour’ telling Ugandan communities what they needed. I profoundly experienced such feelings when I was invited to speak at conferences in Uganda and Kenya through The University of Nottingham’s Gender, Leadership, and Communication project (UoN 2023) about the work of the charity.

As a result, I embarked on a Public Health MA at Nottingham Trent University. I was drawn to the MA as the modules related to different concepts of health as well as the philosophy and politics of global health and wellbeing. I felt that the MA would provide me with the theories

for the advocacy work of the charity. The course enabled me to be reflexive on some of the decisions I had made through my charity and shone a light on the inequalities faced by women globally. My dissertation examined the impact of economic projects on gender-based violence (GBV) in Teso, Uganda. I had wanted to study for an MA simply to understand how to ethically work in Uganda, however, along with igniting a love of learning and research, writing my dissertation raised more questions than it answered, and I felt an overwhelming drive to study this area further through a PhD. The following extract from my MA dissertation (Bashford-Squires 2020) caused me to reflect on how change within this peripheral community could be carefully introduced to bring about greater gender equity,

“A community where people are not educated can never be educated. My dad is a clan leader every week he has at least two issues brought to him based on gender-based violence and girl child drop out of school is really high. Without women being educated we risk losing much with our community” (p.31)

How could the education of women and a reduction of gender-based violence be carefully managed? I also hoped that by attaining a PhD I would also be able to highlight the issues faced by marginalised women to a larger community and in time drive meaningful research and activism. This was my chance to bring about the positive global change I’d always dreamt of.

My PhD journey has represented a roller coaster of emotions due to my positionality as a woman in her late 40s giving up a career as an assistant head teacher to return to university full-time. I use intersectionality to discuss issues of oppression and privilege in this study. However, although I represent privilege to the marginalised communities in Teso, my own context as a mature woman who is also a university student often sits on the periphery of privileged intersections within the world of academia.

Nevertheless, this journey has also been a life changing experience. In the Chapter Eight I discuss my positionality as a researcher from the minority world studying an Indigenous population which demonstrates my positionality throughout my journey is shifting and exists beyond being a researcher.

This study has been driven through the participants of the enterprise projects, many of whom I have known since 2016 and have subsequently become friends. I feel very fortunate to have had the time and experiences studying an area that I am passionate about with participants who have become allies towards the achievement of social justice for women in Teso.

1.2 Study Background

The background to this study provides an overview of women's health in Uganda and the rationale for the study. It also provides detail concerning the study site as well as information regarding the Charity which supports the enterprise projects studied. This section explains the study aims and questions and it defines the key terms used within the study.

Women's Health Within Uganda

Globally HIV/AIDS is the most frequent cause for mortality in reproductive age (WHO 2022). It is approximated that that almost half of all cases of HIV/AIDS in adults now occur in women (Marts and Keitt 2004; Ribeiro et al., 2008). In sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) the most common causes of women's mortality are infectious and parasitic diseases (UNSTATS 2023).

In addition to issues of disease, in 2016, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) reported that 59% of rural Ugandan women had experienced GBV. However, this figure is probably higher in marginalised areas of the North and East of Uganda which experience high levels of poverty (World Bank Group 2016). The causes of GBV in rural Uganda include a poverty, alcoholism, bride price, and polygamy (Parikh 2007). Societies with stronger ideologies of patriarchy have a higher occurrence of GBV (Gardsbane, Bukuluki, and Musuyaomen 2021). According to Oosterom (2011), patriarchy was heightened in North-Eastern Uganda due to conflicts in the region. The conflicts transferred the role of labour from men to women, and this role reversal has now become entrenched. This subjugation has led to women feeling powerlessness due to a dual burden of work; women's work takes place both within the home and in agriculture. (Tuyizere 2007). Additionally, cultural norms require that men speak on the behalf of women (Oosterom 2011). The result is that women have little opportunity to be actively involved in decision-making and leadership.

Research has also shown that when girls in rural regions of Uganda reach maturity, they are sold into marriage through the custom of bride price (Tuyizere 2007). As such they become assets in the form of physical labour (Ibid). Such unjust practices are deeply embedded in sociocultural norms. Intersections of poverty, age, gender, and patriarchy affect women's and girls' prospects. Clearly, multi-faceted approaches to address poverty, alongside culturally appropriate sensitisation approaches, are needed if such practices are to be successfully reformed to enhance women's opportunities.

According to Farmer and Wiegall (2013), globally it has proved difficult to impact positive social change, therefore, many people are turning to social entrepreneurship to solve issues, including those concerning global public health. Farmer (2013) argues that to implement an effective solution to the world's most important health problems, people must consider more than just the intervention; they need to consider development on a local level. Hence the need for community-led social enterprise projects. Consequently, this study seeks to understand the impact of locally led social enterprise projects on women's health in Teso sub-region.

1.3 Study Rationale

The reasons for this research materialised from former research I undertook in 2022 which drew attention to the issues brought about via women's economic empowerment within Teso's peripheral communities (Bashford-Squires, Gibson, Nyashanu 2022). The research demonstrated the need to understand the mechanisms of change within communities when promoting women's agency. Evidence suggests that increasing women's income increases their workload leading to a feminisation of poverty alongside a rise in health issues (Rujumba and Kwiringira 2019). Other studies suggest that economic empowerment is necessary step towards women's autonomy (Sen 2001). This demonstrates a need for research that explores the intersections that impact women's lives when promoting enterprise initiatives.

A Definition of Social Enterprise Projects

Social enterprise practices merge the drive of a social undertaking with entrepreneurship (Sserwanga et al., 2014). According to Mahajan and Bandyopadhyay (2021), enterprises which promote inclusive development can benefit marginalised women in the majority world. However, Kimuli, Sendawula and Nagujja (2022) maintain that there is little research concerning the role of women in social enterprise. Indeed, Maracine (2019) argues that on a global level social enterprises are increasing, yet they fail to remain sustainable due to a lack of data and research. This is despite the United Nations (2024), claiming women's access to resources and paid work has a stronger impact on child survival, welfare, and education than men's empowerment.

Despite the Ugandan government introducing numerous initiatives to support the development of women-led businesses little is known about their impact (Kimuli, Sendawula and Nagujja 2022). Consequently, more research is needed to identify the lived realities of women within such projects and to explore the sustainable and long-term impact of social enterprise through a

gendered lens. This study first sought to understand issues impacting women's health in Teso, particularly relating to elements of gender-based violence, and how these issues are conceptualised. The study then researched the impact of social enterprise projects on the intersections of women's health in Teso.

In addition to there being a gap in research concerning women's enterprise projects in rural Uganda there is also a discernible need for research that is respectful towards the Indigenous communities being studied. There has been a vast amount of research undertaken since colonization on Indigenous people however, such studies have not involved the research populations (Baum. 2016). Therefore, there is a need for decolonial research that privileges the voices of Indigenous populations.

1.4 Uganda Country Profile

Uganda is a landlocked country in East Africa (Figure 2) bordered by Kenya, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and South Sudan (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2016).

density (currently 190 inhabitants per km²) (Ibid). Table 1 describes the administrative sectors within Uganda.

Sector	Description
Village	The village is the smallest administrative unit in Uganda.
Parish	Parishes are slightly larger administrative unites consisting of multiple villages.
Sub-County	Sub-counties consist of multiple parishes and are represented by local council 3s.
District	Districts are the largest political units outside the central government system and include multiple municipalities. They are represented by Local Council 5, an elected position.

Table 1 Sector Descriptions adapted from Abrahams 2021)

Political and Economic History of Uganda

Colonial rule in Uganda began in 1894 expanding from the Kingdom of Buganda to the rest of the country and lasted for 69 years (Mwanika et al., 2021). Through colonialism, a system of political repression and exploitation of the colonies by the European powers (see 3.2), capitalism was incorporated into the country via cash crop farming to meet the needs of European powers (Ibid). As an economic system capitalism is founded on profit expansion through both individual and private control of the means of production - global financial institutions play a key role within this system (Hodgeson 2016).

Despite 50 years of independence, the development trajectory of Uganda is still entangled within global power structures through the auspices of neoliberalism predicated by global organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Wiegratz, Martiniello, and Greco 2018). According to Ganti (2014) The concept of neoliberalism can be defined as a set of economic reform policies concerned with the deregulation of the economy, the liberalization of trade and industry, and the privatization of state-owned enterprises as well as a mode of governance that encompasses the concept of a self-regulating free market, which

encourages competition and self-interest, as the model for effective governance. This policy model is a global phenomenon, but it is important not to homogenise its impact on different locations (Serumagaga 2024). Beach (2010) argues that there is a variation in neoliberalism from extreme, unregulated markets and minimal welfare states in countries such as Uganda, to more regulated neoliberal states with more extensive public services leading to lower social inequalities.

Neoliberal transformations

Whereas social democracy, social liberalism, and mainstream capitalism recognises the need for a level of social welfare based on public spending to prevent a crisis of poverty, neoliberalism emphasises minimum state intervention and the freedom of trade and capital (Serumagaga 2024; Freedden 2015). According to Freedden (2015), social liberalism is a policy and economic model that emphasises the value of a free market, suggesting that individual self-interest contributes to the good of society. According to Freedden (2015, p.110), neoliberalism is a *'hostile caricature of liberalism'*. This definition implies that the original tenets of liberalism have become exaggerated and therefore present a distorted representation of liberalism. According to Radhakrishnan and Solari (2015), neoliberalism promotes a world where corporations and megabanks dictate the way we live under the guise of development. Uganda is considered the African country that has embraced neoliberal reforms most extensively (Harrison 2020).

Structural Adjustments

Colonialism left newly independent countries underdeveloped (Andrews 2021). However, after independence neocolonial trade practices ensured that even though African countries were rich in resources, their wealth was in the hands of foreign multinationals (Ibid). Neoliberalism within Uganda began in 1987 under Museveni's presidency (Atkinson 2018). After decades of conflict resulting in an unstable economy, Museveni accepted the conditions from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to implement internal structural adjustments and macroeconomic stability (Ibid). The assumption was that the nations were in debt due to acting inappropriately; for their economies to prosper and for them to pay back the loans they would need to make structural adjustments to their economic life (Andrews 2022). These structural adjustment plans (SAPs) reduced the Ugandan government's spending, liberalised the economy, and privatised state services and enterprises. Adoption of these conditions led to a considerable transformation of Uganda's economy, and culture towards a marketization of

social relations based on the domination of capital, alongside the *'restructuring of people's subjectivities, relationships, and everyday practices so as to make all realms of society operate market like'* (Wiegratz, Martiniello, and Greco 2018, p. 6).

The impact of neoliberal reforms

These internal structural adjustments heralded Uganda as a *'donor darling, a success story and a showcase for Western-led development efforts'* (Wiegratz, Martiniello, and Greco 2018, p.44) with the Managing Director of the IMF, during a speech in Kampala, congratulating Uganda on achieving a threefold increase in per capita gross domestic produce (Weyel 2018). However, this figure masks the lived reality for most Ugandans who work in the fields, factories, and the informal economy (Ibid). Wiegratz, Martiniello, and Greco (2017, p3) draw attention to how the lives of ordinary Ugandans mirror "... *'Fanon's wretched of the Earth'* [and] *provide evidence of the ongoing social crisis...characterised by high levels of suicide...poverty driven deaths, preventable illnesses and generalised destitution*". The prevalence of a patrimonial mode of rule is supported by an elite that uses state power to advance private interests via a network of political and business organizations (Ibid). Critics of this mode of rule refer to Museveni's governance as akin to a Mafia- like clique (Tangri and Mwenda 2008).

In 2024 Makerere University held a two-day conference to explore 40 years of neoliberalism within Uganda (Serumagaga 2024). Reflecting on the outcomes of the conference, Serumagaga (2024) concludes that the policies have led to increased poverty and social instability. Additionally, Ugandan academics have reduced their expectations of significantly transforming Ugandan society for the better, *'It was as if the current global neoliberal economic regime is not taken as a fixed 'norm, and little to nothing can be envisioned of a life outside of its parameters'* (Serumagaga 2024, n.p.). Indeed, according to Czuba (2024) the academic literature on Ugandan politics demonstrates that the regime is entrenched, centralised, and individualistic, with all political power in the country vested in President Museveni.

The neoliberal restructuring of Uganda shares similarities with other examples of free market societies across the globe: economic growth, reduced official poverty, and a liberal discourse prevalence as well as economic inequality, poverty, insecurity, social injustice, unemployment, and marginalization and impoverishment of sectors of the country (Wiegratz, Martinello and Greco 2018). Teso is one such area that has been neglected by the state due to neoliberal reforms (Jones 2016).

Neoliberalism and Teso

Teso has suffered violent disruptions that have impacted much of northern Uganda since the late 1980s (Kassimir 2011). This includes attacks by the Lord's Resistance Army and cattle raiding from Karamoja (Jones 2008). Most significant was an armed insurgency mounted against the NRM and many in Teso that ended in 1993 (Jones 2008) (see 1.6). The government's response to the rebellion was to place tens of thousands of civilians in internment camps under, life-threatening conditions (Kassimir 2011). It is perceived that the rebellion against the NRM is the reason for the lack of state support in Teso (Buckley-Zistel 2008; Jones 2008). This study seeks to understand the impact of the neoliberal transformation in Uganda which has led to a centralisation of power on the marginalised population of Teso.

Racial Capitalism

Global capital has expanded into majority-world countries, exploiting their economies for the benefit of the minority world (Andrews, 2021). Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) are often presented as solutions to address the economic challenges of the majority world; however, these programmes frequently deepen oppression for vulnerable populations while serving the interests of the powerful (Andrews, 2021). Andrews (2021) argues that capitalism and racism are inseparable, as capitalist systems are fundamentally rooted in imperialism and continue to exploit people of colour.

“Capitalism, from Columbus's voyages to state owning companies, to outsourced colonial corporations, to hedge fund managers today, has been based on the state setting the table for private interests to fill their bellies.” (Andrews, 2022, p. 110)

The theory of racial capitalism determines that capitalism and race are co-constituted, and racialisation is how capitalism continuously extracts and supplies surplus (Malton 2022). The imperialist mission pursued African lands and labour not only to benefit their capitalist ventures but also as a market for European goods. According to Malton (2022), a lack of employment has caused the need for entrepreneurialism within Africa,

“Supplanting the promise of wage labor under a regulated, planned economy, every man is now free to achieve greatness, making and spending on his own accord. His capacity to do so is a test of his self-worth.”

Within Uganda, import consumerism undermined domestic productivity and employment. Neo-liberalism did not align the domestic and global economic structures to create meaningful

employment (Asiimwe 2023). Consequently, high levels of unemployment ascended into the socio-political landscape. Further, privatisation and the removal of subsidies eroded support institutions such as Co-operatives and Uganda Development Corporation (Ibid). Consequently, according to Asiimwe (2024) key traditional labour generating sectors of agriculture and industry deteriorated.

Incorporated into the capitalist system as colonial subjects, the majority of African men were situated at a disadvantage and never attained breadwinner status (Malton 2022). These men provide informal and surplus labour. Linking racial capitalism to masculinity, Malton (2022) contends that this meeting of labour and wage exclusions has become '*a moment in which the crisis of work is doubly the crisis of masculinity*' (p.6). According to Malton (2022), blackness serves as racial capitalism's other within a set of racial binary oppositions. Therefore, If masculinity is seen as dominant, then black masculinity is positioned for failure.

This research will explore how racial capitalism, and its impact on gender relations, impacts communities in Teso where there is a high level of unemployment, with only 15.1% of the population in paid work (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2021).

1.5 The Study Area – Teso Sub-Region

Teso Sub-Region of Uganda consists of eight regions, Kumi, Ngora, Bukedea, Soroti, Serere, Kayberamiado, Amuira, and Katakwe (Abrahams 2021). This research took place in Kumi and Ngora regions.

Conflict within Teso Sub-Region

The Teso sub-region has been exposed to decades of conflict and cattle raiding from the neighbouring Karamojong population. The violence became more profound over the last three decades due to the Karamojong acquiring AK-47s left behind by Idi Amin's army (Gray et al., 2003). Obtaining these weapons increased bride prices and led to further raids (Jabs 2007). In 2003 The Lord's Resistance Army invaded the Teso sub-region. The eschewing violence displaced the Iteso population; many fled to humanitarian camps or other regions of the country (Norwegian Refugee Council 2021).

Teso Sub-Region Demographics

The Teso sub-region has a population of approximately 1.8 million residents (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2021). Almost 10% of the population have not attended school, and 6% have not attended secondary school (Mootz et al., 2019). Nationally, Teso sub-region has one of the highest birth rates with an average of six children per woman (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2021). The region also has the highest prevalence of teenage mothers (Ibid). Additionally, reports of gender-based violence (GBV) are higher in the Teso sub-region (61%) than nationally (56%) (Ibid).

The choice of this study site is due to the involvement of the charity I chair and founded operating in this area.

1.6 The Mustard Seed Project, Uganda

The Mustard Seed Project (Uganda), (registered charity: 117542) was founded in 2016 after I was invited to visit Teso by a Nottinghamshire NGO. The educational co-ordinator for Kumi district had requested the NGO's assistance in finding someone to help train Teso teachers in active learning methodologies. My personal reasons for establishing the charity are discussed in section 1.1.

This UK registered charity consists of 12 UK trustees and currently works in partnership with five women colleagues in Teso to improve the health and wellbeing of women and their communities in this peripheral region. Our community projects have included building a school, the provision of latrines so that girls can attend school, and social enterprise projects which include a tailoring project, livestock rearing, soap making, and a girls' football team. It is these projects which are researched in this thesis.

We have also successfully worked together provide water harvesters, and currently we are working with colleagues to sink a borehole on Tisai island. The charity has provided food for children in the region during COVID. We have funded for a surgery, and community centre to promote adult literacy. The charity has also secured sponsorship of nurses and teachers for an underserved Teso community.

1.7 Study Aims and Questions

This research aim was to investigate the intersections of subjugation that impact women in Teso and how enterprise projects impact such issues. Focus was placed on understanding barriers to improving health through the enterprise projects and how the projects might be improved. The study was also concerned with the implications of a white, privileged researcher studying an Indigenous African population and how this research might work towards a decolonisation of the research process.

Specifically, the study sought to answer the following questions:

- What are the intersections of oppression and privilege that impact the health and wellbeing of women in Teso?
- How do social enterprise projects affect these intersections and what could improve the impact of such projects?
- What are the implications of a researcher from the minority world researching within an Indigenous community, and how can this study work towards decolonising research?

The study is conducted with an awareness that there are a multitude of interconnecting and fluid intersections that impact the lives of women in Teso (Rujumba and Kwiringira 2019); therefore, to provide a richer focus, the study will specifically on communicable and non-communicable diseases, issues generated from the socio-environmental context, and gender-based violence.

1.8 Definition of Key Terms

This section defines the key terms that have been used regularly in this study:

Affect/ Affective: These terms are used throughout this study to indicate something that is affected or affects within an assemblage. This terminology is specifically used within the theory of new materialism, which is utilised within this study.

Africana Womanism: This theory recognises agency as relational through harmony between genders and thus the wider community. Africana womanism is based on interdependent kinship (Barry and Grady 2019).

Assemblage: Fluid networks of humans and non-humans which reassemble in different ways (Fox and Alldred 2022). Assembled relations have the capacity to affect or be affected; creating social, political, psychological, or biological change (Ibid).

Colonialism: The process by which European powers and The United States of America reached a position of domination through economic, military, political and cultural power within most parts of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Spence 1983).

Indigenous Knowledge: Egeru (2011, p.217) defines Indigenous Knowledge as wisdom accrued over generations by those living in a particular environment. Indigenous populations have also survived the impact of colonialism (Smith 2005).

Mzungu: A term used across sub-Saharan Africa to denote a person of European descent (Manley, Morgan, and Atkinson 2016).

Neocolonialism: This term has been defined as the control of less-developed countries by developed countries through indirect means (Rahaman et al., 2017).

Neoliberalism: An economic policy model that emphasises minimum state intervention (Cobo 2018).

Racial Capitalism: This theory is a political and global economic model which operates via racism and/or racial inequality and capitalism (Go 2021).

Social Enterprise Projects: Initiatives that are focused on people and development, rather than exclusively on profit (Sesan 2006).

Sub-Saharan Africa: Sub-Saharan Africa is classified as 48 countries that form the African continent (World Bank 2023)

Sustainable development: Trudell (2009) defines sustainable development as continuous and improved community wellbeing as well as ongoing economic growth.

Ubuntu: The name of an African philosophy that emphasises the importance of '*being human through other people*' (Mugumbate and Nyangur, 2015, p. 83).

1.9 Thesis Structure

Chapter One: Introduction This current chapter details the background and rationale for this research. It provides my personal and academic incentives for carrying out this research. This chapter also defines the study aims and questions and provides detail of the study site.

Chapter Two: Literature Review The literature review offers a detailed and analytical review of the prevailing literature concerning what is already known about women's health in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and specifically Uganda, as well as reviewing literature concerning the impact of enterprise projects on women's health. The chapter also introduces and critically discusses the theoretical framework utilised in this study.

Chapter Three: Methodology describes the study's methodology. It details the study design, research paradigm, methods, analysis of the findings and the ethical requirements. It explains the use of mixed qualitative methodology. The chapter also describes the study area and provides details of the participants.

Chapter Four to Seven: These chapters present the qualitative findings which are communicated in four separate chapters to provide clarity.

Chapter Eight: Discussion provides a detailed discussion of the key findings alongside current literature to provide an in-depth analysis of the impact of enterprise projects on women's health in Teso.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion and Recommendations This concluding chapter summarises the study and offers conclusions. It also discusses the study's contribution to knowledge alongside suggestions for further research.

1.10 Chapter Summary

Chapter One has explained my reasons for studying for a PhD, the rationale for the study, the reasons for my involvement in this region through my charity, and the background to the research. It has also provided a profile of Uganda as a country and detail of Teso sub-region where the study takes place. The chapter provides an overview of the structure of this thesis. The following chapter, the literature review, explores what is known about women's health in

sub-Saharan Africa and Uganda whilst providing a critical review of the literature. It introduces the conceptual framework used throughout the research. It also discusses the effects of social enterprise projects according to the literature, along with a review of the ethics of charitable involvement within SSA.

2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this review is to explore the impact of social enterprise projects (SEP) on women's health in Teso, Uganda, and how these projects can work towards improving health outcomes. Drawing on appropriate literature concerning women's health and SEP globally, from sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), and explicitly Uganda, this chapter examines and analyses the literature relating to the aims of this study. Issues concerning women's health in rural Uganda are analysed using an intersectional approach alongside the use of new materialist theory and Indigenous Knowledge as a means of discussion concerning how different challenges interact and refract across multiple levels.

The literature highlights how women's health in this region is impacted by intersections of oppression resulting in gender-based violence (GBV) with its multifaceted and interrelated issues such as HIV, and bride price. This chapter examines other intersecting health issues, including communicable and non-communicable diseases. After providing an argument for the use of intersectionality, new materialism (NM), and Indigenous knowledge (IK) as a suitable conceptual framework for this study, this chapter then discusses the subjugation of rural Ugandan women's health within this framework. Following this analysis, the chapter provides an examination of the influence of SEP in SSA and their impact on women's health. Finally, the chapter examines the efficacy and ethics of charities that operate in majority worlds settings. The chapter concludes with what is known about women's health in Teso and how SEP impact women's health and wellbeing. Through examining the interrelation between women's health and SEP in Uganda this review of the literature has identified a gap in knowledge which has been used to form the basis of this research.

2.2 Search Strategy

The evidence presented in this chapter is the result of a comprehensive and robust literature review which was conducted using key academic databases. Three online databases were selected: SCOPUS, NTU Library One, and the SAGE database (due to the sociological focus of this research). The emphasis was on research written or translated to English concerning

women's health in SSA and Uganda, specifically North-Eastern and rural Uganda, alongside SEP from majority world settings.

For academic literature, SAGE, and NTU Library One were the main data bases used. A further literature search was performed using Scopus for peer-reviewed articles. Academic resources concerning women's health and SEP within the social sciences were purposively selected. For articles that concerned the role of charities, those concerning philosophy were chosen to provide a view of the ethics concerning charitable involvement with social enterprises, alongside those specifically detailing the role of charitable and third-sector organisations in Uganda. The following data bases were used to collect global health statistics, as well as statistics that were pertinent to Uganda: World Health Organization, Ugandan Institute for Statistics, and The United Nations.

A wealth of literature exists concerning the causality and pervasiveness of GBV and interconnected health problems globally, however, it is apparent from detailed review of the available literature that there is a sparsity of research on the impact of SEP on women's health in Uganda (Mootz, Stabb and Mollen 2017). Therefore, SEP from SSA were included in the review. This review of the literature involved a co-ordinated search of databases to locate relevant sources. The search reviewed literature published between 1990 and 2024 using Boolean logic. This search method identifies material relevant to the topic, using 'and', 'or' and 'not' statements to located relevant literature (Hinde and Spackman 2014, p. 27). The inclusion and exclusion standards were generated through Microsoft Excel to aid the literature review.

In accordance with the research question concerning means of decolonialising research, appropriate literature was requested from project leaders in Teso, and academic colleagues at Makerere University, towards the literature review. Collective voices and reflection are vital to a decolonisation of research (Serrant-Green 2011; Reviere 2001). Publications recommended were Tuyizere (2007), Niwaine (2011), Oye'wu'mi (1997), and Bedigen et al., (2021).

An initial search took place to support the literature review. It enabled an overview of the issues pertaining to women's health globally, in SSA, and then specifically Uganda using the terms non-communicable, communicable diseases, and then specifically HIV, AIDS, malaria, and mental health. A search was also conducted specifically relating to GBV in SSA and then explicitly Uganda, such as violence against women, intimate partner violence, domestic violence, and sexual and gender-based violence. This review is also interested in the impact of

climate change in Uganda, and therefore the terms climate, environment, and drought in relation to women's health were used. Searches were also made using the following criteria: Uganda, sub-Saharan Africa and terminology including the terms social enterprise, economic projects, participatory projects, development projects, development initiatives, community development projects, co-created enterprise projects, and sustainable development projects. The literature used to inform this study included such terminology. From this search an overview of women's health globally, in SSA, and Uganda was provided which then led to a more nuanced review of the literature.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

During the review, limitations were used through inclusion and exclusion criteria to ensure that the sources reviewed were of suitable quality and of appropriate significance (Carnwell and Daly 2001). Limitations were also established to ensure the search captured specific data relating to definitions and determinants of women's health within the majority world. For this reason, articles concerning women's health in the minority world, along with articles relating to biomedical disciplines were viewed as irrelevant and therefore excluded. Despite recognising that there are increasing concerns regarding male-partner victimisation, issues pertaining to men's mental health (Shuler 2009), and violence against those who identify as LGBTQ+ (Messinger 2017), overwhelmingly, it is women and girls who suffer from greater health issues, in relation to intersections of subjugation in majority world settings (Storkey 2015; Lim and Ojo 2017). Consequently, the literature search focused on women's health issues including GBV against women and girls.

Table 2 below outlines the criteria used:

Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peer-reviewed literature • Articles written in English. • Published any date between 1990-2021 • Included women's health statistics, global women's health. This criterion was included to provide an overview of women's health globally. • The terms climate, environment, drought, and agriculture alongside women's health were used. • Included gender-based violence, violence against women, sexual and gender-based violence, domestic violence, and intimate partner violence as the subject matter. This selection criterion was limited to Uganda and sub-Saharan Africa. • Included women's health, non-communicable diseases, communicable diseases, cancer, malaria, tropical diseases, neglected tropical diseases, tuberculosis, women's well-being/ wellbeing, women's mental health. This 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physicians • Studies relating to biomedical causes or interventions. • Violence against men and LGBTQ+ • Studies focused on the minority world.

<p>selection criterion was limited to Uganda and sub-Saharan Africa.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It also included women's SEP, economic projects, participatory projects, women's development, community development initiatives/ projects. Co-created enterprise, sustainable development projects as a further distinct subject matter. This selection criterion was limited to SEP within communities in the majority world, specifically within SSA and Uganda. • Specified charity, NGO, third sector in SSA • Specified charity and ethics. • Perception and attitudinal studies. • Social Science research. 	
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Table 2: Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

The literature review is in five sections covering: a global overview of women's health, women's health in sub-Saharan Africa, the conceptual framework used in this study, the intersectionality of women's health in rural Uganda, and finally the impact of SEP on women's health in SSA.

The literature review firstly defines the contested terms gender and gender-based violence. It then reviews women's health globally and then more specifically within SSA. Following a discussion of the theoretical lens utilised for this study, the review examines women's health issues in North-Eastern Uganda through applying intersectionality, elements of NM theory, and IK. The final part of this review explores what is known about SEP and their impact on health and wellbeing, alongside the impact and ethics of charities. Finally, the review explores what is not known about these issues to evidence the gap in knowledge which has informed this study.

2.3 Overview of Gender

To explore the impact of enterprise projects on women's health it is necessary to fully comprehend definitions of 'gender' and how such classifications sustain inequity (Manne, 2019). Feminists comprehend gender as an entrenched structure for categorising individuals into distinct groups according to their gendered identities (Correll, Thebaud, and Benard 2007). Such categories of difference lead to inequalities through intersections of power and privilege (Ibid). Risman (2009) maintains that gender is manifest through individuals' actions rather than what one is, and consequently makes a distinction between sex and gender. Hence, sex is a category denoting the variance between men and women according to biological difference, whereas the term 'gender' signifies the roles designated to men and women.

However, some individuals may choose a different gender identity to the sex they were assigned at birth, such individuals may describe themselves as transgender (Moseson et al., 2020). Further, people with nonbinary genders have gender identities that may not correspond to the binary categories of woman or man (Ibid). For example, some nonbinary people have a gender that intersects with being a man and/or woman, whereas other nonbinary people may not identify with any gender. Some people's gender changes over time; such people are said to be '*genderfluid*' (Gosling 2018). Nonbinary individuals go by a variety of labels including Androgynist and Gender- Queer with some creating labels unique to themselves (Taylor et al., 2019).

Despite, the growing number of those who identify as nonbinary, transgender, or have unique labels, this study will use a gender binary framework that is sensitive to the cultural context of Uganda. Globally, intersex people and nonbinary individuals may be exposed to stigma and violence (Human Rights Awareness and Promotion Forum 2024). Significantly, publicly

acknowledging a nonbinary identity can pose significant risks to individuals in Uganda (Faragó et al., 2021). The human rights of Ugandan sexual minorities are oppressed by anti-gay legislation, including the Penal Code, whose punitive rules can include imprisonment for life (Mendos et al., 2019). More recently, Uganda's *Anti-Homosexuality Act* carries the death penalty for those who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or intersex (Amnesty 2024).

Consequently, using a gendered binary framework, this research will examine how performances of femininity and masculinity reproduce and reinforce socially produced notions of gender. Therefore, by transferring a gendered identity to an individual, they become answerable to societal standards concerning behaviour. Understanding these societal norms as rooted in social production enables an analysis of how some women may become complicit in their oppression by allocating and accepting their gendered roles in society.

A Definition of Gender-Based Violence

This study will examine the intersections of gender-based violence (GBV) as a key determinant of health for women in Teso. As such, it is necessary to define GBV. Gender-based violence is any action that leads to physical, sexual, or psychological harm to women, including threats, coercion, and denied freedoms (UN 2021). Rooted in entrenched gender inequality, GBV is a significant human right's violation (WHO 2021). Women are subjected to various forms of GBV across all societies (Ibid). Therefore, incidences of GBV, manifest through unequal power relations, can globally cut across classes, cultures, and communities.

The term 'gender-based violence' is contested by Fox and Aldred (2022) who assert that the expression reflects a social constructionist assessment of gender which suggests a causal relationship between violence and gender roles and neglects the wider societal issues that can lead to violence against women. However, for the purposes of this paper the term GBV will be used, not only because it corresponds to the WHO definition (WHO 2021), but also, as previously discussed, this research is using a gendered binary framework due to the cultural and political sensitivities of Uganda.

Globally, women's subjection to violence varies. For example, it is important to acknowledge that cultural variations can impact the type of GBV women suffer (Kazdin 2011). As such, it is impossible to clearly define GBV, as it functions differently across continents, countries, and civilisations, and it is embedded within multiple intersections of societies. Therefore, it is

necessary to understand the drivers and impact of GBV within the context of the communities being researched. This review will start with an examination of the wider issues that impact women's health globally before specifically examining issues affecting women's health in sub-Saharan Africa and then Uganda, including the interrelated issues of GBV.

2.4 Conceptualisations of Health

Defining health as the absence of disease or symptoms concerns a biomedical model of health which focuses on mitigating symptoms to treat disease (Barrett et al., 2016). In comparison, public health focuses on preventive measures aimed at addressing root causes rather than treating symptoms. WHO (2023) defines health as, “...a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.” (n.p). It can therefore be argued that health is not simply a lack of disease. However, this study focuses on public health, and the WHO (2023) definition does not adequately explain the meaning of "public" in the context of public health.

In this study public refers to the distribution of health in a population and the underlying social and environmental conditions that impact population health (Verweij and Dawson 2007) and as such is concerned with a critical perspective of health. From a critical perspective The People's Health Movement (2000, p. 2) define health as “...a social, economic and political issue and above all a fundamental human right. Inequality, poverty, exploitation, violence and injustice are at the root of ill health”. Therefore, the prevailing global economic structures are thought to have a significant influence on shaping the health experiences of populations. From this perspective, health must be understood in the context of the collective well-being of societies and the social and economic forces that influence it. In Teso such forces are often hidden and include patriarchy, neoliberal reforms, colonialism, and neocolonialism (see 1.4 and 2.7); therefore, this study will seek to understand the impact of such forces on the health of the participants.

Wellbeing has often been difficult to define due to its complexity. For instance, it is considered a subjective state of being, which makes it challenging to measure (La Placa, McNaught, and Knight 2013). Those that endeavour to objectify wellbeing believe it can be measured in terms of economic and social indicators (Ibid). Wellbeing is also defined via individual, emotional and psychological interpretations (Felce and Perry 1995). This study defines wellbeing in terms of McNaught's (2011) wellbeing framework. The framework recognises that wellbeing within

research and practice has both objective and subjective elements. Therefore, researchers cannot evaluate wellbeing as a state unless both are considered. In accordance with this research, the framework extends wellbeing beyond individual subjectivity to include families, communities, and society in addition to environmental, socio-economic, and political forces. Consequently, this study will seek to understand how such individual subjectivities and forces impact the wellbeing of the participants.

The definitions of health and wellbeing according to this study highlight the importance of collective action to address the needs of the population. It recognises that health inequalities arise from socioeconomic, and political conditions. These circumstances, such as poverty, lack of education, and discrimination, often reflect systemic and structural issues. (Barrett et al., 2016) These conditions are defined collectively as the social determinants of health (Marmot 2007) and to mitigate their effect on population health and wellbeing requires public action to address the underlying causes, or *'the causes of the causes'* (Marmot, 2007 p.1153). Health disparities reflect underlying inequalities which according to WHO are *"socially produced: systematic in their distribution across the population and unfair"* (WHO 2007). According to Barrett et al., 2016, achieving health equity is vital for populations who have experienced histories of marginalisation and who are subjected to high rates of illness and mortality. Therefore, this research intends to draw attention to the need for social justice regarding health and wellbeing within Teso, a marginalised area impacted by the social determinants of health in terms of poverty, education, structural conflict, access to health, unemployment, and food insecurity (see 1.4 and 1.5).

Decolonising Health

This study is concerned with a decolonisation of research and practice. Hence, it is important to position this research within the field of global health decolonisation. Defining global health decolonisation is challenging, as the concept holds different meanings depending on whether the focus is on the social aspects of decolonisation or on justice (Harris 2024). This study considers both aspects and is concerned with a form of decolonisation that emphasizes promoting equity, diversity, and inclusivity for both people and knowledge. It also acknowledges the global systemic power imbalances that hinder opportunities, limit access, and restrict the sharing of knowledge.

According to Crisp (2024) and Harris (2024), minority world researchers continue to overlook the innovations and enterprise of those in lower middle-income countries. However, it is

essential that we learn from colleagues in these regions while also understanding the impact of colonization on both the descendants of the colonised and the colonisers, especially when working in resource-poor areas. I further argue that colonisation persists in the form of neocolonialism, manifesting through neoliberalism and racial capitalism (see 1.4), which continues to perpetuate imbalances of power and resources. Therefore, I use colonialism to describe the past and continued colonisation of people in the majority world. According to Crisp (2024), it is harmful for a well-intentioned, educated individual from the minority world to enter a country and make decisions about health and well-being without an understanding of the local context. This can lead to more harm than good. Therefore, this research must be framed within the context of decolonisation, particularly the decolonisation of knowledge.

Shilliam (2021) defines decolonisation as the cultivation of knowledge rather than the mere production of it. Knowledge production, as driven by colonialism, seeks to expand and accumulate knowledge, often leading to colonised people relying on external understandings of themselves. In contrast, knowledge cultivation involves reflecting on the past and positioning oneself within the research. According to Shilliam (2021), knowledge cultivation enables the recognition of past wrongdoings, the unlearning of ingrained negative practices, and the promotion of self-reliance. This study aims to address issues of colonialism, such as historic "*data raids*" (see 3.2) which stole knowledge from Indigenous communities without reparation or justice (Baum 2016, p. 222), while also acknowledging the self-reliance of the participants developed through SEP.

However, decolonising health faces several challenges. Koum and Pai (2023 p.509) highlight the issue of "*problem blindness*," where issues affecting the majority world become normalized and overlooked. However, by problematizing and stigmatising these issues, communities can develop locally driven solutions. The authors also point to "*framing bias*," in which public health problems are often attributed to behaviour or the environment, leading to the assumption that solutions effective in one community will work universally (Koum and Pai 2023, p.509). This approach neglects the critical roles of culture, socio-economic factors, gender, and access to knowledge which this study seeks to understand.

Koum and Pai (2023) emphasize the significance of positionality, asserting that to fully comprehend health issues, actors must be closely connected to the environments where these issues arise. Relying solely on literature from the minority world to address majority world concerns can lead to a distorted perspective. Reflecting on the imbalance of majority world

authors, Abimbola (2019) argues that these disparities indicate a form of colonialism within global health. The author urges researchers to cultivate reflexivity regarding their positionality, contending that global power and knowledge imbalances result in differing perspectives and understandings. Consequently, the power to act is disproportionate to the information available for action. According to Koum and Pai (2023), individuals whose positionality spans both worlds are better equipped to navigate the complexities of health matters. Thus, my own positionality, which at times bridges both worlds, will allow me to provide a more comprehensive understanding of health and well-being challenges in Teso.

There is an additional issue concerning decolonisation which is related to focusing on problems rather than solutions (Koum and Pai 2023). This concern is echoed by Banerjee et al., (2023) who highlights that higher education curricula often depict low- and middle-income countries solely as places with problems that require attention or as regions from which the minority world needs protection. Furthermore, Banerjee et al., (2023) examine how organizations like the *Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation* and *Médecins Sans Frontières* amplify harmful portrayals through the imagery used in their reports, suggesting that these communities lack agency. These issues are linked to the tropes of the white saviour complex, which arise from historical attitudes suggesting that missionaries, charities, and philanthropic individuals possess the right to intervene, simply because their intentions and efforts are well-meaning (Ibid). According to Crisp (2024), the most ethical and effective relationships are those in which foreigners assist local people in achieving what they already recognise as necessary. This contrasts to minority world academia, where Abimbola (2021) critiques that,

“In thinking that the value of a study is a publication, and that what is not published is not known, we have been unjust. In choosing to focus on the episodic at the expense of the day-to-day, we have been unjust... In failing to see, share and publicise small wins, we have been unjust. In reinforcing the notion that ... standardised measures come before local use ... we have been unjust. In thinking that our primary role is to produce new knowledge rather than helping to connect a system... to more of itself, we have been unjust.” (p.5)

Despite decolonising efforts, there remains limited recognition of the ongoing colonial influences and injustices within global health research, as well as a persistent focus on knowledge production over cultivation, with inadequate action based on cultivated knowledge. This study seeks to address this imbalance by drawing on the knowledge and experiences of participants in rural Uganda, whilst acknowledging and sharing their innovations related to

SEP and community activism. Additionally, in pursuit of decolonising global health research, I aim to maintain continuous reflexivity regarding my positionality while promoting action toward social justice

2.5 Women's Health Globally

In SSA the most common causes of mortality for women are infectious and parasitic diseases whereas in Europe non-communicable diseases including cancers and heart disease cause the highest mortality amongst women (WHO 2023). Globally HIV/AIDS is the most common reason for death in reproductive age (Ibid). It is estimated that that 48% of all cases of HIV/AIDS in adults now occur in women (Marts and Keitt 2004; Ribeiro et al., 2008). The reasons for women's mortality globally are varied and consequently health promotion, prevention, and application strategies need to be aligned to regional, socioeconomic, and cultural populations.

Globally, issues of structural violence influence gendered health inequalities (Rylko-Bauer and Farmer, 2016). Rylok-Bauer and Farmer (2016) define structural violence as the violence of inequality which is embedded within social structures and normalised by institutions. It is a form of oppression that prevents people from reaching their potential and negatively effects their life chances and choices (Morgan and Choak 2022). Structural violence underscores how those who are less powerful can be degraded to the position of 'non-persons' by policies which become standardised as part of social life (Scheper-Hughes 2004, p 36). In this way, issues such as poverty can become perceived as normalised rather than an issue relating to structural violence caused by power relations.

Such structures refer to societal relations, and the economic, political, and cultural norms that influence how individuals interact within society. According to Farmer (1997) diseases such as AIDS are best understood as biosocial phenomena shaped by structural violence. Such diseases disproportionately affect those in poverty, which is linked to gender inequality, and lack of access to necessities and resources (Marmot 2015). Yet there are still vast gender gaps to be filled in terms of how global gendered health is managed despite women's health being increasingly recognised as a global health priority (Ribeiro et al., 2008; Rizvi and Zuberi 2006).

In terms of gender gaps, GBV poses a significant impact to women's health globally, disproportionately affecting the health status of women and their children (Pallitto et al., 2013). GBV implicates both structural and cultural violence as it is often legitimised by patriarchal and societal norms (Morgan and Choak 2022). As such it is often described as a '*silent epidemic*' as impediments such as stigma and shame often prevent women from reporting their experiences (Mulneh et al., 2020, p.2). A World Health Organisation multi-country study demonstrated that the global incidence of GBV is wholly uneven, with less than 4% reported incidences in high-income countries and a 40% occurrence reported in low-income locations. Between 12.9% and 48.6% of women report being subjected to GBV in urban areas, yet in rural regions, the GBV occurrence rates are between 33.8% to 61% (WHO 2021). Despite the higher incidences of GBV in rural populations, it is these areas that are under-researched (Mootz et al., 2017). Studies show that GBV is more common in majority world countries, particularly in communities with low socio-economic and educational standing (Abrahams et al., 2006). In SSA structural issues such as patriarchy, are shown to increase the occurrence of GBV (Milazzo and Goldstein 2019; Abrahams et al., 2006). However, despite the breadth of studies regarding GBV, research into the determinants of GBV is limited (Mohanty et al., 1991). Indeed, such research is constrained due to the differences concerning definitions, testimonies, and assessments concerning GBV (Ibid). Consequently, as previously discussed, comparing GBV globally does not provide causal evidence or lead to an understanding of this phenomena, due to the multitude of societal norms that exist within and between countries.

The global discrepancies concerning women's health are linked to culture, economic status, education, and issues concerning patriarchy. There are also issues relating to the reporting of health issues. Consequently, there is a need for more focused studies that capture the voices of women from marginalised communities. Such studies would benefit from the use of qualitative research approaches that help women to disclose issues concerning their health. This review will now specifically focus on issues impacting women's health in SSA where health determinants contrast significantly to those in the minority world, which according to the literature, is due to more profound issues of poverty and hegemonic patriarchy. The terms *minority world* and *majority world* are used in this study to draw attention to the unjustness that decisions made in the minority world affect the majority of the global population (Bashford-Squires, Gibson, and Nyashanu 2022).

2.6 Women's health in sub-Saharan Africa

UNAIDS estimated that more than two-thirds of the approximately 38 million people with HIV live in sub-Saharan Africa in 2018 (Jewell et al., 2020). In this region women account for 58% of the total population with HIV and suffer a higher percent of HIV/AIDS related mortality (Ramjee and Daniels 2013). In SSA the primary cause of HIV transmission is through heterosexual sex (Kharsany and Karim 2016).

Empirical studies from across SSA show that the impact of antiretroviral therapy (ART) can lead to a decline in mortality and increase life expectancy by approximately 10 years (Kharsany and Karim 2016). Such research demonstrates the benefits of early ART to those with HIV. However, despite the advantages of ART, in 2013 74% of deaths were associated with AIDS related illnesses across SSA (Ibid). Despite ART transforming the HIV epidemic by preventing deaths, improving life quality, and preventing further infections, according to the literature, treating HIV in isolation will not end the spread of the virus (Bekker et al., 2018).

The impact of COVID-19 on access to ART has meant that progress in treating the disease has been stalled (Jewell et al., 2020). Although SSA appeared to be less affected by COVID-19 than other global areas, the pandemic caused HIV tests, treatments, vaccine access to stall, which has led to poorer treatment outcomes, and increased susceptibility to new infections across SSA (Nachega et al., 2021). This has inhibited progress to the UN's 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which seek to elevate health and development to create a world that is healthier and more equitable (Bekker et al., 2018). However, according to the literature, it is unlikely that the SDGs will be achieved by 2030, particularly in SSA where international funding has been reduced towards AIDs assistance and increased austerity, conflict, and COVID-19 has impacted on those already suffering hardships (Bekker et al., 2018). Hence, there is much work to be done to achieve greater well-being throughout SSA.

In addition to setting a goal to improve HIV infections, the SDGs are reflected in targets that call for an end to malaria and impact the growing burden of non-communicable diseases across SSA (Bekker, et al., 2018). Various studies reveal the interconnectivity of malaria and HIV (Slutsker and Marston 2007; González, et al., 2012; Verhoeff et al., 1999). According to Kwenti (2018) there is adequate evidence to show that malaria and HIV coinfection (MHC) is widespread in SSA. MHC significantly increases the adverse effects of both infections on each other, has a damaging impact on the diagnosis, and makes the prevention and treatment of both

infections difficult (2018). Both diseases affect the poorest populations, who are made vulnerable by the lack of access to quality education, and services (Sambo 2007). Consequently, both diseases are exacerbated and reinforced by poverty.

A multitude of studies reveal how the burden of poverty impacts women more significantly in SSA (McFerson 2010; Rujumba and Kwiringira 2019; Kes and Swaminathan 2006). Poverty is no longer defined as economic want but regarded as multisectoral, comprising of both income economic dimensions alongside intersections relating to uncertainty, vulnerability, and marginalisation (Kes and Swaminathan 2006). It is also recognized that poverty is experienced in different ways by men and by women (Rujumba and Kwiringira 2019). Consequently, a gendered study of poverty is essential for a deeper comprehension of poverty dynamics in SSA and for developing effective poverty reduction strategies.

Barriers to treatment particularly impact women in SSA. Using the demographic and health surveys of 29 SSA countries, conducted between 2010 and 2018, Ahinkorah et al., (2021) found that 19.6% of childbearing women surveyed had difficulties seeking permission for medical care, 56.4% indicated that they faced financial issues towards attaining care, while 41.3% explained that the distance to health centres was an issue. Furthermore, those women living in rural areas with less education and lower socioeconomic statuses were less likely to seek healthcare. Significantly, however, this is a quantitative study and as such has not captured the voices of the women to examine variables or the reasons behind the survey answers.

Ahinkorah, et al., (2021) research implies that women across SA fail to seek healthcare due to a lack of agency. Numerous authors believe that when women become economically self-sufficient it provides them with greater influence, thus improving their health and wellbeing, and particularly emancipating them from GBV (Sen 2014; Kristof and WuDunn 2010; Marmot 2016). However, these authors do not consider the double incumbrance of women's domestic and paid labour. Neoliberal discourses underline individual self-sufficiency through notions of choice; however, they disregard structural inequalities that inhibit women's agency (Chant 2014). Neoliberalism is an economic policy that promotes minimum state intervention (Cobo 2018) (see 1.6). This study will examine the contested concepts of 'agency' and 'empowerment', according to the theory of NM. It will explore how SEP interact within a framework of inequity.

Issues of inequity cause rural SSA populations to become susceptible to neglected tropical diseases (NTDs) (Farmer 1997). Such NTDs are common among those living in poverty across SSA, with the most widespread NTDs, such as lymphatic filariasis affecting more than 500 million people (Hotez and Kamath 2009). Due to their negative effect on child development, and agricultural worker productivity the NTDs represent a key reason why the ‘*bottom 500 million*’ people in SSA cannot break through the cycle of poverty (Hotez and Kamath 2009, p.1). Across SSA it is women who dominate the agricultural labour force; findings from a study financed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) revealed that women represent 60-80 percent of agricultural labour force in Nigeria (Ogunlela and Mukhtar 2009). Consequently, eliminating NTDs are intertwined with sustainable poverty reduction, and gender equality across SSA.

Furthermore, women’s reliance on the land in SSA as agricultural labourers has become a significant determinant of women’s health due to climate change (Habtezion 2016). Terblanché-Greeff (2019) recognises that Africa is one of the most vulnerable continents to climate change as it experiences increased drought, flooding, and associated food insecurity. Based on the *Notre Dame Global Adaption Initiative* (2024), which uses two decades of data across 45 indicators to rank countries annually based upon their vulnerability and capability to adapt to climate change, Uganda registers 173 on the list of 181 countries making it one of the most vulnerable and least adapted countries. Climate change does not affect men and women in the same way, due to different gender roles and responsibilities within household and community levels (UNDP 2016). For women, issues of survival due to climate change often take precedence over other health issues. According to an ethnographic study conducted in Northern Uganda by Rujumba and Kwiringira, (2019), although GBV is extensive within this region, women’s efforts to meet survival needs takes priority over social justice. Such work burdens include carrying water over long distances and providing food for the family in drought impacted areas (Ibid). Effectually, poverty alongside socio-economic marginalization exposes women to the impacts of climate change, which further intersects with survival needs and gender-based violence.

From a review of the literature, women’s health in SSA cannot be removed from intersecting issues of GBV. This violence, which exists simultaneously at structural and interpersonal levels, prevents women from accessing healthcare, and economically burdens them with greater responsibilities, whilst neoliberal discourses alongside cultural and societal norms

position women at the forefront of fighting poverty. According to the Global Gender Gap report (World Economic Forum 2023), SSA ranks the sixth lowest for gender parity out of the 8 regions and it is predicted it will take this region 102 years to close the gender gap. Despite these concerning statistics, most studies regarding gender inequity focus on the minority world, with limited attention given to SSA (Mootz, Stabb and Mollen 2017). What is more, 63% of the SSA population reside in marginalised, rural communities, which increases the difficulty of accessing vital health services (UNPFA 2020). According to Muluneh et al., (2020), African sociocultural norms advocate men's dominant position in sexual relationships leaving women with less agency to influence health and lifestyle choices. In these geographically isolated regions, patriarchal principles exist outside the influence of central government or preventative laws that act to protect women from GBV (UNDP 2020).

Manne (2019) defines patriarchy as the controlling force of men, which acts as a global power infiltrating all forms of structural and social divisions. Such unequal power results in the suppression of women. Most women in SSA live under the rule of patriarchy (Titi and Haque 2017). Therefore, in SSA, power is disproportionately shared; men dominate societal structures and institutions whilst holding influence over women (Milazzo and Goldstein 2019). In SSA, patriarchy is prevalent within all intersections of society, leading to significant inequity (African Development Bank 2015; United Nations Development Programme 2016). This research will therefore examine how intersections of patriarchy are produced and how they affect women's health.

According to research conducted by Muluneh et al., (2020) GBV is more widespread in Eastern Africa's marginalised regions than in southern areas of SSA. This situation is significantly manifest in Uganda, where the *Uganda Demographic and Health Survey* (2016) indicated that over 1-million women were subjected to sexual violence annually. Women's health disparities in Uganda and other SSA countries are attributed to an array of factors including patriarchy, cultural norms, environmental and economic issues, and poverty (Pallitto et al., 2013). Hence, these multifarious issues necessitate an approach that recognises that women's health is affected by circumstances that do not exist in isolation but are interrelated and intertwined. Consequently, an intersectional lens will be used to examine women's health in rural Uganda. In addition to intersectionality, this study also utilises aspects of new materialist (NM) theory to understand how aspects of the intersections that affect women's health are socially produced rather than socially constructed (Fox and Alldred 2022). This enables a deeper understanding of how the effects of intersections relating to inequity might be

mitigated. NM also lends itself to an understanding of how binaries can lead to the oppression of specific groups (Markula 2019), which in turn can help to explain health inequities.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

From a feminist ontology, this research is concerned with navigating cultural concerns regarding women's health and cultural imperialism to avoid privileging a minority world conception of the lives of women in rural Uganda. Therefore, it is useful to understand the waves of minority world feminism and how a critique of the framing and language of such feminisms can produce an understanding of how feminism and women's activism might be understood and utilised within the Ugandan context.

A Feminist Ontology

This research draws and reflects on notions of feminism to understand the health and wellbeing issues of women in rural Uganda. To avoid privileging minority world conceptions of feminism towards an understanding the challenges of women in rural Uganda, this study will critique the socio-historic positioning of feminisms and women's activism including white feminism, Black feminism, and Africana Womanism.

The Four Waves of Feminism

According to Evans and Chamberlain (2015) there are four waves of feminism which coexist and intersect. Critics argue that the wave analogy results in false dichotomies between generations of feminists (Gillis and Munford 2004). However, more pertinent to this study is how the waves have erased non-white women's experiences. Consequently, this study requires engagement in a critique of the shifting discourses and wider strategic implications surrounding the waves regarding the experiences of women from sub-Saharan Africa.

The first wave of feminism is synonymous with suffragettes whose central aim was to achieve votes for women (Evans and Chamberlain 2015). Springer (2002) argues that the waves of feminism have disregarded race-based movements that served as the foundations for gender activism. Black feminism, synonymous with African Americans, existed and has continued to exist outside of such discourses (Collins 2022). The second wave of feminism, beginning in the

late 1960s, focused on women's social and individual issues, such as equal the right to determine the fate of their own bodies (Evans and Chamberlain 2015). Hudson (2023) criticises this approach for not recognising more pertinent issues facing black communities such as economic and community wellbeing. Furthermore, in criticizing men's dominance, liberal feminists are fighting to join rather than critique white men's power systems.

The concept of the third wave of feminism gained prominence in the early 1990s, as it sought to embrace greater inclusivity and move away from the dominance of white, middle-class perspectives (Evans and Chamberlain 2015). Predicated on the recognition of difference, third-wave feminism aimed to address the diverse experiences of women across intersections such as race, class, and sexuality (Ibid). This shift reflected an aspiration for a more intersectional feminism that acknowledged and celebrated the variety of challenges and perspectives within the broader feminist movement. Crenshaw (1991) offered intersectionality as a metaphor to demonstrate the inadequacy of approaches which isolate oppression through focusing on one area of subjugation, to the exclusion of others. For Crenshaw (1991), oppressions work together to produce injustice via structural, hegemonic, and relational domains of power.

However, scholars argue that intersectionality has been appropriated by white feminists and policy makers and in particular criticise “... *the particular and ongoing whitened, additive and depoliticised way in which intersectionality is being appropriated...*” (Christoffersen 2022, p. 267). Hence white feminists have obscured the origins of intersectionality. The fourth wave of feminism is characterized by social action driven through social media. However, framing feminism in "waves" can hinder cross-generational dialogue leading to social action (Evans and Chamberlain, 2015). More importantly for this study, the fourth wave's reliance on social media can exclude individuals in technology-poor regions of the majority world, restricting their ability to engage with contemporary feminist discourse.

Calling for a fugitive feminist movement, Emejulu (2022) calls for women of colour to become fugitives from the intersections of gender and the human and find a means of existing outside the binary capitalist, white supremacist, and patriarchal systems that cause subjugation. In accordance, Dabiri writes, “*Patriarchy, capitalism and its infinite discontents are strengthened by our division*” (p.137). Emejulu (2022) advocates that women of colour should exist as neither humans or ‘other’ but exist via communities based on an ethos of care and solidarity. Finding radical politics in care enables an expression of power through a relational framework as opposed to the conditions of being othered within politics, society, and feminist discourses.

Africana Womanism

The relational prominence of Emejulu's (2022) vision has much in common with Africana Womanism. According to Hudson (2022), feminists (including Black Feminists) neither recognise nor have an awareness that their issues differ to the Africana woman, questioning,

"...what is the relationship between an Africana woman and her family, her community and her career in today's society that emphasizes, in the midst of oppression... the empowerment of women and individualism over human dignity and rights?" (p.12)

Feminism does not prioritise the disparate survival needs of the African woman's community but rather emphasises individualism. For Hudson (2022) feminism (including Black feminism), is not an appropriate concept to apply to the lived reality of the black African woman. For many Black African women, poverty remains a persistent reality of daily life (Hudson 2022). Considering this, Hudson (2022) offers Africana Womanism as an alternative perspective to feminism.

Africana Womanism is founded within African culture, and consequently addresses the unique experiences, challenges, requirements, and aspirations of Africana women deeming other forms of feminism as unsuitable within the African diaspora (Barry and Grady 2019). Rather than patriarchy being the key issue of women's struggles, African Womanism believes that racism is central to the oppression of African communities.

The theory of Africana Womanism draws on the relational nature of African people underscoring how issues such as female subjugation occur within and outside of their race and need to be solved collectively. Through this lens community serves as a collective benefit through which marginalised Africans can work to secure their rights (Bedigen 2021). For social change to be realised, the African Womanist argues that entire communities must be included in the process. As such, this study draws on elements of Africana Womanism as an appropriate concept to comprehend the challenges and solutions to the lives of marginalised women living in Teso. It also refers to feminist issues such as patriarchy, however, it recognises that such issues are not innate to SSA culture but rather a result of colonialism. Despite its minority world origins, the study also utilises a decolonial intersectionality as a framework to analyse the lives of Teso women. The appropriateness of this of this framework towards this research is discussed in more detail in the next section.

Intersectionality

Vergès and Bohrer, (2021, p.76), argue that “*ignorance of the circulation of people, ideas, and emancipatory practices within the global South presences the hegemony of the North-South axis.*” To mitigate a hegemonic perspective, this study will apply intersectionality as a theory to understand how intersections of privilege and subjugation shape the lives of women in rural Uganda. Intersectionality is framework for realising the lived experiences of those impacted by more than one sphere of subjugation (Hankivsky 2012). Hence, intersectionality can provide insights concerning SEP and women’s health through the inclusion of marginalised voices. Developing a realisation of how gender intersects with a variety of social indicators, such as socio-economic inequality, is vital towards comprehending how gendered power interactions work to sustain health inequities (Sen and Solin 2011).

Feminists advocate intersectionality as a means of confronting theories that homogenise women (Crenshaw 2021). Using an intersectional framework to provide a nuanced understanding of issues that impact the lives of Ugandan women will help distil the opinion advocated by some minority world feminists that women in the majority world are uniformly submissive victims of their circumstances (Mohanty 2003, Zakaria 2021). Indeed, Adams (2016) advocates a decolonial intersectionality to challenge minority world knowledge through making invisible intersections evident. Hindmarch and Hillier, (2022, p.4), argue that global health sustains deeply held, “*taken for granted assumptions*” that are given as objective truths, yet such ‘truths’ are minority world, philosophical traditions. An example of such a tradition is the liberalist concept of the individual that exists as separate to social relations and is ontologically distinct and autonomous (Kymlicka 2017). Such a perspective fails to account for how social choices are shaped and limited by intersections such as colonialism, patriarchy, economics, and politics. Hence, this paper will examine such invisible intersections that impact women’s lives in Uganda.

This study employs an intersectional lens to examine categories of difference, recognizing that these categories are fluid and non-additive, rather than fixed. While the analysis identifies intersections such as gender, race, and environmental conditions as dominant due to their commonality among participants, it also seeks to move beyond the stereotype of Sub-Saharan African (SSA) rural women as a “*homogeneous ‘powerless’ group often portrayed as implicit victims of specific cultural and socio-economic systems,*” Mohanty (1988, pp. 65-66). This stereotype paints them as “*ignorant, poor, uneducated, and tradition-bound.*” (Ibid). Instead,

my research examines how health issues intersect with participants' ages, marital and family roles, economic conditions, and health statuses, while also assessing the impact of a social enterprise project on these intersecting factors.

By using an intersectional approach, the study highlights both the commonalities and diversity in the women's experiences regarding health and the impact of the SEP. It is essential to understand their shared and distinct experiences to emphasise their relationality. As Dubek (2001) points out, the *"postmodern obsession with diversity threatens to obscure any sense of relation among women. This fear of both difference and unity hinders our ability to forge political alliances committed to the well-being of all women"* (p. 202). Thus, this research draws on shared intersections to demonstrate how the women engage relationally.

Consequently, through the lens of new materialism (NM), this research is also concerned how these intersections are produced through relations. NM supplies a notion of agency not linked to human action, rather examining instead now relational networks, termed 'assemblages' of the human and non-human, affect and are affected (Fox and Alldred 2014, p.399). NM dissolves boundaries between the natural, the material, and the cultural and regards all actions and interactions as relational (Coole and Frost 2014). This emphasis on relationality within NM is defined as 'diffraction', as explained by Harris et al (2020, p. 664):

"...diffraction focuses instead on the relational process whereby the ripples meet and produce the cone-like pattern. In this diffractive methodology, knowledge claims derive from different elements of the world co-mingling..."

NM decentres humans, and instead considers how various human and non-human entities are interconnected through relations. This emphasis on relationality links to the Afrocentric values which guide the methodology of this research discussed in Chapter Three (see 3.2). From this perspective, relational ontology addresses the nature of being and how theories of existence are implicated in the construction of knowledge (Chilisa 2019). This research is particularly interested in an Ubuntu worldview, which acknowledges relations between humans, the land, and the non-living and promotes understanding of a holism and spirituality that promotes accord within communities (Chilisa 2019). Ubuntu is an African philosophy that emphasises the importance of *"being human through other people"* (Mugumbate and Nyangur 2015, p. 83). The Ubuntu maxim, *"I am we; I am because we are; we are because I am"* explains the relatedness between people, the land, the living and non-living (Goduka 2000, p.76). This relational ontology foregrounds interconnections between all elements of existence. By

developing an understanding of human encounters as taking place within assemblages, it shows how humans and events are interconnected and affected by non-humans. It is therefore possible to examine how humans and non-humans affect and are affected within experiences relating to SEP, the environment, and women's health.

Like Indigenous ontologies, which value non-linear conceptions of time in which descendants are always present (Hindmarch and Hillier 2022), new materialists believe in a living present (Deleuze, 1994). The living present is believed to encompass the past, present, and future and is never static but stretches between times; the material effects of the past continue to act as a changing force (Loewen Walker 2014). Accordingly, the past continues as a relational force shaping the existence of humans and non-humans.

New materialists also view sociocultural norms as powerfully affective in shaping behaviours and interactions, and they term this affectivity as '*territorialising*' (Fox and Alldred 2022, p.5). Accordingly, some territorialisations may be lasting and create boundaries, or intersections that seem fixed. However, other bodies or matter may be deterritorialised by others' affects, creating new possibilities for action (Deleuze and Guattari 1988). This explains how intersections are not necessarily fixed or bonded but can be deterritorialized or altered through flows of affects. It is this affective flow that is linked to agency, as it reveals how agency is temporal and shifting rather than something that can be individually attained or provided through notions of empowerment. The terms 'affect' and 'affective' are used through this paper in reference to assembled relations. Such assemblages have the capacity to create social, political, psychological, or biological change across time and space.

Though this research draws upon NM, it recognises there are tensions when it comes to combining concepts (Hayhurst et al., 2022; Monforte 2018). These tensions are in part due to NM's resistance towards categories or intersections. Rather, a new materialist ontology resists the concept of objects and bodies as occupying distinct and separate spaces, but as discussed, regards human bodies, along with material, social, and abstract forms as relational. In this way, all forms and concepts have no separate significance or status other than being produced through a flow of ideas (Fox and Alldred 2015). However, in accordance with Gough and Whitehouse (2020) and Monforte (2018), this study asserts that a global situation impacted by climate change and world-wide health issues requires more than one conceptual approach. According to Gough and Whitehouse (2020, p 1422),

‘The privilege of arguing over categories may come to belong to a time before we properly understood we were going to be overwhelmed by the chemical, geophysical and exobiological realities of climate change...forcing a realisation there is no one conceptual model that is going to see us through’.

As Monforte (2018, p. 383) argues, “we do not have to *completely* accept new materialist positions in order to learn something from them”. However, in agreement with Hindmarch and Hillier (2022, p.2), transformational research practices begin from the premise that “we can begin to change the world by changing how we *think* about the world.”. Indeed, NM enables a rethinking of research practices that avoids an anthropocentric world view. For new materialists, it is anthropocentrism and categories of difference that have led to the current climate emergency. Smart (2019) argues:

“The current and projected consequences of anthropogenic climate change and decline in biodiversity indicate the unsustainable nature of prevailing globally extensive modern forms of life. Categories of modern living and biodiversity are clearly at odds.” (p.28)

For Gaard, (2011), oppressions of gender, the ecosystem, race, non-humans, and the environment are related. However, the binary separation of humans and the natural worlds is evident in research concerning global health (Hindmarch and Hillier 2022). This anthropocentric world view places humans as the most important entity. However, IK offers understandings of animal, plant, and humans as relational and reciprocal, producing an ontology of holism and interconnectedness eschewing binary oppositions (Kimmerer 2013). Consequently, global issues need to be researched and respected in terms of relationality, removing the privileging of humanity. In this way health becomes a collective responsibility without hierarchy, promoting harmony, and global stewardship.

It is such binaries that Puar (2011) regards as problematic within intersectionality; the theory fails to acknowledge the instability of subjects which, according to the author, should not be forced into categories of identity. Rather, as discussed previously, intersectional differences can be regarded as assemblages which are mobile. Manning (2019) argues that an understanding of humans as a distinct entity was instigated by majority world colonialists to legitimate male Europeans’ separateness and therefore their right to rule over other humans and non-humans. Consequently, we should decolonialise the idea of the subject by viewing how individuals are shaped within context. Thus, viewing the intersections as “*intersectional differences of process*” (Tiainen et al., 2020, p.217). In this way, intersections of difference are

not simply pre-existing structures but fluid relationalities that can occur across social, material, human, and non-human processes of activity.

NM and intersectionality are minority world paradigms, despite their similarities to Indigenous ontologies concerning relationality. Emejulu (2022 p.29) argues that even though intersectionality was the *“backbone of women’s politics since slavery”* it has been entirely appropriated by white women to the extent that black women have been erased from this concept. However, using a decolonial intersectionality, this study will apply focus to invisible violence which is often hidden and embedded in boundaries of structural political, gendered, colonial, cultural and economic organisations which shape the social world. Levac et al., (2018), believe that intersectionality can work alongside IK systems as they share an understanding that the world is shaped by space and time. The authors argue that it is not appropriate to include colonialism as one axis of oppression, as *‘...colonialism conditions the whole matrix of intersecting systems of power in colonised spaces.’* (p.9). Therefore, it is impossible to fully comprehend the effects of colonialism without considering Indigenous ways of knowing. This research will ensure that IK systems, are recognised, alongside the use of intersectionality and NM, within its analysis.

Despite NM resonating and reflecting Indigenous worldviews, due to its focus on non-humans, more than humans, non-linearity, and relationality, IK has been silenced by minority world knowledge systems (Anderson 2020). This study agrees with Braidotti (2019), who argues that placing different knowledge systems and traditions in dialogue does not create false comparisons, rather it amplifies their resonances. Importantly, adopting the concept of *Two-Eyed Seeing* which can lead to the generation of new knowledge (Bartlett et al., 2012). This methodology requires,

“...learning to see from one eye with the strengths of Indigenous knowledges and ways of knowing, and from the other eye with the strengths of Western knowledges and ways of knowing, and to use both these eyes together, for the benefit of all.” (Bartlett et al., 2012, p. 335)

Through the application of this methodology, common ground is pursued between knowledge systems by establishing a relationship between the two approaches that eschews binaries and the pre-eminence of minority world knowledge and anthropocentrism.

Applying Indigenous world views alongside intersectionality and NM enables an examination of the complexities and challenges that impact the lives of women in Uganda. It enables a view of how humans, non-humans, matter, and concepts diffract to produce meaning. It also facilitates a movement towards a decolonisation of research, whereby humans and non-humans are viewed as relational rather than separate. Through an examination of intersections, attention can be given to the invisible concerns that impact women's lives, alongside avoiding a homogenisation of women from a majority world setting. This study will now apply these theories to what is known about matters impacting women's health in Uganda, paying particular attention to issues in the North-East of the country where, due to extreme poverty and social, cultural, and environmental problems the health issues that affect Ugandan women are more pronounced (Mootz et al., 2017; Abigaba et al., 2016; Mukasa et al., 2020).

2.8 Women's Health in Rural Uganda

Intersectionalities result in complex encounters of subjugation and power which significantly impact women's health (Rujumba and Kwiringira 2019). Thus, intersectionality is an effective framework for appraising the literature regarding women's health and wellbeing in peripheral regions of Uganda, where the socio-cultural and physical environment impacts women's subjugation concerning issues that affect their health and wellbeing. Furthermore, developing an understanding of the intersecting causes of women's health issues in rural Uganda according to the literature, will enable a focus on how such intersections interact with SEP. Drawing on aspects of new materialist theory will reveal the relationality between different forces and how meaning is shaped through diffracting interactions.

According to Rutakumwa and Krogman (2007), Uganda in the 1970s had superior health services compared to other majority world countries, however, political instability and increased military spending caused cuts to services and according to Neema (1999), the health-care infrastructure was destroyed. Ugandan, rural women were severely impacted by such cuts to health due to a lack of local provision and patriarchal norms dictating women's access to health (Rutakumwa and Krogman 2007). However, in recent years Uganda has witnessed a rise in life expectancy, a rise in GDP per capita, and a decline in the percentage of those living in poverty (World Bank Uganda 2024). What is not known is how these improvements have

impacted on those living beyond the urban areas of this country. This is a geographically peripheral area, which according to Jones (2009, p.15) is separate to the state:

‘Outside of Kampala, the district capitals, or a few isolated ‘project communities’, there is a much more general landscape of villages and communities that are marginal...the state has little interest in these places.’

Branch and Yen (2018, p.78), explain how away from the capitals Uganda becomes a ‘different world’. The authors argue there is an ethnic (Branch and Yen 2008, p.78). As a result, in Northern parts of Uganda people were forced into displaced people’s camps (see 1.5). It is in these camps that a binary between neoliberal humanitarian aid and peace building, and a state military developed (Branch and Yen 2018). Consequently, this study will examine how the intersections of conflict, poverty, and gender have impacted women’s health in marginalised and often state-excluded area of Uganda.

Intersectionalities of Disease and Gender in North-East Uganda

The prolonged conflict in North-Eastern Uganda has been attributed to the spread of HIV, interlinked with the highest global rates of GBV within this region (Mootz et al., 2021). Owing to the displacement of people due to the conflicts and the interchange of soldiers within communities, North-Eastern Uganda has faced higher levels of HIV than other regions (Kerridge et al., 2016). The correlation between HIV and GBV is significantly stronger among women in SSA with a positive HIV status, who were exposed to GBV (Li et al., 2014). Enhanced risk occurs when GBV involves sexual violence where women have little agency to request preventive contraception (Stockman et al., 2013).

Tuyizere (2007) argues that gender stereotypes in rural areas of Uganda facilitate the blaming of women for spreading AIDS. In some families where a couple is found to be HIV positive the wife is blamed by the relatives. Tuyizere (2007) explains that women are beaten, abused, and sometimes killed by people who blame them for causing the death of their husbands. Despite these assertions, Tuyizere (2007) does not provide data to support her research. Nevertheless, as already indicated, there is a strong correlation between AIDS/HIV and GBV in Uganda (Abramsky et al., 2012; Karamagi et al., 2006; Swahn et al., 2021). Indeed, GBV has been shown to increase HIV and has also been associated with higher viral loads, and lower adherence to HIV drugs (Hatcher et al., 2015; Morgan and Choak 2022).

There is emerging evidence that peer training groups in SSA such as *Stepping Stones*, that include both sexes in “*gender transformative*” training, have some success in ending the correlation between HIV and GBV (Heise 2011, p98). *Stepping Stones* is based on the premise that more emphasis needs to be given to norms that reinforce men’s violent behaviour. It is one of the few programmes to involve both women and men in small group interventions. The programme intends to improve health using participatory learning to build knowledge, risk responsiveness, and discussion around gender, HIV, violence, and relationships (Heise 2015). According to Heise (2011), men who participate in the programme are less likely to report perpetrating GBV.

From a NM perspective, it can be argued that the *Stepping Stones* assemblage attempts to change the flow and diffraction of men’s behaviour to prevent GBV. However, the strategy sometimes has the converse effect of normalising transactional sex through discussion (Heise 2015). This exposes the importance of being aware of the perverse effects of tactics that may reinforce descriptive patterns rather than invoking norms that undermine the legitimacy of behaviour. It also reveals the intersecting influence of cultural norms and GBV. The cultural norms of GBV prevented the flow of the intended effect. In this way GBV needs to be explored by examining how violence is produced rather than working at an individual level to change behaviour (Harris et al., 2020). Consequently, this study seeks to understand how to manage change within communities through developing an awareness of the impact of related intersections and how making a change to one intersection of subjugation impacts other pathways towards improving the health of women.

As previously argued, there is a strong correlation between malaria and HIV infection. This is particularly relevant in rural Uganda where malaria is strongly linked to poverty and underdevelopment; Teso is exposed to greater poverty than other regions in Uganda (World Bank 2021). In 2017, Teso experienced 167.6 cases of malarial infection per 1000 per month and was 1.18% higher than the national average infection rate (Kigozi et al., 2020). However, there is little research on causal pathways between deprivation and malaria (Tusting et al., 2016). As in other parts of SSA, within rural Uganda women are more likely to suffer the ill effects of poverty, often sacrificing the needs of their family above their own health (Tuyizere 2007). Consequently, research concerning intersections of poverty and their relationship to malarial infection amongst women in rural Uganda is vital. Particularly as malaria can cause serious consequences in pregnancy resulting in low birth weight and a subsequent increase in infant and childhood mortality (Mbonye, Neema, and Magnussen 2006).

Malaria has also been linked to women's mental health issues in Teso as it causes anxiety in mothers (Tol et al., 2018). Various research in conflict-impacted areas of Uganda have found a high occurrence of a variety of mental health problems, such as depression, stress, high levels of alcohol addiction, in addition to suicide (Muhwezi et al., 2011; Liebling-Kalifani et al., 2008). Although qualitative research in Uganda demonstrates that health workers recognise maternal mental health to be increasingly important, mental health services are extremely sparse (Tol et al., 2018). In this way, communicable diseases, alongside mental health issues, and poverty intersect negatively on women's health within rural Ugandan communities.

Whereby research indicates that there is a reverse pathway from malaria to poverty, capital in turn can help to protect against malaria (Rulisa et al., 2022). Accordingly, there is a need for more sustainable control strategies. *The World Health Organization's Global Technical Strategy for Malaria 2016-2030* (World Health Organization, 2021, n.p) suggests the need to connect malaria control in marginalised communities with sustainable development invested in behavioural change programmes '*Well planned public health controls and behavioural change programmes are essential to educating affected communities*'. Yet, despite requirement for such a multisectoral approach to malaria the literature suggests that that little progress has been made (Tusting et al., 2016). It is vital to understand how sustainable SEP intersect with poverty and how such projects might improve women's health regarding malarial infection and its further junctures with HIV/AIDs. In addition to the gendered burden of disease, women are also impacted by intersections of gender-based violence in this marginalised region of Uganda.

Physical Violence

Issues of poverty, alcohol abuse, ignoring perceived responsibilities, a lack of education, the impact of conflicts, and polygamy are regarded as drivers of physical violence in North-eastern Uganda (Parikh 2007; Karamagi et al., 2006; Bukuluki et al., 2021). Despite many communities being aware of physical violence, only cases involving injury or mortality are reported to authorities (Tuyizere 2007). According to Niwaine (2011, p.25), GBV is often sanctioned as a reprimand for not performing duties such as '*cooking tasty food*'.

Societies with deeply held patriarchal norms have more incidences of physical violence (Jewkes 2002). Acceptance of such hegemonic masculinity is common in patriarchal contexts particularly in SSA, and more specifically the patriarchal nature of Uganda (Gardsbane,

Bukuluki, and Musuyaomen 2021). Hegemonic masculinity operates through social norms which govern gender (Bukuluki et al., 2021). In this setting, such norms regularize the subordination of women. Moreover, GBV is intersectional with other stratum such as culture and patriarchy and is not only affected by individuals and groups, but it also reproduces the binary gender order.

Ideologies that subjugate women can influence whether GBV is deemed illegal. Consequently, physical violence in rural Uganda goes unreported or is believed to be insignificant by communities and the justice system (Tuyizere 2007). Such irreverence discourages other women from pursuing justice (Niwaine 2011). This demonstrates how the intersection of patriarchy combines with gender to create norms concerning physical violence.

Most research concerning physical violence against women is conducted in minority world countries; few studies in majority world countries have included the SSA region (Bukuluki et al., 2021). According to the literature, physical violence in rural Uganda is often linked to sexual violence. For example, a study using both household surveys and focus groups conducted in Eastern Uganda by Karamagi et al., (2006), found that men usually reacted violently when women went for HIV testing, disclosed HIV test results, or requested the men to use condoms. Men perceive these situations as evidence of promiscuity and prostitution (Ibid). However, conducting research involving the culturally sensitive topic of sexual violence through surveys and focus groups may prevent participants from full disclosure due to a lack of anonymity and fear of repercussion. Ethnographic research is a more suitable approach to capture the voices of participants without issues concerning sensitivity of disclosure (Tileagă et al., 2022).

Sexual Violence

In North-East Uganda sexual violence is associated with intersections of socio-cultural norms, past conflicts, hegemonic and aggressive masculinity, and a lack of resources (Niwaine 2011). Incidences of sexual violence in rural Uganda include rape, abuse, and forced, early marriages (Tuyizere 2007).

Bride Price

When girls in North-Eastern regions of Uganda reach maturity, rather than becoming a burden to their families, they are sold into marriage through the custom of bride price as assets (Bishai

and Grossbard, 2010). Bride price is a custom defined as payment as demanded by a groom's family to the family of the bride to legitimise the union (Sambe et al., 2013). Once the bride-price is paid, women become the property of their husbands which can lead to GBV becoming regarded as legitimate (Kaye 2007). Indeed, Hague, Thiara, and Turner (2011) argue that sexual violence arises because the husband believes that he owns his wife because of the bride price.

Bride price, often in the form of child marriages are acutely interconnected socio-cultural norms. Hence, intersections of gender, poverty, age, family status and patriarchy combine to limit women's agency. Consequently, multi-stranded and culturally appropriate sensitisation approaches are required to transform the practice of bride price.

Polygamy

Polygamy is widespread in Ugandan societies with more than 20% of married women in a polygamous relationship, and this figure is possibly higher in rural areas due to the difficulties of gaining statistics within marginalised regions (UDHS 2018). Through research involving household surveys and focus groups within Eastern Uganda, Karamagi et al., (2006) demonstrated that the husband having other sexual partners was the most frequent cause of GBV due to jealousy, suspicion, neglect, and abandonment. However, surveys and focus groups may not provide a true reflection of the impact of polygamy due to the participant's fear of disclosure concerning this sensitive subject. Rationalising the determinants and impact of polygamy through data analysis removes it from moral lives.

Various literature suggests that polygamous unions are associated with sexual, emotional, reproductive, and economic exploitation (Lawson et al., 2006; Pilgrim et al., 2014; Davis 2010). Evidence suggests that being in a polygamous marriage increases the possibility of contracting sexually transmitted diseases (Okwi et al., 2017; Tuyizere 2007; Rujumba and Kwiringira 2019). However, whereas feminists in the minority world believe polygamy to be an abuse of women's rights, Amone (2020) argues that polygamy is an institution that benefits all members of society. Amone (2020) argues that sexually transmitted diseases are more prevalent amongst monogamous marriages as adultery becomes more pronounced when it is forbidden. The author contests that the health improvements that polygamy brings to women outweigh the risks. For example, historically, communities relied on traditional medicines and women held knowledge regarding such treatments. Furthermore, women had a stronger

association with the land, knowing when to harvest vegetables, fruits, and where to find tubers and fetch water (Ibid). Therefore, according to Amone (2020), the higher the number of women in the family the better the health outcomes; traditionally, women could acquire herbal medicines and provide healthy food. Furthermore, according to a study by Bennett (1993), women in polygynous marriage did not suffer oppression or have their rights affected. This is because in pre-colonial Africa, rights were inseparable from the idea of duty (Ibid). The human rights of an African woman in a polygamous marriage were protected by embedded, relational and socio-cultural standards that were acknowledged by families and communities. These examples show that socio-cultural norms need to be understood within their unique socio-cultural and economic contexts rather than observed through a minority world lens. Capturing the voices of those who live within communities where polygamous marriages take place provides a contrast to literature that frames polygamy within a minority world discourse of rights and empowerment.

This study seeks to avoid notions of cultural imperialism by capturing the lived experiences of Indigenous communities. Igoye, Karrel and Van Leeuwen (2021, p.38) explain the importance of listening to the voices of communities:

“When we do not seek to understand each other’s cultures, values, and experiences, and we do not show a genuine interest in hearing all perspectives, we risk creating a reluctance on the part of stakeholders to speak genuinely about their emotions and thoughts on a given subject”.

Hence, intervening in social issues without understanding cultural and societal norms can silence voices within communities, which may exacerbate oppressive practices.

Crises in Masculinity

To further an understanding of women’s health in Teso it is important to comprehend how intersections of poverty and gender have been impacted by recent conflicts in the area that have resulted in changed gender roles. Based on findings from a qualitative study in Northern Uganda, Sengupta and Calo (2016) explored factors leading to GBV. The study revealed that a crisis of masculinity is crucial to understanding women’s subjectivity to violence. According to Sengupta and Calo (2016) the crisis originates from changes in a socially constructed gender roles and a change in resources. The authors contest that the armed conflict replaced the positive male identity as household head with an aggressive model of masculinity. Hence, the

intersections of gender in the form of negative masculinities and extreme poverty have impacted the prevalence of GBV within Uganda.

The war in Northern Uganda drove women to assume economic responsibilities and enter the public sphere, however, the simultaneous disempowerment of men resulted in increased sexual violence (Nwaine 2011). The loss of male identity led to alcoholism and drug abuse in conflict-ridden areas (Abrahams 2021a). The prevalence of such addiction has prevented negotiation within families to seek stability (Sengupta and Calo 2016). In this way the intersections of gender and poverty have intertwined to change norms concerning men's and women's roles. These affective flows represent a territorialisation of men's former responsibilities; territorialisation enables "*becoming over being... Becoming different, to think and act differently*" (Deuchers 2011, p.13). Attempts to deterritorialise the situation has led to what Deleuze and Guattari (1988, p. 88) term '*a line of flight*', which leads to new possibilities for action; to push back against the affects. Lines of flight, in this case, cause a turn to addiction and violence which transgresses previously held social norms concerning men's behaviour. According to Fox and Alldred (2022, p.7), lines of flight "*typically shift another party to the violence*" leading them to become submissive and subservient. In this example, the women have become afflicted by men's violence. Accordingly, the subordination of women steadily develops through periods of time and history via relations of social production, rather than from a linear, prevalent patriarchal structure. This reflects the notion that the past is relational and present, continuing to shape the social world.

According to Sengupta and Calo, (2016), external interventions to mitigate GBV can exacerbate women's vulnerability. Discourse around women's empowerment, that form the focus of non-government organisations (NGO) do not recognise the '*crisis of masculinity*' (Chant 2011, p.179). Therefore, failing to recognise men's role in empowerment can cause significant repercussions. Woodburn (2008) argues that distributing cattle alongside other aid resources to women strengthens the crisis of fractured masculinities. Humanitarian interventions targeting women and associated with state power complicate the picture and contribute to the disempowerment of men. Development organisations, in their neglect of men, have unconsciously helped to perpetuate a stereotype of the "*hard-working woman*" and the "*useless man*" (Sengupta and Calo 2016, p. 294). Therefore, it is vital to understand how to involve men in SEP and the implications for multi-faceted approaches to development that seek to improve women's health whilst sensitising communities to the interrelated issues of

GBV. A multi-strand and culturally sensitive approach may prevent territorialisation and lines of flight, which can impact negatively on the very issues that researchers or communities are trying to mitigate.

Men's disempowerment can also be related to the theory of racial capitalism. Racial capitalism is defined as a political and global economic model which operates via the intersections of racism and/or racial inequality and capitalism (Go 2021). Robinson (2000) argues that racism is intrinsic to capitalist development. Malton (2022) explains how race colonises social hierarchies and strategies of capital accumulation, "*enabling some bodies to command property while others are commodified*" (p.29). Such capitalism is enabled through neoliberal structural adjustment policies that were enforced on Uganda (Wiegratz, Martiniello, and Grecco 2018). Through the guise of aid and development the policies benefitted those in the minority world whilst leading to high levels of unemployment for those in majority world countries (see 1.4).

Malton (2022) explains how gender norms are intrinsic to racial capitalism, arguing that masculinity engages with labour and historically provides the subject of capitalism. However, black masculinity is caught between the intersections of patriarchal entitlement and racialised exclusion. Black men assert economic dominance whereby they regard their roles as the sole breadwinners yet this contrasts to their marginality, through a lack of employment, that prevents them from enacting this role.

According to Matlon (2022), dissociated from the formal economy African men face monetary challenges but also stigma that impacts their sense of masculine worth. This discourse of stigma is internalised through neoliberalism which emphasises the role of the individual. Men disassociate from their family and seek new legitimacy through leisure time and its associated activities embracing alternative imaginaries which mitigate negativity from being excluded from a wage-economy (Vorhölter 2018). Combined with the crisis in masculinity brought about through recent conflicts, racial capitalism further subsumes men's notions of worth. Due to this crisis in masculinity, women's health and wellbeing is impacted through a lack of support and a higher burden of work, such burdens of work are often feminised through notions of 'empowerment'. It is therefore important to comprehend concepts of 'empowerment' and 'agency'.

According to Porter (2013), the term 'empowerment' is used loosely. Traditional notions of

empowerment often neglect the ways in which intersections of culture, patriarchy, economics, and politics, for example, constrain women's ability to affect choices about their lives. Similarly, new materialists regard agency as a movement which settles on certain actors through relationality, rather than regarding agency as a given entity (Harris et al., 2020). For Fox and Alldred (2014), no single entity possesses agency, rather, entities' capacities are changed through flows of affect. Hence, social scientific enquiry needs to attend to affective flows and the capacities produced. It is these flows that lead to structural violence and associated patriarchy.

According to Oye'wu'mi (1997), in SSA colonialism and notions of patriarchy affected women's agency through the binary positioning of men as workers and women as non-workers. From a NM perspective this reveals a '*boundary making exercise*' (Harris et al., 2020, p.663). Boundaries produce inequalities and relations of domination, and some endure more than others (Warfield 2016). These long-term boundaries come to represent what Bordieu (1977) terms the '*taken for grantedness*' of the world. Rather than accepting the social order, or boundaries, NM enables us to question the production of relations. Through this lens, the boundaries separate individuals or groups from the flow of agency required by humans to be self-sufficient. Hence, women's work failed to be acknowledged but was still deemed necessary for the survival of society. Oye'wu'mi (1997, p.153) states,

"...females became subordinated as soon as they were 'made up' into women and embodied a homogenised category. Thus, by definition, they became invisible."

Consequently, colonisation legitimated masculine hegemony in African communities leaving women as an invisible 'other' through boundaries. Therefore, women were dominated by colonialism as Africans and then increasingly subjugated as women. Alongside the theory of racial capitalism, this notion of 'othering' helps to explain how women exist on the margins of intersections relating of power and privilege in Teso.

Economic Violence

Women are further subjugated in rural Uganda through economic violence which denies women the right and access to material resources, property, and land through inheritance or purchase (Tuyizere 2007). Despite women being legally permitted to own land, such ownership is often restricted by socio-cultural rather than material circumstances (Kasente et al., 2000). Kinship ties dictate property inheritance rather than statutory rights. Such socio-cultural norms deny women economic choices (Niwaine 2011).

Further socio-cultural standards that serve to limit women's economic agency are explored by Bolwig (2012) who contends that despite women carrying out a greater share of agricultural labour they have no control over the capital gains of their work. This is due to a feminisation of poverty which is defined as an increase in women's deprivation alongside a rise in their domestic responsibilities (Medeiros and Costa 2008). In rural Uganda, women's duties include cooking, childcare, gathering fuel, cultivating crops, and bringing water (Asaba, Fagan, Kabonesa, and Mugumya 2013; Bizzarri, 2009; Tuyizere 2007). However, it is regularly the men who sell the results of women's labour in North-Eastern Uganda (Tuyizere 2007). Rujumba and Kwiringira, (2019) claim that women who have economic agency are regarded as neglectful mothers and wives, which in turn can lead to GBV. In this way, new materialists would contest that GBV is a result of territorialisation working to stabilise norms within society (Fox and Alldred 2014). Furthermore, a review of the literature demonstrates that women with economic power in rural Uganda are perceived to be a threat to patriarchal norms, particularly as material and property rights are regarded as men's domain (Tuyizere 2007).

As discussed, (see 2.5) women's economic wellbeing across SSA is affected by climate change. For Nakiyemba et al., (2022), drought poses the greatest threat to Ugandan rural populations, particularly in North-eastern Uganda. The area suffered the most notable effects of droughts in 2002, 2005, 2008, 2010, and 2017 (World Bank 2024), and climate projections signal that droughts will become worse (Hertel and Rosch 2010). In a study focused on North-Eastern Uganda, Nakiyemba et al (2022), observed that it is women and girls in this region who are primarily responsible for collecting and managing water, consequently, a decrease in water availability not only threatens the family livelihood but impacts girls' education due to the increased time needed to source diminishing water supplies.

In rural areas of Uganda women are also responsible for food production, however climate change has brought about food shortages leading to poor harvests and resulting in a lack of income and higher food costs (Nakiyemba et al., 2022). Across rural Uganda, women are responsible for the domestic needs of the home and if these needs are not met women are at increased risk of violence (Nakiyemba et al., 2022). Extreme weather conditions can lead to an increase in not only physical violence but increased bride-price to bring resources and funds to impoverished families (McCarthy 2020).

The impact of climate change in rural areas of Uganda exposes a global need for improved relations with the land and natural worlds through the dismantling of anthropocentrism and

binaries of human/nature (Gough and Whitehouse 2020). To prevent climate change and the impact that it is having on marginalised communities, particularly the lives of women and girls, there needs to be a greater understanding of the relatedness of all entities. This relatedness can in turn lead to a greater respect and guardianship of planetary health.

Such relatedness is discussed by Raworth (2017) who contests that the minority world's focus on economic growth through gross domestic products (GDP) will finally lead to the extinction of humanity. In concurrence with Indigenous Knowledge and NM paradigms, Raworth (2017) advocates for humans becoming relational to the living world and not its master. Arguing that classical economics is no longer fit for purpose Raworth's (2017) theory of *Doughnut Economics* proposes to 'meet the needs of all people within the means of a thriving planet.' (Raworth 2019, n.p)



Figure 3 Doughnut Economics Raworth (2012)

Figure 3 represents Raworth's (2012) theory. The outer circle is the ecological ceiling, which consists of nine planetary boundaries outside of which exists planetary degradation. The inner

circle signifies our social foundation, identified by the United Nation's (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (UN 2023). According to Raworth (2019) '*The space in between—where our needs are met, and the earth's systems are protected—is where humanity can thrive.*' (n.p). This theory encourages us to recognise our connections to the planet and rethink human domination. It also encourages humanity to move away from a continuum of development based on GDP and consider global basic needs instead. In this way, a global recognition that those living in Teso, and other marginalised regions of the world need to exist in a '*safe and just space*' (Raworth 2017, p.25). From a review of the literature, the economic theory of doughnut economics has not been applied to those living in rural Uganda where they are impacted by climate destruction.

This section has shown that disease in Uganda intersects with issues of poverty. Issues pertaining to social norms and economic violence lead to inequality between men and women. Women's burden of domestic work in North-Eastern Uganda is compounded by widespread poverty, cultural and social norms, which are impacted further by climate change (Asaba, Fagan, Kabonesa, and Mugumya 2013). Subjugation and poverty intersect with gendered obligations which make women more vulnerable to GBV. A literature review conducted through the lens of intersectionality and NM, suggests the need for interventions focused on poverty reduction alongside sustainable projects to improve resources in a harsh geographical environment. Interventions alongside sensitisation projects could challenge the harmful gender roles norms that intersect, interrelate, territorialise, and create the boundaries which oppress women and impact their health. Therefore, this review will now discuss how social economic projects impact women's health in SSA.

2.9 The role of Social Enterprise Projects

According to Sesan, (2006) SEP are an emerging trend in SSA and are defined as initiatives that are focused on people and development, rather than exclusively on profit. In agreement, Doherty et al (2014) argue that definitions of SEP are contested, however, there is an agreement that such projects combine economic wellbeing as well as ambitions to advance social and environmental factors. As such SEP are concerned with sustainable development (Vermeire and Bruton 2016). Sustainability has become a dominant word in development practices (Igoye, Karrel, and Van Leeuwen 2021). Sustainable development can be defined as

improvement in the wellbeing and health of communities, as well as a continuum of capital growth (Trudell 2009). In defining SEP, this study takes the view that that social entrepreneurs are those who recognise a social need and develop a venture to address that requirement (Rivera-Santos, et al., 2015). However, this research recognises that SEP have been critiqued for being part of a neoliberal development agenda.

Social Enterprises as a Neoliberal turn in Development

Social enterprises are frequently viewed as initiatives that reinforce neoliberal hegemony, shaped by dominant minority-world discourses on economy and development (Chopra 2024). This development model, particularly with its emphasis on women's participation, is celebrated by authors like Kristoff and Wudunn (2010, p.239), who claim that, *"Women's empowerment helps raise economic productivity, reduce infant mortality, improve health and nutrition, and increases the chances of education for the next generation."* Similarly, Sen (1999) argues that promoting women's 'agency' enhances both social well-being and child survival. The author further contends that involving rural women in agricultural projects can positively impact the environment. Using the Grameen Bank's microcredit movement in Bangladesh as an example, Sen (1999) illustrates how the programme not only improved women's economic status but also contributed to reducing the country's fertility rate.

However, emphasizing women's involvement in microfinance aligns them with a neoliberal agenda disguised as feminist rhetoric, which advocates empowerment but in practice reinforces the feminization of responsibility (Goodman 2013). Although Sen (1999) supports microfinance, Gupta and Mirchandani (2019) note that husbands often take control of the loans, despite women being the nominal borrowers. This form of micro-neoliberalism places pressure on women to meet repayment deadlines, frequently pushing them to seek additional loans and fall into cycles of debt. Consequently, this liability heightens their vulnerability to violence and exploitation (Jahns-Harms and Wilson 2018). Neoliberal enterprise projects, therefore, can be seen as creating a system where women are used as tools for household survival rather than being genuinely provided with economic choices

Despite these concerns, social entrepreneurship in Africa is expanding rapidly and gaining significant attention as a promising mechanism for addressing social challenges (Littlewood and Holt 2018). Once considered peripheral to mainstream economic activities, social enterprises are now seen by scholars as an integral part of the evolving development landscape, characterized by private-sector investments and entrepreneurial approaches (Chopra 2024).

However, critics argue that such projects promote neoliberal economic rationalities centred on markets and finance, while hindering the deeper social transformation needed for genuine poverty alleviation, reducing it instead to measurable social impact outcomes (Ibid). Rather than romanticising these projects as solutions to community wellbeing, Sanyal (2007) contends that informal enterprise projects are essential to neoliberal development. The author asserts that these projects facilitate the transfer of surplus labour from formal to informal sectors, thereby perpetuating the informal economy and contributing to low level poverty management, rather than advancing broader poverty alleviation agendas.

Kamat (2014) adds that minority-world economies, driven by neoliberal agendas, not only promote individuals as self-enterprising but also integrate this discourse with the rhetoric of participation, community empowerment, and inclusion. Chopra (2024) further argues that neoliberal discourse emphasises values of partnership, accord, and consensus, masking its connection to neoliberalism by downplaying discord. These enterprises, therefore, embed neoliberal rationalities within a social development framework, which diffuses efforts to dismantle welfare programmes—a hallmark of neoliberalism (see 1.4). From a NM perspective, neoliberalism is agential in actively pursuing new avenues for growth by co-opting development discourse.

Social Enterprises as a means of Innovation and Equity

Despite this critique, recent research explores how social enterprises can transcend being merely a product of neoliberalism (Chopra 2024). Scholars argue that, while social enterprises often operate within neoliberal frameworks, they can also serve as platforms for genuine social innovation and equality (Daya 2014). Santos (2015, p.180) argues that social enterprises are often established because they offer an alternative economic paradigm to neoliberal rationalities of *'greed and possessive individualism'* based on *'cooperation and shared social prosperity'*. Santos (2015) maintains that such practices represent the localized efforts of communities and workers to create spaces of solidarity and advocacy.

Such enterprises, according to Santos (2015) offer an alternative form of economic existence including such objectives as egalitarian participation; environmental protection; social, sexual, and cultural equity. Hence these economic alternatives in the form of enterprise can establish a more just society. By sustaining values which are opposed to global capitalism, enterprises have the possibility to broaden individual rights beyond the limitations of neoliberalism and,

according to Santos (p. 181), ‘... keep alive the promise of eliminating the current cohabitation of low-intensity democracy and economic despotism’

Considering the economy within a relational assemblage, intertwined with material and social forms, allows us to view social enterprises as a dynamic blend of complex interactions and negotiations. By understanding SEP within such assemblages, this study will examine how the ethics of SEP can challenge dominant power structures, promote inclusive development, and create alternative economic models that prioritize community well-being and social justice over profit maximization. Through fostering localized solutions and encouraging collective action, this research will explore how social enterprises can transcend the mere reproduction of neoliberal ideologies, contributing to transformative social change. As such, this study will examine SEP that impact economic wellbeing as well as affecting social and environmental concerns. It will also examine the effects of working communally within a project, in addition to the economic impact of SEP on women’s health.

What is known about the impact of SEP on women’s health?

According to de Bie (2015, n.p.),

“As the world has continued to struggle to enact positive social change on a large scale, many people are turning to social entrepreneurship to solve the world’s most pressing problems, including the ever-pressing issue of global public health.”

Social enterprise practices (SEP) are regarded as vital towards economic and sustainable development and merge the drive of a social undertaking with entrepreneurship (Sserwanga et al., 2014). SEP use the principles of entrepreneurialism to create and manage a project to bring about social change (Kimuli et al., 2022). Viewed through the lens of NM, such projects are concerned with social production rather than social construction. These practices promote inclusive development that caters for the needs of marginalized groups of people and can particularly benefit women in the majority world (Mahajan and Bandyopadhyay 2021). In accordance with the concept of social enterprise improving the lives of women, Maracine, (2019) claims that SEP create opportunities for collaboration and transformational leadership and are ideal for women in development. However, according to Kimuli et al., (2022) very few academic studies have explored the role of women in social enterprise. Indeed, Maracine (2019), argues that globally, social enterprises are increasing, yet they fail to remain

sustainable over time due to a lack of data and research. This is despite the United Nations (2018, p.7), claiming,

‘Studies... have built up a robust body of evidence to show that women’s access to resources, including education, paid work, credit, ...and other productive assets have a far stronger impact on child survival, welfare and education than similar resources in men’s hands.’

Clearly there is a need for more studies to identify the lived realities of women within such projects and to explore the sustainable and long-term impact of SEP via a gendered lens.

The Ugandan government has developed numerous initiatives to support women businesses to develop through the *Skilling Uganda* and the *Uganda Women Empowerment Programmeme* that have enabled over 80 thousand women to participate in work (Kimuli et al., 2022)

However, according to Kimuli et al., (2022), despite these efforts such projects have often failed to succeed. A reason for a lack of success in women-owned SEP is possibly due to women’s positionality on the front line of dealing with poverty and their disproportionate burden of household survival (Bradshaw et al., 2019). Women’s time allocated to unpaid household labour may prevent women from attending to their businesses and redirect profits from their enterprises. According to the *Uganda Business Impact Survey* (UNCDC 2024), this has led to women-owned businesses being less viable leading to the closure of more than 43% of such Ugandan enterprises. Various studies have also shown that social entrepreneurship has gendered overtones, as it enables neoliberal governance (see previous section), with its emphasis on individualism (see 1.4), to move state responsibility for welfare support to women’s unpaid labour, especially those in majority world settings (Worthen 2012). This policy model has also been identified as a political and gendered tactic that is conveyed through microloans and social enterprise projects directed at impoverished women (Roy 2007; Hayhurst 2016). Chant (2012) argues,

“...one surely has to ask whether the goal of female investment is primarily to promote gender equality and women’s ‘empowerment,’ or to facilitate development ‘on the cheap’ and/or to promote further economic liberalization.” (p.202)

Despite issues concerning neoliberalism and the sustainability of women’s SEP it is recognised that social enterprise can play a transformative role in global health (Brainard 2008).

As discussed in Chapter One, Teso communities have suffered decades of conflict (Mootz et al., 2017). The formal peace process in North-Eastern Uganda began in 2006, but there is still

much work to be done towards rebuilding this post-conflict society (Reinke 2016). Maracine, (2019) argues that when women have economic agency societies are better able to strive for gender equity and peace. Therefore, promoting women's agency through SEP is one such effort towards restoration.

Since the conflict in Northern Uganda there are now a higher number of woman-headed households within this area and women are often the primary source of income and therefore lead economic recovery (International Alert 2012). Additionally, due to issues of alcohol addiction women are at the forefront of poverty alleviation in this region (Ahikire, Madand, and Ampaire 2012). Despite this new gendered role, Mategeko (2007) claims that women have socially been excluded from global development, particularly in Uganda. As previously discussed, (see 2.7), this may be due to women's lack of leadership within their communities due to traditional gendered roles.

Despite women's exclusion from development projects, a case-study concerning a jewellery-making social enterprise in Northern Uganda revealed that women used the money from the project to create their own small businesses and begin agricultural initiatives (Maracine 2019). Using funds to develop their own enterprise, contradicts arguments from feminist theorists who contest that work conducted within the artisan-based industry reinforces pre-war gender roles and fails to advance gender equity reinforcing the idea of *"women as keepers of tradition, who are illiterate, unemployed, confined to the private sphere and bear full domestic responsibilities"* (Kolmar and Bartkowski 2009, p.279). The jewellery social enterprise acted as a catalyst, deterritorialising gendered norms and expectations, enabling women to become stakeholders in their families and communities.

Even though feminists critique the role of women within traditionally gendered jewellery making roles, culturally, many women in rural areas of Uganda, where poverty is heightened, are skilled in art forms passed down from generations (Minney 2011). Consequently, using traditional skills contrasts to neoliberal ventures, such as microloans, that promote minority world ideologies of quick, individualistic success. Such skills as jewellery making mean that women in the most economically marginalised areas can earn a living without having to abandon their families. The SEP also provides peer support to the women and offers training programmes helping women save towards future endeavours, as well as community group development, and AIDs and health education (Maracine 2019). Consequently, this multi-strand, holistic approach to development represents values of communitarianism and Ubuntu

ethics as previously discussed (see 2.6). It is such communitarianism that his study seeks to explore further by assessing the impact of such ethics within sustainable SEPs. This study will explore how Indigenous communities can seek answers to their own issues through working communally.

Consequently, this research agrees with Igoye, Karrel, and Van Leeuwen, (2021, p.12), that the people who live in marginalised communities are best equipped to solve their problems, *“Developing and under-resourced communities do not need us, but they do want to work in partnership with us”*. The role of the researcher is to listen, think and then help the community to act. This method links to the values of Afrocentrism and the tenets of Indigenous research, which include reciprocity and relationality (Reviere 2001). This process is particularly important for Indigenous communities within Uganda, such as those in Teso who may lack in resources yet understand the need for sustainable development.

Coppock et al., (2011) researched how a women-led participatory approach within an Ethiopian pastoral community led to collective action and the consolidation of community leadership, as well as creating social safety nets and improved literacy and numeracy. Changes in gender roles were rapid in driving the potential for women as leaders and entrepreneurs. Indeed, economic empowerment provides women with a stronger presence in their communities which is vital to *‘the realisation of human security’* (Porter 2007, p.35). When women are economically strengthened it creates peaceful communities which can then advance socially and economically (Ibid). Consequently, involving women in leadership in a post-conflict society is vital towards social progress. Furthermore, Maracine (2019) contests that cultural norms concerning femininity do not allow for conflict. In agreement with Maracine (2019), Caprioli (2000, p.53) demonstrated how women value *‘community and connectiveness over autonomy and individuation’* Such values of connectivity reflect those described in Ubuntu (see 2.6) However, Cohn (2012), advises that polarising the femininity of peace against the masculinisation of war can harm the culture of society. This relates to the need to negate binaries and build relationality rather than divisions.

Careful capacity-building can provide sustainable solutions towards the welfare of communities. Raniga (2017) contests that the achievement of gender equity necessitates interventions by non-government organisations to provide women with participatory livelihood projects. The author argues that rather than making women accountable for the alleviation of poverty, as highlighted by Chant (2014), participatory development in under-resourced

communities, alongside the promotion of Indigenous Knowledge, can promote sustainable livelihoods. Instead of globalisation from above, which involves the global economy, such projects operated through participatory methods and involve a “*bottom-up*” approach (Rangiga 2017, p172). Patel (2008) identifies five resources necessary to build socially cohesive communities as illustrated in Figure 4.

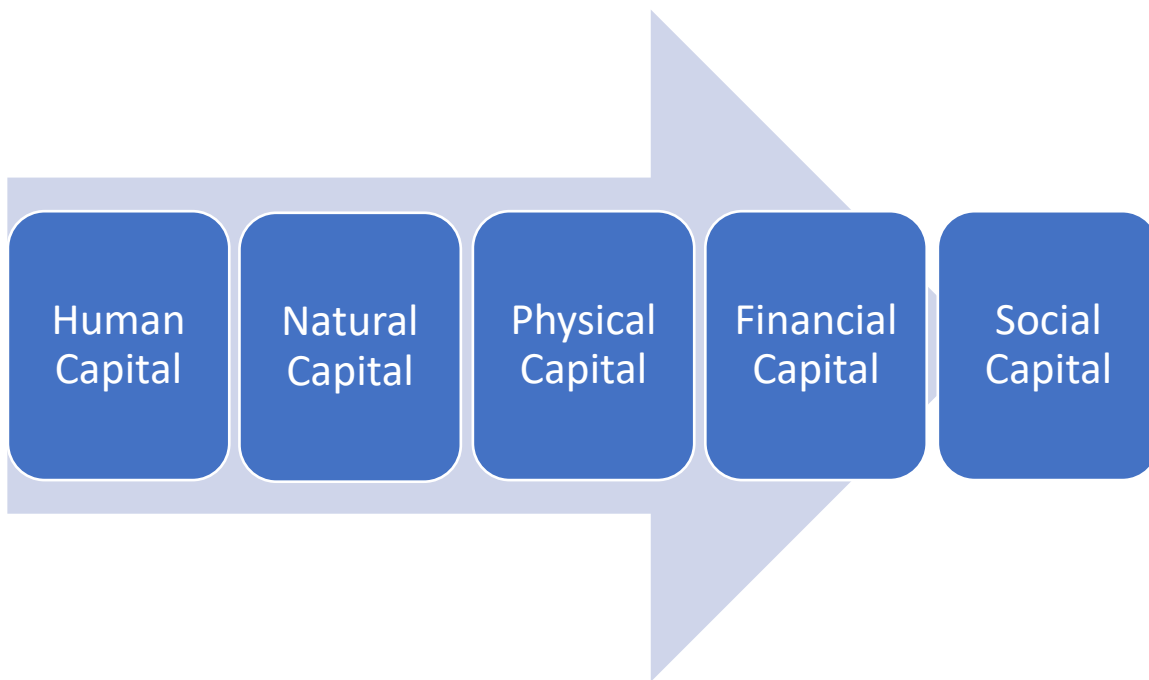


Figure 4 Socially Cohesive Communities. Adapted from Patel (2008)

The first is human capital including skills and knowledge, the second is natural capital involving access to land and water. Thirdly is physical capital including food, tools, and machinery and the fourth is financial capital. Finally, the fifth resource is social capital, which according to Putman (2000) is the bonds and association between people and community. This approach is holistic and dynamic and can operate to mitigate threats that make communities vulnerable, such as pandemics, which can lead to increased GBV (Apondi et al., 2021). Hence, in accordance with this study’s definition of SEP this approach is not only concerned with resources gained from social enterprises but also communitarianism through peer support.

Such peer support was evident in research conducted by Hayhurst (2014, p.299) who examined how ‘*sport in development*’ in Eastern Uganda has been harnessed to enhance social entrepreneurship, address sexual and reproductive health, and improve poverty reduction

schemes. The research detailed how Ugandan girls '*learn*' to be '*entrepreneurs of themselves*' by training to become martial arts instructors whilst earning an income, learning to prevent GBV, and ensuring that they are responsible for their health and well-being (Hayhurst 2016, p.299). There were benefits to the project, such as a safe space for girls to develop peer support and the benefits of relationality and connection. However, the onus on placing responsibility on the girls through notions of empowerment as individuals to tackle these issues situates them within a neoliberal agenda of poverty reduction.

Chamberlin and Schene (1997) explain how the word empowerment does not exist in many cultures. As discussed, it is used as part of a neoliberal agenda placing a minority world discourse of individualism and success onto women from a majority world setting. Hence, it is important to examine Ugandan concepts of agency. Eisenstein (2021) argues how previous research on women's empowerment is based on the concept of liberal agency that privileges efficiency and rapid achievement. In contrast, the Ugandan women researched by Eisenstein (2021, p458), used their agency to '*patiently wait*', slowing down social connections to guard against gendered dilemmas that arise in their lives, such as whether to marry or have children. Gradually, the women waited until they were certain they could trust others over time to avoid the threats of GBV and alienation. Waiting, is thus in contrast to capitalism which aspires for quick economic success. In waiting, the women in Eisenstein's (2021) study felt they could be led by their God. In this sense, women are exercising their agency by wilfully waiting for the right moment, rather than surrendering to a capitalist world '*that is always threatening to exclude those who cannot keep up.*' (Eisenstein 2021, p.476).

Through ethnography, Porter (2016) examines how Ugandan women use various strategies such as food, sex, and the influence of others to affect the behaviour of their husbands and male partners. A further strategy used by women in Porter's (2016) study was to keep quiet. This process served to unsettle men who suspected the women were planning to leave the relationship. These examples mitigate assumptions that women in Uganda are homogenous and accept their gendered roles.

Rather than white feminist notions of agency, empowerment, and individual success, the theory of Africana womanism recognises agency as being relational through harmony between genders and thus the wider community. According to Barry and Grady (2019), African womanism avoids,

“...a westernized system that encourages individualism and destroys the notion of family and community. It is the same system that has shifted the outlook on the positive values of nurturing and emotionality as weak and rationality and individualism as strong; hence, the “inferiority” of women.” (p.185)

Such a theory relates to Ubuntu in recognising the importance of community and the vital role of care within the communal network.

Ugandan women use relationality, in a different manner to concepts of agency and empowerment prescribed by neoliberal agents who promote the need for individual success, competition, and speed. This study will research how the SEP impact flows of affect within assemblages, rather than advocating or searching for forms of agency that originate in minority world settings. The studies examined indicate that social entrepreneurship can be a promising strategy to promote the health and wellbeing of women when used to promote Indigenous practices, safe spaces for women to develop relationality through flows of affect, and to inspire transformative leadership. This review will now explore the role of charities that provide support to NGOs and SE in Uganda.

The Role of Charities in Social Enterprise.

To understand the impact of such social change within Teso communities, it is necessary to explore the ethics of charitable influence within development agendas. This of particular importance because the projects being researched are supported through The Mustard Seed Project, Uganda (TMSPU) as discussed in Chapter One (see 1.5)

From a Utilitarian perspective, Singer (2011) advocates that charitable giving is a vital part of living an ethical life and that we have an obligation to assist those affected by poverty. Singer (2011, p 203) discounts arguments concerning whether we should donate to foreign aid, arguing,

‘people’s need for food has nothing to do with their race, and if Africans are in greater need than Europeans, it would be a violation of the principle of equal consideration to give preference to Europeans’.

This contrasts to Adeyi (2021, np) who argues:

“Officials in African Ministries of Health and Ministries of Finance know that if they do nothing, do-gooders from the Global North will hold glitzy replenishment meetings to raise

funds to save the lives of photogenic brown children. The Global North's aid industry, marinated in a system in which northern actors dictate to the Global South, has no incentive to rock the boat."

In this way, Adeyi (2021) argues that charity creates a culture of neo-dependency, preventing African leaders from taking responsibility for basic healthcare needs. As such, charity is a continuum of colonialism and is used by the minority world to continue to exert control over African nations.

However, Singer (2011) contests that if everyone with sufficient wealth were to contribute towards reducing extreme poverty, they would only need to donate a modest amount of funding. Consequently, this ethics would work towards the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Goal to reduce extreme poverty (UN 2024). Singer (2011) believes that we need a change of ethics so that giving significant funding to those in extreme poverty becomes a key part of moral life. Arguably, charitable funding could aid a future where through SEP those in extreme poverty could begin developing economic livelihoods and the funds donated would provide greater sustainability to those who desire to change their outcomes. Consequently, over time, there would be less reliance on minority world governments and NGOs to provide subsistence. The impact of SEP on poverty and its interrelated consequences is a key tenet of this research.

Interestingly, Scherz (2014) takes a different view on sustainability and charity, arguing that the concepts of independence and self-sufficiency which form the basis of sustainable development are social constructs. Scherz (2014) argues that such concepts are antithetical to Ugandan culture which is based on ethics of communitarianism and patronage. Indeed, Sen, (2014) defines development as freedom. However, such a definition contrasts to a Ugandan culture, that according to Scherz (2014), is based on the connectivity of individuals who historically and culturally chose patronage amongst their chiefs, and then during the colonial period through patron-client ties to achieve social and economic security. Scherz (2014) argues today in Uganda such patronage exists through those striving to work with NGOs, find a patron for school fees, or to find a job or contract. This leads to the question of how is 'freedom' defined in terms of development? Particularly as Ugandan culture is seemingly one of dependence, relationality, and communitarianism.

Scherz (2014) researched how the term "*Mutima*" is culturally viewed as a long-standing Ugandan virtue. Mutima literally translates as 'heart' in the Lugandan language and refers to,

‘actions of kindness and generosity between kin and non-kin that exceed specific obligations.’ (Scherz 20014, p.25). In this sense, Mutima means giving without the need for reciprocity. This moral virtue also links to the ethics of Ubuntu which prizes the interconnectivity of communities through teaching that one person’s affliction is everybody’s responsibility and individual success is linked to a community’s capacity to flourish (Nyamayaro 2021). This ethics negates a view of sustainability that encourages separation between sponsor and sponsored. It focuses on a need for charities to provide care without the need for reciprocity in the form of sustainable expectations of economic self-reliance.

This study will examine how the projects researched provide care via the provision of safe-spaces, relational support, and training rather than focusing on accountability. It will also examine the how TMSPU, which is based in the minority world, relates to Indigenous majority world women. Specifically, it will examine how the binary between majority world (Teso communities)/ minority world (charity) can be abated through an emphasis of relationality, reciprocity, respect, and representation, not only through research but through a longer-term relationship via charitable associations and enduring alliances.

2.10 A Gap for Research and Intervention

There is a need to consider the ways in which research into women’s health in Teso and the impact of SEP is carried out and communicated. A robust approach is required in which the theoretical framework and indigenously sensitive methodologies are complimented by the following:

- Approaches to researching the intersections of women’s health that consider the social, cultural, political, and gendered dimensions of their communities alongside intersections that impact a minority world view and its impact on research.
- Understanding how intersections are produced through the lens of NM.
- Understanding of how SEP impact the intersections of women’s health in Teso.
- Approaches that examine how SEP might be further advanced to improve women’s health.
- Approaches to define decolonialisation and how this might be applied to this research and discussion.

Consequently, research is required to:

- Consider how the privileges of a minority world academic impact each aspect of the research process.
- Review how cultural imperialism might be mitigated whilst working with Indigenous communities to improve SEP and enhance women's health.
- Identify the intersections that subjugate women in Teso, along with hidden intersections caused by structural violence relating to patriarchy and aspects of colonialism.
- Review the impact of SEP on each intersection of women's health and consider how these intersections are created through an understanding of NM.
- Examine how SEP can be complimented by a broader, multistrand approach to improving the health of women in communities, including financial training, health education, and sensitisation projects concerning GBV.
- Investigate Indigenous approaches to SEP that are based on traditional knowledge and communitarian ethics, as reflected in Ubuntu philosophy, that actively engage the community to improve women's health.
- Contribute to an understanding of how transformative change can be managed within communities, whilst being mindful of the feminisation of poverty and its interrelated issues.
- Recognise how agency is developed within Teso's indigenous communities.
- Explore the opportunities for women leadership roles in the community and how such roles might be developed.
- Contribute to an understanding of the ethics of charity and its role within SEP.

However, as discussed in 1.2 it would lessen the depth of my research to concentrate on all the intersections that impact women's health in the region. Consequently, this research will focus on communicable and non-communicable diseases, and socio-environmental issues with a particular focus on gender-based violence.

Concluding comments

A multitude of issues have been discussed and examined in this literature review that show the intersections that impact women's health in North-Eastern Uganda. Understanding such interconnections is important to understand how SEP impact on women's health and wellbeing.

This review has examined what is already known about the impact of SEP on women's health according to literature. It has shown that SEP are more impactful when they are based on Indigenous practices and knowledge, particularly communitarian ethics. This is because not only do they improve women's economic standing, but they also provide a space for women to discuss and find solutions to issues that affect their lives. However, what is not known is how the SEP impact the intersections of the communities involved. For example, did the women's empowerment programmes lead to a fracturing of social norms through deterritorialisation? What effects did this result in? How was this managed? Consequently, this review will work towards identifying how transformative change can be carefully introduced without causing greater social harm.

The UN 2030 Sustainable Development Goal 5 purposes to attain global gender equality by 2030 by ending all forms of discrimination and GBV. Despite the unrealistic nature of this goal, partly due to its lack of timely and measurable indicators, evidence indicates that SEP can make a significant impact on gender equity and women's health (Bashford-Squires, Gibson, and Nyashanu 2022). Nevertheless, there is insufficient qualitative research to evidence on how SEP might impact marginalised communities in the majority world. There is a need for to hear the voices of the women in these communities concerning the issues that impact their health and wellbeing, along with the need to understand how SEP interact within a web of intersectionalities, understanding these issues might help to identify how transformational change can be effectively managed, and how SEP can work effectively to bring about improvements to women's health, and in turn to the entire community.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a global overview of women's health, it then explored the health of women in sub-Saharan Africa. The chapter has discussed the conceptual framework used in this study, which it then utilised to discuss the intersections and materialities relating to women's health in North-Eastern Uganda. It also applied an Indigenous lens to issues of women's health and wellbeing in this region. Finally, the chapter examined the impact of SEP on women's health in SSA. The next chapter will discuss methodology and methods relating to this research.

3: Methodology

This chapter explains how qualitative methodology has been utilised in this study. It presents information concerning how the research has been designed, philosophical foundations, the data collection methods, as well as ethical matters. The aim of this study is to examine the impact of SEP on women's health in Teso sub-region, Uganda. Focus is on understanding the intersections of oppression that impact women's health in this region and developing strategies to improve the impact of the projects on women's lives. The study aims to explore the implication of findings concerning the role of a researcher from a minority world studying an Indigenous population and how this might influence future policy and practice. Throughout the rest of the chapters in this study I write in the first person. I have chosen to write this way to draw attention to my relationality with the living and non-living entities I engaged with throughout this study, this accords with Afrocentric values which will be discussed further in this chapter.

As previously discussed (see 1.7), this study seeks to answer these questions:

- What are the intersections of oppression and privilege that impact the health and wellbeing of women in Teso?
- How do SEP affect these intersections and what could improve the impact of such projects?
- What are the implications of a researcher from the minority world researching within an indigenous community, and how can this study work towards decolonising research?

This chapter will detail how the methods selected are best placed to seek answers to these questions.

3.1 Mixed Qualitative Methodology

This study is based on qualitative methodology. This approach is concerned with understanding how individuals make meaning of their social surroundings (Hesse-Biber 2010). According to this paradigm the social world is created through social interactions (Curry, Nembhard, and Bradley 2009). As such, this approach is committed to multiple views of social reality whereby participants are viewed as experts with the researcher as interpreter (Hesse-

Biber 2010). Social reality is assumed to be subjective and varied; there is not just one story but multiple stories of lived experience (Denzin and Lincoln 2016). Thus, a qualitative approach privileges the exploration of the process of meaning making. In this study, where intersectionality, elements of NM, and IK are used as theories to analyse the research, the meaning making is not simply the reserve of humans. The study will examine meanings that may emanate from non-humans, and relations with the land.

In comparison to qualitative approaches, quantitative methodology is concerned with occurrences, for example, estimates, probabilities, and prevalence, whereas a qualitative approach is concerned with the complexity of such phenomena (Denzin and Lincoln 2016). Furthermore, quantitative research is concerned with statistically testing hypotheses through randomized or non-randomized experiments to generate numeric data. The sensitivity of this research topic, which examines issues relating to women's health, including GBV, means that such approaches would not be appropriate. Particularly as much violence in rural areas of Uganda is underreported or non-disclosed (Rujumba and Kwiringira 2019), and women often fail to act on health issues (Akuoko et al., 2017). Therefore, it is vital to capture the voices of participants rather than rely on statistical data, which in any event would be skewed and incomplete. In this study the aim is to ensure that women's voices relating to the impact of SEP on their health are heard to produce a rich, breadth of understanding that comes from the participants' views, rather than statistical analysis.

This research utilises mixed methodology research (MMR). According to Cresswell (2015), MMR uses more than one research approach or theoretical perspective, alongside multiple data collection and data analysis methods. However, the notion of MMR was historically conceived as the amalgamation of quantitative and qualitative approaches in one study rather than multiple qualitative methods (Morse 2009). Yet, according to Morse (2009) the difficulties of utilising methods from both paradigms whilst upholding validity has preoccupied researchers from considering using multiple methods from the same paradigm. Morse (2009) argues that using two methods from the same paradigm can still be considered MMR as it enables the identification of gaps in research that can be narrowed by the addition of different forms of data or analysis.

Furthermore, Hesse-Biber (2010) argues that MMR esteems quantitative methodologies over qualitative, with a mixed methods praxis that ranks quantitative methods as primary. Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p.9) similarly argue that combining qualitative and quantitative methods

takes ‘*qualitative methods out of their natural home*’ excluding participants from active involvement in the research process and it ‘*decreases the likelihood that previous silenced voices will be heard*’. This research seeks to redress the balance by using three different forms of qualitative research methods to capture the voices of those living in marginalised region. Furthermore, using Afrocentric research values, which will be discussed later in this chapter, this study has centred the participants within the research process.

The study uses three methods of research ethnography, autoethnography, and bricolage as outlined below in figure 5.

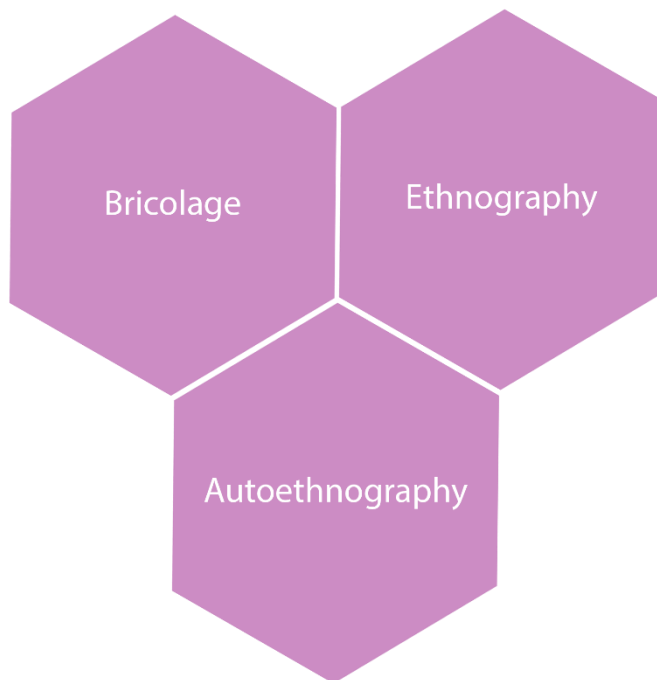


Figure 5 Research methods used in this study.

Figure 5 represents how the methods in this study represent a crystallisation of approaches which reflect and refract; creating divergent patterns and paths to produce a rich depth of research rather than a triangulated approach (Ellington 2009). Using MMR enables ‘*multiple ways of seeing and hearing*’ (Greene 2008, p. 20), this offers an extensive application of approaches where instead of using specific methods within ontologies, different methods are applied to a variety of research problems. In this way, the strengths of one approach make up for the limitations in the other methods.

MMR is regarded as the third methodological movement which can improve the accuracy of data (Collins et al., 2006), develop a more detailed picture by combining information (Denscombe 2008), and as a means of avoiding biases which are often innate to single-method

research (Collins et al., 2006). These features have led to MMR playing a significant role within interdisciplinary public health research (Vedel et al., 2019). However, this research is unique in that it is combining multiple qualitative approaches to capture the lived experiences of women in Teso.

3.2 Research Paradigm

This study is concerned with how a researcher from the minority world can ethically and respectfully engage with a community from the majority world. Hence, this research is concerned with decolonialising the research process. Historically, researchers from the minority world partake in ‘*data raids*’, in which ‘*researchers swooped down from ivory towers, collected data, returned to their towers and never communicated the results of the raid with the subject*’ (Baum 2016, p. 222).

In contrast, a vital tenet of this research is that it is intended to lead to social action and social justice, providing implications for research practice, public health, and policy relating to women’s health in Teso, Uganda. From my positionality as the Chair and founder of *The Mustard Seed Project* (Uganda) (TMSPU), a charity that supports the participants, this research will provide guidance not only for the future role of the charity I chair, but also for charities and NGOs working with rural communities across SSA and beyond.

Research undertaken since colonization on Indigenous people has resulted in Indigenous citizens being the most researched people on earth and until lately, much of this research has been performed without consulting or involving the people being studied (Baum 2016). Smith (1991, p.1) suggests:

“The word itself, ‘research’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary. When mentioned in many Indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, and it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful.”

Consequently, it is vital that research reconceptualizes the research process and confronts notions of colonialism, imperialism, and Eurocentrism whilst privileging IK.

Indigenous Knowledge

The term Indigenous is used throughout my study to refer to the people who identify their ancestry with Teso Sub-region and refer to themselves as Iteso; for this reason, I have capitalised the word Indigenous throughout this study. Indigenous is also used in my research

as an adjective to describe things that belong to the Iteso people such as their knowledge. Although ‘Indigenous’ can refer to many communities from across the globe there is an increasing recognition that such peoples have commonality within their world views (Wilson 2020). Rigney (1997) explains,

“Indigenous peoples think and interpret the world and its realities in differing ways to non-Indigenous peoples because of their experiences, histories, cultures and values.” (p.8)

The term Indigenous is being reclaimed by Indigenous people (Wilson 2020). Thus, the methodology and methods used within this research privilege the knowledge of the Iteso people and honour their culture.

Egeru (2011, p.217) defines IK as wisdom ‘*accumulated over generations of those living in a particular environment*’. Indigenous populations have also survived the impact of colonialism (Smith, 2005). However, Indigenous communities are not homogenous, nor do they exist in isolation from other societies. Within such communities there are power relations which can oppress some yet privilege others (Rujumba and Kwiringira 2019). Despite Smith’s (2005) argument that Indigenous groups have survived colonialism, my research shows how communities in Teso have been impacted by colonialism and continued neocolonialism despite retaining aspects of their indigeneity. My research will work towards a process of decolonisation of methodology and methods.

Decolonisation

Colonialism can be defined as:

“...the process by which the European powers (including the United States) reached a position of economic, military, political and cultural domination in much of Asia, Africa and Latin America. This process, which can be traced at least as far back as the ‘voyages of discovery’ and which had as its corollary the institution of the slave trade.” (Stam and Spence 1983, p.3)

However, Táíwò (2022, p. 26) argues that scholarly arguments concerning decolonisation are placing values on contemporary African thinkers, in which:

“This persistent ignoring and/ or denigration of African agency – whether done with good or bad intentions- reaffirms the racist ideology that Africans are permanent children. The irony is forever lost on the decolonising industry. I want no part of it.”

According to Taiwo (2022) refusal to acknowledge Africans' agency to choose political systems or harness modernisation, has led to a neo-colonisation in which Africans are infantized through an imposition of values on African thinkers. Nevertheless, this study acknowledges that privileging Afrocentric principals through research that is sensitive towards IK is an appropriate approach compared to giving precedence to minority world epistemologies. After all, according to Muwanga-Zake (2009) an absence of documentation, clarity of ownership, and development often leads to African IK systems being ignored in favour those from the minority world. Although this research is not concerned with downplaying minority world paradigms (particularly as I am from this environment and cannot eschew my academic culture) it is concerned with recognising and privileging IK systems that are appropriate to the Indigenous setting and are culturally sensitive to the communities who are involved in the research.

This study has been conducted with a self-awareness that as a researcher studying an Indigenous population I am positioned as an outsider (from a minority world setting), yet my role as a charity Chair that supports the women's projects and who is known to them makes me an insider. This unique positionality enables a perspective which is reflexive and reflective throughout the research process. As a non-Indigenous researcher, I have aimed to unite with the Indigenous community towards respecting the validity of other ways of knowing whilst being aware of my knowledge and privilege. This has led to me recognising the importance of decolonisation in my research practice.

Wilson (2008, p.39) asserts:

"Indigenous scholars may attempt to "decolonise" methodologies and turn them into something that can be useful in Indigenous research...It is my belief that this will not be very effective, as it is hard to remove the underlying epistemology and ontology upon which the paradigms are built."

Rather, Wilson (2008) believes one should start research from an Indigenous paradigm. However, new materialists argue that debates concerning whether knowledge of the social world is possible beyond human constructs has led to division amongst social scientists (Fox and Alldred 2016). Instead, new materialists advocate for a monist ontology (a flat conception that underplays constructs), which rejects differences between cultural realms (van der Tuin and Dophijn 2010).

Historically, Indigenous methodologies consist of ‘*a weaving of patterns within nature and relationships among love, land, and life*’ compared to minority world methodologies which ‘*unravel nature’s patterns to understand them and to build models to explain the interactions of their components.*’ (Wright et al., 2019, p. 2). Through minority world ontologies, a binary view is created, yet according to both new materialist and IK, ideology and lived experience are relational (Battiste and Youngblood Henderson 2000; van der Tuin and Dophijn 2010). New materialists challenge the distinction between the human and the physical world. Similarly, IK cannot be generalized “*partly because processes of categorization are not part of Indigenous thought*” (Battiste and Youngblood Henderson 2000, p. 35). This research, in accordance with IK and NM rejects binaries between theories and paradigms and recognises the importance of relationality to explore the world beyond human constructs. The issue of relationality and its importance within Indigenous research is discussed in greater detail further within this chapter.

The relationality between paradigms relates to the framework of ‘*two-eyed seeing*’, which was discussed in 2.6. This framework seeks to create a space for minority world and Indigenous ways of knowing to unite using the best of both worldviews to improve understanding and resolve issues. (Wright et al., 2019). As a non-Indigenous researcher, I have aimed to unite with the Indigenous community towards respecting the validity of other ways of knowing whilst being aware of my knowledge and privilege. This reflects principles of Afrocentrism.

Afrocentrism

Afrocentricity is a worldview which foregrounds African perceptions of reality and knowledge systems (Chilisa 2019). A key principle of Afrocentric approach is that it requires the researcher to challenge the use of Eurocentric ethics of objectivity and validity during the research process (Reviere 2001). Queeneth Mkabela (2005) advocates pluralism in philosophical views, without hierarchy; again, this reflects NM which prescribes relationality and a monist ontology which eschews differences. Afrocentric values are concerned with truth, justice, harmony, balance, holism, and reciprocity (Chilisia 2019). According to Chilisia (2019), using these Afrocentric values alongside research moralities based on Ubuntu will provide an ethical and moral framework for conducting Indigenous research.

Ubuntu recognises that people are embedded in a web of relations and interconnectivity that extends to the non-living and non-human (Chilisia 2019). This philosophy privileges

personhood through other people but also respects difference, to enrich knowledge about populations (Sindane 1994). In this way, Ubuntu preserves the notion of ‘other’, yet understands that the other is not fixed but in a process of flux (Louw 1994). NM reflects many tenets of Ubuntu; this theory understands that the material world is not stable but relational and in constant flow (Braidotti 2013). Furthermore, NM denotes that nature and culture should not be regarded as separate entities but as part of a continuum (Fox and Alldred 2016). As previously discussed, this research recognises that much of NM reflects previously held Indigenous beliefs, however the use of this theory is important to this study as I believe that utilising NM alongside IK, whilst recognising similarities, will lead to a richer enquiry.

Various researchers hold that only Indigenous researchers should research their populations (Porsanger 2004). To research in an Indigenous community, Kovach (2021) believes we should ask the questions ‘*Do I have a relationship with the Indigenous community with whom I seek to conduct research?*’ and ‘*Am I trusted by that community?*’ (p.39). Due to my longstanding relationships with the communities, I can answer both questions positively. Furthermore, by drawing on Ubuntu philosophy, which recognises the interconnectedness of race, class, gender rather than binaries, I can view myself as connected to the research population through our shared connections (Goduka 2000). This relationality encourages harmony, reciprocity, and the need to strive for justice. It encourages the researcher to move from an I/ you relationship that characterises the emphasis on the neoliberal individual of the minority world towards an I/we relationality (Chilisia 2019). Communalism, justice, reciprocity, and fluidity are inherent within these values. Through Afrocentric principles and methods and the ethics of Ubuntu researchers are required to develop relationships with the researched using methods that may not be conventional according to minority world customs (Chilisa 2019). The methods used in this study, which I will discuss later in this chapter, emphasise collaboration allowing the community to participate and provide input during all stages, alongside methods that underline researcher reflexivity.

Researcher Positionality and the Role of Wealth and Power

This research acknowledges that my access to the Teso communities was facilitated by my positionality as a white, privileged academic from the minority world. Therefore, it is crucial to critically reflect on how this positionality may have influenced the data collection process. It raises the need to question whether, in my role as a charity Chair, participants shared what they believed I wanted to hear and engaged in my research as they felt that it would benefit them through the charity. Additionally, I must

consider whether unconscious biases related to advocating for the charity's benefits may have affected the way I gathered and interpreted the data.

People living in rural areas within low-income settings often face resource constraints and dedicate much of their time to subsistence activities. However, viewing rural communities solely through this lens risks homogenizing them and ignoring the complexities and diversity of their experiences. Outsiders, including development workers, often fail to recognize these nuances, leading to an underestimation of the population's resilience and capabilities (Thompson and Cannon 2023).

Knowledge of these communities is frequently shaped by development professionals who visit briefly. Chambers (1979, n.p) describes such visits as *"Rural Development Tourism,"* which reinforces preconceived stereotypes about rural life. This approach creates a self-fulfilling cycle, where rural people may present themselves as powerless and lacking enlightenment, conforming to outsiders' expectations, rather than expressing the true complexity of their lives. The confidence of outsiders in their professional expertise—perceived as superior—often leaves them unwilling to learn from rural people, thus reinforcing the very injustices they aim to address. I acknowledge that as a white, privileged academic and charity Chair this issue may shape the participants engagement in the research and their responses.

According to Chambers (1997), efforts by individuals from the minority world to describe the realities of those in the majority world are prone to errors, often influenced by perceived professional expertise. To counter this, researchers must integrate professionalism with critical awareness by posing questions such as, *"Whose reality? Whose truth?"* (Chambers, 1995, p. 25). Chambers (1995) argues that by reversing power dynamics—spending time in close proximity to communities and redefining professionalism—the top-down approach can be dismantled. This allows rural communities to assert their priorities, learn through peer relationships, and elevate their demands. This perspective aligns with the principles of democracy, accountability, and participation. However, Chambers (1995) emphasizes that the values of 'honesty' and 'trust' must also be incorporated to cultivate mutual respect. His advocacy resonates with Afrocentric values, which guide this research (see 3.2).

Chambers (1997, p. 163) argues that *"a person who is not poor who pronounces on what matters to those who are poor is in a trap."* Despite efforts to reflect the lived realities of resource-poor individuals, biases and misrepresentations are inevitable. Our own conditioning shapes how we interpret and represent the complex and diverse experiences of those living in poverty. Much of what we call knowledge is based on limited evidence, categorized and reassembled in ways that often oversimplify or distort these realities (Chambers, 1997).

Igoe, Karrel, and Van Leeuwen (2021) suggest that developing empathy, by acknowledging how our upbringings shape our perspectives, can help us recognize these biases. By embracing new ideas and perspectives, we can deepen our understanding of communities and move toward more accurate and

respectful representations. According to Chambers (1997, p.163) self-critical analysis, sensitive rapport, and participatory methods can provide insight into the priorities, values, and lives of the resource-poor. Engaging with communities through, *'sitting down, respecting, listening, learning, not interrupting [and] ...being nice to people'*. This correlates with Igoe, Karrel, and Van Leeuwen (2021, p. 158), who advocate that those working in community development, *"Reinvent the narrative, build empathy, exchange ideas, forge strong relationships, innovate through experimentation, and create lasting impact.... Listen. Think. Act."* Therefore, by employing participatory research methods and autoethnography, this study seeks to mitigate my pre-existing assumptions and give precedence to the knowledge of the participants. By prioritizing the voices and experiences of the participants, I aim to reduce the impact of my positionality on their responses and engagement in the research process.

Although, like Chambers (1997), I acknowledge that I will never fully mitigate my pre-existing assumptions, shaped by minority world knowledge systems, and that my positionality inevitably influenced my participants' responses, I aimed to address these limitations through the use of participatory methods. I employed bricolage to recognize that the concept of objective truth is problematic and that multiple truths exist (Baum, 2016). Bricolage enabled participants to share their values, preferences, ambitions, and representation (see 3.4).

By using bricolage, my participants shared detailed insights into cultural and societal issues they presumed I might not be familiar with. Interestingly, research by Adamson and Donovan (2022) indicates that being from a different race and socioeconomic background than participants can be advantageous. In their study, participants discussed issues of racism with researchers, which they likely would not have addressed with someone of the same skin colour, as they might assume that shared experiences would render the discussion unnecessary. This dynamic highlights the potential for open dialogue when researchers come from different backgrounds, allowing for a deeper exploration of sensitive topics.

To address the concerns regarding my positionality and knowledge assumptions, this research commits to enhancing the knowledge, power, and capabilities of the participants while recognizing their complex, diverse, and unpredictable lived experiences. Through the use of autoethnography, I intend to interrogate my own biases and assumptions throughout the research process. In doing so, this study aims to challenge conformity and celebrate the diversity and knowledge of the participants.

3.3 The Study Site – Teso Sub-Region

As discussed in 1.5, this research took place in Kumi and Ngora regions. These regions are highlighted in figure 6.

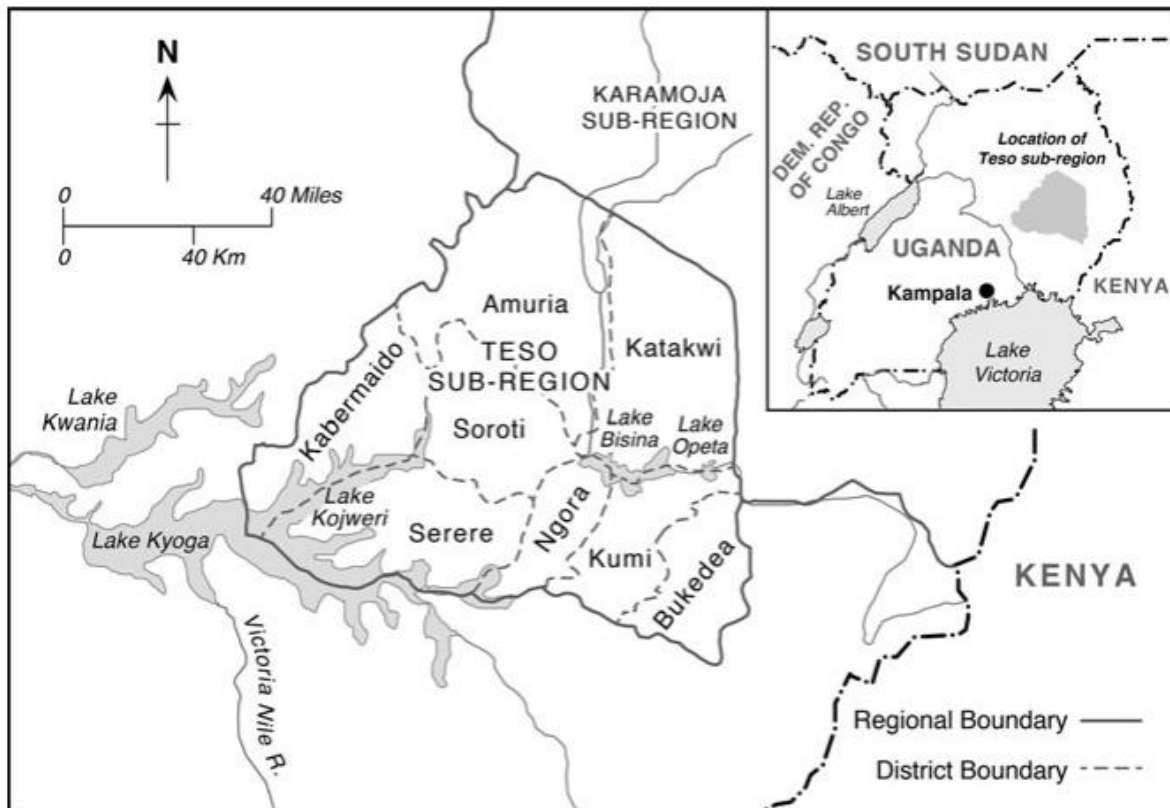


Figure 6 Teso Sub-Region and Districts. (Kandel 2017)

My time in Ngora, Morakakise sub-county was spent living with a family in the village of Okorom in Tididick Parish, Ngora Sub-County. In Kumi, I lived with a family in Aterai village in Aterai Sub-County. Both families live in compounds comprising of several buildings and grass huts in which their extended relatives lived. They were surrounded by other compounds, and friends and family regularly visited to collect water, pay their respects, or share a meal or drink. This reflects the communitarian values of those living in rural Uganda (Egeru 2012). The photos (figures 7-10) illustrate the communal life within the rural compounds.

I have known both families for eight years through my charitable work and have helped with projects. I have also stayed in Okorom on yearly visits since 2016, and regularly visited the compound in Aterai. My reasons for staying at these compounds was not only to initiate myself into everyday life in Uganda, but also because the families are known to me and because of their close location to the projects.



Figure 7 Margaret cooks breakfast at Okorum compound



Figure 8 Sifting grain at Okorum compound



Figure 9 Neighbours share the borehole at Aterai Compound



Figure 10 Living with extended family in Aterai Compound

I stayed with both families for two weeks each from October until November 2022, and returned to stay in Ngora for a further week in April 2023. I wrote both field notes and autoethnographically during my time at the compounds. I also spent two weeks in Kampala between my visits to share my research with academics at Makerere University during discussions, teaching sessions, and conferences. Sharing my research with academics from a university situated in the majority world allowed me to gain a richer perspective on my findings.

During my research I spent time at SEPs. I have been visiting the projects on a yearly basis since 2016. I spent 10 days with both a tailoring project called Morakiksie Integrated Development Association (MIDA) tailoring, and an agricultural project (MIDA agriculture) in Murakakise (population 1,186) and Ariet villages (population 1,694) both within Morakikise Sub-County (See Appendice 1). The social enterprise groups each had 30 members. According to MIDA's founder, Robert (Director of MIDA),

'MIDA is a membership organisation which started as a group in 2004 to respond to agony, hatred, stigma, and state of hopelessness caused by insurgency 1987-2003 and HIV aids epidemic in the region, especially mothers and children.' (Appendix 3.2)

This project continues to support many women and men who have contracted HIV.

I spent a further 5 days during my 2022-2023 research with two Indigenous women's groups consisting of 25 members each in Atapar cell, Okoyba ward North Division, Kumi sub-county. These projects were established by Joyce, the cultural women's leader, in 2021 as she saw a need to support local women at a grass roots level through IK. Prior to the support of TMSPU this project centred on teaching Indigenous skills and a small microfinance project. However, after speaking with the women I recognised their need for a social enterprise project. TMSPU now supports the group with sheep and after discussions during my research we are working with the group to establish further enterprises based on a bakery and tailoring.

During my ethnography I spent 5 days with the football project in Aterai village. This initiative was established in 2019 from discussions between trustees from TMSPU and a local teacher (Charles – teacher) who is now the head coach. Being aware of similar successful projects in Kenya (Brady and Khan 2002), we realised this project might be successful in keeping girls in

school through peer support. The project has 231 girls and 75 boys from the ages of 11-22. The students meet after school every day and during weekends and holidays.

A further three days was spent on Tisai Island. This island is situated on Lake Bisina in Teso and has approximately 8000 inhabitants (Akurut 2015). I was told anecdotally by local government councillors that prior to 2015 it was not realised that people were living on the island. The island had previously been occupied but Karamoja raids had displaced the population. However, inhabitants had steadily been returning. There is no literature available to support these claims due to the marginalised nature of the area. However, a news report detailing life on the island can be viewed online (NTV 2023).

The island is without medical facilities and has little access to the mainland. There is one private school on the island which is church-owned (originally supported by TMSPU but no longer funded due to issues within the churches concerning which church land it occupies). Women on the island are supported by TMSPU in cattle and sheep rearing, food harvesting, and tailoring. However, the advent of Covid and the dire poverty on the island means that these projects have not had the same success as similar projects supported by TMSPU that take place on the mainland.

During my time at the various projects, I interviewed the participants, observed them, became involved in their activities, and took photos. This interaction reflects traditional Indigenous research which emphasises learning by observing and doing (Wilson 2020). Because I work with the communities through my charity, rapport was already built, and an element of trust established.

When I was not spending time at the SEP I stayed on the compounds or attended funerals, weddings, church ceremonies, and accompanied the families on day-to-day market trips, visiting medical centres, or local schools to check on the progress of friends' or relatives' children. I also accompanied my hosts on visits to their friends or relatives in other villages. My time at religious ceremonies reflects the deeply religious nature of Uganda (Ward 2013). These excursions are reflected in my fieldnotes and autoethnography.

As previously discussed (see 1.5), the study site has been affected by conflict, cattle raiding and issues associated with climate change which have increased poverty and associated aspects of education and GBV (Bashford-Squires, Gibson, and Nyashanu 2022). In Ngora the primary school dropout is 26% and the literacy rate amongst women is 56% compared to men at 78.5% (Appendix 3.1). In Kumi, 27% of girls attend secondary school (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2022) The fertility rate in Ngora is 6.2% compared to 4.4% nationally (Appendix 3.1, World

Bank 2023). Such figures alongside a reduction in land use and an increase in population due to high fertility rates illustrate that this area is one of the economically poorest in Uganda (Cooperator News 2022). In light of these issues, this study seeks to understand how SEP might benefit the health of women living in an environment impacted by climate issues and interrelated issues of conflict, poverty, population growth, and GBV.

3.4 Methods

This section will introduce the methods used in my research. It will explain how they relate to the tenets of Afrocentrism and Indigeneity as discussed previously in this chapter, as well as exploring how they link to the theories utilised in this study. The links between these qualitative methods will also be examined. I selected the bricolage, ethnography (alongside unstructured interviews), and autoethnography as methods as opposed to other qualitative methods such as structured interviews or focus groups to ensure that my research connected naturally with the Indigenous population. Unstructured interviews, rather than focus groups, meant that my research was able to draw on the natural rapport I had already established with the participants during previous visits; the interviews could unfold in a conversational manner offering participants the opportunity to discuss issues they feel are important (Longhurst 2003). Such interviews also meant that I could discuss sensitive issues with my participants, which they may not have felt comfortable discussing in a focus group (Stokes and Bergin 2006).

Bricolage

Bricolage is considered a multi-perspectival and multi-methodological approach to enquiry (Kincheloe 2004). It denotes methodology based on eclecticism and emergent design and so examines phenomena from multiple perspectives (Rogers 2015). Methodological strategies are engaged as they are required in the developing context of the research (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Bricolage requires the researcher to be self-conscious and aware of the cultural arena in which they are operating, as well as recognising the facets that shape their knowledge (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). In this way Bricolage is an ideal approach for this study. Not only due to the multi-theoretical approaches of this research in terms of using intersectionality, elements of NM, and IK, but also because of the cultural implications of a minority world researcher

working with indigenous communities. Bricolage also recognises that research is never free from subjective interpretations, and so encourages reflexivity.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p. 316), during the research process the bricoleur: *'abandons the quest for some naïve concept of realism, focusing instead on the clarification of his or her position in the web of reality'* This idea resonates with NM which regards research as an assemblage with its own affect economy, and is *'micropolitical'* shaping the knowledge it produces according to *the 'flows of affect that its methods produce'* (Fox and Alldred 2016, p.155). Theory is regarded as a social construct and is therefore inseparable from the historical or social dynamics which has shaped it (Foucault 1997). Therefore, in accordance with NM, which promotes monism, the role of the bricoleur is to shine a light on the complexity of power dynamics, culture, and their own influence on the research (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). This relates to a decolonial intersectionality which requires the researcher to recognise invisible intersections of power which may shape research (Adams 2016).

Willinsky (2001) asserts that bricolage encourages us to deal with diversity and differences and to understand how dominant power operates to exclude forms of knowledge. However, from an Indigenous and NM perspective this research is more concerned how such knowledge is established through production and relationality rather than constructed. Such production is viewed through the relations within assemblages including the researcher's own relationships with the researched (Fox and Alldred 2016). Both bricolage and NM emphasise the importance of researcher relativity. As discussed previously in this chapter, recognising relativity is also a key tenet of Afrocentric research.

The flexibility of bricolage is vital towards relationality. Being flexible means that the methods can be adapted to cater for the requirements of participants, enabling me, as the researcher to adjust and modify my research as necessitated during the process. This flexibility can create openness and sensitivity.

Bricolage considers research methods to be active and requires that the researcher should *"...actively construct our research methods from the tools at hand rather than passively receiving the "correct" universally applicable methodologies."* (Denzin and Lincoln 2016, p.320). Such an approach negates the need for planning research strategies in advance and requires flows of agency. Bricolage echoes the use of an Afrocentric epistemology which encourages researchers to develop relationships with the participants through collaborative methods which enable the community to take part in every stage of the research process

(Baugh and Guion 2006). The flows of agency are an aspect of our relationality. According to Chilisia (2019, p.62) such collaboration might involve the sharing of:

“..., cultural artifacts, legends, stories, practices, songs, rituals, poems, dances, tattoos, lived experiences such as people’s fight against HIV/AIDS, personal stories and community stories told during weddings, funerals, celebrations, and wars, ritual songs, and silence.”

During my research the communities shared many of these aspects. Proverbs were shared during discussions and cultural artefacts were revealed during my visits to Indigenous groups. Many members of the community shared their personal stories, some of which involved the fight against HIV. Additionally, the community were keen to take me to weddings and funerals. During my time in Teso I was implicated in a ‘conflict’ between religious groups, however I was also treated to songs and dance. Silence was rare!

In this way bricolage was used to seek a better understanding of the forces of domination that affect the lives of individuals and the worldviews of the Iteso people. It was used to remove knowledge acquisition from my privileged position and recognise the needs of the communities involved in the research. My use of ethnography was key to being able to use bricolage successfully. Spending time living with communities meant that I could not only develop relationships with individuals but also make rapid decisions concerning the use of methods during the process of my research.

Ethnography

Vidich and Lyman (2000, p.38) define ethnography as *“devoted to describing ways of life of humankind..., a social scientific description of people and the cultural basis of their peoplehood”* According to Goodenough (1999) ethnographic studies assume that humans interacting together over time will evolve into a culture. Culture is a collection of behavioural patterns and beliefs that become a set of norms or standards for living and performing within the communities from which they emanate (Goodenough 1971).

From a new materialist perspective this ethnographic research regards communities as assemblages of humans, nonhumans, inanimate, animate and the abstract which transcend the micro and macro (Fox and Alldred 2019). It is concerned with the flows of affect and what is produced from them including aggregations where the flows of affect may be altered. This creates an awareness that the researcher’s presence may alter the flows of affect. However, this research is interested in how this form of research brings together, *‘the perspective of the*

participant who calls for understanding and the perspective of the observer who seeks causal explanation” (Burawoy et al., 1991, p.6)

As a participant observer in the life of the communities and as both outsider (a researcher from the minority world) and insider (being known to the communities through my charity work), I followed the advice of Burawoy et al., (1991, p.4) who argue for:

“...neither immersion or distance but dialogue. The purpose of field work is not to strip ourselves of biases, for that is an illusory goal, nor to celebrate those biases as the authorial voice of the ethnographer, but rather to discover and perhaps change our biases through interaction with others.’

However, Burawoy et al., (1991) argue that an I/we relationship with communities signifies a false togetherness and that an I/they relationship leads to the researcher becoming invisible. Accordingly, remaining at a distance or positioning oneself as superior leaves biases unexamined and causes the researcher to miss implicit knowledge and understanding. Rather, the researcher should involve oneself in *‘participation but not immersion, observation but not marginality’* (Burawoy et al., 1991, p.5). Although, I acknowledge that my privilege can never be truly negated, I still advocate for an I/we relationship with the communities. Such a relationship recognises the knowledge of the participants and encourages their involvement in the research process. The relationality between the communities and myself is also a key tenet of this study and so an I/we relationship which recognises and respects our commonalities, differences, and the ties which brought us together is vital. Such relationality also builds respect for the communities and their ways of life.

According to Wilson (2020), Indigenous research emphasises learning by watching and doing and is an important aspect of ethical Indigenous research. Due to my relationship with the communities, I was able to build reciprocal and respectful relationships with the participants, many of whom have become friends. This contrasts with observational techniques which aim to be unobtrusive.

Both relationality and respect are key tenets of Afrocentrism and Ubuntu ethics. To build relationality trust is vital during ethnography. According to Baum (2016, p 209), *“Trust is crucial if people are to reveal insights and details of their lives that they would not through interviews or other methods”*. The trust I have built with communities in Teso has been established over time and my previous visits to this area since 2016. I have also introduced the communities to my immediate family and over the years I have developed knowledge of their

family networks and ties. According to Baun (2016) this openness leads to more trusting relationships. This web of interconnectivity again relates to the importance of relationships within IK and research, particularly Ubuntu world view which:

“...calls on the researcher to see ‘self’ as a reflection of the researched Other, to honour and respect the researched as one would wish for themselves, and feel a belongingness to the researched community” (Chilisia 2020, p. 43)

This connectivity led to me conducting rapid ethnography. Rapid ethnography, a pragmatic strategy to use when affected by time and funding constraints and when the researcher has already developed a collaborative relationship with communities (Ackerman, Gleason, and Gonzales 2015). My relationship with the communities has not only been established through visits to them, but also weekly contact with the project leaders of the communities through WhatsApp messages, social media (Twitter and Facebook), video calls, and Zoom meetings. News from my life in the UK and the lives of the communities in Teso is shared, discussed, shown concern for, or celebrated. This process adds to the unity between me as the researcher and the communities.

During my ethnographic fieldwork I wrote fieldnotes as I travelled between sites, as I was sat outside the compounds, or in the evenings based on my reflections. The notes are intended to collect and emphasize different features and actions that were observed (Emerson et al., 2011). The field notes form a description of active developments of interpretation and meaning. Alongside the fieldnotes I took photos. The photos were often taken because members of the community wanted me to capture their lives and would take me to areas of their compound or farms and insist on me photographing them. In this way, the research came from the communities, as they directed the process, enabling them to *“speak in their own voices”* (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 2011, p.16).

According to Prosser and Schwartz (2005, p.102) the use of photos in sociological research:

“...can show characteristic attributes of people, objects, and events that often elude even the most skilled wordsmiths. ... we can provide a degree of tangible detail, a sense of being there and a way of knowing that may not readily translate into other symbolic modes of communication.”

Taking photos enabled me to be an observer of *‘phenomena independent of human agency’* (Wagner 2010, p. 498) and it was also useful towards eliciting insider points of view.

Furthermore, the photos helped me to focus on the environment. I found that using a camera helped me to identify stories, moods and themes that otherwise might have been overlooked. It also forced me to slow down and take in the environment, people, and culture, rather than continuously focusing on research.

According to Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011) fieldnotes are a crucial method for depicting Indigenous meanings. For this reason, I attempted to write field notes and take photos that capture Indigenous meanings through the communities' own terms and through my relationships with the community. However, this 'capturing' was infused with an awareness that the fieldnotes provide my own and not the communities' accounts of experiences, meanings, and concerns. Similarly, although I used unstructured interviews as part of my ethnographic fieldwork, I am aware that the questions I asked cannot avoid mediating effects (Emerson et al., 2011).

Through ethnographic participant observation I was not only able to study a marginalised set of communities, I was also able to understand my own positionality and relationship within the communities. I recognise that in choosing what to observe, note, and photograph, I shape the narrative, however, in accordance with Burawoy (1999), I am also aware that I will never mitigate my positionality. From a NM perspective, I realise that my presence in the research process changes the flows of affect; this will be acknowledged within this study.

Unstructured Interviews

The interviews formed part of my ethnographic research and became a natural part of my life with the communities. Often members of the community would approach me to talk or share their stories and I'd ask if I could record them. I found that I would be inundated with individuals wanting to share their lives with me, possibly because they felt that they were marginalised and their voices often unheard or acknowledged due to intersections relating to their location, gender, education, culture, and class. I chose to use unstructured interviews as opposed to focus groups. According to Baun (2016) unstructured interviews provide a richer data than structured interviews or questionnaires. The interview followed the processes advocated by Baum (2016):

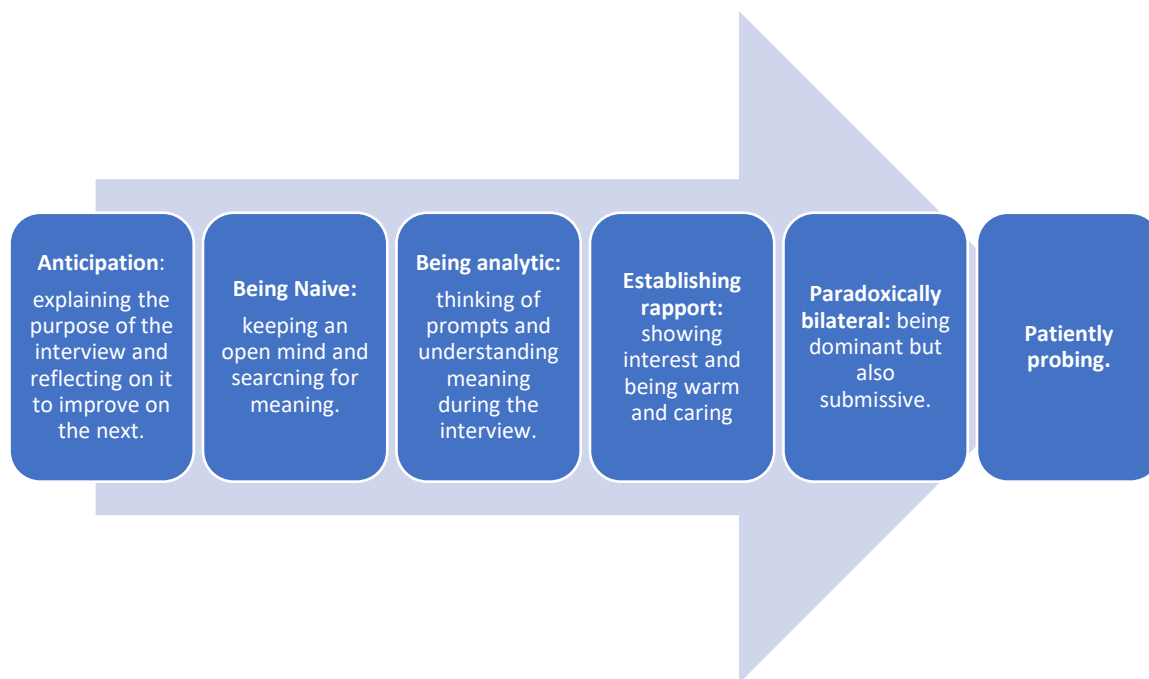


Figure 11 Process for successful interviews (Adapted from Braum, 2016, p. 212.)

To encourage reciprocity, I acknowledged our shared connections, asked after family members, and offered sympathy. Equally, in being naïve I attempted to speak in the local Ateso language, much to the amusement of the community. Speaking in the local language also demonstrated my respect for the community. In being paradoxically bilateral, I was aware of the power imbalance between me and the participants and made efforts to reduce this, for example I was offered a chair whilst the women sat on a mat. Rather than take the chair I joined them on the mat (Figure 12). My autoethnography dated 3rd November 2023 states,

“Today I noticed how the male leaders all sit on chairs whilst the women sit on mats on the floor with their children. It was expected that I took one of the chairs. However, I asked myself whether this behaviour would be respectful or relational towards the women. The leaders looked surprised when I chose to sit with the women on the grass mats.”



Figure 12 Refusing a chair

Despite my efforts towards respecting the women, I was aware that in being the researcher I still held the power to direct the questions. In doing so I ensured that I was not '*devoid of mutual warmth and caring*' (Braun 2016, p. 212). Having known many of the participants from previous visits I was able to ask after their families and comment on improvements made to their compounds. In this way I was emphasising our relationality. A key tenet of the Afrocentric values of this research.

It is important to '*patiently probe*' during interviewing (Braun 2016, p. 212). This meant I was patient, ensuring that I listened and questioning if I was unsure of what I was being told or if I needed further information. Hence, I was showing respect to the participant as well as building our relationship. I was also being reciprocal, providing the participant time to talk about issues that affect their daily lives. Some of the issues were sensitive as they involved discussions concerning HIV/ AIDs, poverty, illness, and gendered violence. However, discussing such issues in a careful manner can have a cathartic effect (Bergen 1993). I agree with Olesen (1994) in that taking time to listen to the participants led to a better quality of information. Reciprocity, respect, relationships are key pillars of Afrocentrism, and helped to further my connections with the communities.

The interviews lasted between 15 minutes and an hour. They either came to a natural conclusion, or I thanked the participant once I felt I could not elicit further information from them. According to Loosveldt and Beullens (2013) differing lengths of interview are normal due to intersections of age, education, and knowledge and that this should not impact the validity of the data. In total I conducted 62 interviews. The details of the individuals interviewed are featured in table 3, in accordance with my ethical approval, pseudonyms have been used to lessen the chance that participants might be identified; however, the locations, roles, and ages are correct. Pseudonyms were used instead of codes to preserve the human traits of the participants.

Name	Date of interview.	Gender	Location	Age	Role
MIDA Tailoring					
Rose		F	MIDA tailoring	23	Tailor
Jesca		F	MIDA tailoring	42	Tailor
Margaret		F	MIDA tailoring	29	Tailor
Betty		F	MIDA tailoring	56	Tailor
Angela		F	MIDA tailoring	36	Tailor
Margaret		F	MIDA tailoring	32	Tailor
Sarah		F	MIDA tailoring	18	Tailor
Layer		F	MIDA tailoring	24	Tailor
Betty		F	MIDA Tailoring	50	Tailor
Charles		M	MIDA tailoring	26	Tailor
MIDA Agriculture					
Frances		F	MIDA agriculture	39	Farmer
Jesca		F	MIDA agriculture	39	Farmer
Rose		F	MIDA agriculture	58	Farmer
Lucy		F	MIDA agriculture	78	Farmer
George		M	MIDA agriculture	33	Farmer
Angela		F	MIDA agriculture	47	Farmer
Jacinia		F	MIDA agriculture	36	Farmer

Angela		F	MIDA Agriculture/ Group trainer	48	Farmer
Charles		M	MIDA agriculture	52	Farmer
Tisai Island					
Tino		F	Tisai	27	Farmer
Agnes		F	Tisai	60	Farmer
Christine		F	Tisai	29	Farmer
Helen		F	Tisai	45	Farmer
Mary		F	Tisai	22	Farmer
Florence		F	Tisai	55	Farmer
Rose		F	Tisai	70	Fisherwoman/ Farmer
Hellen		F	Tisai	26	Farmer
David		M	Tisai	31	Farmer
Grace		F	Tisai	34	Farmer
Luke		M	Tisai	28	Farmer
Mary		F	Tisai	54	Farmer/ area councillor
Robert		M	Tisai	30	Farmer
Indigenous Group					
Betty		F	Indigenous Group	50	Farmer
Josephine		F	Indigenous Group	38	Farmer
Albina		F	Indigenous Group	29	Farmer
Agnes		F	Indigenous Group	42	Farmer
Rosemary		F	Indigenous Group	18	Farmer
Christine		F	Indigenous Group	22	Farmer
Margaret		F	Indigenous Group	35	Farmer
Angela		F	Indigenous Group	26	Farmer
Marissa		F	Indigenous Group	29	Farmer
Scovia (Group trainer)		F	Indigenous Group	28	Farmer

Football Team					
Betty		F	Aterai	16	Student
Agnes		F	Kumi	17	Student
Ruth		F	Aterai	18	Student
Angela		F	Aterai	19	Student
Josephine		F	Kumi	16	Student
Cecilia		F	Kumi	18	Student
Rose		F	Aterai	16	Student
Professional Participants					
George		M	Kumi	32	NGO
Anne		F	Kumi/ Kampala	29	United Nations Peace Corps
Mary		F	Youth Counsellor	41	Tisai
Charles		M	Aterai	49	Religious Leader
Andrew		M	Kampala	31	NGO worker/ Researcher
Charles		M	Aterai	29	Teacher
Christine		F	Aterai	42	Teacher
Margaret		F	Okorom	56	Counsellor
Joyce		F	Kumi	54	Cultural Leader/ Director of Indigenous Women's Groups
Robert		M	Ngora	45	Director of MIDA
Emmanuel		M	Kumi	45	Reverend
Christine		F	Kumi	56	Social Worker/ HIV Counsellor
Edna		F	Kumi/ Kampala	32	Journalist
Alice		F	Kumi	46	GBV Counsellor/ Chair of GBV shelter
Total Number of Interview Participants					63

Table 3 - Interview Participants

Project	Number of Interviews	Male	Female
MIDA Agriculture	9	2	7
MIDA Tailoring	10	1	9
Tisai	1	3	10
Indigenous Group	9	0	10
Football Team	7	0	7
Professionals	14	6	8

Table 4 - Number of Interviews by Project

Age range	Number
16-25	13
25-35	18
35-45	16
45-55	9
55-65	5
65-75	2

Table 5- Interviews by age-range

The lack of participants aged over 55 reflects the age range of the local population. The median age in Uganda is 16.7 years and lower in rural areas (Uganda Demographics 2023). Therefore, the demographics of the participants are representative of the local population (Malterud 2001).

The number of interviews was stopped in each group once I felt that saturation point was reached and that I wasn't gaining insight into any new information. The interviews were audio

recorded and I also made notes during some of the interviews to immerse myself in the process. I followed the advice of Nascimento et al., (2018) and when I felt I was gaining no more new information I conducted a further 1/3 of the interviews. Participants from each community were enlisted via snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is useful in populations where it is difficult to acquire access (Dawood 2008). Project leaders also helped to recruit participants. Such gatekeepers are regarded as vital towards reaching peripheral communities (Emell et al., 2007). However, this study recognises that the term gatekeepers is not only contentious due to issues of power and subjectivity (Lowan-Trudeau 2019), but also that such gatekeepers may try to prevent certain areas of research because they consider the issue to be too sensitive, controversial, or immaterial (Bowes 1996).

I found the issue of my gatekeepers to be problematic as they had established a new church in the region, and I felt at times that I was being used to promote the church due to my links to my charity and because of my European heritage. This issue is discussed later in this thesis (see 7.1). At times I also felt that they were using their power as gatekeepers and church leaders to reveal to me what they wanted me to see and hear. This impacted my ethnography as it became directed by the gatekeepers rather than steered through me as a researcher.

To overcome the problem of having gatekeepers affect the behaviour of the communities I was able to use the photos, drama, music, dance, and art to gain a broader view as well as interview professional participants who were able to contest or ratify my findings. Using further participants who are aware of the issues that affect the communities being researched is in accordance with Serrant-Green's (2011) method of 'Collective Voices' which encourages the researcher to be reflexive about the initial findings. The participants used as 'collective voices' are knowledgeable about the area and could offer a detailed and rich perspective on the intersections of subjugation that impact women within Teso due to the nature of their professional roles.

Although Uganda's main language is English, according to the Ugandan Bureau of Statistics (2021) only 30% of Ugandans understand English, and this figure is possibly less in rural areas due to lack of reporting. During my research most participants spoke in Ateso. For this reason, I used a translator during interviews, and when the participants spoke within a group or during music, dance, and drama. She also translated my questions to participants. My translator is a local woman who is known to the communities and has been accompanying me since 2016 on visits to the projects. My interpreter translated 43 interviews (n=43). I recognise that translation

is problematic due to differing semantics, alongside the translation of unique cultural concepts (Temple 1997). However, using reflexive practice, photographs, illustrations, music, dance, drama, and the collective voices of professionals, has helped to ensure that the data has closely captured the participants' voices and respected their rights.

The interviews were unstructured, with the aim of '*making words fly*' (Braun 2016 p. 212) to capture the voices of those who are marginalised both geographically and intersectionally, and thus silenced (Serrant-Green, 2013). Nevertheless, I created prompts that aligned to my research questions in case they were required. The interview prompts are illustrated in table_

Perceptions	Causes	Impact	Relationality
Aim: How is Women's Health perceived in Teso?	Aim: What issues impact the health and wellbeing of women in Teso?	Aim - How do SEP affect issues concerning women's health in Teso and what could improve the impact of such projects?	Aim- What are the implications of a researcher from the minority world researching within an indigenous community, and how can this study work towards decolonising research?
Main Question: What are the health issues within your community?	Main Question: What are the main issues that affect the health and wellbeing of women in your community?	Main questions: What are the positive impacts of SEP? How could the impact of the projects be improve?	Main Question: How am I seen within this community?

<p>Prompts:</p> <p>Is there a story, song, group-dance, special item or similar that you would like to share with me to help me to understand about life in your community?</p>	<p>Prompts:</p> <p>Can you tell me more about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Issues concerning money and resources • Issues concerning responsibilities within the home and community • Issues about the health status of women and girls within the community. For example, are there issues concerning bride price or polygamy? • Issues about girls' education • Issues concerning the status of girls in families and in the community. • Issues preventing women from becoming leaders in your community • Issues concerning alcohol consumption? 	<p>Prompts:</p> <p>Can you tell me more about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How they improve resources? • How they provide more funds? • How you work together? • Benefits other than funds or resources? • How do they improve health and wellbeing? • Are there any negative aspects of such projects? What are they? • What could be done to improve the projects? <p>Main question -</p> <p>How else might the health and wellbeing of women and girls in the community be improved?</p>	<p>Prompts:</p> <p>Can you tell me more about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How your life has been since I last saw you? • How are your family? • Am I viewed as part of this community? • How can I strengthen my relationship with your community?
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Would you be willing to share issues concerning violence in the community? What types of violence are there in the community? What leads to violence? • Would you be willing to share information about HIV within the community that you live in? If so, what are the issues? 	<p>Prompts:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Would safe places for women and girls help provide security for wellbeing? • Would sensitisation projects help improve the wellbeing of women and girls? • Would involving men in the SEP help to improve community life? • Would increasing the priority of girls' education help to improve life in the community? • Would more opportunities for women in leadership roles help to improve health and wellbeing? 	
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Table 6 Interview Questions by Theme

During such interviews my aim was to build a sense of rapport and trust with the communities. Being able to adjust and modify my questions as needed meant I was able to meet the requirements of the participants and give them an element of control and power over the research process (Mbah, Bailey, and Shingruf 2023). Throughout the interview process, it was vital that I examined my own assumptions to promote learning and dialogue (St John and Akama 2022). Reflexivity is vital towards achieving a relational method of research as it ensures the researcher is accountable, transparent, and trustworthy (Mbah, Bailey and Shingruf 2023). Hence, I wrote a reflexive autoethnographic journal alongside my ethnographic research.

Autoethnography

Autoethnography is a method of research which links *'the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social and political'* (Ellis 2004, p.14). I have used elements of this method to understand the intersection of personal and cultural perspectives whilst showing, what Boylorn and Orbe (2020) term *'the interconnectedness of human experience'* (p.3). From this perspective, conducting research is no different to the reality of living and so this study merges the binary of research and content.

According to Martin (2017, p.139), an Indigenous world view has no separation between method and content and the question of *'how'* is just as, if not more, important than the *'what'*'. However, minority world knowledge and research are based on a system that does not relate to everyday living (Martin 2017). This alienation reflects a Cartesian separation of mind and body which situates the rational human body outside of nature and everyday living (Stewart-Harawira 2005). From this perspective, knowledge does not have agency as it is grounded on the subject. Henceforth, there is a need to disengage from this minority world notion of ideology and value IK where there is no separation between epistemology and ontology.

This concept of relatedness draws attention to the relationship that Indigenous people have to their cultural ideologies and the agency of their relations. Through autoethnography I aim to demonstrate the relationality and interconnectedness of my experiences with those of the

communities I researched. My use of autoethnography blends the binary between epistemology and ontology as I reflexively endeavour to combine both the process and the purpose of my research. This research combines both actively ‘doing’ as I live and interact with communities, whilst listening and being reflexive during my study.

As a non-Indigenous researcher, I endeavour to unite with the communities I am researching towards a shared goal of social justice and respect their ways of knowing whilst acknowledging my own privilege and knowledge. In accordance with Graeme (2013, p.513), I approached my research as an ‘ally’ and thus reflect on my privilege and knowledge, whilst being willing to recognise my mistakes and being ‘willing to be uncomfortable’ (Aveling 2013, p.209). The challenges that result from different knowledge systems are complex and this is reflected in my autoethnography.

I am aware that autoethnography has been criticised due to its focus on the self and so there is a danger of isolating others (D’Arcangelis 2018). Although autoethnography is recognised as a means of exposing researcher subjectivity and researcher privilege, this method is regarded as highly individualistic (Denzin and Lincoln 2008). Tuck and Yang (2014) regard this concern as, “*the reflexive caveat, the hand-wringing, the flash of positional confession before proceeding as usual*” (p. 814). For this reason, self-reflexivity can lose its critical force by re-focusing on the privilege of the researcher and obscuring the structural conditions in which advantages are produced. From a NM perspective, it is vital to examine that power can operate at a local level of actions and events rather than from the top down. Conventionally, the researcher is the predominant element of the research process whose reason and method impose order on the ‘findings’ to provide an understanding of the world (Fox and Alldred, 2020). However, by using an autoethnographic approach which promotes reflexivity, I will maintain an awareness that I am part of an assemblage that produces a variety of capabilities within its relations. In this way I will be regarding my research as an assemblage with its own affect economy. This will enable me to recognise the micropolitics that shape knowledge and how my research itself can create affects through the methodology and methods used. To avoid issues of solipsism and apologism, my autoethnography will be used as an analysis into oppression and privilege, not just my power as a researcher. D’Arcangelis (2018) discusses,

‘...radical reflexivity as a form of critical analysis, which would examine our subjectivities as windows into the operation and potential alteration of social structures in which we are fully

implicated.... [to]...turn toward and then away from the Self—that is, to commit a reflexive double turn.” (p.340)

My ‘double turn’ will examine the social construction of relations within assemblages and how they affect my intra-actions as a researcher as well as how such relations impact the researched. The use of the term “intra-action,” rather than ‘interaction’ is used to emphasise relationality and explain, “...*who we become through measurements of each other is internal to our relationships—our entanglement—rather than something that happens outside of them*” (Wendt 2017, p.172). Such ‘intra-actions’ refer to how I am affected through my relationships with communities.

According to Wilson (2020) the method of autoethnography fits well to an Indigenous paradigm due to its focus on storytelling, which is a powerful aspect of Indigenous societies. Communities within Teso continue to share oral narratives in the form of stories (Ongodia 2014); my ‘narrative’ reflects this culture. Furthermore, autoethnography allows for “*the centrality of the self, in the research, without the sharp separation of the researcher and subject*” Onowa (2010, p. 141). This contrasts with the assertion by Tuck and Yang (2014) that self-reflexivity can lead to solipsism. In contrast to such introspection through sharing details about myself as a researcher, I aim to open possibilities for compassion, relationality, and greater levels of understanding (McIvor 2010).

Graeme (2013) notes there is a sparsity of research using autoethnography amongst non-Indigenous researchers who are concerned with health. Certainly, my literature search found a gap in such autoethnographic research concerning women’s health in SSA. Graeme (2013) observes that this could be due to a tradition of a biomedical approach that values objectivity and science. However, according to Absolon and Willet (2005) objectivity does not exist and should not form part of research, they state “...*the only thing that we can write about with authority is ourselves.* (p.97).

This research recognises that my feelings, knowledge, thoughts, and actions are shaped within networks of relationships between the environment, humans, and non-humans.

My autoethnography is guided by Wilson’s (2020) four principles of Indigenous research: relational accountability, respectful representation, reciprocal appropriations, and rights. Throughout my autoethnographical writing, and in accordance with Graeme (2013), I contemplate the following questions:

Principles of Indigenous Research	Reflexive Question
Relational Accountability	How am I building respectful relationships through my research? How do I foster relationships with the participants so that we can share ideas towards social justice? What am I contributing to this relationship?
Respectful Representation	Am I representing this community in the way they wish to be represented?
Reciprocal Appropriations	What are the community gaining from this project? What am I giving back to the relationships or to this community? Am I capturing the hidden voices of this community?
Rights	What are my responsibilities towards this community? Am I representing this community as they would like to be seen? Am I privileging their rights?

Table 7 Reflexive questioning based on Wilson's (2020) principles of Indigenous research.

In using these questions to guide my autoethnography, it challenged me to consider whether my actions as a researcher reflected Indigenous methodology. This approach enabled me to be reflexive whilst considering whether my research was working towards a process of decolonisation in challenging my conventional knowledge paradigms (Graeme 2013). As a researcher from the minority world, I am aware that I cannot erase my circumstances and privilege, however I can consider how I might use my positionality to ensure that IK is fundamental to my research process. In my journal I wrote '*writing autoethnographically according to Afrocentric principles feels like a guideline for living and relating beyond research*' (November 13th, 2023, Ngora). In this way, and in accordance with Wilson (2020) principles of IK are vital towards how we view the world throughout our lives, not just during research.

Conclusion

Martin (2017) draws attention to how the ontological features of minority world research paradigms are destructive to IK through highlighting the typical linear research path as represented in figure 12.

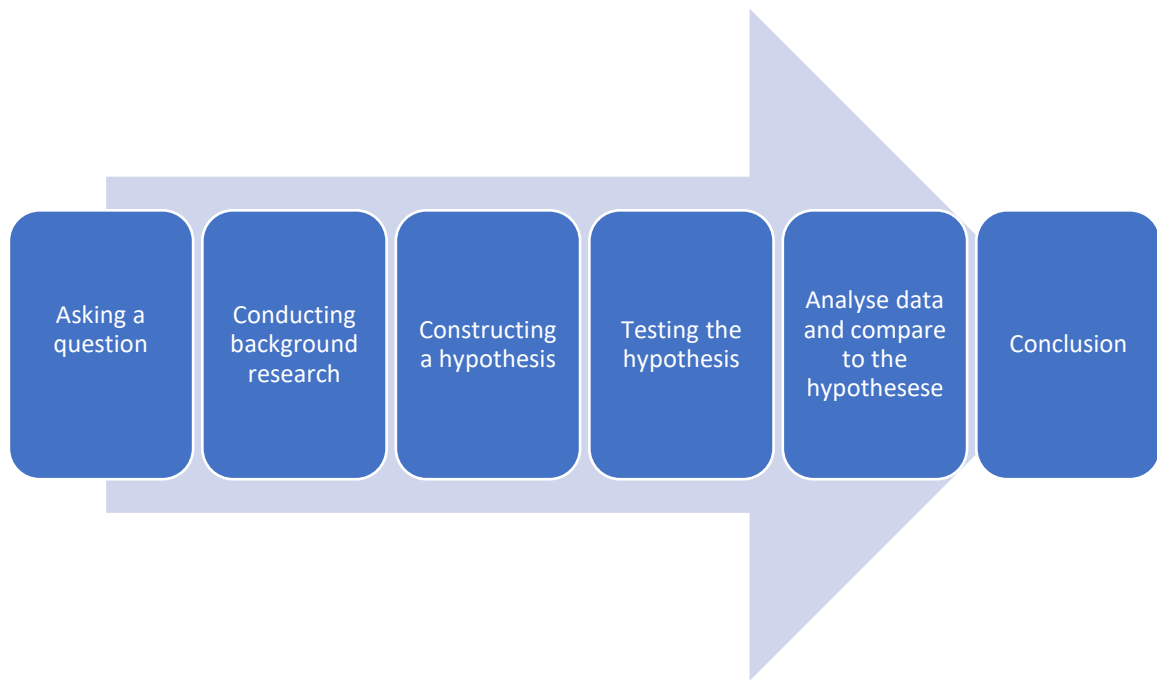


Figure 13 Linear Progression of Minority World Research based on Martin’s Critique (2017)

It is this linear path that separates the “how” of research from the “why” by deconstructing the research into parts (Martin 2017). Minority world paradigms view knowledge as a separate entity whereby the researcher searches for knowledge which can be gained and owned (Steinhaurer 2002). This in contrast to an Indigenous paradigm, where knowledge belongs to the universe and is relational; the researcher is only the interpreter of this knowledge (Chilisa 2019).

An Indigenous relationality of method as content can shift the boundaries of research to mitigate the ontological gap between ideology and practice. The research therefore represents real and lived experience. For Barad (2003), writing from a NM perspective, this relational ontology is where nature, humans, and materials ‘intra-act’, whilst involving the researcher in the process in *‘intwined practices of knowing and becoming’* (Barad 2014, p.240). In ‘becoming’ the researcher is affected and affects through the intra-action of the research

assemblage. This connection is an ‘...intertwining of knowing and being in encounters between matter and the Other and signify responsibility not as obligation but as a consequence of relationality.’ (Barad 2010, p. 265).

This connects to IK where relationality removes all binaries between object and subject and known and knower (Wilson 2020). A separation of binaries creates agency for all entities including knowledge itself (Martin 2017). Accordingly, ‘relationships do not shape reality, they are reality’ (Wilson 2020, p. 7) By reflecting facets of NM and IK, I have ensured that relationality is at the heart of my research rather than a deconstruction of research into separate parts.

The three methods, guided by Afrocentric principles and IK, emphasise relationality with the researched as discussed throughout this chapter. The circular nature of figure 14 is to emphasise that from an Indigenous world view knowledge is forever moving rather than static and linear (Chilisa 2019). This circular notion is common to Indigenous people (Wilson 2020). The circle shows how its entities are interconnected and inseparable, blending from one approach to the next.

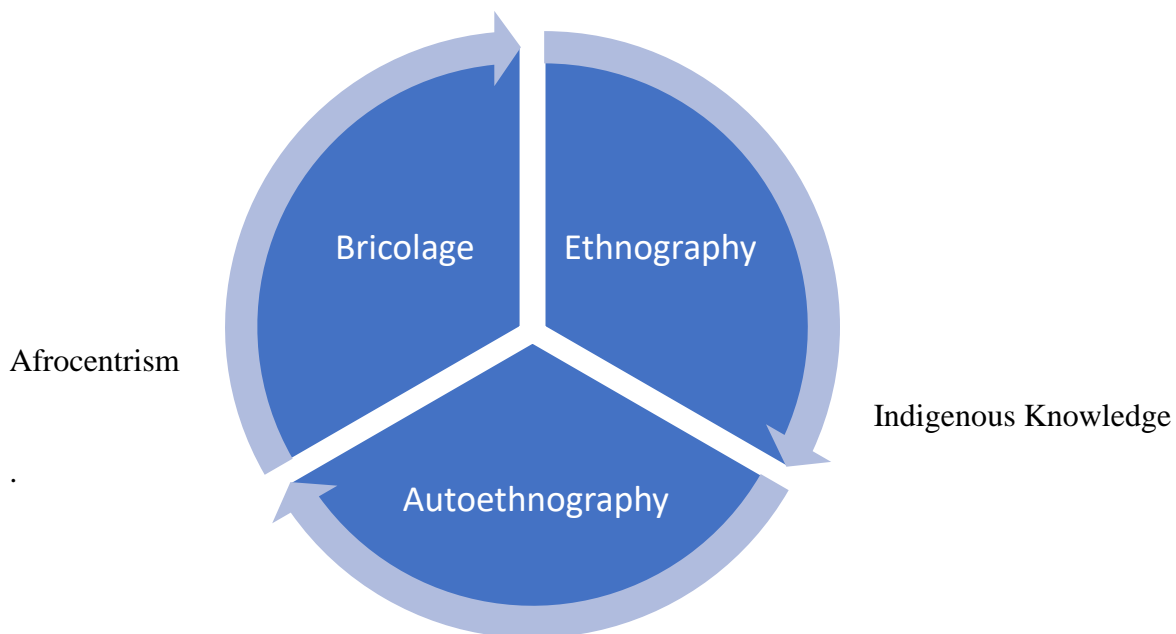


Figure 14 The circular nature and interconnectivity of my research methods.

Moving between minority world and Indigenous world ontologies is problematic due to different conceptions of the world, however I believe that utilising relational methods can create *‘a kind of shimmering that allows the argument and illumination to come though’* (Martin 2017, p.395).

Indigenous research is premised on emphasising and building on relationality and is not composed and assembled by the subject, as often is the case in minority world research. These methodological approaches are the ‘how’ and the ‘why’ of my research rather than existing in binary opposition and have a two-way agency. In this way, my research offers a relational way of reconfiguring research and helps to decolonialise former practices.

3.5 Data Analysis

Qualitative Data Analysis

Analysing qualitative data is a requisite of qualitative research to highlight connotations, implications, the significance, and understanding of data (Braun 2016). However, it is recognised that there is not a universal approach to qualitative data analysis (Braun 2016, Maguire and Delahunt 2017). Qualitative research is also iterative and so analysis should not be considered as a phase of research, but the researcher is required to repeatedly revisit the data (Braun 2016).

This iterative approach reflects my privileging of IK whereby each research stage is not seen in separation but that there is no binary between the research and the process or ontology and practice (Martin 2017). This iterative process also reflects a materialist ontology whereby the focus of data analysis should be the flows of affect through assemblages and the territorialized capacities produced (Fox and Alldred 2020). These affects are in constant flux and so need revisiting.

Thematic analysis is the most frequent and conventional form of qualitative data interpretation and is commonly utilised in research within the social sciences (Braun and Clarke 2006). A benefit of thematic analysis is its flexibility to identify patterns relating to participants’ experiences and perspectives (Maguire and Delahunt 2017). It is such patterns that are vital to an Indigenous ontology.

Braun and Clarke maintain that thematic analysis is a foundational method that can reinforce further qualitative analyses. They explain that this approach is *‘the product of deep and prolonged data immersion, thoughtfulness and reflection, something that is active and generative.’* Due to its immersive, reflective, and iterative nature, my analysis has utilised the 6 stages of data analysis formulated by Braun and Clarke (2006). These steps are detailed in Figure 15.

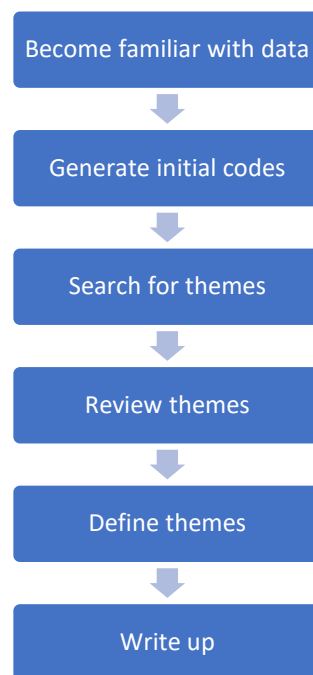


Figure 15 6 Stages of data analysis based on Braun and Clarke (2006)

However, rather than using this process in a linear fashion, and in accordance with IK which blurs the binary between ontology and research, my thematic analysis will follow an intertwined and interconnected pathway so that research is part of an ongoing and living entity rather than a separate process to the research journey.

Fox and Alldred (2020) contend that the micropolitics of thematic analysis reduces the complexity of events by aggregating data into ways defined by the researcher. However, through analysing the affects produced by assemblages, including my presence in such relations, I will detail the affective relations within my research. Furthermore, in capturing the

participants voices through photographs, drawing, drama, interviews and using ‘collective voices’ I will connect the participants and research audiences directly to events. Further, by being reflexive through my autoethnography I will be able to assess the micropolitics of my research. This will account for the aggregating effects of the thematic analysis.

Stage One – Become Familiar with Data

The first stage concerns being immersed in the data. According to Braun, Clarke, and Hayfield (2022, n.p) *‘it’s a way of engaging with, and gaining insight into, what can sometimes appear to be an overwhelming mass of data’*. To prevent the findings becoming ‘overwhelming’ I read and transcribed my interviews each evening whilst living in the compounds, I re-read field notes, looked back through photos, and wrote reflexively as part of my autoethnography. This process was also iterative as it enabled me to see any gaps in my research that I could fill or note any concepts that I wished to further understand or explore on my next visit to communities. I also kept documentation of my interviews in excel spreadsheet under pseudonyms, date, and location so that I could easily return to them.

According to Dortins (2002, p.207) transcription is explored as a *“transformative process, a bridge between interview and analysis across which the data, as well as the interviewer-researcher, are re-orientated towards the process of analytical reading”*. In agreement with Castleberry and Nolen (2018, p.808) I believe that being close to the data during this process *“can jumpstart the other steps of the data analysis process.”* For this reason, I read and reread the data to become thoroughly familiar with it through every stage of my research.

In recognition that transcription is an interpretive act, I had to decide on what level of transcription use (Bird 2005). I was mindful that I wanted to represent my participants in a holistic sense in accordance with the Afrocentric principles of representation and rights, and therefore placed emphasis on the everyday expression of individuals to create *“pictures”* or *“portrayals”* (Fraenkel and Wallen 2000, p. 12). Therefore, I recorded the data orthographically, to provide a verbatim description (Smith and Sparkes 2016). I included laughter, body language (included in my notes alongside the audio recordings), and colloquial expressions such as ‘eh’, ‘eeeh’, and ‘huh’, for example. Some of these expressions were captured by my interpreter but many I was able to recognise myself on the recordings.

Stage 2 – Generate Initial Codes

The second phase of the thematic analysis involves generating codes. Codes are either deductively determined in advance based on pre-existing theory, or generated inductively, based on familiarisation with the findings, or sometimes a mix of both (Braun, Clarke, and Hayfield 2022). My coding used a mixture of deductive and inductive reasoning. My deductive coding was based on pre-existing knowledge that I had of the communities and my prior reading of theories relating to feminism, IK, and NM. As a reflexive researcher I recognise that it would be false to suppress my prior understanding of theories and overlook their links to the findings.

My coding was executed in two cycles, a process which is recommended by Braun, Clarke and Hayfield (2022) and Linneberg and Korsgaard (2019). Indeed, a further cycle of coding can enable the discovery of possibly hidden themes which can further the discovery of implicit meanings and interpretations (Braun and Clarke 2007). The first cycle used a more inductive approach using codes generated from findings, whereas my second coding cycle was researcher-centric so that *‘concepts, themes and dimensions from existing theories may be introduced to lift the analysis to a higher level of abstraction’* (Linneberg and Korsgaard 2019, p.194).

The initial coding cycle was conducted through the comments application within Microsoft Word 2019 (Appendix 3.3). The second cycle of coding involved transferring the transcript to NVivo to develop more deductive codes (Appendix 3.4). Using both methods to generate codes meant that I did not lose my connection to the findings; some critics of NVivo argue that using this programme can fragment the data and alienate the researcher from the findings (Linneberg and Korsgaard 2019). My constant revisiting of both transcriptions and themes as illustrated in Figure 16 meant that I remained close to the findings.

Stage 3 – Generate Themes

Stage three of the analysis required ascertaining themes by examining the codes. This marks the analytic phase of thematic study (Braun and Clarke 2007). This analysis continues throughout the remaining stages (Ibid).

Stage 4 - Refining Themes

Stage 4 comprised of merging and refining the initial themes. In accordance with Clarke and Braun (2013), the themes were classified across three levels: primary themes, themes, and sub-themes.

Stage 5 - Defining the Themes

This stage involved naming, clarifying, refining, and defining the themes to build a rich analytic narrative (Braun, Clarke and Weate 2016). In accordance with Braun, Clarke, and Weate (2016) a definition was written for each theme which succinctly captured the essence of each to aid my analytic focus.

Stage 6 – Writing

The writing stage is not the final stage of thematic analysis but a stage that has been in progress since the beginning of the research process. In this way, I am not separating my research into separate parts, but in accordance with IK, I am interweaving the processes so they form part of a holistic cycle (see figure 16) This approach is also in agreement with Braun, Clarke, and Weates' (2016) view who do not think of writing as a separate phase after completing analysis, rather this phase involves composing, advancing, and editing existing writing.

This phase involves reinforcing the data with excerpts from the transcripts which then advances a discussion (Braun and Clarke 2007). The discussion phase involves analysing the findings to provide answers to my research questions alongside relevant literature. Braun and Clarke (2007) explain how to represent data through analytical, illustrative, or a combination of both approaches. Illustrative approaches use extracts as an example of the analytic claim being made, whereas an analytical approach involves discussing specific features of a particular extract. In my study I combined both approaches. My thematic analysis process is demonstrated in Figure 16 which details the iterative process used to explore the findings.

Throughout the thematic analysis I was reflexive about my positionality as a researcher and I sought to question whether my investigation of the findings was based on my minority world context. Being reflexive about my positionality is key to this study. Throughout my discussion I am reflexive about my position as an academic, which makes me an 'outsider', and at the same time an 'insider' who is known to the communities through my charity and long-standing relations. Through the Indigenous and Afrocentric principles, I attempted to merge these binaries through relationality, reciprocity, and respecting the rights of the communities. Nevertheless, I am conscious of my visibility within such a marginalised area where it is

uncommon to see people with white skin, and the connotations of my European heritage to a colonial past. In this way my analysis maintains a conscious awareness of my positionality.

I have added a further process to the six-part analysis. In accordance with Afrocentrism, at the end of this research I will work with the Teso communities to disseminate the findings of this study through their music, dance, and drama. This is discussed in more detail in the conclusion of this thesis (see 9.4) I will continue my collaboration with them to create unity and understanding, which requires *'the researcher, being used as a tool in the pursuit of truth and justice'* (Reviere 2001b, p.711). However, this extra layer does not mean that this research is final, with Afrocentrism at the heart of this research my relationality with the communities will be long-lasting as we use the results of this research to continue our strive for social equity.

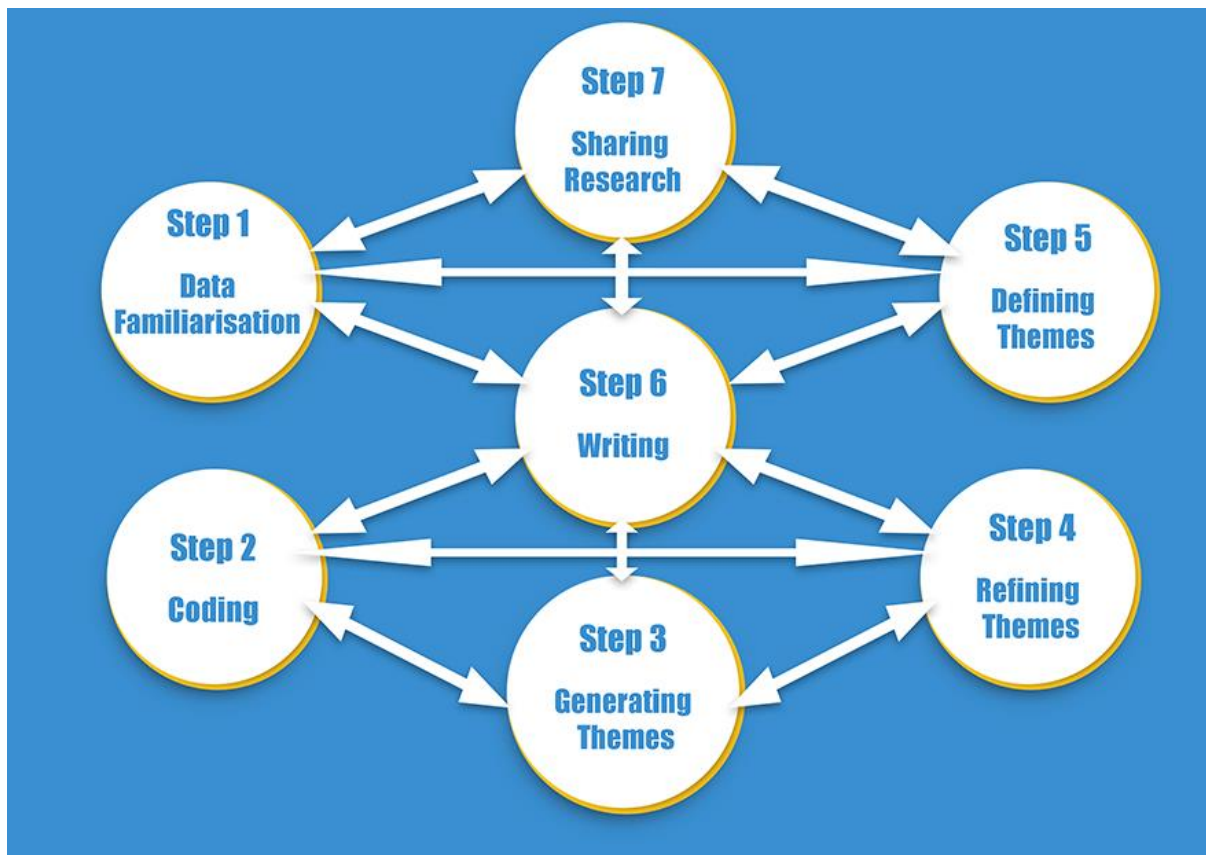


Figure 16 The iterative flow of thematic research based on Baun and Clarke's 6 Steps of Thematic Research (2006)

Qualitative Findings

In the following chapters I present the findings from my field notes, autoethnography, and interviews that relate to the intersections of suppression and privilege that impact women in Teso, Uganda. In presenting the findings I recognise that the study is the result of an assemblage which originates from the events alongside the process of research (Fox and Alldred 2020). Fox and Alldred (2020) regard research as an assemblage with its own affect economy, that exists as a territorialisation that shapes the knowledge it produces through methods and methodologies. The authors explain that events in research are understood through methods that identify relations, however the assemblage also comprises of its own relations such as theories, research instruments, and the researcher. Such relations have been organised to engineer specific flows. In this way Fox and Alldred (2020) recognise research – assemblages as machines that are specifically designed to perform a task. The research machine within this study is further complicated by the involvement TMSPU, which is similarly constructed to achieve affects. Fox and Alldred (2022) argue that research machines, particularly those which involve a thematic analysis simplify complex assemblages and aggregate affects through categorisation. However, I argue that most of the themes demonstrate boundaries that have been formed over time by territorialisations. I also emphasise that the themes are intra-sections that are interconnected and in a constant process of flow. In this way they represent a patterning which is a vital tenet of IK (Battiste and Youngblood Henderson 2000). Furthermore, presenting the findings through a thematic analysis provides a clear and comprehensive format for the audience of this thesis.

I am conscious of the aggregative effects produced by the research process in this study. For example, the use of my questions during interviews is one such way that I have shaped the research assemblage. To overcome such aggravating affects, I connect this research directly to the audience of this study using photographs, drawings, and extracts taken from drama performed by the participants. This connection is recommended by Drew and Guillemin (2014) who state,

“This enables the visual analytic work we advocate to be evident and tangible for the reader, illustrating how interpretive engagement can support the development of substantive findings.”
(p.54)

In accordance with Russell and Diaz 2013, I also believe that my use of visual images and drama extracts offers rich interpretations which enables the audience to appreciate the experiences, humanity, and meanings expressed by the participants. Throughout the next three

chapters I also celebrate researcher subjectivity through a reflexive, autoethnographical account of my research which acknowledges the effects of my presence on the micropolitics of the assemblage. Alongside the artwork provided by participants, I include some of my own artwork which details the conflicts arising from my fluid positionality (see 8.7)

In using a thematic analysis in this study, I am seeking patterns from the participants' responses. Rather than simplifying the research process, as Fox and Alldred (2020) argue, I am valuing IK which as previously discussed, weaves patterns with nature and relationships (Wright et al., 2019). Throughout the research process I am mindful of the affective flows between events and research in my autoethnography, in my relationship with the Indigenous population, and using art and artefacts. Hence, I am *"reflexive, recursive and rhizomic, offering deterritorializations and lines of flight to event assemblages and affects, and drawing research audiences into the research -assemblage, to contribute their own affect and capacities..."* (Fox and Alldred 2020, p. 410). The authors use of the term *'lines of flight'*, refers to Deleuze and Guattari's (1988, p. 88) theory that explains a 'line of flight' as a process of determining action - for example deterritorialising a situation.

Through a thematic analysis this section of qualitative findings seeks to examine the intersections of oppression and privilege that impact the health and wellbeing of women in Teso and how the fluid and interconnected intersections are socially produced through relational flows of affect. Hence, I do not regard the themes as static and bounded but rather they exist as patterns in a constant process of flux.

Presenting the Qualitative Findings

I followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six stages of thematic analysis to explore the findings. This thematic analysis enabled me to identify nine main themes along with several sub-themes. The inclusion of sub-themes enables a greater depth of insight into the main themes. The findings are presented as a combination of analytical and illustrative approaches; illustrative approaches use extracts as an example of the analytic claim being made, whereas an analytical approach involves discussing specific features of a particular extract (Clarke and Weate 2016).

I have followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) recommendation and produced a thematic diagram to visually represent the themes and subthemes (figure 17). In naming the themes and subthemes I let the data speak for themselves by using the participant's language. This provides a vivid and immediate sense of the theme's content and privileges the participants'

language and concerns. In naming the themes in this way I also play heed to IK which recognises that knowledge has its own agency (Wilson 2020) and it is the role of the researcher to interpret the knowledge (Chilisa 2019). When using the participants language to name a theme, I have occasionally added my own words to the theme's title to provide clarity.

As previously argued in Chapter 2, it is necessary that the intersections are viewed as '*intersectional differences of process*' (Tiainen et al., 2020, p.217). The intersections are therefore not pre-existing structures but fluid relationalities that can occur across social, material, human, and non-human processes of activity. To reflect this relationality, I have used a dashed line within figure to show that the intersections are not fixed. The use of a circle shows how the intersections are in flux. It is apparent in the extracts that I provide that the issues within communities are related and intertwined.

Format of the Findings

In line with my ethical obligation to ensure the anonymity of the participants and as stated in 3.5 I have used pseudonyms. In my use of photographs and artwork I do not name the participants featured or the artists to maintain their anonymity.

For purposes of formatting this study, data extracts which are less than two lines are merged into the narrative while as extracts that are longer than two lines are detached from the discussion. They are written in italics and where applicable, some extracts are written as a conversation between me and the participant. In terms of my autoethnographic reflexions along with my field notes are dated and presented in italics. In line with Braun and Clarke's (2006) recommendations, I have qualified the data using, 'all', 'many' or 'most'. The attribution of frequency in thematic analysis is regarded as the researcher's preference (Braun and Clarke 2006).

To aid comprehension, I have arranged the ten themes over four chapters. Each chapter features a visual map of the themes and subthemes to illustrate their connectivity. Figure 17 provides an overview of the themes. The themes are also represented in table 8 which demonstrates how the findings are linked to my research questions. The themes are discussed as follows.

- Chapter Four: Themes 1 -2: *There is too much sunshine, The ways of life are changing*

- Chapter Five: Themes 3—5: *The issues we have are medical, The various natures of GBV, The customs that we have here*
- Chapter Six: Theme 6-8: *It is powerful to know and understand the IK, We can solve our problems now*
- Chapter 7 – Themes 9-10: *You act like you are part of them, Whatever small support you give, no problem!*

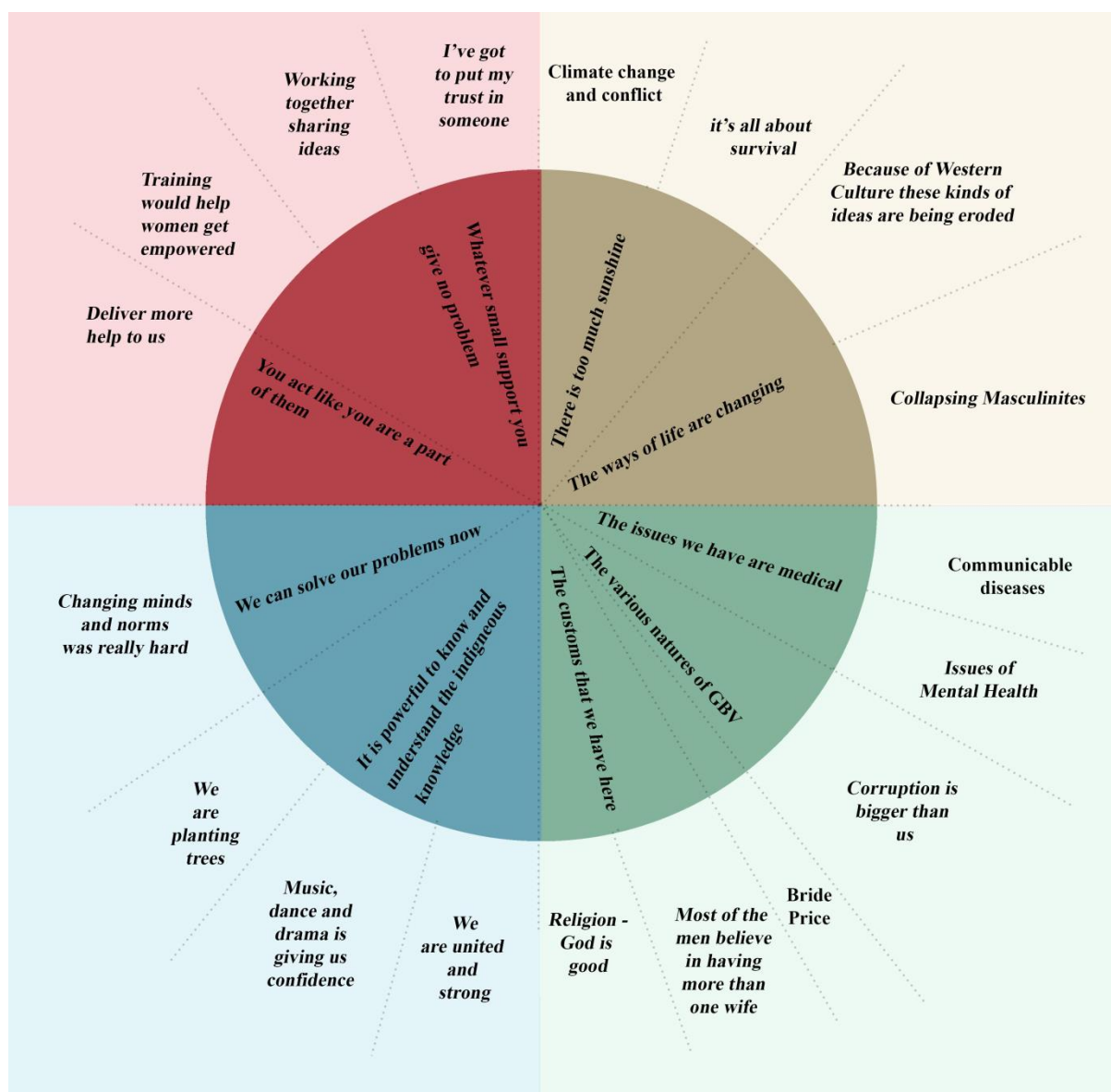


Figure 17 The themes and sub-themes presented in the findings of this study

Theme	Research Question	Chapter
There is too much sunshine	What are the intersections of oppression and privilege that impact the health and wellbeing of women in Teso?	4
The ways of life are changing	What are the intersections of oppression and privilege that impact the health and wellbeing of women in Teso?	4
The issues we have are medical	What are the intersections of oppression and privilege that impact the health and wellbeing of women in Teso?	5
The various natures of GBV	What are the intersections of oppression and privilege that impact the health and wellbeing of women in Teso?	5
The customs that we have here	What are the intersections of oppression and privilege that impact the health and wellbeing of women in Teso?	5
It's powerful to know and understand the IK	How do SEP affect these intersections and what could improve the impact of such projects?	6
We can solve our problems now	How do SEP affect these intersections and what could improve the impact of such projects?	6
You act like you are part of them	What are the implications of a researcher from the minority world researching within an indigenous community, and how can this study work towards decolonising research?	7
Whatever support you give, no problem!	What are the implications of a researcher from the minority world researching within an indigenous community, and how can this study work towards decolonising research?	7

Table 8 - The themes in relation to the research questions

Limitations

A main limitation was the need to use an interviewer translator for n43 of the unstructured interviews; various researchers discuss issues across cultural translation (Ginter 2002, Temple 1997). Ginter (2002) argues that being a translator means '*learning to read*' (p.27) across two different cultural paradigms. The translator I used has the same ethnicity as the Iteso people yet spent much of her formative years in the United Kingdom. Living between two cultures meant that '*learning to read*' was less problematic for her. Furthermore, sharing the same ethnicity and gender as most of the participants meant that a form of trust could be established.

A further issue was with the use of my gatekeepers who I felt had a particular agenda for my time with them as discussed previously. Despite this concern, I feel that my experiences still gave me an insight into life in the communities. I am also able to use a process of reflexion to examine this issue, and I do so in 8.7.

A final limitation, according to some researchers, is my minority world status whilst researching an Indigenous population (Porsanger 2004). However, through advocating relationality, reciprocity, rights, and respect throughout the research process, I feel that this study can provide an ethical framework for other minority world researchers. With respect to IK, our relationality requires that we transcend binaries of culture to create a more harmonious existence (Wilson 2020).

3.6 Ethics

Ethics is defined as, "*...the study of morality and the application of reason which sheds light on rules and principle, which is called ethical theories that ascertains the right and wrong for a situation.*" (Abdullah and Valentine 2009, p.93). Ethical approval was necessary as the research concerned the collection of primary data about and from human participants. It is vital that such research is based on morality and reason. Ethics approval was obtained from the NTU Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (Appendix 3.8). To ensure that I complied with the British Sociological Association, the ethical code of practice which guided this research, ethical concerns such as confidentiality, informed consent, and data storage were followed at every stage.

Informed Consent

Prior to being asked for permission to take part, the study participants were told about the reasons for the study and they were provided with details concerning their involvement. The participation leaflet (appendix 3.5) was translated into Ateso (Appendix 3.6) by my translator and read to the participants. Participants were also told about my visit and the purpose of my study before I arrived to prepare them in advance of the process. Many participants were unable to write their names and so used thumbprints to sign the consent forms. Those under 18 were provided with a different consent form to the adults so that their guardians were aware of their involvement. The consent forms are included as appendix 3.7.

Due to the sensitive nature of some of my research questions I had informed appropriate counsellors about my visit and provided their contact details to the participants in case they became upset or negatively affected by our discussions. I also ensured that the participants were aware of safe-guarding issues and that any reports of illegal activities would be reported to officials.

Confidentiality

Due to the probability that the participants could be identified from this research I ensured that details, such as names and contact information were not recorded. Such measures are in accordance with the British Sociological Association ethical guidelines. In my use of transcripts, the participants are given pseudonyms. During the data collection I used a confidential journal.

Privacy

All interviews took place away from other individuals to maintain confidentiality and privacy. There was only myself and my interpreter present during the interview. A separate room was not available for interviews as many of the projects were run under trees or in large, single rooms. However, participants were asked to move away from the group during any interviews.

Data storage

Only the research team had access to the data throughout the process. The team consisted of the researcher and supervisors. All data were stored as encrypted files on a private password protected laptop and NTU One-drive cloud storage was used to safely store data as back up.

Chapter Summary

The use of mixed qualitative methodology used in this study and why this methodology is appropriate to the research questions is detailed in this chapter. The chapter explains the methods used and how they relate to the principles of Afrocentrism which guides this study. This chapter justifies how the methods combine to provide rich, depth of research. It also argues that such methods are sensitive to an Indigenous population.

The chapter rejects a linear progression of research which is traditionally part of minority world research and argues instead for an approach which merges the binary between ontology and epistemology where all knowledge is relational. The chapter then details my thematic analysis and ethical considerations. The next chapter explores and discusses the findings relating to my research questions.

4: Presentation of Qualitative Findings 1

The themes and subthemes of this chapter are presented in Figure 18. They relate to issues at a community level which impact the lives of women and in turn, the communities in Teso. The themes exist in an entanglement and are fluid and interconnected. The dotted line on the circular diagram illustrates their interconnectivity and eschews the boundaries between themes. The themes are not static or a product of researcher aggregation but are a product of a boundary making exercise as discussed in 3.5.

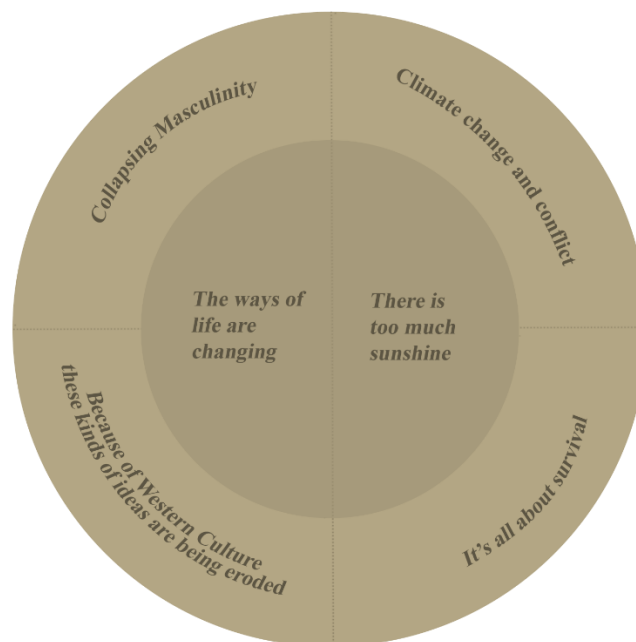


Figure 18 The themes within Chapter 4

4.1 There is too much sunshine

The first theme that I identified from my analysis was the issue of climate change. This issue was deemed by most participants to have serious implications for their health as it impacts many of the existing social determinants that are already affecting wellbeing within the participants' communities. Having visited these communities since 2016 I am reflexive in my autoethnography on my naivety in not realising the seriousness of this issue:

Participants do not always use the words 'climate change' but I can hear and see the reality of this crisis. Their land is dry, the crops are failing, and when it rains the water does not drain. My friends here tell me there used to be seasons; for example, rainy season and dry season but now there is just the one endless life of sunshine. It feels unjust that the consumer lifestyles we live in the minority world are causing implications for these Indigenous people that survive off the land. (Ngora, November 5th, 2022)

This entry is supported by the following photographs (Figures 19 and 20). Figure 19 was taken during a wedding in Ngora when we had to shelter and wait for the rain to pass. However, after the storm the water remained sitting on the ground. Jacinia (MIDA agriculture) asked me to take the second photo (Figure 20) to illustrate her failing cotton harvest. She expressed how concerned she was about the issue,

Life is tough because it is very hot. There is too much sunshine. The rain is not much here. The problem we are having now is the water, when the rain comes it doesn't go away, it doesn't drain. Look at my cotton!

Jacina's concerns here amplify the issue that the water does not drain due to the impenetrable, dry land. This is referred to further in my interview with Agnes (Tisai)

Sally – *Do you worry about climate change?*

Agnes – *Oh yes, oh yes, oh yes, oh yes! Because the weather it has gone to extremes, you are really having to work. The food dries in the garden because there is no water sometimes when there is water too much too much water also it damages the crops they are rotting, you know too much water it gets floods.*

Agnes's repetition of 'oh yes' augments her deep concern about this issue and the impact that it is having on her life and survival. Her response also shows that climate change is adding to her burden of work. At 60 Agnes is one of the older participants, hence her age, combined with the effects of climate change is combining to impact on her work burden. The extreme nature of the weather patterns is illustrated in figures 19 and 20 which illustrate the contrast between heavy rainfall flooding the land and severe drought.



Figure 19 Sheltering during a wedding ceremony whilst water sits on the land after the storm.



Figure 20 Look at my cotton!

The issue of the land being too dry due to climate change was also illustrated by MIDA tailoring participants during a drama presentation (figure 21). In their drama they constantly drew attention to how hard their traditional life of working the land was becoming. During the drama the women sat at their sewing machines whilst in the background a woman is trying to dig the land. She states, *I've been in the garden trying to dig but nothing is even motivating as it's just so dry and dusty as crops are drying up in the garden.*



Figure 21 A still from the drama presented by MIDA Tailoring.

The issue of the dry land was referred to by the actors several times during the drama. The participants were repeating this contrast between the benefits of the tailoring enterprise as opposed to the difficulty of working on the land.

Issues of climate change impact harvest and are bringing about changes to traditional ways of life. Lucy (MIDA Agriculture) states; *The land is small and affected by global warming. My maize is dying! [points to her field of dried corn]. We can't look at the land as a source of livelihood.* This concern is echoed by Florence (Tisai); *The problems are providing food because when there is no rain it's hard, a lack of food and salt and vegetables. Providing for the family is difficult.* Florence explains how maintaining a level of basic subsistence is difficult; it is recognised by all participants that it is the role of the woman in Teso to provide for the family (demonstrated in 4.2). Many of the participants also felt that the situation was worsening as Hellen (Tisai) explains; *The sun takes away our crops and dries up the land. The sunshine is becoming more.*

Two of the women sharing these accounts, Lucy (78) and Florence (55), are over the age of 50. As a result, both climate change and their intersection with mature age, compared to younger participants, are possibly impacting their ability to sustain themselves from the land. Florence also explains how her role as the primary provider for her family, combined with the challenges of climate change, is affecting her status. Additionally, living on Tisai Island introduces another layer of intersectional oppression, as there is no access to clean water.

Consequently, climate change exacerbates the already harsh environmental conditions they face.

It is not just changes to traditional patterns of human life that are impacted by climate change; the lives of non-humans are also changing. Climate change is resulting in more mosquitoes and issues of malaria, Charles (MIDA) explains, *Malaria is rampant in the community because of being close to water and climate change.*

Furthermore, during my time with communities, it was revealed how the drying swamps and lakes meant that hippos were not finding enough to eat and were unusually stealing sheep from the projects. In Figure 22, I was shown by the villagers how a hippo from a nearby swamp had broken into a sheep pen. The community were keen that a photo was taken to draw attention to the issue. Lucy (MIDA agriculture) explained, *it has been hard because hippos have killed my sheep and people they are jealous and can poison you.*



Figure 22. Being shown where hippos have broken into a sheep pen.

It can be inferred from Lucy's response that poverty caused by issues of climate change is causing jealousy. Climate change linked to conflict is a subtheme within this main theme.

Climate Change and Conflict

From interviews with members of the communities, climate change is resulting in disputes. Violence is evident within families, where women are left with a burden of work, as well as clashes between communities because of poverty caused by a lack of employment or crops. Issues pertaining to conflict were evident from some participant interviewees in Tisai who explained that the Karamoja tribes were stealing cattle,

There are no cows around as the Karamojong stole them. We now have to use our hands for digging. The sun has destroyed our groundnuts and sorghum, even cassava is expensive because of the weather.

Agnes (Tisai)

At the age of 60, Agnes experiences oppression through the intersecting factors of age, tribal status, poverty, environmental conditions, and socioeconomic status. These combined intersections intensify the challenges she faces. Joyce, the Indigenous leader who also works within Karamoja men, explained;

Karamoja youths can no longer work with the land because it is too dry. They have nothing to do and no way of making money, so they go back to their ways of stealing. We were making progress with this group, we were making good progress with sensitisation and some small economic projects but issues of covid and climate change have made the situation worse.

Joyce's use of the phrase 'with the land' expresses how the land was part of their tribe and their lived reality. Hellen (Tisai) reports how Karamoja had committed murder whilst stealing cattle. She repeats the words Joyce stated, 'nothing to do', which emphasises that issues of climate change have altered the lives of people who once worked on the land:

Helen- They come here when they have been drinking all day... nothing to do.

Sally – Does that cause problems?

Helen – Of course they do they are the ones who go stealing. You work hard they come and steal your goat, steal your cow.

Sally – Oh sorry.

Helen – The other night I heard they killed somebody, just our neighbour.

Helen's interview also draws attention to how an intersection of a lack of resources and increased drinking is also causing fighting in the communities.

During my time at the MIDA tailoring school the women presented me with their illustrations depicting issues in their community. I had not asked for the pictures, but it was something they felt they would like to share with me. The male project leader wrote the titles on for the women as most are illiterate. Figure 23 illustrates a man being arrested for stealing livestock alongside a youth fighting. The women's choice to draw these issues reveals that they are prevalent within communities. As I have detailed, participants explain that such theft and fighting is through desperation due to a lack of resources or work, alongside increased drinking impacted through climate change.:



Figure 23 Conflict caused by Climate Change

Many participants explained how climate change had added to the burden of women's work. A further illustration given to me by a participant illustrates a woman working on the land whilst caring for a child (Figure 24). The contrast between Figure 23 and Figure 24 draws our attention to the binary between women and men's lives within communities impacted by climate issues.



Figure 24 Women harvesting Sorghum.

Many participants addressed the issue that climate change is causing conflict in the home as climate change impacts women more than men, Anne (UN Peace Corp) explains,

You bring in the factors because when we have effects of climate change it affects women more than the men because we have the women will have to walk longer distance to look for fuel, to look for water.

Gender, as an intersection, contributes to the oppression faced by women, alongside factors such as age and life in a harsh environment. This challenge is further emphasized by Angela (47, MIDA agriculture), a more mature participant, who explains the difficulties in accessing water resources.

We try to dig and get down, but it dries up. We try and ration. During the dry season we have to walk and look for water. It's very far.

The distance to walk for water can cause further conflict. Alice (Counsellor) draws attention to how climate change is impacting GBV:

Yes, yes ... If you look at this maize if it doesn't do well, there will be famine. The wife will wake up in the morning 'husband I need some food, where is the food, I need some money 'what what'.

And also, there is no water. I have to walk three miles to look for water. When I come back, they say I went to cheat on a man, and I get beaten.

So many things contribute in terms of climate change is concerned, for example there's no firewood... the firewood. You see we don't have trees anymore. The environment it's been brought down.

This example shows that climate change is impacting a lack of food in the house, which is causing conflict, as well as accusations of cheating and resulting GBV. Alice also draws our attention to issues of the environment being destroyed. This shows that women in the communities are not only being affected by climate change, but their ways of life are causing damage to the climate. Hence, the next sub-theme relates to knowledge about issues of climate change.

Knowledge of Climate Change – *It's all about survival*

The second sub-theme concerns knowledge about climate change. Many participants expressed how communities were not aware of climate change or their role in working to prevent its impact. My interview with Anne (UN Peace Corp) explores how people in Teso lack knowledge about climate issues due to issues of poverty and immediate survival needs:

Sally - Do people here understand about climate change?

Anne- They don't understand their role in it. All they are looking at it because of poverty it's all about survival but then when you sell charcoal it's the money for the short time, but the impact will come later. Because right now they are growing foods, but they are not sure that the rains are going to come.

Understandably, people are more interested in short-term survival than measures to prevent the erosion of trees. Similarly, Scovia (Indigenous Group) discusses the issue of deforestation:

Scovia - I wish people would stop cutting tress down and start planting.

Sally – Have you noticed a difference over the years?

Scovia – Yes, more trees are being cut.

As a younger participant, Scovia (28) expresses concerns about climate issues, highlighting how age can intersect with worries about the future. This issue is clearly concerning the communities, as four women presented me with pictures of men cutting down trees as illustrated in figure 25 below. Interestingly, it is men cutting the trees in these images, yet the lack of trees impacts the lives of women who depend on the trees for shelter and to provide fuel. I share findings which further demonstrate women's connection with the land in a subsection within this chapter - *'The ways of life are changing'*.

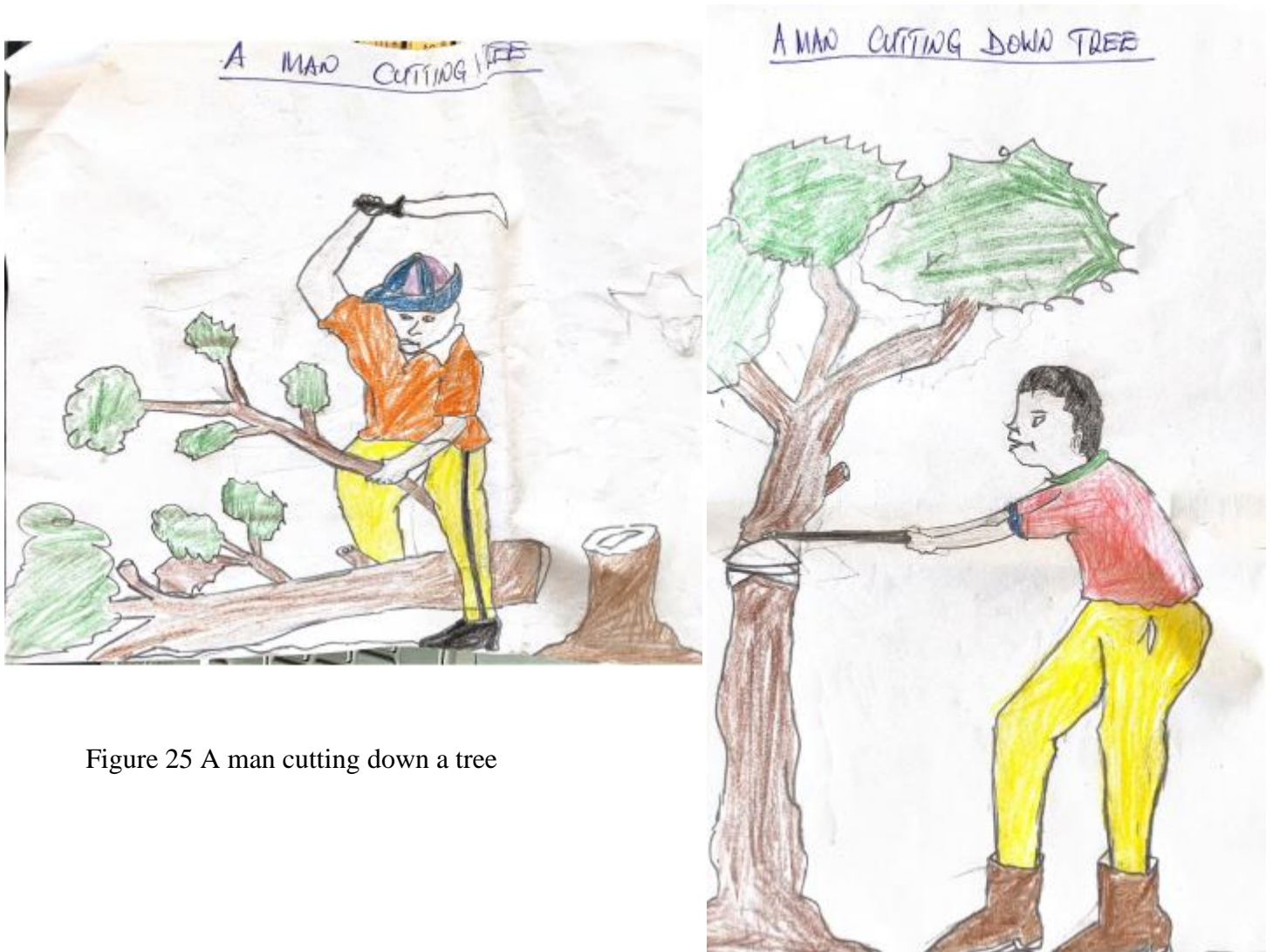


Figure 25 A man cutting down a tree

During a conversation with Margaret (Counsellor) she explains how Teso once had many more trees and used local knowledge to select which ones to cut:

Yes, we had a lot of trees... Nobody was destroying. Nobody was using, nobody was burning charcoal, and they were only using firewood and they'd identify the type of trees they'd cut and the trees would grow up again. Mango trees you can cut it and next year they'd be growing again so you'd not be destroying the environment.

Through this extract we see the importance of IK in protecting the environment. Joyce (Cultural Leader) elaborates on this issue and highlights the importance of replenishing trees once they have been cut:

I think generally to people who understand it, like me for example, everything is changing. The pattern of the weather is changing. You can see these days you used to say it is hot season. The days you say it is rainy season. It is not rainy season anymore. So, by now we should have a lot of rain, but the crops are dying. So now people are being told to stop using swamps that you should not be using them because they need water so that we have something. They know about that. That environment is very important, so important, protect your swamps, protect your trees, they know, they know. They know about it because we are taught daily on the radio. But of course, they don't listen much. Most cases they do what they want. So, they see evidence. Well, that is it. But sometimes its ignorance we don't see what is good. You think about what you want to get so cutting down the trees you think of firewood, but you don't replace you are told when you cut a tree you replace what is there. You plant two.

Joyce and Margaret are relatively more privileged in terms of their intersecting advantages in education and economic status compared to other participants. Both have completed higher education and have established careers, which possibly enables them the time away from issues of survival and knowledge to reflect more deeply on the issues of climate change.

Joyce's narrative reflects the concern that people know about climate change, but their short-term needs are such that they ignore messages from the radio. Joyce repeats the words '*they know*' and this draws attention to their knowledge in contrast to their lack of '*listening*'. '*Listening*' in this extract means not acting on the knowledge, '*they do what they want*'. This

perspective is also evident in an interview with David from Tisai, who acknowledges the reality of climate change but expresses a sense of inevitability about its impact: *Global warming concerns me, but there is nothing we can do. We have to take it as it is and adapt.* David is more focused on adapting to climate change rather than actively protecting the environment. The intersection of gender plays a role here, as, being an Itesot man, David does not face the same burdens of providing for the family as women do. This may explain why his concern for environmental protection is not as pronounced as that of the women. In fact, Alice (Counsellor) believes that addressing the climate emergency requires greater involvement from women.

However, if you also want them to participate in climate change what will happen is that you talk to the women. You tell them to speak to their children, they will involve their children about bringing about the change to the community, so women play a very important role in development...And government need to involve not only invite women but see that women are actively involved don't let them just sit quiet in meetings but let them express their roles and that is when you have some changes.

As we have seen from participants previous responses, climate change impacts women more than men in Teso as they are responsible for providing resources; hence Alice believes women need to be involved more in politics and community life to impact issues relating to climate change.

The theme and sub-themes concerning climate change reveal how this emergency interacts within assemblages that include issues of food scarcity resulting in poverty. The issue impacts on intersections of age, environment, socio-economic status and education. It impacts women more causing a greater burden of work and gendered violence. Although participants have some knowledge of the issue of climate change, their immediate needs of survival prevent them from acting to protect the environment. Linked to the theme of climate change is the theme of changes to a traditional way of life.

4.2 The ways of life are changing.

The second theme in this study relates to the changes to community life in Teso. According to the study participants, these changes are linked to population growth in the area, alongside the fracturing of men's roles. I reflect on this situation in my field notes:

When speaking to members of the communities they share how they are concerned about the issue of population growth and the impact it is having. They tell me it is worsening poverty in the area due to a lack of resources to go around. I can see the issues myself as I sat with the women on the mats there were many babies and children within the village, yet I could see that the hot weather has caused crops to die. Bore holes are few and those that exist have little water left in them, I can see there are few huts, but this is not enough space to shelter growing families and little land to farm. My friend Jesca pointed to her hut where she sleeps with four children. She shared her hopes that she will work hard and one day she will build a home with a metal roof. She has a small plot where she grows vegetables.

Ngora Village, November 6th, 2022

Emmanuel (Reverend) further discusses these issues:

Most families in Uganda produce a very big number of children even 12 children, 10 children and you look at the income status, no money. And you find that a person has only one small garden but he has 11 children so they are producing, this is a big issue a challenge to the community and that one will lead to school dropout, early marriages, that one will lead even poverty in that family.

Issues of population growth have led to further intersections of poverty and GBV. Population growth is also impacting traditional connections with the land as explained by Edna (journalist). Below, Edna draws attention to a gendered difference between men regarding and in monetary terms and women understanding that the land's importance regarding connections to the past, present, and future:

When I was younger, we had so much land. We were proud of it. It was part of us, like our blood. But with population growth it got smaller and smaller. People used to own 20 acres, more, but if they had 5 sons it shrinks. Then they sell it. It can't produce money like it used to or food for the family.

Men sell the land and buy a boda boda. They are everywhere. But for women they know the importance of the land. They are connected to it, it's their ancestral land. Our families are buried there. My Dad is there. I am frightened my brother will sell our family land. There is little we can do. My Mum and I have talked about moving Daddy. We feel we are with our families, dead and alive when we are on our land. Women know the value of that.

Women know the land is important. It's their key to survival, their links to the past, it's like part of them. They would never sell it. For me I will buy land when I have money. You can use it to feed your family, to build connections with the neighbours. It brings me peace to feel part of life and to be connected to my past. It's the women who know the importance, who keep it alive, our links with the past and the hopes for the future of their families. You take the women out of Teso and there is no Teso.

Being more privileged through her intersections of education and socio-economic status allows Edna to reflect on the historical, cultural, and socio-economic conditions that have affected Teso communities.

Edna's emphasis that the land is *part* of women reveals that there is no binary between women and nature whereas men see it as separate from them and hence something that can be sold. For Edna it is the women that keep alive the culture of the Iteso people and part of this culture lies in understanding the importance of the land for social connections within the community and ancestors and resources. The importance of ancestral land is also discussed with Joyce (Indigenous Leader):

The land belongs to the dead, that's the saying. The land is their land it is the dead people who left it for us, so we use it till we also die then you also leave it for the next generation, so we women don't sell the land now.

However, capitalism and population growth mean that the land is no longer seen as a way of sustaining life. Robert (Director of MIDA) further expounds on these issues:

Robert – Before, most things were locally grown. You wouldn't think of buying sauces or posho. Most food stuff was local, and gardens produced everything. But because of population density and climate change and gardens are not productive, people are looking for ways of livelihood at homes and things have changed. It's changed the way things are done.

Sally – Why do you think things have changed?

Robert: Before people used local drugs and there were no diseases. There was virtually little use for money. But now everything is monetary.

Here, we can see that Robert believes that changes in community life were brought about by the impact of modernisation. Modernisation is linked to the colonialism and the continued influence of the minority world. This is discussed further in the next sub-theme relating to changes in ways of life, the impact of the minority world and colonialism.

Because of the Western culture those kind of ideas are being kind of eroded

Many of the participants feel that their former values are being extinguished. Such values are based on aspects of communitarianism that are integral to Teso culture. According to Albina (Indigenous Women) the lack of communitarianism in the form of social networks is impacting health,

When you look at the health aspects people are affected in all areas of their lives. Mentally they are not healthy, physically they are not healthy. Socially they are not healthy because their social networks are not there anymore, and they even don't feel comfortable to reach out because they feel they can't fit in. So, their health is affected in all spheres.

Joyce (Indigenous Women) explains how she wants to reintroduce former communitarian values within the enterprise projects,

Joyce - We are trying to bring back that, but we can only do it with the Indigenous women. But you will never ever tell a learned person to do it. They will not accept. They will not. They are even fighting it. They say we are bringing back the wilderness again.

Sally - So have you had abuse about what you are doing?

Joyce - Yes yes.

Sally - Sorry.

Joyce - So that is it. From people who are learned.

Sally - Yet your knowledge is powerful, isn't it?

Joyce- Yes, and then even the church. Some churches have the resistance they don't want to do such things. They call it ignorance...it is so many names. To them it is very much bad. For me I look at it that education has changed people. As I told you the educated, they're educated there and there is a big gap between the educated and the Indigenous. Some of them are there in the trading centres. Their thinking and there way of doing things is quite different from ours. It is quite different from ours mmm. Education is one of the causes.

Joyce's words reveal a binary between IK and those she regards as educated. For Joyce, the educated exist in the trading centres. These centres are small business centres consisting of retail and other forms of commerce. In this way, the centres reflect capitalism. She refers to IK as being perceived as '*the wilderness*', which provides a binary to the '*learned*'. Notions of the wilderness has connotations of colonialism and the eschewing binaries that helped to establish white, male supremacy during this period such as white/ black, educated/ ignorant, civilisation/ wilderness, and human/ nature. Joyce also refers to some Christian churches standing in opposition to Indigenous values. The growth of Christianity is also a product of colonialism in SSA. In these ways it is possible to see how issues of colonialism have impacted the ways of life in Teso. Charles (Football Coach/ Teacher) highlights these issues further below:

...the kind of life in Africa has always been the life of being together, 'come and we go to the garden to dig together, we will drink alcohol together as a team, we'll go and hunt together as a team' but because of the Western culture those kind of ideas are being kind of eroded out but I think and believe that they are really key and they are really important if Africa is to grow. Like last time we used to have a project where we could provide them with something for porridge during covid times so they could fetch firewood together, fetch water together they come and have their meal together then they go to the football. But that now I'm also challenged I couldn't find resources again to help them with food. But I am thinking because we are now coming back again to a holiday, but I am thinking of making them contribute some money. I am thinking if they could contribute maybe 1 thousand, 1 thousand maybe we could collect the money together and buy something. We are also thinking that we don't really want to think that every time someone should come and help us. Don't wait for a Mzungu to come and help us. We should actually think of our own way to help ourselves.

The intersections of gender, education, and relative economic privilege afford Charles the opportunity to develop knowledge and take action to support his community. His gender allows him to assume a leadership position, while women in Teso frequently face restrictions on leadership roles due to the combined effects of gender and educational disparities. In the excerpt Charles highlights the importance of communitarianism in terms of development and how he believes working together can lead to self-reliance rather than dependency on those from the minority world. His words also demonstrate his concern that communitarian values are being eroded because of the influence of '*Western Culture*'.

Layer (MIDA Tailoring) also reflected on communitarianism,

Nowadays everything is about money. If you don't make money, you can't plant much. Most things now because of globalisation you acquire through the exchange of money. You work in someone's garden, and you are paid for your labour. You sell your labour.

Evidently, the move to a market economy from a more communitarian existence has impacted former cultural values of communitarianism. Layer's repetition of the word '*money*' in this extract emphasises the impact of a capitalist monetary system.

In my field notes I reflect on the concept of togetherness and its links to Ubuntu in relation to a conversation with Geoffrey, a friend who was driving me:

I asked him if the communitarian concept Ubuntu meant anything to him He shared that within his community, in a district of Kampala, his neighbours help each other in times of need. As we drove into Ngora (Teso), Geoffrey slowed down and exclaimed 'Look, Ubuntu in action! Togetherness! Take a photo!' as we saw a community farming together. Such sights were common this time of year in Teso, but I also saw the contrast between 'togetherness' and the men who spent their days at the trading centre playing Ludo, cards and drinking.

Field Notes 21st April 2023

Figure 26 is the photo I took.



Figure 26 Togetherness in Ngora

During a further exchange Alice (Counsellor), and Christine (Teacher) teach me the Ateso term, pronunciation, and importance of 'togetherness',

Alice - Yes for us we say aimorikikina, it is togetherness.

Sally- Ai-mor-ik-ikina

Christine - Correct

Alice- Yes

Christine- That's nice.

Sally - Do the women believe in it think it's important?

Christine- Yes.

Alice - Christine comes to cook for me I am not well, or I help her, aimorikikina

Sally - Do you think it was the conflicts that stopped that way of life? The population growth, the conflict, the poverty?

Alice – Men now come to trading centre to look for work but there is none there, the population is too high, the characters have changed, that level of trust has gone away from us.

Sally -So there is less aimorikikina? Is it the influence of the West, do they want lifestyles like those in my country?

Christine– Yes, globalisation and learning. They learn about a different way, and they want to leave their own ways behind. But it's not working there is nothing to do.

The issue of the influence of education and globalisation, according to Christine and Alice, have changed former ways of life. This is further emphasised by Edna (journalist) *The ways of life are changing because of the service industry's growth, trading centres and boda bodas*. However, these changes have resulted in a chasm as the growing population means there is little work for men available within the trading centres. The assemblage of education or minority world knowledge and globalisation, alongside factors causing a rising population and a lack of men's employment has resulted in changes to traditional ways of life. The issue of kmen's work is the final sub-theme within this main theme.

Collapsing masculinities

Most of the participants identified that *Men have neglected families* Tino (Tisai), *Women are fending for families* Betty (Indigenous Group) and *the men have left families to women* Rosemary (Indigenous Group). The acknowledgment among participants that men were not participating in work or helping to resource for their families is clear in the following exchange with Rose (MIDA Tailoring):

Rose – We do a lot of the work, the women move.

Sally – Why don't the men move?

Rose – Because it is too hot.

Sally- Too hot? [laughs]

Rose – For them yes, they feel it stops them moving and it is far [she laughs].

Sally – Do you think the men are lazy? [laughs]

Rose – For us we shall go... yes they are lazy ...it's the ladies that work

Rose, aged 23, and Rosemary, 18, demonstrate that despite their youth, they have developed a sense of ennui concerning men's lack of employment. As a tailor, Rose possesses specialized skills, yet this intersection still contributes to her burden of labour in the context of gender imbalances. The issue of men not helping with the burden of work was also made clear during the drama piece delivered by MIDA tailoring (figure 27):



Figure 27 MIDA drama showing difficulties in community

At the side of the sewing school a woman digs the soil.

Teacher: Greetings Class!

Student: The crops aren't doing so well the situation is hard. Am tired of digging in this home even without help from the husband here.

It is possible to see in the images taken from the drama there is a marked absence of men. Some of the participants told me that the men often went fishing leaving the women for days at a time; *my husband has gone to look for work. He is fishing* (Sarah, MIDA tailoring) and *I'm alone. My sons have gone to look for money where they catch fish. Alone with his wife, alone with my son's wife.* (Rose, MIDA agriculture). I reflect on this in my field notes:

I spoke with Robert (the founder of MIDA) about where the men were in the villages. I had noticed that there were very few around. He told me most of them were fishing. He explained that they leave their families to make money catching fish. However, they often return with nothing as they sell the fish and spend the money on alcohol. Most don't return home for many days.

MIDA Villages 28th November 2022

This issue was also revealed in the pictures given to me by the MIDA agricultural group which highlight issues in their community (Figure 28):



Figure 28 Men spending their time fishing

The issue concerning men's work is apparent in my conversation with Angela (MIDA Agriculture),

Angela - Men won't. They fear that it is too much work, too much working [we laugh].

I'm trying to work so hard eh so that the man will also become happy to see the things that I am rearing... changing the family. They are going to get what... get interest... can see what I'm rearing then he'll start to work!

Sally - Are you setting an example?

Angela – Yes, yes!

The intersections of marriage and family responsibility motivate Angela to work harder. Angela is attempting to deterritorialise men's unwillingness to work by drawing attention to her own ethic of hard work. Sarah (MIDA Agriculture) explains that men leave the work to women, preferring to spend their time at the trading centres:

Mmm, they do a lot of work at home. Leaving the husbands go to trading centres since morning up till sunset they go there, they have leisure time, they play cards, they play ludo, they play, they take alcohol ...the moment the husband saw that the woman has started some small business like selling the mana, selling tomatoes, selling even some groundnut they start relaxing.

It is possible to see the binary between the work of women and the 'leisure time' spent by men. Leisure time is also referred to by Mary (Tisai). Mary's laughter in this extract shows her resignation to the situation which she recognises as unfair due to the women's burden of work.

Sally – And why aren't there many men involved?

Mary– Men? Ha ha ... most of them don't like moving in a group, although we have a few in the group. So, they think that's women's work! So sometimes they leave us in the garden alone ...they plough just... but then the weeding and the harvest is mostly done by the women. And now the women get touched you know... if you don't get food enough in your home how will you feed your family? That's how they get encouraged.

Sally – Do you think women work a lot harder than men?

Mary – Oh yes, they do they do [laughs].

Sally – What's stopping men working so hard?

Mary – They prefer leisure time.

Sally – Leisure time? [laughs] what do they do they do with their leisure time?

Mary – They go drinking.

Mary highlights how the intersection of being responsible for a family's well-being adds to the burden of women's work. In contrast, the intersection of gender allows men the opportunity to spend their leisure time.

Mary's recognition that men don't like *moving* as a group like the women draws attention to the concept that men prefer to live a more individualistic lifestyle which involves drinking. Issues of men, particularly male youths drinking, were highlighted in drawings presented to me by MIDA tailoring participants. The drawings also illustrate the popular *leisure time* activity of playing cards (Figure 29):



Figure 29 Illustrations given to me from MIDA tailoring showing issues of concern in their community.

The illustrations feature sound systems. In my field notes from 21st April 2023 I noted how

As the evening starts to draw in, music from sound systems starts to blare louder at the trading centres; men stand around drinking and playing cards listening to the music. The popular artists are Ugandans who have risen from poverty; Bobi Wine and Eddy Kenzo. Many of the men also wear football tops.

I also noted how men spend leisure time in my autoethnography from 7th November 2022 in the following excerpt. The word Kraal is the local definition of the area in the market where farm animals are sold.

We set off to the Kraal early in the morning to purchase sheep for the Indigenous women. We passed by the trading centres at 6.30am and already men were there drinking and playing cards and Ludo. The religious leader and friends, including my friend Margaret who I was staying with, did not want me to visit the kraal as it was not deemed appropriate for a woman to be there, and certainly not a Mzungu woman – it was a man's place. Margaret woke me at 5.00am and explained that she'd been worried all night, 'Sally, do you really think you should be going?' she questioned. Was I disrespecting cultural norms by insisting on visiting? My desire to visit the kraal was fuelled by a need to share the story of how sheep were purchased and delivered to the women with my donors from the UK. Back in the UK, I had always been aware that it was the men purchasing the sheep. I wanted to see for myself the cost, the bargaining, and the women's reactions when they received the animals.

Arriving at the market in Bukedea, in which the Kraal was situated, the gender divide was evident the women were on one side of the vast market selling household resources, including brooms, pots and pans, groceries, alongside food such as small, dried fish, grasshoppers and much more besides, whereas the kraal was the preserve of the men. I was told to hide, as my gender, alongside the colour of my skin was making the prices of the sheep rise. I felt very conspicuous and threatened by the presence of so many men alongside large cattle with huge horns often charging across paths. I could hear the acknowledgement of 'Mzungu' everywhere I walked. 'Marry me Mzungu!' one man shouted, 'How many cows?' I replied, which caused some laughter!

My autoethnography reveals the gendered nature of the selling of goods and the gendered expectations pertaining to physical spaces and behaviour in Bukedea. In my insistence on visiting, I was deterritorialising the expected gender norms, although I was also aware that I was transgressing Afrocentric values as I was not respecting cultural expectations regarding the

division of gendered roles. The gendered divisions are evident in the photographs taken alongside my field notes (figures 30 - 33).



Figure 30 A woman sells dried fish at Bukudea Market



Figure 31 Women buy and sell groceries at Bukudea Market



Figure 32 Long-horned cattle sold by men at the kraal.



Figure 33 Buying sheep at the Kraal

The reason for the men selling the livestock is accounted for by Agnes (Indigenous Women Group):

In fact, here, even if I owned my sheep or chicken the husband can come and pick it and go to sale. I shall not ask him why he picked and sold it the item the chicken or the sheep and when he sells it, he can remain to the market, drinking or even sleep out without coming back home and I'm not allowed to ask him why and where he's been. And sometimes when it's time for agriculture he does not contribute and I'm not allowed as a wife even a mother of his children to do agriculture without asking him, for permission to open that land.

Agnes's wellbeing and autonomy may be influenced by the intersecting factors of her age (60), marital status, and role as a mother. Men believe in their right to sell the livestock due to patriarchal norms, however, they do not contribute to work within the family or community. Christine (Teacher) and Emmanuel (Reverend) discuss how men's lack of motivation to work is due to 'collapsing masculinities' brought about by women's work responsibilities merging with those that were once the domain of men:

Christine - We are not in a traditional society when men were the bread winners and women were only on the receiving end and their work was to do housework in the home, taking care of the children, you know cleaning the home, you know fetching the water, that was the work of women.

Emmanuel - And going to the garden.

Christine- And men, their role was to provide for the family.

Emmanuel – For the family.

Christine- Pay school fees, pay medical bills, manage the farms, they were the ones who owned the land, all the resources were owned by the men and the women were just like helpers at home. So empowering women now is bringing in the the...what you call now collapsing masculinities. Men are now taking the back seats and they are leaving the women alone.

From the findings it is evident that an evolving assemblage involving population growth, shrinking land, educational knowledge, and aspirations derived from the minority world, intersects with concepts of patriarchy and capitalism. Such an assemblage has led to a growing binary between men and women's roles in Teso. Alongside these issues the impact of climate change has amplified the pre-existing social determinants that negatively impact women's

health in this region. The next chapter will provide findings in relation to issues that impact the participants at an individual level.

5: Presentation of Qualitative Findings 2

The previous chapter examined the themes relating to climate change and the erosion of traditional norms, which impact life at a community level. In contrast the themes detailed in this chapter relate to issues that are more likely to impact the participants at an individual level; albeit this study recognises the interrelation of individual and community health. The themes identified through ethnographic and autoethnographic research, interviews, and bricolage are *The issues we have now are medical*, *The various natures of gender-based violence*, and *The customs that we have here*. The themes are represented in figure 34. As previously discussed, the dashed line represents the concept that the themes are interrelated and in a constant state of flux.



Figure 34 Presentation of Qualitative Findings 2

5.1 The issues we have now are medical

The third theme that I identified from my analysis was the medical concerns of my participants. These matters were two-fold; firstly, the lack of health facilities and resources to combat illness and disease, and secondly the impact of the diseases on individual and community health. The sparsity of health centres is referred to by Grace (Tisai):

Grace – The issues we have now are medical. The problems we are having here are there are no health centres. The problems are no health centre or hospitals.

Sally - What problems do people have because there are no health centres?

Grace - When someone falls sick, they have to pass through the water to the other side and sometimes people they die. It's difficult. Some children they are trying to get to the other side and they die. Ladies with a child who falls sick it's hard to help that child. When she wants to give birth in that family the life is hard. There are no mosquito nets and mosquitoes are many.

The intersectionality of a harsh environment and the demands of motherhood creates unique challenges that significantly impact women's health and wellbeing. This extract refers to the difficulty of those living on Tisai Island to access to a health centre. The use of transport is illustrated in figures 35 and 36 draw attention to the remoteness of this community. During my time with this community, I donated money to a woman who needed to travel from the island by canoe to seek healthcare for her daughter. Without my donation I believe that the girl would have continued to suffer. I discuss the ethics of this donation in 8.7. I document the incident in my field notes from 1st November 2022, stating,

A woman holding her daughter, who looked no older than four, was waiting for me in the island's thatched church where we were presented with lunch. She showed me her daughter's eyes which were barely open, infected, and weeping. She told me she desperately needed to travel across to the mainland but had no funds to reach the hospital.



Figure 35 Canoes provide the only access to the island of Tisai



Figure 36 Patients have to traverse the ‘swamp’.

It is also clear that a lack of mosquito nets is causing health problems within communities, and this further relates to the intersections of health and resources. The issue of health centres being inaccessible is also reflected in this quote by David (Tisai).

If you are sick, there’s no way to get money. The hospital is very far. It costs 10 000 and a long time to get a boat and a boda to get to hospital.

Healthcare is clearly impacted by a lack of funding for basic transport. A ‘boda’ is a motorbike taxi which is common and found throughout Uganda. In my field notes from 29th October 2022, I also refer to the use of bodas to transport patients:

A church leader arranged for a boda to transport an ill, heavily pregnant woman to a health centre. It is difficult to see the woman sat uncomfortably on the back of the bike travel across the very rough terrain.

The difficulty of this form of travel for an unwell person is highlighted in my field notes but

can also be seen in figure 37 below, which illustrates the roads in her village:



Figure 37 A typical road in Ngora used by Boda Bodas to travel to health facilities.

Similarly, I reflect:

I was taken to a hut village in the bush this evening with a church leader to visit an elderly woman suffering from advanced AIDS. Her family had requested the leader visit to pray with her. She had lost the ability to walk and was lying awkwardly and visibly in pain on a thin mattress in a hut where she lives with her daughter and three grandchildren. Two further mattresses lie adjacent to the walls. These beds have no mosquito nets. The woman needs to visit a hospital but there is no means of transportation. The church leader explains he will return tomorrow with help to get her into his car.

November 4th, 2022, Aterai Village

This reflection shows how faith is important to communities when there is little medical comfort.

My field notes indicate that it is not just the distance to the health centres but also the inaccessibility of the terrain which causes issues. Again, a lack of mosquito nets is highlighted in my field notes. The inaccessibility of a health centre is echoed by Jesca (MIDA tailoring)

along with the issue of a scarceness of available drugs, *The first problem there is no hospital in the community. There are problems of getting clean water. When they go to the government health facilities there are not drugs.* This issue is further reinforced by Hellen (Tisai) who explains *‘The hospital is far when you get sick there is a lot of suffering’*. The adjective *‘suffering’* draws attention to the harsh conditions. Margaret (Nurse) further highlights the intersection between health and poverty:

Health has not improved very much because some of these women and the children are living in absolute poverty. There are so many women facing the challenge of domestic health. And sometimes you find that the health centre is very far from the community and if it is there it is expensive so it’s not until you have money that you can manage yourself. So, if you say ‘I’m just going to the health centre’ you might not get better.

The irony that visiting a health centre does not always improve health relates to Jesca’s example of the insufficiency of medicine in government health centres. Her use of the words *‘absolute poverty’* captures a sense of desperation. These narratives reveal interconnecting health issues relating to human and non-human entities. Women’s health is impacted by a lack of health centres, the harsh physical environment which in turn impacts travel, and a lack of resources caused by poverty.

This first theme encapsulates two sub-themes: communicable diseases and mental health. An exploration of these sub-themes is presented in the following sections.

Communicable Diseases – *One of the Biggest Challenges*

Communicable diseases are defined by WHO (2023) as diseases, that are caused by bacteria, viruses and parasites that can be spread, directly or indirectly, from one person to another. This section draws attention to how these diseases are related to each other but also to social determinants such as poverty. The two communicable diseases that participants referred to the most frequently were Malaria and HIV/AIDs.

Malaria

Most of the study participants explained how malaria is one of the most serious issues affecting health in their communities. Charles (football coach/teacher), explains,

And then the actual biggest issue that is actually affecting the attendance of the kids at school is malaria. Most of the kids who are absent from school complain that they are sick from malaria, they have a headache and fever so one of the biggest challenges actually is malarial infections. It's actually a big challenge to them.

Charles repeats the word *challenge* which draws out attention to how Malarial infections impact school attendance which will impact children's academic achievement. As highlighted in the previous section there is an issue of a lack of mosquito nets. Robert (Tisai) explains, *There are no mosquito nets and mosquitoes are many.* This issue is also highlighted by Robert (MIDA) *Malaria is rampant in the community because of being close to water and climate change.* These findings illustrate how malaria is interrelated with the social determinants of poverty, climate change, and the environment.

HIV/AIDS

Malaria also intersects with HIV/AIDs as illustrated in this narrative by Christine (Counsellor):

When you have HIV one of the things we have under positive living is you're supposed to sleep under a mosquito net. There are certain times when we have to ask donors to help us with mosquito nets because they are normally few. We target the pregnant women because malaria is a killer and if you don't have a mosquito net and you fall very sick, and you get malaria and already have HIV you may not make it because we all know what malaria is here. But our target is mainly the pregnant women. If you get any money, if you've sold your chicken, if there's something, please can you buy a net? Can you sleep under a mosquito net to prevent yourself from that?

This extract reveals the importance of preventing malaria and the vital importance of nets is enforced by Christine through her repetition the words '*if there's...*' and her emphasis and repeated demand to buy a net. This extract reveals that malaria can intersect with being HIV positive, and/or pregnant and lead to mortality. The issue of HIV/AIDs was referred to by many participants as being a severe and significant health concern in their communities. Again, problems of transport make this condition worse, *People are infected with HIV and AIDS and it is too far to get medicine. There is nowhere to get money. Not transport so you just give up. We live a life of suffering.* (Mary, Tisai). The use of the terms '*give up*' and '*suffering*' draw attention to the feeling of defeat within communities regarding health resources. The verb

'suffering' is used by other participants when describing issues of health. The concept of 'suffering' is mirrored in Jacinia's (MIDA agriculture) response.

Those who are HIV positive are marginalised in society they suffer from stigma, you live here with people who fail to come out and seek for medical help. So, they feel the marginalisation and they die because of stigma. Their own families do not support them in their situation.

Distress is worsened by issues of stigma around HIV/AIDs. It appears to be stigma that can cause mortality as much as the disease itself. Stigma is also highlighted by Alice (GBV Counsellor/ Chair of GBV shelter); *The group tries to support them, but you cannot so much work to fight stigma in the community.*

HIV/ AIDs intersect with issues of alcohol as highlighted by many participants, Layer (MIDA Tailoring) explains; *When people are drunk, like you end up saying sorry, you don't know that person is infected. You go with someone with HIV status you don't know.*

Alcohol is also associated with issues of taking medication. Robert (Director of MIDA) explains how alcoholism causes parents to neglect the wellbeing of their children who need to antiretroviral therapy (ART):

It isn't the issue of HIV drugs it is the issue of taking them well. It is worse for children as they depend on others, and many are drinking and didn't care for the children well. Children are depending on adults.

Taking ART is an issue raised by many participants. Christine (Counsellor) explains,

Now, since the drugs are strong you find that many people in their household have challenges of food. Because of the poor harvests and maybe they have very small house income and in the process some of them fear to take their drugs. When they don't take their drugs their viral load goes high, if they've got any post infections that means they are likely to die.

Taking ART is determined by having food in the house, which in turn is dependent on harvests which are impacted by climate issues. From these responses it is possible to see how communicable diseases are part of an assemblage consisting of climate change and poverty in addition to related issues of alcoholism and a harsh environment.

The intersectional issues of HIV/AIDS, poverty, alcoholism, and parenthood converge to limit participants' wellbeing. For some participants, these intersecting challenges contribute to suffering and a pervasive sense of despair, placing significant strain on their mental health.

According to the participants' responses this distress not only exacerbates feelings of hopelessness but also impacts their resilience and ability to cope with daily life.

Issues of Mental Health

According to WHO (2023) Mental health disorders include psychosocial conditions as well as states of distress, impairment in behaviour, or risk of self-harm. The participants in this study referred to issues of mental health as: *stress, psychologically tortured, trauma, psychological issues, and depression*. This study reveals that these psychological states are impacted by a multitude of social-cultural issues.

Charles (teacher/ football coach) states:

I realise that many of them have psychological challenges and when I get deep into this it is because of the domestic violence and things that happen back at home. So, you find a kid comes to school but yesterday's night maybe the father was beating up the mother ...

Witnessing gender-based violence is leading to mental health disorders for the girls in the football team and impacts women throughout Teso communities. Lucy (MIDA agriculture) provides this account:

They are psychologically tortured, and they even have physical harm on them, they have sexual violence where somebody where the husband just comes, when he's supposed to go no, he just wants to have sex with you by force, forcing you into the activity and it traumatises many women, especially the women because it they are the ones who are more vulnerable. Some of them have been divorced, shipped away from their homes and they are being asked to pay back the dowry, you pay back my dowry because you are sick.

In this narrative, issues of mental health caused by GBV lead to further trauma such as being forced out of a home and being asked to return money paid as bride-price. Bride-price was highlighted by some participants as being a key driver of mental health issues; Emmanuel (Reverend) and Christine (Teacher) explained this to me during a conversation we had within the compound where I was staying:

Emmanuel: When a child is married early her health is affected. She's affected mentally, physically, economically, socially...

Emmanuel: ...psychologically... everything.

Christine: Everything about her is affected.

The cultural norm of bride-price alongside poverty is leading to psychological distress for women and girls (issues pertaining to bride price are presented later in this chapter). This situation is exacerbated through norms which according to Angela (MIDA tailoring), regarding issues of mental health, *even the culture doesn't take it seriously*.

According to Margaret (Indigenous Group) the situation of women's mental health is aggregated by men's drinking as *there is no peace in the home*. These issues of trauma due to issues within the home, manifest physically as Christine (Teacher) details:

Many women are having many issues to do with the ulcers, they are having hypertension, yes, they are having stress. We have so many cases of mental disorders these days because of such challenges in homes.

Issues of mental health become a cycle of depression and illness as Tino (Tisai) explains; *Somebody gets into depression some of them get more and more sick. Yes.* From these findings, issues of mental health are linked within intersections of gender, poverty, cultural norms, family support, and GBV; furthermore, they are compounded by men's drinking. Women's mental health disorders impact education, community, and family life.

5.2 The various natures of gender-based violence

The next theme concerns GBV. It is important to point out that issues of GBV have been revealed throughout the themes discussed so far as they interrelate with issues of climate change, changes to traditional ways of life, and medical needs. As previously discussed, the intersections that shape the lives of women in Teso exist in flux and are relational. However, many participants drew attention to issues of GBV, hence GBV exists as a distinct theme. Many participants shared how physical violence against women intersects with poverty and men's fractured roles, which was discussed in the previous chapter. This is evident within my discussion with Charles (MIDA agriculture)

Sally – Why do you think other men aren't joining MIDA?

Charles – Many are drunkards. Some do bad things. They can't eh move together with MIDA, they do bad things.

Sally – What sort of bad things?

Charles – They fight, they hurt the women, they get drunk, they can rape women and girls.

Sally – Why are they doing that?

Charles – They think it is their right to...they are frustrated. There is no work, no money, no food; we were always looking for food, looking for what to cook, looking for salt.

In this interaction Charles shares his thoughts on patriarchy (men thinking it is their right to rape women), alongside issues of drink and poverty. Similar to previous findings which set men's individualistic nature against the more communitarian ethics of the women participants, Charles explains that men '*can't move together*'. This view is also highlighted by Florence (Tisai) *Men don't care about being part of groups. They just care about themselves. Men would spend the money on drinking. They drink too much.*

The issue of poverty and transference of frustration due to men's inability to provide is also highlighted by Christine (HIV counsellor):

Sally - Do you think male behaviour concerning GBV has got worse over the years?

Christine - It has always been there but to some extent with the level of poverty. You know men, when they see that they are not able to provide they transfer their annoyance. And in that process women are really tortured. ... If you don't do the way he wants when he goes to take alcohol he comes back and beats you, abuses you, and many African women rarely leave their homes because of children. They will accept to suffer but not leave the children...And because now in the village the men started drinking more and more.

Again, an assemblage of poverty, expectations, and alcohol intersect and cause violence. Christine explains that it is the concern of leaving their children which keeps women in their homes and their determination '*to try their best*'. The emotional need to care for children serves to keep women in relationships where they are exploited through work and subjected to violence, often caused through alcohol intake. My interview with Scovia (Indigenous Group) also reveals a correlation between violence and alcoholism:

Scovia - There was less violence when I was younger as it is now. Violence in the families never used to be. It is now.

Sally – What do you think has caused the violence?

Scovia - Drunkenness in the families and alcoholism has caused the violence. Lack of sharing and information and knowledge in the families and of course poverty is one of the key causes of violence.

Similarly, during the drama performed by MIDA tailoring the women demonstrate how they organise the girls in their family to buy food quickly before their father's return (figure 38). During my conversation with the women after the drama, the reason for this quick expenditure is so that the father is happy that food is prepared but also so that he does not seize the money for drink:

Student – I want you to go and buy silver fish at the place of the old woman, Isigala, that one who fashion-trimmed her hair. Go and buy fish at 500 and tomatoes at 100. Don't go and waste much time there. Don't delay my child you need to hurry up.

[In the background another tailor calls her daughter to go to market and buy food for dinner]

Student– The day has been so blessed. I don't know how it really would have been. My husband is just only concerned about drinking; he does not know how the family feeds. This child I've sent might delay and the father will cause trouble if the food isn't ready then.



Figure 38 A still from MIDA drama

Similar issues are highlighted by Sarah (MIDA tailoring)

The men just go drinking in the centres, playing cards, and spending time with men at the centres. But when it comes to the home it falls on the woman. She's the one to fetch water, the one to cook; she's the one to look for the food to cook. The man will say he doesn't have money, and he'll go to the centre to play cards then he comes back in the evening and if there's nothing to eat, he'll come and beat you when he has not provided food for you to cook at home. That happens.

Issues of gender-based violence intersect with men's leisure time at the trading centres. This extract also evidences the issue of women's burden of work compared to men's, demonstrating issues of economic violence which intersects with physical violence when women earn money or receive a loan. This is highlighted by both Rose (MIDA agriculture) and Angela (MIDA tailoring):

Sometimes men get jealous. Men get jealous especially when the women have money. Many of our men like to drink alcohol. So, when they see the women having the money, they want the women to give them the money. If the woman doesn't give them the money some of them are beaten. GBV again comes in. (Rose)

Yes, so, from there they got a loan. When you get a loan, you are beginning. They get a loan to start small businesses, but some men are ending up and grab that money from women and they remain without doing that. That's violence! (Angela)

Financial issues are driving gender-based violence (GBV) within relationships, with the intersection of marital status and women's economic roles intensifying the violence experienced by participants. As women increasingly assume responsibilities traditionally held by men, this shift contributes to heightened tensions and conflict, amplifying the risk of violence in their lives. I spoke to Christine (Teacher) and Emmanuel (Reverend) about these issues during my time living at the compound in Kumi:

Christine - Because now they feel, the women have taken up their roles.

Emmanuel – Their roles

Christine - And they are not taking it in good faith then they are not appreciating that the women are helping them to do their roles.

Emmanuel- To do their roles.

Christine - Instead it is like the women are not respecting them. The money should come from the pocket of the man to the woman not from the woman to the man (laughs). So that is what the challenge is now.

So that means now in our society right now, here in Teso, what is I see is the need for men to be supported to appreciate living with empowered women. A woman can buy land, a woman can build a house, the land title can be in the name of the woman, but the property remains with the family. Most cases here in my culture if a woman bought land and then...then...then... she moved with her husband to build on the land the woman has built, the society would say that the woman has married the what... the man.

Emmanuel - She has married the man.

[all laugh]

Christine - Or he has been put in the bottle. Meaning in the pocket.

Emmanuel – The woman has pocketed you.

Christine - The woman has pocketed him, or he has been put in the bottle. That means he no longer has authority. It is the woman in charge of what....

Emmanuel - everything.

Christine - That's one of the causes of violence in the families and this one has impacted negatively on the health of women. Some men have ended up beating their women, making them deformed, making them get health complications because they feel the women have taken charge. So, it is impacting negatively on the men, and it has also impacted negatively on the women because some families have ended up divorcing because the men feel that the woman is taking authority, and he is no longer a man you know... I better get a woman whom I can.... Huh... Its like I can't control her.

According to this interview, the issues of men no longer feeling they have a clear role within families results in violence. The reference to the sayings, '*The woman has pocketed him*' or '*he has been put in the bottle*', shows that this societal issue in Teso has become part of general vernacular.

Sexual violence concerning rape was also highlighted by participants. Again, such violence is associated with alcohol as Layer (MIDA agriculture) explains,

On the other side the men over there drink, the husband is found lying on the road, he doesn't bathe he doesn't brush but he wants to play sex with you when he comes. So, the women tell us when I say no he does not understand and he comes to force and this is sexual violence.

The term '*the other side*' relates to a different MIDA group. Some sexual violence is transactional involving girls, according to Florence (Tisai)

Some get pregnant when they are still young. That's the problem. Boys and girls have underage sex.

If a girl child has basic needs like knickers that is what happens. They offer to buy girls small things. They say if you sleep with me, I'll buy it for you. It could be reduced if a girl could learn a skill and earn some money.

Poverty leads to desperation when girls are forced into having sex for basic needs. This was also shown in a play delivered by a local drama group to a school in Bukedea to sensitise the students over issues of GBV. I was invited to watch the drama by a Women's Shelter Director to show how they are using drama to sensitise communities to issues around women's health. In the drama the girl falls pregnant after having sex with an older youth who has promised to buy her resources:

Girl – I love you so much [moves to welcome boyfriend].

Boyfriend – I appreciate what you did so I have shopped for you. Here is some soda. You were nice in bed so here is some soda and some gifts. [He hands her a cheap plastic mirror and comb].

[The audience laugh]

Girl – What should I do?

The intersection of youth, the need for education, and a lack of resources and financial support combine to create multiple layers of hardship. These intersecting challenges often limit opportunities, heighten vulnerabilities, and make it difficult for young people to break out of cycles of poverty and dependency. They also lead to issues of sexual violence and rape. However, many instances of rape and sexual violence are unrecorded. This is detailed in the following subtheme.

Corruption is bigger than us

Issues of reporting gender-based violence are discussed in my interview with Christine, the director of the women's shelter in Kumi:

Christine – Yeah, I want to believe that the state is interested in gender-based violence. It is a concerted effort. There are so many stake holders who we work with in the fight against gender- based violence. For example, we have a strong referral network at the shelter we work closely with the police. For example, we handle civil cases and then the police handle criminal cases. We report to them and they take these cases right up to court. We have a legal person who stands with us to fight for these people.

Sally- and has that improved?

Christine – and then this the the government also have a probation office. The office of the area DC [district commissioner]. We also stand with the medical team in handling GBV, because for example if a woman faces GBV in the form of domestic violence she has been
Sally - So it's a multisectoral approach?

Christine – Yes, but we have a strong enemy called corruption. [all laugh]. It really takes over.

Sally – In terms of corruption, will men pay to get the case ignored? Is that how it happens?

Christine - Corruption is bigger than us. Yeah, it suppresses us and we cannot breathe under it. It ends up choking us and we may die if nothing happens. But er but as much as corruption is there, we also try in our little capacity to help those we can help. Mmmm

Sally – and is corruption caused by patriarchy?

Christine – Yeah. We also have patriarchy at the cultural and customary level. But this corruption is mainly in the government and public offices. For example, in police somebody can pay their way out and a crime of defilement is just killed.

This interview reveals how despite the efforts of the shelter to work with various sectors to help victims of GBV issues of corruption prevent systems operating effectively. Christine's choices of vocabulary to describe the effects of corruption through her use of the terms 'breathe', 'choking', and 'die' show her anger at the situation. The words she uses reflect the violence she has to deal with both at an individual level in terms of supporting victims, but also violence through corruption itself. Issues of rape and underreporting are also referred to in the following extracts:

Boys rape girls in the evening like now by the roadside or bush, places like that. The police can arrest them, but some run away.

Ruth (Football team)

They have issues of abuse of the girl child when they are still young and there is nowhere to report when the girls are defiled. Nobody listens to you as women. You just keep quiet at home with your daughter who has been defiled. This leads to child pregnancy.

Agnes (Tisai)

From these extracts it is evident that women and girls concerns over rape are not being listened to or acted on by those in authority. This is also demonstrated in my interview with Christine (HIV counsellor), who details how bribery is used to prevent cases of rape being reported,

Rape is common but the percentage reported is not very high. This is underreporting because when your daughter is raped commonly in the village people harmonise themselves and they say we shall pay you this. Don't talk this, don't go to the embassy, don't go to the police and in the process, things are left like that.

These findings show that GBV results from relations within an assemblage relating to men's feelings of disempowerment and consequent drinking. Intersections of poverty impact GBV alongside patriarchy in the form of men's notions of entitlement. The issues of GBV are compounded through underreporting because of community norms and corruption at government levels.

The Customs that we Have Here

The sixth and final theme of this chapter is 'The Customs that we Have Here'. Customs relate

to societal norms as well as traditional beliefs. I have already shared findings which demonstrate that many traditional beliefs and social norms lead to positive benefits to communities, such as communitarian values. However, this section demonstrates that some customs impact women's health and wellbeing negatively.

Many participants shared how patriarchal norms impacted women's confidence and leadership, Alice (GBV Counsellor) explains:

It is mostly because of the patriarchy that we have in our communities. The customs that we have here gives the men the power to rule over the women.... If you even look here women are not supposed to sit down. The men sit on the chairs the women sit on the floor.

A photo I took during a meeting illustrated Alice's observation (figure39). This is a physical demonstration of women's lower status,



Figure 39 Women and children sit on the floor whilst men take the chairs.

I also wrote in my field notes (29th October 2023): *Every leader from NGO, church, parents' association, local government officials and even the MCs in church are men.* Scovia explains how the Indigenous group is working to involve more women in leadership. She explains how women will not often put themselves forward for the higher positions,

It is something we are fighting. I think it is culture is one of them, and then secondly is education, thirdly is shyness ...shyness from women. Shyness, 'Please let me give him, let me be the vice'; So, they like to be the position of the vice, and the treasurer, and the secretary. Then sometimes they excuse themselves 'I'm too busy' to hold such a position because they never give me time to perform very well because of the commitment in the home.

Women's lack of education leads to self-doubt. Cultural norms also impact women's roles within leadership, an example of these issues is also provided by Margaret (Nurse)

Many women are not highly educated so literacy levels are not there, they are not authorised as women to take up these roles. They lack authority in the sense that the cultural norms and traditions will not give you authority for those positions.

Christine (Counsellor) discusses how issues of patriarchy and education preventing women from becoming leaders below:

Christine - Some of them they are fearing even the culture of Africa mostly Uganda, Teso, they don't look at a woman they don't value a woman can lead they just look at them as if like they can't lead. But eh women can also lead. In some other places a woman is headteacher, a woman is a speaker in parliament, she's leading the parliament... but the culture still ...people still have that culture. Even some women are shy, when someone selects them they fear, 'I can't lead' we need to empower them.

Sally— and some of them of course don't have that level of education?

Christine – Mm true... Some of them with their level of education because most of them...some of them something that's giving them fear, is their whatee? Their education level it's making them shy.

Sally— Yes because I've noticed some of them can't write their names, they do a thumbprint.

Christine – Yes, they can't write their names they can only do a thumbprint. Mmm so that's a problem.

Sally- Do you think things will change?

Christine - It needs to be changed!

Sally – How do you think it can be? Education?

Christine- We educate them, we campaign for women's emancipation, we campaign for that, and we tell them that we are human beings ...all of us are human beings. God created all of us equal.

Christine highlights education as a means to encourage women into leadership positions. However, many participants shared how girls often miss out on education due to the level of work they are expected to perform in the home. Agnes (Football team) explains:

Sally – Do girls have to work a lot in the home?

Agnes – Yes

Sally – Is that difficult?

Agnes– Some work is hard, but some is easy.

Sally – Does it stop you from learning?

Agnes - Sometimes it will affect you yes. I miss school when there is too much to be doing in the home.

The issue of neglecting to educate girls is echoed by Albina (Indigenous Group), *Some parents neglect to educate them because they think they that will end up conceiving and wasting their money* and Mary (Tisai) *Yes. Most of them produce to educate boys, they say girls will drop out and start a family.*

However, despite the participant's recognition of the need for greater gender equity, I observed living the traditional role of house girls in my field notes,

'How are you today?' I asked to a woman friend in Kumi, who was looking mournful. 'I am sad' she replied, 'my girls have let me down, so I've had to beat them. They were supposed to return home straight after school, they promise me that, but they stayed out longer with their friends on the way home. I called their father over and we beat them together'. The girls who were beaten are house girls who my friend is supporting through education.

The intersections of youth, being a girl, family responsibilities, and the need for education work together to limit girls' life opportunities. Social norms concerning bride price also impact girls in the region. Therefore, issues around bride price are developed as a subtheme.

Bride Price

Bride price is linked to a lack of education for girls, as Florence (Tisai) explains,

On the whole of Tisai there is one school, it's very far. Girls stay at home because of the distance. They don't learn or read, and they stay in the village. This leads to early marriages through bride price. Sometimes they go to try and get help.

Bride price is also linked to poverty,

Like girls, if there's something they needs, they want, and their parents cannot provide for them, so you find that they end up having early marriages. That the men can provide. Lack of thinks even lack of soap, sugar and that makes someone be with a man. Some are forced by their parents because the dowry can help but some make their own choices.

Hellen (Tisai)

Margaret (Nurse) and Alice (GBV Counsellor and GBV Shelter Chair) elaborate on the issue of bride price further in a conversation we held at the compound in Ngora:

Margaret – So, these early marriages are caused by financial constraints and now a parent begins looking at their child as a source of revenue [laughs]. Like a goat!

Alice – For a farmer to sell! [laughs].

Margaret- It's quite funny because sometime trying to pay loans. And now a parent begins looking at a child as a source of revenue. That's what happens...because early child marriages...really! It's not good. First of all, when you look, you remember the families we saw from the other place when we went to pray...the young men, the men around 18-20 years, the girls around 16,17,18 years.

Alice – They even hide themselves.

Margaret- Those two people they are forced to become a husband and a wife. Brideprice or early pregnancy forces them.

Alice – A wife.

Margaret – They don't have a source of livelihood. They are still young. They don't know the role of the man in the home. They don't know the role of the woman in the home. They are still depending on their parents for even just a piece of soapy you know. Healthwise they are sick, the husband and the wife. When the baby cries, they all cry. They don't know what to do with a sick child.

Alice – The wife is crying, the husband is crying, the baby is crying [laughs].

In this account Alice and Margaret share how early marriage interacts with cyclical poverty which has led to girls being regarded as property to be sold. Margaret's laughter and use of the word *funny* draws attention to the absurdity of the situation; the commodification of girls due to poverty. Interestingly, they refer to the different roles of men and women in the homes. The traditional roles of men and women are also taught within church ceremonies as I detail further in the findings. During my ethnography I watched a play enacted by a local drama group in a

school. They wished to use the drama to sensitise the children against early pregnancy. An excerpt from the drama reveals the father's delight that he will receive a dowry:

Father – My lovely daughter is going to make me rich. She is pregnant.

Mother – She needs to stay at school. She can stay here until she delivers and then she will have to go back to school.

Father – Why are you annoyed she'll bring a dowry. I'm happy she is pregnant. It is my blessing that she will deliver well. She has taken a short cut. Education is hard. At least she'll get a husband.

The drama continued to reveal that the father spent the dowry on alcohol, *This lovely life! I'm going to enjoy the money from the marriage and drink alcohol every day!* And he shares the dowry money with a corrupt official. Issues of men's roles concerning alcohol and corruption regarding reporting GBV were discussed earlier in this chapter. Customs and social norms concerning bride price and patriarchy co-exist and interrelate within assemblages resulting in women and girls' subjugation. Polygamy is a further tradition that can impact women's health and thus serves as a further sub-theme in this section.

Most of the men believe in having more than one wife.

Some participants shared the issue of polygamy within their communities. Frances (MIDA) explains:

Most of the men believe in having more than one wife in Africa here and you'll find that once that sometimes many men test themselves stealthily when the woman does not know so they couldn't be having HIV and he's not opening up to the woman.

Frances explains that men test themselves for HIV but don't disclose the results to their wives. Layer (MIDA tailoring) also explains the issues of polygamy causing violence:

...the man marries another one, so it adds on polygamy so become more, in the process more children, more problems, and they you find that there is a lot of GBV because the women themselves are fighting over simple issues over difficult issues in the home. The children themselves are fighting with the parents. That's why you find today you can even find children who have hurt their parents, even who have killed their own parents. Yes.

Issues of polygamy and violence are also referred to during my interview with Scovia (Indigenous Group),

Scovia – Like in ladies, it is men that normally affect them because when that man brings another woman, he now treats you like...your, your, starts abusing you like you are useless.

Sally – Is that polygamy?

Scovia – Yes, yes.

Sally – Has that happened in your family?

Scovia – Yes.

Despite her background in a polygamous and abusive marriage, Scovia serves as a trainer within her group. The intersections of her experiences with abuse and polygamy may be somewhat mitigated by her positionality within the group, providing her with a sense of agency and support that helps to lessen the oppressive nature of her past circumstances.

During my ethnographic research, I was also told how the GBV Shelter was helping victims. One GBV survivor shared her testimony during a music and dance performance (figure 40). She spoke the following words whilst women from the local community danced and sang in the background:

I'm a mother of four children and my husband sent me out of the house I used to live in and told me to go and live with my parents so after doing that he decided to bring a second woman into the house, and he lives with the second woman. So, I am staying alone and managing my family alone but with the help of the shelter I went there for counselling and support and now I have managed to send some of my children to school.



Figure 40 Women share testimonies whilst dancing and singing.

I reflect on polygamy in my autoethnography dated 29th October 2022,

Through gossip, I hear that some of the church leaders have more than one wife. Women in communities share how they are the second or third wife and that the husband is fishing leaving the wives to run the compounds. Despite the spread of Christian religion, this is one element of custom that has survived. Does it survive because of patriarchy or deeply held norms about the roles of men and women? Is it always felt as a negative custom?

I later asked Christine (Counsellor) if polygamy provided any benefits to women, she replied:

Many men love polygamy, they are proud of it, but women prefer being alone with their husband or alone with her children rather than polygamy. The men leave them to struggle with her children.

Polygamy is adding to the widening binary between men and women's roles in Teso; some men enjoy being polygamous, yet it is not tolerated by women. Despite the strong Christian faith amongst participants polygamy is still practiced. Christianity is a custom or belief held by all the participants in this study. Religion therefore becomes the final subtheme in this chapter.

Religion – God is Good

Religion impacted every aspect of my stay in Teso. I reflect in my field notes,

It seems people here need Christianity to help them survive in an environment which can feel very hostile due to climate change and poverty. We pray before we eat or drink, before we leave for an outing, at the onset of a meeting, and when arriving at peoples' houses. Prayers are said before bed. It slows the pace of life, and it can add hours to a meeting as each male religious leader speaks. Religious leader or not, it is normally the men who take the lead in prayers. During services the women dance and sing for the congregation.

Figures 41 and 42 illustrate the role of men and women in religion.



Figure 41 Women sing and dance in the choir.



Figure 42 A man religious leader speaks to the congregation.

The extract along with Figures 41 and 42 detail how religious authority is the domain of men. It also shows how religion is embedded in all elements of life. References to religion are punctuated throughout exchanges as shown in the following conversation with Jacinia (MIDA agriculture):

Jacinia – Eh eyalama! I am very happy. I wouldn't be able to help myself. God is good.

Without MIDA I had no money. I could not manage. Even that house you are seeing eh...

MIDA it has helped me build a house without my husband. I built it without my husband. You can come and look around my house. God is good!

Sally – So how did you feel when you lost your husband?

Jacinia - I felt alone at first with no one to help me but after then I felt joy that God took him to be with him for a reason. Before I was lonely with no one to help.

Sally – I am pleased you are no longer lonely.

Jacinia – Yes! Come; take a photo of my house!

Figure 43 shows the pride Jacinia feels at building her house. She insisted that my team and I were also in the photo! The photo shows how well her compound has been swept, which also

demonstrates her pride in her home. Her repetition that ‘*God is good*’ shows her deep held belief that she was able to undertake this work due to her Christian faith. The intersection of widowhood is alleviated by Jacinia's involvement in a supportive group and her faith, which provide her with a sense of community and belonging.



Figure 43 Jacinia proudly shows us her house.

The following extract from a conversation with Betty (MIDA tailoring) details the importance placed on funerals:

We help each other. If you have some problems we come to help. If you lose a family member the group buy a coffin. We wear a uniform to show we are strong, that MIDA is strong. Come back again, again, again oi oi oi oi oi [Betty cheers and raises her arms]

Despite having few resources, buying a coffin is regarded as vital. Burials are detailed in the following field note extract:

My hosts drove me to a funeral of their friend's father today. As we arrived, we were welcomed by cheering by the hundreds of mourners in attendance. My hosts started to laugh at what the MC was saying as we walked towards our seats situated in front of the open casket. They translated that the MC had told the congregation that the deceased man's best friend from the UK (me!) had arrived especially by plane to pay her respects, and that this was 'big business'.

I did not know the man or the daughter. However, I was given the status of guest of honour seemingly because of being white. During the service stories were told of the man's life, there was singing, and wailing as we were instructed to take part in a procession around the casket. I witnessed money being given to the church and family. We returned to the compound with 2 chickens, a turkey, and a goat, along with a bag of oranges.

Date 8th November 2022

A burial is seen as a celebration through stories and bright attire, as well as a time to grieve. I detail the passing of gifts in this extract, demonstrating the paradox of people living in poverty yet parting with so much towards the church and church leaders. The extract also reveals how I am treated with privilege due to my skin colour and positionality, despite not knowing the deceased. Figure 44 illustrates the gifts that were provided.



Figure 44 Gifts from a funeral

The following extract from my field notes demonstrates similar themes regarding gifts:

I was driven to church on Sunday. The church service included 20 baptisms of babies who belonged to couples, the mothers looked between the ages of 16 and 18 whereas some of the fathers looked a little older. The church leader used the occasion to share several public health messages with the congregation of hundreds. The church leader explained how 'men are the specialists in a relationship and the women are the support workers. You are valuable! You make the men specialists!' He also admonished women who wore miniskirts and preached against abortions. He preached that women should not ever leave men to return to their mothers, 'you will not be welcome back' he warned. Men, you must say 'who will look after the children if you are not here? This will make the women return.' He also advised the young couple to plan your lives and your pregnancies. He urged the men to help the mothers, 'don't stay out drinking and eating, come home! Don't feed yourself first feed your children!'

After the service the women in the congregation cooked vast amounts of food, including different varieties of meat, which is a rare treat for people in Teso. The irony that the male church leaders were first in the queue and the children last, wasn't lost on me!

During the service I saw the church leaders collect funds for a new church building and they were gifted chickens, turkeys, and goats from people who have very little. The livestock was taken to the church leader's house for his family. People with very little seem very willing to part with valuable funds and resources in the name of the church. During my stay at the compound, I have also watched as religious leaders use money from these offerings to pay for hospital fees, school fees, and vital resources for those in their community.

Date: November 10th, 2022

This extract supports findings regarding early pregnancies and bride price, as well as the pressure women face to care for their families. It also reveals that church leaders act to reinforce social norms concerning the roles of men and women and their perception of the ethics of marriage partnerships.

Religion in Teso provides communities with resilience in a harsh environment as well as a conduit for bringing people together to reflect on their lives and share beliefs through worship. Within Christian assemblages religious preachings are agential cuts reiterating societal norms concerning gender. Services also serve as an informal transactional cycle consisting of the human and non-human; funds and resources are gifted but then also received by members of the community in times of need.

This chapter has detailed the medical issues that impact women in Teso, alongside those of GBV. Such issues are interrelated and reinforced by poverty and social norms. The chapter has also discussed customs which impact the wellbeing of women and girls. These are intertwined

with a lack of resources and issues of patriarchy, enforced through long-held beliefs relating to bride-price and polygamy. Similarly, customs within religion that reinforce social norms and act as a channel for transactions, continue to promote the role of men.

6: Presentation of Qualitative Findings 3

The previous two chapters presented findings concerning intersections of subjugation that impacted women's health in Teso. This chapter will impart findings relating to the impact of the SEP research on Itesot women's health and wellbeing. Figure 45 illustrates the themes presented in this chapter. The interrelatedness of the themes is represented by the dashed line.

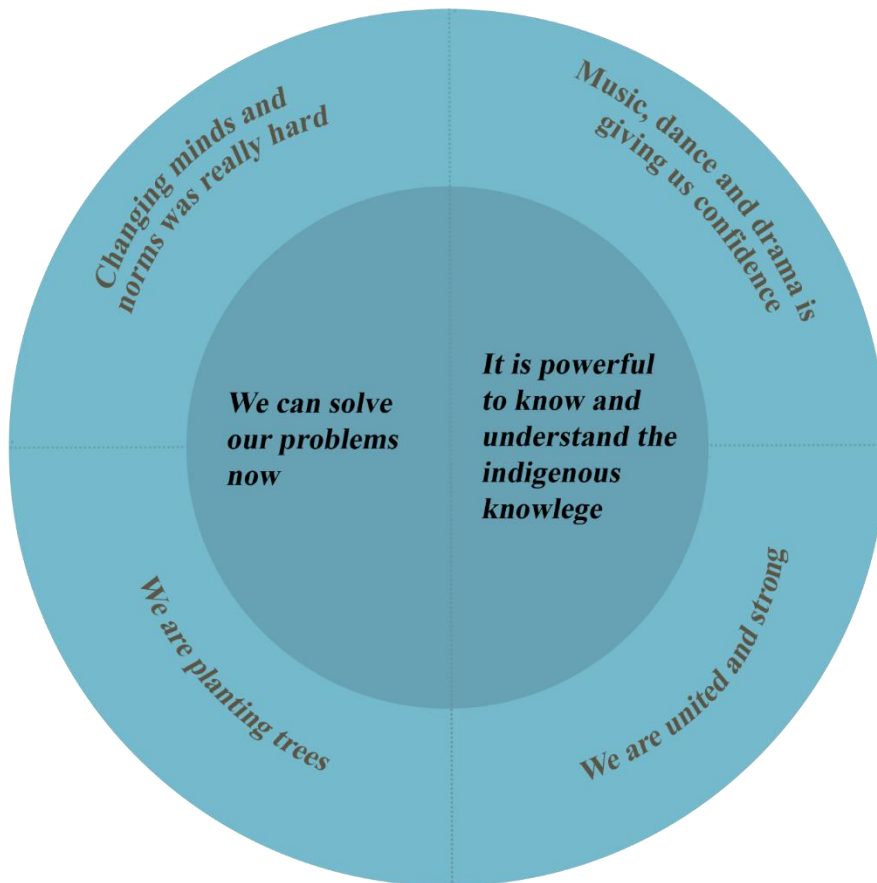


Figure 45 Presentation of qualitative findings 3

6.1 It is powerful to know and understand the Indigenous Knowledge

The first theme in this chapter assesses the importance of IK alongside traditional knowledge within the enterprise projects. IK in this chapter relates to communitarian ethics and intersects with traditional knowledge concerning agricultural, animal rearing, medicines, cooking, and food-storage. The practices referred to in this section are embedded within Teso life and the local environment. The terms ‘IK’ and ‘Traditional Knowledge’ are used interchangeably by the participants. Regarding IK, Joyce (Indigenous Group), explains:

First of all, we know that when one falls sick, we need to get food, so we get food as part of the treatment. And we know that with traditional medicine, most of us have got better using the traditional medicine. Most of us have left using the traditional medicine, but we have gone back to using the traditional medicine, especially during times of Covid when everyone ran back to using the herbal. And then because we had forgotten about it, we hadn't used it, but when Covid affected us, everybody ran to it, even including the medical staff, they could also go and use the leaves and the roots, even the bark of the trees. And people have now gone to, they've gone to teaching the women to tell their families to take the herbal medicine. We don't abuse the medical advice, but we take both. We supplement. And there are some of these herbal medicines that when you are advised to take you have not realised malaria. The mosquitos will be there biting you, but you will not fall sick, yes.

Medicine is food, food is medicine. We always forget that when one falls sick the most important thing is to make sure you eat, and what you eat, you must eat the leaves, the greens, pick the greens which we have always been neglecting. Eat them and it should not be fried because most of the people they like to fry food all the time. Boil your food and eat it. Make sure that before you take your medication you have eaten some.

And because we have abused some of the foods, we have realised there are so many diseases that affect us, and we fall sick because we have never followed what our granter grandmothers knew.

I spent a day with Joyce in her home in Kumi, which also forms part of her office. Over tea and groundnuts, she discussed how she taught the enterprise projects knowledge about traditional medicines and food that form part of the IK of Teso. Joyce connects traditional medicine and food with being healthy and she believes that people are less healthy because they are not following previously held knowledge. Consequently, she teaches the enterprise groups about using traditional medicines and food preservation. During my time with the Indigenous Enterprise group, I was privileged to be taught their knowledge of such medicine:

Joyce assembled the group under a large tree in the sun on the dusty compound and explained to the group that I was interested in their Indigenous Knowledge, particularly traditional healing. She asked Agnes from the group to demonstrate how salt ash is made.

Agnes – This is what we told you about the ash, when you taste it, it is very sourish, but we used it and our great grandmothers used this thing for preserving food, especially meat that was smoked and others. And now this one you pour water in it, it will filter and what we receive from here will be the one we use for preparing vegetables. When you put it very well the vegetables do not go bad

Sally- I think we could learn a lot from you in the United Kingdom.

Agnes – The water is what we need so we get the stuff. This is equivalent to baking powder. For coughs we get the stuff and put it in the bottle for you and whenever you want you use it.

Sally – This would be good for your cough Christine. So, it's good for your cough but it preserves food too?

Agnes- You can use the ash. You use this. You taste!

Sally – With my finger? Ugh!

[All laugh]

Agnes – It can also treat ringworm. So, after baking you rub it on.

Sally – Wow, how did they discover this?

Agnes- And on wounds too. Yes, the grandparents. We got it from our great grandparents.

Sally [turns to Angela who has been coughing but tries the salt ash] Is that better?

Agnes- They cut them and put them in a heap and burn them and put them in the ash. Rice and bananas, and that plant there that has the bananas. Amara, banana peelings and also the pau pau. They produce the best results when burnt right.

Our great grandmothers used it especially for preserving meat that was smoked. How this one you pour water in it; it will filter and what you see in there is what we will use for preparing the green vegetables. If you put it very well the vegetables will not go bad.

The process of making salt ash is demonstrated in figure 46.



Figure 46 The process of making salt ash

The group then dispersed around the compound picking various plants and leaves to share further knowledge with me concerning the use of traditional medicines. They bring the various plants and leaves to where I'm sat and Josephine explains 'And, this one is for cancer, the roots here are for diarrhoea, this one we call it what... I don't know the botanical language, but we call it Adidi, and you chew for diarrhoea.' Rose shared another plant and told me 'This one, Ejumula, we make the seeds, when you get the seeds, you put them in a thread, and they light the house.' Margaret explained 'This plant if you have a fresh wound this one can help you just get it and use the sap... family of aloe vera. This one is for the teeth, you use as a toothpick, this one, the Papaya, you take for malaria and also|this one is for... is foris for manpower... '[we all laugh]. The group were keen to pose for photos with the plants they had gathered. Their enthusiasm and pride in this knowledge were evident in their desire to share their knowledge as they all talked over each other sharing various plants. Each member had knowledge of the use of the plants growing in their community.

21st April, Kumi

Figure 47 reveals the pride the community have in their traditional knowledge concerning medicines.



Figure 47 The sharing of traditional medicines.

The connection with the group to their environment and the pride they have for IK is evident in my field notes. In addition to learning about traditional medicines and practices all enterprise groups are taught about traditional agricultural practices. Angela (trainer, MIDA agriculture) explains how it is her role within the group to encourage such group-work alongside training:

My job is to give advice to members about rearing animals, digging, cultivating, and keeping land, animals, giving advice...giving advice to members. I make sure that we have groups as you can't get something when you are alone.

Scovia (Indigenous Group Trainer) also explains how the group learn about seeds:

Scovia- The seeds that we are using today ...not very good, but if you chance to get the traditional seeds like the millet the maize and then the sorghum... it takes longer but they are ever resistant to sunshine, but these ones the moment you cultivate and harvest and you keep the seeds for next time wanting to get another harvest. It's not good.

Sally - Why aren't the seeds good anymore.

Scovia - But these ones ...you get, er, I don't know the term you use anymore ... there's a lot of err...of production that's done in the... substation. When they are ...they keep trying to put things err in a way ...that they promote ... what you know as err... hybrid, the hybrid. If you plant it, it doesn't germinate all. You find that it is germinating, but it leaves space too much. So that is the problem we have with the seeds of today. But if you got the traditional one, the natural one to produce two, but if you kept it well like those days of our grandmothers... they use them for next year millet, sorghum, br maize ... they just hang it around the kitchen.

Sally - And you have learned to do that? Are the group using that method?

Scovia - Yes...and that kitchen it is made of grass...the roof from grass, the grass hut kitchens they just have...those lines inside...the smoke are the one that keeps them.

Sally - Oh the smoke, ok

Scovia – Yes, yes, the smoke

Sally - That's interesting

Scovia – Yes, so that smoke there keeps that the food, the seed until next time.

Sally - So the smoke keeps the seed and food fresh.

Scovia - Yes so when you get it next time you just plant it. And this is the traditional way of keeping the seed for the next year.

The value of farming knowledge is explained by Lucy (MIDA agriculture) *MIDA gave me farming knowledge. I got some sheep that helped me start surviving.* Similarly, Angela (MIDA agriculture) states *It teaches about agriculture, it teaches about being in a group. It helps us get money to take care of our families and educate our children.* At 78, Lucy stands as the oldest member of the group, sharing how she has “started” to survive. While age can often

serve as a barrier to health in rural Uganda, her involvement in the group helps to mitigate these challenges. Additionally, Angela emphasizes the importance of education, noting that being part of a collective not only fosters personal growth but also alleviates the burdens associated with resourcing for a family. Through this support network, members can navigate the complex intersections of their circumstances more effectively. The importance of enterprise projects helping to provide children's education is also highlighted by Jesca (MIDA agriculture)

Life for girls was hard. It was hard to get to get what... pads. School fees were difficult. But now we grow things in sacks. Cabbages kitchen garden what... we are selling things at market. We no longer buy things at market. We grow them ourselves. We are making soap now too as well as making clothes.

Figure 48 demonstrates the process of making soap.



Figure 48 Soap Making at MIDA

Similarly, to Jesca, many participants shared how they no longer purchase things through a market economy as they can share produce. This traditional practice of sharing produce is also shared by Betty (MIDA tailoring) states:

It's good... we don't have to go for another home to look for things no longer look for quarrels. We pick the food, and we share. We share as a group. Since entering the groups, we grown our own crops for our own families we also pick and have food. We no longer have to buy.

Frances (MIDA agriculture) explains how food is distributed:

Sally – With not having pads did it mean some girls missed school?

Frances - Some stopped school and were just being at home. Since MIDA they have taught us to what... to plant crops. For example, tomatoes from seeds, onions, cabbages. [Frances points to the raised beds] Ehhhhh we plant, and we also sell. Some get money for soap, sugar, and other things. Before there was no way of earning and so we went from home to home and got bad advice from others. There are things we planted. We plant things together through group.

Angela (MIDA tailoring) highlights how there is no longer a need to borrow money from the bank:

Angela – Ehh ... in the way of saving eh...you save your money... if you want to borrow, you can borrow something. You don't have to goto the bank. If you borrow from the group, the interest goes back to the group. Yes,..yes... you buy your things, you rear your animal, you sell your animal the children go to school. The group helps us save money. We have no bank interest, so all the money goes to the group. You can buy your things, you can rear animals, and children can go to school.

Working communally through the projects is also improving the lives of women with HIV as Christine (HIV counsellor) explains:

Sally - Can women's social economic projects improve women's HIV status?

Christine - Yes, definitely. Because at some point the WFP [World Food Programme] used to give food and it has stopped. I think it stopped about 15 years ago. Now they encourage people to get into groups. They encourage people living with HIV to get into groups from the same village from the same parish. So, we encourage people to start growing food, to start taking care of goats, sheep, to start taking care of chickens. Then we put them in groups, and

we know that the first person to receive this, the first person to produce a goat will go to another: revolving, revolving. And now in that process you find that everybody benefits. Then we go and teach them about economic empowerment so that they are able to know that if I get this money, I can do this; this can help me buy a net, this can help me buy food, this can help me buy a book for my child. This kind of thing.

The concept of revolving sheep is also discussed by Charles (football coach):

The sheep has actually been so helpful. So, the time we multiplied the sheep. I think everyone all got a sheep has now two of them. So, we have given the parents the task. We told them 'You are not going to sell the sheep for meat or sell the sheep for anything else'. So, the task we have given them, we want them to develop the sheep until it becomes a cow. ... So, we wanted that by the time you finish four years of school you now have a cow which possibly you can sell and help with the next level of higher education. We only had one challenge where the father sold it the sheep and used the money for drinking and so forth. That is the only problem. But we have been doing sensitisation for the parents.

For us we have told them the sheep is not completely yours, the sheep is for the football team so if you are to sell it, we all must have the say.

Figure 49 shows Charles with two of the players and their sheep.



Figure 49 The footballers' sheep project

The sheep not only provide an economic benefit, but the project also enables sensitisation regarding the importance of education, and ethics of communitarianism are promoted through the concept that all the sheep belong to the football team.

The importance of sheep is also celebrated by Betty (Indigenous Group)

Betty - I am too happy. My sheep is so healthy, and I am so happy!

Sally - Eyalama noi, yoga aswam [Thank you so much, thank you for your work]

Betty - We love our sheep, and we have all have named our sheep Aminat! [Beloved -Sally's Ugandan name]

Betty -[laughs] Eyalama noi. I have never had a sheep named after me before!

Figure 50 illustrates Betty's joy at receiving the gift of a sheep.



Figure 50 The gift of a sheep

The communal practice of revolving sheep and sharing produce reflects the communitarian values of each enterprise group. Most participants discussed the importance of such values. Further findings relating to communitarianism are presented in the next sub theme.

We are united and strong.

Jesca (MIDA tailoring) explains the importance of communitarianism:

Yes, we work together. We are united and strong. Yes, for example you are seeing we are making soap together. People here are peaceful. We sit and share problems and share work and we save together. You see that iron sheets [Jesca points to a house] to buy those iron sheets, this week we give it to that person. Ever week we do this for each other.

Sharing problems and working together brings peace to the community. Charles (Football Coach/ Teacher), also emphasises the importance of communitarian values:

So, I realised that the idea of togetherness, social resilience, working together as a team is the only way to help Africa grow and develop... like our football team would not have progressed if we'd focused on individual players, like let's build up this player, let's leave the other but because we have brought all of them together the impact has actually been very much better so when we unite together we doing what becomes more easier and its actually beautiful because this is what has become the norm in Africa because the kind of life in Africa has always been the life of being together.

Figure 51 taken during my time at the football project illustrates the 'togetherness' of the team as they celebrate one of their members achieving a sport scholarship.



Figure 51 The girls' football team celebrate a member achieving a sport scholarship.

Robert (MIDA Chair) also discusses how his projects are founded on a concept of togetherness:

Even those days you'd find in helping families came together. 10 families would help with weeding. It was called etai. Means community helping, to help with gardening for a meal and to come together.

There were three ways of helping. The first way was when old women without energy would brew the local brew and call men and women to clear for you or heap potatoes and then they would stay till midnight, and it would be good company. The second way would be if there was no brew, they would slaughter a goat and to eat that is the payment.

Our way is a modern merry go round, a modern etai. The group help me and the next day another member. You'll find all members have been helped and harvest the food together and so this way they all have food at home. Next time you help another and another.

During a conversation with Joyce (Indigenous Leader), she further elaborated on the concept of Etai within the social enterprise project:

Joyce- Etai...yes you just go and do that work, and it stops conflict. There is a lot of friendship in that... a lot of trust. So, there is no dodging, arguing, or fighting. It is work. So, if your child is sick everyone is concerned. The baby is for us all, it is not only yours. Yes, so when the baby is not going to school all for us are concerned; 'Why is that Joyce not going to school, eh?'. You can even pick a stick and beat my legs until I go to school. Everyone was concerned about the other one's family. If you are not around, I must make sure that ...if your chicken entered the house...eh...I would not leave your chicken there. During time of harvest, during time of drying food, everything people used to do as a team, so it was group work, and they used to do everything in a very friendly manner. So, I think Indigenous Knowledge was very good and very important. That is what I want to bring to this group.

Sally – Do you think Indigenous Knowledge can prevent conflict?

Joyce – Yes, it will bring them together and when we meet with the women, and we share them the Indigenous Knowledge it is powerful to know and understand the Indigenous Knowledge. It will bring them together and as we teach them; they want to know more on how we used to do things. Because building those days when we are to follow the rightful way, our culture was used it was very friendly. It used to bring people together in the eating, doing the garden work, agriculture, and also treatment. It was free of charge. And when you are going to help in the time of weeding crops you do it together. We first help you tomorrow. We help, we help. So, we realised that Indigenous Knowledge is very, very useful.

So, on the issue of Indigenous Knowledge, we are trying to preserve some of the traditional items that we in the gesture will change to a museum where we can have our children come to learn. This knowledge is very powerful. It is very good and important [Joyce shows me some of the artefacts she has started to collect towards the museum including a calibash].

In figure 52 Joyce shares a ‘traditional item’ in the form of a calabash, used for storing milk and porridge.



Figure 52 Joyce shares an object she is storing for her museum.

Joyce’s narrative showcases her passion for IK through her repetition of the terms ‘*very*’, ‘*good*’ and ‘*important*’; her enthusiasm for this knowledge is also highlighted in her desire to preserve objects from the past so that knowledge is retained through them once the older generation have passed. Her narrative details how working as a group encouraged harmony and care amongst the community. It is these ethics that she wishes to encourage within her enterprise groups. Joyce has attained a higher level of education than most of the participants, a privileged intersection that has enabled her to cultivate her leadership role within the community and enhance her Indigenous Knowledge. This educational advantage not only enables her to guide others but also allows her to contribute meaningfully to the preservation and promotion of cultural practices and wisdom.

Most participants shared how being in a group has helped encourage them and bring pleasure, *It gives me joy, yes, to help each other* Layer (tailoring). Lucy (MIDA agriculture) also shares

how the group *encourages one another, encourages you to stand strong, lets encourage each other and work hard for the sake of the children* and Helen (Tisai) explains how her health has improved; *When I came, I didn't know anything but being with others has helped me, like when I came here, I did not even eat that healthy. I'm looking good now* [points to her figure and laughs]. Tino (Tisai) also explains how being in a group improves health, *if you have a problem, someone can suggest what will help, and another could offer medicine* and Rose (Football) shared that *We are united, and we bond If one has a problem we joint together and find a way to help.*

The words '*united*', '*strong*', and '*bond*' signify the relationality of the group. These examples illustrate that being in a group has improved the health and well-being of the community as well as their mental health. Charles (Football Coach/ Teacher), explains how the project provides a safe space for girls to share their worries,

Charles – There are issues of mental health. But when you become so critical you really realise that it's a big challenge. We actually had one of our girls ... she had a lot of mental issues. She came to the field she couldn't perform well. Always depressed but when we had a deeper interaction one on one with her, we realised that she had a lot of challenges affecting her back at home, so we had to sit with her do a little bit, gave her counselling and we realised that and saw that there is a big improvement and she's now performing very well at school.

Sally – So, you are kind of informal counsellors as well?

Charles - Yes, yes that's true. Our kids are actually more free to us than even their parents. They're more open to come and interact with us.

Sally - So do you think the peer support of being with other young people that relational support?

Charles - Yeah, it helps so much. It helps them so much. So, they have a relationship with their peers and so forth. It keeps them motivated.

Charles uses the terms '*Our kids*' which shows his relationality to the players. His repetition of the word '*free*' highlights how the project is a safe space for the participants. The girls do not only benefit from the football itself but also the communitarian practices within the assemblage. Josephine (coach within the football project) shared the importance of teamwork:

Work as a team strength! What you can do I cannot do; What I can do you cannot do but when we bring it to the common good. And people should stop being selfish, eh? You come in this world empty, you leave empty why do you want to accumulate too much wealth at the expense of others. What's important? Live at peace with everyone. I should be able to sleep knowing that because of me people are helped. Do you understand?

The participants of the enterprise projects benefit in two ways from the communitarian practices; helping others brings pleasure and the knowledge and security they gain from being in a group. Members of the enterprise projects with HIV/AIDs also benefit from the safe spaces the projects create, Sarah (MIDA tailoring) explains,

I am an orphan. My dad died. My mum can't provide for us. I was born with HIV and MIDA helps me take my medicine because when I sew, I sell, and then I can take a cup of tea to take my medicines. Being in a group is good they make me happy it stops me thinking about my troubles and my sickness.

The intersections of youth, living in poverty, and having HIV are alleviated through the peer support available within the group, along with the economic relief it provides. This supportive environment fosters resilience and encourages relational empowerment, helping individuals navigate their challenges more effectively. Christine (HIV counsellor) also shares the importance of being in a group for those with HIV/AIDS. They are able to share their diagnosis and support each other,

It is positive because they know their status those are women that have opened up and know their status. And since they know their status each one can encourage the other 'how are you doing with your drugs?' 'Mine are treating me like this', 'me I had this side effect', 'me I didn't.'

Many participants also shared how music, dance, and drama have also given them strength. Consequently, music, dance, and drama are the next subtheme.

Music, Dance, and Drama is giving us confidence.

During each initial visit to the enterprise groups, I was treated to singing and dance to mark my arrival. I detail this in my field notes during my visit to the Indigenous group.

As we slowly approached, we could hear cheering and singing. The group ran to the car carrying leaves and white flags and they led the car slowly in a procession whilst dancing

towards the trees where we would assemble. Once we got out the car there was cheering and more singing and dancing as the women waved eucalyptus branches around us and sang in Ateso.

10th November 2022

Figure 53 captures the moment the Indigenous women greeted me.



Figure 53 A traditional welcome

Alice (GBV Counsellor/ GBV Shelter Chair) explains why music, dance, and drama (MDD) is important to the Indigenous Group:

Alice - We teach them, train them on some of the issues of like rights and then still under that we promote MDD we move with them with groups to teach others. You know we have a belief that when somebody sees or hears a song, he will not go the way he or she can because you will stick to those words, and he will stick to the play...Even now as we are moving to teach children about teenage pregnancy and early marriages, we are using MDD. Those are the issues. This is the sensitisation campaign that we are carrying out. We are doing that through

drama because it is direct sensitisation, we have radio programmemes, the DJ mentions on the radio.

Sally – Is this having positive effects?

Alice - We want to believe so. Because if you look at the numbers of teenage pregnancies in the district, Kumi district where this drama is, has the lowest number of teenage pregnancies, so that means we have created an impact and it is still working. And also people came out and made commitments towards ending GBV.

I attended a drama presentation delivered to a local school on the issues of early pregnancy. Three people delivered a testimony at the end of the production:

Girl Student – Don't give up whatever happens. There is always a second chance. I will share my commitment to abstinence.

Woman Teacher – I am not speaking as a teacher but about how your group impacted me. You may think I never messed up, but I messed up! I got good advice. I am still a grand person. I am proud of myself, I am focused. I love by my own goals. Women want love but men give you sex. There is a difference between love and sex. We want love and we turn to sex. We need to be strict. Make no unnecessary movements and add value to your lives. Together we can make it.

The drama not only sensitises but tries to deliver impact through commitments and testimonies. The woman teacher draws attention to the binary between 'love' and 'sex', encouraging the pupils to understand that the two concepts are separate. However, despite this teaching, Andrew (NGO worker) explains; *At school they do drama skits, but you teach the children but not the parents.* The drama showcased poor parenting practices as well as the poor decisions made by students; however, the production was not shown to parents. This indicates there needs to be more sensitisation for parents rather than just students. Nevertheless, when performed to communities the drama has a positive outcome, Alice (Women's Centre Chair) explains,

It is two -sided because the men are affected, and they learn something from it. The women on the other hand learn something from the drama. The children pick their learning from the drama. It cuts across all families.

MDD has further health benefits as explained by Mary (Area Counsellor, Tisai),

Music and drama helps us relax we get refreshed and forget about issues at home when we go for music and drama. Sometimes information regarding general personal health, issues to do with family nutrition are passed through music and drama so we learn a lot through music and drama especially the cultural aspects.

MDD also improves the women's mental health and helps to teach the women how to cope in a difficult environment, Jacinia (MIDA agriculture) shared that; *The songs give us joy and peace when we sing them we get happy and excited and we relax. We have even learned how to cope with health issues, and the issues of the sun, too much sun, through teaching about resource mobilisation through music and drama; through performances.*

The enterprise projects encourage the groups to prevent and cope with climate change. This is the final sub-theme within the first theme of this chapter.

We are planting trees.

Many of the MIDA participants explained how they were learning to mitigate the issues of climate change through 'planting in sacks', Lucy (MIDA agriculture) explains.

Because when, when the sunshine comes it is hard to keep land watered and the crops planted. MIDA has taught me that we should now plant in sacks. It is easier to water the plants, and they keep the water.

Figure 54 demonstrates how the group plant in sacks.



Figure 54 Planting in sacks

The groups also work together to cope with issues of climate emergency; Jesca from MIDA agriculture explains:

Sally – Have you noticed a difference in how much rain is coming?

Jesca – I have. The rain is not here ... it is too hot. There is no food because of the rain.

Sally – How are you making... what are you doing to try and ...[laughs] [my interpreter asks in Ateso how they are working to combat climate change]

Jesca - To help water the plants we put them in sacks.

Sally – Is that hard because there's no rain.

Jesca – Eh... like people who have dug down...the well, they get their water. I've dug a well.

Sally – Did you have any help digging?

Jesca- We are the ones who dug the well. We are the ones.

Sally - Was it hard work?

Jesca– [laughs] Hard but we had to do it ...we needed the water.

Sally – How long did it take... I'm just interested [laughs].

Jesca – Two months.

Sally – Wow, everyday?

Jesca- We rested on Sundays. It was hard.

Sally – And now you have a well?

Jesca – To water the plants, even the cows they get the water there.

Sally – So did you do this as a group... a group did it together?

Jesca – Yes!

Sally – Is it good to work as a group rather than be on your own?

Jesca - It is good to be part of a united group with everything you do.

Sally – You never feel alone?

Jesca - Before MIDA I felt alone. Now I don't fear.

Being unmarried and lacking family support are intersectionalities that could render Jesca vulnerable. However, MIDA offers the essential peer support she needs to navigate her challenges in a difficult environment, helping her to combat feelings of loneliness and fostering a sense of belonging and resilience. As well as trying to cope with the issue of climate change the project leaders also teach the participants about how to prevent the climate emergency.

Mary (Tisai project leader) explains:

And then we also discourage them from doing some businesses that are against our climate, like the burning of charcoal or the cutting of trees. We always say to them 'no', stop that business, change to a sustainable... like some of the women who we had in Tisai who were doing the business of charcoal but as we talk to them now, we have changed to the business of produce and so now they also sell some vegetables like tomatoes, onions, some cabbages. They come to the main market buy and then they take to products to Tisai, and they sell them.

The groups also teach about protecting the environment:

We used to have gardens but in between there is a small space that the parish used to give, but we didn't know why but when you go about learning about it is a method that we use to avoid soil erosion, secondly it is useful because when that grass grows it is where we feed our goats sheep during dry season because that grass will be there and also grass grows there and that grass is used for thatching the houses.

Albina (Indigenous Group)

Many participants also explained how they are planting trees to prevent climate change; Angela (MIDA tailoring) discussed this initiative with me,

Sally – Is your relationship with the land important to you?

Angela - Yes, it is, because whenever you put something down and it does well it is when you benefit. When you plant you benefit from it. We have started planting trees. When you plant you benefit from it. I wish people would stop cutting trees down and start planting.

Rose (Tisai) also explains the importance of planting trees:

Rose - We are planting trees.

Sally – How will that help?

Rose - When the wind comes eh those trees, those trees are the ones that will help so the houses will not fall... fall down, but when the trees come people can be bad and those bad people cut.

These extracts demonstrate that women's relationality with each other and with the land is helping them cope with climate change but also mitigate it.

This theme has highlighted the importance of using IK to support health using the properties of plants and by teaching agricultural practices. This IK practice highlights how the participants' relationship to the land and non-humans support health and wellbeing. The participants' passion for re-introducing and preserving the knowledge of their 'grandmother's' is also clear. The significance of relationality is apparent through the communitarian values shared by the enterprise groups and the positive impact these values have on welfare. As Robert (Director of MIDA) remarked, *social enterprises have a financial benefit, but they also bring social capital. Having connections with different people helps them stand. They support each other in time of need.* Such communitarian values are also used to sensitise communities through MDD. Sensitisation includes learning about how to protect the environment and mitigate issues caused by the climate emergency.

The next theme details how the enterprise projects help participants solve problems within their communities.

6.2 We can solve our problems now

Most participants explained how being part of an enterprise group has provided them with resources, teaching, and peer support to deal with issues in their communities. Many participants referred positively to the knowledge imparted through being part of the projects. Layer (MIDA tailoring) states, *MIDA gave me knowledge*. Similar sentiments are shared by George (MIDA agriculture) *I want to thank MIDA it has given me knowledge*. Angela (MIDA tailoring), elaborates further:

Angela - MIDA is very good. It has brought lots of changes to our families and brings knowledge.

Sally – Does that knowledge make you feel proud?

Angela - Yes, it helps us feel proud and confident. Ehhhhh, even my husband is also happy that I'm in MIDA, he's proud of me.

Sally – [laughs] Ejok! [great!]

It is evident that Angela's involvement in MIDA has positively impacted the intersection of marriage, particularly in an environment fraught with gendered issues such as alcoholism, polygamy, and violence. The support and resources provided by the group have contributed to strengthening her relationship and promoting healthier dynamics within her household. Similar benefits are described by Josephine (Tisai)

Josephine - In terms of health, for those of us here, it has helped us to sell some things and have knowledge. So, we gain confidence from being in a group and trying to do business, so if a friend is having a business 'you try, let's both go to the market let's buy tomatoes together and we sell, and you also make some money'.

Sally – That's good to hear, thank you. Err is it good to be part of a group, does that help?

Josephine – It is very good, it is very good. When you are in a group you get encouraged and when you harvest more, even work you finish it quicker because you are many... mmm. And of

course, you are learning ideas what you don't know. The other person comes and 'oh not like that.'

George (MIDA tailoring elaborates on the importance of knowledge,

They tell us that for those who have accepted to come to MIDA, "hold onto that knowledge". Well, look at some of us; we left education, there is nothing we did, and that means we would be badly off. But we have come here and now should handle education well.

The repetition of the word 'knowledge' in these separate extracts emphasises how important learning is to the participants alongside the important value of sharing knowledge. Working together to save funds has also benefited the community:

Village Saving Loads has supported the education of our children; and it has also helped our community in secondary medical health and private facilities. We can also get facilitation for transport to go and seek and get our HIV medication from far away hospitals as the government hospitals are very far away so sometimes without transport you can't get drugs. So, from being in the savings group you can get drugs from government hospitals.

Florence (Tisai)

Issues over land ownership have also improved through the projects, Mary (Youth Counsellor) explains,

The land rights we have to go back to culture. Culture is the one holding the issues of land. Unless I buy my own land. That one is out of culture. But the inheritance is under culture.

We have success but not 100%. When you see success is when you see a woman getting her own money and buying land outside her family land.

They achieve this through our groups. Some of them through business and some of them through village saving and some through agriculture. She looks after her animals and when they grow in number, she decides to buy a small piece of land for her children.

The value of communities working together to improve lives was also apparent during the day I spent with Charles (football coach) on his compound. He explained,

They most times come to me 'Obore, can you help me with some money?', but I keep telling them I am not in a position to give each of you money. But the only thing I can now do is to

help your children. If I can accommodate your kid in the football project, worked hard to get them a scholarship then I've actually, what? Helped them. So, the only thing now I can do is to give your children my time and support them. We keep telling them that they are no people to come and help our kids, but you should be the ones to come because you know our problems. We'll get there surely!

But we want to look at it as something embedded in the community let the community own it. So even our football matches, there are bigger fields in the town, but we want it in the village so let the community feel that this is our thing, these are our children.

I detailed my time spent with Charles in my field notes:

Charles proudly showed me a hut in the compound, which local children had decorated with chalk drawings to show their pride and appreciation of being part of the football project. Charles showed me the house he is building on the family compound and explained 'I would never want to leave here. These are my family; these are my people!'

Field notes – 6th November 2023 .This is shown in figure 55.



Figure 55 Charles proudly displays art in his hut.

Charles shows his strong commitment to his community and believes that communities are best placed to solve their problems. He also highlights the importance of reciprocity; sharing with others over time, the knowledge you have gained. Cecilia, one of the football players, discusses the benefits of the football project,

It's changed my life now all I think about is football, education, and football. None of us fall sick now we are all physically fit. I have the confidence to speak and say 'no'. We have learned smartly how to put off men. Without football we would have conceived early. It keeps us busy.

The intersections of subjugation related to youth and gender are alleviated through participation in the football project. This involvement has allowed Cecilia to build her confidence and sense of agency, significantly lowering her likelihood of becoming a teenage mother. By developing her agency within the context of the supportive relationships fostered by the football experience, she not only enhances her personal development but also acquires valuable skills that can positively influence her future. Hence, the football project has benefited the community through mitigating early pregnancies, improving girls' health and confidence. Charles further explained, *out of our 242 players not one fell pregnant during Covid when Teso had the biggest percentage of early pregnancies.* The football project has clearly changed the girls' perceptions on early pregnancy. Many participants explained how the projects had worked to change community attitudes. Hence, a sub-theme within this theme concerns changing attitudes.

Changing minds and norms was really hard.

The projects have promoted a change of attitude towards bride price and girls' education. Margaret (Indigenous Group) told me:

Teaching through the projects, through music, drama, and dance, has led to a change of attitude around education. Before people used to marry girls to educate the boy child. But now they are seeing the value of educating the girl child.

Rosemary (Indigenous Group) also shares how the projects are improving health through changing attitudes towards domestic health,

It is getting better because we are getting education of general hygiene, cleanliness of home, house, the children, the body, places of convenience. So that knowledge we are getting through the association and training and through the cultural leader is helping us to improve on our health as association members.

Furthermore, being in a group helps to mitigate GBV; Christine (HIV Counsellor) explains that when women are in savings group, they have more agency to refuse payment:

Oftentimes when women have money the men will demand it for alcohol. But many times, if they are in a group, they say that 'ahh, I'm in a group we save like this, like this, there is no way I can give you the money and what have you' So women in those very groups have been able to see how to evolve their funds and see how to take their children to school.

According to Frances (MIDA tailoring), men's drinking has reduced for those involved in the projects, *It has it has reduced because those involved are keeping busy.* Furthermore, Alice (GBC Counsellor/ GBV Shelter Chair), explains how mediation through the projects also helps to mitigate gender-based violence,

There are very many positive results from most of the women that we have trained, some of them have changed their lives and they are able to maintain their families to a certain a degree, and then a problem for us there are families that are faced with gender-based violence and sexual violence so we also visit such families. If we identify from our group members that she has such a problem, we visit the family and then we see the couples and then we talk to them... They will say now he decided to leave me and then he go to a woman and he decided to stay in a trading centre and left me alone with the children. So that is the reason for the story, so that is the cry of the woman.

We always first meet with the women, and then go and we meet with the men, and then we meet with both. And sometimes the men deny, but somehow some of them accept and they try to explain why they do so.

Men and women, in this case, are spoken with separately at first to avoid further disagreements. Scovia (Indigenous Group) also told me, *we learn from one another how to handle family problems.*

Charles (Football Coach) however, explains the importance of involving both girls and boys in the project, as well as sensitising the community to bring about a change in gender perceptions. His narrative is presented on the following page:

So, I think their health is improving, their physical fitness is getting better, and they are even becoming more resistant to common diseases such as flu and so forth, so I think it's a really a big achievement and even the teachers ... are telling us that ...their regular attendance is good. We tell them every day you must go to school because there will be a football register for them after school. This has really helped them stay at school.

When we started, we thought we'd only focus on the girls, but we realised that we were actually making a mistake because the boys were starting to say 'ok, so you are now saying you only want to help girls, we shall see where you've reached' so now they were becoming oppositional to us. So, we said no we aren't putting you to one side, but we also want you to come and what? To come and play with the girls.

From the beginning we had really challenges like when we were starting our girls even used to fear to put on a shirt I think 'how can I put on a shirt when boys are there, how can I do this?' Even the boys actually used to laugh at the girls 'ahh you look at the buttocks of this one, you look at this and this' but at least we have kept on sensitising them and the level we have reached now I think we are at 90% as far as respecting one another. At least now they know that when we come to the football field, we are all players and able. We don't need to look at the other one as a girl or boy and so forth. So that kind of discrimination is no longer happening.

And by the way even the community has actually also built respect for these girls because when we started the football academy, they were actually saying why are you spoiling our children. How can girls put on shirts. This is unacceptable in our community so now I told them let's give this time we shall get used to it. But nowadays they are even asking me can you organise for us football matches for girls...So, I think we have actually even built community trust. The community now believes that we are not just playing football, but we are helping the community we are helping the kids. They are really looking at us as people who are working toward the future of these children. We are not just playing football...When we were beginning it was tough. Changing the minds and norms was really hard. They were thinking how can a girl come to the field when they are supposed to go and fetch water go and look for firewood, go and cook. Now it makes now a thing. We have shown the community that we can do something and now the community has built trust with us.

Charles' narrative highlights several benefits of the project including the girls' improved health, their improved school attendance, as well as changing norms concerning the burden of girls' work. He repeats the phrase '*we are not just playing football*', which draws attention to the benefits of the project. He also explains how bringing boys and girls together has worked to prevent discrimination and how the girls are able to learn from the boys' experience of the game. He highlights how the football project is vital for the future of the community.

The findings within this theme reveal that within the constructed assemblages of the enterprise projects, participants can solve their own issues. In addition, the projects are helping to mitigate issues of GBV through the provision of resources and through sensitisation. The findings also detail that the projects have brought about a positive change concerning cultural norms that were harmful to women. However, it is apparent that some of the projects create a binary between men and women's roles; where issues are dealt with separately and where men are not as involved in the enterprises. The next chapter shares further findings relating to men's roles and presents analysis relating to my positionality as a researcher from a minority world studying and working within an Indigenous population.

7: Presentation of Qualitative Findings 4

The previous chapters have presented findings relating to the intersections of subjugation that affect the lives of women living in Teso and the impact of the SEP. This final chapter shares findings that relate to the implications of a minority world woman researching an Indigenous population, as well as presenting discussion concerning the future role of The Mustard Seed Project (Uganda) (TMSPU). These two themes are interrelated and are thus represented in Figure 56 with a dashed line to show their interconnectivity.

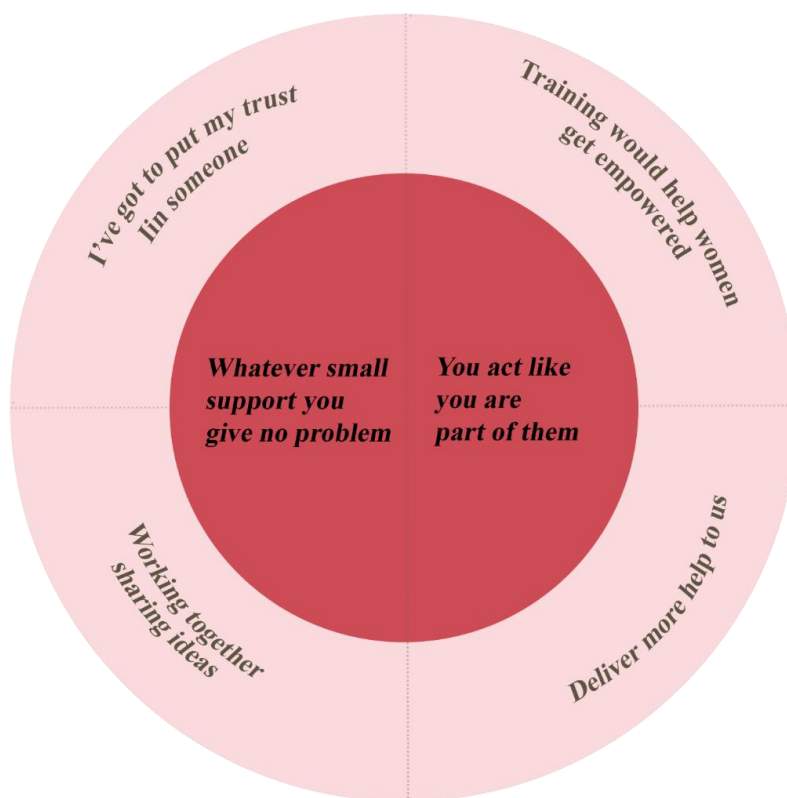


Figure 56 Presentation of qualitative findings 4.

7.1 You act like you are part of them

The first theme presents findings from my autoethnography as well as conversations with the participants about my positionality alongside photographs. In figure 57 I represent the positivity I feel from being with communities in Uganda. The speech bubbles represent memories of conversations I've had from previous visits as well as my recent research. However, this chapter also demonstrates some of the difficult issues, which will be presented later within this theme. I have used artwork to draw attention to the entanglement of feelings I have concerning my positionality. The use of my artwork also relates to the women's pictures which demonstrated issues that impacted their lives. Taken together they provide visual representation to our relationality and relationships within the constructed assemblage of the projects.



Figure 57 Positive reflections from working with communities in Teso

The findings in this theme show my effort to adhere to Afrocentric values throughout my research process. I already detailed in 3.4 how I refused to be seated on a chair when spending time with participants who were sat on the floor, and through sharing my fascination and naivety concerning IK (6.1) I also reflected on this experience in my field notes, *I told them that University might give me theories but not this amazing lived experience. Joyce and Alice nodded enthusiastically replied that it is vital I continue to spend time learning from them.* I also demonstrate my relationality and reciprocity through speaking in the local language of Ateso and asking for help in learning their language (7.1). The interview with Agnes (Tisai) demonstrates my attempt to converse in Ateso:

Sally – Biabo ijo lolo? [How are you today?]

Agnes – Etamit! [Fine} Biabo? [And you?]

Sally – Ejok, ejok, ejai ejokuna [good, good, it's good]

Agnes – Mmm Elalami [thank you]

Additionally, because many of the participants have been known to me since 2016, we were able to be relational through shared friends, and knowledge of each other's families. This is demonstrated in my conversation with Jesca (MIDA agriculture)

Jesca - I am so thankful and even happy that you have come today!

Sally – That's so nice to hear!

Jesca - To visit my home.

Sally – Your home is looking elai noi [very beautiful]. How are the children?

Jesca –Elai, ahhh! [laughs]. Ejok! Eyalama noi! [Good! Thank you so much]

Sally- I took a photo just now and sent it to our friend Ian, he says to tell you that your home looks lovely.

Jesca – Ahh!hm, eyalama. Ahh!

Ian had visited Jesca with me in 2017. Frances (MIDA agriculture) was also happy that I had returned and surprised that I had kept my promise to help the enterprises.

We love you so much. You come back! Some had no education but now they are here, they sleep comfortably with a mattress, and they can afford to buy sheet and blanket. The community are so shocked and so happy you helped so much.

Some participants highlighted that they were pleased that I continued to visit the community which shows their pleasure at our growing relationality. My conversation with Angela (MIDA agriculture) also highlights my connections with the group,

Angela – My home is there. You come to my home and eat with me. You visited it the first time you came.

Sally – I remember seeing it. I remember being impressed with your home.

Angela – Yeah, yeah.

Sally – I saw your raised beds.

Angela – Eh haaa!!! Peter also lives there. I live there with Peter. You bring your husband next time you come.

Sally – I wish I could grow wings and then I could just fly here whenever I wanted! [pretends to fly]

[they laugh]

Angela – Eyalama.

Sally – Thank you that's so many lovely things that you've told me I've written lots and lots and lots that you've told me.

Angela – That's because we are together with you. And we pray to God to help you all days. Mmmm.

Angela uses the term 'together' to demonstrate the support of the group for my research. This connection is also demonstrated in my conversation with Betty (MIDA tailoring)

Betty – I am very happy to talk to you. I'm happy to see you. I am happy that you have flown again to see us. You people keep coming, keep coming to see us. Bring your family again.

Sally – Mam ipodo! (no problem!)

Despite, Betty's happiness at my visit, she refers to me as 'you people' which appears to other my presence and separate me from the community. To overcome being 'othered', I share my

relationality with all the groups during speeches when we first meet during each visit, an example is provided below:

Alice – My name is Alice. I am a counsellor at the women's shelter. Before we talk, we are going to introduce ourselves. Sally, please go first.

Sally – Yoga kere. Ekakiror Sally. [Hello all. My name is Sally.] My Iteso name is Aminat [Beloved] and it means as much to me as my English name.

[Women cheer]

Thank you so much for that welcome. It was beautiful you all look elai, [beautiful], health and strong. I loved your dancing and singing and the way you are wearing the banana leaves [women cheer]. Your testimonies got to my heart. They moved me [Sally points to her heart, the women cheer.]

I am here from the UK; I bring greetings and love from my family and my friends [women cheer]. For those of you that do not know me, I am a teacher in the UK. But I also run a charity called The Mustard Seed Project.

Thank you for sharing your stories. This is how it should work, that we worked together, and we are open and transparent. I'm going to have discussions with these women [points to project leaders] and we will start to help you more with the sheep and maybe machines. And we will talk about it more once we see how they are working.

[Women clap and cheer].

The most important thing is that we stay together and work together because together we are strong. When we are together, we support each other, we help each other, we solve problems. That way we will remain powerful, and we will be healthy and happy, our children can be educated, we can start to afford more resources, and we will have a happy community.

[Women cheer].

In this introduction I highlight the importance of ‘*togetherness*’ by repeating the term. I also use the word ‘*we*’ to show that I am part of their group. I did not explain that I am a PhD student as I felt that by sharing my teaching background, I would be more relational to the group. I asked participants whether they saw me as part of their communities or separate, Frances (MIDA agriculture) told me; *You are one of us. You helped us survive by providing resources and now you eat, sing, and dance with us. We are happy to be with you and we enjoy your company.* Similarly, Margaret (MIDA tailoring) told me,

Thank you for coming to MIDA. You found us under a tree. You welcomed us and listened to what we wanted to be done. You promised us and fulfilled it because of the sewing machines. So, we are grateful, and we are doing fine. I’m so happy. I’m so grateful, very, very grateful. You are now part of our community.

Agnes’s acceptance of me within their community is based on me listening to their needs and providing sewing machines through the TMSPU. I asked Joyce how the Indigenous group viewed me,

Sally – I wonder how your group see me. Do they think, ‘here is Sally and she is an outsider, she has got the money’ or do they see me as connected and part of the group. Am I insider, outsider, or both?

Joyce – As part of them because they already communicate with me. They always want to hear from me whether I have talked to you. What have you said? When are you coming? What should they prepare when you come? You are now part of them, and you are part of the team, and they prepare as a team to welcome you. I think they gave you a name, Aminat, so when a person like you comes and they give you a name that shows that people have liked you and loved you and way they give you a name like that you should not even change or reject it. So, you welcome that name.

Sally- Thank you, I am proud of my name, Aminat.

Joyce - And most of the sheep they have called them Aminat, yes, Aminat, Aminat, Aminat. Mine has given birth to Aminat, Aminat has given birth to...Now they have told me Aminat has a husband. Tell her to come with her husband.

Despite the physical distance between the minority and majority worlds we inhabit we are still able to forge connections, mostly via WhatsApp messages, to share our news. The group had

heard through such messages that I had been ill with COVID19, Angela (MIDA tailoring) told me, *I am thankful to God for protecting you through COVID*. Christine (Teacher), shared:

You know the situation and you have a feel for the place. You thought, how can you help? If you choose to be a missionary, you need to see them. The education you have provided in Tisai will start the transformation. In time, your school will produce a nurse and a doctor. You see humanity first and then you have a heart for the vulnerable.

Interestingly, I am perceived as a missionary, despite not declaring my religious status to the participants. However, Christine values me for the care that I have shown for their communities. The participants demonstrated their connectivity to me through gifts, which are illustrated in figures 58 to 61, in my field notes I write,

George called 'Aunty' [me] over and quickly measured my height in front of the group. An hour later I was presented with a dress and a bag. There was a lot of cheering. I promised I would wear the dress the next time I visited (27th October 2022, MIDA tailoring, Morukakise)



Figure 58 Being presented with a dress from MIDA sewing school



Figure 59 The gift of a chicken on Tisai Island

Further field notes detail other gifts: *I was gifted a chicken today by one of the village elders* (1st November 2022, Tisai), detailed in Figure 59 and I also noted that *At the end of my visit to a community project they insisted on gifting me two chickens and a turkey* (5th November 2022, Kumi). Charles (MIDA agriculture) also kindly provided me with gifts, *I have eggplants in my home and tomorrow, God willing, you will come to my home, and I will give you egg plants as my guest, I have mangos, I have oranges too. I will get them for you now.*

Charles's listing of the food he has grown through MIDA and his desire to share the food with me shows his pride in his accomplishments. In my field notes I also detail gifts I received:

Two members of the Indigenous group gifted me an ancient hand plough and calabash, along with herbaceous flowers to make tea. I was told they wanted to give me gifts that had belonged to their ancestors. I attempted to share how genuinely touched I was. I also made them laugh by using the plough on their land. They were keen to show me how to use it properly and I promised that I'd send photos of me using it in my UK garden. (21st April 2023, Kumi).



Figure 60 Being gifted a Calibash that had belonged to the group's ancestors.

I also reflect on the generosity of the communities in my autoethnography,

Today I was gifted a beautiful, beaded necklace from the Indigenous Women. I asked an elder on my compound if I should have accepted it or provided a gift in return. She explained that providing gifts for visited is rooted in Ateso culture and it is rude to refuse a gift. However, I can not help but feel bad as the women have so little. I also can't help but wonder if such gifts are given to encourage me not to forget about the needs of the groups. This afternoon a boy from the village where I am staying bought me a hat. He explained he wanted to buy a hat for the nice English lady. The family have little money, yet he used the few shillings I gave him for sweets, to buy me a gift. His Auntie asked for my WhatsApp and wants to keep in touch. I feel I might be asked to sponsor the boy. I feel guilty at doubting their intentions, but I also know that my skin colour reflects money, and a connection might represent hope for a better future and people are desperate for any help here.

Kumi, 4th November 2022

In my autoethnography I start to question other reasons for being provided with gifts during my visit as I contemplate my positionality. However, when receiving gifts, I attempted to act with reciprocity. I write in my autoethnography,

I sat on a mat speaking to Jesca in her compound. We were sharing stories of our families. She shared how she had named her youngest child, Ian, after one of my friends who visited the projects with me in 2017 and paid Jesca's medical bill so that she could deliver her child (Ian) in hospital. She sent little Ian into her beautifully swept hut, and he brought out a chicken for me to take back to my compound. I felt genuinely humbled and touched by her kindness and reciprocity. I gave her one of my bangles that I was wearing and told her that I couldn't wait to visit her again soon.

28th October 2022



Figure 61 Receiving a chicken from Ian

Similarly, my conversation with Rose (MIDA agriculture) shows my effort to show reciprocity.

Sally – Sorry, I haven't got your name down yet, ekakiror Sally. [My name is Sally]

Angela – Sally Aminat

Sally – Aminat

Rose – [Laughs] Mmm I'm Rose, Rose. I like your bracelets.

Sally – Oh Rose, nice, pretty name. Elai! [Beautiful!]

Rose – Elai ejok! [Beautiful, good!] I want to give you one of my chickens when you leave.

Sally – Oh Eyalama noi [Thank you so much]. In my garden in the UK, I grow roses so now I will think of you when I look at them.

Rose – Eebo! [Yes!]

[Rose laughs]

Sally – Eyalama, [thank you] here, you have my bracelet.

Rose – Eyalama, eh eh!

Sally – Mam ipodo [no problem]

Rose – Eh eh eh!

Sally – You think of me when you see the bracelet and I'll think of you when I see my roses.

Rose –[laughs]

[Sally and Rose hug]

The giving of gifts shows how elements of the non-human can strengthen connections between me and the communities or participants. The gifts that were given in relation to the participant's ancestor also highlight the influence of the past on relationality. However, despite the generosity and kindness shown by communities I still contemplate my positionality, this is demonstrated in my discussion with Andrew (NGO worker in Teso):

Sally - How do you think Mzungus are seen here.

Andrew - ... The truth I want to tell you, people are very different Sally, and you are different. You are so unique. Different to the whites I have worked with. So, some whites when they come to Africa, they act like they own Africa already.

Sally - It's embarrassing. I'm embarrassed.

Andrew - But Sally you are so different. You are just like an ordinary person you know. So, what am I telling you. Back in the village it depends how you come across.

How you present yourself to the community. You can show them you are from the UK, but they will have that perception, you are from the UK, we can't come closer to you but show them, but we are just the same. We are just a colour. Then they will treat you like them. They will treat you like their very own Why? Because you act like you are part of them. You treat them like you. Otherwise, I'm from the North I have done research in the West, East. Where I go, I don't know the language you know but I show them that we are one people.

I don't even show them that I am a learned person I have a degree I have a masters. Even when I research with children I even sit down on the ground and play with them. So that's the logic.

Once you do that, they see you as them. They see no difference and they feel so free, and they share with you all sorts of things. So, you just need to keep going, don't let the connection break. If you see there is any barrier trying to come between, see how to mitigate.

In this discussion Andrew shares suggestions for using strategies in alignment with Afrocentric values of relationality and respect. His revelation that some 'whites' act like they 'own Africa' may explain why those from the minority world are viewed with distrust by Indigenous populations or viewed as being powerful. This links to a subtheme within this main theme which examines issues of agency, power, and positionality.

Deliver more help to us

There were times during my research when I felt guilty, exploited, and/or vulnerable due to issues relating to my positionality. I have detailed this in the following image. The speech bubbles reflect conversations I had during my research from 2022 – 2023, along with exchanges from previous visits:



Figure 62 Memories of difficulties when working in Teso

I was frequently asked by participants and local people for funding during my research. This isn't new to me as on previous visits I have often been asked for financial support or to be a sponsor. Rose (Tisai) stated, *Actually, we are very happy that you people have come to help us and we do beg your pardon to have you deliver more help to us so that we really reach our heights* and similarly Margaret (Indigenous group) requested, *when you go back don't forget this group. If you can find a way of helping us a group to improve on our livelihood and the amount of money for loans, we will be very grateful.* The examples show that non-human elements in the form of money impact my positionality, through these demands I am made to feel like an outsider as a charity chair, rather than an insider who is part of the groups through relationality relating to shared connections.

There were also times when I was living on compounds when I was approached to be a sponsor; I detail this in my field notes:

I decided to go on a walk from my compound. Philip, the house boy, insisted on accompanying me to send off local children. I explained that I took this route many times and was happy to be alone and that I didn't mind the children. He persisted and explained he wanted to discuss his situation concerning lack of fees to return to study at Makerere University. I explained that I am paying my own fees and my son's fees and was not in a position to help. He laughed in sympathy, but I felt he didn't really understand that I had no money to spare. I felt sad that I couldn't help. My friends who have visited Uganda many times since 1993 tell me it is common to be asked and saying 'no' does not have the implications it might have in the UK. It is part of Iteso culture to ask for a sponsor.

Ngora, November 9th, 2022

This example shows how being white is associated with having available money for sponsorship. My driver told me that; *People assume I am rich because I associate with Mzungus*. My status meant that participants of the projects also asked me for funding. I provided an example of a woman asking money for hospital treatment for her daughter in 5.1 and wrote about a further example in my autoethnography,

I sat talking to my friend and interpreter over lunch on Tisai Island when a woman with a large sore on her swollen leg approached with a young daughter at her side. She pointed at her leg and explained to my interpreter that her leg was becoming more painful, but she couldn't afford the boat fare to the mainland for treatment. Normally, I refuse to help those asking for money, explaining that all funding is spent via my charity. However, I knew that if I didn't give the woman some of my own funds her suffering would get worse, and her family would also go through hardship. Contemplating on how the woman would not have to worry about treatment if she lived in the UK, and focusing on the principles of relationality, respect, and reciprocity, I gave her some shillings for transport and treatment.

October 27th, 2022

As well as being associated with funding and resources, I felt that my minority world status influenced the way my gatekeeper treated me. On my first visit to Uganda in 2016 I was introduced to church leaders by a UK NGO. The NGO trustees told me that in Teso it was vital to work within the Church of Uganda (CoU) due to issues of corruption and trust. Although my main gate keeper, who had been helping with TMSPU projects since 2016, was originally part of the CoU, he split from this church after failing to get a promotion. Consequently, he formed his own church and recruited several reverends or lay readers who had previously worked

within the CoU. As a charismatic leader who has worked with many European NGOs, his popularity in Teso is strong. He is seen to be able to help relieve poverty in his community due to his associations with those from the minority world, where he was put in charge of funding and projects. However, as my autoethnography shows our relationality became strained due to our positionalities and his desire to promote his new church, I explain in the following extracts from my autoethnography,

Today friends told me that they felt I was being exploited by a church leader because of being white, 'he insists on parading you around Kumi at every moment' they said. They said even their local friends in the town have said 'that leader is exploiting that white woman.'

October 18th, 2022

Colonial and socio-economic inequalities continue to influence in an area where white people are rarely seen and when they visit the area they are deemed as powerful and monied. Hence, these extracts demonstrate how these non-human actants of colonialism, socio-economic structures, and religion form an entanglement with me, as a charity chair and researcher, and the gatekeepers within the socially constructed assemblages relating to the projects. During my visit I encountered further issues with my gatekeepers, which are written in the following extracts from my field notes and autoethnography alongside figures 63 to 67.

Today we delivered the sheep that we had bought at the kraal to the Indigenous Women's group. On the way to the group, we picked up a man in Kumi who accompanied us and took some photos. I didn't think anything of this until I discovered that the Church leader had paid him to write a local newspaper report detailing how his church gifted the sheep aided by my support for the church (Figure 63). I told the church leader that this was unacceptable, and he needed my permission to publish such an article, and that my charity does not support religion, but he refused to speak to me about it. He is clearly using my presence to promote his influence and his church.

Date 8th November 2022



Figure 63 The newspaper article promoting the new church's gift of sheep

The church leader asked if I would like to visit Karamoja region as he thought it would be useful for my research. Having read with interest about the Karamoja, and listened to my participants discuss the issues of this marginalised region and how they impacted Teso, I was genuinely excited to visit this area. We had to wake early as this was to be a long journey. Several other church workers from the leader's new church joined us in the car and others followed ahead on a boda boda!

We set off to Karamoja and after about an hour's drive we stopped at a church which had converted to the religion of the church leader. They had cooked for us, and the church leader delivered a service promoting the values of his new church.



Figure 64 A meal is provided in a village church

We travelled further into the African bush. The area was incredibly dry and visibly impacted by climate change. We passed hut villages, and we travelled over make-shift bridges made of wooden planks haphazardly placed across swamps. We often got stuck and the leaders had to get out and push the car.



Figure 65 Following a boda boda into Karamoja.

Finally, we reached a larger village of huts with a rudimentary church structure made of branches and straw. We were welcomed with cheering, women and children came over to touch my skin and hair, but several children started crying as they had not seen a white person before. I was told that I was the first Mzungu to visit the area. We were led into the church in which approximately 200 people assembled. Children sat at the front on the mud floor. Many were coughing. There were prayers and sermons, and the church leader once again promoted his church, the service, spoken mostly in Ateso, lasted two hours. Following the sermons three local men who are leaders stood to speak. They begged me to help their community, explaining the nearest water source was 10km away and they had no school or medical facilities. They asked me to write to my politicians and to send money. I felt guilty, helpless, but also exploited. Did the church leader bring me here to promote his church and use me as a beacon of hope for this community due to my white skin? I felt upset that they thought I could bring aid and had to remind myself that I cannot help everyone.



Figure 66 A visit to a church in Karamoja

We left as it was starting to get dark and I was anxious about driving through the bush in the evening. I asked what time we would reach home, but I was ignored, and the passengers continued their conversations in Ateso. I noticed that we were heading towards Mount Elgon, which is a distance from Kumi and in the wrong direction to where I was staying. It transpired we were visiting another village to look at land that had been gifted for a church. We were fed again, and I was photographed and had my skin and hair touched by women and children. I was feeling exhausted and found myself shouting 'Mam' (no) as children grabbed hold of me. Again, following another service the community leaders begged me for help. I barely responded, even when I was gifted a chicken. I regretted being unfriendly and uncommunicative towards the leaders and children, but I was feeling emotionally and physically exhausted from continuously showing respect and reciprocity when I was feeling that I was being taken advantage of by the church leaders.



Figure 67 A visit to Elgon to see an area for a possible new church

Eventually we reached home at approximately 2.00am. I felt that I was being paraded within these marginalised and impoverished communities to promote a church leader and his new church. I believed that he was using me to demonstrate that he had connections with a UK charity, knowing that I was associated with hope and relief. I felt sorrow that the communities lacked so many vital basic resources and worried about the poor health of the children. I felt their desperation and I felt hopeless as I knew that I could not provide the relief they craved.

I had tried to adhere to Afrocentric principles of respect, relationality, and reciprocity throughout my time in Teso, but feel that the power balance has shifted, and I am left with little agency due to being used as a conduit for the promotion of a new church. Can I continue to show respect, relationality, reciprocity towards these men and do I now need to rethink my representation of them? Moreover, would I have been treated differently if I was a white male? Does their patriarchal nature influence the way I have been treated? Can I still work with them? How will this impact the charity?

12th November 2022

The extracts represent my growing distrust. They also demonstrate how the use of gatekeepers has shifted the power balance within this research by impacting the focus of my study. The gatekeeper was attempting to territorialise the socially created assemblages within religion by exploiting my position. As such my research ethics, based on Afrocentric principles, shifted as I questioned his motives. I also questioned whether I would stick to the boundaries of my ethics or create my own line of flight regarding the direction of the charity. This issue is discussed further in the next theme of the chapter.

There were also times, that reflexively, I used my positionality as a woman from the minority world to territorialise situations. The following extracts from my autoethnography detail these situations:

A police officer stopped us on route to Kumi. He thought it was funny that I spoke a little Ateso with him. He asked how England was and could he visit, 'Of course, you'd be welcome' I replied. I used my positionality to deflect from the fine he was about to give my driver. As we

drove off my driver exclaimed 'The Mzungu saved me!' I felt happy that I'd saved him from a fine but awkward that I had used my positionality to my advantage.

October 13th, 2022

I met a friend from Teso for lunch in Kampala today. For the first time in all my visits to Uganda she offered to pay half the bill. However, instead of accepting I refused. However, I have since questioned what my refusal says about my privilege. In the UK friends and I would normally split the bill.

April 2023

I told a colleague at Makerere University that I was worried about delivering a teaching seminar to undergraduates based on my research in Uganda when I am from the UK. 'Don't worry' he replied, 'they'll listen to you because you are white'. Despite wishing that my research wasn't deemed worth listening to because of my skin colour, I was also partly relieved that my minority world status would ensure that the class gave me their attention.

October 10th, 2022

In the first two situations I am only reflexive that I have used my privilege after the interaction has taken place. This suggests that at times I am unaware of how my actions represent my privileged positionality. The last extract shows that I cannot help but feel relief at my privilege in unfamiliar situations. However, in these cases I am promoting the binary between the privilege of the minority world compared to the positionality of those in the majority world.

The theme has demonstrated that when adhering to Afrocentric principles with the women participants of the groups they were able to relate to me and share their lives and knowledge. Such principles were able to help me connect to the groups and participate in reminiscing, meals, singing, and dancing. The non-human materiality of gifts helped strengthen our relationality despite my questioning of whether the gifts were given to ensure future funding or sponsorship.

However, the chapter also shows that when using the same Afrocentric principles with men church leaders they can territorialise the assemblage to create new boundaries within religion and grow their power and influence. The findings demonstrate that my minority world status is connected to money and power but sometimes I unconsciously abuse this privilege, and this adds to structures and boundaries associated with colonialism and privilege. These findings

show that my positionality in Uganda is fluid, shifting from being an insider to an outsider, from being subjugated to being privileged. Partly based on the shifting power imbalance, the next theme presents findings relating to the future role of TMSPU in Teso.

7.2 Whatever small support you give, no problem!

This final theme presents the participant's views on how the TMSPU can help further alongside the future direction of my work in Teso. I asked participants how the enterprise projects might be improved. Angela (MIDA agriculture) told me,

Yes... First of all, I want to thank you because I am able to keep my sheep [points to sheep which we can hear in the background]. Then we have the cows.

The problem facing us is that the cows have not been able to be enough for all members. They have not reached all the members. But even though they have not reached all the members, yet we are still grateful [they all laugh]; because you promised them, and you were able to finish what you have promised us and still bought them.

Like findings presented in the previous theme (7.1), Angela is not only grateful for the resources but also that I kept a promise. The desire for more cows is also expressed by Mary (Tisai), *If we had cows, we could get milk and then if there was sickness we could get milk, we could sell any milk we had left or share it with the group.* Helen (Tisai), however, also wished for more resources for enterprise:

We are trying to make also soap. Soap has been a challenge because of start-up capital, start-up capital money. That's why we request help again for soap. So, we can help our families and community.

The request for soap is not based on an individual need but on a communal need to benefit the community. Similarly, Margaret (Indigenous Women) requests funds for microloans based on community needs,

If you can find a way of helping us as a group to improve on our livelihood getting resources to help us improve the amount of money, you can get as loans or support us in anyway, that can improve our family and group livelihoods we will be very grateful to see you come back after finishing writing the information for your study.

A further reference to me returning, alongside the request for resources, is made by Sarah (MIDA tailoring), *I am happy that you have come to visit us but when you go back don't forget this group. Whatever small support you give no problem! I will pray for you to visit us again.*

Participants explained how learning a skill is more important to them than education, Jesca (MIDA agriculture) explains how she would prefer her daughter to learn a skill rather than attending school, *once she has learned the skill, she will be able to earn instead of taking time at school* This reveals that earning a living is more important to Jesca than education. Alice (GBV counsellor/ GBV shelter chair) explains this issue further,

High unemployment is bringing about the issue of needing a skill. So, people are looking for vocational skills. They think 'why should I continue in education, having a tailoring skill is better than a degree'.

This issue is also highlighted by Charles (MIDA tailoring); *The youth who didn't get an education can; this is where we all learn* and Jacinia (MIDA agriculture), *There is a lack of money in families.* Lucy (MIDA agriculture also explains; *You may have gone to school, but you have no skills.* This concern is also explained by Margaret (MIDA agriculture) *Social enterprises are more beneficial. People are staying at home without a job. They have the right qualifications; they are willing to work but they have no job.* Clearly, those with educational qualifications are struggling due to unemployment and therefore regard being taught a skill through social enterprise more beneficial. In this way non-human actants in the form of money, materials for enterprise, and skills knowledge, form an entanglement with socio-economic issues.

While education is generally considered a positive and impactful intersection, in rural Teso, it does not necessarily translate into privilege. Given the high unemployment rates in the rural economy, being educated beyond lower secondary school often does not confer significant advantages to participants. As a result, possessing a practical skill is regarded as a more critical intersection for enhancing health and wellbeing, providing individuals with better opportunities for employment and self-sufficiency.

In addition to preferring to learn a skill rather than gain an educational qualification, many participants also highlighted the importance of learning basic literacy and numeracy alongside the enterprise projects, this is presented as a subtheme in the following section.

Training would help women get empowered

Participants highlighted how learning an enterprise alone is not sufficient to help transform the lives of communities. Luke (Tisai) explains,

It needs to educate them on how to manage as a group because when they begin, when they are not educated, they will mislead, misuse err the income. It needs to train them on financial management as well.

Alice (MIDA agriculture trainer), also highlights the importance of sensitising women to their rights alongside training,

Women can be empowered to have authority if they can be given skills, vocational skills, in tailoring, catering, more than these kinds of skills, where they can get a way of getting their own livelihoods and authority and then they can have more control over their own resources. Training of women so that they know their rights... because most of them end up being oppressed.... So, training would help women get empowered and once they are empowered, they can be able to look after their own health as empowered women in society.

Alice believes that providing training concerning rights will provide women with greater agency over their lives. My conversation with Christine (Counsellor) and Margaret (Nurse) at the compound in Kumi, also highlights the importance of preventing GBV by supporting women to learn business skills alongside the projects. They believe this will provide women with agency concerning their management of money:

Margaret– Yes. They need to learn some basics. So even us, we are empowering women through these ... these... vocational skills we are giving them we need to teach them basic literacy. To learn how to write your own name, to learn how to sign, you know, those small, small literacy. They also need basic arithmetic, because of the, the loans they get with business they need to know that I have borrowed this amount of money and I'm going to pay this amount of interest so that you can pay your loan without being affected. So, they need to learn basic literacy and basic mathematics, so they know how to manage their finances very well. I think that would be helpful.

Sally - I think so.

Margaret - Because that one has affected them health wise. Because someone has borrowed a loan and does not know the repercussions of not paying the loan in time they end up in distress. The money has multiplied hhhhaay/and the women are like bring our money back if you don't, eh they end up sick.

Sally – So what happens if they don't pay the loan back do people come and take from the home?

Christine- She fails to pay the loan and now the loan people want to sell your garden which is the only asset you have and that causes conflict in the families. It has affected them psychologically, their mental health...

Margaret- – and early marriages. It can lead to early marriages.

Christine- Sometimes because of the loans you find a family forcing their daughter to get married so they can get money to repay the loans. So, the daughter is forced to leave school, she's married off, they get the money to pay the loans. So that's what's happening in our rural societies here

Alice (GBV Counsellor/ Women's Centre Chair) also expresses the issues of receiving a microloan.

It ought to be positive for a family but er we have issues. That er, for example, the patriarchy we talked about [puts on a voice] 'why are you having money you are my wife, why have you money you know who has given you money, you are my wife, why are you having money, which is this man who has given you money?' [laugh] So the communities need sensitisation about these loans.

This shows, when not provided alongside basic literacy and maths skills, microloans can lead to greater violence within Teso communities. Issues of corruption at state level are also referred to which relate to the findings relating to corruption presented in 5.2. Non-human materialities

in the form of microloans exist in an assemblage consisting of state powers, knowledge, and human actors which intra-act in the production of GBV. Alice refers to the importance of sensitisation being provided for men and women regarding the microloans. Involving men in projects was mentioned by many participants.

Hence, this is a subtheme within this theme.

Working together, sharing ideas

For many participants it is important to find a way of involving men in enterprise projects. Alice (MIDA agriculture trainer) explains,

Sometimes they feel ashamed and then as a man you know they say a man is a head of the family and sometimes they think it's just pride and their culture, why should I belong to this women's group? But we are telling them through sensitisation, we are telling them also to form groups, the men, to form groups, even the youth they should form groups and not only wait for women to form.

Pride is preventing some men from joining the women's enterprise groups. Alice explains how men are being sensitised to form their own groups, separate to the women's groups. Some participants explained how the men would appreciate enterprise projects other than tailoring, Luke (Tisai) explains, *It's very good only that some boys are not comfortable thinking men can be tailors, that's why I suggest that some of them have other courses, other skills.* Similarly, Robert (Tisai) states; *We request we have more enterprises for the men, carpentry, mobile phone fixing, mechanical skills, or a bakery.* However, Agnes (MIDA agriculture) believes that men joining the women's groups will prevent GBV,

Sally – Do you think it would be good then if more men came to MIDA?

Agnes – Ejokuna! [Good!], it will reduce domestic violence at homes people will be working together sharing ideas.

Charles (MIDA agriculture) explains why he joined the group and how it is improving relations within his home,

I saw the goodness of MIDA and how it was bringing help to other people. Number one we can now eat, we can now keep animals, eh, we can breed. There is food to cook at home. We plant vegetables, cabbages. The lady planted and we can't pick without asking so we would quarrel because we had so little.

The positive effects of MIDA compelled Charles to join the projects. The intersection of being married is strengthened through being part of an enterprise. I ask Sarah (MIDA tailoring) whether having more men would improve MIDA,

Sarah - We should select men with wisdom and men who are strong.

Sally – Would you let a man who wasn't strong join [laughs]

Sarah - They can enter MIDA but if their brain is thick, it is not a good idea! [We all laugh]

Sarah's comment concerning the possibility of men's brains being *thick* is possibly due to her negative experience of men's behaviour within her community. During my research I visited a women's GBV shelter (figure 68) which serves the women who form part of the Indigenous Group. The shelter not only helps victims of GBV but also works with men to prevent further violence. I spoke to Alice (GBV counsellor/ GBV Shelter Chair) about the shelter's role,

Alice – The shelter is supposed to deal with GBV issues holistically. ...Kumi shelter was supposed to be a sheltering shelter, but we cannot shelter because we don't have the funds. We cannot feed the women, we cannot treat them, we cannot dress them we cannot do as we hope to do for them. But we are just a reception centre. We are just receiving. So, you can see a woman coming, crying, naked but we cannot help her. So, it just...But we reopened in 2021 but we are no longer offering the medicines and services we used to offer but we try.

Sally – So obviously the shelters are really important.

Alice – Very important. However, other shelters who have the money who have the donors can run the women economic empowerment courses. However, we have not been able to do that. But we look at the empowerment of a woman economically as a big boost towards ending GBV because if a woman is financially stable, she has a right. So, their rights are suppressed because of the poverty, its left to the man you have to say 'yes sir' you don't have to question anything.

I also wrote about visiting the shelter in my field notes,

I was invited to visit a women's shelter in Kumi today. I was shown twelve beds in a large room where women were previously provided with a safe space, alongside a kitchen and boxes of resources such as food and medical equipment.

Unfortunately, the shelter has lost funding, and I was told the shelter can no longer provide overnight accommodation but now serves to sensitise communities on issues of GBV, women's rights, and act as an informal court concerning issues such as land rights. I was introduced to a 'model man' who used to be a GBV offender. He now shares his experience with local communities and speaks to men, urging them to stop violence, drinking, polygamy, and bride-price. Instead, he advises men to work alongside the women in the community and seek enterprise projects. He told me his guidance is proving successful because these words need to come from a man and a former perpetrator of GBV.

I was also taken to watch an informal court hearing attended by village elders, leaders within the community, and those that worked at the shelter. A woman had asked her husband and brother-in-law to attend court as they were trying to sell her land without consulting her. I asked Alice how they managed to get the men to attend, she told me, 'They would sooner settle here than have to attend formal police hearing, they trust us more and they know we can work it out together'.

Kumi, 8th November 2023



Figure 68 Inside the Women's Shelter

Working together to solve problems within the communities is key to the work of those involved in the shelter. Using a *model man* helps to deterritorialise norms and boundaries leading to GBV in the community. Following from my visit to the shelter I felt compelled to find a way to help it provide greater support and become more sustainable, particularly after Alice highlighted the need for enterprise projects to help sustain the shelter and the community it serves. Future decisions regarding the charity is a final sub theme in this chapter.

I have to put my trust in someone

This final sub theme relates to issues concerning the direction of TMSPU following from my findings and time living in Teso communities. In my autoethnography I am reflexive about continuing to work with church leaders in the following extract from my autoethnography,

Tonight, over dinner at my friend's compound where I am staying, I sat talking to my Itesot women friends about my concern over the church leaders' behaviour and how exploited I have felt at times during my fieldwork. I no longer feel I can work with men church leaders who have betrayed my trust. We discussed how I should move the charity away from the church and use women leaders to oversee the projects. Having seen the lack of women leaders during my research, I am wondering if having women leaders will provide role models in the communities and reset the balance. Nearly all the leaders I have seen over this last month have been men.

During our conversation, two of my friends, a nurse and a HIV counsellor offered to help run the projects and suggested recruiting the woman counsellor of the women's shelter to join as a leader. We discussed how it wouldn't be easy to move from the men church leaders, and our shift would cause jealousy and possible violence towards the women who have now volunteered to take charge. However, my friends were willing to take the risk as they could no longer witness the exploitation and genuinely wanted to help the women. They said the move needs to be cautious and slow. Through their animated talk, flow of ideas, and laughter they seemed genuinely excited about their new roles.

I feel that it is hard to know who to trust here, and I have witnessed how being white is associated with money and opens me and the charity to exploitation. Is part of my decision to redress the balance personal and based on my anger at the men's patriarchal exploitation of me and the charity? I have had moments when I wanted to close the charity because of the injustice I felt at both the charity, and I being exploited. Afterall, what would my trustees and UK supporters make of the behaviour of the church leaders? However, I feel that since 2016 the women we are helping, including those I sat with tonight, have slowly become my friends, and I see what a difference working with them, and a small amount of funding can make. I must put my trust in someone, and I feel I can trust these women who work in vital roles as an HIV counsellor and a community nurse and therefore understand and emphasise the plight of women in this region.

Ngora, 13th November 2022

Spending time with both the men church leaders and the women HIV and GBV counsellors,

and nurse during my initial research in Teso made me realise that the women were best served to understand the needs of the community. I felt they had a genuine desire to improve the health of women in Teso compared to the church leaders who were intent on self-promotion and power.

After discussing these issues with my UK trustees, we decided that it was the women that TMSPU should work with as leaders and that we should not work with the church leaders. I returned for my second research visit and decided to not contact the church leaders, I reflect on this in my autoethnography below:

I feel that it isn't reflective of Ubuntu ethics not to contact the church leaders during my visit, as I have always promoted our relationality. I am also concerned that culturally my behaviour would be viewed unacceptable. Nevertheless, my women Itseotl friends assured me I was behaving appropriately considering the church leaders treatment of me, the news article written without my knowledge, and the need for the charity to stay neutral from the church. I sensed they were also keen to gain agency through their relational roles in the projects.

My decision felt right, after seeing how the women in the enterprise groups were able to speak freely without the presence of men leaders. They were more open about their problems and confidently spoke about how they felt they could be supported. Two women complained about the church leaders buying their sheep for them when they can purchase the ones they want independently. They also explained that being able to purchase their own sheep would prevent arguments concerning who had the better animal. On previous visits the women have remained quiet in the group discussions whilst the men spoke. I even feel even the new women leaders that I am working with felt relieved as they were more talkative and open with me.

We visited GBV victims who had been helped by the shelter, many of whom are also members of the Indigenous Group, and they requested that the shelter be made sustainable through enterprise projects. The women leaders and I listened to their ideas and then met and discussed how we could meet their suggestions. Following the meetings, I had messages of support and encouragement from them the women I am now working with. Christine wrote, 'Good morning to you Aminat. Thanks for all we did yesterday, it was amazing! Together we are strong!'

Hopefully, continuing to work with these women leaders will set a precedent. It will redress the balance of a lack of women leaders in this area. I still believe in being relational and respectful, but I have also seen how this can become harmful when someone with power can abuse relationships.

Working together the women leaders advised on how they could use their knowledge to train the women, the following transcript is from my meeting with the women leaders and the GBV survivors who have benefited from the shelter (figure 69):

Sally – On my visit here in November, I went to see the shelter. I told my friends and community in the UK about our conversations, and we decided together that we would like to help you, along with Joyce, Christine, Alice, and myself. I want to hear from you all the ways we might help you as a group and the shelter become more sustainable.

Josephine – I have chosen a sheep because amongst all the domestic animals in the home it is the sheep that can produce faster. In a year I understand it produces twice.

Sally- That sounds like a good plan. Instead of running to the shelter and asking for soap and this and that, the women can start to breed sheep and afford such things.

[Joyce translates]

Josephine – Eebo, eyalama noi [Yes, thank you so much].

[Women clap]

Sally so when I get back to the UK, we can send funds and get your sheep to you. The same plan that we had with the other groups; we won't buy them all at once as you can choose your own animals.

[Women cheer and clap]

Margaret- We would like a bread oven to sell bread to the local community and pay some money back to the shelter. The men are keen to help with a bakery.

Angela- And besides that, we also request some tailoring and hairdressing training and resources.

Rosemary – When it comes to arrest of the husband it needs the police. But when they go to the police the police need some money. So, when you don't provide the police with some money to come to arrest your husband, maybe using a hired motorcycle or a car, then there is nobody who is coming to help. So those days went the shelter had some facilitation the woman facilitated to contact the police and the process would be very fast. So, all in all we are asking for support to aid, facilitate, the process of the type of gender-based violence and the training and facilitation of education skills, and skills so that we can provide irrigation for our small families around our farm, especially for our kitchen gardens.

Sally – [Turns to the women leaders.] Are you able to facilitate that?

Joyce – Yes, yes, the training can be given to them. We can give them training.



Figure 69 Listening to the needs of the Women's Shelter Group

Interestingly, Joyce is offering to train the women, whereas when the church leaders were present during previous meetings, she remained quiet during our visits to groups. The women in this group wanted to join with the men to run enterprise projects and also highlighted the need for training and means of preventing climate change.

This theme has presented findings that demonstrate the need for further resources, alongside sensitisation projects, and the inclusion of men in enterprise projects. The participants highlighted how meeting these needs can prevent further issues of GBV. The chapter also illustrated findings relating to the future of the charity due to the territorialising behaviour of the men church leaders, which is based on my positionality as a white, woman researcher. The findings show that the women are more open in their discussions and can discuss how to solve issues within their communities without the presence of such leaders. Hence, the line of flight

from working with such leaders has provided women with greater relationality and agency. The next section discusses these findings in relation to existing research on these themes.

8: Discussion of Themes

This chapter discusses the themes presented in chapters four to seven through a conceptual framework combining the theories of intersectionality, new materialism, and Indigenous Knowledge which have underpinned this research. The theories will be utilised to examine the findings, alongside the use of existing literature concerning what is known about the issues. This chapter will seek to answer the research questions introduced in concerning the intersections that impact women's health in Teso, the impact of SEP in the region and how the projects could be improved, and the issues of a minority world researcher working with an Indigenous community.

8.1 There is too much sunshine

This first theme presented qualitative data concerning issues of climate change and changes to ways of life in Teso. These are broad themes which are implicated within global issues of politics, economics, and colonialism. Themes which deal more specifically with the micropolitics and socio-cultural aspects of Teso are discussed further in this chapter.

According to the participants, climate change is causing harvests to fail, and a lack of water is impacting further health determinants. Teso's economy is based on subsistence agriculture and livestock rearing and is hence climate dependent (Vail 1971). Most of the land in Teso used for crops is rain fed and the agricultural sector consists of small subsistence farms (Atamanov et al., 2022). This makes Teso specifically susceptible to weather changes. In 2016 and 2017 there was a marked increase in poverty in rural Uganda due to severe drought and pests (World Bank 2018).

In accordance with my findings, research by Egeru (2012) explores how climate change in Teso has been experienced through a variation in vegetation growth patterns and the end of seasonal patterns. The findings of my study demonstrate that climate issues are impacting traditional ways of living on the land for both humans and non-humans. Malaria is more prevalent, correlating with Egeru's (2012) findings which demonstrate that since the 1960s incidents of malaria are higher in the region due to flooding. Participants also noted a change in animal behaviour, with hippos encroaching on farms to steal livestock (4.1). According to

Tu'itahi, et al., (2021, p.74), such global ecological changes are a result of colonialism and the resultant rise of capitalism with its:

“...voracious appetite for the Earth’s resources. The subsequent dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their lands, the loss of relationship with their traditional landscapes and their ongoing suffering as a result of colonial oppression.”

I acknowledge the role of the minority world in climate change in my autoethnography (4.1) where I express my concerns that *“It feels unjust that the consumer lifestyles we live in the minority world are causing implications for these Indigenous people that survive off the land”*. This aligns with the views of the Rockerfeller-Lancet Commission on Planetary Health (1973, p.5), *‘We have been mortgaging the health of future generations to realise economic and development gains in the present.’* This was written in 1973, yet nearly 50 years later the climate emergency has significantly escalated. The ecological system constitutes the determinants of health, particularly for those living in rural Uganda, and unbalancing this system has a profound impact on population health and wellbeing.

This anthropocentric behaviour which creates a human/non-human binary is criticised by new materialists such as Haraway (1991), who argue that such divisions are rooted in colonialism and patriarchy. Championing a post-human sensibility, which recognises a continuum and relationality between humans and non-humans, can overturn such binaries. Fox and Alldred (2016), argue that the binary between human/ non-human, or nature/ culture leads to humans seeking technological or scientific means to address climate emergencies such as flood defences or crop improvements rather than understanding the relational assemblage in which the climate emergency exists.

The findings presented in this chapter draw attention to the materialities of mosquitoes, hippos, the soil, rainfall, and crops within the climate change assemblage. However, these bodies exist in a greater assemblage that includes capitalism, governments, and population growth.

Understanding the relationality of assemblages requires that climate change is understood at both a macro and micro level and that the interests of humans are not separate from the interests of non-humans and the physicality of earth (Anderson 2020). Merchant (1989) has long argued for the need to account for the agency of nature, placing both humans and non-humans as equals,

“The relation between humans and the nonhuman world is thus reciprocal. Humans adapt to nature’s environmental conditions but when humans alter their surroundings, nature responds through ecological changes” (p.8)

This explains why trying to combat climate emergency through anthropocentric, technological advances is not effective; our relationality with nature means that nature will respond in new ways. This view is also reflected in IK, which recognises there is no distinction between our relationship with people and that with the land (Wilson 2020). Tu’itahi, et al., (2021, p.79) recognise the importance of:

“Indigenous practices that orient to a shared future across generations for all our relations ... in ways that respond to converging and increasingly urgent calls for all sectors to work together to ‘heal the web of life’”

Recognising our relationality with nature can start to impact climate issues. This study will explore the ways in which the Indigenous participants of enterprise projects are working the land to protect their futures (see 8.5).

Acknowledging our relationship with the land relates to the tenets of Ubuntu. According to Terblanché-Greeff (2019, p.94), ‘Africans have vast cultural knowledge systems regarding their relationality to human, non-humans, and nature’. Ubuntu prescribes sufficiency whereby present and future generations are provided with resources to meet their basic needs through shared goals (Terblanché-Greeff 2019). However, minority world sustainable development paradigms focus on progress as a means for populations to exceed beyond their needs (Mebratu 1998). Such development ignores cultural traditions and socio-cultural power is removed from communities. Self-interest through material wealth accumulation is contributing to the climate emergency. Klein (2014, p19), contests,

“What the climate needs to avoid collapse is a contraction in humanity’s use of resources: what our economic model demands to avoid collapse is unfettered expansion. Only one of these sets of rules can be changed, and it’s not the laws of nature.”

A binary exists between the destruction of the planet and the expansion of human development and resources. The relationships between capitalism and sustainable development need to be reconsidered. To avoid further devastation, a paradigm shift towards a monist world without hierarchies which recognises our relationality to the environment is required.

This paradigm shift could involve Raworth's (2017) theory of Doughnut economics as discussed in 2.7. Doughnut economics could help to mitigate climate destruction and encourage recognition of our connections to the planet and rethink human domination. It also encourages humanity to move away from a continuum of development and consider global basic needs. This could be achieved through societies living in the '*space in between*' (p.25) where human and non-human needs are met, resources are protected, and the planet can thrive (Ibid). This chapter will discuss how the enterprise projects researched, present a tangible version of such a paradigm shift.

This theme highlights how mature age intersects with the climate emergency, alongside intense work burdens and caring for a family. The WHO (2024) defines older people as being aged over 60. In 2020 the life expectancy of Ugandan women was 66.7 years, however in 2024 this has increased to 69 years (WHO 2024), suggesting an increase in an aging population. According to Knizek et al., (2021) the majority of Uganda's older population live in rural areas, where economic resources and access to healthcare are limited. Additionally, urbanization has affected the well-being of older people. Many parents move to urban areas for work, while children are often left in the care of grandparents to assist with family duties (Ibid) This shift places greater economic strain on older adults, who must now provide for their extended families' needs, including food, education, and healthcare. Consequently, older adults face increasing poverty and labour demands, which negatively impacts their overall well-being.

The study also highlighted the intersection of climate change with youth and those with higher levels of education. Young people's concerns about climate change were illustrated in research by Barford et al. (2021), which showed that youth in northeastern Uganda expressed a strong interest in learning more about climate change. The study underscored their vulnerability to climate impacts and noted that youth responses are often hindered by limited knowledge and resources. For instance, adverse weather conditions prevent young people from working on farmland or operating boda bodas during rain. Participants in Barford et al.'s (2021) study were particularly eager to learn how to interpret and predict weather patterns and to explore Indigenous knowledge of climate adaptation. Such knowledge could provide a more community-centred and resilient approach to addressing the climate emergency.

Participants with higher levels of education in this study were more likely to reflect on climate change issues compared to those primarily focused on daily survival. This aligns with findings from a study by Twinomuhangi et al., (2021), which similarly show that climate change

awareness in Uganda is generally higher among the educated. Those with more education often have a greater understanding of climate information, which is frequently conveyed in scientific or technical language that can be challenging for less-educated groups to grasp. For instance, radio broadcasts tend to use complex terminology when discussing climate issues, making it difficult for less-educated audiences to follow (Ibid). This was echoed in this study when Joyce explained that climate messages on the radio are often ignored by many due to comprehension barriers (see 4.1). Perceptions and responses to climate issues vary significantly based on individual factors such as education level, age, economic status, and environmental surroundings, all of which are crucial considerations in addressing the socioeconomic challenges arising from the climate crisis.

The findings in this section highlight how intersecting factors—such as age, educational level, health status, and resource scarcity—affect women’s health in Teso at a local level, while being influenced by a larger assemblage of capitalism, politics, and climate change. This study thus reveals a tangible connection between the health issues of a marginalized community and the decisions and policies originating in the minority world.

Climate Change and Conflict

Conflict ensuing from climate change is a sub-theme within the main theme of the findings. The participants shared how issues of climate change cause physical violence in communities due to a lack of resources, along with issues of gender-based violence relating to the burden of women’s work. The photographs in this section draw our attention to the participants concerns over the loss of their crops (4.1).

Regions with ongoing conflicts, state marginalisation and economic reliance on agriculture, endure elevated conflict risk following climate change (Koubi 2019, Ide et al., 2020., von Uexkull, Loy, and d’Errico 2023). According to the findings in this study conflict stemmed from Karamojong cattle raiders. Historically, this tribe were believed to raid livestock due to their irrational devotion to cattle (Sikuku Isaac 2023). However, research has shifted this debate. According to Mamdani, Kasoma and Katende (1992, p.37) the state was responsible for impoverishing the region through development policies based on individualism which *‘eroded the basis of community regulation on resources. The stage was set for individual households arriving at individual survival strategies.’* These neoliberal policies are discussed in 2.5.

Abrahams (2021) study revealed that climate change in Karamoja leads to extended dry seasons, which, in combination with social, economic, and political factors, has resulted in a

shift in the character of dispute. There are increasing incidences of localized clashes which threaten individuals' security and the stability of the region (von Uexkull et al., 2023). Climate change alongside increased political marginalisation and resultant poverty is causing violence and theft which impacts women due to their positionality as the main caregivers in rural Uganda (Naybor 2015). The violence extends to Teso region, this is apparent in the pictures that the women gave me in addition to their narratives (4.2).

Alcoholism leading to GBV is also attributed to climate change by the participants in this study, not only by the neighbouring Karamojong but also in Teso. Alcoholism in Northeast Uganda is a result of poverty resulting in loss of identity as discussed in Chapter Two (see 2.7). Significant changes in rainfall patterns have also resulted in family conflict due to decreased food security and loss of identity for men in northeast Uganda (Abrahams 2021). According to Abrahams (2021) this results in men drinking higher rates of waragi (a hard alcohol that is often homemade), which has increased debt, theft, and created GBV. This relates to the pictures of youths and men drinking provided by participants in this study (4.2). I link issues of alcoholism to the impact of racial capitalism later in this chapter.

Climate change is also impacting women's burden of work in Teso. This is supported by a growing body of literature which demonstrates how climate issues are interlinked with GBV in the home and how gender inequity, linked to survival, produces specific and unequal vulnerabilities for women (Hayhurst and del Socorro Cruz Centeno 2019). Through the lens of gendered relations of production and social reproduction, women in Teso are expanding their labour capacity as an adaptive response to economic stressors caused by climate issues. Climate change linked to socio-economic issues intra-act in a boundary making exercise leading to gendered labour conditions.

Rural Ugandan women suffer time constraints due to heavier burdens of work impacted by drought which also leads to them walking longer distances. In this study Alice explains, "*And also there is no water. I have to walk three miles to look for water. When I come back, they say I went to cheat on a man and I get beaten.*" (4.1). Asaba, et al., (2013) argue that young women in Uganda disproportionately suffer from nutritional deficiencies and the burdens associated with travelling further to collect water when boreholes are affected by drought. The authors also argue that women are prone to attack from humans and animals when collecting water. The impacts of climate change are unevenly felt; those with the least power and resources are the worst impacted, further exacerbating the existing inequalities.

The findings of this research show that, driven by the needs of their families, women endure a greater burden of labour in their pursuit of vital resources. In comparison men increased their alcohol consumption as a coping device which has led to increased violence. Women's higher burden of work is demonstrated in the women's drawings of them working the land in comparison to pictures of men drinking (4.2). Consequently, the climate emergency is leading to a widening binary between the roles of men and women as prescribed gender roles, gender divisions of labour, and social inequalities connect with this global emergency.

However, some feminist critics are critical of this gendered framing as it depicts non-white women in the majority world as victims without agency and obfuscates their voices and resilience (Moosa and Tuana 2014). A gendered analysis of climate change must look at the vulnerabilities of both men and women through an intersectional analysis. Rather than prioritising gender norms, attention needs to be given to other intersectional factors that impact vulnerabilities such as politics, social norms, and economic factors. Furthermore, a gendered framing overlooks how women adapt and use their knowledge to combat climate issues (Tuana 2013). Therefore, listening to the voices of women at a grassroots level is vital. Such adaptation practices relating to this study are demonstrated in Chapter 6 (see 6.2). This paper will now examine the intersectional differences relating to politics and socioeconomics which lead to notions of women and development.

Knowledge of Climate Change – *It's all about survival*

A further subtheme within this section relates to participants' knowledge concerning climate change and their understanding of how to adapt to the crisis. Although participants were aware of climate change and the causes of this emergency, issues of survival in a harsh climate take precedence. The women participants shared their pictures of men cutting trees to demonstrate their concern about this issue and discussed deforestation of Teso in their narratives. This is also reflected in Ariba's (2023, p.112) memoirs of life in Teso, "*All the big trees are gone, and the land is quickly being sold to strangers.*"

The gendered nature of climate concern is reflected by Anne, "*if you also want them to participate in climate change what will happen is that you talk to the women*" (4.1). The view that responsibility of climate action lies with women aligns with the framework *women, the environment, and development* (WED) which typically places women as casualties or custodians of their environment yet fails to examine intersections of race or gender within their analysis (Hayhurst and del Socorro Cruz Centeno 2019). Placing the caretaker role on women

also adds to their burden of work. Similarly, ecofeminism holds that women have the potential for environmental transformation through the woman-nature connection compared to men-culture (Seager 2008). This theory holds that women have a natural propensity towards nature whereas men are more concerned with issues of culture. Although this is evidenced in my study, developing this theoretical standpoint further promotes a binary in opposition to IK which upholds relationality between nature and culture to protect the planet (Wilson 2020). Binaries can lessen relationality between genders and lead to violence. Therefore, an approach is required that shows how multiple intersections relating to power shape our climate relations. It is therefore vital to understand the structural, colonial, and socio-economic inequalities that entangle with gender and race alongside everyday struggles for survival in Teso. This paper will be examining these intersections that impact women's health in Teso further in the next section.

8.2 The ways of life are changing.

*Listen, my clansmen,
I cry over my husband
Whose head is lost.
Ocol has lost his head
In the forest of books
(p'Bitek 1966)*

The findings demonstrate that population growth alongside capitalism have brought about changes to former ways of life in Teso. Ebanyat, et al., (2010) researched how land use in Teso has changed over the last decades through widespread soil degradation, wetland encroachment, low crop productivity as well as recurrent famines which have threatened the livelihood of small-holder farmers who have moved to seek work elsewhere. Ariba (2023, p. 120) also discusses how these issues impact communities in Teso:

“Land fragmentation has gone about as far as it can go. Today, people live on plots that are a fraction of an acre and have just three or four acres for agriculture. ... Many youths are driven into urban centres in search of cash because they have no choice.”

There is no longer enough land in Teso villages to earn a living through agriculture. The growing population means that parents are distributing less land and plots are becoming smaller.

This finding in my study shows that land fragmentation is affecting women who can no longer provide for their families via use of the land to grow crops (4.2). Prior to colonialism, land in Uganda was protected through tribal values, which, although mostly patriarchal, ensured that women had land rights (Baland et al., 2007). Farming work, which is mostly done by women in rural Africa, decreased in value as a new currency-based economy lessened the need for subsistence farming (Naybor 2015). However, this has not been matched with a growth of other opportunities. According to the World Bank (2023) Uganda’s labour force is growing by approximately 700 000 a year compared to the 75000 jobs created by the economy. There has been a deterioration in subsistence farming, yet there are few employment opportunities. This issue is resulting in increased economic instability, particularly in rural Uganda.

According to Naybor (2015), women’s lack of land rights creates economic dependency which increases GBV and limits women’s access to assets. *The Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women* (2016) called for agrarian reform and redistribution of land to ensure the right of women to share this land with men. Gaining land rights increases a woman’s ability to create food security for her family and reduce reliance on government aid, the UN Sustainable Development Goal One, No Poverty, (UN 2023) advocates that, *‘Ensuring women’s land rights helps reduce poverty, as women with secure land tenure have increased opportunities for income generation and economic empowerment.’* (n.p.). Despite Uganda’s acceptance of international declarations to protect women’s rights, disregard for the rights of women to own, use and manage land is widespread (Tripp. 2004). Indeed, in Uganda less than 7% of women own land (Asiimwe 2002). Cultural norms and traditions are often used to discount constitutional law (Naybor 2015). This is demonstrated in my study by Florence, who states, *“The land rights we have to go back to culture. Culture is the one holding the issues of land.”* (6.2). Culture has agential flows of affect in an assemblage where its relationality to colonialism, patriarchy and the law undermines women’s rights to land.

This research has drawn attention to how women are further undermined regarding intersections of education, age, marital and parental status in terms of leadership roles and their employment status. The study demonstrates how those who are privileged regarding intersections of gender, education and socio-economic status can reflect on the socio-historic and economic conditions that have shaped Teso and take on leadership positions to improve life within communities. For example, Charles is a frontrunner within his community through his leadership within teaching and football (see 4.2). Whereas those who are women, less educated, and more youthful suffer from a sense of ennui regarding their burden of work and men's lack of employment, which hinders such leadership and employment opportunities. Indeed, the women participants from this study, such as Angela (4.2) share how they work harder to maintain their family and marital status, even when skilled in a specialist occupation such as tailoring.

These findings concerning women's lack of leadership due to the intersections of education, gender, and socio-economic status are correlated by Mullany and Lumala (2022) who examine how gender, tribe, and family membership within rural Uganda intersect to restrict women's freedoms, decision-making and legitimacy in terms of how they are evaluated and judged for leadership positions. Their study also demonstrated how women taking on leadership roles were often subjected to gender-based violence for stepping outside of perceived boundaries of femininity. This is evident in my research where women showed hesitancy over accepting leadership roles for fear of recrimination (see 5.2)

Findings on the intersections of gender and education impacting women's employment at home align with those of Ahaibwe, Ssewanyana, and Kasirye (2018). Their research highlights that young mothers face limited employment opportunities, often remaining in the informal sector due to restricted job options. The authors note that young women who become mothers before entering the labour market experience diminished employment prospects. This study will examine whether SEP are able to provide employment and leadership opportunities within the rural Teso communities.

Lobbying for rural women's rights in South Africa, Ntombolundi (2011) argues that "*Women in rural areas must speak out. We must not hide our problems... That is why we need spaces of our own to figure things out for ourselves, together.*" (p.19). By encouraging rural women to become vocal, Ntombolundi (2011) is deterritorialising expected gender norms through creating a space for women to exercise their rights. This chapter will explore how the

enterprise projects studied, create spaces for women to advocate for their rights as well as providing resources to help them purchase land (See 8.6).

Because of the Western culture those kind of ideas are being kind of eroded

The erosion of communitarian ways of life is a further subtheme. Many participants acknowledged that globalisation and education are impacting former values based on a concept of communitarianism or ‘togetherness’ (6.2). Writing about her childhood home in rural Uganda, Orando (2023) reflects on the concept of Ubuntu,

‘Ubuntu underlies our clan’s approach to many things, including food, marriage, and social security, our symbiosis with nature, and, most importantly, our commitment to advance not just individually but collectively across generations and genders...’ (p.5)

This excerpt demonstrates the links between Ubuntu and IK; both respect relationality between humans and nature. Participants acknowledge that this relationality has been fractured through aspects of globalisation, including capitalism which has been furthered through neoliberal policies that promote the *individualism* referred to by Orando (2023). Individualism contrasts to moral norms that regulate self-interest and encourage social and interpersonal relations through reciprocity; such norms are more prevalent in social democratic societies that value communitarianism (Olssen 2009). Indeed, the failure of neoliberalism to create a just society has given a new impetus to social democracy (Ibid). According to Olssen (2009) social democracy relies on conditions for justice and equity. Such conditions include the maintenance of standards of living to allow for all to participate and live, equal opportunities for everyone, and the distribution of wealth, incomes, and resources to enable all to participate and flourish. In contrast neoliberal reforms promote a different moral order promoting individualism, self-interest, and ruthlessness to maximise welfare (Wiegratz 2010). According to Wiegratz (2010, p.133),

‘...neoliberalism changes not only the political economy but also the moral order of local markets, families, communities, and the country at large...this process is ongoing, nuanced contradictory, pervasive, speedy and contested, and has led to a range of severe, complex and connected problems for many Ugandans and for society as a whole’.

This situation described by participants in this study whereby climate change and globalisation have changed traditional, communitarian ways of life; people are seeking work away from the land to gain an income that corresponds to the neoliberal values of quick success, money, and

privilege (Wiegratz 2010). However, as previously argued, a lack of employment opportunities means that such work is not available.

In this research, Joyce (4.2) refers to IK and communitarian values as being thought of as *the wilderness* by learned individuals. This binary between education and wilderness reflects an imperialist gaze which viewed Africans society through “*a generalized notion of the noble savage, a mythological construction which Europeans evoked repeatedly in colonialist encounters*” (Neumann 1995, p.151). This othering has led to a dominant colonial theology, and more recently neo-colonialism through the unequal and coercive relationship between the minority and majority world.

Venugopal (2015) contends that such a relationship has led to a colonial-era structure of primary commodity exports, confining majority world countries into a dependent situation based on their economic vulnerability. However, this policy advice is based on self-interest, and an agenda focused on preserving the privileged position of the minority world. However, it not all Africans have suffered under neoliberalism. According to Andrews (2022) foreign imperialism has succeeded through collaborations with African leaders. Andrews (2022, p.155) argues that ‘*one of the main problems of Africa is lack of good governance... the disease of corruption is killing the continent*’ (see 1.4 for a discussion of Museveni’s governance). Far from being a move away from neoliberalism towards poverty reduction and development, structural adjustment packages, alongside collaborations with elite leaders, has provided a means of completing a neoliberal revolution. Capital has its own agency within an assemblage of economic policies, development organisations and governments, as discussed by Saldanha (2020),

‘Men in suits make decisions about arms and mining... driving farmers to suicide...and refugees to flee... But the men in suits must continually reinvest their profits or they risk being out competed: nobody masters capital’s fluidity. The institutional racism inheres in the fact that in the process of fiercely competing with one another, these capitalists can lay entire societies and ecosystems to waste and justify it as bringing ‘development’.” (p,20)

Capital’s relational agency is strengthened through competition. Institutional racism is based on notions of development as majority world countries are exploited and their ecosystems destroyed. This form of racism is also achieved through colonialism and later neo-colonialism’s influence on state apparatus, such as education and religion.

This study has found that education and the church had led to a move away from IK and

communitarian values (4.2). Colonial and missionary education was developed to promote the superiority of the imperialists by forcing students to unquestioningly adopt the culture of the colonisers ‘*To be fully human, they had to model themselves after the colonisers and reject everything that was African*’ (Dolamo 2013, p6). More recently, education is regarded as the main pathway towards securing a job within Uganda’s neoliberal economy, however, Jones (2017, p.213) writes,

“The Ugandan government, as well as many of its international backers, makes a fairly instrumental and straightforward set of links between schooling and jobs. It bears little reality for educated youth living in the country.”

From colonial times education in Uganda has served to create a surplus army of skilled workers. The colonial school system, according to Neumann (1995), was intended to produce a ruling class to perform the colonial imperialists’ economic roles whilst imbuing a desire for profit and industry. However, Uganda’s turn to neoliberalism has left the rural population with few job prospects. According to my study rising unemployment leads them to reject communitarian values. Education has increased individualistic notions of success, yet it is not matched by employment opportunities.

Notions of individualism were introduced through colonialism and then later neo-colonialism, and contrast to Uganda’s communitarian ethics which reflect the values of relationality, reciprocity, and respect. The fragmentation in communitarian values has resulted in increased poverty throughout Teso due to unemployment and this intersection impacts women more due to responsibilities around caring and resourcing for the family. The intersections of colonialism and neo-colonialism have been formed through decades of boundary-making exercises via the influence of global governments, organisations, and businesses in the minority world through the pursuit of greater wealth. This study will examine the possibility of deterritorialising the influence of such intersections through enterprise projects further in this chapter.

Collapsing masculinities

In addition to changes to broader ways of life participants shared concerns over men neglecting their families and not sharing the burden of work in Teso communities. Participants shared how men were spending ‘*leisure time*’ (4.2) at trading centres, drinking, and fishing.

Jones (2018) explores the issue of men in Teso who are educated but are also tied to farming due to a lack of alternative employment. As a result, young men are turning to boda boda taxi

driving, petty trading, or labouring. The Ugandan government has invested in state education so that every child can attend primary school and there has been a growth in higher education colleges which reflects the government's message that education is a way out of poverty (Venugopal 2015). However, there is a high level of youth unemployment and a decreasing value of academic certification which is proportionate the rising number of graduates (Jones 2018). The majority of those who have gone through the education system live in rural areas (Jones 2018).

Highlighting a lack of economic prospects, Ariba (2023) writes about disenfranchised young men in Teso selling family land as security for loans:

'...to find a life far removed from agriculture; a favourite strategy is to buy a motorcycle and start offering taxi services. The would-be entrepreneurs often fail but not before their land is taken over by debt collectors. They end up with no motorcycles, no land, and few prospects.' (p.119)

This cycle of debt and poverty is arguably caused by issues of racial capitalism which I discussed in Chapter Two (see 2.7). These were evident through my autoethnographical account of my time at the Kraal, where I witnessed a physical binary between men and women. Women were selling fruits, vegetables, and household goods whereas the men were selling the more expensive farm animals within different areas of the market. Participants explained that the animals were being sold without consulting women in the family and often the profit would be sold for alcohol.

The findings concerning the Kraal correlate with Brady's (2005) argument that in SSA legitimate spaces for women are such places as food markets, health centres, and tailors. These are places that confine females to fulfilling their gendered roles. Comparatively, appropriate public spaces for men are not necessarily linked to their gender. According to Brady (2005),

"...women feel too intimidated to use public spaces for fear of physical or psychological retaliation by men and authorities. In this way, "public space" de facto becomes "men's space." (p.39).

This demonstrates the agential capacity of space, in its relation to patriarchy, to place limitations and physical boundaries on the lives of women.

My study also explores how men's 'leisure time' is spent within trading centres – a space where men appropriate signifiers of wealth by wearing the latest football shirts or listening to

the latest music releases (4.2). Similarly, Vorhölter, (2018) explores how young Acholi men in Uganda explicitly adopt styles and behaviours which reflect notions of minority world modernity associated with wealth and individual freedom. Relatedly, Buwembo (2023) writes,

“In 2017, one of the biggest pop hit songs in Uganda urged people to take loans and buy cars so they don’ die before driving. So pervasive is the pursuit of money that industries based solely on money -like gambling- are growing faster than sectors engaged in production of tangible products. The obsession affects all age groups. Today, even youngsters under ten in the most rural areas of Uganda expect ‘consideration’ – a quid pro quo – before doing anything for anyone else” (p.103)

Capital has infiltrated all forms of life in Uganda, causing individualistic behaviour in contrast to the communitarian ethics discussed earlier in this chapter. This behaviour aligns with Norgaard, Reed and Bacon’s (2018) study of Kapuuk fishermen in California. The fishermen were often unable to fish due to environmental change, which led them to strive for meaningful identities and find ways to express their gender constructions and cultural values through alcohol and drug use.

The use of alcohol is a coping mechanism to combat a loss of identity, as well as a means of creating a subculture is apparent in this study. Despite not having a wage the young men were, like Buwembo’s (2023) observation, ‘*obsessed*’ with wealth. I noted in my field notes that male youths, whilst enjoying leisure time, were dressed in football shirts, and listening to music by stars who had achieved riches.

Such behaviour relates to issues of racial capitalism, which ideologically reproduces by masking its systematic violences while providing those in power with greater wealth. A lack of employment in Uganda has been caused by SAP instigated by the world bank, creating surplus labour and high levels of unemployment (See 1.4). The reduction of the public sector as part of the SAP resulted in job losses, private companies also folded as they were unable to compete with foreign businesses (see 1.4). Capital is inhuman and uncontrollable, yet it is conditional on consumers’ desires. Screening the effects of racial capitalism and its resultant unemployment, is achieved through the youth’s creation of subcultures around leisure time and the latest commodities. Although there have been studies on young men’s behaviour in rural Uganda (see Jones 2018), from my research this is the first-time men’s sub-cultures in rural Uganda have been linked to racial capitalism.

Jones (2018), researched concepts of leisure time in Teso, observing that,

‘...when young men spoke of leisure and leisure time, it was because leisure was a thing enjoyed by those who had salaried employment. It was a way of associating yourself with work even if you didn’t have a job,’ (p.341)

Disassociated from the formal economy, men not only face difficult livelihood challenges, but also a lessening sense of masculine worth. Malton (2022) argues,

“If breadwinning makes a real man, and Black men are not breadwinners, the conclusion is that Black men are not, in fact, real men. It is a conclusion that derives from the racial and gendered logic of capitalism.” (p.9)

These men represent the failure of a development model that has been predicated on the private sector (see 1.4). Hooks, (2004) explains this as,

“...the patriarchal assumption that equates unemployment with loss of value as well as challenging the materialist assumption that you are what you can buy, most black men ...will continue to confront a work world and a culture of joblessness that demoralizes and dehumanizes the spirit. Black male material survival will be ensured only as they ...turn toward the reality of sharing resources, reconceptualizing work, and using leisure for the practice of self-actualization.” (p.31)

Ugandan men’s concern with commodities obscures racial capitalism’s globally entangled process of exploitation and dispossession. Hooks (2004) notion of sharing resources and reconceptualising work suggests the need for a return to communitarian values and a consideration of enterprise that exists beyond individualistic values. These concepts fit well to the notion of Raworth’s (2019) theory of doughnut economics discussed earlier in this chapter (8.1).

Capital exists in an entanglement which includes the climate, racism, patriarchy, government policies, global organisations, commodities, the land, and alcohol. Only through unpicking this assemblage can we start to understand how to deterritorialise the flows and effect of capital. I suggest this can start with enterprise projects that, as hooks (2014) argues, reconceptualise men’s work to lessen the gender binary between men’s and women’s roles in rural Uganda. Terblanché-Greeff, (2019) advocates for a paradigm shift from the Ubuntu concept that *‘It takes a village to raise a child’* to *‘It takes a global village to raise past and future generations’* (p. 105) A relational consideration by global governance, which recognises how the endless pursuit of growth by those in the minority world is negatively impacting lives in

majority world countries, alongside a reciprocal relationship between development and the ecosystem in countries that need to reach a basic living standard, could bring about social justice.

8.3 The issues we have now are medical

This findings within this theme relate to access to health, communicable and non-communicable diseases, GBV and harmful norms. The first sub-theme recognises issues that impact women's physical health relating to access to treatment and diseases. Participants discussed issues relating to a lack of health centres or the difficulty of travelling to a health facility along with a lack of adequate drugs.

Uganda adopted Universal Primary Health Care (UPHC) in 2002 which was deemed a local government responsibility (Nystrand and Tamm 2018). However, UPHC had few resources available, a low revenue, and insufficient and ineffectively trained staff. (Kiguli et al., 2009). According to Nystrand and Tamm (2018), most Ugandans seek private healthcare even those that cannot afford this system. Wiegratz and Cesnulyte (2015) argue this is due to a '*neoliberalisation of moral economies*', in which neoliberalism has impacted '*the dynamics concerning social practices and the morals, values, emotions and material structures that underpin them*' (p.1). Neoliberal reforms in Uganda have not only reshaped the economy but they have also impacted society and culture. According to Wiegratz (2010, p.124), the reshaping of societal norms within Uganda through neoliberalism has included, '*...self-interest and individualism...disposition and behaviour to maximise utility...egoism... and disregard for the common good.*' Seemingly, capital's relative agency can impact ethics and behaviour. However, according to this study, a reason for seeking private medical care might be due to a lack of faith in UPHC, where drugs are often not available, and the centres might be too far to reach (5.1).

Jones (2018) explains that government reforms did not impact the population of rural Uganda, '*Policies on health, agriculture or education did not seem to reach much beyond the district headquarters in Kumi.*' (p,14). Therefore, it is necessary to understand Teso in isolation from government influence. Indeed, Nystrand and Tamm, (2018, p.174) argue that the rural population of Uganda are denied basic health needs and make up the '*left-overs*' of Uganda. Rural development was overlooked in neoliberal reforms funded by donors such as the World

Bank, that from the 1990s onwards were based on decentralisation and the downsizing of state provision (Nystrand and Tamm, 2018). Ssali (2018, p.) writes, “*The health sector that emerged continues to be elitist, urban based and serving those with the ability to pay.*” (p.196). Women are more impacted by the intersection of healthcare costs; research shows that women’s access to health is limited by not only inaccessibility to health-care facilities, but also a lack of time and money and a dependence on men (Rutakumwa and Krogman 2007; Knudsen 2003) Rural women are also less healthy than men; Knudsen’s (2003) research showed that rural Ugandan women were more likely to be malnourished since men in families are served the best food. This is reflected in my autoethnography in chapter where I detail the men taking the food first during church ceremonies (5.2). Additionally, the burden of women’s work in fields or other physical demanding work can leave them vulnerable to the heat and NTDs (Bryson et al., 2021). An assemblage of the state, patriarchy, and the land impact women’s health, alongside their access to healthcare.

Not only do the women in this study suffer due to a lack of adequate healthcare and a lack of funds to pay for healthcare, but they also refer to travel to healthcare centres as an issue. This subject is also expressed in my autoethnography where I write about the unsuitability of a pregnant woman travelling by boda boda to a health facility (5.1). Knudsen, (2003, p.254) argues that the most “*devastating obstacle to health care in Uganda is the general lack of transportation*” and, like my autoethnographical account, the author writes that patients must travel by boda boda or bicycle, “*to the main town by bumpy dirt road barely wide enough to accommodate a car.*” (p254) *The Motherhood Needs Assessment* (2000), conducted by the Ministry of Uganda and the World Health Organization, revealed that in most areas, the local means of arriving at a health centre was a via a bicycle pulling a stretcher. Although, this article was written over 20 years ago, my autoethnographical reflection shows that little has changed. As with healthcare costs, travel time and expense are a particular impediment for rural Ugandan women, whose workload and care-giving time detracts from their time for income generation, making it harder for them to afford travel costs. (Collins and Rau 2000).

Rural Ugandan women do not benefit from the health system. They are reliant on poor quality services or can only access healthcare from private facilities through self-funding. However, women’s use of funds for healthcare costs is reliant on intersections pertaining to their spousal relationship, their sense of self-worth, and whether the funds are available as a consequence of an environment impacted by climate change, poverty, and unemployment.

Malaria

A further issue impacting health in Teso is a lack of mosquito nets. According to Pulford et al., (2011) mosquito nets, particularly insecticide-treated mosquito nets (ITN), are a central component of current global malaria control initiatives. In Uganda, malaria is the leading cause of morbidity and mortality; an estimated 8-13 million cases occur per year and account for approximately 30-50% of outpatient admissions (Musoke et al., 2015). Studying the use of mosquito nets in a rural area of Uganda, Musoke et al., (2015) found that other than the ITNs provided by the government, many families could not afford mosquito nets. This relates to the poverty faced by the participants established in this study.

Due to an absence of nets Musoke et al., (2015) recommend a multi-strand approach to combat malaria, including indoor residual spraying as well as proofing windows and doors. However, the participants in this study mostly live in grass huts which makes them more vulnerable to mosquitoes as many of the huts have makeshift doors and windows (See figure 19), additionally the grass roofs can provide a habitat for mosquitoes (Kaindoa et al., 2018). Climate change is increasing the number of mosquitoes in Teso, particularly as this area features many swamps and lakes. Unfortunately, however, Teso is regarded as outside state control and therefore not regarded as a priority by the government (Jones, 2018).

Understanding malaria as existing in an assemblage which includes the environment, climate change, open water, grass huts, and poverty draws attention to the need for malaria prevention to be locationally, culturally, and socio-economically specific. Rural areas of Uganda should be a priority within government policy for the provision of ITNs.

HIV

As expected from the review of the literature this study also revealed that the intersection between malaria and HIV is a concern to participants. According to my review of the literature (See 2.5) Malaria and HIV are two of the most common infections in sub-Saharan Africa: therefore, any interaction between these diseases is significant to public health. HIV causes immunosuppression and can therefore lead to increased vulnerability to malaria. Furthermore, viral loads are significantly higher in HIV patients with malaria than those without, and they can remain higher for over a month following treatment (Okungu and Janine 2019). However, there is little research on this relationship (Abu-Raddad et al., 2006; Okungu and Janine, 2019).

Despite this lack of research, the HIV counsellor interviewed in this study understood the correlation (5.1). This shows the importance of listening to the voices of those affected by the diseases. This can only be achieved through establishing relationality and respect with those impacted, particularly as participants in this study also drew attention to the relationship between HIV and stigma.

This research revealed that stigma is as significant in causing morbidity to HIV as the disease itself (5.1). Stigma is defined as perceptions of social exclusion in the context of health and wellbeing (Mburu et al., 2014). Earnshaw et al., (2013) explain that stigma is a social process characterised by exclusion of an individual with a specific disease; it is an expression of social values that define people's experiences of illness.

Stigma is therefore interlinked with social inequality because it can limit individuals' access to health services through othering and exclusion. Applied to HIV, negative attitudes towards individuals with the disease leads to structural inequality. Stangl et al., (2013) undertook a systematic review which evidenced that most interventions undertaken to reduce stigma target a single domain at a socioecological level rather than addressing issues such as discrimination or social norms that develop individuals' attitudes and behaviours. This discussion will examine how such sensitisation, based on attitudinal change, takes place within enterprise projects later in this chapter (8.6).

Alcohol also leads to a spread of HIV through GBV and risky behaviour, according to the participants in this study (5.2). This correlates with the World Health Organisation's action plan to strengthen implementation of the *Global Strategy to Reduce the Harmful Use of Alcohol* (2020) which recognises intersections of alcohol misuse, gender-based violence, and infectious diseases such as HIV. According to Ezard et al., (2011) dispossession during the conflict in Teso promoted alienation, apathy, and loss of traditional gender roles among men and since alcohol was available and culturally accessible, men's use of it increased. This issue was discussed in Chapter Two (see 2.7). In addition to witnessing or fearing loss of life during conflict, economic difficulty increases alcohol consumption; this is particularly prevalent in conflict-affected communities suffering from high unemployment (Ezard et al., 2011).

Unemployment, created through conflict, alongside the impact of racial capitalism where men are excluded from being wage labourers yet exposed to consumerism (see 1.4), accounts for the youths' propensity for drinking in this study.

Conflict and alcohol exist in a perpetuating assemblage creating intersections or boundaries relating to violence, unemployment, and mental health issues. Mootz et al., (2018) explain such intersections as ‘*Wicked problems involve numerous stakeholders and participants, result from intersecting trends, are embedded in other wicked problems, and cannot be easily solved*’ (p.2). Creating a new pathway towards behavioural change within societies is therefore not straightforward; the complexity of micropolitics within assemblages needs to be considered. Impacting the cycles needs to involve entire communities whilst considering how human and non-human entities produce relational flows of affect and are affected. Such entities could be alcohol, climate change, and flows of capital; these have already been discussed regarding their effects on women’s health in Teso.

Rather than involving communities, various studies suggest that interventions used to address GBV, HIV, and alcohol, target women as victims of violence at the exclusion of men (Gibbs et al., 2017; Mootz et al., 2018; Phorano et al., 2005). Excluding men expounds the binary that already exists due to men’s drinking and creation of subgroups. Interventions need to consider the context of social behaviour. According to Wolff et al., (2006) attempting behaviour change strategies without community involvement is a well-known path to failure. Wolff et al., (2006) recommend providing time and space to begin collective discussion and evaluation of problems emanating from drinking. Risk behaviour around drinking within Teso communities reflects wider social norms that will require collaboration with communities.

Women’s inability to take ART due to having a lack of food is also highlighted as a health determinant in this study (5.1). Although there has been a recent increase in global antiretroviral therapy (ART) provision, adherence to ART remains low (Haberer et al., 2017). Fewer than half of those experiencing HIV support in Uganda achieve 85% adherence to ART, the amount required for significant viral suppression, which leaves them at higher risk of transmission (Haberer et al., 2017). As discussed in chapter two (see 2.7), the main barriers to ART adherence are poverty related; the issues are inter-connected and occur concurrently, which makes them challenging to investigate and untangle. Existing within such complex intersections makes it difficult to develop successful interventions to mitigate the HIV crisis. This situation reflects the results of this study which demonstrate how HIV exists in a complex assemblage, involving poverty, patriarchy, and access to treatment, which defies straightforward intermediations.

Correlated to this study, various research indicates that issues relating to a lack of capital and food insecurity lead to disengagement from HIV ART (Wagner et al., 2021; Kalichman et al., 2015; Chimbindi et al., 2015). Competing burdens of caring for families and finding resources, leads to individuals making trade-offs between getting sufficient food to take with their medication, which cannot be taken on an empty stomach due to side effects, and taking their treatment on time (McCoy et al., 2017). This creates further problems such as missed refill appointments and subsequently lowered adherence (Saya et al., 2022).

To combat the interrelations between poverty, food scarcity and ART adherence, interventions need to impact different elements of material deprivations to break the cycle of poverty.

Section 6.2 demonstrates how the SEP researched enable the participants to grow food as well as earn a small income; enabling them to take ART regularly. In turn the participants improved health impacts food insecurity through their greater ability to earn an income creating new flows of affect.

Mental Health

This study highlights how the intersections of HIV/AIDS, poverty, alcoholism, and parenthood converge to limit women's well-being. These findings are consistent with research by Augustinavicius (2019), which emphasizes that, while providing children with basic needs was a key priority for the Ugandan respondents, many caregivers found this challenging in the context of single parenthood, HIV, and poverty. Similar to this study, these intersecting factors intensified participants' stress, as many felt they were failing as parents, which contributed to symptoms of depression. In this context, alcohol was often used as a coping mechanism for stress, though it ultimately led to further challenges and worsened financial instability.

Augustinavicius (2019) study suggests that seeking and receiving support enhances caregiver well-being and fosters positive self-perceptions in their parenting role, similarly, this study aims to explore whether peer support within SEPs can help mitigate the convergence of adverse intersections contributing to depression and mental health challenges.

The participants in this study shared how issues of HIV and GBV, fragmented community support, and men's drinking impacted their mental health. This evidence correlates with a two-year longitudinal study of women living with HIV in rural Uganda which found that experience of GBV was associated with an increased level of depression and reduced quality of life related to mental health issues (Hatcher et al., 2012).

Women living in poverty in SSA constitute the largest group of those infected with HIV globally and are substantially at risk for mental disorders (Brandt 2009). There is also a wealth of research which attributes mental health issues to poverty and given that women are most impacted by poverty in rural Uganda (Rujumba and Kwiringira 2019), it follows that rural women are more likely to be impacted by mental illness. Issues of GBV, HIV status, and poverty interconnect to create issues of mental health for women in Teso.

Several issues act to compound the issue of women's mental illness in rural Uganda. As already discussed, women face financial, cultural, and resource issues regarding healthcare in Teso. In addition to these problems, traditional beliefs regarding mental illness mean that many people with mental health disorders do not seek treatment (Ndyanabangi et al., 2004).

Ssebunnya et al (2009) examined the relationship between mental illness, stigma, and poverty in Uganda through interviews with over 100 stakeholders in health care and government. The study revealed widespread stigmatising attitudes amongst all stakeholders.

Ndyanabangi et al., (2004), argue that to improve mental health services in Uganda, focus needs to incorporate cultural strengths by training local personnel; in resource-poor areas, non-specialists will deliver better targeted care than trained professionals because of their mutual cultural, linguistic, and social backgrounds. Utilising and training local Itesots would not only reflect a cooperative approach, but it would help reduce stigma within communities through sensitisation projects and support. Ndyanabangi et al., (2004) advocate for the utilisation of strategies that have shown to be effective in training community health workers; such strategies include regular monitoring and feedback from trainees, using feedback to improve curriculums, and community monitoring.

The interrelated nature of women's mental health, HIV status, stigma, gender, and poverty reveals the need for a multi-level approach to impact mental health issues in Teso. In addition to health interventions, strategies aimed at poverty alleviation and redressing gender inequality are required. Strategies that target these key issues in the lives of HIV-infected women in Teso need to be discussed by policy makers and health service providers, alongside the communities impacted.

The ability of enterprises to effect mental health is demonstrated through the work of *Basic Needs*, a charity that works in Ghana to assist individuals with mental health issues by supporting them to set up small businesses and access training (Basic Needs 2024). This has led to improved conditions for their families and access to mental health treatment (Ibid). This

chapter will later detail how the SEP studied have benefited women's mental health through community sensitisation alongside music, dance, and drama.

8.4 The various nature of gender-based violences

This chapter has already discussed gender-based violence in relation to HIV, stigma, alcohol, and the burden of women's work brought about by climate change and fractured masculinities. This theme, however, specifically details gender-based violence relating to physical and sexual violence and issues of reporting. As previously discussed, the themes in this study are interconnected and fluid; therefore, issues of GBV do not fit into a singular category. Participants alluded to patriarchy, whereby the men believe it is their right to have food prepared or be given the women's earnings. Failure of the women to comply with these demands led to violence. Equally, women felt that it was their duty to provide for the men and care for the children which added to their burden of work. Issues concerning rape were also discussed by participants. Indeed, most participants in this study discussed issues of GBV demonstrating that this issue is virulent in Teso. This correlates to evidence in Chapter 2 which explores the breadth of physical and sexual violence in Teso due to poverty, alcohol abuse, a lack of education, war, and hegemonic masculinity (Parikh 2007; Karamagi et al., 2006; Bukuluki et al., 2021; Tuyzere 2007).

This study has explored how financial challenges drive gender-based violence (GBV) within relationships when women receive loans. The intersection of marital status and women's economic roles amplifying the violence participants experience. The shift in responsibilities from men to women has further fuelled these issues. The study has also highlighted that girls' desire for education and basic necessities has also led to GBV.

While global initiatives to address GBV have recently emphasized women's economic empowerment as a strategy to reduce their exposure to violence (WHO, 2013), research presents mixed findings on its effectiveness. For instance, studies by the World Bank (2019) suggest that economic empowerment can sometimes increase women's vulnerability to GBV, indicating that, in certain contexts, economic empowerment may inadvertently harm beneficiaries rather than prevent GBV.

Similarly, research by Anena and Ibrahim (2020) suggests that the relationship between Ugandan women's economic empowerment and GBV is highly contextual and influenced by various intersecting factors. The authors found that marital status did not reduce GBV, but rather gave permission to husbands to rape their wives when they did not consent to sex. Even when economically independent, women were counselled to stay in abusive marriages by family due to the normality of GBV within families as well as to protect the women's honour.

In this study, the intersections of age, education, and family status play a significant role in shaping women's vulnerability to gender-based violence (GBV) and their willingness to seek help or report incidents, often more than their economic status. The research highlights how marital status can lead to jealousy when women take out loans, while other contributing factors, such as neglecting traditional roles, alcoholism, and poverty, also drive GBV.

Furthermore, the intersection of youth intensifies GBV issues; young girls' aspirations for education and basic needs can result in rape, and their age frequently prevents them from pursuing justice. While economic autonomy certainly supports women's well-being, it is not the sole determinant of their vulnerability to GBV. Thus, adopting a multisectoral approach that comprehensively addresses these intersecting factors may be more effective in combating GBV. Additionally, involving men in these efforts is essential for achieving sustainable change. This study will examine men's pivotal role in reducing GBV in section 8.6

Participants shared that many women do not leave abusive relationships because of their children. Christine (HIV counsellor) explained, "*African women rarely leave their homes because of children. They will accept to suffer but not leave the children.*" (5.2). This issue is discussed by Malema and Naidoo, (2017, p.3) who argue that in rural South Africa, where the abuser is the main wage-earner, women feel insecure about leaving the relationship; according to the authors they often used the children as an "*excuse*" explaining that the women fear what would happen to the children. Rather than using the children as 'an excuse' I argue that the relational nature of Indigenous people means that women do not wish to use connection with the children and communities.

Interestingly, men church leaders in this study used the children as a 'bargaining tool' preaching "*Men, you must say 'who will look after the children if you are not here? This will make the women return.'*" (5.2). In this way, the patriarchy has found a new channel of exploitation, manipulating the women's relationality to their networks. When women threaten

to leave their homes, patriarchy re-territorialises the boundaries via discourses of guilt apropos to gender norms.

The extreme patriarchy inherent in Teso, which as previously discussed, is intensified through racial capitalism, is a further reason for GBV in this area. Racial capitalism has resulted in men creating sub-groups based on alcoholism to mitigate the shame of being excluded from a wage economy due to high levels of unemployment resulting from SAP (see 1.4). GBV is a result of alcoholism and economic violence whereby money is frequently spent by men on leisure time (Jones 2018). Manne (2019) argues that patriarchal ideology enlists mechanisms, including women's internalisation of social norms and women's distinctive tendencies to valorise care work as socially necessary; this makes women's roles seem natural and chosen. According to Manne (2019)

"...subtly hostile, threatening, and punitive norm-enforcing mechanisms will be standing at the ready, or operating in the background, should these 'soft' forms of social power prove insufficient for upholding them. These mechanisms will range widely in the consequences they visit on women, from life-threatening violence to subtle social signs of disapproval." (p.47)

This relates to the interview with Christine and Emmanuel (5.2) during which they explain that women are beaten and '*deformed*' for transgressing gender norms. The women's behaviour in this study is constantly policed via informal and formal boundary making mechanisms. Such mechanisms normalise their care work within their families adding to the burden of labour.

Patriarchy is not a static force however, despite many studies understanding patriarchy as structurally supported through systems, laws, and tradition (McDonough and Harrison, 2013; Duncan 1994; Kuhn 2013). A study by Lorist et al., (2022, p.243) conducted in the West Nile, Uganda demonstrated how that African '*Big Men*' including clan leaders and government officials utilised traditionalist narratives to simultaneously justify and hide gender norms which promoted their patriarchal control. The men leaders reordered cultural traditions when their patriarchy was threatened by NGOs and sensitisation projects. The researchers discovered that patriarchy structures respond fluidly and vigorously in the face of external terrorisations. Lorist et al., (2022) concludes that '*patriarchy... has agency itself, instead of being constructed through the practices of powerful men.*' (p.232). The observation correlates with the findings of this study that when patriarchy is threatened by women earning an income or contravening normative gender roles, new forms of violence ensue. It is also visible in the church leader's insistence that men must use children as a '*bargaining tool*' if women threaten to leave.

Reflecting on patriarchy in Teso in pre-colonial times, Orando (2023), argues that although patriarchy existed, it did not espouse the notion that women are less important than men and it did not require women to be passive; men and women were cooperative. Cooperation is based on an ethic of Ubuntu whereby families and communities collaborate for the benefit of the whole. This relates to the theory of Africana Womanism, discussed in Chapter Two (see 2.7), which is an African theoretical perspective that is family-centred and focuses on women's concerns only after the community's needs are met (Barry and Grady 2019). Africana Womanism rejects white feminists' ambitions to claim equality with their white male counterparts (Bedigen 2019). In contrast, Africana womanists argue that African women did not experience the same type of longstanding institutional oppression as their European counterparts (Barry and Grady 2019). Accordingly, patriarchy is a result of the historical oppression through colonialism. According to Hudson, (2019) African men have internalised patriarchy and therefore must unite with women to recognise the harms of all forms of subjugation. This acknowledges the importance of relativity in solving problems in contrast to the divisions brought about through issues of globalisation. The problems of Teso women exist within and outside their community and ultimately must be resolved initially through collectivism within their communities. In turn this may create a flow of affect leading to new possibilities to impact macro subjugations. This chapter will discuss how the enterprises enable the communities to work together to solve issues.

Kandiyoti (1988) contests that patriarchy suggests a homogenous understanding of men's dominance, hiding the workings of cultural and societal attitudes towards gender norms. This concept affiliates with the theory of intersectionality, which centres on intricacies to avoid monotheism. Examining patriarchy through a framework of intersectionality and NM can start to make the flows of oppression visible and help to develop an understanding of how different forms of oppression are intertwined and related within assemblages of climate change, capital, and racial capitalism.

Corruption is bigger than us.

Many participants of this study revealed that there are issues concerning reporting rape and sexual violence. This issue exists in an assemblage of patriarchy and capitalism and sociocultural norms where women's statements are not believed, or men are able to pay to avoid charges.

This correlates with a study by Rujubma and Kwiringia (2019) which recognised that although Ugandan communities are aware of GBV, only severe injury or cases resulting in death are reported to elders or authorities. As discussed in 2.7, violence often goes unreported as women fear speaking out (Muluneh et al., 2021b). Patriarchal ideologies can affect whether incidences of GBV are criminalised (Jewkes 2016). This explains why GBV in the North-East of Uganda is repeatedly underreported, not considered a priority by the judicial system, or dealt with through corrupt practices. Such irreverence discourages women from pursuing justice (Tuyizere 2007). These concerns demonstrate how patriarchy combines with intersections of gender to create patterns of violence, which in turn lead to corruption and the prevention of reporting.

There is an absence of studies on the issue of underreporting in Teso sub-region. As previously discussed, Jones (2018) argues that Teso exists out of the reach of the Ugandan state's control, and this could explain the issue of underreporting GBV. Bierschenk and Olivier de Sardan (1997, p.441) argue, however, "*this absence of the state does not mean that an absence exists in its place*"; in Teso governance subsists locally through village courts, clan committees and churches (Jones 2005). This research has shown that that these structures are dominated by men; for example, photos reveal the male-dominated nature of church leaders, and men seated on chairs (5.2). This enables patriarchy to subjugate women through the fear of speaking out. My research suggests that improving issues relating to reporting and GBV in Teso require significant changes in prevailing individual and community attitudes, including the importance of providing more leadership roles for women to deterritorialise the patriarchal systems. This could lead to more violence as patriarchy finds new flows of affect; however, a multistrand approach which involves all genders in recognising GBV could help mitigate this issue. This study will explore how SEP can work towards this concept through sensitisation (8.6).

The customs that we have here

As mentioned in the previous section, customs relating to patriarchy are preventing women from becoming leaders in Teso. Researching attitudes towards women's leadership in rural Uganda, Johnson et al., (2003) found that men feared that women's power will undermine their authority and that new-found independence from earning and income or participation in leadership would cause women to leave their husbands. Echoing the research in my study Johnson et al., (2003) argue that these concerns are linked to men losing their identities as women discover new roles. Men feared they would become a '*laughing-stock*' of their village

if women became head of the household (Johnson et al., 2003, p. 12). This reflects the conversation I had with Christine and Emmanuel (5.2) where they explain that a woman has '*pocketed the man*'. The concerns of men about women taking power are driven through the affects and flow of patriarchy as women are denied education and their self-esteem is impacted through societal norms and culture.

The participants explained that a want of education and an absence of self-worth were impacting women's ability to lead. An absence of education leads to a lack of esteem; in my findings many of the women did not have a basic level of literacy and signed the consent forms using a fingerprint. The Ugandan Government introduced universal education to secondary level in 2006 through neoliberal reforms. This meant that it is the responsibility of district councils to ensure basic education is provided; however, these reforms diluted the quality of education (Nystrand and Tamm 2018). My field notes indicate that district councils are run by men (5.2) who would possibly have little interest in improving girls' education due to deeply entrenched patriarchal norms in Teso.

This study highlighted how the intersecting factors of youth, gender, family obligations, and educational needs collectively limit girls' life opportunities. Participants shared that they often missed school when household responsibilities became overwhelming. Adults expressed a preference for educating boys, viewing girls' education as pointless due to the likelihood of early marriage. This aligns with research by Kilulwe et al., (2017) that identified key barriers to girls' education, including the cost of school fees, uniforms, and scholastic materials, lack of sanitary resources, and parents' negative attitudes toward girls' education. Additionally, the study underscored that impoverished families often keep girls at home to contribute to household resources, prioritizing immediate economic survival over long-term educational opportunities. In accordance Tuyizere (2007) argues that girls' education is impacted by, "*inadequate food, lack of arable or fertile land, drought, famine and a lack of scholastic materials and clothes are all factors that hinder girls' participation in the education system*" (p.201). Furthermore, according to Tuyizere (2007), socialisation teaches that girls should concentrate on subjects that prepare them for motherhood such needlework and agriculture. However, it must be noted that Africana Womanists would advocate that these roles should not be viewed as negative due to gendered preconceptions; prior to colonialism, women's work and men's work was regarded as being equally important (Orando 2023).

In response to the intersecting factors that constrain girls' life chances—such as gender, economic hardship, family obligations, and limited educational resources—this study seeks to explore how SEP might address these complex and compounded challenges by both raising community awareness around the value of girls' education and providing essential resources, including financial support for school fees, uniforms, and sanitary supplies, which are critical in enabling girls to stay in school. By addressing these intertwined issues, SEPs aim not only to support girls in continuing their education but also to alleviate poverty in the broader community, ultimately striving to dismantle the intersecting social, economic, and cultural barriers that limit girls' opportunities and perpetuate cycles of inequality across generations.

My autoethnography not only demonstrates that the girls in the houses where I stayed were expected to perform household tasks, but they were also beaten by women when they were perceived to challenge the set boundaries. According to Manne, globally, women are not only tasked with doing more but face consequences for under-performing their responsibilities. The publicity of this sanction further enforces these gendered- norms. The girls had territorialised the expected norms and the violence served to deterritorialise the situation, and thus reset the gender boundaries. This process serves to 'other' women in Teso and keep them at the periphery of communities. The flows of patriarchy work through women as well as men.

According to Emejulu (2023) the issue of 'othering' or non-humanism is compounded for black women due to race, gender, and class. Emejulu (2023) explains,

"... black women can only predominantly be seen as beasts of burden because that is the only position available to us under the current configuration of humanity. Since we exist outside the boundaries of humanity..." (p.28)

For Emejulu (2023) black women exist outside of the intersections. Calling for a '*fugitive feminism*', Emejulu (2023) asks, "*Can we think of ourselves as outside the human?*" (p.30), arguing that living beyond the binary of human and non-human could offer a way of escaping anthropocentric human domination. The author calls for an end of binaries and the creation of communities that exist through an ethos of care, explaining "*Care is the seed of a radical political imagination. We become fugitives of the human through the development of an ethos of care*" (p.92). My study reveals that through an ethics of care rather than exploitation via beatings and domestic work, women in Teso women could support each other and form a political consciousness. Care is damaging when it exploits the other through feminised notions of domestic work and exploitation; however, recognising how actions impact others and

working collectively to improve lives could provide solidarity and harmony for those in Teso. I explore how the enterprises work towards achieving this through a feminist ethics of care which reflect the tenets of Africana womanism. The projects are working towards creating a lasting, communal solution to Teso women's othering and their existence at the periphery of intersections of subjugation, rendering visible the small shifts and practices of care that expand future possibilities.

Bride Price

My literature review supports my findings that a custom that negatively impacts women, referred to by most participants in this study, is bride price. According to the research bride price is strongly linked to issues of poverty as well as custom. The drama sketch highlighted how customs can interrelate with patriarchy through the practice of marriage, which in the case of the drama helped to create funds to feed the father's alcoholism (5.2). This reveals how customs themselves have their own agency and can adapt to enforce social norms.

The 2005 *Uganda Poverty Eradication Action Plan* underscored the custom of bride price as a key reason for women's lack of agency (UN 2005). Despite this, my study shows that this custom continues and is worsened due to climate change and poverty. Research demonstrates that bride price commodifies women and can result in further GBV if the woman tries to leave the unequal partnership (Ndira, 2004; Parker 2015). Furthermore, in accordance with the findings in my study, Hague et al., (2011) revealed that often the bride's family cannot take her back from an abusive marriage due to abject poverty; they would have to return the goods or funds paid.

In correlation to this study, where I witnessed the baptism of the children of young couples explaining, "*the mothers looked between the ages of 16 and 18 ...*" (5.2), Malema and Naidoo, (2017) explain that low-resourced states along with rural living led to adolescent girls leaving school to get married at an early age due to limited resources. This was also evident in the drama in which a girl exchanged sex for small gifts (5.2). Malema and Naidoo (2017) argue that "*Such girls are vulnerable to engaging in premarital sex in exchange for trivialities because they cannot meet their basic personal material needs.*" (p.3). In this way, capitalism and patriarchy exist in an assemblage of poverty, race, and gender where these hidden entities find new channels of affect which serve to maintain control of women and girls.

Championing an end to bride price and teenage pregnancies in this region suggests cultural imperialism; however, according to Speed (2009), we should not ignore women's oppression

within Indigenous contexts; notions that Indigenous cultural norms are fixed and bounded can lead to harmful traditional practices. Indeed, NM holds that such norms are in an endless state of fluidity, formed within a relational dialogue within assemblages. Therefore, involving communities in challenging and thus deterritorialising hegemonic concepts of power can bring about an end to damaging cultural practices. This enables a transgression of cultural apprehension regarding GBV and cultural imperialism.

Mogale, Burns, and Richter (2012) recommend involving communities in discussions that recognise customs which support women rather than traditional beliefs that abuse women's rights. Using Ubuntu as a theoretical framework, Parker, (2015) argues that bride price forges connections between the living and non-living and demonstrates respect for elders. Therefore, the author recommends that bride price be used to celebrate and respect women as a demonstration of worth. Arguably, however, women could still be subjugated through this process as patriarchy and capitalism find new avenues of exploitation. A further solution is offered by Hague, Thiara, and Turner (2011) who believe that bride price could be transformed through culturally sensitive means; the practice could be amended through the voluntary contribution of a gift to validate the marriage to promote a more equal partnership.

These forms of sensitisation could start to mitigate child marriage and bride price in Teso and throughout Uganda. According to Nyamayaro (2021, p. 236), '*when women are hurt societies are hurt*'. When communities work together to find solutions everybody becomes invested in providing a relational means of ending practices which subjugate women and girls.

Polygamy

My review of the literature indicates that polygamy is a further intersection that impacts the lives of women. However, my findings contrast with the arguments of Amone (2020) and Bennett, (1993) (discussed in 2.7) concerning the positive impacts of polygamy which included better family health and a protection of rights. The women in my study explained that polygamy was only enjoyed by men; for women it brought greater physical and economic violence and risk of HIV. Through my fieldnotes, I also acknowledge that church men engage in polygamy.

In Uganda, the legalisation of polygamy is embedded in customary law alongside the Domestic Relations Bill in 2003, and its replacement the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB), 2008 (von Struensee 2004). The DRBs set conditions in which the man intending to contract a subsequent marriage must prove the protection of women's human rights (Tuyizere 2007). However,

according to von Struensee (2004) since most customary marriages are contracted in secrecy, without any registration with the Registrar of Marriages, this bill is ineffective and does not accord women adequate protection.

Tuyizere (2007), argues that in Uganda polygamy was once deemed acceptable as husbands would take second wives if their first wife was ill or over-burdened with work. Latterly, however, Tuyizere (2007) argues, polygamy is deemed unacceptable as it increases the risk of sexually transmitted diseases and economic instability. Tuyizere (2007), argues, *“Why would the husband, who has overall authority over the woman, who is considered to be inferior to him, seek permission from his inferior for a second wife?”* (p.189) Tuyizere’s (2007) questions draw attention to the irony of the situation of seeking the first wife’s permission due to the power imbalance between men and women in Uganda. This quotation also reflects the situation of one of the participants in my study who was forced to leave the family home due to polygamy (5.2). The DRB does not protect women’s rights to land or property, nor does it protect women from GBV (Tuyizere 2007). In particular, the DRB does not address the needs of women in rural Uganda who, as previously argued, exist outside of state protection; they can be dispossessed of their homes and children because the law only protects legal wives (Naisiko 2021). There is little literature on the entanglement of the church and polygamy in Uganda. However, I argue that perhaps Christian men justify polygamy as there are examples of this tradition in the bible (Naisiko 2021)

Acts that reinforce the interests of the men are embedded in the family laws of Uganda. Notions of tradition and custom are agentic in their relationality to patriarchy as they seek new flows of control. Consequently, many women live at the periphery of marriages with little power to protect their homes or children; often suffering GBV due to issues of reporting and a lack of protective laws. Such laws add to the growing gender polarisation between men and women in Teso. Gender division enables patriarchy to misrepresent inequality through an assemblage of religion, culture, and laws. In turn, this leads to a rationalisation of patriarchal power rendering the flows and effect of androcentrism invisible.

Despite these challenging social dynamics, my study illustrates how Scovia, who is in a polygamous and abusive marriage, actively serves as a trainer within her group. I argue that the intersection of her experiences with abuse and polygamy is mitigated by her involvement in the SEP, which grants her a sense of agency and support that alleviates the oppressive impact of her past circumstances. This corresponds to findings from a study by Jones (2024) who

examined how education and leadership for women in Teso, Uganda is broader than attending school. In his study the author examines how the financialization of rural life in Uganda, categorised by the increase in village saving loan groups, involved women more in the role of paying for education. The research highlights how being viewed as educated did not necessarily correlate to years spent in school, demonstrating how women would scaffold their educational status through attending church meetings, leading savings groups, and conducting their homes in an educated manner by ensuring their children were polite and well-fed (Jones, 2024) According to Jones (2024),

“Being educated” is often about mundane, material concerns: Who meets the NGO worker? Who deals best with those in authority? Who gets to sit on a savings group committee? Who gets a smartphone when a visiting researcher returns? Such concerns create the everyday opportunities to work on “being educated” and spaces where those identities are recognized and accredited.”(p.294)

In Teso, education extends beyond formal schooling; it is a fleeting resource that benefits certain individuals who are able to leverage it to build opportunities.. This research, along with my own findings, demonstrates how participation in a SEP can provide essential support for women to partake in leadership roles, helping to mitigate intersecting challenges like polygamy and bride price, which often limit women’s opportunities.

Religion – God is Good

The findings of my study demonstrate that Christianity infiltrates every aspect of life in Teso. This is not surprising, as 82% of the Ugandan population is Christian (US Department of State 2023) with neo-Pentecostalism and its charismatic leaders the fastest growing religion, commanding 11% of the population (George 2022) My study demonstrates that participants rely on their beliefs and prayer to help them live in a harsh environment hoping that a better life awaits them. In my research charismatic religious leaders preach messages of morality that serve to uphold patriarchy. The church also acts as an informal capital exchange as the congregation gift it resources and money that the church leader donates to those in need. The flow of capital in this form serves to uphold the male dominance of the church leaders,

Jones (2012) argues that after the insurgency, rules or ‘*proper behaviour*’ (p.84) became more important to those living in Teso. This provided a contrast to the uncertainty, and experiences

of death during the violence when people were forbidden to mourn deaths and were not able to collect bodies for burial; most people who died were buried in communal pits. This would explain the sociality of the burials I witnessed; these were attended by hundreds of people which provided a sense of legitimacy compared to life during the insurgency. According to Jones (2012),

‘People explained how ceremonial burials, with high levels of community participation and sizable contributions from the burial society, offered a direct contrast to the kinds of deaths that took place during the insurgency’ (p.86)

Joining a church is a way for people to deal with the experiences of the insurgency. Itesots are enacting changes from the past in their present through the assemblage of religion and death. This shows the blurring of binaries relating to time and history in contrast to minority world linear logic Furthermore, the investment of burial funds, the vast attendances at funerals, and the enacting of burial rituals reflects the weight that IK places on celebrating forebears. Okello and Musisi, (2006) explain the importance of ancestors to Ugandans,

“Unlike the Christian and western ways of thinking, the premise for ancestor worship is based on an understanding that the life course is cyclical and not linear.” (p.66)

The understanding of non-linear conceptions of time, previously discussed in the literature review (2.6) demonstrates that according to IK, ancestors are always present (Hindmarch and Hillier 2022). New materialists also believe in the concept of a living present incorporating events from the past, present and future which continually act to shape the lives of humans and non-humans. In this way the past of the insurgency continues to shape the present and future of Itesots.

My findings, including field notes, interviews, and photos also illustrate that churches are dominated by men. Religious leaders dictate messages concerning morality and control flows of capitalism. Arguably, the gendered nature of church leaders is produced through racial capitalism. A lack of jobs due to neoliberal reforms cutting state support and the creation of a free market (which has concentrated wealth in the hands of a minority), alongside a neoliberal emphasis on individualism and self-interest (Wiegratz 2010), has led Iteso men seek legitimacy through church leadership to avoid the stigmatisation of being unemployed. Indeed, the issue of widespread unemployment, particularly in rural regions, leads to young men joining charismatic churches (George 2022) and, according to my findings, becoming church leaders and creating new churches. Failing to meet the gendered expectations of being in paid

employment, men find opportunities and status as charismatic church leaders. This positionality enables them to reassert patriarchal boundaries regarding gender, which in turn enables them to maintain their positionality and provide them with a sense of self-worth. The men's power is also underscored through their control of church alms. This flow of capital maintains the domination of the leaders and completes the boundary making exercise of gender inequity. To adopt Jones (2005) argument that Teso is out of the control of the state, this system provides a form of structure in an environment that has experienced conflict and its resulting chaos.

Religion has its own agentic flows through its relationality with past conflict, neoliberalism, capital, and patriarchy. Unchecked, and through notions of perceived religious morality, it works to uphold men's power through sustaining gender binaries. In the absence of state control which has been diminished through neoliberal reforms (see 1.6), religion has found a means of maintaining men's power through its flows of affect achieved via preaching patriarchal messages, capital accumulation, and recruitment of male leaders. This represents a new avenue of research as a review of the literature reveals that racial capitalism pertaining to the growth of churches and religion has not been previously explored in Uganda.

The themes in this chapter have so far examined the intersections of subjugation that impact women's health. An overarching pattern throughout the themes presented in the two chapters is that they are intertwined, entangled, and intra-connected within assemblages. Additionally, issues of poverty and resultant alcoholism exist in all the assemblages. Racial capitalism has also been shown to be a significant issue existing in an assemblage of patriarchy, colonialism, neoliberalism, and eschewing poverty. The relational nature of the assemblage leads to agential flows of affect as capital, through neo-colonial practices, seeks new means of exploitation, and patriarchy finds novel ways to dominate through tradition and religion. Attempting to change the nature of the flows of affect within such complicated assemblages requires a multistrand approach, and careful change management that does not result in further subjugation. The next set of themes examines the impact of SEP on women's health in Teso.

8.5 It is powerful to know and understand the Indigenous Knowledge

*If it is true
That the world moves too much
Then let's stand statue still
and imitate the stubborn will
of trees
That move without being peripatetic*
(Ntiru, N/D)

This section explores the impact of the SEP on women's health. It discusses the findings relating to IK, communitarian values, shared knowledge, the impact of music, dance, and drama, and protection of the environment. The section also demonstrates how the projects help participants to solve community issues.

The findings of this study demonstrate that all projects used an element of traditional knowledge alongside social enterprise. Joyce explained how the loss of IK was causing health challenges in Teso. She discussed how returning to Indigenous ways of cooking, food storage, seed selection, as well as traditional medicines could create healthier communities (6.1). This attitude is reflected in Elunya (2023) interview with a Ugandan traditional healer, who states,

"Because they have abandoned traditional foods, we are now having challenges of diseases like cancer, diabetes, and high blood pressure. In the past we treated few diseases- like syphilis- that we could easily diagnose and treat using roots from certain trees." (p.140)

Elunya (2023), believes that the decline in traditional medicines and foods is due to the rise of Christianity which deemed traditional ways as 'satanic' (p.133). This argument aligns with those concerning religious colonialism impacting traditional ways of life in Teso (4.2).

However, Dabiri (2023) contests that *"As crisis after crisis engulfs us, and the disintegration of the capitalist dream accelerates, the deep dissatisfaction it has bequeathed us has spurred a reacquainting with the practices it ridiculed and demonised."* (p.127)

Indeed, despite the decline in traditional medicine and practices, Ekesa et al (2022) study of 240 participants in Teso demonstrated how they used over 100 native edible plants to supplement their diets. According to the study, the main reasons for the consumption of wild

edible plants was hunger due to food scarcity, enhancing staple food, conservation of cultural practices, nutritional and medicinal values, and their delicacy.

The reasons expressed by participants for using traditional knowledge concerning plants in Teso embodies the vital role they play in the community. This correlates with research by Mbah et al., (2021), who conducted a systematic review into IK and climate adaptation. Their findings, in accordance with my study, demonstrated that Indigenous communities used knowledge of rainwater harvesting, returned to using native crop viability and Indigenous means of selecting, storing and conserving food in times of drought. This information is vital, and alongside my study, demonstrates a need to ensure that the local environment and the associated IK are protected. This is particularly important regarding the IK of Itesots, as according to my detailed review of the literature, little is known about their vital knowledge.

I also spent time with the Indigenous enterprise group learning about traditional medicines and preservatives. The group showed me how to make salt ash and discussed its health benefits. A thorough review of the literature has not provided any information on this traditional practice. This suggests that it is Indigenous and unique to Teso communities. This correlates with an argument put forward by Ayaa and Waswa (2016) who contest that IK is a “*a science*” (p.468) developed by communities engaging in annual cycles of subsistence activities that have evolved into knowledge systems. Such knowledge is unique to Indigenous communities (Ibid), however, sharing such practices could benefit population health.

Alongside salt ash’s properties as a medicine and preservative the Indigenous group also demonstrated their use of plants for medicinal purposes where they referred to their ‘*grandmother’s knowledge*’ (6.1). This reflects the beliefs inherent in IK where ancestors are always present and as such offers a different way of conceptualising history (Hindmarch and Hillier, 2022). According to Hindmarch and Hillier (2022) such a historical analysis of health has been lost through globalisation. This form of inquiry, alongside the findings, demonstrates the need to understand health by acknowledging its interconnectivity with the past as well as its environmental context. This requires a move away from an understanding that health only has human consequences.

The enterprise projects are reinforcing former ethics of ‘*togetherness*’, ‘*etai*’, and ‘*aimorikikina*’ (6.2). Consequently, they are enabling the participants to return to previous ways of sharing and working in a communitarian manner. This relates to both IK and NM; both theories recognise no binaries between past, present, and future. Returning to the past asserts

the Indigenous population's territorialisation of creeping neoliberal values within their rural communities. They are also refusing to be bound to time, this argument aligns with Rifkin (2017), who contests that Indigenous people are:

"...consigned to the past, or they are inserted into a present defined on non- native terms ...[situating] Indigenous peoples as inhabiting the current moment and moving toward the future in ways that treat dominant non- native geographies, intellectual and political categories, periodizations, and conceptions of causality as given—as the background against which to register and assess Native being- in- time..." pp.7-8)

By regarding time as temporal and returning to past ways of communitarianism participants are working relationally to create their own ethics of care through shared work, knowledge, and support systems.

Such a return to past ethics is termed '*degrowth*' by Terblanché-Greeff, (2019 p. 104). De-growth demands a break from capitalism and imagines a different society where consumption is reduced (Terblanché-Greeff, 2019). This vision is enacted by the SEP in my study whose ethics represent Ubuntu's advocacy for respect, rights, reciprocity, and solidarity through relations with an emphasis on sufficiency. The participants only purchase goods when needed and the rest of their resources are self-produced and shared. Respect is also shown for participants with HIV, whose involvement in the groups has helped to mitigate stigma. The joint projects represent mutual help and altruism rather than self-interest.

We are united and strong

My research demonstrates how intersections of age, poverty, and HIV status are mitigated through being 'united' as part of a SEP. For Lucy, aged 78, the SEP is helping her start to '*survive*' (see 6.1). I previously demonstrated how intersections of being advanced in age, a climate impacted environment, caring responsibilities, and increased poverty is putting greater strain on individuals. Increasing urbanisation, and modernisation have weakened the traditional social familial support that had previously supported older, single, women (Nsibirano et al., 2020). In a role-reversal, older women now must frequently provide care to younger generations (see 4.1). However, engaging within a SEP is providing Lucy with peer support as well as vital resources that are improving her life chances.

My findings correlate with a study by Nsibirano et al., (2020) which examined how older women (those aged over 60) positively engaged in market work in Kampala, Uganda. The

study demonstrated how the market women reimagined being older by challenging the social norms that dictated that such women should not engage in economic activities outside the home (Nsibirano et al., 2020) Similar norms dictate that older widows are not allowed to remarry (Knizek 2021). The study by demonstrated how it is no longer culture that drives the interests and values of these women. Rather, through their economic endeavours they can extend their social and economic boundaries. Like my study, Nsibirano et al., (2020, p.109) state,

“In their new positions as women and as mothers and caregivers who have to support those under their care, older adult women are changing priorities – from being vulnerable to being resilient and acquiring self-worth.”

In both Nsibirano et al., (2020) and my research, SEP can mitigate the intersections of gender, aging, responsibility of care, and poverty. This is in part achieved through the communitarian values of the projects.

The participants in this study explained the benefits of sharing and ‘*revolving*’ livestock, particularly sheep (6.2). Rather than keeping offspring produced from livestock, the participants share their yields. The initial sheep were provided through TMSPU. Arguably, some feminists regard such notions of development as based on women’s agency rather than challenging the racialised power relationships inherent in development (Wilson 2011). This focus on agency moves focus away from structures of power and gendered norms. According to Wilson (2011) agency is regarded by development agendas in terms of survival rather than transformation, and concerns the individual, rather than the collective. Drawing on feminist notions of ‘empowerment’, ‘agency’ and ‘choice’ as vital towards development, this neoliberal territorialisation of feminist discourse positions women and girls as agents for capitalist growth (Grosser and McCarthy 2019). Notions of empowerment form part of a capitalist concept of development; arguably this model is based on a greater escalation of women’s work as a barrier to the aggressive economic reforms discussed earlier (8.2).

The provision of sheep enables women to act within a capitalist monetary system; for example, participants shared how rearing sheep enabled the women to buy nets, books for their children, and afford their children’s school fees. Such payments are necessary, as despite attempts to avoid capitalism, it has infiltrated their lives and cannot be wholly avoided. However, such monetary use is counteracted through the sharing of other produce and using the market economy for basic needs. Furthermore, this form of development is not based on individualism

but on the collective; the women's agency is based on relationality within the assemblage of humans and non-humans rather than a perceived concept of empowerment based on owning livestock. In this study Charles states, "*the sheep is not yours, it is for the team*" (6.1). The relationality of the women strengthens their sense of togetherness and communitarian values, which is a vital part of IK. The 'togetherness' and the women's concern for their community also reflects the concept of Africana Womanism, discussed earlier in this chapter (8.5). The women's relationality extends to me as they named their sheep after my Ugandan name 'Aminat' (7.1). This shows their links to the charity, and it provides a relational connection. In this way the sheep is agentic through its relational values and provides a sense of history, pride, and connection.

The projects also demonstrated that knowledge is not hidden or used to enforce power, as in neoliberal forms of development where there is a power imbalance between the provider and the receivers; it is shared within the group. TMSPU, by working with the women, uses the participants' knowledge of needs rather than a minority world model based on a power disparity. Through the project the women support each other and share farming knowledge and knowledge of Indigenous practices. These communitarian values relate to Africana womanism which is based on interdependent kinship.

Viewing the project through a framework of NM and IK enables an understanding of how development in this sense is configured through project participants and non-humans (sheep, flows of capital, knowledge, TMSP). This project contests the notions of neoliberal capitalism and individualistic notions of women and development. Rather it relates to Ubuntu and an ethics of care; the assemblage is entwined with relational values. Through the provision of a sheep the flourishing of one individual is inseparable from the flourishing of the group as the sheep are shared and regarded as belonging to the collective. Wilson's (2022) views support this argument,

"There also is a history of community-based formal and informal women's groups that while they not always be framed by Western notions of empowerment, represent a form of positive support and participation for many. Similarly, the work done by NGOs... in strengthening women's access and control of rural livelihoods has -when well-executed- been a form of empowerment that speaks to the ambitions of many women and girls" (p.175)

Relational projects that work *with* and *through* participants rather than through an imbalance of power are more likely to provide a positive space for participants. In contrast to minority world

notions of development, by working with Indigenous people the self is relational; agency cannot be provided to an individual. There are no forms of power hierarchy, as in accordance with IK and NM binaries and boundaries are eschewed. However, there are gendered implications to this project as few men are involved. This is not due to notions of women in development, however, but to issues of racial capitalism where the men are absent. Whereas, involving women in the project may have widened the gender binary, the binary was already in existence. This study recognises the need to involve men in the projects and this will be discussed later (9.1).

Similarly, the football project demonstrates the values of communitarian values through sharing the burden of work in the form of cooking and collecting firewood (6.2) alongside peer support. Such peer support is improving issues of mental and physical health for the participants of this study. This relates to research that demonstrates sport is useful towards gender and development through enhancing health, self-esteem, inclusion, teaching about rights, and health issues as well as providing opportunities for leadership (Hayhurst 2014; Oxford and McLachlan 2018; Thorpe, Jeffrey, and Ahmad 2023).

In addition, the interview with Charles (6.2) reveals that the football project provides a safe space for the young women participants. Brady (2005) argues that young women need safe and supportive environments away from physical or emotional threat or harm which offer privacy and confidentiality. Such safe spaces, according to Brady (2005) can provide places where girls and young women are treated with respect and dignity enabling them to succeed. The football project provides a perceptible example of Brady's (2005) definition of a safe space; the participants of this project, alongside the project leader, share how they can confidentially discuss their problems relating to GBV with the football coaches who act as '*informal counsellors*' (6.2).

The football project enables the participants to engage in relationality in a space away from the communities' patriarchal norms, providing them '*freedom, experimentation, and becoming*' (Fox and Alldred 2017 p.18). Notably, such flows of affect are invested in Indigenous values as the participants engage in communitarian acts of relationality, shared knowledge, and resources, creating patterns within relationships and the shared ethics of care. Emejulu (2023) regards such spaces as "*that liminal, in-between space of not-quite-public and not-quite-private space – we can imagine and build together*" (p.91) Using such spaces to meet the care of others through a relational ontology that deterritorialises patriarchal harm.

Hayhurst, (2013), specifically researching sport, gender, and development (SGD) in Uganda argues that Ugandan girls are trained to become empowered subjects who can exist within a neoliberal society. I argue that the football project in Uganda does not follow a typical SGD enterprise. Through a lens of NM and IK it is evident that the project is based on relational values where according to Charles they do not focus on ‘individual *players*’ but they ‘...brought all of them together’ so that ‘when we unite together we are doing what becomes more easier and its actually beautiful.’ (6.1). What Charles demonstrates is the importance of IK, which does not recognise categories of difference. The project is thus the opposite of neoliberal individualism, creating ‘becomings’ which disaggregate cultural concepts and make new assemblages contributing to transformation (Deleuze and Guattari 1994). The distorted social relationships that capitalism and colonialism bring about means we need new ways to contest them. Such transformation is vital in a community where many participants are concerned about the loss of former communitarian values.

The relational networks of the enterprise projects help to improve health through an integration and balance of physical, emotional, and spiritual well-being. Health is not understood as static but as part of a fluid relationality, including relations with the land and non-humans, as is evidenced through the participants’ IK. From the view of the participants in this study, health is not an individual property but is collective and community based. This reflects tenets of Ubuntu as well as Africana Womanism; both theories value the community above the individual.

This understanding of Ubuntu is not to appeal to a quixotic version of an African past, but to abjure the binaries of past, present, and future in recognising the potential Ubuntu has towards environmental justice, care, and the consequent improvements to health and wellbeing across humans and non-humans, both at a micro and macro level. However, it is also important to recognise that Ubuntu has been critiqued for enforcing gender stereotypes through the promotion of collective norms regarding a woman’s behaviour. Chisale (2016), explains:

“... interpretations of Ubuntu by different tribes and traditions promote gender stereotyping which may lead to wife violence, ...The traditional values and norms promote servitude ...a wife who conforms to these stereotypes has Ubuntu.” (pp. 7276 -7277)

This demonstrates that there are no binaries within Ubuntu; the positive and negative aspects of ethics coexist in a monist ontology. According to Kirby (2008), difference is not a separate binary but exists within assemblages; the difference occurs within our relationality. GBV needs

to be mitigated through establishing improved relationships rather than understanding the issue as a distinct entity. This draws attention to the importance of improving relationality through an ethos of care.

This chapter has so far shown that poor health outcomes for Ugandan women and girls, and in turn the communities in which they live, have been driven by colonialism, neoliberalism, and racial capitalism. At an intersectional level they are also impacted by individuals' age, family caring responsibilities, and economic status. However, health outcomes are also predicated on IK relating to relationality and holism, in which the human is not autonomous but rooted in entangled networks of reciprocity with the land, non-humans, the past, present and future. It is therefore vital that the Indigenous values are nurtured and respected at a grass-roots level and also understood from a macro perspective to begin to redress the harms caused by neoliberalism and climate change. In this way the SEP can continue to be improved whilst impacting the intersections that impact women's, and in turn, community health.

Music, Dance, and Drama is giving us confidence

Participants shared how alongside the enterprises, their involvement in music, dance, and drama (MDD) was providing them with improved mental health and confidence, as well as sensitising their communities to health issues. Prior to colonialism, dances were a vital tenet of the traditions and identities of Ugandan communities who shared and performed Indigenous dance knowledge and skills during rituals, ceremonies, and gatherings (Nicholls 1996). However, during the colonial period the introduction of Christianity diminished the importance and relevance of Indigenous dances (Ibid)

According to Chilisa (2019) songs provide insights beyond the realms of literature whilst playing a didactic role in teaching about "*morality and customs*" p.199. This correlates with Alice's belief "*that when somebody sees or hears a song, he will not go the way he or she can because you will stick to those words,*" (8.5). This demonstrates the relational agential power of MDD to act as a form of deterritorialisation and its potential for positive change. Dabiri (2023) asserts:

"Throughout the world, people are discovering and reconnecting in ways that have the power to transform our relationships to ourselves, each other and the world itself... dances are a conduit for a connection to the spiritual as well as a re-imagining of our bodies and their entanglement with the spiritual as well as the ecological." p.133

This extract reflects the participants' insights that MDD helps them to “*relax we get refreshed and forget about issues*” and to “*feel happy and excited*” (6.1) Through dance the women are transforming their relationships with themselves and each other as their mental health is improved. This relates to findings by Malema and Naidoo, (2017) and Sheppard and Broughton (2020) who suggest that such activities generate therapeutic spaces for shared reflection and healing, as well as establishing support networks and a sense of community and attachment to place. Like the safe space created through the football project, the space to perform offers a sanctuary to women where they can escape from entrenched patriarchy and its resultant physical and emotional violence.

The dances also serve as an entanglement with the spiritual and ecological; the women utilise the natural world in their dances and drama through references to environmental issues alongside their adornment of banana leaves and their waving of Eucalyptus branches (Figures 40 and 53). This connection emphasises the women's relationality to each other and the environment. The dances also mitigate the concept that women in the majority world are passive victims of their circumstances; the use of MDD is a means of powerful activism against issues in their communities. In coming together to perform in this way the women are echoing the tenets of Africana womanism; working relationally to emphasise community issues through the indigeneity of their performances. Although the women do not refer to Africana womanism, their knowledge and beliefs relate to this form of African feminism which is deeply rooted in communitarian values that pre-existed in African cultures prior to colonialism. Indeed, the theory is grounded in African culture, and therefore, it focuses on the distinctive experiences, difficulties, and needs of African women (Hudson 2019).

The use of MDD within this study directly corresponds to research by Ongodia, (2014) who researched the benefits of oral story telling in Teso. The study showed that the oral narratives enabled communities to discuss issues of conflict relating to cattle theft, alongside cultural, economic, and psychological challenges. According to Ongodia (2014):

“The linear and circular stories in Ateso oral narratives ... help the communities to understand the present of their existence, believing in the past treasures and norms and to forge ahead for a bright future.” (p.780)

The stories are holistic representing IK's blurring of past, present, and future notions of existence. As previously acknowledge in this chapter (8.5), this temporal notion of time draws

attention to the need to respect the role of past ancestors and acknowledge the role of future generations.

From the findings in this study, the women's use of MDD is successful and therefore pivotal in changing community attitudes towards bride price, teenage pregnancy, health, nutrition, and climate change within schools, communities, and through radio media. Like the football project, MDD provides women with a safe space to work relationally and combat the issues that most affect their communities. The agential flows of MDD work relationally within the SEP enabling the women to feel connected to each other; their past through the revitalising of IK; their future through providing means of improving forthcoming community life and their environment. As such, I have chosen to use the women's MDD to disseminate the findings of this research within these communities. This is discussed later in this chapter (9.4).

We are planting trees

The SEP not only enable the participants to live a healthier life through shared resources and responsibility, but as discussed in the previous section, they also sensitise the community to health issues through MDD. In addition to these benefits the project leaders and trainers also encourage the women to plant trees and care for their environment. This directly relates to the definition I used for SEP in Chapter Two; social enterprise as not only concerned with economic wellbeing but also as having the drive to advance social and environmental factors (Doherty et al., 2014). This chapter also discussed how placing women as custodians of the landscape to prevent climate change and environmental damage adds to their burden of work (8.1) Indeed neoliberal climate change reforms can essentialise women by employing policies which emphasise women's natural connection to nature and reinforce pre-existing gender roles. Arora-Jonsson, (2011) argues that an increased focus on women as victims of climate change deflects attention from power relations and inequalities reproduced at all levels. Gender is utilised as a binary rather than regarded as existing in an assemblage of intersecting power relations.

However, despite these cautions regarding women's roles in climate change, Whyte (2014), argues that Indigenous women believe it is their cultural responsibility to respond to these issues, providing examples such as the *Anishinaabe women's Mother Earth Water Walk* which seeks to protect the degradation of water supplies. Whyte's (2014) study, alongside findings in this research relating to Indigenous women's enactment towards improving the climate conditions, expose an intersectional perspective that encourages an understanding of

subjugated peoples' relative agency regarding climate issues, rather than regarding women in marginalised areas of the majority world as submissive casualties of this global emergency.

By acting on climate change through a relational network incorporating their engagement with nature and shared knowledge, the women in this study provide a compelling example of current new material feminist's advocacy for an ethics of care in relation to the climate emergency. Robinson (2011) argues that a care-ethics perspective presents the relationship between humans and the environment as not one of power but as reciprocal. Reciprocity relates to Ubuntu philosophy through which we need to understand that our wellbeing is inextricably intertwined with that of our biosphere. Robinson (2011) contests that an ethics of care relies on such a relational ontology; rejecting the concept of climate change being experienced by isolated individuals but rather that the affective tide of this emergency is experienced by persons at a multitude of relational levels. This new materialist ontology calls for a rejection of the dualism between nature and culture and recognises that we are not only affected by the climate, but the climate is affected by us. This reflects Fox and Alldred (2016) argument that we do not need to rely on technical solutions to gain mastery of nature, but we need an ongoing engagement with nature that goes beyond an individual level.

It must be acknowledged that this new materialist relational ontology is not novel but has always been a tenet of IK. Such knowledge has clearly been demonstrated by the women in this study, who recognise the importance of communitarian values and care towards each other and the land. This protects their futures and honours their pasts as they draw upon their '*grandmother's*' knowledge, preserve their ancestors' graves, and consider future generations (6.1): as Edna explained "*You take the women out of Teso and there is no Teso.*" (4.2)

This study has also demonstrated that Iteso women's economic, social, and environmental wellbeing is entwined within a global assemblage relating to colonialism, capitalism, neoliberalism, and climate change. Therefore, the women's wellbeing can only be understood by analysing the production of the assemblage. In viewing women's health in this way their role in planting trees and caring for their immediate environment needs to run alongside larger government and policy initiatives that immediately tend to the climate emergency (and its entanglement in all forms of capitalism). Such initiatives need to be based on an ethics of care that extends beyond individualism to a shared transcorporeal engagement that recognises everybody's responsibility towards protecting the planet.

8.6 We can solve our own problems now

The findings of this study demonstrate that SEP successfully impact women's health, and in turn community health, by working across multiple levels illustrated in figure 70.

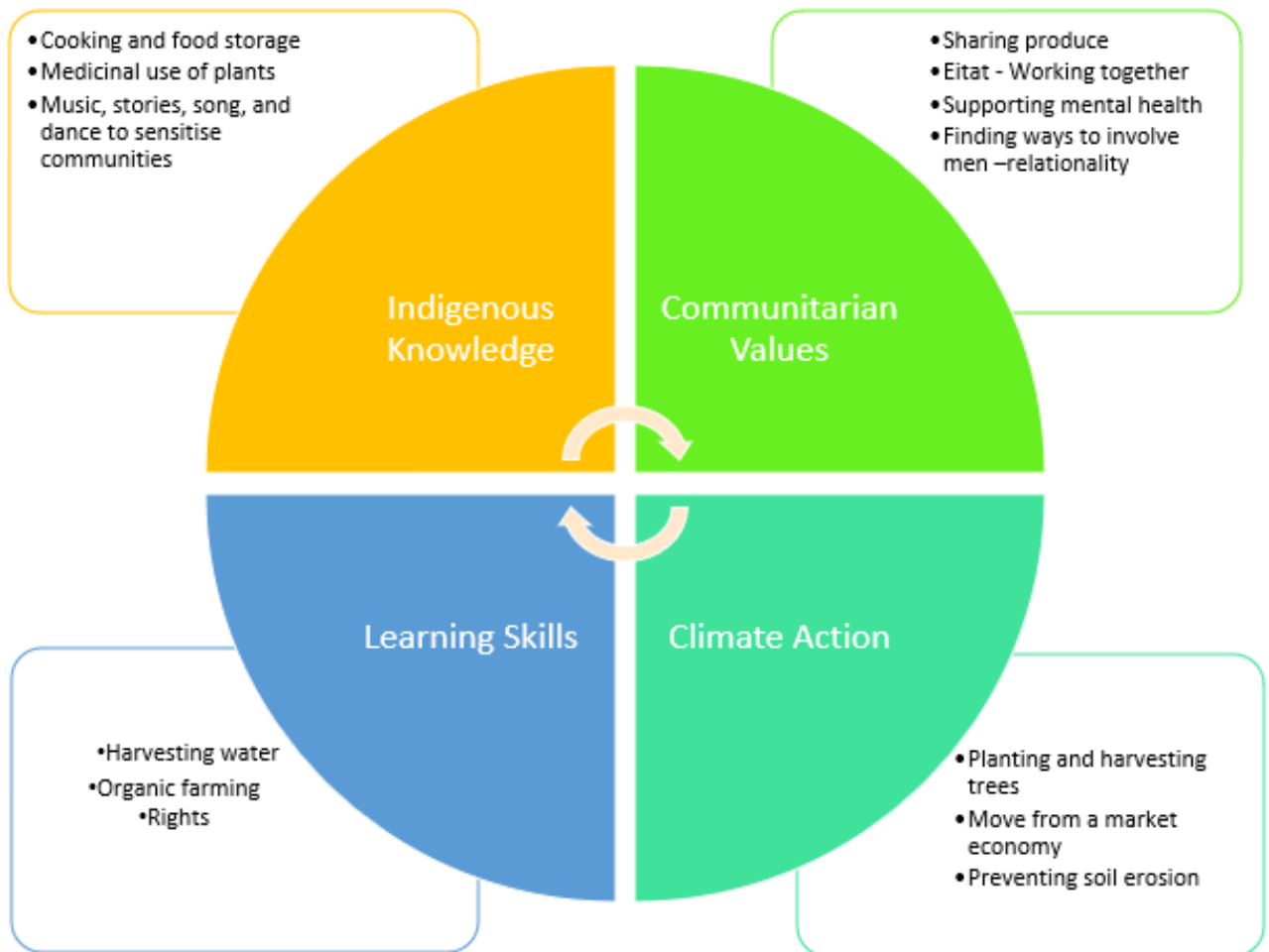


Figure 70 The impact of social enterprise projects across four levels

The arrows in figure 70 demonstrate that the levels are in flux. By working across multiple levels and via relationality the projects bring about positive change to communities. By moving away from a materialist economy and operating through communitarianism and reciprocity the projects reject minority world concepts of progress raising the question that this neoliberal concept of growth achieves *progress for whom?*

Participants were appreciative and proud of the knowledge they had gained through the projects, which in turn helped them to solve issues in the community. For example, my research has shown how being unmarried and lacking family support are intersectionalities that could serve to make Jesca vulnerable (see 6.2). However, MIDA offers the essential peer support she needs to navigate her challenges in a difficult environment, helping her to combat feelings of loneliness and fostering a sense of belonging and resilience. These benefits correlate with Kyejjusa, Gough, and Kristensen (2016) study of handicraft entrepreneurs in Western Uganda. As well as providing the women involved with financial capital, the handicraft project also enabled the women to develop social capital – being in a group helped the women feel motivated to work harder and more quickly. Together the group to share knowledge and resources to market their crafts more widely. Both this study and my findings detail how SEP provide women with a sense of resilience to mitigate harmful intersectionalities.

This relates to Indigenous world views which regard knowledge as relational as opposed to individual, according to Thaye- Bacon (2003) relational knowledge is,

“Something people develop as they have experiences with each other and the world around them. People improve on the ideas that have been developed and passed to them by others. ...With enlarged perspectives they create new meanings from their experiences.” (p. 9)

It is this relational knowledge that is demonstrated via the projects. The growth of such knowledge reveals its agential flow as it is shared between the participants leading to new possibilities of becoming (Deleuze and Guattari 1994).

The relational autonomy that the enterprises provide, enables participants to move away from the dependency of the charity, which has acted as a conduit enabling participants to develop their own relational agency to solve problems. This relates to Patel’s (2008) research (see 2.8) which detailed the capacities, including economic, required for cohesive community development. This is demonstrated by participants in my research explaining that they now

have the possibility of being able to afford their own land, which as previously discussed is vital for women to achieve stability (see 8.2). Such relational knowledge has also enabled the girl football players to deterritorialise issues of patriarchy as they explain they have '*learned smartly how to put off men*' (6.2). However, this research recognises that there is a need to examine the roots of men's behaviour towards women.

In providing aid so that the communities can begin to solve their own problems, this research connects with the suggestion by Igoye, Karrel, and Van Leeuwen, (2021) that under-resourced communities do not need our guidance; rather they require us to work in partnership with them (2.8). The communities studied in this project were always able to solve issues through their relational knowledge, communitarian ethics, and IK, however they lacked the initial resources to prompt this process, and this is why working in partnership is vital. This ethics of this minority/majority world partnership will be discussed in the final themes of this chapter.

Changing minds and norms was really hard

"When the music changes, so does the dance" (Ngomane, 2019, p. 141)

The enterprises have enabled the participants to work relationally to share knowledge and resources. This research also demonstrates that the projects have begun to deterritorialise harmful norms and practices relating to GBV, including men's drinking, and gendered expectations concerning women's roles alongside norms relating to domestic health through a relational assemblage. The projects have created a safe and neutral space for the participants to impact issues that have previously harmed their communities.

The projects create relational networks where participants are drawn together to solve issues. Charles recognises the importance of bringing the genders together to affect norms relating to gender inequity "*We don't need to look at the other one as a girl or boy and so forth. So that kind of discrimination is no longer happening*" and in doing so has garnered success for the project, "*So, I think we have actually even built community trust. The community now believes that we are not just playing football, but we are helping the community we are helping the kids.*" (6.2). Bringing the genders together starts to narrow the binary.

Other participants explained how relational networks helped to solve issues of GBV within the projects, creating a space where issues could be worked out through and with the community. Intersections of subjugation related to youth and gender are alleviated through participation in the football project. For example, this involvement has allowed Cecilia to build her confidence,

significantly lowering her likelihood of becoming a teenage mother (see 6.2). Through the supportive relationships advanced by the football project, she develops her skills but also acquires knowledge that can positively improve her future as she learns *'smartly how to put off men.'*

The flows of affect within the projects, which according to participants are beginning to change norms pertaining to women's subjugation, correlates to Malema and Naidoo (2017) research in Limpopo, South Africa which involved the *"social empowerment"* (p.1) of eighteen rural women. Like the enterprises in this study, and those discussed in Chapter 2 (2.8), the project enabled the women to share different expertise and transfer skills among themselves as a group, as well as providing the women with a position where they could make engage and make decisions. Whereas the author believes the project 'empowered' the women, I argue that the women's agency in enterprises is developed through their relationality with each other as they solve problems, debate, and discuss. Such relationality enables them to disaggregate situations; for example, Christine (HIV Counsellor) explained how being in a group prevented men from taking the women's money, *"ahh I'm in a group we save like this, like this, there is no way I can give you the money and what have you"* (6.2). This relationality provides the women with agency to reconstruct gendered identities concerning power as they disaggregate the men's behaviour and find new means of becoming within a new epistemological space to navigate the flows of GBV.

The enterprise projects provided spaces of intra-activity where women, alongside a few men, have established support networks and a sense of community through their shared values based on reciprocity, relationality, and rights. The communities exist outside the boundaries of the anthropocentric world, providing a tangible example of Emejulu (2023) and materialist feminists' such as Robinson's (2011, pp 3-4) desire for a paradigm shift towards an ethics of care, to address the *"...material, emotional, and psychological conditions that create insecurity for people"* which would provide an environment where individuals can *"step outside harmful frames"* to *"build community as a space of possibility and hope to break free from toxic and oppressive models of hyper-individualism, that have dominated life under racial capitalism"* (Emejulu, 2023, p.78 and p.91). These quotations directly relate to the success of the enterprise projects. The participants have built communities that exist through the ethos of care as participants share produce, knowledge, support each other's mental health needs and transgress and disaggregate aggressive gender norms. This has assisted the healing of past violence enabling the communities around the projects to thrive. The use of the 'model man' (6.2)

exemplifies this, by sharing his regrets for past transgressions of GBV, and through his advocacy for relationality, the model man is deterritorialising patriarchal boundaries.

The projects holistic approach to development sits firmly with Tu'itahi et al.,'s (2021) viewpoint; the authors argue that to counter hundreds of years of colonial, racist, and capitalist processes, and to combat entrenched notions of individualism, requires a commitment to *“reciprocity, connections and the interrelatedness, each reflected in different ways, in the Indigenous worldviews, spiritual perspectives and ecological perspectives...”* (p. 79.) On a microscale the grassroots enterprises researched in this study reveal how the development of relationships built on reciprocity and interconnectivity can create healthier communities and benefit the environment.

8.7 You act like you are part of them

As a white minority world educated woman, I represent elements of privilege. Consequently, engaging in a two-month ethnographic study in a marginalised and rural area of Uganda I encountered ethical issues relating to my positionality. These included power imbalances and issues as I, and the research participants, navigated the entangled intersections introduced through my presence. This section shares these findings, as well as discussing the future role of The Mustard Seed Project (Uganda) (TMSPU). Throughout my research journey I used my autoethnographic writing as a reflexive tool to constantly question whether I was adhering to Wilson's (2020) Indigenous principles of research relating to respect, rights, responsibility, representation, and reciprocity. In doing so, I was guided by Rambo and Pruitt, (2019) whose ethics of care, requires that autoethnographic researchers, *“act from their hearts and minds, acknowledge interpersonal relationships, and take responsibility for actions and their consequences.”* (p.236).

The artwork I produced relating to my positionality shows that my relationship with Teso communities exists in a complex entanglement of fluid positionalities including insider, outsider, friend, possible sponsor, academic, observer, and observed. Despite having built a relationship with the communities researched since 2016, I felt I still had limited cultural knowledge regarding the protocols for interactions due to my positionality as a woman from the minority world. Hence, I used reflexivity, alongside building relationality and showing respect as vital means of decolonialising and transforming research. I explain in 7.1 that I

attempted to speak Ateso with participants. I also strengthened my relationship with previously known participants by asking after their families and lives, as well as sharing gifts in the form of the bangles I was wearing. This relates to my methodology whereby I aimed to develop intimacy through reciprocity, develop shared connections, and cast myself as a learner (of Ateso) to shift the balance between my position as an academic researcher and my respondents who became teachers. In this way I was attempting to shift relationality from I/you (researcher/researched) to I/we (Chilisia 2019).

This showed my respect for IK by mitigating the intersections of researcher and researched and respecting knowledge as a shared entity which is part of lived reality rather than a separate construct. Although the giving of gifts may be deemed unethical by reviewers (as it could be regarded as payment for research), I gifted my inexpensive jewellery to encourage a sense of closeness, respect, and to strengthen our connections. To value the integrity of the women I felt that our relationships needed be based on friendships where I invested my personality into our relationship. Similar to Nilson, (2017), I attempted to seek common ground by using values of honesty, trust, gratitude, and compassion. Such characteristics relate to IK and show my respect for the Ubuntu maxim, “*I am we; I am because we are; we are because I am*” (Goduka 2000, p.76)

By using Wilson’s (2020) Indigenous values to reflect on my research journey, for example, questioning - *How am I building respectful relationships through my research? What are the community gaining from this project? Am I privileging their rights?* I became mindful about how I reacted to particular situations, for example my time spent at funerals when I was placed close to the open coffins, my reactions to the extreme religious nature of participants, and my time spent with those with HIV/AIDS. As a privileged woman from the minority world, I am not familiar or necessarily comfortable with being so close to death and illness. I began to understand that becoming culturally competent would be a lasting journey rather than something speedily acquired.

During my research both the women and I used the words ‘together’ or ‘togetherness’ in our conversations. For example, Rosemary explains she wants to help with my research as, “*That’s because we are together with you.*” (7.1) and I explain to an enterprise group “*When we are together, we support each other, we help each other, we solve problems*” (7.1). By speaking openly to the women, I endeavoured to position myself authentically into the relationships. I showed my commitment to staying with the women and thus ensuring their trust that the

charity would continue to support their development as a community, whilst extending our relationship to a life-long connection built on friendships. Owton and Allen-Collinson, (2014), however, recognise the complexity of building friendships in research settings. For example, participating in friendships with research participants is viewed to increase the power imbalance between the researcher and researched (Owton and Allen Collinson 2014). However, I have known many of the participants prior to this research. I also argue that forming lasting friendship is based on Ubuntu, which seeks to dissipate boundaries and recognises our common humanity.

Despite the growing relationality between me and the women, I still felt conscious of my ‘whiteness’ and the connotations it brought. Andrew explains, “*So, some whites when they come to Africa, they act like they own Africa already*” and I reply “*It’s embarrassing. I’m embarrassed.*” However, Andrew further explains that it’s important to “*show them... We are just a colour. Then they will treat you like them. They will treat you like their very own Why? Because you act like you are part of them.*” (7.1). Andrew’s advice here echoes the ethics of Ubuntu which recognises our relationality, connections, and connectivity. Nevertheless, my reaction shows that I still felt hampered by guilt, embarrassment, and anger because of colonialism and neo-colonialism in the form of neoliberal policies enforced by notions of white supremacy. However, I was also conscious that my white guilt could become a burden driving further divisions between me and the participants. As a result, I concentrated on our shared commonality and endeavoured to build connections.

There were times when I questioned the sentiment behind the gifts I received, alongside various individual requests for money. During these moments I endeavoured to deconstruct my worldview to better understand the influence of my assumptions and ideas. I reflected on the advice from friends who had spent periods living in Teso, that such requests were culturally normal and that as individuals from the minority world we find them awkward due to our cultural norms concerning asking for money.

These circumstances relate to my discussion of Scherz (2014) work in Chapter Two (2.8). According to Scherz (2014), the request for sponsorship is based on communitarian values whereby Indigenous Ugandans historically and culturally relied on patronage to achieve social and economic security. My findings revealed that patronage exists today via the desire to find a patron to pay school or college fees. I asked in Chapter Two what such patronage means for the improvement of Ugandan communities; how is ‘freedom’ defined in terms of development considering Ugandan culture is seemingly one of dependence, relationality, and

communitarianism? Through my ethnographic and autoethnographic journey I have started to answer that question; the Iteso communities do not want a minority world ‘freedom’ based on individual success, or a freedom which separates them from the environment or community. I believe those involved in the projects want to be free from systems of exploitation that render them in poverty, and the freedom to live by a relational ethics that reflects their indigeneity. When I was approached for funding, it made me aware that some of my understandings had become fixed and I felt uncomfortable concerning ideas and events that did not fit to my perceptions. It was not until I was fully situated in the research that I realised that to expand my perceptions I needed to reframe my references and to be more self-reflective. Moments that made me feel uncomfortable also made me realise that reciprocity and respect do not universally have the same meaning but are context specific. Whereas in the minority world we are taught that it is disrespectful to ask for money in the Ugandan context it shows respect; patrons are being especially chosen to form a relationship.

However, abiding by respectful and reciprocal research was often multi-layered and complicated. There were times at the religious ceremonies when I didn’t agree with the rhetoric, when, as a non-believer I prayed, or as a vegetarian I ate meat, for example. By not sharing my perspectives I passively altered my interactions. I was revealing an inauthentic self. Did this show a lack of respect for research? Arguably, we present many different versions of the self within our everyday reactions depending on the assemblage (Triandis 1989). There were also times when I felt I had to reciprocate participants in the form of money. Should I have fulfilled these requests or did providing funds to those who were desperately in need exceed research boundaries? How could I have navigated the entanglement of respect, reciprocity, and a white saviour ideology which is perpetrated through imagery of white individuals providing charity to people of colour in the majority world and thus further creating a power divide (Straubhaar 2015). My immediate reaction to the medical request was to provide money. I do not regret this exchange as health is paramount and my response was based on my humanity and relatedness to the Iteso people. By respecting the rights to health, I engaged in a culturally responsive way to the ethical research relationship. I cannot fulfil every demand (requests for college funds for example) but I was able to make judgements based on a unique situation.

However, as my research has demonstrated, engaging with values pertaining to respect, relationality, and rights is not always a panacea to ethical engagement. Whereas using these ethics as a guideline improved and strengthened my relationships with the women, when

adhered to with the men church leaders, they led to a power imbalance whereby I palpably felt my positionality shift to being an ‘outsider’ and to being ‘observed’ as opposed to observer. Perceived notions of my privilege impacted my positionality as I became objectified by the church leaders. It began to feel as though the men’s power was conditional on aggregating my agency. I understand that this is in part due to the whiteness I share with development workers who operate in this area and bound in longer positioning of whiteness in Teso relating to colonialism and missionaries.

I began to understand that whiteness is not always attached to bodies, but signs of race are encoded in everyday practice, including the research encounter. Despite attempting to be relational, the whiteness of my presence disrupted the behaviour of the church leaders. I questioned whether patriarchy also led to their aggregating behaviour. It is vital, however, to reflect that patriarchy and territorialising behaviour exists in a research assemblage that includes racial capitalism which has led to high levels of unemployment (see 1.4) To make a success of their new church and gain esteem in a landscape of dire unemployment, poverty, and where patriarchal norms dictate that men are breadwinners, the men church leaders deterritorialised my research process. In doing so they objectified my whiteness, and its connotations of relief, to gain support for their new venture. In practicing reflexivity, I have begun to understand that the situation is not a ‘personal’ experience but part of a manifestation of collectively derived privilege that needs to be understood as located in a wider assemblage of oppression. Such ethnographic encounters provide a tangible form to an intersection of privilege and oppression that exist against a global divide. The men leaders were conduits as the agential dynamics of racial capitalism sought new grounds of control. It is ironic that this situation is a reversal of the white privilege that aided the affective nature of racial capitalism; the men church leaders are utilizing my whiteness to gain power. In my subsequent analysis of this encounter, I am utilizing D’Arcangelis (2018) ‘*double turn*’ (p. 340) as discussed in Chapter Three, by turning from the self to contemplate the social structures which have affected both the men as well as my position as a researcher.

My positionality and agential capacities as a researcher are rooted in relationality. When with the women, I became agentic through relationships generated by our friendship, shared history, and reciprocity. However, my attempt at being relational with the men church leaders was territorialised via my minority world status and gender; I felt I had no agency as a researcher. As a researcher from the minority world engaging with an Indigenous population, my

positionality and agency was fluid due to the shifting effects of my relationality; I was an observer, and observed, an object and someone who objectified, an insider and outsider, a conduit, a provider, and an ally.

8.8 Whatever small support you give, no problem!

The participants shared their views on how they felt TMSPU could further support them, whilst demonstrating their continued gratitude for the resources provided, and thus showing their relationality: *“First of all, I want to thank you because I am able to keep my sheep”* (7.2). Interestingly, most participants requested support for the community rather than themselves, for example, Angela and Mary requested support for more cows for the community, expressing how not all the women received a cow, and Helen requests more funds for soap making to help the community of Tisai (7.2). In this way the women are thinking of the community rather than their individual needs. This reflects the communitarian ethics of Ubuntu; when everyone is invested in positive change, vital progress can be made (Nyamayaro 2021). It is through these values that the SEP have improved the health of the women in the community. Prioritising relationality rather than individual success has provided the women with the agential means to improve their lives.

Most participants also recognised the need for further enterprise projects explaining that they valued learning and enterprise skills over education. For example, Alice explains that high unemployment necessitates the need for a skill *“So people are looking for vocational skills.”* (7.2). This issue relates to the discussion in section 8.2 regarding the high levels of unemployment in Uganda. Participants recognised that many educated people were unemployed and were thus seeking enterprise projects. This study has highlighted that whilst education is generally considered a positive and impactful intersection, in rural Teso, it does not always translate into privilege. As previously discussed, (see 8.2), due to the high unemployment rates in Uganda, being educated beyond lower secondary school does not necessarily provide significant benefits. As a result, possessing an entrepreneurial skill is regarded as a more vital intersection towards improving health and wellbeing, providing better opportunities for employment and self-sufficiency.

In pursuing social enterprises, along with the communitarian and environmental values they represent, the project participants are creating new possibilities of becoming; acting and

thinking differently through removing themselves from the intersections of subjugation, which I argue have been developed through neoliberalism and racial capitalism. The participants are reflecting Emejulu's (2023) ideology that to *'live beyond the binary of the human and non-human could offer a way out of the trap of the modern individual invented by the Enlightenment and the anthropocentric world view of human domination'* (p.30). Living via communitarian values and existing in relation to the planet through enterprise has benefited the wellbeing of communities involved in such projects in Teso. The neoliberal ideology of progress through higher education and employment has been shunned in favour of learning an enterprise and working communally with each other and the environment. Hence, the participants are pushing back against the territorialisations of global striations of progress and advancement.

Alongside the request for further enterprise projects, participants also requested funds for microloans. Microloans are defined as a loan which enables women to start an enterprise and work towards improving their family's wellbeing (Gupta and Mirchandani 2019).

Microfinance has become a popular poverty alleviation strategy in recent decades, with authors such as Kristof and WuDunn (2010) arguing that microloans should be provided to women. The authors argue that women will use the funding to create opportunities to support their families whereas men are more likely to spend the funds on leisure time. However, I argue that involving women in microfinance moves them into the realms of production using a feminist rhetoric advocating women's agency. In correlation with my findings, Gupta and Mirchandani (2019) argue that husbands often steal the loan away from their wives. Angela (5.2) explained *"They get a loan to start small businesses, but some men are ending up and grab that money from women and they remain without doing that. That's violence!"*

Through microloans, neoliberalism has generated a free-market credit scheme where women are positioned as instrumental towards household survival. This positioning impacts women's health and wellbeing; women are exposed to GBV when men demand the loans for alcohol (see 5.2). Despite this issue, the participants in this study expressed a desire for the loans to support payment for school-fees and medical expenses – outlays that enterprises can't always meet through rearing and tailoring for example. The participants shared that those involved in the microloan projects would sensitise their communities to the importance of protecting such loans (see 7.2). This made me reconsider my positionality on the issuing of the loans through TMSPU. In being reflexive through a consideration of Afrocentric values, I have concluded that the charity needs to respect that communities are best positioned and represented to solve

their own problems. As a researcher and charity Chair, I am a conduit for their knowledge of how to improve the health and wellbeing of their communities. After discussing the request with my UK trustees and women project leaders in Uganda, we decided we would provide funding for microloans.

Training would help women get empowered.

The participants recognised that enterprise projects were not sufficient in isolation; the women needed training in literacy and numeracy to understand how to repay microloans, and they also needed to understand their rights on issues such as GBV. This correlates with Sen (1999) argument that women's well-being is strongly influenced by the:

“ability to earn an independent income, to find employment outside the home, to have ownership rights and to have literacy and be educated participants in decisions within and outside the family” (p. 191).

Training entrepreneurial women in these core areas has proven successful in other enterprise projects, for example, the Kuapa Kokoo (KK) cocoa farmer's cooperative in Ghana recognised that women in their project lacked power and control over assets and had lower levels of literacy and numeracy than their male counterparts (Doherty 2018). Supported through Divine Chocolate (Divine Chocolate Ltd 2021) KK was successful in educating 274 enterprise members (69% women) in literacy and numeracy. According to Doherty's (2018) research the women have found day-to-day tasks easier, gaining confidence and thus improving their social position; members reported being able to read instructions on a fertiliser container and complete basic accounting for their small businesses. However, according to my review of the available literature on this subject, little research has been conducted on improving women's literacy and numeracy within enterprises in Uganda, despite their being a need for this intervention. Since my initial research visits for this study, I have partnered with a colleague at Makerere University Business School to organise training for the women in literacy, numeracy, and business skills. I discuss this in my recommendations in Chapter 9 (see 9.4).

Despite many of the participants rejecting higher education in favour of entrepreneurial skills, it is apparent that participants feel that a level of education is vital for their children, but also for themselves. Education in this way acts as a protective force, preventing the women's financial position from being territorialised to feed men's desires for alcohol and leisure time.

Working together, sharing ideas

Throughout my research it has been apparent that there is a growing binary between women and men in Teso. As previously argued, this is due to an assemblage of neoliberalism, racial capitalism, climate change, patriarchal norms, and men's desires for commodities and the lifestyles they see existing in the minority world.

To an extent, the projects, by focusing on agential relationality of women, have added to the growing binary. This has led to the feminisation of responsibility whereby women are fashioned as entrepreneurs who can provide the solution to eradicating poverty (Wilson 2011). However, this focus on women deflects attention from men. An examination of the force of racial capitalism and its effects on men requires greater scrutiny.

By excluding men, evidenced in this study, women's perceived empowerment leads to greater violence in the home. Rose explained, "*If the woman doesn't give them the money some of them are beaten. GBV again comes in.*" (5.2). Reflexively, I understand that the involvement in the charity in providing the women with resources is adding to the violence. However, as I have discussed, I believe that carefully introducing new flows of affect through community sensitisation can help mitigate the violence. I also argue that the requests come from the women in the community, who despite the possible violence, value the resources.

The participants in my study drew upon the gendered nature of tailoring. It is regarded as a women's enterprise, Luke explains "*some boys are not comfortable thinking men can be tailors.*" (6.2). This compares with research by Hayhurst et al., (2022) concerning bicycles for development in Uganda and Nicaragua. The authors' study examined how an assemblage of racial, gendered, and economic relations intertwined with human and nonhuman elements to shape the development programme in unintended ways. In a similar way to my study, the bicycle acted as an object that worked within the boundaries of unequal gender relations, creating a greater divide due to its gendered implications. In this study the gendered nature of sewing machines serves to widen the binary between men and women. For Hayhurst et al., (2022) the bicycles saved Ugandan's women time allowing them to quicken their transportation to the market or field. It also changed Ugandan men's perceptions, such as '*permitting their wives to travel*' (p.467). The bicycle, in the same way as the sewing machines, is a materialised economic tool allowing women to contribute to economic prosperity. Like Hayhurst et al.,'s (2022), my research demonstrates how non-human objects like sewing machines, sheep, footballs, and football kits, intertwine with gender to create gains, conflicts, and challenges within communities. For instance, girls wearing football kits was

initially critiqued by the community; Charles recounts “*why are you spoiling our children. How can girls put on shirts?*” (6.2). The introduction of football was met with concerns about stigma, status, and sexuality and gendered expectations. Despite the sewing machines, sheep, and football resources making a valuable contribution to the lives of women and girls, this research has shown that the implication that these non-human entities lead to a greater gender divide needs further exploration. In time the community began to respect the girls’ football project. Could this change in norms over time also begin to change men’s views concerning tailoring and rearing?

I argue that this flow of affect, is slowly beginning to impact boundaries; Charles explains he joined the enterprise because “*I saw the goodness of MIDA and how it was bringing help to other people*” (7.2). However, before communities begin to regard existing enterprises as non-gendered, men require enterprises that relate to their gendered norms. This reflects a time before colonialism where, as previously argued, men and women had different roles, but both were regarded as equally important (see 8.2). I discuss this gap in research and development further in Chapter 9. To start to eradicate the growing binary between genders, which exists in a larger assemblage of racial capitalism, enterprises need to work for all genders. This was recognised by Agnes who recognises that involving men will “*reduce domestic violence at homes people will be working together sharing ideas*” (6.2). This reflects the premise of Ubuntu; when everyone’s effort is accepted then everyone is equally invested in solutions.

I have to put my trust in someone

The final sub-theme of this discussion concerns my personal feelings regarding the future of my relationships and role as a charity chair in Uganda. The findings detail how my failing to develop a respectful and reciprocal relationship with the men church leaders made me become disengaged with the role of the charity. However, by reflexively considering how the men’s behaviour was a product of a wider assemblage involving racial capitalism and patriarchy, and through understanding the positive difference the support of the charity is making to the lives of communities, I reflected that I needed to find a new means of using relationality to provide help.

I reflected on the lack of women leaders in Teso, which has been discussed previously (5.2), with Iteso women who have become friends and allies. Together we felt that we can help them to become involved as project leaders. This entanglement demonstrates a deterritorialisation of

the men's patriarchal power. The women and I recognised that such a deterritorialisation might lead to a line of flight involving violence from the men who would regard this as an affront to their patriarchal status. However, we also understood that a change of affects needs to be introduced in a measured, timely, and careful manner. Working with the women in this way highlights that they are not passive victims of patriarchy as some minority world feminists believe (Moosa and Tuana 2014). Through organising and working together to care for other women within their communities, the women are reflecting an ethics of care and the tenets of Africana womanism discussed previously (see 2.7).

Reflexively, I am aware that as a researcher and charity Chair from the minority world I am influencing the flows of affect within a self-constructed assemblage and could be adding to issues of violence. I have already discussed this complicated entanglement of the 'research machine' in 3.5. I am also conscious that my decisions might be regarded as being a '*white saviour*' (Straubhaar 2015, p1.) and imperialistic. However, cultures are not static and are in a constant state of flux due to outside influences (Speed 2009). Therefore, the changing nature of harmful cultural norms should not be ignored due to arguments concerning imperialism. This reflects IK and new materialist ontologies which espouse boundaries and regard life to be in a constant state of flux, existing through our relationalities. In this case, the relationalities are in a process of flow between the majority and minority worlds; however, this should not mean they are any less vital than flows of affect between localised communities, as in essence, IK advocates the removal of barriers.

Although I am part of the minority world, I have forged strong partnerships and connections with those involved in the enterprises. I am therefore in agreement with Singer's (2002) message, which also resonates with Ubuntu, that in an age of globalisation we must regard the world and its peoples as our home. I would add to this that we need to also include non-human elements in our planetary home. As discussed in Chapter Two, (see 2.8) Singer (2002) believes that those who have the means should donate to charities that seek to end global poverty. Langlois, (2008), however, argues that such an argument neglects the social forces at play restricting social justice that limit the lives of those in the majority world. However, I believe that my involvement in striving to achieve both resources, through my charity, and social justice by working more closely with Iteso women to reset the balance caused by patriarchy and racial capitalism, we are advocating a greater equality.

I agree with Dabiri (2023) that liberating the women from patriarchy should not be regarded as

a threat to men's freedom; it is imperative that we do not succumb to the forces, such as patriarchy and racial capitalism that deepen division between genders. In correlation with my findings, Dabiri (2023) argues that,

“Relatively powerless men are given power over women to distract them from the conditions of their own exploitation. It is often easier to imagine that... feminists are a threat to them, and fight to continue to subjugate the women in their lives, than it is to organise against consolidated hegemonic power.” (p.122)

In working with the women to organise against such patriarchal power that is heightened through issues of racial capitalism, we are attempting to amend the divisions. Not only through giving women a stronger voice but also to find ways of involving men in the projects.

I explain that in my second visit to the study sites, which involved working with the women rather than the men church leaders, both the women project leaders and the participants spoke more openly about their needs and offered each other training. Without the presence of the men church leaders, the women were able to increase their relationality both with me and each other. The deterritorialisation of patriarchy has created a flow of affect leading to the women becoming stronger, vocal, and creating new possibilities for change.

Although this positive change in the women's confidence has been achieved at a grass-roots level, in accordance with Mohanty (2003), I believe that working with and analysing the lives of some of the world's most marginalised women provides a vital and inclusive paradigm for considering social justice. This is discussed in greater detail in the concluding chapter of this research.

9: Concluding Chapter

The aim of this research was to examine the intersections that impact women's health in Teso, Uganda and examine the impact of SEP on women's health and wellbeing whilst understanding how such projects might be improved. The research also aimed to ethically examine the implications of a researcher from the minority world studying an Indigenous population. This qualitative research, using mixture of methods, examined micro and macro intersections of subjugation that impact women and girls in Teso, and sought to understand such intersections within assemblages through intersectionality, NM, and IK.

This chapter presents the implications of this study along with its strengths and limitations. It also provides a summary of the research and the concluding statement together with recommendation for future research.

9.1 Implications of the Study

This study sought to understand the intersections of oppression and privilege that impact the health and wellbeing of women in Teso and how social enterprise projects affect these intersections and what could improve the impact of such projects. The study also worked towards understanding the implications of a researcher from the minority world researching within an Indigenous community, and how this study could work towards decolonising research.

The study identified both macro- and micro-level intersections affecting the health of Iteso women. However, given the extensive range of health and well-being concerns facing women in this marginalized region, this research was unable to address all issues comprehensively. Future research would benefit from applying an intersectional lens to further explore issues related to HIV/AIDS, malaria, and neglected tropical diseases, which participants mentioned but this study could not investigate in depth. Additionally, a more thorough analysis of mental health concerns, examining how they are shaped within a wider assemblage through new materialism, would be valuable for future work. The study has recognised that SEP could be improved through encouraging the involvement of men in the projects to mitigate the gender divide. This study would benefit further from a longitudinal study of the projects to examine whether in the long-term they are resilient to the forces of neoliberalism and its avarice of hyper-individualism. As this study has shown, capital and neoliberalism has its own agency and is able to find new avenues of growth (see 8.2)

My research aimed to understand the implications of my positionality as a privileged researcher from the minority world working within an Indigenous community. While this study examined how my positionality might have affected my relationship with participants—and, consequently, the findings (see sections 3.2 and 8.7)—as well as my interactions with male project leaders, there remains significant work to advance the decolonisation of research. Future research would benefit from respecting Indigenous Knowledge by continuing to actively listen to participants, engaging in deeper self-critical analysis, building sensitive rapport, and further exploring participatory methods.

The following section examines how this study has responded to the research questions I set out to answer:

What are the intersections of oppression and privilege that impact the health and wellbeing of women in Teso?

This study has demonstrated that the Ugandan Government's policies on matters that impact women's health concerning bride price and polygamy are not working. Issues of bride price and polygamy are still virulent in Teso communities. These customs result in gender-based violence for women and girls.

With an awareness of imperialism, I am not simply suggesting that we maintain the positive aspects of the Teso communities' culture, such as IK, and mitigate practices that, from a minority gaze, do not fit to an image of gender equity. This research recognises that prior to colonialism, practices of bride price and polygamy did not bring harm and could add balance and harmony to communities; the practices could ensure that ancestors were respected, and family ties strengthened (Tuyizere 2007). Flows of capitalism and patriarchy have territorialised these traditions to continue their accumulation and dominance.

There have been demonstrations about the practice in rural Uganda (Hague et al., 2011) and in 2015 Uganda's highest court has ruled that asking for a refund for the bride, should she choose to leave the marriage is unconstitutional (Nwatu and Nwogugu 2018). Nevertheless, this research has shown that bride price remains widespread in Teso and has possibly increased due to climate change and resultant poverty.

Existing in an assemblage involving climate change, poverty, patriarchy, and laws suggests that the transformation of bride price needs to involve global, international, and local actors to bring positive change. The previous section discussed how issues of climate change and

economic insecurity might start to be mitigated through listening to Indigenous voices and introducing a paradigm shift regarding economic justice. At a grass roots level issues of patriarchy and capitalism need to be explored. One possibility is sensitisation around bride price as discussed in 8.4. The social enterprises have demonstrated that sensitisation is possible through MDD, which answers the study's research question concerning both the impact of the enterprise projects and how the projects could be further improved.

My study showed that many of the brides were young girls. Community leaders have been paramount towards mitigating child marriage in Malawi, where a law has been declared to end the practice (Nyamayaro 2021). When the community leaders learn of a child marriage, they visit the families to agree an acceptable end to the union. Sustaining this development are a number of teams that sensitise communities around issues of child marriage (Ibid). When communities work together to find solutions everybody becomes invested in providing a relational means of ending practices which subjugate women and girls. This study has shown that religion and churches are increasingly popular in Teso; a further possibility is that more women leaders are promoted within the church and use the assemblage to preach about issues concerning bride price. This study has also shown the benefits that the 'model man' brought to his local community (see 8.6). Training 'model men' within communities to deterritorialise issues of bride price might also be a successful means of ending the harmful elements of this practice.

The study revealed that intersections of gender, age, educational level, poverty, and climate change intensified the workload for women. Older participants faced both caregiving responsibilities and the struggle to survive in challenging climatic conditions. Younger participants expressed concerns about climate change, supported by literature showing that extreme weather events can threaten their livelihoods. The study also indicated that participants with higher educational levels had a deeper understanding of the climate crisis and more capacity to reflect on its associated challenges.

Intersections of age, education, and family status impact on women's vulnerability to gender-based violence and their disposition to ask for assistance or report incidents. The research highlights how marital status can lead to jealousy when women take out loans, while other issues, such as neglecting familial roles, alcoholism, and poverty, also drive GBV. The study explored how the intersection of youth increases GBV; young girls' aspirations for education and basic needs can result in rape. This study recognises that by adopting a multisectoral

approach that comprehensively addresses these intersecting factors may lessen incidences of GBV. It also recognises that involving men in these efforts is essential for achieving sustainable change.

This study has revealed that Teso exists on the periphery of state intervention (see 8.3). Therefore, it is vital that ending bride price and the marriage of young girls begins at a grassroots level, utilising the structures that are available within the communities such as enterprise projects, the church, and village leaders. This has highlighted an important gap for future research.

Polygamy is a further issue that is preventing gendered justice within Teso. However, this study demonstrated that being part of a SEP helps to mitigate issues brought about by polygamous marriages. This study had demonstrated that polygamy is upheld in legalisation through the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB) which sets the condition that men intending to hold further marriages must prove the protection of women's human rights (Tuyizere 2007). The findings of this study show that women have little power in Teso due to patriarchy, therefore their rights are seldom considered. Furthermore, traditional marriages are often conducted outside the law (Tuyizere 2007). Hence, the law does not provide protection to women in Teso. By providing a space for women to advocate their rights through sport and MDD that has led to community sensitisation, this study has shown that enterprise projects are pivotal in territorialising the effects of patriarchy. I argue that to end harmful practices greater government funding and protection of such SEP could start to promote positive change in marginalised areas where women's health needs are neglected. Alongside impacting these health concerns at a grassroots level, laws need to reflect women's lack of agential power due to patriarchy. Further research concerning how the DRB implicates women's health needs to be conducted in peripheral areas of Uganda.

In answer to the research question concerning the intersections of subjugation that impact women in Teso, it is clear that there is a tangible need for greater investment into providing for Iteso women's medical needs. This study has highlighted the need for mosquito nets to combat the increase in malaria due to climate change and its interrelation with HIV (see 8.3). Both communicable diseases are virulent in this area of Uganda (Kerridge et al., 2016; Egeru 2012). International donors could provide greater benefits to Uganda by considering the needs of peripheral regions rather than concentrating their funding in more centralised areas (Nystrand and Tamm 2018). There is also a clear need for more Indigenous health workers who

understand the language, culture, and issues within their Ugandan communities. Communities would gain from health workers being trained to deal with issues concerning mental health and stigma. The health workers could work alongside SEP (particularly those involved in MDD) to sensitise communities.

As discussed on Chapter Two (see 2.7) research shows that peer training groups that include all sexes in gender transformative training, have some success in ending the correlation between HIV and GBV (Heise 2011). In terms of the impact of the SEP, the projects have already demonstrated that they are beginning to provide a space for all genders to work together through football, MDD, and community sensitisation to mitigate harmful practices. They could be further improved with funding into further projects which could help bring about widespread change regarding gender equity and health to marginalised communities.

How do social enterprise projects affect these intersections and what could improve the impact of such projects?

Chapter Two highlighted how The Ugandan government has introduced numerous initiatives to support women businesses to sustainably grow through the *Skilling Uganda* and the *Uganda Women Empowerment Programmeme*, yet such projects have often failed to succeed (Kimuli et al., 2022). The lack of success has partly been due to the lack of recognition that women do not have time to run a business due to patriarchal expectations (Ibid). The projects researched are successful because they are attuned to the rhythm of women's lives in Teso, and the burden of work is shared between the participants.

This research has shown that SEPs can help mitigate the intersecting challenges of gender, aging, HIV/AIDS status, caregiving responsibilities, and poverty. These effects are partially achieved through the communitarian values that underpin the projects. For older participants, SEPs offer a peer support system that alleviates the combined burden of caregiving and poverty. The projects also help to reduce the stigma associated with living with HIV/AIDS. For women without formal education, SEPs provide pathways to leadership and expand the concept of education by fostering skills and knowledge beyond traditional schooling.

Jones (2012) argues that in comparison to the success and growth of Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Teso, NGOs are rarely successful. The author argues that this is because,

“Without a connection to something ‘outside themselves’, institutional innovations ... appear to be socially contrived, making it difficult for people to invest time and energy in them [the] church in Oledai had a naturalness to it; it seemed like an integral part of the landscape, even though it was something relatively new.” (p.194)

Jones (2012) explains that the success of the church is predicated on its relationality to Teso’s past; it represents a means of respectfully worshipping ancestors following the conflict of the insurgency as well as a form of structure in a marginalised area that is often neglected by state support. In agreement with Jones (2012), I believe that the work of former development NGOs in Teso represented an ideology pertaining to a neoliberal discourse of rights and empowerment. Such a discourse is difficult for Indigenous people to engage with when their knowledge systems represent the opposite values of relationality and reciprocity. Without providing meaning to the local communities, the work of past NGOs has remained transient.

In contrast to the development projects researched by Jones (2012), I argue that the enterprise projects supported by TMSPU are successful because they are meaningful to the communities involved; they are infused with the participants’ IK and work through an ethics of communitarianism which has been shown to be intrinsic to Ugandan life (Ariba 2023). They also utilise traditional knowledge to impact the concerns of the communities. Through MDD, the projects provide an outlet for participants to voice their concerns. TMSPU does not work through the projects, but it works with communities and listens to the concerns and ideas of the participants. The projects represent a partnership involving shared knowledge and capacity building. Hence, this study has answered the research question concerning the impact of the projects. In terms of their improvement, I believe there is a need for further investment via NGOs, donors, and governments into projects that are meaningful to marginalised SSA communities which involve the voices of all stakeholders.

There is also a clear need to involve men in the projects. This is due to the growing binary between the genders, caused by racial capitalism and increasing poverty, which has resulted in violence. To foster men’s involvement there needs to be investment into enterprises that relate to men’s gendered roles. The projects have been successful when men are involved, for example, the findings show that issues of GBV can start to be discussed and targeted. This study recognises that when women are perceived to be ‘empowered’ it can lead to greater divisions and violence. Hence, involving men in the projects would enable further sensitisation

around issues of GBV. In this way, this study has answered the research question concerning how SEP could be improved.

What are the implications of a researcher from the minority world researching within an Indigenous community, and how can this study work towards decolonising research?

My positionality as a researcher from the minority world studying and Indigenous population has contributed to a growing knowledge concerning decolonisation of research. Ensuring Afrocentric principles were adhered to in the research process has both positive and negative impacts. Emphasising my relationality, my respect for communities, and being reciprocal to the women (and some men) in the projects strengthened our relationship and provided a richness to the research process when I felt I was invited to be part of their relational network. However, my 'whiteness' acted as a tangible, global divide between the men church leaders and my positionality. Through my adherence to Afrocentric principles, I was objectified, and my positionality territorialised to enable patriarchy to continue its exploitative flows of affect. This has demonstrated that patriarchy can harness traditional values for its own means. As discussed, whereas my relationship with the women felt personal, I recognise that the situation involving the men was not personal but a product of a wider assemblage. Further research would benefit from developing an awareness of this issue and exploring ways to find new pathways to work with powerful men gatekeepers. In researching issues regarding my positionality, use of Afrocentric values, and the issue of gatekeepers I have demonstrated the issues of a woman from the minority world researching an Indigenous population, alongside my effort to decolonise my research practice.

This paper has demonstrated that the climate emergency exists in all assemblages relating to women's health in Teso due to its impact on poverty. Indeed, this concern has been described by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change co-chair as "... *the greatest challenge of our time...In short, it threatens our planet, our only home.*" (Gillis 2013, n.p). There is an urgent need to tackle this global crisis. The United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (UN, 2030) have drawn global attention to the emergency and many of the intersecting goals are related to protecting the planet, However, an absence of measurable outcomes for target setting suggests the UN understand the difficulties of achieving these soon (Briant, 2017). Tu'itahi et al., (2021) argues that:

“Powerful influences are at play, leveraging hundreds of years of colonising, racist, and capitalist process to ensure that entrenched notions of competition, supremacy, disconnection and individualism are given primacy.” (p. 79)

What is clearly needed is a paradigm shift to protect the future of our planet. Indigenous worldviews based on reciprocity and relationality could provide a different paradigmatic direction. As well as providing a different direction, highlighting such world views works towards a decolonialisation of research. At a micro-level within this study Indigenous ethics have shown to be affective towards mitigating violence between humans and non-humans. It has shown that the minority world has much to learn from those who are not driven by individualism and economics. Humans should no longer be regarded as separated from each other, non- humans, and the environment. Such separation leads to competition and further violence as the issues of racial capitalism have demonstrated. Individuals should focus on becoming a person through relational means, and it is via this relationality that humans can attain social and ecological wellbeing, ensuring planetary health for past, present, and future generations (Terblanché-Greeff 2019).

Considering Indigenous perspectives in arriving at a healthier set of relationships between people and the planet is essential towards health promotion. Therefore, when formulating climate change mitigation strategies all stakeholders should participate, including those from marginalised Indigenous communities. In this way, governments might start to move from practices that react to climate change (flood defences, and GM crops, for example) and start to consider how we can work relationally with nature rather than against it (Fox and Alldred 2016).

Policy changes that prioritise IK would also benefit from adopting Raworth’s (2019) theory of Doughnut Economics, which was discussed in Chapter Two. Citizen-led groups focused on this model are forming globally in places such as São Paulo, Berlin, Kuala Lumpur, and California to bring the potential to transform their own areas from grass-roots levels (Nugent 2021). Starting from such grassroots levels, Amsterdam’s ambition is to bring its population inside the doughnut by introducing infrastructure projects, employment schemes, and new government policies (Raworth 2019). Policies which start at base level may have greater success than macro policies that do not directly impact the communities that are most effected by climate change. The theory of doughnut economics is given tangible form through the enterprise

projects in this study whose participants take only what they need from the land, replenishing what they have used, and utilise the market economy only when necessary.

Raworth (2019) acknowledges that for low- and middle-income countries to climb above the doughnut's social foundation, GDP growth is required. However, such economic growth needs to be a means to reach social goals within ecological limits, not as an indicator of success. This growth needs to be sustainably managed through communitarian ethics which align to IK and recognise our entangled planetary relationships.

An Indigenous rethinking of global health suggests the need to acknowledge that poor health outcomes for peripheral communities, such as those in Teso, are determined by neo-colonialism, yet also predicated on Indigenous ontologies of relationism in which individuals are not independent, but part of interdependent systems of reciprocity. Therefore, when one person suffers the community suffers. Indigenous health offers a means of considering a different way of thinking outside minority world assumptions that pervade global health.

9.2 Contribution to knowledge

This study has made several contributions to knowledge in the field of women's health in Uganda and the impact of enterprise projects, as well as the implications of a researcher from the minority world studying and Indigenous populations. By examining issues of women's health in Teso as being part of a wider global assemblage, this study has added to knowledge concerning the impact of climate change on women's health. It has demonstrated that climate change impacts every aspect of women's health in Teso due to issues of poverty and the work involved in resourcing for families. It has also shone a light on how Iteso women are not docile casualties of climate change but are seeking to both mitigate and combat issues brought about by changes in weather.

Viewing health through an assemblage has also demonstrated that neoliberalism and neo-colonialism have led to racial capitalism which subsists through men's leisure time, desires, and structures such as the church. The lack of state involvement in this peripheral region means that the patriarchal impact of racial capitalism, which has led to men leaders exerting power in the absence of state structures, remains unchecked. This study has sought new knowledge to combat this issue by recognising that social enterprises could pay a vital part in narrowing the

binary between the genders. This can be achieved by providing a greater role for women leaders alongside increased roles for men in enterprises as well as community sensitisation. In this way the projects can provide an alternative to the harmful and cyclical assemblages of racial capitalism and patriarchy,

Prompting further awareness concerning the enterprise groups' use of IK this research has highlighted the need to protect this expertise. The knowledge serves to improve all aspects of health, including physical, mental, and planetary wellbeing. The study has shown that enterprises can enable the sharing and use of such important understanding. Alongside the IK, Indigenous practices such as MDD have also shown to be significant towards relationality, improved mental health, and sensitisation.

Vitally, this study has demonstrated that ethics based on Ubuntu, which recognise our relationality with each other, non-humans and planetary health, can bring about a paradigm shift towards health for all. A paradigm change can start to mitigate neoliberal concerns with progress. The study has shown that progress only benefits the powerful and is not part of Indigenous thought. Those in Teso's Indigenous communities are not concerned with models of development that involve accumulation; rather they desire to live holistically with the land.

Theoretical Contribution

The conceptual frameworks underpinning this study are Intersectionality, NM, and IK. The reasons for using and combining these three frameworks have been previously discussed in-depth in chapter Two of this thesis (see 2.6). The theoretical approaches were chosen based on their suitability for exploring sensitive cultural values and issues associated with women's health.

The findings provided evidence that underpin these theoretical approaches. Intersectionality has been useful in shining a light on invisible intersections, such as patriarchy and colonialism, which impact women's lives in Teso. The framework was also helpful in drawing attention to the activism of women in Teso towards protecting their environment, and their work in promoting communitarian values. This contrasts with an image often promoted through white feminism that women in the majority world are passive victims of climate change and patriarchy (Mohanty 2003).

NM has highlighted the fluidity of the intersections which exist as assemblages. This theory has also demonstrated how such assemblages often appear as boundaries created through

territorialising flows of affect. In this way, issues of neoliberalism, racial capitalism, patriarchy, and culture are shown to have their own agential powers through their relationships within assemblages. Hence, this theory has drawn attention to how women's health in Teso needs to be understood as being located within a greater assemblage which need unravelling in terms of finding solutions to health issues. Rather than understanding health through intersectional boundaries, utilising NM alongside intersectionality has exposed how the intersections have come into being, and how they are interrelated, intertwined and fluid due to their agential means of affect.

This study has exposed further the similarities between NM and IK. This was discussed in depth in Chapter Two (see 2.6). However, using a combination of both theories alongside the findings has added a further layer to the parallels. Both theories bring attention to the participants' recognition of relationality; the importance provided to non-human forms, alongside notions of space and time. As previously discussed, I used elements of NM in this study because of its alignment with my minority world academic context. However, in recognising the similarities to IK and working with an Indigenous population, I felt it was vital to recognise and privilege such knowledge systems alongside NM. IK has provided a contrast to a minority world way of thinking about women's health in Teso.

In using both NM and IK I have underlined the need, recognised by Rosiek et al., (2020) that academics from the minority world need:

“...to recognize their responsibility to engage Indigenous thought and traditions and to do so in light of the history of colonization... [through] collaborations, we believe, can both address some internal challenges emerging in new materialist scholarship and build more respect for the relevance of Indigenous philosophies to the practice of social science” (p.335)

The findings of this study have highlighted the argument I introduced in Chapter Two (2.6), that the precarious status of our world needs more than one conceptual model to find solutions. The relationality developed through combining all three frameworks has helped to produce a refractive and reflective understanding of the findings that has created new knowledge.

By utilising IK, I have attempted to avoid colonialist practices of data extraction from Indigenous communities. Through reciprocity I have endeavoured to promote the vitality of their world views, whilst at the same time supporting the well-being of their communities through the pursuit of social justice. In combining the conceptual frameworks, I have promoted

an understanding of the world as a relational entanglement of human and non-human agency, which includes the knowledge generated thereby. To my knowledge, according to a review of the literature, this entwining of intersectionality, NM, and IK applied to women's health in SSA marks a new territory of research.

9.3 Strengths and Limitations

This research has a number of strengths, which has contributed uniquely to the knowledge about the role of SEP on women's health in Teso, Uganda. However, there were also a few limitations identified in the study.

Research Methods

I argue that a strength of this study lies in its mixed qualitative methods (bricolage, ethnography, and autoethnography) to explore an area of limited research concerning Iteso women's health and the impact of enterprise initiatives. Utilising bricolage enabled me to privilege the participants in the research process through an eclectic approach to methodology. The participants provided me with artwork, dance, drama, and singing which contributed to the knowledge reflected in this study. The use of these artistic inclusions, alongside the photographs, helps to directly link the audience of this study to the participants and disaggregates the presence of the researcher from the process. In this way, the methodology provides a relational connection between the participants, the audience, and researcher which relates to the importance of connectivity according to IK. This relational assemblage has helped to develop new understanding about women's health in Teso.

The use of rapid ethnography in a region where I am known to the participants provided a meaningful lens into the experiences that impact the lives of the women. Through promoting relationality during my time with the women I was able to feel like an insider for much of my time spent with them. It also enabled me to participate in their everyday lives. Again, this methodology helped to disaggregate my presence as discussed in Chapter Eight (see 8.7). Findings from my unstructured interviews were enhanced through the relationality I have with the participants. Thus, using interviews enabled me to probe into the issues affecting the women, some of which were sensitive, and I believe were only disclosed due to the women feeling comfortable with my presence.

Using autoethnography helped to ensure that I remained faithful to the Afrocentric principles guiding this research. It also guaranteed that I continued to be reflexive over my positionality and helping me consider how my presence might be shaping the research. Utilising this method provided a story-telling element to the research as I reflected my journey. I perceive this to be an advantage as it emphasises the importance of stories to Indigenous people through relational accountability to the study participants and the audience of this thesis. As such, the story telling element of this thesis will be given attention through my dissemination of findings, which will be in the form of a documentary featuring the participants MDD (See 9.4). I believe that my use of qualitative mixed methods has produced the richness of research that I set out to capture in Chapter Three (3.4). It has helped patterns, stories, and narratives to develop as participants shared their lives with me.

My use of a thematic analysis as a method could be critiqued by new materialists who would view this as an aggregating process forming part of a research machine (Fox and Alldred 2022). However, I believe that its use has helped to provide a clear framework for the findings allowing ease of comprehension. At the onset of the study, I acknowledged that I would be utilising elements of NM rather than purely adhering to this framework. Additionally, I have recognised that the themes are interconnected and shifting rather than existing in a set boundary. Nevertheless, several of the themes, such as those relating to patriarchy, have become bounded due to constant territorialisation existing over space, time, and location. That is not to say that they cannot become deterritorialised; this study has examined how the projects researched can start to develop new flows of affect to bring about social justice.

Conceptual Framework

The benefits of the conceptual framework utilised in this study have been discussed in the previous section of this chapter. However, I believe that the combination of different theories has led to a rhizomatic growth of knowledge concerning the health and wellbeing of the participants, as well as the impact of the enterprise projects. In combining research methods, I relate this work to IK which seeks connections rather than boundaries. On reflection, however, in combining three conceptual frameworks there is the risk that the strengths of each approach are diluted. Nevertheless, I feel that I have emphasised each theory's strengths to provide a rich discussion of the findings.

Researcher Positionality

I argue that my positionality has caused both strengths and limitations in this study. A strength has been my determination to decolonise research through abiding by Afrocentric values. However, this positionality also comes with a stark awareness that I will never be able to negate my perceived position of privilege. Over time, further research that continually uses a process of decolonisation through research methods could start to remove boundaries between the researchers and researched.

I also recognised that the positionality of being a Chair of a charity which operates in this area of Uganda brings strengths and limitations. I realise that a limitation could be that I present a biased view towards the benefits of enterprise due to this positionality. However, through using an autoethnographic process and reflecting on the issues caused by the role of the charity, linked to my positionality regarding perceptions of funding, has helped to highlight these issues.

Study Site and Participants

This is a small study, involving participants that are known to me which introduces issues of impartiality. However, my relationality with the participants also has its strengths (see 8.7). Conducting the study on a small scale has brought attention many hidden issues that may not have been apparent in a larger study (for example, how the nuances of customs and patriarchy impact women's health). It is vital that these issues are now further researched, as discussed in my recommendations (9.4)

Summary of Study

Throughout this thesis I argue that the themes in this study exist in a constant process of change as they intersect and interrelate with each other. My use of mixed qualitative methodology sought to discover such refractions. Despite NM's concern with avoiding boundaries, I have used a thematic approach to represent the margins that have come to exist through flows of affect relating to women's health, the impact of enterprise projects and my involvement as a researcher from the minority world intra-acting with an Indigenous population. I am conscious that the boundaries can be disaggregated through flows of affect; however, some are lasting due to repeated territorialisations.

The qualitative findings demonstrate how climate change is a broad issue resulting in increased poverty and violence within communities. This stemmed from the neighbouring Karamojong tribe whose poverty led to increased theft and conflict, but also violence concerning women's

burden of work. Conflict also emanated from a lack of resources, and resultant alcoholism amongst men as a coping mechanism.

The findings expose changes in land use and migration as a result of population growth and changes to traditional ways of life. Issues of climate change, population growth, land fragmentation, poverty, violence, and changes in the behaviour of non-humans (mosquitoes and hippos) are shown to exist in a global assemblage affected by the flows of neoliberalism and neo-colonialism. Such flows of affect were shown to be fracturing traditional ways of life predicated on communitarian values. These fractures result in men's sub-cultures which involve drinking alcohol, gambling, and desiring the lifestyle of those in the minority world. I argue these sub-cultures exist as a product of racial capitalism which has widened the gender binary. High unemployment, caused by neoliberal reforms (see 1.4) has created an informal labour market leaving Iteso men in a precarious economic position that has impacted their sense of worth.

The qualitative findings demonstrate issues specifically relating to biological health. Women's health is impacted by a lack of health centres and available treatment. I argue that this is due to neoliberal restructuring which has led to areas of rural Uganda becoming neglected regarding UHC. Transportation to health centres, which were often hard to reach for rural populations, was also shown to be an issue concerning health access.

The study has shown that HIV, AIDs, Malaria, and issues of mental health intersect with poverty and stigma. Women not only find it difficult to access treatment for these diseases, but a lack of food also diminishes their ability to take vital medication. HIV and malaria coexist and worsen the symptoms of both diseases. A lack of mosquito nets causes significant health issues, alongside the increase in malaria in Teso due to swamps and rising temperatures. Stigma impacts those with HIV/AIDs and causes mental health issues. Men's alcohol use also worsens these health issues leading to greater violence and HIV infections. These issues significantly affect Teso women's health due to issues of patriarchy limiting their access to funds. Hence, these issues exist in a wider assemblage including the global effects of neoliberalism alongside culturally specific matters. I argue that impacting such problems needs to begin at a community level to reduce stigma and begin to tackle issues of patriarchy; before macro issues can be resolved, communities need to be sensitised and united in their approaches to dealing with health determinants.

The findings also reveal that issues of bride price and polygamy are negatively affecting women in the communities. These issues have worsened due to climate change and resultant poverty. I argue that these customs are harnessed through flows of patriarchy as it sought new grounds of exploitation. Similarly, the findings show that religion also upheld patriarchal norms. The growth of churches is influenced by racial capitalism as high unemployment has led to men finding roles within religious organisations. Within religious structures, patriarchy is upheld through flows of capital and the teachings of morality relating to gender roles. In this way patriarchy has its own agency as it seeks new means of affect through the channelling of traditions.

Findings relating to SEP reveal that their use of IK is enabling participants to live sustainably and holistically with the land, humans, and non-humans. All projects reflect an ethos of communitarianism which enables participants to share knowledge, resources, and work. This enables the participants to disaggregate the flows of neoliberalism by rejecting a capitalist economy and notions of individualism. The participants use of MDD was reinforcing their relational values, and consequently improving women's mental health. The affective nature of MDD worked successfully to sensitise communities to the issues that are impacting women's health.

The findings demonstrate that the women are impacting and mitigating issues of climate change by planting trees and working holistically with the land. In this way they are presented as activists rather than passive victims of the climate emergency. By acting on climate change through their relationality, which incorporates their engagement with nature and shared knowledge, the women in this study provide a tangible example of new material feminist's advocacy for an ethics of care in relating to the climate change.

The enterprise projects generate a change of social norms within communities. The football project has not only changed gendered perceptions relating to equality, but it also helps to narrow the gender binary. The projects help to sensitise issues relating to GBV in communities by acting as informal counselling services as men and women are encouraged to discuss conflict. However, using non-human materialities, the projects have the unintended consequence of widening the gender divide as men do not want to involve themselves in tailoring, which is regarded as women's work.

The study explored my positionality as an insider and outsider to the participants and the implications this has on my research. I examine how using Chellis's (2019) Afrocentric

principles of respect, relationality, and reciprocity provided me with positive agential capacities when I spent time with the women from the projects, however the church men were able to disaggregate my positionality through objectifying my ‘whiteness’ to seek new grounds for their new church. I was able to be reflexive and use D’Arcangelis (2018, p.340) ‘*double turn*’ to understand that this situation was not ‘personal’ but a product of a wider assemblage resulting in racial capitalism.

The study reveals that through the resources provided the communities are able to solve their own problems through SEP. I argue that communities are always best placed to impact their issues; however, they may not always have the necessary resources. This is why I feel that working in partnership with communities is vital. Creating new possibilities by working with women leaders rather than men has led to the women developing their agential capacities via their relationality with each other. The women can discuss their needs and offer support in a safe space away from the embedded patriarchy in Teso and this has provided the potential for new possibilities of social justice.

Concluding Statement

Making the workings of power visible through the eyes of the disenfranchised has created an understanding of wider global assemblages that impact the health of those in Teso and other marginalised communities in the majority world. This conception of health entails recognition that poor health outcomes for marginalised people are driven by intersections relating to ongoing coloniality.

This research has drawn attention to the fragile balance involved in the lives of the Teso communities and ecosystems due to ongoing neo-colonialism. The relationality between the people, their lives, and land is iterative, regenerative, and holistic; there is no requirement for progress or freedom in a neoliberal sense. Rather than development based on neoliberal individualism and economics, the Iteso population requires basic health needs. Like many in the world, those in Teso have insufficient supplies of clean water, medical supplies, and food due to climate change but also due to policies. These intersections impact women’s lives more significantly due to issues of patriarchy and racial capitalism.

Baum (2016) invites readers to imagine a world where there are no health differences between people in different groups, where there is no poverty, and Indigenous rights and wisdom are respected. In agreement with Baum (2016), this study demonstrates that such a world is possible; achieved through social justice leading to a fairer distribution of wealth and placing

social and environmental concerns as key priorities. This has implications for how we think about global health, particularly in terms of development. Health and development need to be redistributed and reflect a balance, rather than progress. Finding a balance requires a paradigm shift towards a more respectful and relational view of the planet as our ‘home’ rather than a world divided into the privileged and subjugated. I have discussed how the use of Raworth’s (2019) *Doughnut Economics* might achieve this (2.7). However, this needs to be recognised and accepted by governments, policy makers, and populations worldwide. The worsening climate emergency highlights that this paradigm shift needs to be achieved promptly.

Sharing the lived realities of some of the world’s most marginalised women has allowed me to envisage the possibilities of a just and relational world. I believe the participant’s knowledge can provide an answer to some of the world’s most pressing issues. The enterprise projects represent what could be achieved globally. The SEP are impactful because they exist outside the boundaries of neoliberalism’s harmful affecting flows by working relationally through a network of shared knowledge, work, and care. The projects provide the participants with the means to sustain their health whilst impacting their mental wellbeing through MDD which emphasises the importance of spirituality. The projects are also beginning to heal the polarisation of the genders impacted through racial capitalism. This study demonstrates that an Indigenous reconsideration of health offers multiple ways of thinking outside the presumptions of minority world philosophies and their assumptions about progress. IK offers a rich variety of creative and critical possibilities to improve planetary health.

9.4 Recommendations for further Research

This study provides a framework for the better understanding of the role of enterprise projects on women’s health in Teso. However, based on the rationale and findings from this study, the following are recommendations for future research:

Understanding the role of enterprise projects on men’s health

The study recognises that a populations’ health requires balance; therefore, the health of everyone needs to be considered. Women will not achieve good health in Teso without considering the wellbeing of men. This research recognises that racial capitalism, through high unemployment and the desire for a consumer lifestyle, has impacted men’s health resulting in

gambling and alcoholism, and what a participant described as a ‘fractured masculinity’ (4.2). Therefore, a priority for further research is the need for enterprise projects for men alongside those of the women. To monitor the impact of such enterprises further research needs to be conducted into their effectiveness over time. Research would benefit from examining such enterprises via a longitudinal study to observe whether such enterprises can become an embedded part of community life in Teso. A review of the literature shows that there is a gap for research in this area as most studies concerning SEP in SSA focus on women’s experiences (Amine and Staub 2009; Dabić et al., 2022; Brogan and Dooley 2023).

The role of churches

This research draws attention to the pivotal role of the church in Teso and the growth of new churches. It concludes that the growth of the churches’ power is due to racial capitalism; the church provides positions of power to disenfranchised men who have few possibilities for employment in other sectors. The research also suggests that the church fulfils a governing role in the absence of state support within Teso. Unchecked the church acts as a means of credit exchange and issues sermons on morality which emphasise unequal gender roles. Despite there being research on the growth of charismatic churches in Kampala (George 2022; Bompani 2018), I believe that exploring the growth of churches, via the lens of racial capitalism in a marginalised area of SSA represents a gap in research. Understanding the influence of the development of such churches might draw attention to issues of gender inequity, power, and religion.

The future role of women leaders

This study discusses the need for women leaders in Teso, particularly at a grassroots level. The study shines a light on how all leaders in Teso are men. In the previous chapter (8.9) I explained how TMSPU will now be working with women project leaders as we disaggregated the effects of church men’s patriarchal power. This represents a further area for possible research. There are various studies examining women’s political leadership in Uganda (for example, Goetz et al., 2003; Norris 2006). However, a longitudinal study examining affective flows emanating from women in leadership positions at a grassroots level in Teso could offer an understanding of how this could be utilised in other marginal areas where women’s health is subjugated through patriarchy.

Sport, Development and Gender

Various studies examine neoliberalist discourses concerning gender, sport, and development in Uganda (GSD) (Hayhurst, 2016; Hayhurst et al., 2022; Hayhurst, 2013). However, I have previously argued how the football project provides a shift from GSD projects that are often founded on success and individualism. The project is founded on reciprocity and relationality and has been successful in changing norms in the community relating to girls' gendered expectations. A more in-depth study into the impact of this project using qualitative methodologies to capture the voices of the community would provide a deeper understanding of how change has been impacted. This project could also be trialled in other areas of SSA where girls are subjected to GBV to analyse whether its success can be replicated and thus provide a means of social transformation.

Research into the effectiveness of health promotion and provision.

This research draws attention to the vital need for health resources for impoverished Teso communities. There is a significant need for mosquito nets in the area. Most studies concerning mosquito nets concentrate on peri-urban areas of Uganda (Musoke et al., 2015; Musoke et al., 2023). I believe the provision of nets alongside sensitisation around issues of malaria and HIV could bring about significant health improvements. Mixed method research involving quantitative data looking at the incidences of malaria and its interrelation with HIV/AIDS, alongside qualitative interviews with member of the communities affected could provide vital data on this health issue.

The research also shines a light on the need for community health workers that are trained to deal with issues of stigma and mental health (Ndyanabangi et al., 2004). Training for such professionals, alongside qualitative research concerning the impact of such training, would be beneficial towards mitigating these harmful issues.

Partnership

As discussed previously (9.3), I argue that the enterprise projects represent a microcosm of what it could be possible to achieve on a wider scale. Sharing their ethos of communitarianism, the use of MDD, and sensitisation within the projects could be beneficial to other marginalised communities. To enable this vision, I believe that utilising the project leaders to train and work alongside those in other enterprise groups to share elements of good practice could prove beneficial and expand the positive effects of such projects. Therefore, longitudinal research into the effectiveness of working in partnership through enterprises could prove useful regarding health improvements across marginalised areas of the majority world. This research

reflects the importance of the UN SDG 17, *Working in Partnership*, (UN, 2023) which seeks to ensure that no communities are left behind.

Business training alongside social enterprise

This study highlights how many of the women participants had a low level of basic literacy, numeracy, and business understanding. Understanding the application process and repayment of microloans is vital to avoid a cycle of debt (Prediger and Gut 2014). Consequently, as a direct result of this research I will be working alongside a colleague from Makerere University Business School to educate the women in basic business skills. Research concerning the results of this process would be useful towards further understanding the role of SEP alongside business knowledge towards supporting the health of rural communities.

Dissemination of results

My research ethics have been guided by Chilisia's (2019) principles of Indigenous research: relational accountability, respectful representation, reciprocal appropriations, and rights. Based on these principles, it is vital that the findings of my research are shared with the Iteso communities in a way that respectfully represents their culture. Hence, I will be involving the communities in the dissemination of the findings through their MDD.

As part of this project, I will be professionally recording the performances by working with a East African producer to create a documentary which can be shared at Nottingham Trent University and global health conferences. The producer is known to me through my work in Uganda. In this way the participant's voices can be heard globally enabling academics, health professionals, and those involved in governments to broaden their knowledge of on how issues such as climate change are impacting Indigenous populations and how the women in this study are mitigating this crisis.

As a non-Indigenous researcher, I regard myself as a conduit for the communities' knowledge. Consequently, I have endeavoured to unite with the communities I am researching towards a shared goal of social justice. In the pursuit of this objective, I have respected their ways of knowing whilst acknowledging my own privilege and knowledge. Working with the communities to document their knowledge represents a further area for research.

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Appendixes

Appendix 3.1 Ngora Population Profile

District Name: NGORA

Background:

- **Location:** Latitude 1.4908° North and longitude 33.7518 East
- District creation 1st July 2010
- Distance from Kampala 4hrs 47mins (257.9) via A109
- Total area: 715.9sqkm
- Land area 177.44sq
- Area of water bodies
- Annual rainfall
- Women headed households 23.5%
- Child headed households 122(0.3) %
- No. of sub counties 8
- No. of Town councils 3
- No. of parishes 73
- No. of villages 146
- No of District Councillors 27
- Proportion of female District Councillors 40.7%

Demography

- Total Population: 142,487
- Number of Males: 68,217
- Number of Females 74,270
- Sex ratio 91.3(UBOS)
- Population Density 218.2/km²
- Number of households 99%
- Average household 7persons
- Annual Population growth rate 2.8%
- Primary school going age [6-12 yrs] 57,150 (85%) %(UBOS)
- Adolescents (10 -24) years 76,576
- Youth (18-30 years) 27831(UBOS)
- Children (0-17 years) 81,096 (UBOS)
- Children (0-4 years) 53,708 (19.0) % (UBOS)
- Older persons (60+ years) 12,712(UBOS)
- Life expectancy at birth 54.7years
- Commonly spoken language Ateso
- Population below poverty line 29.1%

Education

- No. of government aided Primary schools 59
- No. of private Primary schools 41
- No. of nursery schools 49
- No. of government aided secondary schools 6
- No. of private secondary schools 15
- No. of technical schools 4
- No. of core primary teachers' colleges 1
- No. of Nurses' training schools 1
- Primary school enrolment 49,980
- Pupil teacher ratio 65:1
- Primary school dropout rate 26%
- Desk-Pupil ratio 4:1
- Pupil-classroom ratio 95:1
- Latrine stance pupil ratio 70:1
- PLE performance Div 1 Total 3,507
- PLE performance Div 1 Girls 1,840
- Secondary school enrolment 3,420
- Student teacher ratio 23:1
- Secondary school dropout rate 9.9%
- Desk-Student ratio 5:1
- Student-classroom ratio 84:1

Health

- No. of Hospitals 1(PNFP)
- No. of Health Centre IVs 1
- No. of Health centre III's 6
- No. of Health centre II's 4
- No. of Licensed drug shops 72
- No. of allied clinics 6
- Population within 5 km to health facility 80%
- Catchment population by health unit 12,878
- Doctors-population ratio 1:47,449
- Nurse-population ratio 1:2,095
- Clinician-population ratio 1: 9,496
- Deliveries in health facilities 5,924
- Ratio of midwives to pregnant women 1:297
- Disease burden by Malaria 72%

- Death Rate 0.05%
- Latrines coverage 83%
- Safe water coverage 92%
- Prevalence rate of waterborne diseases 7.1%
- Total Fertility Rate 6.2
- Infant Mortality Rate 19/1000
- Under five Mortality rate 26/1000
- Stunting 25%
- Maternal Mortality Ratio 111/100,000
- No. HIV + pregnant women on ART prophylaxis 250
- Vitamin A Supplementation Coverage 58%
- Polio immunization rate 107%
- BCG immunization rate 67%
- Proportion of Orphaned children 6.6%
- Village Health teams trained 71
- Contraceptive Prevalence Rate 35%
- HIV prevalence 2.7%
- ANC coverage 3,984
- Immunisation coverage 91%
- Teenage pregnancy rate 22%
- Unmet need for family planning 65%
- Acute respiratory infections (ARI) pneumonia rate 90%
- HIV/AIDS testing points 12
- Proportion of health facilities HC III + providing (BEmOC)
- Births with low birth weight (< 2.5kg.) 264

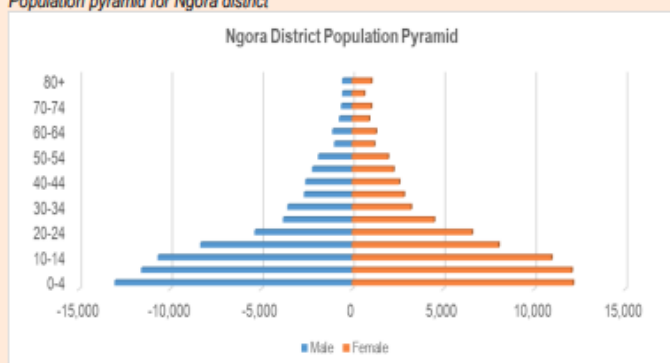
Socio Economic

- Literacy rate 76%
- Literacy rate among women 57.9%
- Literacy among men 78.5%
- No. of NGOs 14
- Number of organised women groups 78
- No. of Cattle 35,000
- Total length of district roads 208.13
- Road length in good condition 24.3kms
- Road length in poor condition 19kms

- Length of community access roads 329.5kms
- Total length of trunk roads central govt 71.39kms
- Total length of tarmac roads 9.65kms
- Dependency ratio 60%
- Average annual rainfall 800-1000mm
- Local radio FM stations 1
- Number of CBOs registered 14
- Households using firewood for cooking 96%
- Households using electricity for lighting
- Households using paraffin lighting
- Households using charcoal for cooking
- No. of SACCOs 168 including PDM SACCOs

POPULATION PYRAMID

Population pyramid for Ngora district



Source: Planning Department 2020

District Vision: *A prosperous district by 2040 through enhanced collective involvement*

District Mission: and the mission is " *To improve on the livelihood of the community for sustainable Development through provision of quality services*" .

Produced by National Population Council (NPC) in partnership with Ngora District Local Government

Data Sources: DDP III, Census 2014, UBOS profiles

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE 2022

P. O. BOX 31

NGORA DISTRICT LOCAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS FY 2020/21									
S/n	NAME OF COUNTY	NAME OF LLG	PARISH/WARD	VILLAGE/CELL	TOTAL POPULATION AS AT 2019	TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS			
1	Kapir	Mukura Sub-county	Akubui	Akubui	1,758	232			
				Okwanqai	1,401	269			
			Agogomit	Agogomit	1,570	199			
				Libia	843	117			
			Maqoch	Maqoch	1,401	199			
				Orapada	1,426	184			
			Kumel	Kumel	990	120			
				Namasagali	1,025	150			
			Kees	Kees	1,657	223			
				Yudaya	1,148	142			
			Ajeluk	Ajeluk	1,316	191			
				Adokor	1,062	150			
		Kokoqu	Kokoqu	1,908	218				
			Okotai						
		Olilim	Olilim West	1,565	191				
			Olilim East						
		Sub-total					17,505	2,394	
		Mukura Town Council	Mukura	Mukura	1,189	144			
				Oluroi	1,077	134			
			Adul	Adul	1,770	254			
				Orapada	1,293	175			
			Okunguro	Okunguro A	1,721	269			
				Okunguro B					
			Doyoro	Doyoro A	1,800	234			
				Doyoro B					
			Akeit	Akeit	1,341	185			
				Obur	1,757	194			
		Sub-total					11,948	1,589	
		Morukakise Sub-county	Morukakise	Morukakise	1,186	159			
				Okimion	1,097	136			
			Ariet	Ariet	1,694	206			
				Puna	1,292	165			
			Kamodokima	Kamodokima	1,781	239			
				Oqiriqi	886	114			
			Kaler	Apuwai	1,172	155			
				Kaler	784	88			
			Sub-total					9,892	1,262
			Kapir Sub-county	Kapir	Atiira	1,714	199		
		Kapir			1,655	200			
		Ajesa		Ajesa	1,046	138			
				Agogomit	1,556	199			
		Akarukei		Akarukei	1,485	179			
				Olet	795	112			
		Koloin		Koloin	1,722	228			
				Ocodio	860	103			
		Agule		Agule	1,171	149			

2	Ngora	Agirigiroi Sub-county		Ojam	2,127	269
			Omiito	Omiito	1,610	214
				Kakor	1,900	224
			Omuriana	Omuriana	1,046	138
				Amukurat	1,194	169
			Atapar	Agule	1,686	247
				Atapar	1,321	209
			Sub-total		22,888	2,977
			Agirigiroi Sub-county	Agirigiroi	792	110
				Ojaye	772	118
				Ajuket	654	100
				Obwangai	994	125
				Oluwa	1,012	149
				Oluwa	747	110
				Kokong	1,212	179
				Komolo	874	141
				Ajesa	854	123
				Orisai	1,098	149
				Abatai	813	112
				Abatai	1,107	139
				Akisim	499	67
				Akisim	846	119
				Ajeelo	773	118
				Atutur	777	100
			Sub-total		13,824	1,959
		Ngora Sub-county	Tididiek	Okorom	1,420	239
				Tididiek	1,638	247
			Nyamongo	Nyamongo	1,129	186
				Oledai	1,191	201
			Apama	Apama	1,045	175
				Akero	1,099	196
			Oteteen	Osiru	1,043	163
				Oteteen	786	178
			Kalengo	Kalengo	2,641	403
				Aqolitom	2,585	487
			Morurion	Morurion		
				Katekwa		
			Sub-total		14,577	2,475
		Odwarat Sub-county	Odwarat	Galilaya	1,024	163
				Odwarat	1,046	182
			Kopege	Agule	1,740	298
				Kopege	1,457	299
			Angod	Angod	987	201
				Oqirigirio	697	120
			Agu	Agu	739	136
				Orit	712	115
			Omaditok	Omaditok	1,524	239
				Opelu	2,164	339
			Ngora	Kees	1,443	244

		Ngora	1,145	169
Sub-total			14,678	2,505
Kobwin Sub-county	Kobwin	Kobwin	879	106
		Juwai	609	93
	Okapel	Okapel	1,237	150
		Oceeren	1,688	210
	Akarukei	Akarukei	877	125
		Osunge	822	116
	Acisa	Acisa	1,110	141
		Okajaka	889	109
	Pokor	Pokor	711	99
		Aqurur	445	75
	Kodike	Kodike	936	118
		Kapujan	1,087	144
	Tilling	Tilling	1,278	190
		Gawa	1,130	150
	Katengeto	Katengeto		
		Osuwat		
	Omoo	Omoo	788	110
		Ojogol	1,057	124
Sub-total			15,543	2,060
Atoot Sub-county	Olukangor	Olukangor	902	150
		Okiptok	1,355	248
	Ojukai	Komolo	1,025	130
		Ojukai	1,052	123
	Atoot	Atoot	1,004	137
		Aqule	1,037	134
	Kocoowa	Kocoowa	946	127
		Olupe	669	81
	Koile	Koile	671	79
		Moru-Aliqoi	956	150
	Kadok	Kadok	1,000	140
		Ajesa	1,020	150
	Kaderun	Kaderun	1,322	210
		Kosim	1,358	209
Sub-total			14,317	2,068
Opot Town Council	Opot	Opot	716	104
	Kakoda	Kakoda	603	115
	Kalengo	Kalengo	787	107
	Okito	Okito	633	92
	Oswara	Oswara	1,051	145
	Kaliin	Kaliin	949	142
	Aqule	Aqule	922	110
	Nyaquo	Nyaquo	991	141
Sub-total			6,652	956
Ngora Town Council	Eastern	Kabakuli	1,357	203
		Kachinga	1,824	259
		Kobuku	1,216	170
		Okisimo	1,436	180

	Northern	Komodo A	1,463	225
		Akoroi	873	115
		Ngora Inst. Complex A	356	62
		Ngora Inst. Complex B	403	68
		Ngora Inst. Complex C	700	102
	Southern	Kobuin	818	123
		Konyila	800	130
		Ngora Township A	1,343	279
		Ngora Township B	1,218	235
	Western	Okoboi	987	122
		Osigiria	970	142
		St. Aloysius Complex A	188	30
		St. Aloysius Complex B	159	30
Sub-total			16,111	2,475
Grand-total			157,935	22,720

ndix 3.2 Background to MIDA



TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

TOPIC: Exploring the impact of women's economic projects on gender-based violence in Teso, Uganda:

MIDA is a Non-governmental Organization mandated to operate in Ngora district. It was registered on 28th November 2014 as a local NGO with registration number **S5914/10958**. MIDA is located in Morukakise, Mukura Sub County in Ngora District, Teso Sub region, Uganda. MIDA is a membership organization which started as a group in 2004 to respond to agony, hatred, stigma and state of hopelessness caused by insurgency of 1987 – 2003 and HIV/AIDS epidemic in the region especially among women and children.

MIDA is dealing in the strategic objectives of women and girl child empowerment through skilling and livelihood programs; sustainable climate smart agriculture such as promotion of kitchen gardens to address nutritional challenges in the community especially among people living with HIV/AIDS; orphans and other vulnerable children through education, health, care and protection support and advocacy on environmental protection, gender issues and human rights.

The topic above is in line with what MIDA does and thus MIDA with pleasure welcomes **Ms. Sally Squires** to do her research in the organization. MIDA promises to offer any necessary support so as to enable Ms. Sally complete her research successfully.

Any assistance regarding her travel arrangements, stay in Uganda during research period just to mention a few, given to Ms. Sally Squires is highly appreciated.

Thank you,

Otim James Robert
Executive Director
Morukakise Integrated Development Association
P.O.Box 120, Kumi, Uganda
E.mail:ngomida2020@gmail.com
Tel: +256 772317749, # +256 702124477

Appendix 3.3 Manual coding using the comments function on Microsoft Word 2016

Charles Obore

So we have around 242 kids and we have been basically focusing on primary kids our primary children. We have a team that is under 17 and under 14 so those are the two categories. 26 of them have graduated to high school and out of the 26, 7 of them are on football scholarships. The other numbers it is the parents helping them out paying their school fees and so forth. This year we have 17 who are sitting there P7 and so we are really hoping that those ones can progress to the next level, so we have 17 sitting their exam tomorrow. The beauty of the 17, 5 of them right now have already been booked for sports scholarships. So those 5 of them are only waiting to sit their exam and then getting their sports scholarship.

What issues are there particularly for girls concerning health in community.

So we have been having a number of issues with our girls. Of course, the number one biggest issue which prompted our school dropout which is high school dropout. The issue is so tough on girls. The boys can maintain themselves at school but when you look at the dropout for primary for girls its about 80 % 80% for girls who do not complete their secondary school education. So, we have been trying to interact with them and find out what the challenges are that makes them drop out. In our football project we realised that about this year we have had 2 of them drop out because of pregnancy. So, one of the biggest challenges is pregnancy and so we have 2 that dropped out of the schools we worked with but they are not in the football project. These ones are because of forced early marriages, because of forced early marriages they went off in such a manner. When we interact with our kids some of them complain that the biggest challenge is that some of them are not able to go to school because of basic scholastic materials, the books, they don't have the uniform, they can not afford to pay for school so those basic materials actually gives them a big impact.

So, when we go into the details of the girls health issues one of the challenges facing them even with football is menstrual hygiene. When we talk to them when they come to the field they don't have pads, don't have enough knickers to change or these have been a big issue and some of them actually complain you know 'for me I will not go to school tomorrow' and you ask why 'me I'm sick' meaning they are having the menstrual health issue and they feel bad going to school when they don't have the necessary materials to help them and you realise that their parents are reluctant to help them. Maybe they aren't aware of how to help them or because of the economic times.. so those are some of the challenges that girls actually face as far as their hygiene is concerned. So for those girls menstrual hygiene is a big problem for those in our project and for those outside.

And then the actual biggest issue that is actually affecting affecting the attendance of the kids at school is malaria. Malarial infection is one of the biggest challenges to our kids because we always take, we have teachers who help us in schools who take daily attendance of the kids and so most of the kids who are absent from school complain that they are sick from malaria, they have a headache and fever so one of the biggest challenges actually is malarial infections. Its actually a big challenge to them.

But also I think some of these kids also have psychological issues as well because you know for us in football we get humble time with to interact them and we actually get humble time to analyse how is the kid performing in the game and so forth so I realise that many of them have psychological challenges and when I get deep into this it is because of the domestic violence and things that happen back at home. So you find a kid comes to school but yesterdays night maybe the father was beating up the mother so the kids really come to the football field when they have psychological

Commented [51]: Positive aspect of project

Commented [B552]: 'Our girls' shows connectivity

Commented [53]: What is causing this?

Commented [B554]: Why can boys maintain themselves and not girls?

Commented [B555]: Working as informal counsellors?

Commented [B556]: Issues of early pregnancy

Commented [B557]: Forced early marriages as an intersection

Commented [B558]: 'Our kids' shows closeness to the students

Commented [B559]: Lack of basic resources as intersection

Commented [B5510]: Poverty as intersection

Commented [B5511]: Menstrual hygiene intersects with poverty

Commented [B5512]: Lack of parental support for girls

Commented [B5513]: Malaria as health issue

Commented [B5514]: Refers to students as 'kids' showing strong connection to them?

Commented [B5515]: Humble time - he feels humbled to have a close connection?

Commented [B5516]: Mental health issues related to DV?

Appendix 3.4 Coding using Nvivo 2019

NVIVO
Teso transcripts.nvp

Quick Access

IMPORT

Data

- Files
- File Classifications
- Externals

ORGANIZE

Coding

- Codes
- Sentiment
- Relationships
- Relationship Types

Cases

Notes

Sets

EXPLORE

- Queries
- Visualizations
- Reports

Codes

Name	Files	References	Created on	Created by	Modified on	Modified by
Issues in Community	1	4	22/02/2023 14:22	S BS	22/02/2023 14:34	S BS
alcohol	16	19	12/03/2023 14:46	S BS	18/03/2023 16:36	S BS
Bride Price and Early Marriage	6	11	15/03/2023 15:14	S BS	18/03/2023 16:00	S BS
Burden of work	15	19	12/03/2023 14:33	S BS	18/03/2023 16:14	S BS
Changes to ways of life	13	25	13/03/2023 17:41	S BS	18/03/2023 16:24	S BS
Child headed families	2	2	18/03/2023 11:29	S BS	18/03/2023 16:00	S BS
Climate Change	22	30	12/03/2023 15:41	S BS	18/03/2023 16:36	S BS
confidence	1	1	18/03/2023 15:57	S BS	18/03/2023 15:57	S BS
Cultural norms	16	39	12/03/2023 14:12	S BS	18/03/2023 16:41	S BS
Education Issues	22	42	22/02/2023 14:44	S BS	18/03/2023 16:41	S BS
Lack of hygiene	3	3	12/03/2023 15:56	S BS	18/03/2023 15:39	S BS
Lack of support	11	12	12/03/2023 15:39	S BS	18/03/2023 16:14	S BS
land theft and issues	8	14	13/03/2023 16:46	S BS	18/03/2023 16:41	S BS
Men's work compared to wom	15	22	12/03/2023 15:40	S BS	18/03/2023 16:34	S BS
Parental support	3	4	12/03/2023 13:56	S BS	18/03/2023 13:40	S BS
polygomy	3	5	15/03/2023 15:10	S BS	18/03/2023 13:18	S BS
Population growth	6	8	14/03/2023 20:19	S BS	18/03/2023 16:23	S BS
Pregnancy	10	18	22/02/2023 14:26	S BS	18/03/2023 16:36	S BS
Rape	7	8	15/03/2023 10:09	S BS	18/03/2023 15:39	S BS

S BS 91 Items

NVIVO
Teso transcripts.nvp

Quick Access

IMPORT

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Codes

Name	Files	References	Created on	Created by	Modified on	Modified by
Colonisation	3	6	13/03/2023 17:43	S BS	18/03/2023 16:17	S BS
Health Issues	6	10	22/02/2023 14:35	S BS	18/03/2023 16:04	S BS
Issues in Community	1	4	22/02/2023 14:22	S BS	22/02/2023 14:34	S BS
Issues of VSLA	1	1	18/03/2023 15:08	S BS	18/03/2023 15:59	S BS
Prevention of climate change	0	0	13/03/2023 18:53	S BS	13/03/2023 18:53	S BS
Relationship with the land	10	14	12/03/2023 16:07	S BS	18/03/2023 16:29	S BS
Role of religion	5	6	13/03/2023 17:52	S BS	18/03/2023 16:36	S BS
Role of researcher	7	8	12/03/2023 15:36	S BS	15/03/2023 18:15	S BS
Social Enterprise	5	14	22/02/2023 14:23	S BS	18/03/2023 15:25	S BS
State Powers	6	9	13/03/2023 17:00	S BS	18/03/2023 15:06	S BS
Women Leaders	7	7	13/03/2023 17:05	S BS	18/03/2023 16:40	S BS

S BS 91 Items

Participant Information Leaflet



Research Title:

An Exploration of the Impact of Social Enterprise Projects on Women's Health in Teso, Uganda

Study aims:

- What issues impact the health and wellbeing of women in Teso?
- How do social enterprise projects affect issues concerning women's health in Teso and what could improve the impact of such projects?
- What are the implications of a UK researcher studying this population and how can this research be conducted in a sensitive manner?

Background:

This research is towards my PhD in Public Health at Nottingham Trent University UK. My name is Sally Bashford-Squires and I have strong links with Teso sub-region, Uganda through a charity that I founded, and Chair called 'The Mustard Seed Project, Uganda'. I founded the charity in 2016 and I work closely with a Ugandan initiative called the Ekaradali Community Development Initiative, based in Kumi, to provide sustainable solutions to improve the lives of women and girls in the Teso sub-region. I have visited the Teso community many times.

The research I will be conducting concerns how enterprise projects impact gender-based violence (GBV) and HIV. In 2016, UNFPA reported that 59% of rural Ugandan women had experienced GBV. Furthermore, HIV/AIDS prevalence rates in marginalised areas of Uganda are higher than the national average of 6.4%, and in Teso the prevalence was found to be 8.2%. A depth of research reveals the interconnectivity between GBV and HIV. Recently, the COVID19 pandemic has further heightened issues of GBV through an increase in teenage pregnancy, particularly in Teso. This study will examine how economic projects impact these health issues.

Why this research is important:

It will allow us to hear first-hand experiences of women and girls who are involved in social enterprise projects so that we can:

1. understand the challenges affecting women and girls in the Teso Sub-Region, Uganda
2. examine the impact of social enterprise projects on women's health in Teso Sub-Region, Uganda
3. share the findings of the study with the communities researched to guide future action.

How will this research take place?

The research will be conducted using ethnographic research. This means that I will be spending time interacting and observing those who are involved in the social enterprise projects. As part of this research, I will be conducting unstructured interviews. These may be one to one interviews, or they may involve up to three individuals. The interviews will be informal and relaxed. They will be like having a conversation.

I may also ask participants to share or take photographs, to produce drawings, share artefacts or take part in story circles to find out more about the issues that affect your wellbeing. I would like to hear from you concerning how you would like to represent your views. For example, you may wish to share a song, a piece of drama, a artefact, a poem or share a story that represents your feelings about issues affecting your life in Teso.

Only those that agree to be participants will have their words, pictures, or photos shared in the PhD thesis. However, those who have not consented to join the research or who are not part of the interviews, your interaction with me during my fieldwork may provide anonymous anecdotal evidence towards this project. This evidence will materialise through the time that I will spend with your community.

Will what I say be recorded?

Yes, the interviews will be audio recorded but your names will not be used in any data that is analysed or reported. Every effort will be made to maintain your privacy. ALL data collected will be stored securely and destroyed from my personal devices. However, data will be stored securely within Nottingham Trent University's secure database for ten years. Known academics or institutions wishing to access the data or my thesis may be able to if they contact me with their request.

Will my participation or non-participation affect funding from The Mustard Seed Project towards the social enterprise projects that I'm involved with?

No not at all. This research is intended to improve policies, practice, and future research. It may lead to ideas concerning how the Mustard Seed Project may help in the future, but this research is not linked to funding.

How will the data collected be used?

The information gathered will be used for analysis of the key themes that will form my doctoral thesis. I may publish direct, anonymised quotations from interviews, anecdotal evidence, and pictures and photos (only of those who have consented to be part of this study). Thereafter, information may be written up for publication in an academic journal or book. The data will be stored securely for ten years, and it will only be accessible to known academics and/or organisations.

Confidentiality

My words and pictures may be used in the study and therefore absolute confidentiality cannot be assured and you may be identifiable through your words and photos. This study may be published and therefore what you say, and share may be available publicly.

Furthermore, if you disclose information relating to a safe-guarding issue or an illegal act that may cause or have caused harm to you or others we will have to share this information with the relevant authorities. This may be a law enforcement officer or community leaders. We may also need to involve health practitioners should any declaration cause us concern about your health or that of others in the community.

A translator will be present during the interview processes, and she will also have access to the data, alongside the research time. This also means that your disclosures will not remain confidential.

Safe-guarding

Should a safeguarding issue arise then the matter will be reported to the relevant officials. If a safeguarding issue concerning a minor arises then parents may be informed, and the matter will be reported to local officials. Therefore, absolute confidentiality cannot be assured.

We will report issues with your best interests in mind. Your wellbeing is at the heart of this research.

How do I join this study?

All you need to do is speak to Reverend Charles Okunya Oode, Edison Ogiatum, or Charles Obore. You will receive a consent form and agree to have your views, pictures, photographs, and interviews shared. The consent form is for those involved in interviews, or those willing to share pictures and photographs. Anecdotal evidence will not require a consent form as this evidence will be entirely anonymised.

If you are under the age of 18 we will need parental or guardian permission. There is a separate form that details permission for those under this age to participate in research.

What happens if I change my mind and no longer want to be part of this research after consenting?

This is not a problem, and you may withdraw your consent at any time up until October 2023 without reprisal. Please note that once the data has been published withdrawal from the study will not be possible. Please speak to one of the project leaders or contact me (Sally Squires) through my email: sally.bashford-squires2021@my.ntu.ac.uk should you wish to withdraw your consent.

Will my participation cause me possible upset?

You may find that the information you share causes you to become upset or causes anxiety as some of the topics covered concern gendered violence and HIV status. If you find that your participation has caused distress to you or anyone you know who has been involved with the study then please speak to us and we will help to find someone to speak to, or we can find you

relevant counselling. We will also ensure that we are in daily contact with you, should you become upset, through the provision of well-being visits to check on your health. There is more information below on who to contact.

Where can I get support and advice if I needed after my participation in research

If you feel you need advice, support regarding issues discussed during the research group please speak to Sally Squires or one of the project leaders and we will be able to put you in contact with someone who is trained to support you.

If you would like to arrange to speak to someone yourself after your participation, then you can contact:

The District Health Officer – Sr. Susan Okwakoi - +256 (0) 393 194 274

A Health Councillor from the Iteso Cultural Union – Mrs Asekenye Oruka +256788864749

We can also help you to contact the health officers if you do not have access to a phone.

What is the deadline to join? The plan is to start this study on the 24th October 2022.

Appendix 3.6 Consent form in Ateso

IWADIKAET NA ACAMUN AJAIKIN TOMA AINGIC NA AISISIA KADOKETAIT NA PHD NAITOLOSII SALLY BASHFORD-SQUIRES NAKO NOTTINGHAM TRENT UNIVERSITY

(Koanyu ebe ejaas iwaitin kere luka aiwadikaet kana naka acamun toma afoomu kon konye ikopari nesi ne ejai MAKSHSREC kanu airereor)

Akou naka akiro nu ebeit aisisia:

Airereor Ajokis na Aisubusa kotoma Ainotakina mama ejai Angaleu naka Angor kariii nako Teso, Uganda

Ikangicak:

Sally Bashford-Squires

Lu Etacete Igaraman:

Nottingham Trent University, UK

Esusut ka Alosikinet naka aisisia:

Alosikinet:

Alosikit eong aingic angaleu keda ejautene loka angor nu ejarete ko Teso, Uganda. Abuni eong airereor ameda na aisubusa mama ejai angaleu ka ejautene loka angor. Erai na aisisia na epesikinitai toma akiro nu angaleu naka itunga ido kibecokinitete amisikin akiro nuka apolo naegongakina toma osube loka itunga, arai ekilokit, arai aberu..

Abuni eong aingic epone loijulakina aisubusa amumu kotoma okalia keda akiro nu ekurut lo eseny. Acamunit eong ebe ekotokin amisikin eipone loyangaunet aijulakinet toma otunga kikamanara keda aikeun apolo ka aiticat angor, kosodi ajokis ke toma angaleu ka ejautene kec.

Abuni eong ainakin apaki ajaikin nepepe ka itunga lu ejulaki aisubusa ejautene kec kasodi einer keda angor nu ejaas toma aisubusa na kanu ajenun eipone lo ejulakina aisubusa na angaleu ka ejautene kec.

Nutupitono:

kilipio itunga lu ingarakinete aingic aijaikin eong awaragan, ikososinei, ijesesio,aputosia aria iboro lu itodiete eipone loejulakina aisubusa angaleukec. Ebunio da anyaraar kesi aimor aomisio kec kotoma akiro nu ikamanara keda angaleukec ko Teso.

Lu kangai ejaikinos toma aisisia na ido aibo itolosere?

Ebuni aisisia na ajaikin aiboisio nuko Kumi distrikt. Amuno eongadumun apaki aimor keda atukot naka MIDA, apesur nu ebolias emopiira lo akeju, keda angor nuko Tisai. Abuni eong atupar kesi ne iswamatar kesi atenak aarei kotoma apakio nu epejokina eong kesi Osokosokoma 2022 keda Osokosokoma 2023. Abuni eong einer keda itunga lu ingarakitos aisisia komam adepar adakikan 30. Amina eong ainyogokin einer ka kesi ne epejokina bobo eong kesi.

Aiticaneta:

Epedorete lu ingarakitos aisisia adumun aitikadikinin kotoma apaki na emorere akiro nu angaleu, ka cut noi ngun nu ikamanara keda amumu na okalia. Kibuni aitudisiar ngun kopone lo adumakin kesi ikesinapikinak aomisio

Ameda naka Aisisia na naka Aingic:

Ameda na emunoi naka aitolot aisisia na nesi na ebe ebuni aitojokar angaleu ka ejautene loka angor nuko Teso, kwape epeleikitor aingic na aijulakin eiswamae loka aisubusa ido ebuni aijulakin ikisila lu ikamunitos angaleu naka angor.

Etiai lo isirigin:

Emamei egarama lo etacete lu igarakitos aingic.

Eipone lo imedaunata lu ingarakitos aisisia na:

Atukono nu ejaas itunga lu ingarakitos aisisia na kesi epote aiyatakinite adumunun agangat kama ejai Mustard Seed Project, Uganda

Aingiseta nu ikamunitos Aisisia na:

Aingiseta nu ikamunitos aisisia na kotereikinai ne ejai **Sally Bashford-Squires** ko email: **sally.bashford-squires@ntu.ac.uk**

Aingiseta nu ikamunitos apedorosio nuka itunga lu ingarakitos aisisia:

Itunga lu ingarakitos aisisia kojaas keda aingiseta nu ikamunitos ejautene ka apedorosio kec kwape lu ingarakitos aingic na kesi epedorete aijukar aingiseta kec ne ejai MakSHSIRB Ag. Apolon eicolong Dr. Kalidi Rajab kosimu +256 776798978 or +256 0200903786)

Akorario naka akiro nu itolomuni aisisia na keda nu eponio atupakin akaulo na aisisia

Akiro nu engicuno kotoma aisisia kana kesi eponio aimor ekaulo ne bobo ipejokinere atukono. Ebuni Sally ainyikokinite arucokina keda engarenok luka atukono kanu akiro nu ikamanara keda aingic na.

Akirosit na ijo ainakin ilopet:

Ajaikin toma aisisia na nesi erai na jo ilopet icamuni ido ngin itunganen elacakina Alomar aria anyoun kwape ejaar akote ke. Ejaas itunganen keda apedor anyoun kotoma aisisia kapaki adio kere komam aitepesenio.

Ethical approval of the research study

Aisisia na nesi adaun acamun ko Makerere University School of Health Sciences Research and Ethics Committee /IRB) luda itogogongitos luko Ugandan based Research and Ethics Committee/IRB.

Aidario naka aiyeeya :

Akiro nu etukunio kesi mam ibeliaro ikulepek ido idario kaiyeeya kotupitete adoketa nu akwap kere nu ipugatos aingic na eja itunga toma kwape lu itwasamao angicia.

Eponio aibwa aputo ka ido mam ekiror ka etakanuni kanenidio kafoomun nu ejaas akiro nu. Itunga lu itolosete aisisia na bon kesi ejai apedor adumun akiro nu etukokitai. Keja ngun da, epedorete luko School of Health Sciences Research and Ethics Committee keda Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNSCT) kesi bon epedorete adumun aiyeeya naka itunga karai ejai eipud. Abongonokineta aria afoomun kesi ebeit aigoikin aiboisit na eyuara, ido akiro nu ikamakino acuuman nuatinenkwana kesi ebunio ayuarite kodoco. Kanu acaun nuipu, apedori eong adolokin apolon Eicolong loka School of Health Sciences Research and Ethics Committee (MakSHSREC) on (+256) +256 776798978 / (+256) 0200903786 arai Uganda National Council of Sciences and Technology kosimu: (+256)-041-4705500).

AKIRO NU ITOGOGONGOETE ACAMUN

..... ngesi etetemiki eong nu ebeit aishwamao, aitaadikineta, ameda na ejai keda apedorosio ka kotoma aisisia kana. Adaun aitetemikin eong nu ikamunitos aisisia na, nada adau eong acamun komam abuikinet. Eponio aimunonor eong kotoma apak na itwasamaere akiro nuka aisisia kana. Ajeni da eong kodoco ebe ejai eong apedor apalar ajaut toma aisisia na karai akotokin eong. Amisikit eong ebe karai kedokok eong akan afoomu na, mam erai apolou ke ebe ajal eong apedorosio ka dimarai ebe adaun aitetemikin eong nu ikamunitos aisisia nan aka aingic nada acamu eong Alomar toma komam abuikinet. Ebeit eong da adumun afoomu na.

Ekiror.....

Ikaru.....

..

Akan.....

Aparasia(DD/MM/YY).....

(Ikajenan yenika itunganan yen mam ejeni aiwadika ka aisiom arai ngin yen mam adam iswamai ejok arai yen engwalangwalauna yen idami ebokorit ngesi ekotoi kokwap)

Ekiror loka ikajenan

Akan

Aparasia (aparan/elap/ekaru).....

Ekiror loka yen acamu ikengarakinan aisisia:.....

Akan

Aparasia

(aparan/elap/ekaru).....

Appendix 3.7 Consent forms

An Exploration of the Impact of Social Enterprise Projects on Women's Health in Teso, Uganda

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (For Interviews, Photographs, and Art-work)

TITLE	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr	<input type="checkbox"/> Mrs	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss	<input type="checkbox"/> Ms	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (please state)
FULL NAME					
AGE					
PREFERRED CONTACT	Email:			Telephone:	
TOWN/VILLAGE					
OCCUPATION					
DATE					
WHICH STUDY SITE?	<input type="checkbox"/> Tisai Island		<input type="checkbox"/> MIDA _____		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Kumi Girls' football		<input type="checkbox"/> Other _____		

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY
I consent to undertake/participate in an interview:
Full name:
Signature:
Parent/ Guardian signature if under 18 years of age
Date:

Ethics	Yes	No
I have been informed that the following may be used:		
• Audio recordings of the session	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Photographs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Drawings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that data from my participation could be:	Yes	No
a. Used to inform the research study	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Produce an article for publication in an academic journal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

I understand that questions may cause me to become upset as they relate to gender-based violence and health issues in my community. This has been explained to me and I have been told where to find help if I feel distressed or if my health and wellbeing has been affected.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am aware that I will only be asked to disclose information that I wish to share.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Declaration	Yes	No
I understand that:		
• My participation in this research study is voluntary and I am free to limit or withdraw my consent without repercussions, until the 1st October 2023.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that data collected and direct quotes will be anonymised to reduce risk of participants being identifiable and increase confidentiality.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that data collected will be kept securely and destroyed from personal devices once it has been transcribed. During the study data will be kept in the NTU data store. Data stored in the NTU data store will be stored securely for 10 years at Nottingham Trent University and may be used by known academics and organisations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that complete confidentiality cannot be assured due to the nature of the data collected.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that if a safe-guarding issue arises my confidentiality might be broken to ensure the safety and wellbeing of myself and the community.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Full name:		
By signing this form, I am giving my consent to take part in this study and for my data to be used		
Signature:		
Date:		

Further Information and Contact
<p>This research study is being carried out by a Sally Bashford-Squires at the School of Health and Allied Professions, Nottingham Trent University, 50 Shakespeare Street, NG1 4FQ. Questions or concerns regarding this activity can be directed to Sally Squires at sally.bashford-squires2021@my.ntu.ac.uk</p> <p>The NTU supervisors overseeing this study can be contacted via linda.gibson@ntu.ac.uk and mathew.nyashanu@ntu.ac.uk</p>

An Exploration of the Impact of Social Enterprise Projects on Women's Health in Teso, Uganda

PARENTAL/ GUARDIAN PLEASE READ CAREFULLY IF YOU ARE WILLING FOR YOUR CHILD TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

CONSENT FORM (For interviews, photographs, and art-work)

TITLE	<input type="checkbox"/> Mr	<input type="checkbox"/> Mrs	<input type="checkbox"/> Miss	<input type="checkbox"/> Ms	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (please state)
FULL NAME					
AGE					
PREFERRED CONTACT	Email:			Telephone:	
TOWN/VILLAGE					
OCCUPATION					
DATE					
CHILD'S NAME				Child's age: 20_	DOB: _/ _/
CHILD'S SCHOOL					
MY RELATION TO THE CHILD (please circle and state relationship where indicated)	Mother/ Father/ Other relative _____ / Guardian (friend, step parent, foster parent for example) _____				
WHICH STUDY SITE?	<input type="checkbox"/> Tisai Island		<input type="checkbox"/> MIDA _____		
	<input type="checkbox"/> Kumi Girls' football		<input type="checkbox"/> Other _____		

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY
I consent for my child to undertake/participate in an interview:
Full name:
Signature:
Date:

Ethics	Yes	No
I have been informed that the following may be used:		
• Audio recordings of the session	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Photographs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Drawings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Video footage		

I understand that data from my child's participation could be:	Yes	No
a. Used to inform the research study	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Produce an article for publication in an academic journal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Video/ film footage may be used in a documentary about the project	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that questions may cause my child to become upset as they may relate to gendered violence or other health issues in the community. This has been explained to me and my child and we have been told where to find help if my child is distressed or if their health and wellbeing has been affected.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that my child will only be expected to disclose what they are willing to share.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that questions will be generic, and they will not probe into issues that may upset my child. It has been explained that my child will be at ease to disclose only what they wish to share.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Declaration	Yes	No
I understand that:		
• My child's participation in this research study is voluntary and they are free to limit or withdraw their consent at any point of the programme without repercussions until 1st October 2024	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Data collected and direct quotes will be anonymised to reduce risk of participants being identifiable and increase confidentiality.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Data collected will be kept securely and destroyed from personal devices once it has been transcribed. During the study data will be kept in the NTU data store. Data stored in the NTU data store will be stored securely for 10 years at Nottingham Trent University and may be used by known academics and organisations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that complete confidentiality cannot be assured due to the nature of the data collected.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I understand that if my child discloses a safe-guarding concern this concern may be shared. Concerns may be reported to project leaders, the community nurse or law enforcement officers and relevant authorities to maintain the safety of my child and the community.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• I have made my child aware of what may happen if a safe-guarding concern arises	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Full name:		
By signing this form, I am giving my consent for my child to take part in this study and for their data to be used		
Signature:		
Date:		

Further Information and Contact
<p>This research study is being carried out by a Sally Bashford-Squires at the School of Health and Allied Professions, Nottingham Trent University, 50 Shakespeare Street, NG1 4FQ. Questions or concerns regarding this activity can be directed to Sally Squires at sally.bashford-squires2021@my.ntu.ac.uk</p> <p>The NTU supervisors overseeing this study can be contacted via linda.gibson@ntu.ac.uk and mathew.nyashanu@ntu.ac.uk</p>

Appendix 3.8 Ethical Approval from Nottingham Trent University School of Social Sciences

Worktribe.

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Ethics Application: An Exploration Of The Impact Of Social Enterprise Projects On Women's Health In Teso, Uganda

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Response

Approval End Date	9 May 2024, 00:00
Response	<p>Thank you for the revised submission of your ethical application to the Schools of Business, Law and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (BLSS REC).</p> <p>Following resubmission, we are pleased to inform you that the BLSS REC Chair was happy to verify that in their judgement, there were no outstanding ethical concerns and as a result, your revised application has meet with a favourable ethics opinion through Chair's Action.</p> <p>The favourable ethics opinion of your application is valid until '09 May 2024'. Should your project extend beyond this time then an application for an extension would need to be submitted to the BLSS REC.</p> <p>Please note: your project has been granted a favourable ethics opinion based on the information provided in your application. However, should any of the information change at any point during your study or should you wish to engage participants to undertake further research, then you are required to resubmit your application to the BLSS REC through the Worktribe Ethics Module for further consideration.</p> <p>If you do resubmit your application and if you wish to make changes to your existing document(s), please use track changes so we can identify where the changes have been made. To make amendments you will need to delete the old document and replace with a new one. Please put AMENDED and the DATE in the saved document title. Please "DO NOT" replace the existing document(s) with a "clean" copy, as we will not be able to identify where the changes have been made.</p> <p>Receipt of a favourable ethics opinion does not constitute permission to proceed with the research. A 'breach of integrity' would technically occur if the researcher goes ahead with the project without the correct governance approvals being in place first, which could be considered to be Research Misconduct.</p> <p>REC documentation should require an explicit commitment from research teams to consider the possible impact that any changes to their research project, but in particular changes to research design and methods of data collection, have on research ethics; and, therefore, whether a follow-up ethics review of a substantial amendment is required. If researchers are unsure, they should discuss the matter with their REC Chair in the first instance.</p> <p>Examples of substantial changes that would require a research ethics application for review of a substantial amendment include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) the safety or physical or mental integrity of the research participants (normally requiring amendments to information sheets, consent forms and other participant facing documents); (ii) the scientific value of the study (normally requiring changes to the study methods); (iii) the conduct or management of the study, (this might include changes in recruitment strategies, data management, or changes that might affect risk assessment); (iv) the quality or safety of any equipment used in the study. <p>On behalf of the Committee, we would like to wish you success with the completion of your project.</p> <p>Annabel Cali BLSS Ethics Officer Research Governance and Policy</p>