# WOMEN'S MULTIFACETED CITIZENSHIP IN RURAL UGANDA: AN EXPLORATION OF IDENTITY, BELONGING AND SPACES OF PARTICIPATION

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Abstract

This research studies women's citizenship practice exploring their daily interactions and participation in the rural districts of Kiboga and Namutumba in Uganda. Analyzing women's daily interactions in the private and public domains provides new perspectives of women's contribution to citizenship at the grassroots.

This study joins the contestations of the contemporary scholarship of citizenship by first proposing a notion of multifaceted citizenship that acknowledges the dynamism of citizenship, that citizenship is context dependent and that relationships and daily practices are a crucial part of it; second by exploring feminist perspectives of citizenship and its contribution of an inclusive model of citizenship while exploring the concepts of identity, belonging and spaces of participation and their implication on women's citizenship. This research provides perspectives on how lived citizenship is practiced among women in the context of rural Uganda by addressing three research questions. First, how women construct their identities and those of their community through the spaces of participation? Second, how women's participation promote the reproduction of belonging in their community? Third, how are women's identities and belongings manifested differently based on the spaces of participation? This research interest arises from the current analytical work in citizenship and civil society in Eastern Africa conducted by the Civil Society and Citizenship in Development (CitDe) research group. This Thesis analyzes 50 qualitative individual interviews conducted to women in the rural districts of Kiboga and Namutumba in Uganda. Data were collected by Ugandan researchers for the Growth into Citizenship in Civil Society Encounters (GROW) project and were analyzed by this researcher using qualitative content analysis and the coding software ATLAS.ti. Findings revealed first, women's daily interactions, self-acceptance, recognition and different roles women play in their community is what seems to contribute to identity construction. Second, participating in groups, group and community membership, emotional and relational bonds and the level of attachment to each group is what seems to promote women's reproduction of belonging in their community. Finally, interactions and participations that enable women to construct their identities and reproduce their belongings occur in physical spaces that are public or private; findings suggest that identities and belongings can manifest differently based on the different spaces women participate in. In conclusion, women's active participation in the private and public domains are the daily interactions that contribute to women's exercise of citizenship. This study recommends to continue investigating lived citizenship without gender blindness in any research —considering both female and males and other gender identifications—at the grassroots in Africa and beyond.



Keywords: Multifaceted citizenship, lived citizenship, women's citizenship, identity, belonging, spaces of participation

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Additional information

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## ABBREVIATIONS

| Abbreviation | Description |
|---|---|
| ACFODE | Action For Development |
| CAQDAS | Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software |
| CitDe | Civil Society and Citizenship in Development |
| COVID-19 | Coronavirus Disease |
| CS-Learn | Theory and practice of learning in civil society |
| CSI | Civil Society Index |
| CSO | Civil Society Organization |
| Dr | Doctor |
| GROW | Growth into Citizenship in Civil Society Encounters |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| NRM | National Resistance Movement |
| PhD | Doctor of Philosophy |
| QCA | Qualitative Content Analysis |
| SACCO | Saving and Credit Cooperative Organization |
| UBOS | Uganda Bureau of Statistics |
| VSLA | Village Savings & Loans Association |

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of citizenship has been broadly discussed in a number of fields such as philosophy, political science, sociology, anthropology, social sciences, among others. Critical literature has pointed out that many of these debates have discussed citizenship as the relation between the citizen and the state, which is gender blind, claims to be universal even if it only acknowledges the Western white male worker as a citizen (Yuval-Davis, 1991, p.61). For instance, over the last decade, there has been an increasing debate on conceptualizations of citizenship in more varied ways than the mainstream view of the state-citizen relation.

Scholars have argued that citizenship also entails social connections, history, politics and culture, and that it is a practice and a dynamic process (Clarke, Coll, Dagnino, & Neveu, 2014, p.12). These perspectives, which I call contemporary conceptions of citizenship, have criticized the mainstream view for not including particular contexts and practices of each setting (Isin & Nyers, 2014, p.1; Yuval-Davis, 2006, pp.206-207), neither the social relations nor the interaction of the individuals in a particular social organization to define citizenship (Clarke et al., 2014, p.10). Besides, they suggest that the mainstream view is exclusionary and gender blind (Lister, 1997; Lister, 2003).

The contemporary concepts of citizenship have focused on contesting mainstream citizenship. These perspectives have suggested that besides the state-citizen relation, there are horizontal relations between people that have to be considered when understanding citizenship (Clarke et al., 2014, p.30). From those perspectives, I have coined a notion of multifaceted citizenship, which acknowledges that citizenship is a broad and dynamic concept that transforms according to the context, practices, period and the social relations that occur in each situation. This approach highlights the weight that social relations and lived experiences have in the construction of a citizenship concept (Clarke et al., 2014).

The contemporary conceptions of citizenship used in this study, invite to the critical analysis of citizenship considering unusual margins and the perspective of certain locations to contribute to the broader contestation of citizenship. This research project aims to explore women's multifaceted citizenship by analyzing women's daily interactions and participation in the rural districts of Kiboga and Namutumba in Uganda.

It focuses on three main topics to explore citizenship: identity, belonging and spaces of participation.

This research is located within development studies where interest in strengthening citizenship notions based on experiences in the Global South has become prevalent. In addressing this need, there is an ongoing analytical work in citizenship and civil society in Eastern Africa conducted by the research group Civil Society and Citizenship in Development (CitDe) at the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy in the University of Jyväskylä, and the four-year research project Growth into Citizenship in Civil Society Encounters (GROW) conducted in collaboration with the Makerere University, during 2015—2019. The research interest of this Thesis arises from the goals of the CitDe research group, which I joined in May 2020, in order to analyze existing research material from novel perspectives.

There have been various studies conducted to understand identity, belonging and spaces of participation in different contexts. For instance Fenster (2005a) has analyzed women's daily practices and gendered belonging focusing on women's right to participate in urban spaces in London and Jerusalem. In another study, she explores women's identities and exclusions in a neighborhood in Jerusalem, and the women's right access to urban spaces (Fenster, 2005b). Other studies have focused on analyzing migrant's sense of belonging and attachment to their home country (Kunuroglu, Yagmur, Van De Vijver, Fons JR, & Kroon, 2018). However, fewer studies have combined the three concepts to understand citizenship at the grassroots, a gap that this Thesis seeks to fill in relation to particular locations in Uganda.

The focus of this Thesis will be on analyzing women's daily interactions considering the construction of identity and reproduction of belonging in the spaces of participation among women from Kiboga and Namutumba in Uganda. According to feminist African scholars, gender roles have deepened since the colonial era in Uganda, where women and men labour has been divided according to their physical qualities. For instance, women have been assigned to the private domains and men to the public ones (Tamale, 2004, p.52; Tushabe, 2009, p.56). Therefore, analyzing citizenship as multifaceted will enable to focus on the activities that women perform in their daily interactions in the private and public domains, which will allow for the understanding of women's contribution to citizenship at the grassroots.

This research will use the information that has been collected already by the researchers Alice Ndidde and PhD candidate Karembe Ahimbisibwe for the GROW project. The researchers have previously analyzed the data and have published two book chapters with a focus on lived citizenship and the understanding of the citizenship concept among the people in rural Uganda. Ndidde, Ahimbisibwe and Kontinen (2020), discuss how women's citizenship in the daily practices differs from the legal status provided in the Ugandan constitution. Authors argue that women's citizenship in practice is socially constructed rather than dictated by law. Additionally, Ahimbisibwe, Ndidde and Kontinen (2020) reflect the research and data collection process

and the applicability of the participatory research when exploring lived citizenship at the grassroots. The focus of this Thesis will be on lived citizenship as well; however, the concepts of identity and belonging and their relation to the spaces of participation will bring a new angle to the analysis and understanding of the lived citizenship concept at the grassroots.

Throughout my life I have been keenly interested in women's roles and their contribution to society. Growing up in Colombia, constantly traveling across Latin America and working to improve the efforts from small growers in the agribusiness sector for five years have made me aware of the challenges women face for their recognition and inclusion in society. Moreover, during my current studies I have developed an interest on how women's daily interactions and relationships shape their citizenship. Besides, having the opportunity to interact with professional researchers in two research groups, has allowed me to discover the importance of research in development studies. I believe that generating knowledge on women's lived experiences allows to raise awareness of women's contribution to society and enables the formation of more inclusive societies. Additionally, I believe that raising awareness could contribute to gender equality, reduce gender gaps and improve women's living conditions. Therefore, I am personally motivated to conduct this analysis and I hope that this study contributes to knowledge creation about women to build more inclusive societies.

## 1.1 Research questions

This research aims to analyze women's multifaceted citizenship by exploring women's daily interactions and participation in the rural districts of Kiboga and Namutumba in Uganda. The research seeks to explore women's construction of identities as well as the identities constructed in their community based on the spaces they interact in; it also aims to analyze the reproduction of belonging promoted by women's participation in their communities. Finally, it intends to explore the way women's identities and belongings transform based on the spaces of participation.

This Thesis intends to answer the following questions:

1. How women construct their identities and those in their community through the spaces of participation?
2. How women's participation promote the reproduction of belonging in their community?
3. How are women's identities and belongings manifested differently based on the spaces of participation?

This Master's Thesis is organized as follows: Chapter one introduces this research, justifies the importance of conducting it and discusses the research objectives. Chapter two provides an overview of the research context and briefly explains the historical implications on how citizenship is practiced in Uganda today. Chapter three discusses the contemporary conceptions of citizenship and proposes the notion of multifaceted citizenship as a starting point. The chapter also describes the concepts of identity, belonging and spaces of participation and their relevance for this research. Chapter four explains the methodology used in this study by providing a review of the methods of data collection used by the GROW researchers, besides it describes the data analysis process and the ethical considerations for this research. Chapter five exposes the research findings and answers the three research questions of this study. Finally, chapter six concludes the research and provides recommendations for further research.

# 2 RESEARCH CONTEXT

The overall idea of this research is to analyze citizenship practices considering the particularities of the context, history and relationships of a certain location. For instance, the following chapter provides an overview of Uganda by first giving a general snapshot of the country's socio-economic situation, which is followed by an overview of the political history. Finally, the chapter describes the importance of the Civil Society Organizations (CSO) and women's movements that have emerged in the course of Ugandan historical events.

## 2.1 Uganda Overview

The Republic of Uganda, which is located in Eastern Africa, has a parliamentary democracy governmental system. The ruling party has been the National Resistance Movement (NRM) led by the ruling president Yoweri Museveni from 1986 to date (DENIVA, 2006, p.18). According to the demographic projections for 2020, Ugandan population is 41.6 million, most of whom are young (52% are 18 year old or less). In addition, 74% of the total population lives in rural areas (UBOS, 2020, pp.14-16).

According to Uganda's Bureau of Statistics (UBOS), for the period 2016-2017, most of the working population (77%) was located in rural areas and agriculture represented the main occupation of the working population with a 64%; where women's participation (70%) was higher than that of men (58%) (UBOS, 2020, p.31). Besides, 36% of Ugandans had paid employment, represented mainly in the urban areas while only 28% of women had a paid job. The statistics show that women are mainly self-employed, even more than men (UBOS, 2020, p.32).

In terms of education, for the period 2016-2017, 73% of the population was literate, women's literacy (70% in total and 62% for rural women) was lower than the one of men (77% total and 74% for rural men). Furthermore, for both, women and men,

primary education was the highest level of education with only 40% of the population finishing elementary school, this trend was predominant in the rural areas compared to the urban ones (UBOS, 2020, p.33). Besides, according to the Multidimensional Poverty Index, 55% of Ugandans were multidimensional poor in 2018, the percentage of population who are multidimensional poor was higher in the rural areas (77%) compared to the urban areas (Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative, 2017, p.5).

Women's position in Ugandan society is an issue of concern. In terms of reproductive health; teenage pregnancy is persistent in Uganda and is higher in rural areas, which is one of the main consequences of school dropouts among girls. Additionally, the fertility rate is 5 children per woman, this can be explained by the low decision-making power that women have in their own sexual and reproductive health: only 17% of Ugandan women make decisions in this matter (UBOS, 2018, pp.33-34). Besides, the political representation of women at the national level is low with only 35% of female representatives in the parliament. However, at the local level the representation is slightly higher with 46% (UBOS, 2018, pp.40-41).

Consequently, it is possible to affirm from the statistics discussed above that women who tend to live in rural areas, are less educated, they lack decision making in their health, especially the reproductive one. Moreover, women are less likely to be represented at the governmental level and in leadership positions. Therefore, their position in the country's society and economy is complex and their risk to live in poverty is higher.

## 2.2 Ugandan history overview and its legacy on citizenship

Ugandan history has been marked with volatility, violence and political disorder since the colonial times. The British colonial model imposed in Uganda, deepened Uganda's ethnic division and split the country into regions with different levels of development. These consequences were dragged when Uganda gained independence and are rooted until today (Alava, Bananuka, Ahimbisibwe, & Kontinen, 2020, pp.57-58; Tripp, 2010, pp.42-43).

Uganda gained independence from Britain in 1962, however, in 1966 the Prime Minister Milton Obote proclaimed himself President with limitless power. Obote was in power until 1971, when Idi Amin's army removed him from power and installed an eight-year military dictatorship, which lasted until 1979. In 1981, a disputed election brought Obote to power again, this is known as the Obote II regime (Reid, 2017, pp.56-70; Tripp, 2010, pp.43-47).

The discontent with Obote II's rule of violence resulted in the five-year Bush War that brought the current President Yoweri Museveni and the National Resistance

Movement (NRM) to power in 1986 (Reid, 2017, pp.75-79; Tripp, 2010, p.47). Although the NRM party implemented the multi-parity model in 2005 (Tripp, 2010, p.93); Museveni remains in power to date. The violent elections held in 2021 reassumed his presidency and power in the country (The Guardian, 2021). President Museveni's regime has brought some peace and stability to Uganda; however, the rooted ethnic and territorial divisions remain in the country (Alava et al., 2020, p.60; Reid, 2017, pp.87-88—98; Tripp, 2010, pp.53-55).

The British colonial rule, followed by long periods of violence and volatility and the long-lasting regime, have had an influence on how citizenship is practiced in Uganda. Therefore, Alava et al. (2020) suggest that the following four aspects are relevant for how citizenship is practiced in Uganda today: "[ethnic] belonging, patronage, religion and violence" (p.61). For instance, the authors suggest that citizenship in Uganda is mainly exercised with a set of rights and responsibilities to the collectives people belong, where the notion of "grassroots citizenship" and participation at the local level is highly important in citizenship practice (Ibid.,p.67). Nevertheless, they affirm that citizenship practices are subject to the particularities of each location, its history and people relationships (Ibid.,p.68). This is going to be addressed broadly in the theoretical chapter, where multifaceted citizenship is discussed.

## 2.3 CSOs and women's movements in Uganda

Due to the Ugandan historical context, the emergence of CSOs has been crucial for activism and political activity at the local level since the colonial era. However, due to the dictatorships and authoritarian regimes, the CSO's political power diminished as well as their role focused on providing welfare services to the society (DENIVA, 2006, p.19). Nowadays, CSOs can range from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), gender-based groups, faith-based organizations to community-based organizations such as self-help groups, burial groups, saving groups, religious groups, among others (DENIVA, 2006, p.23). Moreover, due to the country's volatile history, NGOs, international donors and the church have been the main providers of social services such as education and health through local CSOs (DENIVA, 2006, pp.20—24; see also Alava et al., pp. 63-65). Therefore, the presence of these organizations has been crucial for local development and for the delivery of welfare services at the grassroots.

According to the Civil Society Index (CSI) report, Ugandans tend to have an active participation in the local CSOs; for instance, participation in self-help groups, burial groups, saving groups and religious groups is an important part of their everyday life. In addition, the report affirms that volunteering and community work are also important activities for them to ensure community well-being (DENIVA, 2006, pp.26-27). In their exploration of citizenship practices in Uganda, Alava et al. (2020)

suggest that participation at the local level may occur due to the sense of belonging to the community and the responsibilities towards it (p.67). Moreover, the CSI report reveals that the general sense of community well-being encourages collective work due to the decentralization of the state services in the rural areas (DENIVA, 2006, p.27). However, participation at the local level does not have an impact at the political and national level, decision making remains very local (DENIVA, 2006, p.37).

### 2.3.1 NGOs role in Uganda

The prominence of development and poverty reduction discourses to solve the debt crisis in the 1980's through social transformation and social capital (Wai, 2007, p.72) resulted in the NGO's assistance boom to Third World countries since the 1980's, which continued increasing even in the mid 2000's (Brass, Longhofer, Robinson, & Schnable, 2018, p.137). Sub-Saharan Africa, and Uganda, were not the exception to receiving this assistance broadly and hosting a great number of local and international NGOs (Barr, Fafchamps, & Owens, 2005, p.661).

Barr et al. (2003; 2005) study conducted at 295 Ugandan NGOs showed that education, training, and support to farming are the main activities NGOs conduct in Uganda, where the funding is mainly provided by international donors (Barr et al., 2005, p.667). The study reveals also that the NGO sector is heterogeneous and composed by a great number of small organizations led by the Ugandan educated elite (Ibid., p.675). Additionally, the NGO sector is barely monitored by the government and more by its donors, therefore, it follows the agenda of international governmental and non-governmental agencies (Ibid.).

On the one hand, NGOs in Uganda describe themselves as multidisciplinary organizations whose activities center on "community development" (Barr et al., 2005, p.675). On the other hand, the government defines them as voluntary groups that deliver voluntary services. For instance, according to the *Non-Governmental Organisations Act,* an NGO is defined as "a legally constituted non-governmental organisation…which may be a private voluntary grouping of individuals or associations established to provide voluntary services to the community or any part, but not for profit or commercial purposes"(The Republic of Uganda, 2016, section 3).

Barr et al. (2003) suggests that the NGO sector in Uganda is a form of charity work that aims at helping the poor. This includes advocacy and capacity building in the local communities. Moreover, NGOs and their educated leaders, encourage local organizations to advocate for transformation among their members to bring change at the local and governmental level (p.3). For instance, women's participation in the local CSOs and at the national level has been crucial for the women's movement development in Uganda, which seeks for the provision of social and economic services to women that the state is unable to provide (Tushabe, 2009, p.46). Although NGOs activities are important for local communities and specially for women, their work can

overshadow the needs and insights of local women and local CSO's (Tushabe, 2009, p.47).

### 2.3.2 Women's movements in Uganda

Due to the volatile and violent history of Uganda, grassroots activism has been crucial for the organization of collectivities at the local level. Women have mobilized and organized together to provide social and economic services to other women and their families despite the ethnic, religious, and gender differences at the local and national levels (Tushabe, 2009, p.48). That inclusiveness, has persisted in women's movements until today (Tripp, 2000, p.40).

According to African feminist scholars, women's movements and activism have been part of Ugandan history as well. Since the colonial era most of the CSOs were faith-based organizations promoting religion and motherhood values. Then, the focus turned towards the provision of basic needs such as healthcare and education through informal groups in the Amin and Obote II regimes (Tushabe, 2009, pp.49-50). Furthermore, after decades of exclusion and marginalization of women in the previous regimes (Tripp, 2000, p.52), the formal recognition of national and grassroots women organizations as NGOs was gained in Museveni's government in 1986 (Tushabe, 2009, pp.49-50), turning women's movements into one of the strongest social organizations in Uganda (Tripp, 2000, p.23). Moreover, Tripp (2000, p.1) affirms that women's movements are autonomous organizations that have been able to influence the national politics in Uganda in terms of gender equality.

Women's organizations have been able to develop legal frameworks to advance in gender equality ensuring women's rights in the 1995 national constitution, positioning Uganda with a progressive legislation compared to other African countries when it comes to this issue (Tripp, 2000, p.23; Tripp, 2004, p.5). For example, the local NGO Action For Development (ACFODE) has been advocating for women at the local and national levels promoting gender equality before the NRM took power; ACFODE worked together with the NRM to create the ministry for women to ensure gender parity in every national ministry and in the local governments (Tushabe, 2009, p.51).

Moreover, women's right to land was one of the main accomplishments included in the 1995 national constitution, along with other women's rights that advocated for dignity and welfare of women (Tripp, 2004, p.5). However, in practice, there is a different reality; for instance, Ugandan women are the ones mainly responsible for land working; though, only 7 percent of them were registered as landowners by 2004 (Tamale, 2004, p.56). Besides, the participation of women in politics remains low at the national and local levels (as discussed in section 2.1).

Despite the advocacy that women's movements have done in Uganda, the path towards gender equality is still blurred, since it is challenging to alter the cultural, religious and political patriarchal norms that prevail at the local and national levels

(Tamale, 2020, pp.300-321). For instance, the lack of governmental support on approving crucial bills such as the 1998 Land Act amendments and the Domestic Relations Bill, which call for gender equality that challenge the status quo of patriarchal family relations and gender divisions proposed by the women's movements, worsens the patriarchal norms and the position of Ugandan women in society (Tamale, 2020, p.322; Tripp, Casimiro, Kwesiga, & Mungwa, 2008, p.21). Therefore, according to the feminist African scholar Tamale (2020, chapter 8), gender equality has been difficult to achieve in Uganda in part due to the ongoing history on gender division and the unequal gender power relations promoted in the public and private spheres.

Consequently, women in Uganda, particularly in rural areas, suffer from discrimination and marginalization due to the patriarchal cultural and political norms that prevail, which define their position and roles in Ugandan society (Kabahinda, 2017, p.834). According to feminist African scholars, gender roles have deepened since the colonial era in Uganda, where women and men labour has been divided according to their physical qualities. For instance, women have been assigned to the private domains fulfilling care and nurture activities, as well as subsistence agriculture and water collection activities, which neither are recognized politically nor culturally. Men, are the ones who participate in politics and have the power to represent their family and their wives in the public domains (Tamale, 2004, p.52; Tamale, 2020, chapter 8; Tushabe, 2009, p.56); besides, men are recognized by Ugandan law as the "head of the family" and wage earners (Tamale, 2020, p.292).

Although women recognition in the public sphere is limited, their active participation in the private domain as well as in the local CSOs, women's movements, and doing voluntary work, is crucial for their everyday practices of citizenship and it is one of the main arguments for thinking of an inclusive model of citizenship, which is going to be broadly discussed throughout this Thesis.

# 3 THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

The following chapter describes the main concepts that define this research. This study departs from challenging the mainstream notion of citizenship that focuses on the relation between the state and citizen only, by proposing contemporary conceptions of citizenship that suggest that citizenship not only entails the relation between the state and the citizen but also relationships between people and places. This study joins the contestations of the contemporary scholarship of citizenship by first proposing a multifaceted citizenship that acknowledges the dynamism of citizenship; that citizenship is context dependent and that relationships and daily practices are a crucial part of it, and second by exploring feminist perspectives of citizenship and its contribution of an inclusive model of citizenship; from it, unfolding the concepts of identity, belonging and spaces of participation and their implication on women's citizenship.

The chapter first describes the mainstream notion of citizenship and challenges it by proposing contemporary concepts of citizenship. Second, it explores the inclusive model of citizenship proposed by the feminist scholarship that aims for the inclusion of women and marginalized groups into the notion of citizenship by discussing the dichotomy between the private-public spheres. Third, it interconnects the concepts of identity, belonging and spaces of participation with the notion of multifaceted citizenship exploring how those three concepts are relevant for the inclusion of women in citizenship conceptualizations. Finally, I provide a summary to recapitulate all the concepts discussed in this chapter.

## 3.1 Multifaceted citizenship as a starting point of the study

Critical literature has observed that many scholars such as Marshall (1950), Barbalet (1988), or Crick (2004) have defined citizenship as static with defined attributes and

rights; their ideas have conditioned the understanding of citizenship to one single context and period of time that has prevailed in the academia, in politics and in society (Clarke et al., 2014, p.50). That view of citizenship was developed and institutionalized with a set of rights relevant to Marshall's context and social class, in the Britain of the 1950's; that conceptualization has prevailed over time worldwide (Clarke et al., 2014, p.36). That view, what I would call a mainstream citizenship, universalizes the notion of citizenship and limits its understanding to a "vertical" connection of the state and the citizen only (Clarke et al., 2014, p.59). Naturally, it does not consider gender, race, class, or any other diverse attributes to define citizenship (Yuval-Davis, 1991, p.61), it considers the practices and processes of a Western white male worker (Clarke et al., 2014, p.61). Nonetheless, Marshall's citizenship work has been crucial as a theoretical approach in the citizenship studies and in the improvement of the British's welfare state and its working class in the twentieth century (Turner, 2009, p.72).

Recently, there have been suggestions that citizenship also entails social connections, history, politics and culture, and that it is a practice and a dynamic process (Clarke et al., 2014, p.12)—which I call contemporary conceptions of citizenship. They have criticized the mainstream conception for not including particular contexts and practices of each setting (Isin & Nyers, 2014, p.1; Yuval-Davis, 2006, pp.206-207), neither the social relations nor the interaction of the individuals in a particular social organization to define citizenship (Clarke et al., 2014, p.10). Henceforth, I suggest a notion of multifaceted citizenship as a starting point for my Thesis. I have coined this notion based on the contestations of citizenship that Clarke et al. (2014) have suggested on recentering and decentering citizenship, and on their analysis of the heterogeneous contexts, places, locations and scales where citizenship happens; on the discussion on the politics of belonging and the requisites for belonging to political projects suggested by Yuval-Davis (2006; Yuval-Davis, Kannanbiran, & Vieten, 2006); and on the inclusive model of citizenship and the dichotomy of the private and public spaces suggested by Lister (1997; 2003; 2007).

The notion of multifaceted citizenship used in this study, proposes that citizenship is a broad and dynamic concept that moves and transforms in relation to the context, practices, period and the social relations that occur in each situation and in particular "political projects" (Clarke et al., 2014, p.2). This approach highlights the weight that the social relations has in the construction of a citizenship concept; therefore the "political projects" are the common ideas, needs, goals, principles, etc. that direct the desired living conditions of the present and the future that lead to "political action" and thus build and rebuild citizenship (Clarke et al., 2014, pp.14-15). For instance, according to Uganda (2020), the Ugandan political project of a "transformed Ugandan society from a peasant to a modern, industrial and prosperous country" (p.3) led by Museveni since 1986, has forced its citizens to be active in organizing locally and create groups at the grassroots where participation and social activism at the local

level are highly important in the practice of citizenship for Ugandans (Alava et al., 2020, p.67; DENIVA, 2006, p.37).

Discussing citizenship as multifaceted allows us to view it as a dynamic concept with many different aspects to be considered, particular to each situation, such as the context, politics, culture and power (Clarke, et al., 2014, p.22). Therefore, citizenship cannot be assumed as the state-citizen "vertical" relation only, a "horizontal" relation has to be considered as well, which entails the relationships between people (Clarke, et al., 2014, p.30).

The relationship between people enables the recognition of the other as a member of the society with shared values, ideals and purposes; it acknowledges that the individual interacts in daily practices and its participation leads to social action (Clarke et al., 2014, p.25). Therefore, citizenship is a concept that is "socially and politically" practiced and recognized, it includes cultural aspects that are shared and accepted that also shape the social and political action to build and rebuild political projects (Clarke et al., 2014, pp.13-14). Hence, citizenship entails social, cultural and political aspects that are particular to each context and period, it cannot be universalized, it is a dynamic concept that transforms and that has particular characteristics to particular political projects and situations.

Citizenship as a multifaceted notion entails diverse aspects to consider such as social, political, cultural, spatial and temporal that are specific to every situation. Therefore, it is crucial to analyze citizenship regarding the practices and relationships that occur in each particular context (Clarke et al., 2014, p.2). Besides, the horizontal relation allows to analyze the connections, identities and belongings that people create in particular contexts and spaces (Clarke et al., 2014, p.164). Consequently, viewing citizenship as an everyday practice (Holston, 2008) enables the analysis of regular daily life interactions that happen in mixed and various spaces in which several processes occur, crucial for the citizenship construction; when only including a state-citizen centered view, the everyday practice is invisible ( Clarke et al., 2014, p.52).

In addition, citizenship happens in diverse locations and in a number of interactions between people and places; citizenship connects places, and people in all kinds of patterns. The authors argue that citizenship is always "in the making" because human interactions change and transform even in one same place or there is a constant creation of new spaces (Clarke et al., 2014, pp.131—145). What is more, locations are the spaces where the individuals claim for their belonging, membership and identity across time (Clarke et al., 2014, p.131) and where forms of "collectivity and solidarity" are imagined to construct or to reconstruct citizenship (Clarke et al., 2014, p.157). Solidarity allows to accept others' differences and include them in the political projects (Lister, 2003, p.91) and collectivity allows forming common identities with others who have plural identities but share a common goal (Clarke et al., 2014, p.109).Therefore, citizenship is connective and occurs in the social relationships, in the spaces and in the locations where interactions and practices are made.

Nonetheless, citizenship as a vertical relation is also important. The relation between the state, the nation and the law, from particular political projects, is a compound of "historical, political and cultural" practices and processes present in the construction of citizenship as well (Clarke et al., 2014, pp.57—104). The state is the guarantor of "citizenship as a political status" (Ibid., p.57), the nation is a common cultural identity seen as the "membership to a community" or a country or nationality (Ibid., pp.57—122), and the law is the official ruling outcome of the political projects or "citizenship as a juridical status" (Ibid., pp.57—66). For instance, citizenship is a relationship between the state and the citizen and between people. However, as mentioned before, for this Thesis the horizontal relation will be the standpoint to discuss citizenship.

The state can be imagined as a set of relationships and practices in which on the one hand it concedes a legal and political framework to its citizens and on the other, it is a cultural and social organization in which people themselves act accordingly to what is commonly believed, and are responsible for their lives (Clarke et al., 2014, p.87). Consequently, in some contexts it is common that the state narrows its responsibility, limiting its role as the guarantor of a political status, therefore, welfare, security and other services are transferred as a responsibility to the citizens themselves or NGOs and international organizations (Clarke et al., 2014, p.91) hence other actors fill the state's roles as in a decentralization scheme. Consequently, citizenship happens in different locations and spaces where multiple actors are present and where a number of relationships occur among people, agencies, agents, institutions and the state itself (Clarke, et al., 2014, p.92).

"Communities of citizenship", suggested by Clarke et al. (2014, p.126), allow the people themselves to imagine their communities and envision their governance, which enables the creation of a common governance between people and the local government branch which, at the same time, is integrated by the community members. In addition, the "communities of citizenship" allow the social differences to be managed as a strategy of inclusion, accepting the diversity of all its members (Ibid.). Hence citizenship is practiced relationally, and it relies on the participation of its members to be exercised, on the relationships formed and on the belongings and identities that are created among its members; however, citizenship forms are not always perfect and new political projects, solidarities and mobilizations emerge to create and recreate it (Ibid., p.131).

Clarke et al. (2014), describe several citizenship and political projects examples from different parts of the world, they argue that in every context, the lived experiences are different, thus the concept transforms, it is dynamic and changes from place to place. As in every political project there are different shared values, desires and future aspirations that build citizenship in a certain context and period and which include certain claims and exclude others, hence exclusion is the driver to build and rebuild citizenship.

Therefore, in conclusion, the aim of this Thesis is to analyze citizenship from a specific context focusing on the narratives of Ugandan women at the grassroots, from two rural locations Kiboga and Namutumba and to contribute to Clarke et al. (2014) contestation of citizenship from a perspective of certain locations, and to analyze citizenship reflectively from the margins as an unusual center.

## 3.2 From mainstream gender-blind citizenship to an inclusive model of citizenship

The following section focuses on the discussions proposed by feminist scholars that challenge the mainstream notion of citizenship as gender blind and exclusionary; it discusses a more inclusive concept of citizenship and the need to include the private spaces in the citizenship conceptualization, which are crucial for women's citizenship.

As discussed in the previous section, the mainstream concept of citizenship has been criticized for being exclusionary of diversity (e.g., gender, age, ethnicity, disability, religion, etc.) since it is focused on the universal relation of the state and the citizen. With that view, as feminist scholars have argued, the citizen is idealized as the Western white male worker that participates in the public domain and represents his family. On the contrary, the woman is considered as dependent and assigned to the private domain where, it is believed, citizenship cannot be exercised (Lister, 2003, p.71; Lister et al., 2007, p.11). Therefore, women are excluded (as well as other gender identifications, minorities, etc.) from the mainstream ideals of citizenship making the concept gender blind as well as exclusionary.

This conception is problematic especially in social organizations where patriarchal norms are the rule. For instance, women are granted with citizen rights stated by the national constitution in Uganda; however, according to Ndidde et al. (2020) study, in their local communities that recognition is not present and in their daily lives women struggle to be considered as "active citizens" (Ndidde, Ahimbisibwe, & Kontinen, 2020, p.114). Unfortunately, for instance, as African feminist Tamale (2004, p.54) has pointed out, women in Africa are regarded as "second-class citizens" since their responsibility is to execute domestic activities with limited participation in public activities correlated with citizenship, (e.g., "the public affairs, decision-making, voting," etc.), on the contrary, men are regarded as the ones who participate in the public activities and have the power to limit women's participation (Tamale, 2004, p.54).

The contemporary conceptions of citizenship proposed in this Thesis have suggested that citizenship can be analyzed from a relational point of view, where a horizontal relation between people takes place, and that citizenship is practiced in daily interactions (Clarke et al., 2014, p.30; Lister, 2007, p.55). On the one hand, Clarke et al.

(2014) suggests that citizenship practices are context dependent, therefore the particularities and the relations formed in each place and space are unique. On the other hand, Lister (1997; 2003; 2007) proposes that the interactions in public and private spaces are interconnected and are crucial for women's exercise of citizenship.

The private domain is a crucial part of women's lived citizenship in several contexts. However, according to feminist scholars, the mainstream notions of citizenship tend to consider only the interactions of the male citizen in the public domain and is blinded to the private ones (Lister, 2007, p.56). In her exhaustive work, Lister (1997; 2003; 2007; Lister et al., 2007) challenges the public-private differences and encourages that the activities that occur in the private, which are assigned to women mainly, have consequences in the public and, therefore, should be considered as public ones. For instance, part of her contestation to mainstream citizenship focuses on acknowledging the care work that women practice in the private, its connection with the public and its effect on citizenship (Lister 2003, pp.102-104—199-201).

As pointed out by feminist scholars, women have historically been assigned to care work in the private domains; a work that has had limited recognition both socially and politically (Lister, 2003, p.119-122), this situation has been pointed out also by African feminist scholars who affirm that besides care work, women have been assigned to activities such as subsistence agriculture and water collection in Uganda since the colonial times; these activities have had also little recognition politically or culturally (Tamale, 2004, p.52; Tamale, 2020, chapter 8; Tushabe, 2009, p.56). Consequently, the lack of recognition of this kind of work has hindered women's participation in the public domains (Lister, 2003, p.119-122). Lister (2003), argues that care should be included in politics, thus care work might be legitimized in the public domain and acknowledged as an essential practice (p.201). Therefore, women's assigned workload in the private might tend to reduce which will allow them to access the public domain, thus a more balanced scenario for women and men might emerge (Lister, 2003, p.200).

To challenge the gender-blind citizenship that has been commonly accepted, Lister (2003), proposes a "gender inclusive model of citizenship", in which the society members can participate equally despite their diverse characteristics (e.g., gender, age, ethnicity, disability, etc.) (Ibid., p.116). This model acknowledges the differences and particularities of its society members, it highlights the solidarity and collectivity of its members (Ibid., p.83), it recognizes the importance of the private domain and combines it with the public, unveiling the connection that exists between both, and it claims for the inclusion of care work in politics (Ibid., pp.197-200). Thus, citizenship can be practiced and experienced in a more inclusive and balanced manner for women and men.

Moreover, feminist scholars suggest that women's participation in the private domain is crucial for citizenship because first, it is in there where the transfer of a national identity, ideologies, believes and practices to their family takes place (Anthias

& Yuval-Davis, 1989, p.22). Second, throughout motherhood children are raised to become future citizens, this is the "specific female contribution to citizenship" (Lister et al., 2007, p.7). However, motherhood is not considered to be part of mainstream citizenship (Tamale, 2004, p.54). Finally, women are in charge of care and domestic work so their partner can fulfill their roles outside the home and practice their citizenship (Lister, 2003, p.110).

The last three aspects are crucial for an inclusive citizenship model; however, according to Lister (2003, pp.178—190), it is needed, in any political project, stronger welfare policies to acknowledge the private activities as public to balance the care responsibilities and allow women and men exercise their citizenship equally. Lister (2002) suggests that it is important that women maintain a balance between the private and the public spheres, in order to gain a citizenship status (p.529). What is more, Tamale (2004) suggests that domestic work should be considered as a paid occupation, be included in the country's economic indicators, and men should be part of it too (p.60). Thus, an inclusive citizenship model can exist. Interestingly enough, in some states paid work is considered as a citizenship right (Clarke et al., 2014, p.81; Lister et al., 2007, p.9). However, in the private spheres where the domestic roles are divided, women do not receive payment for being in charge of the family, the children or the elderly, in certain contexts; thus, women do not have access to their citizenship rights (Herd & Meyer, 2002, p.666; Lister, 2003, pp. 141—176; Lister, 2007, p.56).

Although in some contexts, and in the mainstream understanding of citizenship, women may not be perceived as active citizens, their daily interactions and participation in informal groups and in their homes allows them to exercise their citizenship as suggested by the contemporary conceptions of citizenship presented in this Thesis. It has been argued that "active citizenship" for the marginalized is usually practiced in informally organized groups like self-help groups, saving groups, church groups, etc.; where the participation in those groups is the contribution to and exercise of citizenship of the marginalized in the public domain (Lister, 1997, pp.33-34), besides participation allows the creation of belonging, membership and identities in the spaces of participation in those public domains (Lister et al., 2007, p.9).

In many African contexts, biological conditions define gender roles which are limited to two genders: women and men. For instance, it has been argued that since the colonial times in Uganda, women have been assigned to the domestic sphere and men have been responsible for the public one, where women rely on men to access to the public, and men have the power to approve, or disapprove, their participation there (Tamale, 2004, pp.52-53; Tamale, 2020, chapter 8; Tushabe, 2009, p.56). Besides, culturally and politically in Uganda it is believed that the domestic sphere might remain private and the man is the only one who controls it (Tamale, 2004, p.55). Nonetheless, women tend to organize in groups to create grass-roots activism (Yuval-Davis et al., 2006, p.201), and to create and be members of informal groups (e.g., local CSOs such as self-help groups, saving groups, etc.) which allow them to be engaged and

empowered in their local communities (Lister, 1997, p.32). Moreover, as discussed in section 2.3, Ugandan women tend to be active in their community through grassroots activism and participation in local CSOs, besides women's movements have been crucial for promoting gender equality at the local and national levels (Tripp, 2000, p.23). Therefore, based on the contemporary conceptions of citizenship that this Thesis has proposed, women's citizenship in the public sphere can be practiced through their active participation in informal groups and grassroots activism, and women's participation in the private sphere is an important part of their citizenship practice as well. Although local activism is considered as informal and the participation in the private sphere is not recognized politically, those interactions allow women to participate and exercise their citizenship locally in Uganda.

In the las two sections it has been discussed broadly that citizenship is a practice that is in constant movement and it occurs in a great number of interactions, women's access to citizenship was also discussed and how their citizenship can be more inclusive when recognizing the private activities in the public domain and their participation in informal groups at the local level. It was also briefly discussed that particular political projects shape identities and create belongings for citizenship to be built and exercised, and that, at the same time, citizenship occurs in spaces of participation. In the next sections, the three concepts: identity, belonging and spaces of participation and their relation to citizenship are going to be discussed.

### 3.2.1 Identity

Upcoming, I will conceptualize the notion of identity, which is a concept that is under constant debate and entails various discussions and contestations that are not approached in this Thesis. Therefore, the following section defines identity using a conceptualization of identity as the self-description of the individual who is accepted personally and recognized by others. The relation between identity and citizenship is also described.

Accordingly, identities can be understood as the individual's self-description of who she is that is accepted personally and shared to others; besides, a description can also be formed collectively, in a group, which has influence in the individual description as well (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.202). Identities are not a static, they are always in the making and they depend on the context, the political project and the experiences and practices of the individual (Hall & Du Gay, 1996, p.4). In the same way, it has been argued that identity is relational, and that it is constructed with difference; on the one hand, identity entails attachment, recognition and inclusion (Isin & Wood, 1999, pp. 11-12), on the other hand, it also entails exclusion and otherness (Hall & Du Gay, 1996, p.4).

Scholars have suggested that identity is a changing concept as well, for its production and reproduction, it depends on the settings, spaces, belongings and practices

(Hall & Du Gay, 1996, p.6; Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.202), it can be formed individually but it also entails social processes or collectivities for its production and recognition (Anthias, 2006, p.20; Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.202). Moreover, Hall and Du Gay (1996), suggest that identity can be seen as "a temporary attachment" (p.4).

Furthermore, it has been suggested that identity constantly seeks for recognition of the collectivity itself and between collectivities, of the individual self and the individual in the social (Isin & Wood, 1999, p.11; Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.202). In the pursuit of recognition, the identities of the collectivity and/or the individual are accepted in the social, thus recognition enables the acknowledgement of differences from others. Therefore, differences allow the production and reproduction of identities, making the notion of identity momentary and complex (Hall & Du Gay, 1996, p.4; Isin & Wood, 1999, p.11). However, it has been emphasized that in particular contexts, some groups have stronger power positions that allow the domination and oppression of others, rather than only recognition (Isin & Wood, 1999, p.11; Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.200).

Hall and Du Gay (1996) suggest that to define identity, it is also important to understand the notion of identification. According to the authors, identification entails the acknowledgment of shared characteristics with others or with a group, thus enables the construction of collectivities and solidarities that share a common aim; identification is a continuous process of the individual's life (Hall & Du Gay, 1996, pp.2-3). Additionally, citizenship is crucial in the process of identification, since political projects need shared meanings (Clarke et al., 2014, p.48). For instance, the individual has a set of characteristics and values that form identity, and it involves "attachments, obligations and promises" for its production and reproduction (Isin & Wood, 1999, p.14).

Furthermore, scholars have pointed out that individuals identify themselves with a number of characteristics that others have which translates in the creation of similar identities, thus a group of individuals share similar identities. Therefore, a collectivity is formed when individuals share similar characteristics which allows the establishment of affinities within a group. Additionally, as various collectivities emerge, it is possible for an individual to have a collection of identities (Isin & Wood, 1999, p.14; Kabeer, 2005, p.12). Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that group members are not homogeneous (Kabeer, 2005, pp.13-14).

Membership to collectivities lets the individual define her identities through the experiences and practices that she has in those spaces. Therefore, her citizenship is exercised through the practices and relations formed while belonging to a set of collectivities (Kabeer, 2005, pp.21-22). Identity and belonging are crucial for citizenship, the feeling of belonging to a group and sharing common values and therefore identities, help in empowering group members to participate and claim their rights (Lister et al., 2007, p.49); although identity foundations are not a legal status, they give a voice to the marginalized groups to defend their pluralistic characteristics (Isin & Wood,

1999, p.14; Kabeer, 2005, p.11). Additionally, identity highlights that societies are different, diverse and pluralistic and not singular, which emphasizes the need to challenge the universalistic conceptions of citizenship (Lister, 1997, p.34).

### 3.2.2 Belonging

This section discusses the notion of belonging, its relationship with citizenship as well as its relationship with the reproduction of identities and with the spaces of participation.

The sense of belonging has been attached to the connection of people and groups, and the identities and practices that jointly create a citizenship project (Lister et al., 2007, p.9). It has been argued that belonging is a changing notion as well, it includes emotive, relational and subjective aspects (Ibid.), it is context dependent (Anthias, 2006, p.21) and it entails "a feeling of attachment, and a sentiment of ownership" (Clarke et al., 2014, p.151). Therefore, as suggested by some scholars, belonging relies on first the experiences of the individual, second on the relationships she forms, and third on the emotional bonds she creates, for it to exist.

The sense of belonging is a dynamic process that is created individually and/or collectively. Yuval-Davis (2006), suggests that individuals have the need to create groups and be members of a collectivity to create a meaning for their lives, to avoid the feeling of exclusion(Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.198). Therefore, she argues, creating belonging entails emotional attachments to situations, people, places, groups and experiences, which at the same time allows the reproduction of identities (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.202). For instance, the sense of belonging encompasses the creation of emotional bonds to social experiences and it ensures the individual's feeling of inclusion into groups which are connected with the individual's reproduction of identities as well (Anthias, 2006, pp.20-21).

Besides, she continues, recurrent practices that connect the individual with the community and with the spaces of participation are fundamental in creating and reproducing identity and belonging, as well as values, beliefs and judgment (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.203). Therefore, the individual's active participation in the community and in the public and private spheres is also crucial for the creation of the sense of belonging. On the other hand, belonging has different levels of attachment, it can be stronger or moderate based on the emotional bonds that the individual has to the situations, people, places, groups or experiences (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.202).

Besides inclusion, it has been suggested that belonging also entails processes of exclusion and otherness (Anthias, 2006, pp. 19-22; Bhambra, 2006, p.37). If we think about two groups, for instance, one group will have particular aims and characteristics that are not the same in the other group, therefore, there are particular characteristics constructed in one group that are different from the other (Anthias, 2006, p.21). Hence, exclusion and otherness emerge when differences from one group are identified,

which entails to exclude the ones that are different from the "us" and classify "them" as others. Hence, a perception of "us" emerges from the ones who are included in a group; and a distinction of "them" emerges from the ones considered as others who are excluded from "us" (Bhambra, 2006, pp.36-39; Yuval-Davis, 2006, pp.204-205).

For instance, as discussed in section 3.1, collectivities are formed when people have common interests and shared objectives (Clarke et al., 2014, p.109) and when solidarity allows people to act together for a common aim, regardless of their differences (Lister, 2003, p.91; Lister, 2007, p.51). Furthermore, Yuval-Davis (2006, p.206), agrees that for an individual to belong in a particular group it is essential that a set of values are shared among the members of the collectivity, where "loyalty and solidarity" prevails. However, she acknowledges that the belongings and inclusions vary based on the contexts and historical moments they are practiced (Ibid.).

As discussed above, individuals and their collectivities can identify common concerns that unify them and make them create a common identity without losing their foundation (Clarke et al., 2014, p.109; Lister, 2003, p.84). For example, the movement for change started by Latino and Asian immigrant women at the end of the twentieth century in the United States. Women from both collectivities were experiencing the same social segregation in their neighborhoods. Although they had a different background, ethnicity and values, the common concern made them unify and create a movement, which allowed them to address the issue successfully with the state and the community; bringing a change in their lives without abandoning their core identities and values (Clarke et al., 2014, p.26). Citizenship is thus a process through which connections, attachments and commonality can be imagined and practiced (Clarke et al., 2014, p.165).

Although there are different groups within societies, individual interactions happen in common spaces and places where emotional and social bonds are formed (Clarke et al., 2014, p.154). As in citizenship, belonging is a dynamic process that changes constantly since it is connected with the individual's daily experiences, the interactions between people and places, and the creation and reproduction of emotional bonds.

### 3.2.3 Spaces of participation

The overall idea of multifaceted citizenship used in this study suggests that citizenship is practiced in spaces of participation. Spaces of participation are the locations that are created through participation and where citizenship is exercised. Participation is the tool of the marginalized to participate as active individuals in their collectivities and it allows individuals to be included in the society; it acknowledges that the individual has an active role in shaping her citizenship (Cornwall, 2002, p.3; Gaventa, 2004, pp.27—29) and the spaces are the physical places where that participation takes place (Clarke et al., 2014, p.157; Jones & Gaventa, 2002, pp.22-23). Furthermore, the daily

interactions and experiences that individuals have through participation allows the creation of new spaces (Cornwall, 2002, p.4).

There are diverse definitions of spaces, but this research will focus on the conception of organic spaces proposed by Cornwall (2002). Organic spaces are created socially between individuals that share common goals and identities, they are dynamic and are shaped independently by the marginalized; organic spaces require collective participation to exist (Cornwall, 2002, pp.17—22; see also Gaventa, 2004, p.35). Cornwall (2002, p.22) suggests that one characteristic of organic spaces is that the individual selects the spaces where she wants to participate. For instance, organic spaces are created independently by individuals who share common aims and identifications, therefore, collectivities are created and participation occurs. However, organic spaces can be exclusionary and limit the participation of others (Ibid.).

Gaventa (2004) argues that power dynamics are important in organic spaces. First, power dynamics establish the key actors and the main issues covered in the space. Second, power holders can include or exclude certain individuals. Finally, as spaces are dynamic and interconnected, the power from one space, achieved through skills and experiences, can impact and be transferred to other spaces (pp.35-37). In addition, individuals shift between spaces, therefore the power also varies from one place to another; for example, an individual has more influence and respect in one space whereas the individual has less power in another space, and her actions may be insignificant (Cornwall, 2004, p.80).

The inclusive model of citizenship discussed previously suggests that the private sphere is also crucial for women's citizenship. Hence, the private sphere should be also considered as a space of participation since most women's citizenship happens in there. In addition, what happens in the private has consequences in the public (Lister, 2007, p.57). For instance, daily interactions in the private sphere are crucial for citizenship because children are raised to become the future citizens (Lister et al., 2007, p.7) and a set of values and identities are transferred to the family which contributes to nation building (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1989, p.22).

The overall idea of multifaceted citizenship used in this study suggests that citizenship is practiced in various spaces and places, it can be in groups or collectivities, in state institutions or at home; the locations are diverse (Clarke et al., 2014, p.157); identities emerge in each space subject to the relations and belongings that the individual has with each of them (Jones & Gaventa, 2002, p.19). Gaventa (2004), discusses governance issues through studies made both in the Global North and the Global South. He concludes that marginalized people mistrust state institutions and catalogue them as far and corrupt. Therefore, he suggests that governance should account local and informal practices to move towards participatory governance and inclusive citizenship (Ibid., p.25). The contemporary conceptions of citizenship discussed in this Thesis allow to contemplate the addition of informal spaces into the citizenship discussion. For instance, the participation in the public spaces in local CSOs such as self-

help groups, saving groups, community work, counselling groups, and in the private space of home are spaces where citizenship might be exercised and practiced (Jones & Gaventa, 2002, pp.19-21). Through participation, the individual, as an active entity, chooses the spaces and places where she exercises her citizenship creating relationships and emotional bonds to the people and places.

## 3.3 Summary: the main concepts used in this Thesis

Overall, the contemporary conceptions of citizenship have been described in this theoretical chapter. They suggest that citizenship not only entails the relation between the state and the citizen but also relationships between people and places. The notion of multifaceted citizenship used in this study, proposes that citizenship is a broad and dynamic concept that moves and transforms regarding the context, practices, period and the social relations that occur in each situation; it considers the social, cultural and political aspects, as well as the daily practices and relationships that are particular to each context and period (Clarke et al., 2014). Moreover, the inclusive model of citizenship proposed by Lister (2003), recognizes the importance of the private domain and claims for the inclusion of care work in politics, it acknowledges the differences and particularities of its society members; thus, citizenship might be practiced and experienced in a more inclusive and balanced manner for women and men. Therefore, the contemporary conceptions of citizenship suggested in this Thesis propose that citizenship is a practice that is in constant movement and that occurs in several interactions, besides, it entails identities and belongings that are created in spaces of participation for its exercise.

The sense of belonging has been attached to the connection of people and groups, and the identities and practices that jointly create a citizenship project. It has been argued that belonging is a changing notion as well, it includes emotive, relational and subjective aspects (Lister et al., 2007, p.9). For instance, belonging is connected with the individual's daily experiences, the interactions between people and places, and the creation and reproduction of emotional bonds. Additionally, identity can be understood as the individual's self-description that is accepted personally and recognized by others, or that can be created collectively (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.202). Besides, membership to collectivities allows the individual to define her identities through the experiences and practices that she has in the spaces of participation. For instance, the spaces of participation are the locations that are created through participation and where citizenship is exercised, the locations are diverse and they can range from groups or collectivities to state institutions or to home (Clarke et al., 2014; Cornwall, 2002; Jones & Gaventa, 2002).

Citizenship is a connecting concept, it relies on the places, relations, people, collectivities and contexts for it to occur. The notions of multifaceted citizenship and inclusive citizenship are crucial in the contexts where relationships and participation in collectivities are valuable for individuals, where the marginalized organize together with common goals and common identities which allows the formation of strong emotional bonds and inclusion. Hence, what has been discussed in this chapter is crucial for the analysis of women's citizenship in practice at the grassroot level. The following chapters will cover a multifaceted citizenship analysis at the grassroots by analyzing narratives of women in rural Uganda. Chapter four will describe the methodology used in this research and chapter five will expose the findings of the three research questions.

# 4 METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on describing the methodology used in this research. The chapter is organized as follows: first, a description of the methodological approach and the methods of data collection executed by the Ugandan researchers for the GROW project is provided, followed by a description of the available data. Next, the data analysis process using qualitative content analysis is described. Finally, the ethical considerations used in this study are presented.

## 4.1 Overall methodological approach

This Thesis will use primary sources, which were generated within the GROW research project in 2017. The aim of this data was to understand how women perceived their community participation through daily life experiences, their role in self-help groups and the kinds of changes arising as a result of NGOs training. The research also explored how women understood the concept of citizenship and residency in their daily lives.

The used method to gather the information was a "hybrid methodology", which is a combination of two or more methods to generate qualitative interview data (Couto, 1987, p.86). For instance, the conducted interviews allowed a combination of methods (a) semi-structured interviews using an interview guide to ensure that the relevant topics were covered, (b) narrative interviews, using questions that invited the storytelling from the participants, and (c) the entire data gathering process was founded on the principles of the participatory research approach.

Semi-structured interviews with participants allow the description of "people's knowledge, understandings, interpretations, experiences, and interactions" in a flexible manner (Mason, 2011, p.1021). The researcher plays an active role in the question

formulation, answers interaction, and facilitates knowledge construction with the participant, while it (the researcher) is ensuring a fluid communication space; tasks that are crucial when conducting semi-structured interviews (Ibid.)

Ahimbisibwe et al. (2020, p.161), describe the narrative interview process as a flexible and fluid conversation. Knowledge production occurs while creating a trustful environment between the researcher and the research participant; which guarantees relevant circumstances description and thus knowledge creation. Additionally, the authors suggest that participatory research allows "participants to become co-researchers, co-learners and co-instructors of knowledge" (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.161); thus, allowing that fluid conversation using the qualitative interview methods.

Participatory research is considered as one of the approaches that advocates for the importance and value of including research participants in the "knowledge-production process"; it aims for a collaborative research between the researcher and the participant (the researcher acts as a co-learner) where both parties are able to gain from the research (Bergold & Thomas, 2012, p.192).

In participatory research, the creation of a "safe space" is crucial, where the empowered participant can share its opinions without judgment allowing an open conversation with diverse views; thus, the safe space promotes new findings (Bergold & Thomas, 2012, p.196). In sum, participatory research creates an environment of open communication where "openness, differences of opinion, conflicts, etc. are permitted" (Bergold & Thomas, 2012, p.197); in addition, the participant is regarded as a "knowing subject" who is able to hold its perspectives into the knowledge-production process (Bergold & Thomas, 2012, p.204).

The use of a hybrid methodology to gather information is crucial for this kind of research. Both semi-structured interviews and narrative interviews, along with participatory research ensure a bottom up participation where participants are empowered and eager to share their lived experiences (Glassman & Erdem, 2014, p.208). Particularly, participatory research favors co-learning between the researcher and the participant; it allows, first, a comprehensive understanding of the lived experiences of citizenship (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.160). Second, it ensures an alternative way of qualitative research where the voice of the marginalized is heard (Glassman & Erdem, 2014, p.216). Finally, it empowers the participants to share and question their daily practices (Glassman & Erdem, 2014, p.213).

## 4.2 Methods of data collection

For my research, I will use data that has been collected by the Ugandan researchers Alice Ndidde and Karembe Ahimbisibwe for the GROW project conducted in collaboration with the Makerere University and the University of Jyväskylä during 2017. To

describe the methods of data collection used by the researchers, I had to inform myself about how the process was conducted. My first step was to comprehend from first-hand how the process took place, where I relied on Ahimbisibwe et al. (2020) book chapter. The authors explain the process of the research design and the conducted field work; besides, they reflect on the learnings and challenges of conducting research at the grassroots. In addition, I was able to contact face to face with the PhD candidate Karembe Ahimbisibwe and have a number of discussions to clarify the process, the learnings and the challenges they had in the data collection practice. Finally, I did a literature review to grasp the methods and create my perspective towards the used methods of data collection. It was a fruitful process indeed, it allowed me to have the standpoint of one of the researchers that collected the data and combine it with literature to build my own understanding of the process. Therefore, in the following subsections I am going to describe the data collection process.

### 4.2.1 Strategy of data collection

The fieldwork methodology and data collection plan emerged after a workshop with members of the GROW project from Uganda and Tanzania during 2016 in Kampala, Uganda. Their main priority was to focus their research on lived experiences at the grassroots level. Consequently, the group decided that qualitative interviews based on participatory research would allow them to identify the "lived experiences of citizenship" (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.160).

Two main goals were defined in Kampala: to investigate people's lived citizenship and to learn about the sense of belonging the participants had to the groups they were members (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.161). For instance, the researchers concluded that qualitative interviews and participatory research were methodologies that suited the best to accomplish the two goals.

The qualitative interviews favored the creation of a safe environment where the participants were able to tell their lived stories and the researchers were able to understand the "citizenship experiences". To accomplish the second goal, the group used the Venn diagramming (chapatti diagram) as a participatory research tool, to illustrate the importance of group associations to the research participants. That method allowed the participants to reflect on what are the significant areas of belonging, identity and participation for them (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.165).

The combination of methodologies let the participants become part of the knowledge construction, thus fulfilling the main objective of the research: "capture the lived experiences of citizenship" (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.161).

### 4.2.2 Collaborating with an NGO

As discussed in section 2, due to the Ugandan volatile historical context and the decentralized government system, the work that NGOs and other CSOs conduct in

Uganda, has been crucial for providing welfare services at the grassroots (DENIVA, 2006, p.19). Certainly, in the Ugandan context, working together with NGOs eases the access to rural areas and enables data collection at the grassroots.

The GROW project collaborated with Action For Development (ACFODE) to conduct the research at the grassroots. ACFODE is a Ugandan NGO that promotes women's rights and gender equality since 1985 (ACFODE, 2020). ACFODE advocates for gender equality at the governmental level and at the local level with the implementation of development projects (Ndidde et al., 2020, p.179). The organization has presence in the entire country offering programs that train women with abilities and knowledge on women empowerment, leadership and governance, gender, health, food security and production, etc. (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.173). For instance, the selection of the locations to conduct the data gathering considered areas where ACFODE had implemented projects.

### 4.2.3 Selection of the locations and the participants

Participatory research depends on the capacity of the researcher to interact fluidly with the participant. For instance, language was the main driver to select the areas to conduct the fieldwork; the data gathering took place in the districts of Kiboga and Namutumba during 2017; therefore, the researchers were fluent in the dialects spoken there (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.162). Kiboga and Namutumba are rural areas that suffer from poor development indicators and social problems such as illiteracy, famine, malnutrition, gender inequalities, and overpopulation, among others; besides, the first one was the epicenter of war for more than five years (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.173).

Women who have received training from ACFODE was the criteria to select the participants for the research. The Kiboga participants were local leaders trained in leadership and empowerment skills, whereas the Namutumba participants were community members trained in wellbeing improvements (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.162).

### 4.2.4 Interviews conduction considering the power relations

The researchers conducted 50 interviews in the two selected districts for a month, each interview lasted between 50 to 60 minutes; the participants were mainly women and in some cases if the husband was present, he participated answering some questions too; however, six men were part of the research too. To ensure a comfortable environment and flatten the power relations, the researchers conducted the interviews in the homes or in the workplaces of the participants; besides, the researchers refused to sit on a special setting and opt for sitting at the same level as the contestants (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.170).

Furthermore, during the interview process, the researchers were able to separate themselves from their economic and educational status and come to the ground to

learn with the participants. Throughout the data collection process on the field, the researchers introduced themselves as "outsiders" and as "facilitators" to reduce the power relations interaction; they showed humble and emphasized their aim to learn from the participants, highlighting that the participants themselves were the experts (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.164).

What is more, the interview conduction was in the local dialects, Luganda and Lusoga, to reinforce even more the importance of the participant's knowledge. Therefore, these technicalities made possible the creation of a safe environment where the participants were empowered and considered themselves as the knowledge providers. Consequently, they were guiding the interview in an open setting while sharing their lived stories and experiences (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, pp.164-165).

### 4.2.5 Venn diagram as a self-reflection tool

A process of learning and reflection is what characterizes the participatory research. For instance, the Venn diagramming method (chapatti diagram) promoted the recognition, importance and the sense of identity and belonging to the spaces of participation for the participants; in addition to the engagement with the study that this participatory research tool gave them. In particular, the purpose of the illustrations was to facilitate the researchers' learning and the participants' self-reflection on the "citizenship practices in the communities" (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.165).

The Venn diagram is a tool used in participatory research that enables to discover who and which person or organizations are relevant in and for the community (Adebo, 2000, p.16). In addition, this tool has several benefits in research; for instance, first, it guides in the identification of groups and organizations present in the community and displays how their real interaction is. Second, it shows the groups and organizations effort towards cooperation and development for the community. Finally, it detects the influence of the groups and organizations on decision making in the community (Adebo, 2000, p.17).

Drawing and explaining the Venn diagrams during the interviews gave the participants an opportunity to reflect on the groups they were members, the role they play in their communities, and for some, it allowed criticizing their daily activities and roles. Glassman and Erdem (2014) claim that in participatory research the participants gain the competence of questioning their actions or "praxis of the immediate" (p. 213), which is a perceived detail among the participants that were part of the research.

Although the foundation of participatory research suggests that change may come since the collected information may lead to action within the community under study (Couto, 1987, p.85), the researchers that gathered the data in Kiboga and Namutumba acknowledge that their research did not "contributed to a significant change in those researched communities" (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.173). However, their research did accomplish the aims of learning from the participants and empower them

about their lived interactions that are a crucial portion of the participatory research basis (Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.172).

### 4.2.6 Applicability of the methodology to my research

Overall, the used methodology of data collection allows answering the research questions formulated in this Thesis. Since its foundation in Kampala, Uganda, the main research priority was to investigate lived citizenship experiences at the grassroots level, which is the focus of this research as well. For instance, the participatory research approach guaranteed a co-learning process where the participants shared their daily experiences and allowed their self-reflection, whereas qualitative interviews granted a free-flow conversation where a space of trust permitted the participants to tell their stories without judgment. Both methods are crucial for the analysis of this study since they promote the opinions and experiences from the women and men from Kiboga and Namutumba. In addition, the information allows to analyze women's lived citizenship practices that contribute to their identity construction and belonging reproduction in the spaces of participation.

## 4.3 Description of the data

The data that I used for my Thesis was part of one of the research interests on lived citizenship that the GROW project led during 2017. Two Ugandan researchers collected the interviews in the local dialects of Luganda and Lusoga; later the interviews were transcribed and translated into English. The available data consists of 50 qualitative interviews made to community members where women were the target of the study; for instance, 44 of the participants were females, the rest of the participants were six males. As the fieldwork took place in two districts, both areas represent almost the same number of participants, 23 are from Namutumba and 27 are from Kiboga and. Table 1 illustrates the number of participants by district and gender.

TABLE 1 Research participants total by district and gender

| District | Gender | Participants |
|---|---|---|
| Namutumba | Female | 21 |
| | Male | 2 |
| **Total** | | **23** |
| Kiboga | Female | 23 |
| | Male | 4 |
| **Total** | | **27** |
| **Grand Total** | | **50** |

*Note.* Author's own construction

Besides the transcribed interviews, the researchers documented images of the Venn diagrams. As explained in the methods of data collection section, the participants illustrated the groups and organizations they felt attached to. For instance, photographs of the diagrams are available as well. Figure 1 is an example of a Venn diagram drawn in one of the interviews.


FIGURE 1 Example of the Venn diagram

*Note.* Field photo of the Venn diagram of a female teacher and councillor in Kiboga. From Participatory methodology in exploring citizenship: A critical learning process, by Ahimbisibwe et al., 2020, p.169, in K. Holma, & T. Kontinen (Eds.), *Practices of citizenship in East Africa: Perspectives from Philosophical Pragmatism* (pp. 159-176). London: Routledge.

### 4.3.1 Data usage

As pointed out in the previous sections of this Thesis, the data used in this research has been used to publish two book chapters with focus on lived citizenship and the understanding of the citizenship concept among women in Kiboga and Namutumba. For instance, Ndidde et al. (2020), discuss the differences between the daily practices

of women's citizenship and the legal citizenship status provided in the Ugandan constitution. They argue that women's citizenship in practice is socially constructed rather than dictated by law. Moreover, Ahimbisibwe et al. (2020), reflect the research and data collection process and the applicability of participatory research when exploring lived citizenship at the grassroots, which was one of the sources used in this methodology chapter.

For this research, my focus was to analyze how women construct their identities and those of their community based on the spaces of participation, and how women promote the reproduction of belonging in their community through participation. Especial attention was paid to the spaces of participation. To analyze the data, from the extensive amount of transcribed interview material, I systematically filtered the information that is relevant for my research using qualitative content analysis. The process of data analysis is described in the following section.

## 4.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a back-and-forth process that allows the researcher to interact and immerse with the data; during this process, topics and questions appear as well as answers and hypotheses; which is a backward and forward interaction. To analyze my research, I will use qualitative content analysis. This type of analysis enables a fluid data interaction, which ensures a vast knowledge gain from the social phenomena under study (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006, p.199). During the first steps of the analysis, topics and questions work as a guide since the researcher starts with an "open-ended and open-minded desire to understand the social situation or setting in its own terms" (Lofland et al., 2006, p.199). After that understanding, then the answers and hypothesis are more likely to drive the analysis, at this stage, the researcher "generates an analytic statement along the lines of a propositional answer to one or more questions regarding one or more topics in the social situation the researcher is studying" (Lofland et al., 2006, p.200). Consequently, after completing the previous stages, the researcher absorbs the data to her understanding and is able to deliver a successful methodic data analysis with a clear understanding of the social settings under study.

The qualitative content analysis (QCA) reduces data, is systematic and is flexible. It allows data classification into particular categories and sub-categories while assigning codes to each subject (Schreier, 2013, p.170). The QCA has made me focus on the significant aspects that concern the research questions while coding. Coding has been the heart of my analysis; it has allowed me to interact with the data systematically using the data analysis software ATLAS.ti, ensuring a data-driven analysis focused on

the phenomena under study. This process has allowed me to reduce bias since there has been a research orientation while coding (Schreier, 2013, pp.170-171).

I analyzed 50 interviews and conducted an initial coding that resulted with 18 general codes. Then I conducted a focused coding that allowed me to identify three main categories with particular sub-categories: (a) identity, which contains six sub-categories, active resident, member, role model, leader, wife and woman; (b) belonging, which contains four sub-categories, community belonging, personal belonging, exclusion and otherness; (c) spaces of participation, which contains two sub-categories, public and private. These categories are crucial to answer my research questions.

The QCA has been broadly used in social sciences, and in other disciplines like health. For instance, some studies about belonging and identity have used this approach. Tovi Fenster, a scholar from Tel Aviv University, has used this approach on her research about citizenship, gender, identity and belonging (Fenster, 2005a; Fenster, 2005b). Other scholars have used it on migration research (Kunuroglu et al., 2018) or anthropological research (Holloway-Friesen, 2018). Besides, the method is broadly used in health research (Azul, 2016; Halding, Wahl, & Heggdal, 2010; Mattila, Pitkäjärvi, & Eriksson, 2010).

### 4.4.1 The data analysis process

My three-month data analysis process centered on coding using the software ATLAS.ti to ensure a data-driven analysis. Besides, theory and the research questions guided my coding process, this allowed me to concentrate on the relevant concepts of my research and ensure a high quality analysis. In what follows, I am going to describe the data reduction process using the initial coding and the focused coding and its outcomes.

#### 4.4.1.1 Coding

According to Lofland et al. (2006, p.200), coding is the process of ordering data into categories that are relevant for the study and in concordance with the researcher's ideas. It is an exploring process of discovering what is in the data by linking it with the researcher's thoughts and research interests. The main purpose of coding is to sort the related data with the research questions (Lofland et al., 2006, p.200). I have conducted initial coding and focused coding using ATLAS.ti as a Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS). I will describe this process as follows.

#### 4.4.1.2 Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS)

To conduct the coding analysis, I used ATLAS.ti because it is a software that is approved by the University of Jyväskylä and it is broadly used in the university's social sciences department, besides it can be easily accessed from the university network. This CAQDAS is an intuitive interface, it helps to "arrange, reassemble, and manage

the material in creative, yet systematic ways" as well as it allows to explore the data in great depth easily (ATLAS.ti, 2002).

The use of a computer software tool has been present for more than 20 years among researchers and continues increasing (Gibbs, 2013, p.277); it has prevailed due to its numerous advantages, but not limited to: first, it ensures the availability of all the information as a database in one place. Second, it allows coding, writing memos, sorting, etc. while it keeps a record of all the changes. Third, it allows the connection of similar codes and tendencies identification. Finally, it facilitates visual representations of the data under study (Gibbs, 2013, p.284; Lofland et al., 2006, p.204). It is important to clarify that the use of a CAQDAS is mainly for organizing and categorizing data in the desired way, it does not work as an analytical tool. Consequently, me as a researcher am in charge of analyzing the organized and stored data (Gibbs, 2013, p. 277; Lofland et al., 2006, p. 204).

#### 4.4.1.3 Initial coding

As its name implies, the initial coding is the first step to organize data into groups or categories in the preliminary perspectives of the study. This first step starts by reading and examining the data carefully; followed by asking "general open-ended questions" on the available information (Lofland et al., 2006, p.201). When that stage is done, the researcher assigns codes that categorize each piece of information. Usually, this initial coding brings a great number and diverse codes since it is the first step at analyzing long data sets (Lofland et al., 2006, p.201).

In my research, I started by reading the interviews thoroughly to get the big picture of what was in there. After this step, we discussed the information with two members of the GROW project, as a result, we brainstormed some potential codes that could categorize the data. The initial coding process took me two months to complete; it allowed me to identify preliminary codes and open-ended questions relevant to my research interest. Besides, the more I coded the more understanding I gained of the information, which made me more confident to the next step, the focused coding.

For instance, the resulted initial codes were 18 and consider the following categories: ACFODE, communities, community responsibility, definition of citizenship, duties/responsibilities, exercise explanation, future aspirations, gender differences, identity, improvements, inability to implement and participate, learning, other NGO's, past, rights, roles and division of labor, state. Appendix 1 illustrates each code with its relevant description.

In the same way, the general questions that helped me understand the information and subsequently code it, are as follows:

- What are these women saying? What is happening in their daily lives?
- What are their drivers to form groups? Why is it important for them to be part of groups?

- How are the power relations at home and at the groups? Why are some women eager to share knowledge with others?

#### 4.4.1.4 Focused coding

The focused coding is selective and direct; it allows classifying the initial codes into categories that are relevant for the research (Lofland et al., 2006, p.201). During this process, I was guided by the concepts relevant for my research questions and the theory foundations. With this in mind, I conducted the focused coding to give them the empirical content of the data.

During my research, after the initial coding was made and I had a broad understanding of the information; I analyzed how I could conduct the focused coding to answer my research questions. For instance, the theory guided the three main categories that could answer my research questions: Identity, belonging and spaces of participation. Second, I created new focused codes for each main category and finally, to classify the information in the focused codes, I analyzed which initial codes were relevant to each focused code. At this stage, I was able to generate statements in the form of answers and propositions by reassessing and reorganizing the initial codes and categories that were driven by the topics and questions from the beginning of the analysis process (Roulston, 2013, p.208).

Table 2 illustrates the main categories, the allocation of the initial codes for each category and the focused codes for each category. Table 3 illustrates the focused codes and their relevant descriptions.

Using this systematic back-and-forth process allowed me to analyze data thoroughly in a methodical way, which ensured a high quality analysis and data understanding driven by the social phenomena under study. Thus, the more you code the more analytic coding evolves and the more basic coding declines (Lofland et al., 2006, p.208).

TABLE 2 Initial codes and their allocation to the main categories and to the focused codes

| Category | Initial codes | Focused codes |
|---|---|---|
| Identity | Communities, community responsibility, gender differences, identity | Identity-Active resident |
| | | Identity-Member |
| | | Identity-Role model |
| | | Identity-Leader |
| | | Identity-Wife |
| | | Identity-Woman |
| Belonging | Communities, community responsibility, future aspirations, ways of participation | Belonging-Community |
| | | Belonging-Personal |
| | | Belonging-Exclusion |
| | | Belonging-Otherness |
| Spaces of participation | Communities | Space-Private |
| | | Space-Public |

*Note.* Author's own construction

TABLE 3 Focused codes and their respective descriptions

| Focused codes | Description |
|---|---|
| Identity-Active resident | When the participant recognize herself as someone and others recognize her as well |
| Identity-Member | When the participant relates herself working with others |
| Identity-Role model | When the participant describe herself as a role model |
| Identity-Leader | When the participant describe herself as a leader |
| Identity-Wife | When the participant describe herself as a wife |
| Identity-Woman | When the participant describe herself as a woman |
| Belonging-Community | When there is a sense of attachment to the community, groups, associations, NGO's |
| Belonging-Personal | When there is an internal sense of attachment e.g., home, religion, politics |
| Belonging-Exclusion | When the participant does not feel part of something, somewhere |
| Belonging-Otherness | When the participant qualify others as different |
| Space-Private | When the space of participation is the home |
| Space-Public | When the space of participation is outside the home e.g., groups, community, village, etc. |

Note. Author's own construction

## 4.5 Ethical considerations

The current study is aware of the ethical considerations that this kind of research may bring. For instance, the interviews were conducted under strict confidentiality norms required by the Ugandan and Finnish governments, and under research permit granted by the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology, after going through an ethical clearance. First, every participant signed a consent form allowing the data to be used for academic research (Ahimbisibwe et al.,2020, p.163). Second, I signed a contract with the University of Jyväskylä where I committed to not revealing any information outside the GROW project. Besides the previous practicalities, in the transcribed interviews, the names of the participants, the people and groups they mentioned during the conversations have been removed and replaced with the insertion [NAME]. This ensures data protection, anonymity and confidentiality in the research analysis.

# 5 FINDINGS

This research analyzed women's multifaceted citizenship by centering on their daily interactions in the spaces of participation. The analysis focused on the practices that women do to construct their identity and reproduce their belonging and how they transform (identity and belonging) based on the spaces of participation. The findings are constructed empirically from the data and they intend to answer the three research questions aimed in this research.

Throughout the process of data analysis, three main categories along with some sub-categories were identified to answer the research questions. They were identified in the focused coding process as empirical categories to answer each research question. For instance, the categories and sub-categories are as follows: (a) identity, which contains six sub-categories, active resident, member, role model, leader, wife and woman; (b) belonging, which contains four sub-categories, community belonging, personal belonging, exclusion and otherness; (c) spaces of participation, which contains two sub-categories, public and private.

From the analysis, it was found that women recognized themselves and other fellow women as "good residents" when they explained their active participation in private and public spaces. Therefore, according to their narratives, the good resident is the one that has membership in groups, participates in community activities and plays different roles in the community. Research participants refer to resident (*Omutuuze/ Omutyamye*) because in their local language there is no everyday word for a citizen in its English meaning, therefore a good citizen was typically discussed in terms of a good resident.

Therefore, the word resident is used in this research because that is how the research participants understood and spoke about it. This resonates well with the overall starting point of the study to examine multifaceted citizenship from the perspective of lived experience. Ahimbisibwe et.al (2020), explain that *Omutuuze* refers to the individual that resides in a particular location whereas *Omutyamye* refers to the individ-

ual who is settled. Moreover, the authors describe that both words imply the permanence in a place for a long period and the commitment to participate in community activities (p.110). The previous statement was identified in the analysis from the narratives of the women in Kiboga and Namutumba. Moreover, as the interviews were conducted with members who had participated in ACFODE's programmes, many of them reflect their identity, belonging and participation in relation to the particular activities conducted by the NGO. However, I suggest, that the narratives also provide a broader understanding of these phenomena, with or without the presence of any NGO since it was identified also an intrinsic motivation to continue improving and participating in communitarian activities. The following sections illustrate the empirical findings to answer the research questions aimed in this research.

## 5.1 Identity

This main category was identified empirically from the interviews to answer the first research question: How women construct their identities and those of their community through the spaces of participation?. From the analysis, women's daily interactions, self-acceptance, recognition and the different roles they play in their community is what contributes to identity construction. The analysis showed that active resident, member, role model, leader, wife and woman are constructed identities that emerged from women's daily participations, which at the same time, were subject to the different spaces of participation they interacted in. Moreover, those identities were directly related with a sense of improving to reach a better situation for themselves and for the community they live in. Those identities were named as sub-categories during the focused coding process.

Additionally, from the analysis, relevant topics were identified in each sub-category that support the construction of these identities in the spaces of participation. Table 5.1 illustrates the sub-categories and the relevant topics identified which are going to be discussed in the following sub-sections.

TABLE 4 Summary of the sub-categories and topics found in identity

| Category | Sub-Category | Topics |
|---|---|---|
| Identity | Active resident | Knowledge and learning |
| | | Interactions |
| | | Outside-recognition |
| | | Religion |
| | Member | Group work |
| | | Group formation reinforcement |
| | | Counsel others |
| | Role model | Be an example |
| | Leader | Own reflection |
| | | Togetherness and equality |
| | | Sharing knowledge |
| | | Advocacy |
| | Wife | Residence |
| | | Applying new skills at home |
| | | Expectation |
| | Woman | Identity awareness |
| | | Sisterhood |
| | | Challenges |

*Note.* Author's own construction

### 5.1.1 Active resident

One of the sub-categories that emerged from the analysis is the **active resident identity**. This identity is explained first because it is the one that allows to construct the further identities. This identity allows women to believe they are someone and that they play a role in their community; it is constructed after the participants have received training, have interacted with others and have been recognized individually and/or socially. According to Lister (2003, p.39), self-identity is crucial for forming a sense of agency that allows the individual to act, especially to act as a citizen. Thus, believing that one is able to act, allows to engage further in other activities and act collectively.

The active resident identity is defined in this research as the individual that recognizes herself as someone and is capable of doing activities by herself that allows her to improve her living conditions and those of her family. The active resident identity is accompanied, for some, by a sense of internal motivation and recognition. The sense of internal motivation drives women to improve the condition they are in and to become better residents. This sense of internal motivation emerges after the participants

realized by themselves that acquiring knowledge, skills and friends made them improve their living conditions and those of their families. Furthermore, recognition appears after women recognize themselves as someone capable of playing a role in the community, which is reinforced when others recognize them for their participations, and the roles they play as residents. Findings showed that the active resident identity can be constructed from a self-reflection process and an individual and/or collective recognition.

The following paragraphs illustrate the four topics—knowledge and learning, interactions, outside-recognition and religion—identified in the active resident identity that support its construction.

#### 5.1.1.1 Knowledge and learning

Both female and male participants narrate that gaining knowledge and learning made them realize that they are someone and that they are capable of executing activities for their benefit and progress. For instance, this female participant affirms that thanks to the training she has received, she is able to obtain goods for her benefit:

> When I want something, I go in, speak directly to the technical person there, and get what I want. And it's the training that's helping us do that (Interviewee 15, female, Kiboga).

Moreover, a male participant expresses that receiving training and working hard has helped him to improve his living conditions and those of his family. In his narrative, the participant highlights the work he has done together with his wife to construct a better home. Although this was not a narrative from a female participant, it shows the participation that both, wife and husband, have done together to put into practice skills and construct a worthy home:

> Before training, I did not have a house but after training we worked together with my wife and we put up that house you see. So if I was not taught I would not have done that... What I have learnt is that if you persist you get something out of it (Interviewee 10, male, Namutumba).

The narratives of both women and men highlighted the importance of receiving training from NGOs. The analysis showed that trainings have been important for women since gaining knowledge and skills seems to help them acknowledge that a woman is capable of doing activities by herself that allows her to improve her living conditions and those of her family. As discussed in section 2 of this research, Ugandan women, particularly in rural areas, tend to have low access to education (UBOS, 2020, p.33), therefore, NGOs have played a crucial role in providing education at the grassroots (DENIVA, 2006, pp.20—24).

#### 5.1.1.2 Interactions

Some participants express that being members of groups and interacting with others who share similar goals, have made them realize they are someone who is able to play a role in their community. For instance, this female participant affirms that interacting with others is what has made her been known in her community, besides sharing common interests with others and working together to establish a store has brought benefit for her and for her group:

> We joined other groups because if you don't work with other groups you cannot be known. For example when I am alone here people cannot know me people came to know me after forming that group. After forming that group [NAME] we teamed up with other groups at the sub county and we got a 'store'(Interviewee 11, female, Namutumba).

Additionally, participant 11 affirms that her group joined other groups to establish a store which enabled the formation of solidarities and collectivities within groups. This findings supports the suggestion by Lister (2003), that solidarity allows people to act together for a common aim despite group differences; and Clarke et al. (2014, p.109) that collectivities allow forming common identities with others who have plural identities but share a common goal.

#### 5.1.1.3 Outside-recognition

Some participants need an outside recognition to reinforce their active resident identity. The analysis showed that gaining recognition was crucial for women to believe that their work was important in their community; sometimes recognition was the main driver for the participants to continue improving their living conditions and to keep playing roles in their community. For example, the following female participant receives an outside reinforcement that makes her realize the importance of her work and encourages her to continue to achieve progress:

> They really appreciate my work, one time I was at work and received a phone call which required me to go and pick a gift in [NAME]. They thanked me for good work done because some people grow food and after put it on floor, which makes it dirty. But for you, you know how to sun dry your food. They gave me a tarpaulin as a gift. That group really changed me (Interviewee 12, female, Namutumba).

#### 5.1.1.4 Religion

For some participants, being part of a church and believing in a religion is a crucial part of their lives. The analysis showed that religion is an important self-motivator and a driver to become better residents. For instance, the following woman narrates her relationship with the church and the knowledge she has gained while being part of it:

> Now at first I was short tempered in case someone has done me something. But since I joined church am no longer short tempered because they teach us that saved people have to behave differently (Interviewee 12, female, Namutumba).

Overall, the construction of the **active resident identity** occurs when there are external factors such as learning, interactions with others, recognition or religion, which allow women to gain knowledge and thus make a transformation in their lives to improve their living conditions. Although those factors happen in public spaces such as groups, churches, etc. the internal motivation comes from the inner desire of the participant that allows her to act as a resident. It is interesting to note that despite the training women have received from the NGOs, their motivation to apply the learned skills and improve their living conditions comes from the inner desire to improve and not from the training itself. Furthermore, the analysis showed that for some participants individual recognition comes natural in their daily interactions, whereas for other participants to feel recognized, it is needed a self-reflection process or an outside reinforcement.

### 5.1.2 Member

The following sub-category identified in the analysis is the **member identity.** This identity is explained next because it emerges after the individual has acknowledged that she plays a role in the community. The member identity is constructed when the participants relate with others and work together in groups.

The member identity is defined in this research as the individual need to organize and participate in groups that share common aims, and the significance of working together with other community members to improve themselves and their community. The member identity highlights the importance of creating collectivities that share common aims, and the significance of the local CSOs for women's citizenship practice in rural Uganda.

The following illustrates the three topics—group work, group formation and counsel others—identified in the member identity that support its construction.

#### 5.1.2.1 Group work

Some participants narrated that working in groups is necessary to achieve progress; working together in groups encourages them to continue improving their living conditions and promotes the construction of a better life. For example, this female participant affirms that being part of a group encourages her and her teammates to be more productive and have more food for her family and her community:

> So that group of [NAME] encourages farming and it is a must that every member should have a garden. Still if you have a garden, you have to keep food. This means it helps us to be hard working people. Because we do not aim at harvesting little like two bags, no we aim at always harvesting big unless they are affected by sunshine (Interviewee 11, female, Namutumba).

Others explain how working together allows them to gain knowledge with the help of the NGOs that work in the area; group work has allowed them to interact with others and learn skills to put into practice at home and in their communities. The following participant narrates part of the group work they do in her community after receiving training on better farming practices:

> Well, also to market together. We store our crop, find a market and sell it together. There is also the standard. We used to harvest and dry our beans on the ground but after training by [NAME] and [NAME], we use tarpaulins, we no longer dry things on the ground. We also don't harvest raw crops (maize), we wait for it to dry well (on its stem in the field). That's why you see we that we have now moved away from the old way of farming. We have a new standard (Interviewee 19, female, Kiboga).

#### 5.1.2.2 Group formation reinforcement

The analysis showed that when women perceived a direct benefit, the need to form groups and have membership to them emerges. From the narrative, some participants reaffirmed several times that being part of groups was necessary, especially when they were able to perceive benefit: "I have learnt that being a member to many groups you benefit more" (Interviewee 14, female, Namutumba). The following female participant express the emotional and economic support that some group members give in the times of need:

> For [NAME], when you lose your person members bring food, and be there in times of soul…so people come and spend time with you as they try to comfort you and make you strong. Sometimes mourners even give you some money to buy sugar (Interviewee 15, female, Namutumba).

#### 5.1.2.3 Counsel others

Other participants construct their member identity when they counsel other residents, listen to them without prejudice and give them emotional support:

> Although I am born again I do not segregate according to faith. Whether they are Catholics, Protestants I go and pray with them. I even visit and speak to the Muslims on Fridays. I pray with them and listen to their problems (Interviewee 16, female, Kiboga).

In general, the **member identity** emerges in the public space with a sense of togetherness. The participants one way or another reinforce the importance of relating with others in groups to accomplish a common goal that brings a mutual benefit. For others, the importance of relating with others comes intrinsically to counsel and listen to fellow women and share their knowledge with them. Thus, the member identity can be constructed individually and/or collectively and it has an impact at the community level. The analysis showed the importance for the women of Kiboga and Namutumba to create and have membership in groups, it seems to be an important part of their daily interactions, since membership in groups allow them to gain skills and relate with others.

### 5.1.3 Role model

The third sub-category identified is the **role model identity.** This identity is explained next after the individual has first acknowledged that she is someone capable of playing a role in her community; and second, she realizes that working together in groups is needed. The role model identity is constructed when women perceive they can be an example to others while sharing knowledge and putting into practice skills in their community and in their homes.

The role model identity is defined as the need to show others with real examples that improvements can be made. For instance, other residents copy the improvements done by the role model, which contributes to create a better community. According to the CSI report, collective work and volunteering that aim for the creation of a general sense of well-being in the community are common practices in Uganda (DENIVA, 2006, p.27). For instance, the prevalence of this identity was common in the narratives of the research participants.

#### 5.1.3.1 Being an example

The role model identity emerges when individuals successfully implement what they have been taught in trainings and then teach it to others by example. The following participant expresses the importance of being a role model:

> May something I had forgotten, when we get trained we become examples to others and we have to implement what has been taught to us because there is no way you can tell someone to do something for you yourself you cannot do (Interviewee 11, female, Namutumba).

Another participant expresses similar thoughts:

> Yes at the grass roots where they cannot reach. Yes, we can go train others. Now especially concerning hygiene, looking after a home, cultivating and animal husbandry, I have to participate in that as a leader. You have to be an example to others – the women and everyone else. And a leader should not be the most poor. No no! (Interviewee 16, female, Kiboga).

Overall, the **role model identity** appears when residents are willing to show others how they can improve and overcome the situation they are in, with tangible actions; so others can copy and reach a better condition. This identity emerges in the public space driven by the intrinsic motivator of being exemplary. Actually, the role model identity supports the improvement of the community conditions and those of its members.

### 5.1.4 Leader

The fourth sub-category identified is the **leader identity**. This identity is explained once the individual has first, acknowledged that she plays a role in her community; second, has claimed that working together in groups is crucial in her daily interactions;

finally, has recognized that she is able to share knowledge with real examples. The leader identity is constructed when women occupy a leadership role in politics or in groups. Usually, this identity is formed after women have received leadership and empowerment training from NGOs like ACFODE. The leader identity is defined in this research as the willingness to work for others to improve the conditions of their communities and their members.

The following topics are examples of the leader identity construction that emerged from the analysis.

#### 5.1.4.1 Own reflection

For some participants the leader identity was constructed after receiving training and reflecting that, although they were women, they were able to lead others:

> At first I could not even stand and talk no. I used to see myself as a woman and I knew I could be a leader because I am a woman. After going through trainings…It is because ACHFODE taught us that we as women we have the capacity to lead (Interviewee 11, female, Namutumba).

#### 5.1.4.2 Togetherness and equality

For others the leader identity emerges when they themselves reinforce the importance of working with others and treat everyone as equals. Women claim that they have learnt this after receiving training from NGOs as the following participant points out:

> They train you [NGOs train them] together and keep reminding us not to discriminate against other parties. And when I call meetings or when I'm doing something as a leader, I don't discriminate against other parties; and that's why I said I don't discriminate against religion because everyone – it's really emphasized by [NAME] that a leader should not be partial but do everything for the benefit of everyone (Interviewee 16, female, Kiboga).

#### 5.1.4.3 Sharing knowledge

For most participants, teaching and sharing their knowledge to improve the conditions of their community and of their fellow women is crucial in the construction of their leader identity. For instance, the following female participant narrates that she is committed in sharing knowledge and even counsel other women whenever they need it:

> Because I've had a lot of training, from different organizations, whenever I'm with the community, for example if someone has trouble in their home, I can use the knowledge I got to sit and counsel the couple. If it's youth and it's time to focus on youth – I often call meeting for guidance and counselling in church and the community – to teach youth life skills. Sometimes the community has problems and in my role as secretary, I can sit with it and use the knowledge I've received to guide the community in what to do (Interviewee 39, female, Kiboga).

#### 5.1.4.4 Advocacy

For some participants that have a leadership role in politics, the leader identity is constructed when they advocate for the people to bring improvements to their communities as the following participant narrates:

> The other is lobbying. They teach us a lot about Advocacy and lobbying. I can also advocate for people who are abused. Since I am at the District, I go to the office of probation. I knock and report the matter to her/him. Now that I know lobbying, I am the representative of Kapeke and the Town council. If anything at the District, I first lobby for them because I am their representative (Interviewee 17, female, Kiboga).

Overall, the **leader identity** is constructed with a communitarian well-being orientation since the participants expressed that they work for their people, so the community members, and particularly women, are able to overcome challenges. It was found that the leadership identity emerges in two processes. First, after women receive training and skills from the local CSOs or from NGOs workshops. Second, after women reflect that they are able to be someone and accept themselves as a leader. This self-created identity is usually manifested in the public space. The leader identity was predominant in the narratives of the women from Kiboga.

### 5.1.5 Wife

The fifth sub-category identified is the wife identity. This identity is prevalent among women participants. The **wife identity** appears when the participant expresses her role as being a wife and caregiver. The wife identity is defined in this research as a married woman with responsibilities in her home and with her husband. This identity was manifested usually in the private space.

The following topics are examples of the wife identity construction that emerged from the analysis.

#### 5.1.5.1 Residence

Most of the research participants relate their residence status with the wife identity construction. It was identified from the narratives that this identity is constructed when a woman gets married to a man and has children. Moreover, some women explain that their wife identity is flexible and keeps changing when they leave their marriage, therefore their residence status changes as well. The following research participants narrate that their residence status is gained once they get married and raise children:

> You are a resident so long as you come and get married here….When you are a woman you leave your parents' home, you come and get married here for example I left my parents came and got married here so this is my residence and I am a resident here but not where I came from…Yes sir, when you are chased here you go and get another one [residency]. Even when that one chases you still you go and get another one (Interviewee 13, female, Namutumba).

> It makes me a resident because am even married… I am a resident and I have my land where I do farming, I have a home, family, I have a husband and children (Interviewee 14, female, Namutumba).

> Now if you have seen me and I have spent years here, I have produced all my children from here then I am a Resident….Now things changed especially if you are in own home. If you are in your home, whatever is in it is what yours…my possessions have to be at my husband's. Even if he divorces me, the children build for me (Interviewee 1, female, Namutumba).

According to the African feminist scholar Tamale (2004), it is culturally believed that getting married, raising children and taking care of the family are the main women's roles and aims in Africa (p.52). Moreover, she affirms that due to the private and public division of roles (discussed in sections 2.3 and 3.2), women's social and legal status are subject to men (Ibid., p.53). Therefore, findings highlight this tendency.

#### 5.1.5.2 Applying new skills at home

Some women showed their wife identity when they narrated that applying the skills learnt to improve their home was perceived positively by her husband. Once the husband perceives a benefit, he would allow her to continue participating in groups as the following research participants point out:

> That still helped us and we pushed on and felt some peace. They used to refuse us to work because we used not to go to the groups. The husbands put on us a threat that previously we used to go for rumormongering but now you go for training, come back, and apply the knowledge you have learnt. So there we have freedom because we work on our own (Interviewee 1, female, Namutumba).

> Yes madam they told us [in the tranings] that we should support our husbands in case you don't have something at home you buy but not for everything to tell your husband because is the head of the family (Interviewee 12, female, Namutumba).

However, some women struggle to participate in groups or run for leadership positions and fulfill their wife role; For example, sometimes the trainings are conducted outside their community causing women to spend the night away from home which may affect her role as wife; or in other cases, the husband himself does not allow his wife to participate in certain activities, as the following male points out when the interviewer is asking about women's participation in leadership positions:

> Now the challenge we saw as residents, is to separate with this Man with whom they were from the beginning for years and years. So that is why you see us some men, we don't allow our wives to contest for leadership positions. We believe that if she is elected, she will meet some other men in leadership who will take her away. She will not even consider you as important (Interviewee 31, female and her husband, Namutumba)

In the narrative presented above, the interview was conducted to a female participant but her husband was also answering some of the questions asked during the interview; this narrative from the participant's husband gives us a perspective on the division of gender roles discussed in previous sections of this Thesis.

#### 5.1.5.3 Expectation

From the narrative of one male participant, it was identified what he expected from his wife. Although this is a narrative from a male participant, it shows how the male describes the wife's role and what he expects from her; this is crucial when understanding gender roles. However, this is only mentioned by one of the participants and might not be generalized.

> ACHFODE taught us about domestic violence in the homes they told us that a man has to be a friend to your wife and children. You have to let children to enjoy their rights and even a woman has to handle her husband well to have a good family (Interviewee 10, male, Namutumba).

Overall, the **wife identity** is perceived to be constructed by the male dominance. This identity depends on the approval of the husband on what it is expected from the woman to provide and behave at home, as well as where she is allowed to participate. Although some women claim they have freedom, the male dominance is still prevalent in their identity construction. It is worth noting that the participants did not mention their motherhood role, instead some of the participants mentioned briefly that they were responsible for their home and for their children's education. This could be in part due to the nature of the questions that focused on discussing lived citizenship and the sense of belonging to groups.

### 5.1.6 Woman

The final sub-category identified is the **woman identity.** This identity is defined as a female person that accepts herself despite being a woman. In the Ugandan context, being a woman is not well seen; women suffer from discrimination and marginalization particularly in rural areas (Kabahinda, 2017, p.834). The analysis showed that the woman identity is constructed when women gain knowledge that allows them to realize that they have a place in the community and are capable of doing activities by themselves.

The following topics are examples of the woman identity construction that emerged from the analysis.

#### 5.1.6.1 Identity awareness

Some participants express that after receiving training, their woman identity emerged. The training allowed women to recognize themselves as capable of participating in the community, forming groups and the importance of working together with other women. This recognition made them accept themselves as women. The following research participants illustrate this point:

> For us women we used to just sit especially after gardening but when we got training in vocational skills we learnt how to make baskets. We put in flowers, which we take to church,

> sometimes we put in soda or cups and we serve visitors. We have done so many things but we attribute all these to Mr. "[NAME]" who brought people that trained us from ACFODE (Interviewee 11, female, Namutumba).

> Since we were taught that even a woman has the capacity then we also started educating the girl child. and as I talk now all the girl children in this family we have educated them and they have changed our life as you see (Interviewee 12, female, Namutumba).

The women from Kiboga and Namutumba mentioned recurrently that thanks to the trainings they gained confidence, which allowed them to participate actively in the community and even gain some economic independency which helped them in improving their living conditions.

#### 5.1.6.2 Sisterhood

The woman identity construction was identified when women narrated the importance of helping their fellow women as well. It was prevalent in the narratives the commitment of some women to bring changes and improvements to their community and the women and children who live there. For example, that was the case of a leader woman that encourages others to run for office, she teaches fellow women to help them develop:

> I put whatever I may have learned at a training in other women. If we have a motion we are trying to move in the council at district level, we make sure it is a woman who is elected, we do not give a man a chance. We first call a caucus meeting for women. We bring our contribution to the council the discussion after that. That is how we get women to win (Interviewee 16, female, Kiboga).

> We save [in a saving group] and train the women on how to care for the home, hygiene and development. Things that you know women do (Interviewee 16, female, Kiboga).

#### 5.1.6.3 Challenges

The woman identity is also constructed when some research participants expressed the challenges of being a woman and their economic dependency on men: "It is not easy because I may get money but when it's not enough to rent. With money for a woman if you buy food and then after you rent house, it's not enough" (Interviewee 1, female, Namutumba).

Overall, the acknowledgement of the **woman identity** occurs after receiving training and skills; once women accept themselves as women, they are capable of fulfilling roles at their homes and in their community, even execute leadership roles in politics and advocate for fellow women. The woman identity construction makes them realize that they are able to be someone outside their home and fulfill different roles. For instance, according to Susan James (1992, p.60), self-esteem is the "stable sense of one's own separate identity and a confidence that one is worthy to participate in political life" (as cited in Lister, 2003, p.40). Therefore, once women have gained

self-esteem, they participate actively in their homes and in their community, which contributes to their citizenship practice.

In general, the six identities were identified in the narratives provided by the women in Kiboga and Namutumba. However, the prevalence of role model and leader identities were more common among the women in Kiboga.

In conclusion, the findings revealed that identity construction is subject to the context, settings practices and interactions that occur in a particular place; it is also subject to the relationships and recognitions that are forged with others (Hall & Du Gay, 1996, p.6; Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.202), and to the self-acceptance of the individual of being capable of fulfilling roles in public and private spaces (Lister, 2003, p.39).

## 5.2 Belonging

This main category was identified empirically in order to answer the second research question: How women's participation promote the reproduction of belonging in their community? From the analysis, participating in groups and group and community membership is what seems to promote women's reproduction of belonging in their community, as well as the emotional and relational bonds and the level of attachment to each group. Throughout their narratives, the participants have shown that having membership to the local CSOs and forming groups themselves, have helped them in improving their living conditions, besides of being known in their communities and being a good resident of the community. Belonging is what allows women to feel part ,or not, from the spaces of participation and relate with others.

Belonging to groups has enabled women to gain a level of economic independency, improve their home conditions and have future aspirations. For instance, most of the participants are members of saving groups like SACCOs (Saving and Credit Cooperative Organization) or VSLAs (Village Savings & Loans Association), which allows them to make periodical savings and make loans with low interest rate and flexible repayment methods. By the end of the year, the members receive the savings giving them some economic stability.

Another example is the participation in community groups where members develop activities for the benefit of the group with shared responsibilities. For instance, subject to the group, all the members have to commit to make crafts, to have communal gardens or to rear animals, or to even open communal stores where the community members can sell their products and earn some money, as the following research participant points out: "And right now we have two stores one is at [NAME] and another one at [NAME]. So whoever wants to join is free because it is for the whole community" (Interviewee 9, female, Namutumba).

Besides, some NGO groups and community groups require that, to maintain membership, members need to have certain hygienic arrangements in their home to improve their living conditions. For instance, members are encouraged to build latrines, drying racks, and the like, as the following participant explains: "But if they come and say that we want everyone to have a stand, and two tip-taps and they want you to have latrine covers, then we must do them" (Interviewee 24, female, Kiboga).

Belonging is an important part of women's daily interactions in Kiboga and Namutumba; it allows them to be part of the community as well as members and residents. Women have been able to gain economic independency and have better life conditions for them and FOR their family while belonging to groups: "I also earn some money of my own… I buy I use money from the harvest, and even when it comes to school fees, I cannot wait for him or when a child want a pen or books for school" (Interviewee 29, female, Namutumba). Besides, belonging has allowed women to have future aspirations and motivation to continue towards the development path: "Since they gave us those pigs, I get some and sell, the money I use it on things I want. Some money I bought another pig. I am so proud of that group" (Interviewee 31, female, Namutumba). For instance, according to Yuval-Davis (2006) belonging is a dynamic process that entails emotional attachments to situations, people, places, groups and experiences; as well as recurrent practices in local CSOs for its reproduction (p.202).

From the analysis, community belonging, personal belonging, exclusion and otherness are the types of belonging identified that create and reproduce belonging among women in Kiboga and Namutumba and in their communities. These were named as sub-categories during the focused coding process. Besides, specific topics that exemplify the way women reproduced belonging in the spaces of participation were identified for each sub-category.

Table 5 summarizes the sub-categories and the topics identified which are going to be discussed in the following sub-sections.

TABLE 5 Summary of the sub-categories and topics found in belonging

| Category | Sub-Category | Topics |
|---|---|---|
| Belonging | Community belonging | Relating with others |
| | | Emotional ties |
| | | Community role |
| | Personal belonging | Perceived benefit |
| | | Future aspirations |
| | | Religion and politics |
| | Exclusion | Economic income |
| | | Education |
| | | Different values |
| | Otherness | Otherness |

*Note.* Author's own construction

### 5.2.1 Community belonging

The first sub-category identified from the analysis is **community belonging**. This type of belonging is defined as the interactions in a shared space where women relate with others, are members of a group and fulfill a role. Moreover, the findings showed that where women perceived a direct positive impact in their lives, where they felt comfortable and where they felt they could share their opinions without judgment, are the spaces of participation in which women feel a higher degree of attachment as well as inclusion.

As pointed out by the African feminist scholar Tripp (2000), Ugandan women tend to participate actively in grassroots activism and in local CSOs. Besides, Lister (1997) suggests that participation in informal groups is the main contribution to citizenship of the marginalized. For instance, the analysis showed that women participated actively in the local CSOs they had membership and in their community; therefore, these spaces can be considered as the public spaces where women participate as residents.

The following are topics that emerged from the analysis when the research participants showed their community belonging by narrating their daily practices in the groups they had membership.

#### 5.2.1.1 Relating with others

In their narratives, the women participants expressed that relating with other people was important for them because it allowed them to learn from others and participate more harmoniously in their community. For instance, the following research participants affirm that relating with others in groups where they feel comfortable brings them a benefit:

> If you don't associate with people, there is nothing you can learn. But every time you go among people, there is something you learn and if you follow them it brings a change in the condition (Interviewee 1, female, Namutumba).

> Well you join a group where you feel comfortable. This one covers the whole parish (Interviewee 19, female, Kiboga).

> We relate well with each other. We borrow money to every member who has a problem for example if the child has been chased away from school because of school fees we give you money and pay for your child (Interviewee 13, female, Namutumba).

#### 5.2.1.2 Emotional ties

Some of the participants expressed the emotional bonds towards the groups they were members; they showed a high level of attachment to the groups that have helped them in improving their living conditions. Moreover, it was identified that being part of saving groups (for instance, VSLAs or SACCOs) has brought a certain level of economic independency to some women in Kiboga and Namutumba, it has enabled them to improve their living conditions, and even create business and earn some income. This point is illustrated in the following narrative:

> Why I love it? You do not give a deposit and do not fill forms. It is a matter of signing below the amount you are given. We are all from the same area and we trust each other. I got all the money I used to start this business from this VSLA. I gather the money slowly from the shop and pay it within 3 months. When I am payed up and get another loan. We meet weekly. That is why I put it close. It has sustained me (Interviewee 17, female, Kiboga).

Therefore, as pointed out by Yuval-Davis (2006), the findings showed that belonging entails emotional ties to a number of factors such as people, places or experiences, which intertwine with women's daily practices.

#### 5.2.1.3 Community role

For some participants, the community belonging is reproduced when they perform a job in their community. Therefore, having a clear role allows women to participate in communitarian activities, which enable them to be recognized as active members and part of their community. The following participant narrates that she was elected to lead because she is well known in her community and she has the ability to fulfill the role:

> Now for I was in [NAME] with some responsibilities in there. So they appointed me because I am well known in the community. So people told me they wanted me to lead them in this parish (Interview 30, female, Namutumba).

The following woman, explains that her role is to empower young women to help them improve their conditions and show them that they also have a voice "What I've done, especially at the UPE School next to us, is to try and help the girl children by counselling, teaching and disciplining them" (Interview 28, female, Kiboga).

In sum, being part of groups, participating actively in the community, relating with others and fulfilling a role is what seems to reproduce the **community belonging** among women in Kiboga and Namutumba. Moreover, having membership in groups allows women to feel included and heard, which are crucial for forming her self-esteem and for constructing her identities. Findings suggest that local CSOs are the public spaces where women interact with others, learn, counsel and share, which can be considered as part of their contribution to citizenship. Besides, belonging to a group or to any local CSO, can be perceived as communal cooperation, where all the members work together for the group's benefit to have a better place to live and a better community, and where each member enjoys the group benefits to gain some personal improvements. For instance, as suggested by Gaventa (2004), to move towards inclusive citizenship, it is crucial to acknowledge the practices that occur in informal spaces such as the local CSOs explored in the narratives of the women from Kiboga and Namutumba.

### 5.2.2 Personal belonging

From the analysis it was identified **personal belonging** as another sub-category. This type of belonging is defined as something that motivates the participants intrinsically to be part of a group where they notice a direct positive impact in their personal lives. For instance, it emerges as the self-motivation to use the knowledge and skills women have gained from their membership in groups and from relating with others to improve their conditions and to aspire for something new.

The following are topics that emerged from the analysis when women showed their personal belonging by narrating their interactions and the knowledge gained in the spaces of participation.

#### 5.2.2.1 Perceived benefit

For some women, when they perceive a direct benefit, self-motivation is what drives them to first, put into practice the skills they have learnt and second, to continue participating actively in groups. It was found that women apply the skills at their homes to improve both, their living conditions and their relationship with their partner. For instance, the following participant expresses that applying skills at home allows her to self-sustain and improve her family's living conditions:

> Some of us we know especially me and that woman who is "chairperson" in addition to other people we studied and we put in practice what we studied. Now our husbands are calm because those who would have gone to look for juice somewhere do not go because it is done at home (Interviewee 11, female, Namutumba).

Besides, it was also found that the trainings have helped women to relate better with others. For instance, the following participant narrates her personal belonging to a group once she has experimented a benefit from the trainings:

> That's why you see that I am proud of it because it [the group] has done for me important things and that's why you see I rank it top. It is what I begin with because it's what taught to go among people. Long ago we used to stay at home up there without moving and that's where we lived but we used to fear people whenever they could come to our home. But it's that [NAME] we desired when we're going into groups(Interviewee 2, female, Namutumba).

Moreover, the following participant expresses that it is crucial for her to continue participating actively in groups because she benefits more:

> Those groups, the reason I like them is that, I save my money and the time I get all of it, it will have accumulated and I do something developmental. Now, have you seen the box? I rear cows, and I got the money from groups, you see that? When I got the money, I bought those cows, because when I sell a cow, I develop more. I have also made bricks, I will be able to construct, those small groups (Interviewee 22, female, Kiboga).

#### 5.2.2.2 Future aspirations

Some participants narrate that their motivation to work hard comes from the desire of having an improved old age:

> It is to continue working hard to be able to educate the children, to be fine, I know if I am in bad condition and the children study I will be later better off (Interviewee 1, female, Namutumba).

It was interesting to find in the narratives that the motivation for working hard comes from the desire of reaching a better old age. I was able to understand from the narratives and from some conversations with the Ugandan PhD candidate Karembe, that there is a belief in rural Uganda of educating the children so they can provide economic assistance to their parents when they reach old age.

#### 5.2.2.3 Religion and politics

For some, the religion is what drives their personal belonging and motivates them to become better residents. Some women and men mentioned that religion has brought them peace of mind, has taught them values and has helped them to relate better with their partners, which is what motivates them to be part of the church. The following female participant illustrates this point:

> In the church, they teach us to always behave well and leave bad things. For example, I live here with my husband, but it does not mean we cannot annoy each other. But it does not mean that if he annoys me I should not give him food no. I have to forgive him. (Interviewee 12, female, Namutumba)

In the same way, the following participant mentions the importance of believing in religion and in god:

> Ha! God gives us life. Without life, can there be NRM? We should put faith first and give it a big position. Well you know my friend; God is the one who keeps us residents. There is nothing without God (Interviewee 16, female, Kiboga).

For others, politics are a crucial part of their life, it is what makes them feel self-motivated to continue; besides, belonging to a political party has enabled them to fill a role and construct their leader identity, besides of being known in their community, as the following participant narrates:

> NRM as my party, it is my party in elections. It is already a leading party here in our village. We really love it and most people belong to that party. It really helped that I went through that party and won elections. When you are in a party, even the person who does not like you can campaign for you. I also like it because it is the ruling party. Yes, I like it. They have never threatened me and I follow the objectives of NRM when doing my work. That is why I put it close (Interviewee 17, female, Kiboga).

Overall, **personal belonging** is the women's self-motivation to put into practice skills and knowledge to improve the living conditions of their homes, their families and the relationship with their partners. This type of belonging is what drives women from Kiboga and Namutumba to maintain their membership in groups, church and politics since they have experienced a direct benefit from them. The findings suggest that the personal belonging also entails creation of emotional bonds to people, places or experiences formed in daily experiences (explained in 5.2.1). Besides, it was found that personal belonging is connected with community belonging; therefore, both can happen simultaneously in certain spaces of participation since the inner desire to participate and improve the living conditions, the importance of relating with others, and the need of being active members of the community can be related with the feeling of avoiding exclusion among women from Kiboga and Namutumba.

### 5.2.3 Exclusion

The third sub-category identified from the analysis is **exclusion.** This is defined as the sense of not feeling part of a place, group or activity due to personal or economic reasons. On the one hand, according to some scholars, exclusion emerges when differences are identified in a group (Bhambra, 2006, pp.36-39; Yuval-Davis, 2006, pp.204-205). On the other hand, the analysis showed that the individual is the one who excludes herself from a place or group when she identifies differences; it is not the collectivity that excludes her. For instance, income and educational level were the main differences women identified for excluding themselves from participating in certain groups. In other cases, women excluded themselves from groups that did not share their same values.

#### 5.2.3.1 Economic income

In the narratives, the participants expressed that they exclude themselves from groups due to their lack of economic income, which hinders them from joining other groups and therefore exclude themselves, as the following participant points out:

> Because of money, but I would love to join some of those big organizations like those ones at the sub-county but because of capacity I cannot afford….Like when you don't have money because they might tell you that to join you need this amount of money when you don't have it you can't join….Yes that one stops you from joining because they might be contributing a lot (Interviewee 15, female, Namutumba)

#### 5.2.3.2 Education

Most of the women claimed that before the trainings they used to exclude themselves from joining groups because they lacked the confidence of fulfilling a role outside their homes; however, this feeling has changed due to the knowledge they have gained in the trainings which has boosted their self-esteem. The following participants express their transformation after receiving training:

> Long ago we used to stay at home up there without moving and that's where we lived but we used to fear people whenever they could come to our home. But it's that [NAME] we desired when were going into groups (Interviewee 2, female, Namutumba).

> At first I could not even stand and talk no. I used to see myself as a woman (Interviewee 11, female, Namutumba).

Besides, others exclude themselves from joining groups blaming their educational level. The following participant affirms that she needs a certain educational level to belong to groups:

> Surely because you may not have the capacity… the capacity to join the groups is when you are educated. I: do they need a person who is much educated? R: you have to be much educated (Interviewee 29, female, Namutumba).

#### 5.2.3.3 Different values

Other participants excluded themselves from groups that did not share their same values. For instance, in groups where the participants perceived a negative benefit or problems they would withdraw their participation. The following narratives illustrate this point:

> We had formed it as burial support group but it did not cope up well, people we had started it with fraud and we abandoned it (Interviewee 13, female, Namutumba).

> You see we joined and found corruption there…That SACCO is corruption. They steal people's money and are embroiled in a court case because they stole people's money (Interviewee 18, male, Kiboga).

Although the previous narrative was pointed out by a male participant, participants have narrated that SACCOs are conformed by both females and males.

In sum, the feeling of exclusion emerges when women do not feel they belong to a group or when they decide not to be part of one due to economic reasons, level of education, or different values. Besides, it was identified that before receiving training,

women tended to exclude themselves because they did not feel capable of doing activities outside their homes. It seems that after receiving training, women recognized the importance of belonging to groups and the need to feel included. However, the sense of exclusion seems to be persistent when differences are identified by the individual.

### 5.2.4 Otherness

The last sub-category identified is **Otherness**. This is defined as the differences that an individual identifies in others that are distinct to hers; once the individual identifies the other's differences, she categorizes them as others. The analysis showed that otherness emerged when the individual compared herself with others and excluded the ones who were different from her, as the following examples illustrate.

Several participants described others as outsiders when they were describing their own residence status:

> Those ones are migrants' because today they are here the following day to another place. But for me am a resident of Bubago… The difference is that me, I am a resident but a citizen is just a migrant (Interviewee 14, female, Namutumba).

Alternatively, otherness can be perceived in religion:

> There so many problems in the church for example they are people who pretend to be born again Christians but when they are not (Interviewee 12, female, Namutumba).

There is also a sense of otherness between gender and division of labor at home:

> Even the father helps, but now as you know a mother, a girl child always goes to the mother. So, I get it from this way, when the father sends, I top it up, do you understand? it helps me a lot. And when there are any school needs, she calls me, "mum, they want this and this" (Interviewee 22, female, Kiboga).

Overall, the women from Kiboga and Namutumba described their membership, their roles and the activities they performed as legitimate in the groups they were members. For instance, it was also possible for them to identify others as different to them with distinct characteristics and values and categorize them as outsiders or others.

In sum, the analysis showed that the different types of belonging within women in Kiboga and Namutumba were reproduced in common spaces in the local CSOs and at home. It is in those spaces where emotional and social ties are formed in their daily interactions, which allow the reproduction of the sense of belonging (Clarke et al., 2014, p.154).

Moreover, women expressed the need of being active members in their communities to improve both their personal conditions and the community conditions and to

be recognized as active residents, it was important for them to be known in their community. Besides, it was perceived that women felt more attached to groups where they shared similar values and common aims (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p.203). On the other hand, it was also possible to identify that women excluded themselves from participating in groups due to economic or personal reasons; however, this does not hinder them from belonging to groups. Besides, women were able to identify otherness in people who were different to them.

Additionally, the analysis showed that relationships enable the production and reproduction of belonging for the women of Kiboga and Namutumba as well. Belonging depends on the relationships that women create and maintain with other members in their daily participations in the local CSOs they are members, it allows them to feel part, feel excluded or to classify others as different. Besides, women exercise their citizenship in the groups where they are members, where they are heard, where they have voice, and where they have a role to fulfill. In those groups, women are treated as residents no matter their gender, religion, tribe, income, etc. Therefore, in this way, the belonging to groups is produced and reproduced.

## 5.3 Spaces of participation

This last main category was identified empirically to answer the third research question: How are women's identities and belongings manifested differently based on the spaces of participation?. This category comes last, because it combines the findings in identity and belonging discussed above. The overall idea of multifaceted citizenship used in this study suggests that citizenship is practiced in spaces of participation that can be public and/or private. For instance, the local CSOs such as groups, church, local council are considered as the public spaces and home is considered as the private space. Therefore, the spaces of participation are shown in this study as the physical places where women participate in their daily interactions (see also Clarke et al., 2014, p.157; Jones & Gaventa, 2002, pp.22-23).

The findings presented in this study have shown that daily interactions enable women to construct their identity and reproduce their belonging, as explained in subsections 5.1 and 5.2. These interactions occur in the spaces of participation that can be public and/or private. Findings revealed that women chose the groups they wanted to participate in, as suggested by Cornwall (2002). Besides, it was also discovered that women in Kiboga and Namutumba were able to manifest differently their identity and their belonging according to the space they were placed in and the level of attachment they felt to the space.

Moreover, the analysis revealed that one woman can have various identities and belongings that vary in public and private spaces. For instance, a woman who has a

leadership role manifests her leader identity at the local council, which is a public space, whereas the same woman manifests her wife identity when she is at home, which is a private space. At the same time, her belonging was manifested differently based on the level of attachment and power she had in a group.

To understand the dynamic between the spaces of participation with identity and belonging, I analyzed in more detail the answers of the female participant 17 from Kiboga. I decided to focus on one narrative because I believe this way is more comprehensible to explain the dynamic of public and private spaces. This analysis is going to be explained further in the following sub-sections. A sample of the analysis can be seen in appendix 2.

### 5.3.1 How is identity manifested differently?

The analysis found that women's identities can manifest differently based on the roles she plays in the spaces of participation. Analyzing the narrative of the participant 17, it was possible to identify various identities and the way they manifested based on her interactions and the roles she played in the spaces she participated in. For instance, when she is in the local council the leader identity emerges, when she is in the SACCO or when she gives counsel to fellow women both the leader and the member identity emerge, when she is at home or when she narrates matters related to the home then the wife identity emerges. In the following paragraphs, these identities are explained with examples from the narrative of the participant 17.

From the detailed analysis, it was found that one identity could adapt to the spaces she participated in and the particular roles she had in each space. For instance, her leader identity adapted to her interactions in the village and in the local council. In the village, her role as leader is to teach fellow women, to counsel them, and to support fellow women with their challenges: "Now I update them about what's going on whenever we meet and as a counselor I even counsel them concerning challenges they find in their homes". When she is in the local council, she advocates and represents her people in there to bring improvements to the village:

> When there are problems in the community...I fulfil my responsibility as leader in the community, to get information and give feedback to the people… It began with me lobbying people for donations, and were given some money. We had skipped it. I help give them advice and make friends' I bring fellow leaders and have them contribute to our groups

Besides, in one interaction two or more identities can emerge. For example, with her leader identity the participant 17 advocates for the implementation of development programs in her village, then, with her member identity, she mobilizes fellow woman to participate in it: "When I'm at the District I can know the programs at the District and the sub-county, so I can mobilize the people in my village". Additionally, her identity transforms based on the role she has in certain groups. For example, the

participant 17 is a member of a kingdom group, she participates and performs activities as a member, not as leader, and therefore in that interaction her member identity emerges: "In the Kingdom, I'm not a leader. I have no leadership role, but I participate".

Moreover, the findings revealed that for most participants the wife identity emerged in the private space, or when the participants mentioned matters related to the home and her husband. Maintaining the narrative of the participant 17, her wife identity emerged when an interaction in the public space may affect her relationship with her husband. For instance, political campaigns end late at night or the trainings take place in other cities causing her to arrive late to home or spend the night elsewhere. Therefore, her identity wife emerged since in that interaction she is not able to fulfill her role as a wife, besides, this situation may cause problems with her husband:

> The other problem ACFODE has that we complain about is that all their training is residential not considering that we're married women. We've tried to ask that they try to bring training closer, say to Kiboga where you've been, so I can attend the training and return home.

> The man can refuse to buy groceries saying 'You also work!' He thinks you have a lot of money because you've been for a 3 day training.

> When the campaigns end at night some women find problems when returning home. Some husband don't want them to participate.

Although participant 17 might have the leader identity or member identity in the training she is attending to, there is a switch to the wife identity when there is a perceived impact in the relationship with her partner. Therefore, an identity can also change when the woman perceives an interruption in the roles she is expected to fulfill.

The wife identity of the participant 17 also emerged when she related the responsibilities she has in her home. For instance, she narrates that once she earns some money she contributes her entire earnings to the home, to pay the school fees, improve the home, buy some food, etc.:

> Now the other thing is matters concerning the home. When I get 10,000 shillings I can use the whole amount to purchase things for the home but when my husband gets the same amount he'll use most of it and bring just 2000 or 3000 home.

### 5.3.2 How is belonging manifested differently?

From the analysis, it was found that the belonging from the participant 17 transforms based on the level of influence and the level of attachment she has to the groups she has membership in. In the groups where she is more active is usually where she has more power and more advocacy to suggest activities, in those groups it is perceived that the participant 17 has a stronger sense of belonging:

> I give some advice to these groups because I know a bit more than them from where I have come….All the groups I've spoken about are very very useful in sharing knowledge, and to mediate where there are conflicts and sending me on errands say to make a constitution or to get certificates. They usually have no idea about that. But at my level I can go through the process without spending any money

Besides, the participant 17 expressed a high level of attachment to her home: "That's it. Can you include my family…? Yes here, where I belong".

In the groups where she is less active, although she is a member, she seems less committed because she has little agency, or she does not have a direct influence in the group's activities. Therefore, in those groups the participant 17 has a moderate sense of belonging:

> I don't go there often. I don't even find time to attend meetings. The group meets every Monday, and I'm in office from Monday to Friday so I rarely go there although I meet all the requirements.

The findings supported the suggestion by Cornwall (2004), that power dynamics are prevalent in organic spaces and that power also shifts from one place to another. For instance, the analysis showed that the power of the participant 17 shifted from group to group. Besides, her level of attachment also shifted.

Moreover, the participant 17 seems to have a conflict in identifying if she is a member in groups where she does not have a direct influence. Although, she mentions that ACFODE has provided her a lot of training in women's empowerment, she struggles to recognize if she belongs to ACFODE since she has no influence on the activities they offer: "When they invite us for training, they've never told us if they have membership or anything else. They just teach and leave… It's them to invite, not you to decide you're going to ACFODE".

From the participants' narratives, it can be concluded that women feel a higher sense of belonging to the groups they have influence, where they are heard and where they are able to perform activities. The findings showed that women in Kiboga and Namutumba have a higher level of attachment to the groups they participate in actively fulfilling different roles. On the contrary, in the groups where they have less influence, they are less active, therefore, a moderate attachment is perceived.

Overall, from the narrative of the participant 17, I inferred that she had a collection of identities; she was a leader, a member, a woman and a wife. At the same time, those identities were related to different types of belonging community and/or personal that transformed based on the level of influence and the level of attachment she had to groups. Finally, the identities and the belongings were manifested in private or public spaces. Therefore, the female participant from Kiboga, had a collection of identities with clear belongings, both were able to transform according to the spaces she was interacting in. Additionally, it was interesting to find that in the private settings the wife identity prevails whereas in the public one it is possible to perceive that

women construct other identities like leaders, members or even strengthen their woman identity.

### 5.3.3 Citizenship in public and private spaces

The analysis showed that women exercise their citizenship in public and private spaces through participation. In both spaces, women fulfill different activities and play different roles; in both spaces women participate actively, which can be considered as their contribution to citizenship. The analysis revealed that citizenship can be exercised in informal groups and at home because it is in those spaces in which women have agency and power. Therefore, as scholars have suggested, the need to include both spaces in the concept of citizenship and to acknowledge the domestic labor is crucial to build a more inclusive model of citizenship (Horst, Erdal, & Jdid, 2020, p.87; Lister, 1997, p.32; Lister, 2007, p.56; Tamale, 2004, p.54).

The scholars used in this Thesis suggest that participation in informal groups and at home is the tool of the marginalized to exercise their citizenship (for example, Cornwall, 2002; Gaventa, 2004; Lister, 1997; Lister 2003); for instance, the findings presented in this research showed that women have an active participation in the local CSOs and at home, in there they play various roles, they perform community work and even they learn skills that they apply at home. Although the participation in those groups and at home can be seen as informal, women's active participation there can be considered as their contribution to citizenship. Therefore, it is crucial to acknowledge those practices in governance to move towards an inclusive model of citizenship.

The overall idea of multifaceted citizenship used in this study allowed to explore the horizontal relations between people, it showed that the individual interacts in daily practices and its participation leads to social action (Clarke et al., 2014, p.25). Therefore, the need to belong to local CSOs and participate actively in their community, seems to be the enabler of women's citizenship practice in Kiboga and Namutumba. It was identified that some women had leadership roles in politics as councilors, representatives, or advisors at the local council or at the district level. Nevertheless, the political affairs are perceived to be local and with low agency at the governmental level.

> Perhaps to say that you are really excited just after the training. When the councils sit, particularly at the sub-county, you can call the women for a caucus meeting before the council meeting, when there is something you want passed. You sit with them and tell them 'friends I've been for training and we need to do this and things this way.' You teach them what you learnt (Interviewee 16, female, Kiboga).

> I Am really very happy because I had something in me that can a woman also lead. We had a word that was saying "just a woman". We used to see a woman as someone as a stupid person, who cannot lead yet a woman also has knowledge. So I feel am very happy. And this time I came and they gave me votes… I also use what I learnt as facilitator because they

> do not stop in groups only but even for entire community because they are important… (Interviewee 11, female, Namutumba).

I wanted to close my findings chapter with the narratives from the two females presented above because they illustrate women's active participation in their communities, they show the desire to help fellow women to improve, and they highlight the gained self-esteem that leads to action. These data suggest that those interactions are key to women's citizenship practice, besides it highlights that understanding citizenship as multifaceted, in the context of Kiboga and Namutumba, allows to move towards an inclusive model of citizenship.

# 6 CONCLUSION

This Thesis analyzed women's multifaceted citizenship exploring their daily interactions and participation in the districts of Kiboga and Namutumba. This research analyzed women's construction of identities as well as the identities constructed in their community based on the spaces they interacted in; it also explored the reproduction of belonging in the community promoted by women's participation. Finally, it assessed the way women's identities and belongings transformed based on the public and private spaces they participated in. This investigation provided perspectives on how multifaceted citizenship is practiced among women in the context of rural Uganda using contemporary ideas of citizenship that consider the relationships between people and the practices in particular contexts and locations (Clarke et al., 2014). Besides, it also discussed feminist perspectives that propose an inclusive model of citizenship in which the society members can participate equally despite their diverse characteristics, it also acknowledges the importance of recognizing the private space as well as the participation in informal groups for women's citizenship practice (Lister, 1997; Lister 2003).

The first research question allowed to explore women's identity construction as well as the identities constructed in their community based on the spaces they interacted in. This research findings revealed that women's daily interactions, self-acceptance, recognition and the different roles women play in their community is what contributes to identity construction. Besides, my findings supported the suggestion by Yuval-Davis (2006, p.202) who claims that identities can be constructed individually and collectively, and that the collective identities can have an impact on the individual identity construction as well. For instance, the analysis showed that interacting with others and receiving recognition and acceptance reinforces the individual identity construction, which at the same time allows the construction of collective identities. Moreover, the results revealed that the individual identity is constructed through knowledge, interactions, recognition and religion; as well as through the self-acceptance of being a woman capable of performing activities both in the public and

private spaces and through acknowledging that forming groups and creating relationships with others is important to achieve progress.

Furthermore, the results aligned with Isin and Wood's (1999, p.14) argument on collective identities, they state that identities can be constructed when common characteristics and aims are shared. Therefore, collective identities enable the creation of collectivities where the women from Kiboga and Namutumba interact fulfilling different roles in the pursuit of a common benefit. Besides, collective identities have an impact on the individual identity because the individual recognizes that while being part of groups, it is possible for her to gain knowledge, to be known in the community and to have membership in groups. The results showed that those are characteristics associated with the improving of living conditions and the recognition of being good residents.

Additionally, the results supported Hall and Du Gay's (1996, p.6) and Isin and Wood's (1999, p.12) argument of the individual capable of having a collection of identities, the findings showed that one woman was able to construct various identities individually and collectively which manifested differently in the spaces of participation. For instance, the analysis identified the following identities: active resident, member, role model, leader, wife and woman. Moreover, the analysis supported Hall and Du Gay's (1996, p.4) claim in that identities can be dynamic. The results showed that the identities were manifested differently in relation to the experiences and relationships women had in certain spaces.

Furthermore, the analysis revealed that the identities identified among the women of Kiboga and Namutumba are correlated with a sense of improving their living conditions and those of their families and their communities. According to the CSI report, Ugandans tend to engage in collective work to contribute to a general sense of community well-being (DENIVA, 2006, p.27), therefore this tendency confirms the importance for Ugandans to engage in collectivities which allows the construction of collective identities.

In general, the six identities were identified in the narratives provided by the women from Kiboga and Namutumba. However, the prevalence of role model and leader identities were more common among the women in Kiboga. This can be explained in part by the training on leadership and empowerment that ACFODE has done in that area.

Therefore, in conclusion, the results showed that identity construction is subject to the context, settings practices and interactions that occur in a particular place, it is also subject to the relationships and recognitions that are forged with others and to the self-acceptance of the individual of being capable of fulfilling roles in public and private spaces.

The second research question explored the reproduction of belonging in the community promoted by women's participation. The findings revealed that participating in groups, group and community membership, the emotional and relational

bonds and the level of attachment to each group is what seems to promote women's reproduction of belonging in their community. The research showed that belonging is collectively created and reproduced in the shared spaces where women interact together as group members fulfilling roles and participating actively seeking for both, common and personal benefit. This was identified in the findings as community belonging. The analysis revealed that the sense of community belonging reinforces the individual's need for having membership to groups which at the same time ensures the feeling of inclusion to a group and to the community. For instance, this findings on belonging supported Anthias' (2006, pp.20-21) and Yuval-Davis' (2006, pp.198—202) suggestion that belonging entails the creation of emotional bonds to people, places, groups and experiences, as well as the creation of common values and beliefs which enable the individual's inclusion.

Moreover, the research findings also revealed that belonging is created individually as an intrinsically motivation of the individual to be part of a group where she perceives a positive impact in her personal life. This was identified as personal belonging in the research. The findings showed that the personal belonging is the women's self-motivation to maintain their membership to groups and to put the skills learned into practice to improve the living conditions in their homes and to aspire for a better future. Religion and politics were also important motivators for the sense of personal belonging. It was identified from the findings that personal and community belonging are interrelated, and they depend on each other to create the emotional bonds to groups to people and to places, and to reinforce the need to be part of groups and fulfilling a role in the community to feel included and to have a meaning of life.

The analysis highlighted that belonging entails inclusion, exclusion and otherness as suggested by Anthias (2006, pp.19-22) and Bhambra (2006, p.37). It was possible to identify that on the one hand, inclusion was prevalent where women felt more affinity and attachment, shared common characteristics and values and where their participation was recurrent; on the other hand, exclusion was prevalent where women did not share similar characteristics and values. The analysis showed that the individual is the one who excludes herself from a place or group and she is the one who classifies others as different. It is not the collectivity that excludes her or other others. These findings support Anthias' (2006, pp.19-22) suggestion that belonging is an imagination of the individual, because the participants excluded themselves from the groups they believed needed a certain education level, or they identified otherness in other individuals who were different from them; yet they were not excluded and/or othered by the group itself.

According to Yuval-Davis (2006) a set of values need to be shared among members of a collectivity for individuals to belong to a group (p.209). For instance, the findings supported her suggestion by revealing that loyalty and commitment are crucial for maintaining group membership, this seems to be important for the group functioning and for engaging members to accomplish the group objectives, it also revealed

that members have a set of individual and collective responsibilities that need to be fulfilled to maintain inclusion.

Overall, the findings revealed that there is a relation between the construction of identities and the reproduction of belonging since it seems that membership to collectivities allows women to define their individual and collective identities through the experiences, practices and attachments as well as through the daily interactions, active participation, relationships and fulfillment of roles in private and public spaces. Therefore, for the women in Kiboga and Namutumba exercising their citizenship was subject to those interactions in the local CSOs and in their homes.

The third research question analyzed the way women's identities and belongings transformed based on the spaces they participated in. The findings confirmed that the interactions and participations that enable women to construct their identities and reproduce their belongings occur in physical spaces that are public or private, it also revealed that the identities and the belongings can manifest differently based on the different space women participated in. This research considered as public space the local CSOs where women are members and as private space their homes. For instance, the analysis identified that a woman showed a collection of identities that were able to manifest themselves differently based on the roles she had in the spaces she participated in, besides in the same space, the woman was able to shift from one identity to another. The analysis also revealed that her identities were able to transform when perceiving an interruption in the roles she is expected to fulfill, this was prevalent in the wife's identity.

Moreover, the analysis revealed that the way belonging transforms depends on the level of attachment and power exercised in the space, the sense of belonging was perceived to be stronger in spaces where women had an active participation and decision-making, whereas the places where women were less active the sense of belonging was moderate. This finding supported Yuval-Davis' (2006, p.202) argument of the different levels of attachments to groups since they showed that in the groups where women had more influence and power they felt a stronger sense of attachment compared to the groups they had less. Besides, it supported the suggestion by Cornwall (2004), that power dynamics are prevalent in organic spaces and that power also shifts from one place to another.

## 6.1 Contribution of this research

According to Tripp (2000, p.23; 2004, p.5), women's movements are one of the strongest social organizations in Uganda and they have had an important role in promoting gender equality at the local and national levels, allowing the implementation of progressive legislation in the country. For instance, the analysis showed that for the

women in Kiboga and Namutumba, active participation in the local CSOs and in their homes are the daily interactions that contribute to their citizenship exercise. Exploring the daily life interactions that women had in Kiboga and Namutumba, enabled to analyze the practices and relationships they forged in their particular contexts.

The research indicated that relationships with others allow the creation of shared values, beliefs, and purposes. As pointed out by Clarke et al. (2014), relationships allow the creation of collectivities of people who share a common aim; and according to Lister (2003 p.91), solidarities enable the acceptance of the others' differences. In Uganda, people tend to organize in local CSOs and participate actively in their community (DENIVA, 2006, p.26) and particularly women in the grassroots are active in local groups and tend to participate in activism (Tripp, 2000). However, as pointed out by the CSI report, the grassroots activism and participation has impact only at the local level (DENIVA, 2006, p.37).

Membership to the local CSOs allows women to be recognized in their communities, act as residents, and create connections. That active participation enables the establishment of relationships and attachments to people and places that are crucial for creating common aims and to pursue a desired future, allowing the construction of citizenship (Clarke et al., 2014). Therefore, having membership in the local CSOs and participating actively in those spaces allows women to be recognized as members of the community, construct identities and reproduce belongings, which are part of women's exercise of citizenship. For example, their active participation in local politics, having membership in saving groups, counsel other women, creating their own businesses, community work and volunteering are the daily practices that contribute to women's citizenship in Kiboga and Namutumba.

The analysis supported Lister's (2003, p.39) suggestion that self-esteem enables the individual to act as a resident by showing that having membership in groups has allowed women of Kiboga and Namutumba to gain knowledge, skills and a certain level of economic independency (see also Ndidde et al., 2020, p.116). For instance, the analysis showed that believing in herself as a woman was important for recognizing her active participation at home. Women acknowledged the importance of the work they did at home such as cultivating survival crops, improving their home conditions, supporting their children to study and serve their husbands. These interactions are also part of women's contribution to citizenship because those have implications in the public sphere as well; for instance, providing food to have a healthy family, improving home conditions for having a worthy home, enabling the children to go to school to become the next generation of citizens, serving her husband at home to do his work in the public and represent his family, are interactions that have an impact in the public and they are part of the construction of citizenship as well (see also Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1989; Lister, 2003; Lister et al., 2007; Tamale, 2004).

This research has been drawn from contemporary ideas of citizenship using feminist perspectives to contribute to the broad contestations to mainstream citizenship.

This analysis focused on the daily interactions and participations that contribute to citizenship and the construction of identities and reproductions of belongings in the spaces of participation of women from Kiboga and Namutumba. This research has highlighted that daily interactions in informal groups and at home are the enablers for women to exercise their citizenship, it has also shown that it is in those locations where women create relationships and attachments and where they gain recognition as active members of their societies and therefore act as residents. This research joins in the discussion of an inclusive model of citizenship that ensures the equal participation of all the members of the society in public and private spaces and the need to recognize the interactions in the private space and in politics proposed by the feminist scholarship presented in this Thesis. The contribution of this research is to acknowledge the interactions that occur in informal groups as well as at home as part of citizenship practices.

My theoretical framework has discussed western-based theories proposed by western scholars. I acknowledge that from the very beginning I started challenging western mainstream notions of citizenship proposed by scholars like Marshall (1950), yet my theoretical discussion centered on western theorizations as well by discussing the contemporary ideas of citizenship that focus on the contestations of citizenship proposed by Clarke et al. (2014) and Lister (2003). I understand this is problematic when analyzing a context like Kiboga and Namutumba in rural Uganda which are different contexts from the ones Clarke et al. (2014) or Lister (2003) discuss in their theorizations. Nevertheless, I believe that in their contestation to citizenship, the authors presented in this Thesis recognize that citizenship is a broad and dynamic concept and that it transforms in relation to the context, practices, period and social relations. Therefore, this research acknowledges that when analyzing citizenship practices, the particularities of the context, history and relationships of the location are crucial.

For example, Lister (2003), discusses that care work has been historically assigned to women, yet her discussion focuses on the western woman's caretaker role. On the other hand, Tamale (2020, chapter 8), besides care work, discusses that women in Uganda also perform activities such as subsistence agriculture, water collection and the like. Besides, the findings of this research showed that women tend to be active in their communities while fulfilling different roles in the local CSOs and by performing voluntary work. Those are activities that are not relevant in western societies but crucial in contexts like Kiboga and Namutumba for women's citizenship. Those practices were discussed broadly in the findings of this research.

## 6.2 Limitations and trustworthiness of the study

According to Cope ( 2014, pp.89-90), credibility and trustworthiness are important aspects when validating qualitative research. To ensure credibility and trustworthiness, the researcher should provide an open description of the research process by explaining the context of the research, the methodology used, clear examples from the participants' narratives that support the analysis and acknowledge positionality. Additionally, discussing and sharing the research conclusions and interpretations with others enable credibility. Upcoming, I will describe the limitations found in my study and the decisions I made to ensure credibility and trustworthiness.

In this section, I will identify some limitations in this study, as there are such in any research project. First, time was the main limitation in this research. Using information that was collected for a broader scope than my Thesis required, did not allow me to dig into the vast richness the information offered due to time constraints. However, to limit this constraint, the theoretical framework and the research questions ensured that relevant concepts of my research were kept in mind when coding the data. Besides, the qualitative content analysis enabled me to conduct a systematic data interaction to ensure a data-driven analysis that focused on the relevant topics of my research (Lofland et al., 2006, p.199).

Second, the data was collected with particular research purposes for the GROW project which did not emphasize in detail the private settings, as I would have liked, therefore the analysis was not able to deeply explore the practices that occur in the private space as motherhood or care. However, the narratives provided by the research participants combined with the feminist scholarship discussed in this Thesis, allowed me to create a perspective on the practices of citizenship in informal groups and at home and encourage for further research to include the private practices of citizenship in new investigations. Besides, not having collected the data myself, helped in removing any possible attachments, bias or misrepresentations, which may provide fresher perspectives to the analysis of lived citizenship in Uganda.

Third, the data sample is only an extraction of two districts in Uganda with the predominance of one gender among the research participants; therefore, it is not possible to generalize in a pluralistic country where a number of ethnic groups, cultures and languages coexist. However, the study shares some insights into identity, belonging and gendered citizenship in the public and private spaces of participation for women in Uganda and it invites for further research in Eastern Africa and beyond.

This study was methodical in using relevant theoretical approaches, critical analysis to ensure data-driven results and critical discussions to deliver a reliable research. For instance, since the design of this Thesis I have had a frequent communication with my thesis supervisor to generate an academically valid research ensuring open research questions and relevant theoretical frameworks that could shape it. Besides, I

maintained an open discussion with Karembe to learn from his experience and his knowledge about Uganda. Moreover, I participated in monthly research meetings and I had the opportunity to present sections of my Thesis to GROW members which allowed me to learn from professional researchers and encouraged me to generate trustworthy knowledge. Finally, I made sure to include quotation examples on my findings to show the voice of the research participants and avoid any judgments from my perspectives. Consequently, these interactions and decisions were fruitful for delivering a reliable research.

Finally, the results presented in this research are my interpretations from the theoretical frameworks, data and discussions that drove my analysis. This research acknowledges that Uganda is a pluralistic country, therefore, the results shown here do not intend to generalize and universalize citizenship practices in Uganda, nor does it intend to universalize women as a group. This research acknowledges that citizenship is subject to the context, political projects, history and period of time. Therefore, this research only answers to the practices narrated by women from Kiboga and Namutumba in 2017 interpreted by this researcher. Expressing these considerations and limitations in this study can ensure that this research is reliable and that it contributes by creating trustworthy knowledge on practices of lived citizenship.

In qualitative research, the positionality of the researcher is reflected in every stage of the research process. In the pursuit of understanding a problem, the researcher interprets the experiences narrated by the research participants but also the experiences of the researcher are reflected in the interpretation. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge positionality to position myself in the social context under study (Bourke, 2014, pp.2-3).

For instance, I identify myself as a Hispanic, middle-class, heterosexual, non-disabled, unmarried, childless woman who is from Colombia and has never been to Africa. I have limited experience conducting research and writing scientifically in English. These characteristics have an influence on how I see the world and might have influenced my interpretations and perspectives when conducting this research. Besides, I am passionate about women's issues and analyzing this topic has been in some way, personal. Coming from the Global South and understanding somehow the challenges women face has been my main driver to contribute to knowledge creation in this regard. I acknowledge that my own background and experience might have made me more empathetic towards this topic and have reflected these effects at every stage of the research project. However, understanding critical theories, focusing on a data-driven analysis and discussing it with professional researchers I believe has contributed to delivering reliable research.

## 6.3 Recommendations

This research has analyzed the lived citizenship of women of Kiboga and Namutumba, it has shown that the interactions in informal groups and at home contribute to their exercise of citizenship, but there is still more room to examine this topic. The GROW project has done an exhaustive analysis on the practices of lived citizenship in East Africa (Holma & Kontinen, 2020) and particularly on gendered citizenship in rural Uganda (Ndidde et al., 2020) but more projects should focus on understanding women's daily practices and their contribution to citizenship in Africa and beyond. I recommend to continue investigating the exercise of lived citizenship in rural settings without gender blindness considering both female and males, and other gender identifications in any research, as well as considering children and their practices of citizenship. Besides, I would recommend to look into the implications that the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) has brought to the practices of women's lived citizenship.

Additionally, private settings can be explored further including care work and motherhood in research to understand their implications on the practices of citizenship for women at the grassroots. I also recommend the exploration of informal politics and governance in informal groups, which seem to be crucial in certain settings for citizenship practices. This Thesis encourages researchers to consider the diversity of rural settings and societies and to promote research to understand the interactions on lived citizenship and contest the mainstream notion of citizenship in East Africa and beyond. Generating knowledge of this kind might be useful to contribute to the broad discussion and contestation of citizenship and to move towards an inclusive model of citizenship.

Furthermore, I recommend policy makers when creating welfare programmes to consider the inclusion of politics of care by recognizing the practices that occur in the private space and in the grassroots which have a great implication on the practice of lived citizenship for women in a number of contexts. Besides, I recommend that programmes designed to promote active citizenship, should consider lived citizenship as their starting point. These might ensure the inclusion of all and to move towards a more inclusive model of citizenship in our societies.

Finally, I encourage scholars from the Global South to develop citizenship theorizations proposing a non-centered western view on citizenship. This research did not find women's citizenship theorizations from African scholars; therefore, I believe it is crucial to continue understanding the broad topic of citizenship and to contest it by suggesting other views. Besides, I encourage future researchers to analyze women's lived citizenship at the grassroots and at informal groups in different contexts such as Latin America, South East Asia and other African countries which might bring more empirical understanding on the practices of citizenship in different contexts of the Global South. This might be fruitful for moving towards a more inclusive citizenship.

This topic is important to analyze because it recognizes that our societies are diverse and that everyone has different aspirations and lifestyles. This research has showed me that analyzing citizenship from different margins enables the recognition of the world's diversity. Discussing lived citizenship practices might contribute to understanding the differences of our society inhabitants and on building more inclusive and sustainable societies, where everybody can interact no matter the identities she has and where no one is left behind.

I will close this Thesis with a quotation from a woman in Kiboga, which illustrates that everyone can interact in the same place despite their differences and beliefs. Besides, it also highlights the importance of including men in any societal interactions to build more inclusive societies.

> There is an organization that put you in leadership and enabled you to be a leader in all these other organizations.[NAME] and ACFODE train leaders from all parties they do not discriminate. They train you together and keep reminding us not to discriminate against other parties. And when I call meetings or when I'm doing something as a leader, I don't discriminate against other parties; and that's why I said I don't discriminate against religion because everyone – it's really emphasized by [NAME] that a leader should not be partial but do everything for the benefit of everyone. When planning, you plan for your whole area. During elections, one can do otherwise but once that is done, we return to being one.

> We want you to invite and teach the men, so they understand how Uganda has advanced….So we're trying to ask that they be taught the sense of responsibility. They could even teach them by themselves. We've trained and qualified, now it's the men who need training. Incidentally I might not even understand the men's training since I'm not a man.

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1: INITIAL CODES AND DESCRIPTIONS

| Codes | Description |
|---|---|
| ACFODE | Every time ACFODE and their activities are mentioned |
| Communities | The community groups, associations, they mention are part of |
| Community responsibility | When they help, contribute, volunteer, etc. in their community |
| Definition of citizenship | Explanation of what citizenship and residency means |
| Duties / responsibilities | The responsibilities that each resident has in their community, home |
| Exercise explanation | Explanation of the "Chapatti" exercise to the interviewee |
| Future aspirations | When they mention what they want for their future, and how they see themselves in the future |
| Gender differences | When they talk about the differences that women face as residents in the community and at home |
| Identity | When they describe where they feel identified, included, e.g. exclusions, inclusions, we/them, immigrants; ethnic groups; religion; political parties, importance of certain groups |
| Improvements | When they mention that there have been some improvements in their home, crops, situation, etc. |
| Inability to implement and participate | When they explain what they would like to do or where they would like to participate but cannot for one reason or another |
| Learning | Things they claim they have learned, doing differently now |
| Other NGOs | When they mention other NGO's and the activities they have done there |
| Past | When they mention how they used to be in the past |
| Rights | When they mention about human rights and rights knowledge |
| Roles and division of labor | Description of who makes what : women and/or men like tasks; decision-making, payments, etc. |
| State | If the state and nationality, and the party NRM, politics is mentioned |
| Ways of participation | What they do and their roles as residents: members, secretary, teacher, leader, politician, etc. |

*Note.* Author's own construction

## APPENDIX 2: SAMPLE OF DYNAMIC BETWEEN SPACES OF PARTICIPATION DETAILED ANALYSIS

| Interviewee | Quotation | Identity | Belonging | Space |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | "There's a woman in the village who can save but who can go nowhere without permission from her husband. You see some women do not know their rights. Now I update them about what's going on whenever we meet and as a counselor I even counsel them concerning challenges they find in their homes." | Leader and member | Community | Public |
| | "The other thing is that if there is something wrong in the community I am able to respond and help the people understand and overcome the challenge. I am very proud of it and have served a lot though it. When there are problems in the community...I fulfil my responsibility as leader in the community, to get information and give feedback to the people. That's why I put it close." | Leader | Community | Public |
| | "So it means that one is close to me...and it also puts me close to the electorate which is the foundation of my service...because when I'm at the District I can know the programs at the District and the sub-county, so I can mobilize the people" | Member | Community | Public |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | "The Hunger Project helped to start that SACCO. That SACCO has about 3000 people. It's because of Women Empowerment that I'm able to manage it as a woman" | Woman | Community | Public |
| | "We women have a challenge with the allowance paid. We are abused at home. The man can refuse to buy groceries saying 'You also work!' He thinks you have a lot of money because you've been for a 3 day training" | Wife and woman | Personal | Private |
| | "That's it. Can you include my family…? Yes here, where I belong" | Wife | Personal | Private |

Note. Author's own construction