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Challenges, resources and balance:
Educations' impact on South Sudanese youth girls' well-being in
Rhino Camp refugee settlement, Uganda

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Abstract

Since the outbreak of the civil war in South Sudan in 2013, nearly 1.1 million refugees have fled to Uganda. Because of ongoing conflict and violence, many refugees either chose to, or are forced to flee the country. The already low school enrolment in South Sudan is deeply affected by this war, and for many refugee's education is one of the main reasons for fleeing to Uganda. With the Government of Uganda's 2006 Refugee Act, refugees are given the freedom to work, health services, movement within the country and education. However, accessing post-primary education is limited and expensive, and students encounter hardship, both with or without access to education post primary school.

With a theoretical and conceptual framework of well-being, socialization and education in emergencies, this study explores how post-primary education impacts the well-being of South Sudanese youth girls in Rhino Camp refugee settlement in northern Uganda. The girls' experiences in their past and present life, as well as their aspirations for their future, lays the foundation for exploring the challenges they encounter in school and the resources they possess, or gain from education, in order to face those challenges.

The main findings of this study show that school is not just important for learning and knowledge generation, but also for social interaction with peers, friendships and social activities, prevention from early marriage and pregnancy, to process trauma and to create hope for the future. By examining the challenges the girls face in school and in their everyday life, and the resources they possess to meet those challenges, this study argues for a balance in well-being to be imperative for the youth girls' well-being in education.

Abbreviations

ALP	Accelerated Learning Programme
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EFA	Education for All
GOU	Government of Uganda
IDP	Internally Displaced People
INEE	Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MCU	Menstrual Cup Uganda
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MoGEI	Ministry of General Education and Instruction
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
OPM	Office of Prime Minister
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SPLM/A	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army
SPLM-IO	Sudan People's Liberation Movement-in Opposition
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
VST	Vocational Skills Training
WASH	Water and Sanitation Hygiene
WHO	World Health Organization
WTU	Windle Trust Uganda

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1 Introduction

The number of refugees globally has never been higher, and it keeps increasing on a daily basis. Famine, natural disasters and war creates situations of mass displacement, especially in the Global South. In a world of increasing global displacement (UNHCR, 2017a), education becomes imperative for the 65.6 million people of concern, to create political and economic stability and for reconstruction of the country of which they fled (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). This study argues for education in emergencies to also be important to children and youth's psychosocial well-being.

Education in emergencies (EIE) is a growing field of study which gains increasing international attention, especially in the international and humanitarian aid industry where enrolment rates get most attention. Education for All (EFA) and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) which focuses on getting every child enrolled in quality education globally, mostly concerns primary education. This thesis however, addresses post-primary education for refugees, as this issue is scarcely researched, education post primary increases refugees ability to make change, be self-reliant and empowered (Dryden-Peterson, 2016), and might balance an unstable well-being. It is imperative for youth to get tools, skills and knowledge to build a safe and secure future for themselves and their family. With the case study of youth girls from South Sudan in Rhino Camp refugee settlement in Uganda, I argue for the importance of happiness, friendships, processing of trauma and social interactions in education to be equally as important to their current and future life. As the conflict in South Sudan, which started in 2013, is relatively new, and peace seems difficult to achieve in the near future, the situation for the refugees in Uganda is most likely protracted. It is therefore important to know how the youth girls experience their everyday lives to best adapt the education to their needs.

This study explores the lived lives of refugee girls and young women from South Sudan in a Ugandan refugee settlement. It is therefore important to me to emphasise that it is not my intention to present youth girls and women as weak, disempowered, victimized or oppressed, nor men as generally violent and oppressive, rapists or dangerous. Throughout this thesis it is important to take into account that all genders can be both victims and perpetrators.

1.1 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to explore how post-primary education impacts the well-being of South Sudanese youth girls in Rhino Camp refugee settlement in northern Uganda. Post-primary education is here defined as all educational opportunities in Rhino Camp after primary school, hence lower secondary school and vocational skills training, as well as higher education outside Rhino Camp for refugees from the settlement. The aim is to add to existing knowledge about refugees' well-being in post-primary education, which primarily focuses on quality of education and safety, by adding the focus on, and perspectives of, the girls' lived experiences.

The research questions aim to explore the youth girls' experiences with post-primary education and how this affects and impacts their well-being by looking at the three time-periods, their past, present and future, which are presented in the subordinate research questions. In order to answer the main research question, an emphasis on challenges, resources and balance of well-being will be explored through these time periods.

The research questions are as:

- How does post-primary education impact the well-being of South Sudanese youth girls in Rhino Camp refugee settlement?

    o How has the girls' background influenced their educational opportunities?

    o How is post-primary education for youth girls in Rhino Camp refugee settlement experienced?

    o How are aspirations for education and future-prospects linked with their well-being?

2 Background

In this chapter I will briefly introduce South Sudan's history, from times of civil war in Sudan leading up to the current civil war in South Sudan. This brief introduction gives an understanding and context to why so many South Sudanese refugees either choose to, or are forced to flee their country. To get an understanding of the somewhat unique refugee reception in Uganda, I will explain the concept of settlements in relation to camps, as this distinction is imperative to understand the context of which the refugees in Ugandan settlements are currently living in. This chapter introduces refugees both globally and in in the context of South Sudan, the vulnerable position of women in war, as well as introducing Uganda's refugee policy. I will also introduce the research site, Rhino Camp refugee settlement in northern Uganda, as well as the region and district that now hosts thousands of refugees before the history of education in South Sudan and education for refugees will be discussed in order to get a deeper understanding of the girls past and present situation which is described in the findings chapter.

2.1 South Sudan in war

The history leading up to the conflict in South Sudan is both long and complex, and can be traced decades back (Breidlid, Said, & Breidlid, 2014). The second Sudanese civil war (1983 – 2005), being one of the longest civil wars in history, lasted 22 years and left millions of people displaced or killed. The government of Sudan and Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in the beginning of 2005. This agreement put an end to the civil war and began the process of secession for South Sudan. A referendum for self-government in January 2011 resulted in an overwhelmingly support for succession and South Sudan became an independent nation July 9[th,] 2011. The peace agreement and the independence for South Sudan resulted in a massive return of South Sudanese refugees and internally displaced people. The large influx of returnees accounted for 23 per cent of the total estimated population of South Sudan (Ensor, 2014).

The world's youngest country, which faced numerous challenges with the massive influx of returnees in terms of livelihood, resources, basic services and politics (Ensor, 2014), faced new challenges of civil war at the end of 2013. 15th of December 2013, President Salva Kiir accused former Vice President of South Sudan, Riek Machar, of attempting a *coup d'état,* after

previously dismissing and replacing the vice president, all the ministers and the SPLM general, in July 2015 (Rolandsen, Glomnes, Manoeli, & Nicolaisen, 2015). Machar, who denied the coup fled to lead SPLM-IO (In Opposition). Starting in the capital of Juba, violent fights quickly spread to other parts of South Sudan where hundreds were killed, troops from the government targeted Nuer people and thousands fled to UN protection sites (Rolandsen, Glomnes, et al., 2015). The conflict, which initially started as a power struggle between Kiir and Machar developed into a conflict of ethnical dimensions (Rolandsen, Glomnes, et al., 2015). The civil war's consequences are immense, resulting in an almost two million internally displaced peoples (IDPs) and a total of 2,454,398 refugees fleeing the country (UNHCR, 2018a), where the biggest group of refugees, 1,053,598 people, has fled to Uganda since the civil war broke out.

2.2 Refugees

Refugees are defined in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees as persons who

> "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (UN General Assembly, 1951).

65.6 million people are listed as UNHCR's people of concern in their latest global statistics (UNHCR, 2017a), a number being the highest in history, and it keeps increasing every day. Their population of people of concern includes refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced people (IDPs), stateless persons and others of concern. Among those defined as refugees the number reached 22.5 million, a number, due to a variety of reasons such as increased conflict and war, famine and poverty, keeps rising on a daily basis.

In total, the number of South Sudanese refugees reached 2.4 million in March 2018 which clearly illustrates the consequence of the ongoing conflict in the country (UNHCR, 2018a). After Uganda, Sudan is the neighbouring country who has received most refugees from South Sudan, a total of 768,830 by March 2018. Ethiopia follows with receiving a refugee population of 428,928 people. Kenya and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) have received respectively 113,093 and 90,003 refugees from South Sudan.

Among the refugees arriving in Uganda at the time of my fieldwork, most refugees were settled in camps in the West Nile district of northern Uganda (UNHCR, 2018c). According to the latest reports from February 28th (UNHCR, 2018b), Arua district houses 239,028 South Sudanese refugees divided into both settlements and urban areas. At the time of my fieldwork, 101,927 refugees were settled in Rhino Camp.

2.2.1 Women in war

South Sudanese refugees fleeing to Uganda, where the majority of the refugees are women and children, reports that they flee their homes due to fear of the violence which characterises the ongoing conflict. They report incidents of rape, torture, detention, looting of property, disappearances, ethnically motivated killings and being forced out of their homes by armed forces (UNHCR, 2017c). Incidents such as rape and sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) in war is recognized as a war crime by the international community (UN Security Council, 2008) and by the literature (Heineman, 2011; Kirk, 2008; Stark et al., 2010). However, as the literature show, sexual violence is not only limited to rape, but includes forced pregnancy, forced prostitution and sexual humiliation among other forms of violence, nor is it limited to one gender as victims can be both male and female. Even though boys and men are receiving increased attention as victims of sexual violence in war (Chynoweth, 2017; Human Rights Watch, 2018), women and girls are still seen as the most vulnerable victims of SGBV (Kirk, 2008). This is one of the reasons why they are the focus of this thesis.

In addition to violence, women are vulnerable especially if their husband either joined the armed forces or dies due to the ongoing violence. Without their husbands, women becomes the main provider of income for their family and therefore carries the responsibilities of economy, agricultural work and household chores alone (Bertelli & Sauras, 2017; Duany & Duany, 2001). The two latter responsibilities are common for many South Sudanese women as their husbands usually are away taking care of cattle. As the sole provider for their family, this burden is often too heavy to carry and mainly results in food insecurity (Duany & Duany, 2001) which often leads to flight and dependency on humanitarian aid, in order to provide for their families.

2.3 Refugee law in Uganda

In the context of Uganda, there is a distinction between a refugee 'camp' and a refugee 'settlement'. Schmidt (2003) discusses the terms 'camps' and 'settlements' and its difference in standards, social aspects, security and health issues. According to her, the definitions of both terms is difficult to agree upon. However, she describes camps as closed and fenced, fully organized and controlled, overcrowded and segregated. This is in line with the description my informants give of camps outside Uganda. Settlements on the other hand is described by Schmidt (2003) as 'assisted self-settlements' which gives the refugee population freedom of movement, and inclusion and integration with the host community. In order to help the refugees' become self-reliant, the Government of Uganda (GOU), with its Refugee Act 2006, favours a settlement approach to the refugee situation in Uganda above a closed camp. Therefore, it is important to mention that 'Rhino Camp' is the settlement's official name, and settlement being the definition, which distinguishes it from a closed camp. According to the Ugandan Refugee Act (2006), all refugees has the freedom of movement within the country, freedom of expression, to work, to access basic health services and education and to also build their life elsewhere in Uganda, outside official settlement areas. The refugee act is widely discussed due to the refugees freedoms, but also because of the more controversial allocation of land to refugee families (UNDP, 2017; World Bank, 2016). Refugees in Uganda are provided land and materials for building their homes at the arrival in a settlement. This, in addition to the freedoms given to the refugees, makes the refugee policy in Uganda somehow unique as it differs from a closed- camp system.

2.4 Rhino Camp refugee settlement

The choice of Rhino Camp refugee settlement as research site was based on two main factors. Firstly, it was recommended by several NGO's as the easiest camp to access as it is the one closest to Arua Town. The settlement is located in Arua District in the West Nile region of Uganda (ref. appendix 4). Secondly, it has an interesting history, making the settlement suitable for research as it is well developed and organized.

Rhino Camp is a previous game resort, before the animals were hunted to extinction during the first half of the 20th century. Rhino Camp extends over large areas located in the River Nile

(Albert) basin, and were once a densely populated area before the area first began hosting refugees in 1993 (Mulumba, 2010), due to Sudanese refugees fleeing armed conflict in southern Sudan. The once established settlement closed between 2005 and 2013. The NGO's pulled out of the area and most of the area were abandoned as the refugees returned to South Sudan. As the new civil war broke out in 2013, the settlement has been reopened where UNHCR, in collaboration with the Ugandan Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), now manages the settlement. Since the land's extinction of animals, many nationals have settled in the area, making the settlements a mixed area of refugees and local inhabitants. At the time of my fieldwork, Rhino Camp was the fourth biggest settlement with 101,927 South Sudanese refugees (UNHCR, 2017b). Rhino Camp's total population however, is unknown. As the rest of the South Sudanese refugee population in Uganda, the majority of Rhino Camps population is children and women.

2.4.1 Education in Rhino Camp

With the young population of refugees hosted in this settlement, education becomes a challenge as there is a high student-teacher ratio and construction of schools is too slow for the large intake of children. In Rhino Camp, the enrolment in primary school is generally high for both nationals and refugees, due to free public schools. Among the total population of South Sudanese refugee school aged children in Uganda, 46 per cent access formal or informal education (UNHCR, 2018c). According to UNHCR's response plan for South Sudanese refugees in 2018 (UNHCR, 2018c), 2017 were a year of significant strains to the education response as the influx of refugees were immense. For these reasons, enrolment percentages did not increase above 50 per cent.

The enrolment in post primary education however, is low. According to UNHCR's report (UNHCR, 2018c), only six per cent of school aged children accessed secondary education in Rhino Camp in 2017 compared to eleven per cent of the total South Sudanese refugee population of the same age, meaning the enrolment is higher in neighbouring settlements. UNHCR also report a significant gender gap in secondary education where the enrolment of girls is low compared to boys. This is yet another reason why I focus on girls in this thesis. At the time of my fieldwork, the settlement contained three post-primary institutions consisting of two secondary schools and one vocational training centre (VST). Post-primary education is driven by Non-

Governmental Organizations (NGO's) and are therefore regulated by school fees. The total number of enrolled students in post-primary at the time of my fieldwork was 798. These students were a mix of refugees and nationals, girls and boys. Still, the gender gap UNHCR refers to were evident in the post-primary education during my fieldwork as the enrolment of girls were half of the boy's enrolment (ref. appendix 5).

2.4.2 Arua district

Northern Uganda has a long history of armed conflicts (Mulumba, 2010). In recent history, from the brutal military regime of Idi Amin in the 70's until today, the northern region has suffered great loss and terror. Among several tribal conflicts in the region, the Lord's Resistance Army's (LRA) also caused unspeakable damaged in northern Uganda (Mulumba, 2010). Due to a violent past, north Ugandans has a history of seeking refuge in their neighbouring countries, especially South Sudan, as their border shares the homeland of several ethnic groups (Rolandsen, Sagmo, & Nicolaisen, 2015). Arua district, with its close proximity to the borders of South Sudan in the north and DRC to the west, also has a history of hosting refugees from both countries. The local tribes of Arua district and its surrounding areas share ethnicity with neighbouring border tribes of South Sudan. According to Mulumba (2010), this sharing of ethnicity and the history of South Sudan to receive Ugandan refugees are believed to be the reason behind the good reception of refugees in the district and northern Uganda in general. However, the large influx of refugees is taking its toll on the local population. As the large influx of South Sudanese refugees settles in Rhino Camp and Arua District livelihood options for the refugees also becomes limited. With the large amount of people settling in one area, resources become limited for both refugees and locals. This creates a tension in all of Arua District where locals and refugees comes in conflict with each other (Crisp, 2003; Rolandsen, Sagmo, et al., 2015), and where locals also disguise as refugees to receive free humanitarian aid (Makumbi, 2017; Schiltz & Titeca, 2017). Especially water, land and health services has created violence among the nationals and refugees in settlements in northern Uganda. Many Ugandans therefore see the refugees as a burden, instead of a resource, which were the trend before this ongoing South Sudanese civil war started (Rolandsen, Sagmo, et al., 2015).

2.5 History of education in South Sudan

Before independence of South Sudan in 2011, Sudan has an Islamist educational discourses (Breidlid, 2013b). In 1990, dictated by the north, the government produced and introduced curricula and textbooks based on Islamist values, and the Qur'an, which was implemented in both primary and secondary education and were also imposed upon the southerners. Textbooks was both Islam focused and Arab biased, and the mentioning of Southern Sudan's history was mainly absent. During the civil war, the SPLM/A resisted this implementation of Islamist ideology in the education system and introduced a modernist and secular education policy in the south's liberated areas. This secular education policy is argued by Breidlid (2013a) to be modelled on a modernist Western hegemonic epistemology which excludes indigenous epistemologies, values and languages. This modern schooling was welcomed by the South Sudanese, but the longevity of war and conflict made it difficult to run schools in Southern Sudan, even though the communities supported primary schools.

Breidlid (2013b) reports that there was 28 per cent enrolment of school-aged children in South Sudan by the end of 2003, and that only 18 per cent of school-aged girls were enrolled. However, in 2012, the World Bank's (2012) report on education in South Sudan argues that there are no official school enrolment estimates before 2005 and claims that school enrolment, both primary and secondary, grew between 2005 and 2009. According to the World Bank the primary enrolment in 2009 were as high as 72 per cent, but secondary enrolment remained low, at six per cent. In their report, they are ambitious and claim that the growth will continue to 100 per cent when the country stabilizes. After the outbreak of the civil war in 2013 however, the tables have turned drastically. In 2017, UNICEF reports that South Sudan has the highest rate of out-of-school children in the world with as much as 72 per cent primary school-aged children missing out on education, (UNICEF, 2017), and secondary education enrolment is reported as 3.5 per cent in 2016 by the South Sudanese Ministry of General Education and Instruction (MoGEI, 2017). According to Save the Children (2017), one-third of all schools in South Sudan have been attacked, targeted or destroyed, leaving both teachers and students displaced.

2.5.1 Education for South Sudanese refugees in Uganda

The right to education is enshrined in universal declarations and conventions such as the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, the 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants. From Education for All (EFA), through the Millennium Development Goals (MGD), to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) there has been an increased emphasis on global education, at first with the focus of enrolment, leading up to today's goal of quality education for all, to be achieved by 2030. Universal access to quality education is a bold goal and can seem unachievable and impossible to reach, especially in a world with increasing numbers of refugees, asylum seekers and IDP's. As the road towards the SDG has reduced the number of out-of-school children globally, refugee children and children affected by conflict are still marginalized.

> As compared with children in other low-income countries, children affected by conflict are less likely to survive to school age; more rarely attend school and complete a full basic education; and are much less likely to gain access to secondary education (Mundy & Dryden-Peterson, 2011, p. 2).

Uganda has, since the launch of the 2006 Refugee Act, welcomed refugees into the country and given the refugees the right to work, education, the freedom of movement in the country and to live in the community rather than in camps. Even though refugees have these rights, education is still difficult to access. Save the Children (2017) report on some of the major barriers to refugees' education in settlements in northern Uganda; overcrowded classrooms where the student-teacher ratio reaches 150:1; language of instruction being English; low access to textbooks; Ugandan teachers lack support and equipment; and most of the schools are temporary school structures, built to be teared down at repatriation. In northern Uganda, and in the West Nile district specifically, these challenges also apply to the host community. "Even before the influx of refugees, primary schools in the north were the most overcrowded in the country" (Save the Children, 2017, p. 15).

In the West Nile region, Save the Children (2017) reports that only one-third complete primary school, and only seven per cent complete lower secondary. They also report that only 25 per cent of girls' complete primary schools, compared to 36 per cent of boys in the region. They argue that supporting both refugees and the host community is believed to close the gender gap in the

region, yet the enrolment of students in secondary schools in Rhino Camp illustrates the opposite (ref. appendix 5). Secondary education in Rhino Camp is difficult to achieve due to several reasons; it is expensive and not funded by the government, international aid is not sufficient in terms of focusing on secondary education, and teachers are hard to obtain in settlements. Unicef's regional updates on South Sudanese refugees in Uganda reports that enrolment in secondary education is as low as 4,4 per cent in some settlements, classrooms are destroyed by harsh weather and teacher-pupil ratio is too high (UNHCR, 2017d, 2017e). Barriers to secondary education, such as language and lack of primary education, also hinders youth from accessing school, as well as gender roles and expectations of girls which will be discussed in chapter 3.

3 Literature review

The current number of refugees globally is the highest number in history with 65.6 million people of concern (UNHCR, 2017a). For those refugees, education becomes imperative in order to create stability in both the host and home country and also to create a possibility for the refugees to rebuild their country at repatriation (Dryden-Peterson, 2016). The first subsection therefore addresses education in emergencies and refugee education where post-primary education is central. How education is a pathway to resilience and in recovery from trauma is further discussed before introducing education as an aspiration for a better life and a brighter future. As this study focuses on girls in post-primary, gender and gender norms, related to the context of South Sudan, will be presented in subsection two. Gender roles, gender based violence, gender and education and expectations towards girls and woman according to their sex is discussed to get an understanding of the girls' position in school, in the home, in the settlement and in the culture of which they are born. These issues of gender can be tightly linked to how education impacts their well-being.

3.1 Education in emergencies

This subsection seeks to explore theories of education in emergencies (EIE) to gain a deeper understanding of the importance of education for children in conflict and refugee situations, and its effect on student's well-being. I will first introduce definitions of EIE and four factors of EIE which affects well-being in school. EIE will then be connected to refugee education, before post-primary education is introduced. The importance of post-primary education will be discussed as well as reasons to why it is still limited to most refugees. The importance of education for resilience and the processing of trauma is also discussed before I end the subsection with education as a pathway to a better future.

3.1.1 Defining education in emergencies
The Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) defines education in emergencies as

> quality learning opportunities for all ages in situations of crisis, including early childhood development, primary, secondary, non-formal, technical, vocational, higher and adult

education. Education in emergencies provides physical, psychosocial, and cognitive protection that can sustain and save lives. Common situations of crisis in which education in emergencies is essential include conflicts, situations of violence, forced displacement, disasters, and public health emergencies (INEE, 2018).

A more narrow definition is presented by Kirk and Cassity (2007, p. 50) who defines EIE as "a broad range of formal and non-formal education opportunities for children and youth affected by crises and emergencies of different kind". Here, education in emergencies includes both man-made crises, such as war, and natural disasters. Mundy and Dryden-Peterson (2011) however, replaces EIE with education in conflict zones, as this excludes natural disasters and reflects man made conflicts as often being protracted. For many South Sudanese refugees in Uganda the previous and the ongoing civil war is defined protracted as the refugees permanently settle and resides in Uganda for many years. Even though the ongoing crises is protracted, man-made and not caused by natural disasters I will use the term education in emergencies to describe the girls' post-primary opportunities in Rhino Camp as it covers both formal and non-formal education.

Winthrop and Kirk (2008) argues that in the EIE literature there is a general focus on four factors that indicates that children's schooling shapes their well-being; normalcy; socialization; nurturing environment; and 'coping and hoping'. The first factor, normalcy, indicates that children gets a sense of routine and order in what might be describes as a chaotic and unpredicted environment. Attendance is the important factor here, which reflects the early focus of EFA and the MDG's. The second factor, socialization, affects children's education and Winthrop and Kirk (2008) discusses how the overall focus of positive social interaction reflects a reality where children always have a positive relationships with actors in school. This is however argued not to always reflect the reality of which children in conflict or post-conflict situations live. This issue can therefore be tightly linked with violence and exploitation of girls in school discussed in this chapter and in my empirical data, as it shows a reality where children's relationships with others are not always seen as positive. The third factor, nurturing environment, relates to safety and child friendly schools. According to Winthrop and Kirk (2008), this factor mostly addresses the schooling itself as safe and protective for children, where teachers and school management considers children's perspectives and meets their needs and concerns. The last factor 'cope and hope' is not common in EIE literature according to Winthrop and Kirk (2008), but they themselves included it as they found this factor to be important for children

when studying school for Eritrean refugee students in Ethiopia, Afghan students in Afghanistan, and Liberian refugee students in Sierra Leone. They argue that "by adopting ways to hope for a better future, children are able to cope with and transcend the negative effects of conflict and disaster" (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008, p. 641). Cope and hope therefore concerns how children can deal with the difficulties they face in life and from there find reasons to hope for a better future.

These factors will be used in my discussion to see whether my empirical data can relate to the same findings of Winthrop and Kirk. Aspects that shapes the girl's well-being in school and how this affects their education can be tightly linked with all four factors.

3.1.2 Refugee education

While EIE and refugee education goes hand in hand and are used interchangeably, refugee education specifically focuses on education for refugees. As the term refugee education concentrates on refugees specifically, I will not refer to this term when discussing the education in Rhino Camp. The overall focus of Rhino Camp is to educate refugees and nationals equally, which makes the term refugee education misleading in this context. Refugee education is a large field of research, which is only relevant to a certain extent as it requires a curriculum which is adjusted to the refugees specifically and more so, a situation containing only refugees, such as a closed refugee camp. The term education in emergencies will be used to describe the girls' education in Rhino Camp. Nevertheless, as both terms go hand in hand, some background on refugee education is required for the overall understanding of the research field.

Dryden-Peterson (2011) argues that education for refugees has merged with EIE and therefore also contains IDPs, not only those defined as refugees in the 1951 Refugee Convention. Article 22 of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees states that "The Contracting States shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education… [and] treatment as favourable as possible… with respect to education other than elementary education" (UN General Assembly, 1951). According to Dryden-Peterson (2011), the realization of those rights depends on the laws, policies and practice of the host country. She argues that access to both primary and secondary education is determined by factors such as supply, demand, exclusion of individual characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic

background and refugee status. Davies (2004) however argues that the challenge with refugee education is whether to make adaptations for the students to either prepare them for repatriation or to the new environment of which they are settled. Other important aspects to consider are whether children's or adult's education gets the highest priority and to what range one sustains the refugee's language and culture in the educational setting. Seeing these two arguments combined illustrates the host country's power and dominance over the educational support of refugees. This might have fatal consequences in countries of ongoing conflict such as South Sudan as education becomes less prioritized, institutions destroyed or occupied and refugees live in fear of persecution. The consequences of governmental power in education in Uganda is somehow different as they offer free education to all primary school students. They do not however facilitate mother tongue education, sustains the children's culture in the education or have a clear path to whether they educate to prepare for return to South Sudan or for permanent settlement as the curriculum is the national curriculum aimed at nationals and refugees alike.

3.1.3 Post-primary education

Post-primary education for refugees and people in conflict situations is not well documented or researched, but has a growing interest, especially after the introduction of the SDGs in 2015. Sarah Dryden-Peterson (2016), a leading author in the field of higher education for refugees argues that education for refugees is central to create stability in their host countries, for reconstruction of the society from which they fled and for political and economic stability. In her refugee education report for UNHCR, Dryden-Peterson (2011) argues why formal secondary education is critical. Firstly, she argues that opportunities of achieving access to secondary education works as a motivation to complete primary school. Her second argument is individual economic gains. Dryden-Peterson stresses the individual's income to increase by ten per cent with primary education and an additional 20 per cent with secondary education. The third argument involves the students' impact on the reconstruction and development of both the host country and country of origin. The fourth argument is for opportunities of participation in society and quality of life. This argument directly links with arguments of post-primary educations impact on well-being as "these opportunities provide refugees with the ability to think about the future" (Dryden-Peterson, 2011, p. 49). At last she argues that the quality of primary and secondary education is important in order to educate future teachers in secondary education.

Still, access to secondary education is limited for refugees worldwide. This is due to three central reasons (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). First, in many refugee settings there are limited acceptable secondary school options available. This argument is also relevant in Rhino Camp as there are limited institutions of post-primary education. Secondly, secondary education can be extremely expensive for refugees as fees are often too high and the loss of labour impacts the economy of the entire family (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). The third argument of Dryden-Peterson is how secondary education is only accessible to those refugees who has completed primary education. Girls are especially disadvantaged here as enrolment and completion rates for girls in primary education remains lower than for boys (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). For children in conflict situation the access to primary education is often limited. For many South Sudanese refugees in Uganda, this is a reality, and going back to primary education as adults is often problematic. Accelerated learning programmes (ALP) are therefore offered in many schools in Rhino Camp where students pass through primary school in the course of three years. Even when completing primary school or ALP, secondary school is difficult to access, especially in Rhino Camp where schools are few, expensive and distances are prohibitive.

Vocational training

Although secondary school is for many refugees the most relevant post-primary education (Dryden-Peterson, 2011), many refugees attend vocational skills training (VST) centres. VST centres can be "post-primary in nature or can target young people who did not have the chance to complete primary school and who are either unable or unwilling to re-enter the formal system" (Dryden-Peterson, 2011, p. 51). Davies (2004) argues for vocational skills to be vital for refugee adolescents.

> For adolescents it is life skills to help them earn a living – building, tailoring, small animal keeping and business management. Refugees can spend several years in camps, and when they do leave they have few possessions and little money to start a new life (Davies, 2004, p. 156).

Even though vocational training and livelihood skills are vital, this non-formal education is limited to refugees as it is often too expensive, both in terms of fees for the students and the

extensive infrastructure such an institution often requires (Dryden Peterson, 2011). In Rhino Camp however, the VST education was free of charge for all students.

In vocational training, Dryden-Peterson (2011) argues that teaching the same skills year after year to a relatively small protracted refugee population may cause what she calls a skill mismatch. She states that "this mismatch between skills, job opportunities and expectations can lead to false hope, breeding immense frustration among young people" (Dryden-Peterson, 2011, p. 52). In Rhino Camp, the VST education, which lasts six months, is offered to both refuges and locals and gives a certificate approved by the government and the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM).

Higher education

Higher education for refugees is not achieved without a fight, hard work and struggles. Still, it is both wished and strived for by many refugee youths worldwide due to its individual and societal importance. "It is important both for individuals and for society in terms of rebuilding lives and fostering leadership in both protracted settings and post-conflict reconstruction" (Dryden-Peterson, 2011, p. 52). For both IDPs and refugees, access to higher education is extremely limited (Dryden-Peterson, 2010, 2011; Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010). This limited access holds back opportunities of further protection of refugees, rebuilding of individual lives and to use education as a tool for reconstruction and development of the country of origin (Dryden-Peterson, 2010). Most refugees in secondary school or those who have completed secondary education desire a university degree (Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Dryden-Peterson & Giles, 2010). However only one per cent of refugees attend university compared to 34 per cent globally (UNHCR, 2016). UNCHR also reports that one in 100 refugees who have completed secondary has the opportunity to continue to tertiary education. These grim statistics illustrates the lack of priority for higher education for refugees. Global support for higher education for refugees is exclusively given by the DAFI[1] Program which is administrated by UNHCR (Dryden-Peterson, 2010; UNHCR, 2016). The DAFI Program provides scholarships for refugees worldwide and are

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[1] Funded by the federal Government of Germany, DAFI is the German acronym for the Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative

also the main support for higher education for refugees in Uganda where they also collaborate with Windle Trust Uganda.

3.1.4 Resilience

This thesis does not deal with trauma on a deeper level or focus on resilience among war and conflict affected youth. However, a brief introduction of the topic is important in order to understand the connection between the youth experiences of war, the flight to Uganda, and how this affect their education and well-being. "Resilience reflects the ability to maintain a stable equilibrium" (Bonanno, 2004, p. 20), which directly links to the theory of well-being which will be presented in the theory chapter. Resilience to loss and trauma will therefore be discussed in terms of coping with such events.

Education for children affected by war and conflict is of significant importance as a pathway to resilience and in recovery from trauma. Youth are particularly exposed to trauma relating to war (Stermac, Clarke, & Brown, 2013). "Older children may be more traumatized because of their higher exposure to violence and their greater awareness of the negative consequences of armed conflict" (Werner, 2012, p. 553). The effect and consequences of this exposure on the youth's education is immense. Concentration issues, memory and attention difficulties, depression, sleep impairment, concerns about their future, distress, fear and having intrusive thoughts are among those symptoms of trauma which may affect youths academic life (Stermac et al., 2013). However, they do argue that a high level of school-belonging is associated with lower depression symptoms. The availability of school and the school environment is among the most important factors in facilitating positive outcome for traumatized youth (Stermac et al., 2013).

> Classroom settings provide predictable routines, rules, and training in academic skills neglected during armed conflicts. They also offer the opportunity for social interactions and friendships with peers with traumatic war experiences, as well as supportive relationships with teachers. Both contribute to the psychological well-being of war-traumatized children (Werner, 2012, p. 556).

Werner (2012) and Stermac et al. (2013) agree on education as important for students well-being and argue for a general consensus within the war and resilience field that schools are suitable institutions for prevention and intervention for traumatized youth. The social aspects of school,

as described by Werner above, is also acknowledge by Stermac et al. (2013) who states that optimism, social support and self-reliance are associated with resilience in youth along with coping skills the youth learn in school. Among those coping skills, distraction, which is claimed to be a coping strategy used by Sudanese refugees living in refugee camps (Stermac et al., 2013), stands out as relevant as school itself is described by the girls in this study as a distraction. Another coping strategy are described by Bonanno (2004) as the use of positive emotions and laughter which indicates that the social interaction and friends are important in the road towards resilience.

3.1.5 Education for a bright future

According to Winthrop's (2011) study that addresses what kind of learning students in three countries of conflict[2] value the most, three categories arise; practical, technical and emancipatory learning. She argues that these three categories all explains the students focus on education to be important to their future.

> When they refer to learning helping them to have a bright future, they often describe how they believe that the knowledge, skills, or social conventions they learn, help them to be, to have, or to do something good or useful today or in the future (Winthrop, 2011, p. 125).

The knowledge and skills referred to here, describes literacy, numeracy, personal characteristic and hopes of obtaining a good profession in the future, hence the technical learning category. The social aspect of which the students refer to relates to the practical learning category where behaviour, gaining the societies respect and helping their family are central. The last category, emancipatory learning, which describes the need to transform or change their social context, is argued to not be present to the same extent as the other two categories in her study (Winthrop, 2011). These three categories will be further used to illustrate how my informants reflect and talk about their education linked with their aspirations for their future. Winthrop uses these categories to emphasise learning as the central element to well-being in her study. Looking beyond learning might illustrate social aspects of education as equally central to refugee students' well-being and their future.

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[2] Sierra Leone, Ethiopia and Afghanistan.

Even though the students in Winthrop's study did not value social change in the community, Breidlid and Breidlid (2013) argues that the rational for education of the girls in their study was to create opportunities of work in order to make a better living situation for the entire family. Their student's focus was not personal or individual but to serve the community and their family is what motivated them to complete education. The goal of specific jobs such as teachers, NGO workers, nurses or doctors are dreams for many girls (Breidlid & Breidlid, 2013; Kirk, 2008; Winthrop, 2011) in order to earn a decent salary to provide for the family. Many children and youth however dream of such jobs as their occupational preferences are few and the children have few other professions to strive for other than what is visible in the camp (Kirk, 2008). This view also reflects my observations in Rhino Camp and conversations with youth in school where they too refer to visible 'camp professions' when talking about their future.

Many students see education as important to earn money in the future (Winthrop, 2011). Still they also mention knowledge, skills, social aspects, to gain status in their community, personal traits such as being clever and wise, be able to think critically and to navigate through life when facing difficulties. For many girls in Winthrop's study, not being fooled or tricked by others was also seen as valuable educational outcomes and was seen as important for their future. For many girls it was also important to "not be under somebody" (Winthrop, 2011, p. 130), which here means to be a responsible, independent woman who is not being exploited or oppressed by men.

3.2 Gender norms

Approaching gender norms and conceptualizing gender is a challenging task as the understanding of gender is complex. I will however try to conceptualize gender in this subsection and introduce gender as it is used in this thesis. World Health Organization (WHO) sees gender as "socially constructed characteristics of women and men – such as norms, roles and relationships of and between groups of women and men" (World Health Organization, 2018). This clearly illustrates that gender is a socially embedded concept. Oyěwùmí (1997) argues that while gender cannot exist without sex, sex is biological and gender is socially constructed. However, she also stresses that the universal understanding of 'women' are ethnocentric and clearly demonstrates Western hegemony over other conceptions. According to Oyěwùmí (1997),

gender, as socially constructed, behaves different in time and space. One can therefore not assume that the conceptualization of gender in one social structure (Western) is applicable to and explained as, the conceptualization of gender in another structure (African). Gender roles and a conceptualization of gender in sub-Saharan Africa will be explained further in this subsection.

In this thesis, gender refers to the cultural differences a society or culture expects of men and woman, according to their sex, more specifically of young women and girls. As this thesis focuses of South Sudanese youth girls and women who have fled to Uganda and settled in Rhino Camp, I will in this subsection explore gender related difficulties, practices and structures these girls might face. I will first look at gender and education, and social structures that might hinder them in getting this education. Expectations of girls according to their sex, such as marriage, pregnancy, child-rearing and housework will be discussed in this subsection. Issues concerning sexuality, menstruation and gender based violence will also be presented.

3.2.1 Gender and education

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's), through the MDG's and EFA focus on gender equality and quality education. Even with this focus, girls are still particularly disadvantaged. According to Overseas Development Institute's (ODI) *Education cannot wait* report (ODI, 2016), refugees are five times less likely to get education than other children and only 25 per cent of refugee youth globally are enrolled in secondary school. In crises affected countries they claim that girls are 2.5 times less likely to access schools than boys in the same situation. As previously mentioned, enrolment in secondary education in settlements in Uganda is as low as 4,4 per cent according to UNHCR (2017e), which illustrates that they are few. Exact numbers for Rhino Camp is difficult to obtain. However, UNICEF (2018b) estimates that six per cent of the school going population is enrolled in Secondary school. Windle Trust Uganda (WTU), being the main provider of secondary education in Rhino Camp, also reports a gross enrolment in the settlement to be six per cent and the net enrolment ratio to be as low as two per cent (Windle Trust Uganda, 2017).

Jackie Kirk (2008) discusses barriers to girls' education and acknowledges that early marriage and motherhood, housework and chores, sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) and gender

violence in school are major limitations to girls' education. These issues of SGBV will be discussed further in separate sections of this subsection. Kirk also address issues directly linked with girl's presence in school. Safety and security issues are discussed as a major concern as the road to and from school can increase risks of attacks and sexual violence (Kirk, 2008). This issue is the reason why some parents do not send their daughters to school, or why the girls themselves chooses absenteeism.

The lack of female teachers, especially in secondary education is another barrier to education (Kirk, 2008). Female teachers in school may create an environment where girls feel supported, encouraged and confident as the girls have female role models in their learning environment. Kirk also argues that a high ratio of female teachers increases the safety and security of girls in school. This security also decreases issues of SGBV in school and around the school compound.

Kirk (2008) also argues for female teachers to be a support for young girls' menstrual health. Female teachers can in this regard provide guidance and advices to a challenging and sensitive situation. Having female teachers in school will however not make up for the numerous other challenges relating to menstrual health. Lack of sanitary pads, or other sanitary supplies, clean water and suitable rest rooms are well known issues for refugees and for girls and young women in low-resource settings (Keith, 2016; Kirk, 2008; Kirk & Sommer, 2006). Menstruating girls miss classes every month due to lack of water and sanitation hygiene (WASH) facilities and proper sanitary supplies.

Lack of sanitary pads and the risk of soiling the uniform is enough excuses to stay at home during menstruation as this can cause issues of washing the uniform due to lack of water and soap (Kirk & Sommer, 2006), but also due to discrimination and stigma in school (Keith, 2016). The ignorance and over-all lack of knowledge about the female body and the menstrual cycle in both schools and the community increases stigma attached to menstruation. Stigma, which is defined by Goffman (1986, p. 3) as undesirable and deeply discrediting attributes, is here attached to discrimination and the incongruous "stereotypes of what a given type of individual should be". Indirectly this indicates that stigma is culturally bound as well as it is attached to acceptance. If the individual's perception of her own attributes reflects the stigmatization of the

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community, shame is described as a possible outcome (Goffman, 1986). In the context of this research, menstruation is therefore linked to both stigma and shame. Menstruation is also a taboo subject in many cultures and girls often cannot discuss menstrual issues with parents, teachers or other responsible in the community. This eventually leads to lack of information for the girls and menstruation often becomes something to hide, and something shameful (Keith, 2016). According to Kirk and Sommer (2006, p. 4) "evidence suggests some young girls in East Africa are engaging in transactional sex in exchange for money for commercial sanitary products". This illustrates the seriousness of lack of sanitary supplies and the extent to which menstrual stigma, discrimination and absenteeism in school affects young woman and girls.

Despite challenges and negative factors however, Kirk (2008) argues that crisis situations may cause greater opportunities for educational access for girls and for education to improve gender equality. Children and especially girls who flee to IDP (internally displaced people) or refugee camps may have the possibility to access NGO-supported schools with a high percentage of female teachers and a greater focus on gender equality in student enrolment (Kirk, 2008). These schools may often have a more gender sensitive curricula and offers guidance and counselling to female students. Kirk also stresses the tendency to focus on girls as vulnerable and in desperate need of protection and for interventions to hinder SGBV to solely focusing on practical issues. In this regard, Kirk urges for practice that includes the girls in the work towards gender equality and safety in the school.

3.2.2 Sexual and gender based violence

In schools in many parts of the world, corporal punishments is still a phenomenon (Davies, 2004; Devries et al., 2014). Even though corporal punishment is banned in Uganda, reports on physical punishment is still widespread. In a study done with 3706 students in Uganda Devries et al. (2014) found that 93,3 per cent of boys and 94,2 per cent girls in primary education had lifetime experiences of violence from school staff members. Results also showed emotional and verbal violence as common, with 33,6 per cent for boys and 30,0 per cent for girls. According to Devries et al. this illustrates an almost universal practice in primary schools which affects girls and boys equally. They do not however, present results or data that describes gender based violence (GBV) or differences in types of violence on girls and boys. However, the educational

performance for girls in these cases were reported as twice as low as for boys (Devries et al., 2014), which indicates that physical and verbal punishment affects the learning outcomes and mental health of students differently according to sex.

Winthrop and Kirk (2008) acknowledges that violent aspects of education can harm student's well-being, especially for girls. Kirk (2008, p. 67) who states that "GBV is inextricably linked with education", connects this violence to sexual abuse. This connection is also acknowledged by Davies (2004, p. 67) who claims that "sexual abuse is inextricably linked with other forms of violence by teachers, and to verbal abuse". Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) can be psychological, physical, emotional and sexual in nature and harm both girls and boys. Winthrop and Kirk's (2008) research on aspects of education which affects the well-being of children in conflict situations brings up sexual abuse and harassment from both peers and teachers as negative aspects of education. Devries et al.'s (2014) study found that girls and boys report a somehow equal experience of sexual abuse from staff members in school (1,9 per cent for boys and 2,3 per cent for girls). However, it stands out in Devries et al.'s study that girls with a percentage of 11,8 experience sexual violence from any other person than their teacher to a higher extent than boys with a percentage of 2,5. Sexual violence of girls by boys in school is here presented as far more common than sexual abuse by teachers. Davies (2004) however, claims that sexual violence in school is often inflicted by male teachers. She also argues that in many cases SGBV is not reported due to lack of knowledge of sexual violence as illegal. Another reason why SGBV is not reported is discussed by Winthrop and Kirk (2008), Davies (2004) and Kirk (2008) who address issues of sexual exploitation by teachers. Girls are often promised payment of school fees in return for sex, only to have that deal cut off. Teachers might also promise good grades on exams in return for sex or give the girls the exam questions in advance. Some girls might also agree to transactional sex in order to get money for food and other necessary needs (Kirk, 2008). Sexual abuse is therefore not always reported, as it is in some cases agreed upon by the girls.

3.2.3 Gender roles
Nomlomo (2013, p. 124) states that girl's gender identification in townships in South Africa "reflects the society's cultural beliefs and norms i.e. what the society expects of an adolescent

girl". This can arguably relate to South Sudan and Uganda too as the adolescent girl's body and reproductive capacity is regarded as a woman's role and requirement in patriarchal societies (Nomlomo, 2013). Girls are expected to behave differently from boys in the community, in school and at home. They are also expected to show respect for boys and men in order to prepare for the role as respectful, decent and dignified wives (Nomlomo, 2013). This includes submissive behaviour, self-respect and discipline. These personality traits reflect the girl's experiences in school. Nomlomo's (2013, p. 128) study found that girls are "treated badly, undermined and ridiculed by boys at school". This includes SGBV but also gender discrimination. Chores and expectations towards girls in school are often gender specific. Nomlomo argues that girls are expected to take on 'cleaning roles' as boys are not expected to clean. School girls in Nomlomo's study did not argue against genders discriminating chores or boys' oppressive attitude towards girls in school as they were expected to show obedient and respectful behaviour towards their teachers as well.

Gender discriminating chores in school reflects the expected behaviour and role of girls at home and in the community too, as the girls are expected to manage household chores, both before and after marriage. Breidlid and Breidlid (2013) claims that while girls are burdened with heavy domestic chores, boys are free to play and go to school which reflects the uneven division of labour. In South Sudan these household chores include fetching water, cooking, sweeping the floor and taking care of children. These tasks are according to Breidlid and Breidlid (2013) the same across ethnicity and geographical location in South Sudan. It was also evident in their research that these tasks were internalized in the minds of girls and women which indicates that skewed gender roles are institutionalized in South Sudanese culture and tradition. The gender roles and attitudes of families, and especially fathers, in patriarchal societies often prioritize boys in education, and girls therefore becomes the more marginalized sex. As reported by Breidlid and Breidlid, some girls and women 'sacrifices' education for the sake of their family and responsibilities. This 'sacrifice' indicates a voluntary decision and a willingness in the women to give up education for the sake of the family. This willingness may be based on traditional beliefs and practices where the girls willingly oblige due to respect and an obedient gender role. More than often however, this willingness does not necessarily mean the girls choose this freely as these practices often are forced and involuntary.

3.2.4 Early marriage

Before exploring reasons for early marriage and the risks that comes with it, it is essential to define the term early marriage. According to Nordtveit (2016), the widely used 'western' definition indicates that one or two parties are under the age of 18. In Sudan however, early marriage is referred to the age of 14 to 16 while child marriage involves children around the age of ten (Nordtveit, 2016). Forced marriage on the other hand concerns anyone who does not give their full consent. Both child marriage and early marriage can therefore be defined as forced marriage as it always lacks valid consent from those involved.

Nordtveit (2016) presents reasons for marriage and argues that these reasons reply mostly to contexts with extreme poverty, areas with fragile economy or lack of education. Security and protection is described as one of the main reasons for early marriage. Another common reason is economy. Nordtveit argues that marriage in Sudan is mostly economic as it brings dowry for the family. Other economic benefits are exchange for material goods or one mouth less to feed for the family. A third reason to marry off their daughter is for the parents to protect the child's virginity and therefore also preventing sexual transmitted infections (STI) such as HIV/AIDS. This however is a problematic reason as the girls often marry older men which my increase, instead of reducing, the risk of STI's. Girls and young women in Sudan are three times more likely to get HIV than young men the same age (Nordtveit, 2016). As STI's are a dangerous and serious consequence of early marriage, Nordtveit also argues for pregnancy to be problematic. Lack of prevention and the expectation of producing enough children to meet the family's need in the future often leads to early pregnancies. Youth girls may of course also choose to have sex for different reasons, get raped or participate in transactional sex. No matter the reason, pregnancy as a consequence may have fatale outcomes. ODI (2016) reports that in South Sudan after 2013, young girls are more likely to die in childbirth than to complete secondary education.

Other problems with early marriage described by Nordtveit (2016) is SGBV by the spouse, excessive or tough labour or housework, and skewed power relations between the young woman and her spouse. According to Nordtveit, there is a risk of social isolation, denial of basic rights such as freedom of movement and freedom of speech.

4 Research methodology

Since this study aims to explore in depth the impact education has on refugee youth girls' well-being in Uganda, it seemed most suitable to conduct qualitative research with an ethnographic approach. Ethnographic research entails a broad range of methods for data collection and follows some distinct features such as being on site in the field, participatory observation, somehow unstructured research design, small-scale in-depth cases and grounded theory approach for data analysis (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Doing qualitative research provides an understanding of peoples lived life, their attitudes, meanings, behaviours, and gives a voice to those who participates (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011), which is some of the main issue of this research.

This ethnographic study combines several qualitative methods to fully capture the perspectives and experiences of education for youth girls in Rhino Camp refugee settlement. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argues that ethnographic research involves doing research for an extended period of time, which makes the ethnographic approach in this case somehow questionable as the fieldwork only extended to three months. Is it enough to do research for only three months? What will it cover? For the former question, I will arguably answer no. It is not a secret that ethnographic research is time consuming (Gusterson, 2008; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Kees van Donge, 2006) and my experience clearly illustrated this in practice as I most certainly did not have enough time to go in-depth and follow Kees von Donge's (2006) recommendation of being accepted as a normal member of the social environment of which I am studying. Even though this is in most cases too ambitious to achieve, three months will only touch the surface of that social environment. Still, by using a combination of several qualitative methods, my small-scale ethnographic study has provided me with a broad data collection which says something specific about the topic researched. To answer the latter, this study does not strive for or claim objectivity. It is rather a subjective confirmation of the people's voices and experiences in the location- and context specific case of one specific refugee settlement. This research will therefore not be representative to the total population of South Sudanese refugees in Uganda or other neighbouring countries, nor will it be representative to refugees in general. However, sharing somehow similar challenges in their past and present life across the settlements, the

research findings can arguably relate to situations in other refugee settlements in northern Uganda and therefore, to some extent have some transferability.

The case of youth girls in Rhino Camp in northern Uganda is the case study I used to explore the issue of educations' impact on refugee girls in post primary. According to Cohen et al. (2011, p. 290) case studies "strive to portray 'what it is like' to be in a particular situation, to catch the close-up reality and 'thick descriptions' of informants' lived experiences of, thoughts about and feelings for, a situation". In order to conduct this case study, Rhino Camp were the most suitable settlement among several in the northern region due to its high development. Being well developed it consisted of two secondary schools and one vocational centre, which was the only post-primary institutions in the settlement. Even though many of the refugees in the West Nile region and Arua district live in urban areas such as Koboko[3] and Arua, most refugees live in settlements driven and organized by humanitarian organizations, with UNHCR as the main responsible in cooperation with the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM). Those refugees who are living within the settlements are the only one who benefits and receives assistance from the organizations. I have deliberately chosen to focus on settlement-based refugees as they are directly affected by the refugee policy and laws, and are, in most cases, more marginalized than those who settle in urban areas. However, I do include three students from a university in Kampala, in order to explore how higher education is experienced by South Sudanese refugees originally settled in Rhino Camp. As research on education for refugees mainly concentrate on primary school, I decided to focus specifically on post-primary. As I already knew that access to secondary or tertiary education in Rhino Camp was limited, I wanted to explore this issue with the hope of covering all the settlements institutions. The choice of covering all three post-primary institutions in Rhino Camp was also made to gather data from girls with different perspectives and life-situations.

4.1 Access and gatekeepers

Accessibility also affected my choice of case study. After months of correspondence with different NGO's recommending me to visit Rhino Camp I was welcomed in to the field and

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[3] Koboko town, approximately 40 kilometres north of Arua town, lies in Koboko District in northern Uganda.

granted unofficial access before arrival in northern Uganda. However, as I both knew and anticipated that difficulties would arise when in the field, I was not prepared for the major hardship and struggle I faced to gain access in the settlement once I arrived. At the time of arrival my main contacts and gatekeepers cut off all contact and refused to meet me, which left me back at square one. After some weeks of struggle, I reached another NGO, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) through their head office in Norway and eventually got introduced to their programmes in Rhino Camp and meetings with their vocational skills training (VST) centre. Even though access was granted in the VST centre, after a few days, without any explanation, all contact was yet again cut between me and the NGO. As I struggled to regain contact, I reached out to a third NGO, Windle Trust Uganda (WTU) which focuses primarily on education for refugees and gained contact with them. Again, without any further explanation, all contact ended after a few days in the field. As these two NGO's were the only one covering post-primary education in the settlement I was left with no other options.

Desperate and stressed I reached out to directors and NGO workers outside the country offices of Uganda to seek help, and learned that the main issue was transportation to and from the settlement. At this point I came to understand that my problems were somehow culturally bounded. Through local informants within Arua town I learned that lack of communication with NGOs, or people in general, may be due to negative or bad news not being passed on as this is considered inappropriate and may cause one to lose face. Instead of bringing me the bad news and face to discussing solutions, all communication ended. As difficulties with transportation was not previously mentioned, I did not foresee this as the main issue. After weeks of sporadic access to the settlement and the schools, I rented my own car to be able to move between the settlement and Arua town, and within the settlement and the schools. As the distance between Arua town is approximately one hour by car, as well as it takes one and a half hour to get from one end of the settlement to the other, transportation was fundamentally important in order to conduct my research. As I managed to provide for my own transportation both NGO's provided access to their institutions. Despite solving the issue of transportation, I was still more or less left to myself, with sporadic engagement by the workers of both NGO's. As I learnt the way to and from all the institutions, I managed to drive out to the schools by myself.

As I did gain access to the institutions, and managed my own time and schedule, I spent time at all three institutions where I collaborated with the head masters and the teacher staff in order to get the first contact with informants. When reaching out to the informants, forming a network of girls and then getting to know the female teachers, purposeful sampling felt both natural and somehow 'easy' to achieve. With the help of the staff in all institutions, all female students, regardless of ethnicity and nationality, gathered to get the same information about my presence in their school, and the purpose of my thesis. This helped me in reaching out to those students who had in in-depth information about my topic, as they willingly met me outside of class.

It is clear that gaining access to the field and establishing a network of informants and gatekeepers is difficult and require hard work and therefore might need multiple negotiations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), as my experience clearly illustrates. In these seemingly highly bureaucratic organizations it was difficult to identify whose permission I needed. With multiple gatekeepers, the information changed from day to day, which made flexibility a key factor in the planning of the practical implementation of the research methods on site.

4.2 Methods

The fieldwork was carried out from 10th of July to 26th of September 2017 and my research methods consisted of several qualitative methods to fully capture the experiences of education for youth girls in the refugee settlement. I conducted semi-structured life world interviews, one focus group interview and participatory observations in Rhino Camp, as well as collecting data through journal and diary writing based on reflections and informal conversations with informants both in Arua town and in the settlement. This combination of methods proved to be beneficial as I obtained a great variable of data from different sources in these four schools/institutions.

4.2.1 Observation

At every institution, except the university which did not contain any observation, participatory observation was my main starting point as this gave me a quick overview and brought me in contact with the girls. At all the schools I participated in classes and activities and took great advantage of the concept of "hanging out" (Skårås, 2016) in lunchbreaks in the students free

time. The concept of "hanging out" is described by Gusterson (2008) as the mix between improvisation and flexibility in the field, the overlap between informal and formal conversations and, to some extent, structured interviews. Gusterson (2008) describes "hanging out" as the essence of participatory observation, an important method of ethnographic research. The concept of hanging out quickly helped me to create a bond with some of the girls and let me get to know them not only as a teacher or researcher, but as a friend and fellow student. This, alongside participatory observation, provided fruitful insight into their everyday life, culture and context. Focusing on "hanging out", and excluding other types of observation, such as structured classroom observation, was a decision based on my focus of the girls lived experiences, feelings and thoughts, not the content of the classes or quality of education.

Cohen et al. (2011) argues that all forms of observation are somehow participatory as we become a part of the world we study in one way or another. They also classify the different roles a researcher may have in observation and what they list as the "observer-as-participant" (Cohen, 2011, p. 457) which describes my role during the fieldwork. As an outsider who participates in some, but not all activities and has a clear role as researcher, I was first and foremost an observer. Unstructured observations took place at all times throughout my fieldwork, both in and around the settlement. The unstructured participatory observation will generate a hypothesis, not test one (Cohen et al., 2011), as is the core of inductive research approach. During observation both concrete observations and reflections were written down continuously, as well as a research diary, which all are a part of my data collection.

Observing does not come without limitations and challenges and the risk of bias is always present and can have a great impact on the research. Some issues highlighted by Cohen et al. (2011) are particularly relevant to my research, such as my selective attention and memory, interpersonal matters and reactivity. What I observe may not be the normal behaviour of my informants as my presence affect their behaviour. In some situations, it was obvious that the classes were adjusted because of my presence, which may have an impact on how I interpret and understand the data. I will therefore not know what a 'normal' class looks like, and will therefore not be able to compare how my presence affects their behaviour. How I interpret my

observations compared to the data from the interviews will therefore be based on this experience of a class, and not necessarily a class how it is normally carried out.

What I see in the field is based on what I had in mind at the time of observation and at the same time, based on my experiences and to some extent expectations. During participation in classes and activities, writing while observing turned out impossible which led me to write up my observations straight after the event. Still, this results in more selective field notes leaving out details and possibly valuable data. My field notes are unintentionally shaped and constructed on the basis of my judgements and preferences on the context, situation and people I encounter and got to know in the field during the time of observation. Interpersonal relations may affect my observations and doing research in this setting, with vulnerable groups, generated a new set of emotions which needs to be accounted for during the research process and the analysis.

4.2.2 Interviews

My main method for gathering data on how education impacts youth girl's well-being and future-prospects in the settlement, was through individual interviews. To get a greater understanding of the issue, I chose to conduct semi-structured life world interviews with the girls. The qualitative phenomenological approach of semi-structured life world interviews focuses on the interviewee's own perspectives and helps understanding their lived world, from their point of view. It "seeks to obtain descriptions of the interviewee's lived world with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). By using this qualitative method on interviewing it gave me a possibility to obtain full descriptions of the girls lived experiences. In research with youth girls living in the refugee settlement and their experience of education in relation to well-being it was imperative to have an openness to their stories, to listen to the way they described their lived experiences and to give them the opportunity to speak freely. The semi-structured life world interviews were therefore conducted with an interview guide containing few specific questions directed towards the three faces of life the research questions are aimed at (ref. appendix 1 and 2). All questions were open-ended to fully capture the descriptions and narratives of my informants.

In addition to the individual interviews, I also conducted one semi-structured focus group interview with four girls at one of the two secondary schools in Rhino Camp. This interview was spontaneous and therefore built on themes and topics, instead of an interview guide. In this focus group interview, I introduced the theme of 'education and its importance for girls', and led the way to a discussion where all four girls participated somehow equally. As a moderator, I made sure we were on track, theme wise, that they all got to share their stories and that all aspects of both my curiosity and their interests were covered. All interviews, both individual and focus group, which are between 30 and 80 minutes long were recorded and transcribed. Other than the spontaneous interview during my last day in the settlement, all of the informants were given the opportunity to withdraw their statements or full interviews. However, none of the informants got the opportunity to review their statements. As all of the informants in the settlement are hard to reach it will become impossible to introduce the final thesis to those informants, the students at the university however, will be given the final thesis.

As any method, interview too has some downsides, and Willis (2006) argues that the utmost biggest concern is representativeness and accuracy, especially when interviewing a small group. As I will discuss the issue of validity and reliability later in this chapter, accuracy is worth mentioning here. It is argued by Willis (2006) and (Cohen et al., 2011) that the interviewee may tell the interviewer what she thinks is the 'correct answer' or whether they are telling the truth. In my case it was quite clear that my informants fit into both types of interviewees Hammersley and Atkinson's (2007) suggests; those who are restricted and sensitive to the topics, and those who willingly reveal information. According to Hammersley and Atkinson the aim is then to target those who have the knowledge needed and who are willing to communicate it. Even though this is hard to achieve for all the interviewees, as some interviewees are more restricted and sensitive, this was still the goal of my sample. The literature also argue that the interviewees can influence the focus group interview in regard to what is communicated and who communicates it (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). This made my task as a moderator even more necessary, and also difficult as my main job is to facilitate, not control, the interaction between the informants (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Lloyd-Evans, 2006). Lloyd-Evans (2006) argues not only for the interviewers' job as a moderator to be difficult, but warns of the danger which assume that group interviews reflects the informants' individual life. Last, but not least,

the interviewer's assumptions, beliefs and biases may ultimately impact the outcome of the interviews too.

4.2.3 Sampling

Throughout my fieldwork I essentially used purposeful sampling where the criteria were girls between 16 and 26 years old from South Sudan in all grades in post-primary education in Rhino Camp (ref. appendix 3). Although youth is defined by the United nations as people between 15 and 24 years (UNESCO, 2017) and by the African Union Commission (2006, p. 11) as "every person between the age of 15 and 35 years", I chose to focus on youth between 16 and 26 years. For the girls to be able to personally consent, I chose 16 to be the lowest age. 26 was chosen to include more South Sudanese youth from the VST centre. Although the VST centre accepted students from 18 to 30 years, students above 26 were either Ugandans or unwilling to participate in the study. As South Sudanese refers to unmarried young woman as 'girls' and married women as 'women' (Deng, 2016), these will be descriptions of the girls participating in this study, where women exclusively refers to the students of the VST centre. As the student-groups differs between the settlements formal and informal education, this distinction helps illustrate which students' statements are being discussed.

Another requirement was their educational background. As many children from South Sudan, especially those living close to the Ugandan border, attends primary education in Uganda, I sought those who had their education background from South Sudan. By using purposive sampling with this specific criteria aims at acquiring "in-depth information from those who are in position to give it" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 157). My choice of using purposive sampling has therefore been used to "access knowledgeable people" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 157), in this case, those girls with experiences from South Sudan.

As the schools in Rhino Camp are mixed schools with both nationals and refugees I had to rely on my network of students and teachers to gather a sample through snowballing. Even though Cohen et al. (2011) argues that female refugees or marginalized and stigmatized groups are hard to reach, and access to informants may be difficult to achieve due to sensitive topics, I did not encounter these issues among the school-going girls in either institution. A downside to

snowballing will still occur, and the issue of informants exercising control over whom to involve, informants guarding their own privacy and excluding information on that regard, and biases from the initial contact and primary informants is likely to occur during the process (Cohen et al., 2011). The use of snowball sampling was however perceived as positive as my primary informants helped identify other relevant informants and gaining access to what Cohen et al. (2011) calls hard-to-reach informants.

Through hanging out and through information given out to the female group all together, I built a small network of informants who then helped me identify and gather a bigger sample. This was the case at both secondary school 1 and the VST centre. Secondary school 1 was the first school I conducted interviews at. A school with 452 students where 107 were refugee girls (ref. appendix 5). During the weeks of observation and hanging out I got to know a group of girls from South Sudan who both participated in the research and helped gather other informants from the school. As the girls talked about the research among themselves, the girls willingly participated in the interviews. Due to public holidays for all school-going children in formal education in Uganda, time was limited at Secondary school 1. This resulted in seven individual interviews at the end of my stay there.

While the formal schools were closed for holidays, the NRC's VST centre were open and the procedure of participatory observation and hanging out with the students took place the first weeks before conducting interviews at the end of my stay there. Spending time in all the different classes, participating in lectures and getting to know them outside the classroom helped me to find informants for the study based on the criteria. At the VST centre this turned out to be more challenging than the secondary school as these students ranged from 18 to 30, there were major language barriers as many students who only had lower primary in Arabic from South Sudan did not speak English, and many of the girls did not want to participate due to personal restrictions. This made my time with the students outside the classroom more valuable as our personal relationship made some of the students willing to participate, and from there could recommend other students to attend. At the VST centre I conducted 10 individual interviews where one was interrupted halfway by the informants' friend. As she was interested in the topic

and wanted to participate, the original interviewee invited her in to what became a fruitful and informative group discussion.

I conducted one focus group interview with four students in secondary school 2. Due to food distribution in the settlement most students were absent the day of the interview. The visit to the school this day and the interview itself were spontaneous and arranged while all the girls were gathered in one class. As this was the last interview and my last day in Rhino camp I got help from a female teacher in selecting girls who were, in addition to my main criteria, comfortable talking in small groups, who were also able to think critically and willing to share personal information and experiences with the group.

The sample population of refugees from Rhino Camp who have accessed university through Windle Trust Uganda's (WTU) scholarship is very small. With the help of WTU's head office I got in contact with the only three girls from Rhino Camp who is attending university in Kampala. These scholarship holders were invited by WTU to meet me at the university, with the arranged help from their student representative. At the university they all got an introduction to the topic and the research where all three agreed to participate. Two of the students participated during this meeting, while the third student agreed to an interview the following day so she could attend her lectures at the university the day of the meeting.

All stakeholders in education, including the staff of all institutions, teachers and students in Rhino Camp and NGO workers in the field of education in both the settlement and Arua district were relevant sources of information, and as interview informants. Initially, I planned for interviews with staff and workers in the NGOs and the teachers in the different institutions. Due to low interest and cooperation among the teachers and NGO staff regarding interviews, I focused fully on the students. I did however get fruitful and valuable information from NGO representatives and teachers in Rhino Camp. Due to the vulnerability of the youth I met in the field and the sensitivity of the research subject, different agents in all institutions and NRC and WTU were valuable informants who gave an insight to the general situation in the settlement, in the field and in the everyday life of the refugees as well as their own thoughts and reflections on the research subject.

4.3 Practical methodological issues

As using translators prevents the interviewer the chance of getting the first-hand answers from the informants, this is the main argument why I chose to interview the girls without translator. The opportunity to interview the girls myself also led to other advantages, such as a close one-to-one conversation, avoidance of issues related to the translators' gender, age or ethnicity and the assurance of anonymity and confidentiality (Bujra, 2006). To conduct interviews without translator meant finding a sample of English speaking girls. Although English is the official language in both Uganda and South Sudan and most students in post-primary education in Rhino Camp knows English, many of the girls did not speak English, but local languages. This ultimately excluded people with local languages, and possibly the most marginalized girls which lead to not hearing the voices of those who have been less privileged with education, as especially some of the girls in the VST centre. Still, being able to communicate with my informants without the use of interpreters gave me the opportunity to gather information directly from the informants with their own words, save money and time, get information without the interpreters judgements, biases or transformation of words and sentences and to save both money and time (Bujra, 2006).

It was initially my wish that the girls themselves chose the place the interviews were taken place. This unfortunately turned out to be difficult. Due to the extremely large area of the settlement and its lack of security, the heat and few places with shade, it was difficult to find places outside of school. The girls were at the same time worried of missing out on classes, so either them, or myself, chose a place within the schoolyard. Seeing the lack of ideal quiet, private and easily accessible places to conduct interviews, most interviews took place under trees in the schoolyard, away from noise and other people. For the group interview that took place at secondary school 2, we conducted the interview in the school's supply storage as this room was cooler then classrooms, away from others who might ears drop, and contained spare furniture for us to use. This decision was made in collaboration with the four students who participated in that interview. For the three students at the university, the situation turned out somehow different. As our first meeting took place at their campus in Kampala at a small restaurant in a quiet, distant part of campus, two of the interviews took place there. The third interview took place the day

after, due to her lecture on the day of the arranged meeting. Due to a massive violent and dangerous demonstration at the campus the following day, the student feared staying in or around campus. I was also recommended by my guesthouse to not leave the house that day and therefore invited the student to the guesthouse and provided safe transport. The last interview therefore took place at the balcony of the guesthouse, and the student were safely transported back to campus when the demonstration ended.

4.4 Data analysis

Grounded theory approach is the approach of theory generation used in the data analysis. Grounded theory is, according to Cohen et al. (2011, p. 599), intended to "build and generate theory rather than to test an existing theory". Grounded theory approach therefore seeks to derive theory from the systematically gathered and analysed data. Nevertheless, existing theories and literature has been added to comprehend and explain the findings presented in chapter 6.

During the analysis process I have used a bricolage method, i.e. a mix of different analytical tools (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015) in order to generate meaning from my data. According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2015, p. 268) "the outcome of this form of meaning generation can be in words, in numbers, in figures (…) or a combination of those". My analysis therefore consisted of reading through the material, noting specific passages of interest, open coding (Cohen et al., 2011), counting statements and highlighting statements based on themes, as well as placing statements and the frequency of these per informant in a table. This latter method was done in order to find commonalities, patterns, similarities and differences among the three institutions which conforms to Cohen et al.'s (2011) understanding of qualitative data analysis. The main purpose of the table was therefore not to build statistics, but to see the common denominators of themes among the girls. Even though the use of numbers in qualitative research is controversial, Maxwell (2010) still argues for numerical data to be useful in order to make claims such as 'many', 'most', 'often' and 'some' more precise. What he here calls 'quasi-statistics' turned out to be the baseline for exploring the challenges and resources in this research, as well as generating a more detailed analysis.

4.5 Ethical considerations

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) lists five main ethical issues that distinctively applies for ethnographic studies; privacy of the participant; to do no harm; getting informed consent; exploitation of those studied; and possible consequences for future research. I will not go into detail on all five, but they are all worth mentioning as they are imperative to consider when planning and conducting fieldwork in the Global South, especially with vulnerable groups, like youth refugee girls. To the best of my ability I have tried to carry out my research according to all five ethical considerations. However, there are aspects of doing research in the Global South I cannot deny having negative impact.

The power relations between me as a researcher and those being 'researched' is an unavoidable matter when doing research. This uneven power relation might never be as visible and undisputable as when white researchers' does fieldwork in sub-Saharan Africa, let alone refugee settlements and research with vulnerable groups. Throughout history, research has gotten, in many areas of the Global South, a negative connotation and reputation (Smith, 2012). With research comes issues of colonialization, globalization, exploitation, westernization and inequality, among other negative impacts. With the ongoing situation of the refugee flow coming in from South Sudan, as many times before, the issue of power becomes a hot topic when western humanitarian organizations come in to the already tense area of Arua. The decisions made by the government and international NGO's on behalf of the local people in the West Nile district to benefit the refugees, has created a slightly strained situation and to some degree hostility towards international workers and workers within the different settlements. As this is yet another study made by a white western researcher, collecting data in the Global South only to analyse and interpret it in the Global North, I had to be aware of this when entering an area with this much tension. My presence in both the urban areas, and in the refugee settlement, called for deep reflections over my position in the society of which I am studying, my role as a researcher and the power that comes with it. Being a white Norwegian woman, working alongside different NGOs in the settlement has most certainly had an impact on all encounters with both nationals and refugees throughout my fieldwork. Negative previous encounters with researchers and aid workers may impact the encounter with me, as some situations outside the settlement was

experienced as hostile and the feeling of being unwanted. Expectations of receiving money or other privileges were also present both within the settlement and in its surrounding communities.

Throughout my fieldwork, I have strived to follow the principle of "do no harm". Scheyvens, Nowak, and Scheyvens (2003) argue that to "do no harm" is not enough, that research should have the possibility to do good and that the research should include empowerment of the informants. Hugman, Pittaway, and Bartolomei (2011) suggests participatory action research to ensure inclusion and empowerment of informants. With participatory action research, the approach is only participatory when it is collaborative and the power between researcher and researched are equalized (Cohen et al., 2011). Full equality between me and my informants were difficult to obtain, and I can therefore not claim to have conducted participatory action research. Time and resources were also a factor that limits this possibility.

The power inequality between researcher and researched is divided in two levels; real difference, and perceived difference (Scheyvens, Nowak, et al., 2003). The real difference is what was most evident during my fieldwork as access to education and money clearly illustrated the difference in what they strive for, and what I might take for granted. The perceived difference is present in the minds of both the informants and the researcher in the sense that one might feel inferior, and the other superior (Scheyvens, Nowak, et al., 2003). Research should therefore not reinforce suppressive emotions or give the informants the feeling of powerlessness. This is especially important in research with vulnerable groups.

Scheyvens, Murray, and Scheyvens (2003) describes four groups of members who are marginalized and vulnerable, which all are included in my research[4]; women, children, minority ethnic groups and the poor. Working with these groups' calls for an understanding that they are not all vulnerable and disadvantaged in the society, that they possess valuable knowledge about their multi-dimensional lives and that they are respected, not pitied. Highlighted by Scheyvens, Murray, et al. (2003) is the importance of examining my own motivation for the fieldwork , being aware of my biases, examine my position as a researcher in the given society and reflect upon the power imbalance.

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[4] My research was submitted to, and approved by, the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) in June 2017.

It did not come as a surprise, given the skew power relation between me and the girls, and the insecure and problematic situation most refugees in Rhino Camp live in, that westerners, me included, are perceived as those in power to act and give a helping hand. In an area, where the majority of the population depends on humanitarian aid and donations, I did not escape the expectation from informants to either help with donations, provide further education or arrange better living conditions. As the issue of 'giving back' is widely discussed (Hugman et al., 2011; Scheyvens, Nowak, et al., 2003) and somehow difficult to achieve, I found a way to contribute to the well-being of the girls.

4.5.1 Sanitary pads project

During my stay in the settlement I became aware of a major issue all my respondents were worried about, namely menstruation and lack of sanitary pads. Through all my interviews and through conversations with locals in both the settlement and in Arua town, including the workers in both cooperating organizations, it came to my understanding that the situation was worse than first assumed. The distribution of sanitary pads in the settlement is extremely poor and has led to many girls selling sex, their food or other belongings to get money for sanitary pads. As the lack of sanitary pads both puts the student's life at risk, by either prostitution or starvation, and keeps them out of school for up to 6 weeks a year, I decided to try to improve the situation for the girls in the three institutions in Rhino Camp, namely secondary school 1 and 2, and the VST centre. By raising a significant amount of money through friends on Facebook, I bought 858 packs of sanitary pads and distributed this to every single girl in all three institutions while I was still present in the settlement and each girl received enough pads to last the rest of 2017. In collaboration with an organization called Menstrual Cup Uganda (MCU), we designed a comprehensive educational plan for a two-day training and a budget for the remaining money. MCU visited secondary school 1 in Rhino Camp on the 20th and 21st of April 2018 where both boys and girls attended a comprehensive menstrual hygiene management training with information about menstrual hygiene, puberty, reproductive health and menstrual cups. After instructions on how to insert and pull out the cup and cleaning and storing it, 128 menstrual cups were distributed to the girls. A follow-up on the girls will be conducted in June 2018. This organization worked in cooperation with me throughout the project.

As I did not mention the distribution or distribute any pads until the end of my stay in secondary school 1 or at the VST centre, the distribution has not affected the data collected from these two institutions. Distribution took place at the very end of my stay in these schools, and after conducting all the interviews. In all three institutions, no one knew about the distribution, not even the teachers or head teacher. As the focus group interview was spontaneous and happened after the distribution at secondary school 2 it may have affected the outcome and result of the interview. The girls may have participated in the focus group interview for reasons of giving something back to me in return, feeling obliged to participate due to the distribution or to gain something else besides sanitary pads. For these reasons the answers and discussions in the focus group interview may have been given according to what the informants thought I needed or wanted.

4.5.2 Informed consent

Before I went to the field I wrote a detailed letter of consent aimed at girls between 16 and 26 years, containing information about the study and the rights they have as informants. All informants are above the age of 16 and entitled to participate without consent of parents or guardians and have therefore made their decision on their own behalf. For my research to be ethical, all informants must consent to participate at the basis of fully understanding both risks and benefits from the participation. As many people in settlement and refugee situations are as Hugman et al. (2011) explains, desperate for assistance and seem to agree to participate in the hope of benefitting in some way or another, it was imperative to explain with simple words and to confirm with the informants whether they fully understood or not. It was important that all the girls were aware of the relationship between me and them and my role as a researcher in this context, which clearly illustrated their expectations towards the situation and even the distinct unequal power relation. Underlying in all work done throughout my fieldwork is the principle of "do no harm" (Hugman et al., 2011; Wood, 2006). Wood argues that informed consent helps to ensure that I as a researcher "do no harm". Hugman et al. however, in their research with refugees and other vulnerable groups, argues that the principle of "do no harm" is insufficient without integrating respect, beneficence and justice. What Hugman et al. suggests is that the research goes beyond gathering consent, to including the informants in the study. As time and

resources was limited and participatory research was difficult to carry out I strived to make other aspects of my research as inclusive as possible, especially the process of giving information and gathering informed consent.

During the first period in Secondary school 1 I quickly understood that my consent paper was too advanced, and difficult to understand for the girls. After introducing the informed consent to four girls, I realized I had to both give information about the study, and gather their consent verbally, which turned out more successful and inclusive for the participant, as they then became a part of the discussion on how, where and why. I had to simplify my language throughout the process and confirm that they understood the content to avoid misunderstandings and ambiguity. Confidentiality and the integrity of the informants were maintained throughout the fieldwork, as well as their privacy. The identity of all my informants are kept anonymous in recordings and analysis and they have all fictitious names in this thesis.

4.5.3 Trustworthiness

As an umbrella term for validity and reliability (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015), trustworthiness will be used to describe these aspects of my research, hence the truth value of my findings. Trustworthiness in this research, which focuses on the life experiences and the lived world of the informants, lies in my ability to represent their subjective reality (Cohen et al., 2011). However, as there always are validity threats that may question the trustworthiness of my study, I will here address some aspects that might guarantee the validity. As there is a vulnerable group of informants and at times sensitive topics to be discussed, the validity and reliability of the informants' answers can be questioned as well. Due to the limited time with the youth girls during my fieldwork this might impact the answers of the girls, and I would possibly have gotten more personal and thorough answers had I conducted a long-term ethnographic study (Maxwell, 2013). At the same time, the concept of 'thick descriptions' (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Cohen et al., 2011) or 'rich data' (Maxwell, 2013) where I as a researcher were provided with enough context to be able to make meaning of behaviours, lived experiences of the informants and their presence in the settlement, might increase the validity of the research. Triangulation lies in the combination of methods, namely my observations and interviews as well as my different sets of data (Cohen et al., 2011), hence the number of interviews and the variety of age and educational

institutions of the informants which gave rich and in-depth information about their lived experiences. Using numbers, or 'quasi-statistics' also makes the amount of data and my claims of phenomena in my findings more precise and explicit (Maxwell, 2013).

However, there is still a risk of validity threats such as researcher bias (Cohen et al., 2011; Maxwell, 2013). To eliminate threats to the trustworthiness of my research I have recorded and transcribed all interviews, and checked for errors by re-listening to the recording (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015) as I did not get to ensure member check. The process of re-listening and ensure the quality of the transcription, generated rich data and reduced some bias as I let the empirical data lead the way towards a grounded theory. The questions I asked during the interviews and its wording (ref. appendix 1 and 2), may also influence the trustworthiness of my research (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). At the same time, I will argue for my questions to research what I intended to research, namely the informants' own perception of their own lived world.

5 Theoretical framework

In this chapter I will present and introduce the theoretical framework which shapes the analysis and discussion of my empirical data. The first subsection addresses theories of well-being. The presented theories and definition of well-being are used in order to get a profound understanding of well-being. To explore how education impacts youth girls' well-being, it is imperative to understand what well-being is in the context of this study and in what way the girls are influenced by different aspects of life, such as education, family, traditions and culture. In order to grasp how education and well-being is understood in the context of South Sudan and Uganda, socialization theory will be discussed in the second subsection. The third and final subsection discusses the theory of the global architecture of education and Western hegemonic epistemology.

5.1 Well-being

In this subsection I will briefly introduce four main theories of well-being. Although the field of studying well-being is immense, I have limited this paper to include four main scholars in this field to illustrate the differences in approaches to measure well-being. The most common understanding of well-being which relates to pleasure and happiness is described by Diener (1984) and his research on happiness and subjective well-being and the theory of Ryff (1989), where emotions, happiness and self-evaluation is linked with psychosocial well-being. Ryff presents a model containing six factors for well-being and happiness, namely; self-acceptance, positive relations with others, purpose in life, autonomy, environmental mastery and personal growth. Another aspect of well-being, namely welfare, human flourishing and 'the good life', is described by the theories of Keyes (1998) and Seligman (2011). Keyes argues for social life to be the key for positive well-being and proposes five dimensions of social wellness; social integration; social acceptance; social contribution; social actualization and social coherence. Seligman (2011) on the other hand, presents his PERMA theory, based on what he considers a meaningful life which consists of five elements of well-being; Positive emotions; Engagement; Relationships; Meaning and Accomplishments.

These theories, which are all focusing on subjective well-being (Diener & Suh, 1997), will be used to explain the girls lived experiences. Contrary to objective well-being, which focuses on measurements and quantitative statistics, subjective well-being are based on the individuals subjective experiences of their own life (Diener & Suh, 1997). Based on this subjective approach of these theories, I will in this subsection define well-being as it will be understood and used to discuss my empirical data. Well-being will also be presented in the context of education for refugees. How well-being is seen from a sub-Saharan perspective is also introduced to illustrate the difference between western conceptualization of well-being with sub-Saharan views.

5.1.1 Defining well-being

In this subsection I will explore the complex and extensive concept of well-being and its challenges of multiple definitions as well as introduce the definition used in this study. What is well-being? Except for Seligman (2011) who believes well-being is a non-definable construct, all of the above theorist's present definitions of well-being. Based on Diener's (1984) early work on subjective well-being Diener and Suh (1997) argues for well-being to consist of three components.

> Subjective well-being consists of three interrelated components: life satisfaction, pleasant affect, and unpleasant affect. Affect refers to pleasant and unpleasant moods and emotions, whereas life satisfaction refers to a cognitive sense of satisfaction with life (Diener and Suh, 1997, p. 200).

Ryff (1989) argues that the difficulties of defining well-being has advanced since earlier conceptions of well-being as the mere absent of illness. She does not however introduce a definition on well-being itself, but defines her six key factors of well-being. This is similar to Seligman (2011, p. 15) argument that "no single measure defines it exhaustively (…) but several things contribute to it; these are the *elements* of well-being, and each of the elements is a measurable thing". Keyes (1998, p. 122) argues that "social well-being is the appraisal of one's circumstance and functioning in society" and closely links his definition to his five social dimensions.

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Looking at these four theorists, their definitions are related to happiness, affect, social aspects of life, meaning, relationships, growth and life-satisfaction. Other attempts of defining well-being is described by Dodge, Daly, Huyton, and Sanders (2012) to include flow, equilibrium, a flourishing life, health and normality. According to Dodge et al. (2012) however, all of these definitions of well-being are merely descriptions and not definitions. They argue that these descriptions move close to defining quality of life and therefore questions what "quality of life" actually is in this context. They refer to World Health Organization (WHO) who defines quality of life as "an individual's perception of their position in life in the context of the culture and value systems in which they live and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards and concerns" (World Health Organization, 1997, p. 1). Dodge et al. (2012) finds it troubling that the terms quality of life and well-being are used synonymously in the literature and argues that quality of life especially separates itself from health. WHO (1997, p. 1) however, defines well-being as health when they "defines health as a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being not merely the absence of disease".

Dodge et al. (2012) argues for equilibrium and flow to fall under the umbrella-term well-being. Equilibrium is argued to be a central part of subjective well-being, as each individual then evaluates their own equilibrium level. Equilibrium as a state of balance, emotionally or intellectually, is closely linked with the concept of flow, even though flow is not directly related with well-being. Dodge et al. (2012, p. 229) refers to Csikszentmihalyi's theory of flow as a resource for individuals to reach a level of balance of challenges and skills.

This state of balance is what Dodge et al. (2012) uses as their core foundation for defining well-being. They argue that well-being is not just one of those 'descriptions' named earlier, but a combination of all of them. With especially equilibrium and flow in mind they created a definition of well-being as "the balance point between an individual's resource pool and the challenges faced" (Dodge et al., 2012, p. 230). They illustrate their definition as a see-saw, with resources at one end, challenges at the other end and a person's well-being at the centre, as illustrated in figure 1. I choose to use this well-being see-saw definition in this study because it both visualizes well-being, and therefore facilitates a complex topic, as well as it helps present the girls experiences of education and enables me to explore their well-being in a non-clinical

way. Well-being as balance between resources and challenges will therefore be the main indicator for well-being throughout my thesis. This definition illustrates well-being as dynamic as there are constant movement as individuals' faces challenges and change in their lives.

Figure 1. Definition of well-being (Dodge et al., 2012, p. 230).

> In essence, stable wellbeing is when individuals have the psychological, social and physical resources they need to meet particular psychological, social and/or physical challenges. When individuals have more challenges than resources, the see-saw dips, alongside their wellbeing, and vice-versa (Dodge et al., 2012, p. 230).

Challenges are needed in order not to stagnate, but at the same time not facing so many challenges that one cannot reach the balance point of well-being (Dodge et al., 2012). In order to define challenges and resources in this context, Hendry and Kloep's (2002) theory of resources, challenges and risk will illustrate the two ends at the see-saw. A risk occurs when the challenges drains one's resource pool and causes and unbalance in their well-being. The potential resources of an individual are described as biological dispositions, social resources, skills in various domains, structural resources and self-efficacy (Hendry & Kloep, 2002). Biological dispositions are argued by Hendry and Kloep to be an individual's resource. In this study however, especially gender is perceived as a challenge. Nevertheless, relating these resources to the South Sudanese youth girls in in this study, resources might reflect their previous education and already acquired skills such as reading and writing, their socioeconomic background, self-esteem, social network and appraisal. Challenges however, are defined as "any new task an individual meets that just matches or slightly exceeds his or her current resource" (Hendry & Kloep, 2002, p. 28). Tasks, or challenges as it is used in this context, is described by Hendry and Kloep as stressors or

negative elements such as social demands, health problems, environmental change, needs, maturation, ambitions, and loss of resources. A risk however, occurs when the challenges drains one's resource pool and causes and unbalance in their well-being. Therefore, challenges for the youth girls in Rhino Camp might illustrate factors that hinders the girls in further developing their skills and resources which might cause an unbalance in their well-being. As well-being is subjective, the girls' perception of challenges and resources is important. The empirical data presupposes the basis for the girls' resource pool and the challenges faced during their past, present situation and in their future. Although challenges and resources do have some resemblance to push and pull factors of migration (EASO, 2016), these terms will not be used to describe reasons for flight, settlement, repatriation or the effect this has on an individual's well-being.

Dodge et al.'s (2012) definition of well-being as a balance point between challenges and resources, is presented as containing numerous strengths. They argue for it to be simple but precise, to have a universal nature and being applicable to all ages, cultures and gender, it emphasises on positive psychology and is a basis for measurement. They do not however, present any weaknesses with their definition or questions its strengths. It can be questioned whether it is applicable to all cultures or not, especially considering interpretations and conceptualizations of well-being in the global south and the global north. In this regard, conceptualization of well-being will be discussed later in this subsection. I will however argue that the definition and model are dynamic and subjective, meaning that it can be adjusted to different locations, cultures and settings regardless of understandings of well-being. Challenges and resources will arguably be found in all societies and will therefore say something about the well-being of people in the chosen society. Dodge et al.'s (2012) see-saw definition of well-being cannot be used to measure my informant's individual well-being. Being able to cope with a challenge does not necessarily mean that you are emotionally OK, or that a sense of satisfaction is gained. I do argue however that this definition and its model will give an indication of well-being. The well-being see-saw definition of Dodge et al. (2012) will lay the foundation for how I analyse my empirical data. All the previous descriptions of well-being are therefore relevant to keep in mind as the challenge and resource-end of the see-saw can be linked with multiple descriptions and previous definitions of well-being.

5.1.2 Education and well-being

Winthrop and Kirk (2008), well-known researchers in the field of education in armed conflict and children's well-being, argues that there is an overall belief that schooling supports well-being, but that research exploring this usually focuses on two aspects, namely the education itself and child protection, and never on the children's experiences and their perspectives. Their research with children in three areas of armed conflict[5] found both positive and negative aspects of education in conflict situations (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008). The research found that learning and gaining knowledge was most valued among the students, that this was their path to a brighter future. Students being active in shaping their own school experience and gaining both academic and social skills and knowledge, were also highly appreciated. While distress, such as abuse and punishment, were negative aspects experienced by the students, they had an overall balance of well-being since the students had a voice.

Winthrop and Kirk (2002) concludes by stating that learning and well-being are not two separate things, that learning is the key in giving hope for the future. Mosselson, Morshed, and Changamire (2017) shares Winthrop and Kirks view of learning being vital, even though they mainly focus on educational content and child protection, as Winthrop and Kirk critiques most researchers of doing. Mosselson et al. (2017) sees strength-based approaches to well-being as promising for education in emergencies, and relates strength to emotional resources, resilience and skills. These strengths are argued to be important to come to life through the children's participation in both educational settings and in research. Mosselson et al. (2017) claims that schooling for refugees have had little success in meeting the psychosocial needs of the children and argues therefore for participation of the children to empower, give the children a voice for their own future, and give opportunity to maximize their well-being. The children's strength and participation are linkable to Dodge et al.'s (2012) resource-end of the see-saw in their definition of well-being.

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[5] Eritrean refugees in Ethiopia, Afghans in Afghanistan and Liberian refugees in Sierra Leone.

5.1.3 Well-being in sub-Saharan Africa

My choice of definition and the theories introduced above are all western conceptualizations of well-being (Michalos & Weijers, 2017). Western conceptualization of well-being stems from ancient Greece and focuses on harmony, through happiness during the enlightenment to meaning and pleasure in today's theories. According to Michalos and Weijers (2017), happiness is still the most common understanding of well-being, along with what is referred to as a 'good life' (Seligman, 2011). Møller and Roberts (2017) argues that well-being in sub-Saharan Africa also can be traced back to ancient times and has been shaped by eras of hardship, slavery, colonialism and exploitation. They argue that even though measurements of well-being in sub-Saharan Africa has only been conducted since the 1960's, well-being has its roots in the continents early history. "The African concept of well-being is based on kinship solidarity, collective prosperity, and an egalitarian ethic that precludes internecine strife" (Møller & Roberts, 2017, pp. 169-170). This view permeates the population and the general norms and attitudes of the people of Rhino Camp. Especially in the schools, this collectivistic mind-set permeated all practice compared to a more individual orientation of which my own western education has been centred around. Kinship is a dominant structure and Møller and Roberts argues that this is the baseline for 'happiness to be shared' in local communities.

The community and family is important to ones' well-being in sub-Saharan Africa and Møller and Roberts (2017) argue that along with religion, the indicators in sub-Saharan Africa is health, education and income. According to them, health is happiness and food is directly linked with both. For many, the absent of illness, especially HIV/AIDS and other diseases also indicates well-being. Education and literacy are seen as important factors to eradicate poverty, improving standards of living and providing for ones' family as education leads to opportunities of work and income.

Since the beginning of measuring well-being in the continent in the 1960's, Møller and Roberts (2017) claims that the majority experiences positive change. However, minorities and marginalized people, especially women, indigenous groups and refugees are recognized as disadvantaged and struggling to reach a balance in well-being.

5.2 Socialization theory

Socialization is "the social process through which children develop an awareness of social norms and values and achieve a distinct sense of self" (Giddens & Sutton, 2013, p. 1071). Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991, p. 150) defines socialization "as the comprehensive and consistent induction of an individual into the objective world of a society or a sector of it". Socialization is therefore a process that occurs during childhood and into maturity as the self is in constant progress. Even though early childhood is significant in the socialization process, this process continues throughout a person's life where they are active informants in this process. Over the years, many South Sudanese people have either chosen to move, or been forced to move from their homes. The socialization process of South Sudanese girls and women can therefore be influenced by several factors, especially in its latest phase.

Socialization can be divided into two phases; primary and secondary socialization (Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991; Giddens & Sutton, 2013). Giddens and Sutton (2013) describes early childhood as the primary phase. This phase is what Berger and Luckman argues to be the most important one. "Every individual is born into an objective social structure within which he encounters the significant others who are in charge of his socialization" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991, p. 151). By this they mean that a child is born into a family, a society, a culture, of which the child's primary caretakers, most often the parents, are the main influencers in the child's early life. In a south Sudanese context, Deng (2016) argues that immediately after birth, this influence stems from the child's parents, but shifts to include extended family, community and clan members when the child becomes older, which indicates that the child's significant other may not always be the parents. By identifying with its significant other, the child internalizes norms, rules and attitudes to the society of which she grows up. The world of her significant others is internalized as her world, her truth (Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991). However, as there are global differences in parenting, upbringing and family structure based on culture and cultural background and socioeconomical factors (Deng, 2016) a family in sub-Saharan Africa may not fit within Berger and Luckman's western conceptualization of socialization and family as this bears little resemblance to non-western families.

According to South Sudanese traditions, a family includes extended family members and in-laws and, within this paradigm, the role of looking after and disciplining children is shared. Although the immediate parents are expected to be central in such a noble and challenging role, members of the wider community are also expected to help in disciplining children and shaping their behaviour for a better future. As a result, South Sudanese see parenting as a collective practice in which every member of society should be involved to help in children's upbringing (Deng, 2016, pp. 79-80).

The child identifies with the significant other's role and behaviour to be able to subjectively identify herself (Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991). In the primary socialization process, children become self-aware, knowledgeable individuals who are assisted in becoming special members of a group or culture of which they are born. Socialization therefore connects different generations to one another where cultural learning takes place more intensively during infancy and early childhood and where the family is the main agent. This cultural learning varies from society to society where the family teaches what language, traditions, cultural practices, norms and values the child internalizes. Attitudes towards gender, gender roles and cultural practises and rituals of marriage and household in South Sudan can therefore arguably stem from the child's closest family, as will be discussed later in this subsection.

Secondary socialization differs from the primary socialization because the latter is rooted in ones' awareness and emotionally connects to, and identifies with, one main agent, namely the child's family (Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991). This secondary phase however, involves other agents, such as schools, peers, media and workplace and is argued to take place later in life (Giddens & Sutton, 2013). Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991, p. 158) describes this process as "the internalization of institutional or institutional-based 'sub-worlds'". In the context of this thesis the secondary socialization may be influenced by local communities and institutions in South Sudan before the girls fled to Uganda, but also from schools and institutions within the refugee settlement or the extended environment of where they are settled. Actors within these settings, such as teachers, peers, NGO workers or nationals who reside within the settlement may also influence the secondary socialization. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) the secondary socializations is determined by the 'sub-worlds' distribution of knowledge. This knowledge is described as role-specific as the knowledge is then distributed from people of specific positions and roles in the society, hence teachers, peers, chiefs, NGO workers etc.

5.2.1 South Sudanese family structures

Family structure, gender roles and responsibilities of all the member within the family is culturally bound. As previously mentioned, a family in South Sudanese traditions includes the extended family and the community. It is everyone's responsibility to raise positive children, who respects their parents and elders and contributes in the society (Deng, 2016). Nevertheless, each member of the family has distinct roles. South Sudanese family structures stems from a patriarchal structure where the father is the primary leader and has authority over the family. Being the primary protector a father's responsibilities includes providing for the family's needs, forming alliances with other through marriage of his children and are the head of income in the family, which might explain the difficulties women face when losing their husband to war. In discipline and upbringing of children, Deng (2016) points out that the responsibility of a father is to raise his sons. However, "since men cannot step into the women's domain such as the kitchen or undertake other female roles, they often depend on their wives or other women for several aspects of their lives" (Deng, 2016, p. 89). In addition to child rearing and household chores, the mother is the main responsible in teaching the children their language and culture when the children are toddlers, and gets the main responsibility of teaching their daughters about gender roles when the girl comes of age. Deng does however argue that parents are expected to work together to provide education and protection for their children. In times of war and conflict this becomes difficult as the majority of refugees from South Sudan are women and children who flee without the family's main protector.

The extended family and surrounding community plays and important part in the lives of children as the responsibilities of caring for the children is shared (Deng, 2016). Non-parents are expected to contribute in upbringing of children, with decision-making within the family and in marriage arrangements as "marriage is a community affair rather than being a private matter" (Deng, 2016). Deng presents and describes different customary laws, procedures and arrangements in his account for South Sudanese marriage traditions and also presents the traditional bride-price, dowry. The groom is expected to pay dowry to the bride's family, which in a South Sudanese practice, especially among the Dinka and Nuer, consist of cattle. This practice however, is having a negative impact on girls education as the girls are forced to forfeit

their education in order to get married and hence preventing hunger in her family (Chamberlain, 2017).

5.2.2 South Sudanese age-sets

For South Sudanese youth, coming of age has an important cultural value. Especially in both Dinka and Nuer culture, young boys in their mid-teens, usually after undergoing an initiation ceremony[6], joins age-set cohorts which are social groups of people of similar age (Epstein, 2012). Age-sets are formed as permanent groups which last throughout the life of its members. In the South Sudanese pastoralist society, and the Dinka's especially, where cattle is of major importance, the age-sets and initiation indicates a boys' graduation from the role as a junior cattle keeper to a warrior and superior of the uninitiated boys. Competitions for power and cattle, which often is violent, is described as a part of the ritual where gaining respect from their elders and affection form girls are the goal (Epstein, 2012). The initiation ritual also indicates that the young man is ready to marry. The age-set groups are also described as promoting some sort of solidarity and friendship within the group (Skårås, 2017). Epstein, in his study of refugee children, education and Dinka pastoralism in South Sudan, found that in the Dinka culture, girls also has a somewhat similar age-set affiliation.

> A similar coming of age ritual for girls is conducted usually around the onset of menstruation. Adolescent girl age-sets are organized around service to their male counterparts, including child care, fetching water, and cooking at home and at cattle camps. Adolescent girls also tend to young men injured from defending against or perpetrating cattle raids and also commonly accompanied them on these battles to give encouragement and deliver re-armaments (Epstein, 2012, p. 60).

Menstruation indicates the process from being a girl to becoming a woman, where the woman is ready to get married, take care of the household and produce children. The age-sets of Dinka girls are here illustrating the expectations of girls, as discussed both in this chapter and in the literature review. Epstein's findings however, does not discuss rituals and age-set processes of other ethnicities in South Sudan and can therefore not be transferable to the population of girls in

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[6] In most communities, especially Dinka, Nuer, Shillok and Mandari, this initiation ceremony involves deep lines scarred on the child's forehead. This scarification is common as initiation to adulthood.

Rhino Camp as a whole. It can however indicate that traditions and culturally embedded rituals is part of the socialization where girls are expected to behave according to their sex.

5.2.3 Gender and socialization

Gender as a social structure, identity, and gender roles can be tightly linked with socialization theory. Breidlid and Breidlid (2013) claim that the primary socialization in South Sudan is linked with traditional gender roles. Socialization of girls is therefore the reason why gender roles are uneven in the society. They argue that this socialization is based on pre-colonial African societies and not global gender discourses, or colonialism and its Western hegemony on the African continent. This socialization process seems to have deep roots in tradition as it is somehow unchanged since pre-colonial times. Beliefs, practises and understandings of gender roles are passed on through generations as Breidlid and Breidlid (2013) argues that mothers' primary socialization and gendered identity impacts their children and especially the roles their daughters have at home and the possibility for them to attending school. A mother's primary socialization may therefore influence why a girl may or may not access education. However, a mother's educational and socioeconomical background may arguably influence the girls' education differently as their influence may increase the enrolment of the girls (Breidlid & Breidlid, 2013).

Cultural values and traditions has a great influence on girls' gender identification. Nomlomo (2013, p. 125), who writes about girls identity construction in South Africa, claims that this identification is "influenced by a socialization process which requires them to be obedient, show self-respect and a good behaviour in order to qualify for marriage". This is in line with Mulumba (2010) who links South Sudanese refugee girls' school-dropout in Uganda with socialization. She claims that the socialization process of girls has marriage as the main ideal. Both parents and the community therefore expects girls to behave according to local understandings of gender roles as Breidlid and Breidlid (2013) discussed.

5.2.4 Socialization in education

The school plays an important part in the secondary socialization of youth in Rhino Camp. The three post-primary school institutions which contain both refugees and nationals are highly

influenced by the organization who runs it, the curriculum of Uganda and the educational level of the teachers as well as their attitudes towards youth, gender and refugees. The knowledge distributed are therefore diverse within the formal setting of the institutions as well as among the peers. Education plays an important role for socialization because it gives an understanding of the culture's common values, enables students to contribute to the society and it teaches the skills needed to perform in, and gain, specialized occupations (Giddens & Sutton, 2013).

Darnell and Hoëm (1996, p. 271) claims that "if the cultural background of the student and the culture of the school lack symmetry, there will be conflict". In the case of the three post-primary schools in Rhino Camp this is arguably the case as both refugees and nationals study together in a context that is, to some point, unfamiliar to the refugee students. According to Darnell and Hoëm (1996) a de-socialization and re-socialization process will therefore occur as the students adjusts to the influence of the school. In the case of the girls in this study, this process will build on the their already constructed reality as secondary socialization is a continuous process of their primary socialization where the self is already formed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991).

5.3 The global architecture of education

The importance of education as illustrated in this chapter and in the literature review, and highlighted by the girls in this study, can be explained by the theory of the global architecture of education and Western hegemonic epistemology (Breidlid, 2013a). Breidlid argues that the Western Eurocentric epistemology dominates the educational discourse globally while also discussing the importance of indigenous knowledge in a world driven by this Western hegemony. Looking at epistemologies in the traditional meaning of the word, as theory of knowledge, is described by Breidlid (2013a, p. 2) as "what knowledge are and how they are acquired - in other words, the nature, scope, and sources of knowledge". This implies that the Western hegemonic epistemology is blind to the reality of other epistemologies as natural and true, and equally as real as the Western epistemology. The discussion of Western hegemonic epistemology therefore applies to the context of South Sudanese post-primary students in Uganda as the educational system follows a Western Eurocentric discourse where both the language and the content lacks indigenous knowledges and perspective.

The West's role and hegemony of knowledge is also discussed by Tucker (1999) who states that developed countries exercise the hegemony in knowledge in a sense that they are creating and controlling the global south. This corresponds with Breidlid's (2013a) thought of Western knowledge system as "the only game in town" and might explain why education is so important to the girls in this study and to some extent the standard for what a good life is.

Western hegemonic epistemologies can thus be described as what Jones (2007, p. 325) calls the 'global architecture of education' and defined as a "complex web of ideas, networks of influence, policy frameworks and practices, financial arrangements and organizational structures - a system of global power relations that exerts a heavy, even determining, influence on how education is constructed around the world". Breidlid (2013a) however, defines the global architecture of education as a common discourse of epistemologies where it dominates most of the education systems in both the North and the South. As this educational discourse is prominent and implemented in both South Sudan and Uganda, this might describe the elevated status of Western education as well as the influence it has on the girls' knowledge and ambitions.

6 Findings

In this chapter I present the empirical data from my fieldwork. The findings are presented in four main categories, based on the research questions time perspectives. The first subsection, 'refugees', introduces the girl's past. The second and third subsections, 'gender-based challenges' and 'safety', present the girl's current situation and challenges, both in school and in the settlement. The fourth and last subsection, 'dreams for the future' presents the girls aspirations for further education. These findings are derived from one focus group interview and twenty individual interviews with youth girls in post-primary education in Rhino Camp refugee settlement and one university in Kampala, as well as some informal conversations in Arua Town and in the settlement itself.

6.1 Refugees

Many of the girls speak of mention the flight from South Sudan to Uganda and why they fled the country. There are different reasons why the girls have left South Sudan. They speak of tribalism, killings, loss of parents, family separation, bombs and attacks on the road to the border. These are general war related reasons for fleeing. However, many of the girls share stories of gender specific reasons to why they chose to leave or were forced to leave their homes. In addition to gender specific reasons for fleeing, education is also described as an important factor for leaving South Sudan. The socioeconomic and educational background of the girls and their families has an impact on the possibility to flee and seek both refuge and education in Uganda.

6.1.1 Women and war

In times of war and conflict, woman faces a range of gender specific challenges. Sexual violence and abuse is often a weapon of war and presents major challenges to women's safety, as describes by Ruth[7];

> I came here because there in Yei[8] it is not safe. We have a lot of problem, and gunshot and gunmen there. So even a lot of cases that you can see that those rebels or these ones,

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[7] The names of all my respondents are pseudonyms.
[8] Yei is located in Yei county in southwestern South Sudan, approximately 70km from the international border of Uganda.

the government, they used to rape women, young children. So, it's not good even to stay there. There it is not safe so that's why I come here (Ruth).

Sexual violence and abuse as a weapon of war is affecting not only woman but also children, where girls are the most vulnerable. After talking about how boys and men are often recruited as soldiers, killed, joining fights or getting beaten, Tabu explains how the unsafe environment of war is unsafe for men, but is even worse for women. "It's definitely not safe for our girls, it could be worse, something worse could have happened to a girl, you know the first thing that happens is rape" (Tabu).

In addition to reports and stories of rape and sexual abuse, the loss of husbands deeply affects the women during war. Ann, who is not married, experienced how several of her relatives fled to Uganda. "They [soldiers] killed their husbands there in South Sudan so they decided to come this way" (Ann). Among the adult population of Rhino Camp, the majority are women. The stories told by the young women in the VST centre illustrates this, as many of them either lost their husband in the war or is unaware of their husband's current status. "Then the time I reach here, from there also, my husband was shot and then dead" (Rena). A repeating issue brought up by the girls are the loss of either their husband or father, or how they are left in South Sudan, either as workers or soldiers. A recurrent issue is the lack of communication with relatives who are left in South Sudan. Nyakim experienced this issue with her husband where communication has been gone for some time; "He's in South Sudan but even communication now, three years now when communication is not there with him. He's not around. Even I don't know whether he's alive or dead".

The everyday life in the settlement comes with challenges for the women who are alone. "Sometimes if I feel like to buy something and I don't have money. And I can think of my husband, if he could be alive then he can help me with the things I need" (Rena). The husband is often in charge of the income and many women depends on their husbands. Without this financial support, they are dependent on the food distribution and humanitarian aid in the settlement. In addition to financial support, the loss of their husband also affects their children. "I'm sad because I'm here, and people fighting in Sudan and my husband is not there, and my

kids need the father" (Diana). Diana, who attended the interview with her youngest child, expressed concerns for her children's future due to their father being a victim of war.

6.1.2 Fleeing from war

The war and its violence has for many been experienced up close, either in their home village, or along the route to Uganda. The ongoing conflict also forces parents to send their children to safer areas as in the case of Janet; "now every day you can hear gun and what, what. Every day you can hear there's another person who are killed on the road. People come and shoot you at home. That's why my parents send us to come" (Janet). When asked to describe their reason for fleeing to Uganda, this gruesome violence is brought up as one of their main reasons. "They are going door to door so they are slaughtering people anyhow like goats or cows, which is not good. So that one is so painful that makes people to migration" (Focus group interview). Nyakim explains how she experienced the war at close range. "Bombs was starting on us, even some of the people they are dying, in front of us" (Nyakim).

Education

Besides the violence, one reason for leaving South Sudan is education. "Especially the thing that makes us to come from South Sudan to Uganda it's because of education. So, education is it's not there well in South Sudan, because of the war" (Focus group interview). Mary, who talks about a collapsing educational system during war, explains why her reason for coming to Uganda was knowledge;

> Some of the teachers even those working in our school [in South Sudan], most of them are Ugandans, so they came back to their, to their country so, they left us alone, with no teachers teaching us. That's why we came to Uganda. To get knowledge (Mary).

Education is an important factor for leaving South Sudan combined with the violent conflict. Doreen tells of how her schooling was affected by the war; "I feel like I can continue with my education because I was once in school but due to the war I stopped with schooling". Many of the girls have gaps in their education due to the war and wishes to continue, either by fleeing themselves or by being sent to Uganda by their parents.

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6.1.3 Educational background

The educational level of the girls varies beyond their current level of study. Among the girls in secondary education in the settlement, some have parts of their primary education from South Sudan, while a few girls have their entire educational background from Uganda. Maria explains that she studied up to primary level five in South Sudan, and got to finish up to primary 7 in Uganda and therefore got her documentations to start secondary school in the settlement. Mary had somewhat similar educational background. "I started my primary in p1 up to p4 in South Sudan. And then I came here, to Uganda, Koboko, I studied from p5 to p7. I completed my p7 here" (Mary).

The three students at the university has most of their educational background in Uganda. Tabu completed primary education in the settlement and Secondary school in the Central Region of Uganda, supported by her family. When asked about her educational background in South Sudan Anok also confirmed that it was all completed in Uganda, "but parts of my primary was in the camp". Her education has mainly been outside the settlement. Susan however, completed most of her primary education in South Sudan before leaving for Uganda. "I went primary in South Sudan. I actually studied, I was in a refugee camp".

The girls interviewed in the VST centre have all an educational background from South Sudan, where it varies from primary six up to university level. One of the young woman, Diana, completed a bachelor degree in Juba, but chose to apply for vocational training, as this increases the opportunity to get a job in the settlement. Julie, who has education in South Sudan up to primary six has a goal of earning money from what she learns in the VST centre so she can finish her primary school and start secondary school. Goals for the future is an important factor for the young women's current education and findings illustrating this topic will be presented in the last subsection of my findings. At the VST centre, numeracy and literacy classes were held every morning for those students who had no educational background from either South Sudan or Uganda. A recurrent issue explained by the teachers in various classes at the centre is the lack of learning outcome among the students as both written and oral language of instruction is English. This hinders students with a limited educational background to learn. However, many do attend

primary education ALP (Accelerated Learning Programme) classes when entering Rhino Camp, to pass their primary level.

Some of the girls with an educational level up to primary seven or higher, tells of other family members with education and/or jobs at secondary level or above. Sarah tells of her educated family; "Like, my sister is a nurse, and my father is a medical personnel". Ruth, in the VST centre, says she chose to study her course because of a close relative with the same profession back in South Sudan. Relatives are often the ones who provides support for education for many of the girls. Ann explains how she got help from her uncle to get through primary school when her closest relatives died. "My uncle he was doing small business. A businessman. So, he decided to bring me to Uganda. I came to Uganda, I studied... primary school there, in junior school" (Ann). A similar story was told by Anok. Her uneducated mother could not provide for her when her father died, so her aunt who was a businesswoman supported her throughout secondary school before she was granted a scholarship for the university.

One of the girls explained how her brothers used to be her main financial support. She is one of the students living in the settlement without parents or guardians.

> I already lost all of my brothers during this war. I just left there alone. That's why it became so very difficult for me even to pay myself in school currently, because all my sponsors where what, my brothers. And they have now all gone. I don't know now what to do right now currently (focus group interview).

Among all the interviewed girls, the girls in secondary school often live in the settlement either with other students or friends, or alone. In the VST centre, the students have, to some degree, arrived in Uganda with both parents and children.

6.1.4 Rhino Camp
Settling in Rhino Camp refugee settlement does not come easy and without challenges for the girls. Unaccompanied children often face great challenges. "Yeah, because we are staying here, it's some of us who are just [un]accompanied children, we are just here. And then we are staying with people who are not our parents, that cannot be safe" (focus group interview). The girls talked about mistreatment from their caretakers, child labour, not receiving food and

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discrimination. When discussing discrimination in the focus group interview, all four girls agreed that they were treated differently than the nationals residing in Rhino Camp. Discrimination between refugees and nationals in means of medical attention and distribution of medical supplies, livelihood and housing, food distribution and a feeling of being unwanted was highlighted. However, discrimination in school was never mentioned. One girl explained how she never experienced any issues in school, but did however see conflicts in the community and among neighbours (focus group interview). Along with discrimination comes conflict and fighting among tribes in the settlement. "People fighting here because some small thing people are fighting. Like ehm... children they are fighting together and the old. Other they are going to fight and the tribe also. Different tribes they don't like others" (Diana). Even though some of the girls explained and described conflicts between different tribes, conflicts within their own tribe is not mentioned.

Even though the girls talk about tribal conflict and violence in the settlement, when asked if they are safe in the settlement, the girls all answer yes at first. Theresa tells me the reason she's safe is "because I'm in good condition now, good situation, good security, that's why". At times, the girls had some difficulties explaining whether they were safe or not, or what safety meant to them. For Diana, the feeling of being unsafe was linked with the experience of fighting; "I'm not feel safe when people are fighting. Tribe to tribe. Another time people are fighting, this tribe from there and Nuba what, what. People are fighting. I'm not feeling at that time safe". Nyakim on the other hand explains how she keeps safe by not bothering other people so they will leave her alone. Some of the other girl's links safety to the environment, weather and construction of houses. When discussing safety on a deeper level, some issues do arise for the girls, both in school and in the settlement.

Many of the girls talk about how they would rather stay in Rhino Camp and Uganda, instead of South Sudan. "Actually, we came to Rhino Camp due to the war. Yeah. Because so many challenges we are facing there, mostly like the cases of killing each other, hunger, no good security. That's why" (Theresa). Seeking refuge means seeking safety and be out of harm's way. When the feeling of being safe is difficult to define for the girl's, specific situations or reasons

that makes it safer in the settlement makes it easier to explain. For some, gender specific reasons are central.

> The security here in Uganda, it is good. While here, maybe if someone they raped a girl, they even, there is a court judge who maybe to question that boy. But in South Sudan they will not even ask. If they kill you, eh. They will just bury you. That is the end. So here we feel like we are under protection (Ann).

By Ann, safety is linked with the protection of women and prosecution of men who have sexually abused them. Justice for gender based violence and protection against this is important to many as this is one of the "weapons" used against women during war.

6.2 Gender-based challenges

Challenges such as lack of food, shelter, books, soaps, shoes etc. applies to everyone throughout the refugee population of Rhino Camp. The dependency on humanitarian aid and the food distribution for all refugees does not cover their basic needs. To afford and cover basic needs besides food, some sell their food ratio. Beans and rice, which is distributed by World Health Organization (WHO) is being portioned out by the refugees to barely cover one month. The rest of that ratio is sold or traded for other goods. Without work or any income, this is the only solution to make money for many refugees. This solution however, comes with hunger as the main consequence. "If I sell it out, then what am I going to eat?" (Isleya). These issues relate to all refugees who do not have the opportunity to make an income. "I have no money, I have just gone and sell my ratio and pay with that the bill" (Akech).

Gender based challenges however, is a diverse issue which includes hygiene, expectations towards girls, gender based violence and a fight for education before marriage. The common denominator here is that all challenges affect their education to a lesser or greater extent.

6.2.1 Sanitary pads

When asked about gender based challenges in their education, despite age and educational level, issues of menstruation and lack of sanitary pads are described as the main challenge by most of my informants. "We girls are facing a lot of challenges. […] we have unique character like

menstruation. For us to give, for me to get sanitary pads is really hard" (Sarah). The challenge of obtaining sanitary pads is often combined with lack of sanitation and hygiene facilities as mentioned by Mary:

> Sometimes coming to school will be very difficult. You will find you will finish, the pads are finished (…). Other one is that sometimes, moving from one distance up to here, if you are having menstruation you find yourself that, sometimes you see the menstruation will come that very fast with high speed. Here even, we don't have a bathing shelter and no pads even here in the school. We won't change, it is difficult for you. Staying even in class will become difficult (Mary).

A great concern among the girls were the risk of missing classes and staying home from school. When asked if they would attend school during their menstruation if they lacked sanitary pads Theresa answered a distinct "No, I don't. Because I will not manage to stay". If you come to school or not, was for some not based on menstrual cramps or pain, but the lack of pads. "Me, I come to school if I'm having my menstruation cause it doesn't pain, but not getting the pads, sometimes it's hard. If I don't have, I have to stay home" (Sarah).

During some of the many informal conversations with informants in Arua town and throughout Rhino Camp I was informed that many girls in Rhino Camp sells their limited food ratio with the intent of achieving sanitary pads. In extreme cases, selling sex to earn that money is also said to occur among school going girls in the settlement in order to prevent absence in class (informal conversation, Arua 2017). This is not explained as common, but as increasing among youth girls in Rhino Camp. Lack of money is a big concern combined with a low distribution of pads by humanitarian groups. Maria explains how one must use one's mind to be "looking for money" to buy those sanitary supplies.

> Maria: For us when you're facing menstruation you have to have pads, but here its limited, it's not all that.
> Me: so, there is no one who distributes pads?
> Maria: There is but not in every month. They just distribute maybe twice in one year. But to use your mind, then you can buy now. Unless you look for money and you can buy for yourself.

Challenges with menstruation is not only related to lack of sanitary supplies but also to the stigma around menstrual periods. This stigma creates an understanding of periods as shameful, unclean, something to be hidden, and something embarrassing.

> Like if you have come to this sit in school you had that menstruation period without that sanitary pads and it will come out, immediately boys will continue to accuse you. And if the boys continue to accuse you just, you, something will reflect on my, your mind. As being a girl that's why am I getting ashamed because of all these things, all this. Even I will not go to school. Some of the girls will begin to surrender and says that they don't have to go to school. Because that menstruation period has ashamed them from the school. Then they say that no they don't want to go to school (focus group interview).

Without sanitary pads or proper facilities to clean oneself up, leaking onto your clothes is a major possibility which frightens many of the girls. Some gets help from teachers or friends, to either provide sanitary pads, or lend them something to cover up with, but in most cases "accidents" occur which leads to unpleasant situations, mostly caused by boys.

> Like if you dirt yourself the boys will just laugh at you. Then they will say something that can discourage you out from the school. Then you'll fear to come to school, say that ah the moment I went to the school like this the boys are going to laugh at us again. That's why (focus group interview).

6.2.2 Difficulties with boys
It is not only menstruation that causes difficulties or unpleasant situations with boys. In the settlement and in school girls faces challenges with male peers. None of the girls reported any personally experienced direct physical violence or sexual abuse from male peers in their own school. However, it can seem like sexual harassment do occur among the students;

> Even sometimes, I came to study, yeah it was on Saturday, last Saturday. I came to this school to revise, but, I went for a short call[9], there in the bathroom there. A certain boy followed me there, also inside. So, I felt annoyed. I came and I reported to teachers. Ah. After that now I had to go back home (Rose).

Susan does not deny that sexual harassment occurs among students in the settlement. "In school's they end up raping students. There have been cases of girls being raped at school by

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[9] Expression for 'going to the toilet'.

either fellow students or by teachers themselves". Findings on sexual abuse by teachers in general will be presented in the next subsection of this chapter, as this is a greater challenge described by the girls.

The girls often brought up issues of bullying, harassment and being made fun of in class. When situations occur, the girls in one of the secondary schools told of a teacher who did not respond to the bullying going on in their classes.

> Like, if you tell them answer, they answer wrong, the boys will start laughing at you. Insult you. They will say "you're big, how can you tell the wrong answer, are you coming from nursery up to senior 2?" Then if you don't know the answers, yeah then they will start insulting on you, and if you want to tell an answer they will say that 'ah, this one doesn't even know the answer' even if you tell the answer. If I don't know the answer. I don't feel well. I don't feel comfortable. Like if you answer a question and if it is wrong they'll start shouting at you. You just feel like to remain out (Mary).

A reversed situation where girls bully or make fun of boys in school was not mentioned by any of the girls. The students at the VST centre did not experience any challenges in the school compound or in the classroom. They did however experience difficulties on the road to and from school. "Sometimes when I move here, boys attack me on the road. They take my books. Because I move alone on the roadside" (Janet).

6.2.3 Gender roles

The expectations of girl's place in the home and attitudes towards woman as inferior to men is not something that starts when girls reach a certain age. Discrimination towards women starts at birth, as is described by Tabu when she talks about her uncles, who were the family's main financial support, but did not support her mother as her children were all girls.

> So that is actually, that was the beginning, they couldn't help us, because my mother had been given birth to girls who are useless. You know Africans have this belief that girls are not all that, so … that's actually it, they feel like, ehm, there still are many people who are biased towards women (Tabu).

This discrimination and stereotypical expectations of women follows them also into Rhino Camp refugee settlement where young girls are especially vulnerable and often taken advantage of.

Girls who fled to Uganda alone, whom are living with caretakers, are often expected to do all labour at home. One girl explained how this affects her results in school.

> Especially for us girls. We have been just ran out alone from South Sudan up to here. It will affect us because some homes they like to mistreat girls at home. There are at the morning you just, you go to fetch water after that you come and you sweep the compound you first make food to the young kids, for their young kids. But not you. You will sit. After that you come to school and after going to school all that things of the home they left for you only to be done. Imagine while you are in secondary, so these things really are affecting our what, our results (focus group interview).

Maria, who faces the same challenges of too much work at home and how this affects her schoolwork sees the inequality between men and women as a matter of respect. In her point of view, the labour women do at home is a cause of respect for men. She states that "girls respect boys more" and therefore gets the responsibility of the work at home.

> You have to work at home because you are a girl and go to fetch. For us in the way we live in our country there is that girls respect boys more, so girls are responsible for most of the homework. So, you first you clean the compound, wash. You do so many things then you go to school. So, reaching to school you reach late. Sometimes you miss the lessons. Which can lead to failure (Maria).

Tara who is living in the settlement with her husband and child sees education as important in order to prevent marriage, pregnancy and responsibilities at home. Even though she has a child herself, she points out that she is aware of the consequences of early marriage, pregnancy and school drop outs.

> Without education, the mind of the women is just 'you are grown up, you are to get married and produce', and there is no another focus. Maybe you just go and dig, and you will just remain there. Yeah. You will just be restricted (Tara).

6.2.4 Education postpones marriage, pregnancy and poverty

To most of the girls, education is their main priority and it is a common understanding that having education postpones responsibilities such as marriage and having children. "If you're from education you can avoid early marriage because your mind is now for education" (Janet).

One girl explains how education helps her be aware of the consequences of early marriage. School would not be a priority and it might lead to pregnancy;

> I know if I study I will know its effect, what to, how it will affect me. This issue of early marriage. Other like, aborting. Those are the things that can help me also. Maybe I can get employed in the future. And I can get married to help my family also. There's so many girls who are there in the settlement who are not in school. Some are already pregnant. I thank god that I got the chance (Maria).

To Maria, education is what helped her become aware of these issues. In her school, abortion has also been brought up. During observations in this secondary school this topic was discussed in a formal debate arranged for the students at the school. Abortion as a choice for women was seen as positive for youth in the settlement. For the students, their primary focus is their education, before marriage and pregnancy. Still, many girls are not in school. "The way I think, according to my culture, my culture ehm, if your parents didn't give you chance to go to school you can either get married at early age, you stay at home, produce children, take care of the kids" (Doreen). Lack of education is seen as a cultural issue by Doreen. Poverty as an explanation for early marriage and school dropout is another suggestion. "You may be a girl from a family who's maybe poor and then your parents maintain to force you to marry a man who at least who has some money to give them, and then you drop out of school. That's what we called forced marriage, early marriage" (Ruby). She later explains that this is not done voluntarily. "You end up going to a man who has something that he can support you with. It's not because you want to get married, but the situation will force you to marry somebody" (Ruby). Rena tells a story of where she got married to gain personal and financial support. "I tried the end to senior one, but I'm, I lost my mom, then I stayed with my father, and at the end I also lost my dad, then that the reason makes me to get married, because no one can take care of me" (Rena). The cultural tradition of paying dowry to the girl or the girls' family also has a big impact on early marriage. Staying at home makes you vulnerable and a 'target' for those looking for a wife.

> Because a girl at home, the girl will just be there sitting, cooking, eat. Yeah, you get married also, and if you be there at home working, the boys will also say 'ah I have to marry and pay her dowry. So, they will even, they will pay dowry and they take you to

their home. There they mistreat you. The man even may not, may fail even to buy you this, this Always[10]. Now sometimes you think about it I better just go to school (Ann).

One of the girls sees early marriage as a way of suffering. "Education is so important for us girls. For instance, if you get married. Others, as my friends, they can see they have already gone to marriage, but the way they are suffering it is not favouring me" (focus group interview). She continues by stating that those who are suffering in their marriage also has children. This suffering is not explained, but Rose implies that this expectation of getting pregnant before finishing school leads to poverty, hunger, and eventually, suicide.

> Like if you don't come to school then you must get pregnant early. So, you go there, you don't have money. You get your, even to buy for your child, if you got pregnant. You don't even have money to buy food. Or clothes, so you just be there, sometimes even you commit suicide (Rose).

Rose claims that this happens throughout the settlement, but finds it difficult to explain. "Just to skip the poverty there, so they commit" (Rose). This issue of poverty is brought up by many of the girls. They see school as a prevention for both poverty and marriage, as linked together.

> Those girls who did not go to school they're just there at home, they marry themselves, you see them they are very, they're very poor even. Even to manage home is a problem. Sometimes you see home they have money but to, to manage is a problem. So, education is very important, really (Ruth).

Even though pregnancy and early marriage is the issue of greatest concern among the girls, school is also positive in the way that it keeps them from hard labour at home or in the fields. "Just get married or just be there digging, doing other things which, you will not learn other things, you will not be able" (Sarah). The everyday life of someone who stays at home is seen as something repetitive by one of the girls. "You dig, you grow crops, graze animals, you stay at home, you wait for food, you eat, you sleep, you just stay like that. There nothing else you can do much" (Ruby). Staying in this repetitive pattern is describes as not knowing about the benefits of education, or ignorance of education.

> Yeah. But education. If you are educated, you'll soon know when you'll be married. You first of all continue education. After education then marriage will follow education. But if

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[10] Sanitary pads.

you are not in school you will not think about school or you will not think about teaching, you are still underage you should still do it for those years to come. You just say that 'eh, now, I'm still at home, what is the next step going to take' that way they decide to go for marriage (Mary).

Anok, who is in university, being well aware of the life she could have had without education, is thankful she is where she is today. Most of her friends in the settlement are both married and have children. "So, I'm happy that I'm going to be educated, and that I'm educated already" (Anok).

6.3 Safety

For many of the girls', safety is linked with their experiences in school. Some of the girls' experiences from school in South Sudan includes gunshots, destruction of buildings and fear. Going to school in Rhino Camp is therefore explained as safer than school in South Sudan. Rose explains how insecurity and war made them run out of school;

> Almost six times. Used to, they used to raid our school. We ran out of school. After that we spend something like a week at home. They call us back again, we come. After some short time, it starts again. Even you have to run. Cause that way you can't stay where the war is. That bullet is not all that favouring. So, we had to run home (Rose).

Similar to Rose, Ann's experience of education in South Sudan included raiding of her school and also complete destruction of the buildings. "Yeah. My... my education from South Sudan it was fear. Because there we had no shelter" (Ann).

The girl's experiences in Ugandan schools however is different, but not always described as better than South Sudan. In this subsection I will present findings that presents challenges the girls face in school in Uganda. The girls talk about corporal punishment, violence among student and from teachers, sexual abuse of girls and verbal abuse of the students based on their status as refugees or their ethnicity. I will also introduce the opposite, as the girls expressed that they felt safe in the secondary school and at the VST centre. I will therefore present empirical data that also illustrates this safety.

6.3.1 Corporal punishment

Many girls talked about how they liked their teachers, how many of the teachers were a support to the girls and how they felt safe at the school compound. Some students compare teachers in their current school with teachers from their past to explain how the teachers in their current school treats them better. "This is the first school I have trained without teachers insulting students or pupils. All the schools I've gone to, the teachers were not all that. So, these teachers are good teachers" (Rose). Sarah tells of a similar experience when she explains how previous teachers slapped students if they did something wrong:

> It was the previous time, when, it was when you did something wrong, and then they used to slap, slap people, cause when you do something wrong. And there's something that it has been hard, with, when still there's from our country did something wrong. By, it was in senior one, when it happens that they did call you that you are rebels. That's one thing that's hurt me. But it is not now, it was by then (individual interview, Sarah).

She states that it was "by then" and "not now" that she would be called a rebel. What Sarah tells me about being called "rebel" was also brought up by Ruby. She explains that "sometimes you know, as a student you may annoy a teacher sometimes. And then she or him may insult you, may abuse you 'cause of what you have done". When asked what kind of insults she is talking about she explains that:

> You know. Yeah, we are students, we're refugees. We're not from Uganda, we're from South Sudan. Some may do something bad, and the teacher may end up calling us a rebel or a bad person, you're from the bad side, so you won't bring that kind of character into their place. And that one also discourages you as a student from being in school. Such things have ever been happening. Here you see them, but there is nothing to do, since you have nowhere to go, you just have to remain (Ruby).

Ruby here confirms that this is something that still continues to happen in their school. Insults and teacher's behaviour is explained as something the students has to keep up with, as they have nowhere else to go. "I have to bear with the condition" (Ruby). This "condition" is only mentioned by the secondary school students, as the students in the VST centre has not experienced any negative teacher-student relations or behaviour. For the secondary school students, the situation is more than just verbal abuse. Punishment for bad behaviour or mistakes is common, according to the girls. Most common is the punishment of slashing a big area of the

compound, to dig[11] or sweeping and cleaning classrooms and the compound. This last type of punishment is gender specific as many of the girls' state that this is punishments for girls only, where boys are expected to do harder work such as planting trees. Punishments like this is often carried out before the students are allowed to attend the classes. "You slash, or you sweep the compound before going in the class where the teacher is teaching. To let me attend the lesson they say you must do the work before attending the lesson because you are late" (Doreen). Rose tells of punishments of the same sort, but explains how the teachers punishes fairly. "These teachers, if you do wrong eh, it is when they will punish you, they don't punish someone when the person has done nothing, you must do something, then the teachers will punish you" (Rose). The "something" Rose is talking about is not explained in detail. She does however indicate that minor mistakes get punished. "Like if I fail a question, the question is very simple, then the teacher punishes me because of that" (Rose). Some girls explain minor mistakes as interruptive behaviour in class, attending classes too late, or skipping homework. Minor mistakes might also lead to major punishments according to the girls. "Sometimes they tell me to slash. Sometimes they tell you to sweep around. To sweep the classroom. Sometimes they will cane you two to three sticks enough" (Rose). Physical punishment like caning was not something the girls felt comfortable talking about. However, they did confirm that this happened. "Sometimes when you do something wrong, that's when they cane you" (Sarah). Corporal punishment in schools is illegal by law (The Republic of Uganda, 2016) and strictly prohibited in NGO run schools in the settlement. Still it occurs in both primary and secondary schools. Tabu reflects back to her time in primary school where the teachers caned students with improvised whip made of cut tyres.

> Yeah, mostly in primary at the camp and high school they would really cane you. The teacher askes you a question, it's not like you don't know, you could have forgotten or something, and then they get their big stick and then, in our case in primary they had this tyre, but then cut. We used to call it 'black mamba'. They would cane you with that. Really, they cane you so, like, it used to be like, ten, ten, ten strokes of a cane until your back was soar. We were just 8 years old or something, and you find that makes you hate school (Tabu).

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[11] To slash – to cut grass by hand with an edged blade.
To dig – as in agricultural work, by hand with shovel or spade.

Tabu later explains how this still occurs in the schools in the settlement. Her younger sister is scared of going to school because of the teacher's fierce punishment with canes, and Tabu is scared this will drive both her and other students out of school.

6.3.2 Gender-based violence in school

As previously mentioned, gender based violence do occur in the schools in the settlement. The girls however did not feel comfortable talking about sexual abuse in the school, and none of the students in secondary school would confirm whether this occurred there or not. One girl specified that this does not occur in their school, and compares her current school with schools in South Sudan.

> In South Sudan, you know you also have this problem of the teachers. The teachers there in South Sudan they are not good. They take alcohol. Sometimes even they miss to come to school to teach the children. And yeah, also there in South Sudan they can impregnate girls. The teachers here in Uganda they cannot do that (Ann).

However, during my fieldwork it was confirmed by UNHCR that two incidents of sexual abuse of girls occurred in two different schools in the settlement. This was confirmed in UNHCR's monthly community meetings where the two children and their parents where the ones to personally report this. Out of fear, none of the children identified the offender, which resolved in dismissal of the complaint.

> There is a lot of threats to girlchild education. You are either raped or you get beaten up for no reason. Someone, I mean, with the current situation the camp has, a lecturer like you and he's trying to approach you for love and when you reject you fail his papers (Tabu).

If you do not give in to the teachers demands, it might have consequences for your results. A situation like this happened during Tabu's fourth year in secondary school.

> A teacher approached me like for love relationships. I told him I was not willing to do so. I'm a student I came to school to study. He developed a hatred to me. At one point, he sent me out of class. I could not study his subject because he didn't like me. And I had reported that man, when the administration heard about it, they told me they were going to do something about it, they didn't do anything, until I reported the whole thing to my parents. Then they came to school. We had some talk and that teacher was talked to. He

tried his best to let me in class but still things didn't go on well. The only thing that helped me was that the final exams was not marked by him (Tabu).

This situation, in primary and secondary schools, is just as threatening for the girls in the university. "Girls have experienced it at the university. And many are still experiencing it, so we just pray he does not land on you" (Tabu).

6.3.3 Trauma

When discussing corporal punishment with Tabu she suggests that physical abuse and punishment causes trauma. "They get traumatized going to school. You're pressuring them, you're caning them, they only understand by force" (Tabu). In school however, it is reasonable to suggest that the girls, who have fled from war, already is traumatized.

> And socially, all the traumas, because of education, I can be able to forget about some of the traumas in here [pointing at her head]. All those things because education is good. I'm trying to eliminate some other things. I'm trying to eliminate other things all about what is happening, now we are all traumatized of all what we have and all what you have lost. We lost our dear ones (Tara).

Most of the girls sees going to school as having a place where one's mind is occupied. Where they can concentrate about school and not on their previous experiences from the ongoing war in South Sudan. "From home, you'll be alone and just maybe you think something of that South Sudan and you continue crying. But in school you be discussing with your friends, chatting what, what" (focus group interview). Thinking back on what once was, and about who is left in South Sudan can also be a challenge when in class. "When I'm in class I will start crying. I will cry so, it can disorganize me in a bad way" (Rose). Many of the girls explain how their minds sometimes wander, often to their past, and how this affects their attention in class. To be able to talk about what is on their minds is important to the girls and they explain how they can talk to their teachers about what is troubling them. In one of the classes in the VST centre, the teacher gives time for the students to talk about their previous experiences. "Yeah, even sometimes we talk about history when we left South Sudan we come here, we talk that history" (Nyakim). The teachers at the VST centre are also experienced as supportive and to showing respect for individual needs and traumatic experiences.

In one of the secondary schools the teachers are also available for the students to discuss issues of South Sudan, both on their past and their future.

> Yeah in school we are together. Even with the teachers we are freely with them. Even they are giving us also some advice so that we can also when, when South Sudan have come back to peace so that we can go back to our country. So they are giving us some advice (focus group interview).

The biggest support of the girls however, are their friends and classmates. "When I'm in school I'm OK because I focus my mind just for the lessons and stay with my friends, we discuss, we talk" (Akech).

> When my mind just rings back to where I come from, to Yei. […]. Sometimes it makes me as if I'm sick, but I'm not sick. I am now remembering what is taking place there. When I'm staying with my friends like this I'm OK. When I'm left alone just sometimes I just stay as if I'm sick. That's why I don't miss school, just always be here and stay with my friends. When we depart, I will just stay with them instead of going home. Sometimes even I just go and play ball to make me just busy and forget everything (Akech).

6.3.4 Friends

The importance of friends is mentioned by all the girls. Even though friends are seen as one of the most important and positive aspect of getting education, some also highlight the negative part of friendship. "You know, friends are important, at the same time they can also do bad to you" (Ruby). "Not all the friends are important. There are some. You can tell your secrets and this one can go and tell others" (focus group interview). Even though friends can cause negative experiences, it is implied that friends in school might be better than those friends you would have if you did not get education. "And other also, you are stay at home your friends are not from school, they stay at home, they lead you to go and do bad behaviours or to go and lead you a bad character to the community" (Janet). Uneducated friends are here seen as someone who has a bad influence on your life.

In many cases, it is their friends who have advised them of their education and encouraged them to apply for school. The support and advises from friends are valued among the girls. "I'll get my best friend and I'll tell her the, that problem that is hurting my heart. And I will tell her all so

that's also she'll help me with some good advice that can help me. That can make me happy" (focus group interview). "And when you have friends and you seek the advice of them, because of education you can join together and they can be able to support you well" (Rena). They rely on their friends for support both in school and in their personal life. For some girls, who are unaccompanied minors or youth living alone, their friends are their main support. "Yes! friends are more important because they just always here, not always parents" (focus group interview).

> First of all, friends make me more love, because they show love. Sometimes they love you more than the family, the love of a family member. A friend is everything to one. […] I need this friend forget about what is new, even if its stress, forget, to talk, tells stories, and you laugh off for the day (Anok).

One girl explains how friendships are mutual beneficial and why friendships are important for both parts. "Friends are all fine to me because they do give me, some people they do give me good encouragement. That's why. And also, I do give them, that's why we are good for each other" (Theresa). Friendship and having friends in school is directly linked with happiness for most of the girls. "Like if you don't have friends you will just stay there alone, you will just sit there. Everyday sad. Your friends can make you sometimes happy" (Mary).

> I like school because of friends. To create friendship is OK. That is the reason why I really like it. When I didn't come to school today, I will not even feel OK, because I will be missing lessons and I will be missing my friends (Akech).

Susan however, who is in university, struggles to make friends and explains how it is tough being lonely. "I feel like I should go back to my high school, and meet my friends and chat and play, cause at the university it's quite hard" (Susan). She explained how life in Rhino Camp were more social and according to her, friendships are equally as important as education.

6.4. Dreams for the future

In this last subsection, I will present findings related to the girl's future, where education is central. They dream of university degrees, to become doctors, teachers, nurses and even the next prime minister of South Sudan. They wish for their children and other family members to get education, to lead the way for them out of poverty, avoid protracted refugee situations, peace in

South Sudan and finally to be able to return home to South Sudan to contribute in building their country. All these dreams start with goals of completing their education.

6.4.1 Ambitions

To be able to achieve their goals, of either reaching secondary education or completing university, require a lot of hard work and dedication. Some of the girls are determined to make it and started their time in secondary school as 'illegal students', students who attend classes without paying their school fees. "I'm to sit for exams, they cannot chase you home. You just sit for the exams, maybe if you want to pick the result, then you complete the school fees. If not, they can't give you the results" (Mary). Gaining knowledge and participating in both classes and exams are described by the girls as more important than gaining a certificate. One can always go back and retake an exam when fees have been paid. Ruby explains that as long as she sits in the classroom and are willing to learn, nothing can escape her mind. She is one of the girls who completed exams and retrieved her results after paying the school fees. "I stayed and I learned. First term I sat for exams, but I was not able to remove my report from the office, because I didn't have school fees. I went and did some work and payed part of my school fees" (Ruby).

Some of the girls are participating in extracurricular activities to gain more knowledge, skills and experience. "They have made me to be the chairperson, like, it is United Uganda Students Association[12] eh. Then I'm the chairperson in this, because of the hard I'm working" (Rose). Rose has become the school representative in this association and indicates that she has gained this position due to hard work. Another girl also mentions her role as a disciplinary prefect as a result from hard work. Their dedication and hard work is not something that comes easy, and the girls clearly have to struggle to get where they want to be. Tabu thinks motivation is the key. "I motivate myself a lot. You know when you're about to break down, you're like no, no. Yeah, I tell myself that a lot. 'You can do this, you can do this, you can do this'. And I end up doing it" (Tabu). One girl explains how hard work and achieving your goals also feels good, and makes her happy;

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[12] Uganda National Student's Association (UNSA) is an umbrella organization for all students in post-primary institutions in Uganda.

For me I feel happy when I'm in school. Because I can say myself that hard working, when you're hard working it can make you really to get to achieve what you want. I feel happy when I'm revising my books and I see also if I'm also performing good. And also can that make me even to encourage, like even if they don't give us holidays to go home, making me just always to come to school. It's very important in my life (focus group interview).

6.4.2 More than vocational training

Many of the girls in the VST centre agree that their education is informal and not to the same standard as secondary education. During the interviews, the issue of continuing their education, going back to school, was discussed frequently. Tara who explains that "I can still go back, I have a certificate no one can keep me from", tells me that she has secondary education from South Sudan and wishes to continue with her education once her documents arrives from South Sudan.

I finished there, now I stay in Uganda. But due to this war and all the documents they are on those sides, so that is the thing. Now I also know that this is very good skill training so that, that I have to join to get more knowledge and I get the ways of doing all those things. And then it can take me to help for the school (Tara).

In this statement, Tara refers to formal secondary education as school, not the vocational training she is currently in. Isleya also talks about how she wishes she could get support so she can go back to school. For her, school means formal secondary education. Theresa also expresses this view. "I like to finish because I didn't finish my level. That's why I'm still achieving my goal, that I wanted to go back to school, and at least I finish my education" (Theresa). One of the young women had a very strong opinion about her vocational training not being equal to formal education.

Gloria: Because I don't go to school!
Interviewer: Don't you think this is some sort of school? This is some sort of education?
Gloria: This one not a school, this one, we are just coming because no one is taking care about me.
Interviewer: So, you don't see this as an education?
Gloria: No, this one is not helping me also
Interviewer: How does it not help you?
Gloria: Like this one, when you just thinking about yourself because of this one, you can't be a human being. I need education, to be going to school! Every year. But this one just six months. I'll be going home. It is not too good for me.

When asked if she had any challenges in education, Gloria explicitly answers that she does not go to school and does not receive education, even though she is in vocational training. Her idea of education is strictly formal education, which is according to her, the only solution with profitable outcome. For many of the girls and young women, including Gloria, dreams for the future involves education with a formal degree. However, most of the young women in the VST centre believed that the skills and knowledge they acquire in the centre gives a good opportunity for future jobs and many can also see themselves working within their profession of choice.

6.4.3 Educations benefits family

The girl's education is not only important for their own future, but to their family's future as well. Getting education leads to a job which gives an income that eventually helps provide education and other needs for their family members. "If I will be educated it will help my family because of the way I will be in the future. Also, to help my family out of poverty. Because I know, after this, I'll be somewhere working and I'll get some money" (Anok). When asked why their education is important to their family, the answer is often to be able to provide education for siblings and children. "If I get educated, my family, I will also educate my family members. I will tell them about the importance of education. I will tell them the challenges of education" (Mary). Tabu, who is the oldest of 7 children, hopes that her education can help provide education for her siblings as well.

> All I want to do is finish, do something for myself, get financial stable. Then bring them up so that they can pass through education and also, they can be able to do something with their future. Cause right now there's no one supporting them from our family so, I'm hoping, hopefully after my studies I can bring them up yeah (Tabu).

One girl sees the knowledge acquired in school as beneficial for her family. What she learns about the world and about human rights is something she can teach her family member so they all benefit from that knowledge.

> It will not mean only me, but it will also be advantage to my family, because having education brings me, with also, will also help them in a way that they will see that education is really important for a human life. Like if I know the right of everyone, and I had to tell them their right, they will also benefit from it (Doreen).

Passing on knowledge is also mentioned by Rose. Her grandmother cannot get any education so Rose teaches her how to read in English at home, using children's books. "At times, I go at home and teach her how to read the storybooks eh. These are for young kids, they're like for nursery. And I get, I teach her to read it" (Rose).

Ruby implies that education empowers women and that education is important to prevent and avoid inequality and gender-based violence. For Ruby, it is important that girls get education to be able to be independent and to stand up to themselves.

> As a lady when you have gone to school you never will be undermined by any other human, being around or a man around you, they never undermine you. So, it is very important for me to be in school. And I'm happy that I'm still in school and I will still continue. I will keep the spirit (Ruby).

6.4.4 Repatriation

The reasons why the girls either chose to leave, or were forced to leave South Sudan is mostly caused by ongoing war and violence. Repatriation is therefore a sensitive topic to discuss. Some of the girls thinks that Uganda is a better place to live and would like to remain there. Others believe that it will take years before they can return home, resulting in a protracted refugee situation. The idea of returning to South Sudan and change their country is also something the girls envisioned.

> For me education is important because our country it is at war. And we, we are here now and if you don't come to school and we are not educated, our country will remain and the war like that, so it's good for us to be in school so that we will go and change our country (focus group interview).

These changes are explained as peaceful approaches of knowledge and female leadership. "We can fight with a pen not with a gun" (focus group interview). Tabu, who is achieving her university degree, does not know how she will help or how to make a difference, but she is certain her education can benefit people of South Sudan more than those in Uganda;

> Cause in my country there, there's, OK, they're still lacking behind, a lot. More than Uganda. There's a lot of South Sudanese who have problems and then they actually need

more help. So, I feel like my education could help them more than it can help Uganda. Yeah (Tabu).

This view is supported by Anok, who argues that returning home to educate her village is important. "That's what I need, I need to educate them. Maybe I'm not seeing early marriage as the only option in life, but also, they have to make education to be the key" (Anok). Tabu and Anok's view of education is somehow similar. Both girls think education is needed in South Sudan. Anok also implies that her village needs to be aware of other options than early marriage, and therefore suggest going home to educate them on this matter. In addition to the girls' vision of 'changing the country', one of the main reasons for returning to South Sudan is family reunion. "When I complete my studies, I will like to go and see my mother, father and other that is there" (Sarah). This thought is supported by Maria who also mentions friends as important.

> I want also to go back there, because I even miss my country whom I'm staying. There are so many people whom I've not seen. Most of my relatives, my parents, my old friends, they're all there. Also, like to go back to country so I can see how they are (Maria).

For family reunion to be a possibility the girls talk of peace. Most of the girls are born and raised in times of war and have not experienced their home country in long-term peace periods. Still, peace is longed for, and mentioned by the girls as an important factor for returning home. "We all dream that we are going back, but the first thing we are going for peace and reconciliation. When it comes, then we shall be going back" (Tara). "I think there is peace I can go back, but if there is no peace I may decide to be here" (Doreen). Only one of the girls mentions the possibility of a protracted refugee situation. When asked if she would return to South Sudan before the war is over Tabu states that she does not believe that peace is achieved in the near future. "It depends, but then I think I'll go before because I don't, I'm not being negative but I don't see peace coming any time soon. I don't think it's going to end any time soon so, I guess I'm going before peace comes" (Tabu).

7 Discussion

This chapter presents a discussion of my empirical data within the theoretical framework, as well as the previous research presented in chapter three. The outline of this chapter is based on the well-being see-saw model of Dodge et al. (2012) where well-being is defined as a balance point between one's resource pool and the challenges faced.

Figure 2. Definition of well-being (Dodge et al., 2012, p. 230).

Throughout the chapter the model will be customized to explain the empirical data. The challenges and resources will be explained separately in this chapter before the balance of the see-saw is used to explain how post-primary education impacts the well-being of the girls in the final chapter of this study. The first subsection therefore presents the challenges of the girls' past, their present situation in the settlement and in the schools, and their future-prospects. The second subsection addresses the youth girl's resource pool and aspects which might have a positive influence on their well-being. However, this division of challenges and resources do not consist of mutually exclusive categories as both challenges and resources often cannot be defined as an either/or.

7.1 Challenges

For the youth girls in this study, seeking refuge is synonymous to seeking safety. The findings illustrate this as the girls see the settlement as generally safer than the war situation in South Sudan, and schools in Rhino Camp as safer than their previous school experiences. In this regard, they face challenges of loss of family, gender based violence, corporal punishment, stigma and lack of education, which arguably causes distress, risk and unbalance in their well-being. The youth girls also experience their current teachers in Uganda as 'better' than their teachers in South Sudan. This indicates that their previous education lacked quality and that the education

gained in Uganda can be understood as a resource where various skills are gained and the self-efficacy of the girls may increase (Hendry & Kloep, 2002). This general challenge of safety in South Sudan and the pursuit for better education in Uganda, indicates that it is worse where they come from and that the balance between safety and prospects of a better education in Uganda is the reason why the youth girls either chose to, or were forced to flee South Sudan.

Whether Rhino Camp always provides this safety or not, or if the education is perceived as better, is in fact questionable as the girls present and describe challenges that illustrate the contrary. This subsection addresses these challenges. A challenge "can have positive connotations (…) or it can contain negative elements that nevertheless can lead to growth" (Hendry & Kloep, 2002, p. 28). Nonetheless, one might face a risk where the challenges exceeds the resources.
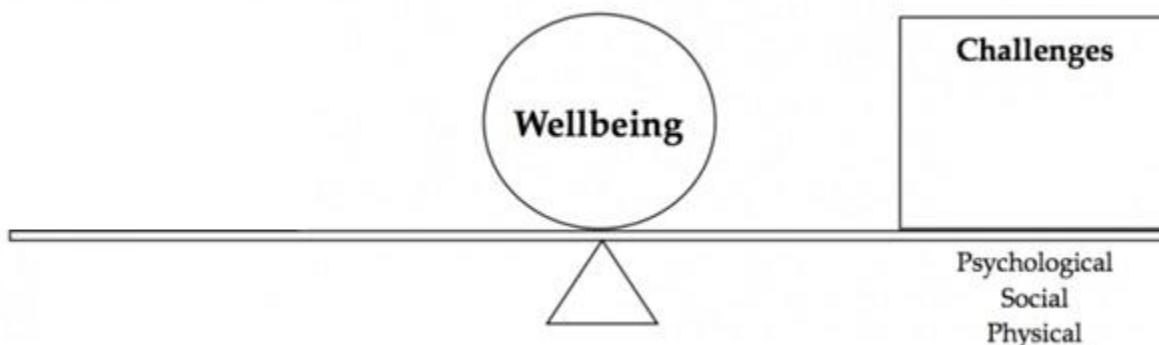
Figure 3. Model illustrating the challenge-end of Dodge et al.'s (2012, p. 230) original see-saw definition of well-being.

The psychological, social and physical challenges, as described by the girls and defined in the theory, will therefore be placed in the challenge-box of the well-being see-saw.

7.1.1 Loss of family

A significant reason to why so many women, girls and children flee the war in South Sudan is the loss of their husbands, fathers and other family members. My findings show that this loss affect the girls and women in different ways, especially emotionally and financially. As several of the girls and young woman explains, there are a great lack of communication with family members left in South Sudan, especially their husbands and fathers. Whether their relatives are alive or dead are to many unknown, whereas many of the girls do have this loss confirmed. As

loss creates potentially traumatic events and experiences (Bonanno, 2004), there are therefore reasons to believe the young women may have traumatic experiences in this regard. Some of the young women have experienced this loss in a violent and war related way, while others experience this through other family members experiences and trauma. Trauma and loss of family members causes distress (Bonanno, 2004) and can be seen as loss of resources as described by Hendry and Kloep (2002) and therefore be placed at the well-being see-saw's challenge-end. The challenge of loss indicates a reason to flee to Uganda, in order to create some balance. As Rhino Camp provides security in education, housing, food and health services, this might ease the burden of lack of money to provide for these basic needs which often is a consequence of the loss of the male head of the family.

The loss of a father or husband deeply affects the family's income as women and children depends on them for financial support. As the head of the family, the father's responsibility as the primary protector is to provide income and make sure the family's needs are met (Deng, 2016). This dependency on the male head of the family is clearly illustrated in the findings, as several women express concerns about lack of financial support and therefore a newly dependency on humanitarian aid. As the girls and young women comes from a patriarchal society where they have relied on their father or spouse as their main provider (Deng, 2016), they now have to adjust to new ways of providing for their family. As the adaption to these new practices would not be necessary to the same extent if their husbands were present, this challenge is based on their biological disposition (Hendry & Kloep, 2002), as well as their socialization which focuses on gender roles (Breidlid & Breidlid, 2013). The newly dependency on humanitarian aid and support in the settlement, helps the women provide for themselves and their remaining families with food, shelter, health support and education. These needs are what Møller and Roberts (2017) presents as key indicators for well-being in sub-Saharan Africa. With the loss of a provider, it is therefore essential that the women provide for their children's needs in order to secure both themselves and their children's well-being in a time of crisis.

Due to the lack of a male provider, education is essential for the young woman and girls to be able to financially support their families in the settlement. As the findings show, financial support of fathers and husbands are replaced with humanitarian aid and food distributions in the

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settlement. When family structures fall apart, women seek education in the hope that this education can lead to a secure income and a safe future for their children. This conforms to education as vital to provide for their future as education both increases income (Dryden-Peterson, 2011), as well as being a strong indicator for well-being (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008). Many of the young woman at the VST centre are mothers with a low level of formal education prior to the flight and can therefore not access secondary education and will struggle to attend and finish primary school. Gaining specific skills in order to get a job and provide for their family might therefor be the only solution for the young women according to themselves. This difficulty of access to formal secondary education, and the struggle to provide for their families alone, is arguably a challenge based on biological dispositions (Hendry & Kloep, 2002). Their gender, and also their socialization process and expectations of gender roles in their society (Breidlid & Breidlid, 2013; Nomlomo, 2013), has made women and girls especially vulnerable and marginalized when losing their husband, and therefore also a marginalized group who struggles to access education. Contrary to the mothers in the VST centre who seeks education in order to provide for their children, the girls in secondary school 1 and 2 and the students at the university prioritize differently and seek education in Uganda for long-term reasons such as to provide for their whole family and supporting family members with education. Gaining education in order to provide for their family is still the common denominator.

7.1.2 Lack of education

This study shows that the main reason for fleeing South Sudan is the challenge of lack of education. During the focus group interview, it was clearly stated that "especially the thing that makes us to come from South Sudan to Uganda it's because of education" (focus group interview). This statement show that education is essential, which is in line with the theory on education in emergencies which acknowledges the importance of education both during and after armed conflict and war (Davies, 2004; Mundy & Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Winthrop & Kirk, 2008). The huge lack of education in their home environment as a consequence of the war, combined with the knowledge that there are better educational opportunities in Uganda is the biggest argument for the flight. As shown in the findings, the girls are concerned about the gap in their education caused by the war. As gaps in education and general lack of primary education hinders the girls in reaching secondary school, this is an indication that education, or lack of such

was a challenge before the flight. This gap however, is not easily closed in Rhino Camp as the net enrolment in secondary education is as low as two per cent (Windle Trust Uganda, 2017), and the gender gap in education is significant (UNHCR, 2018c). The decrease in secondary enrolment percentage from South Sudan's 3.5 per cent (MoGEI, 2017) to Rhino Camp's two per cent decreases instead of increases the girls goal of achieving education post primary in Uganda.

My empirical data suggests a frustration over destroyed school buildings in South Sudan, teachers leaving their profession and raids causing the children to run out of schools due to fear and threats by armed forces in South Sudan. The findings and the girls' descriptions explains and highlights the damages of, and consequences for, their education during the ongoing conflict. These negative aspects of war is directly related to Hendry and Kloep's (2002) theory of challenges where loss of resources and environmental change are listed as stressors which might exceed the individual's resources. Lack of education is therefore seen as a concrete and direct consequence that negatively affects the girls' well-being. It becomes more dangerous and difficult to stay in school in South Sudan when teachers, buildings, materials and learning are replaced by war and conflict. Seeking safer educational opportunities in Uganda therefore becomes a reason to flee the country.

The girls in this study have varied educational background in either Uganda or South Sudan, some have different ethnicity, place of origin, as well different understandings of the world due to their significant others (Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991). Entering post-primary education in Rhino Camp, where this diversity of students come together, the teachers have different ethnical and cultural background, the school is built upon Ugandan curriculum and NGO's are in charge of running the school, challenges are therefore likely to occur (Darnell & Hoëm, 1996). According to Darnell and Hoëm (1996) a de- and re-socialization will therefore most likely take place when entering foreign schools. As the process of secondary socialization is determined by the fact that it is always a preceding process of primary socialization where the self is already formed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991), the de- and re-socialization will therefore build on the already constructed reality of the girls. A common denominator among the girls is however, either a wish for, or the completion of, second half of primary education in Uganda in order to get certificates for Ugandan secondary education. This indicates that the girls are socialized into

a world where their constructed reality contains expectations of formal post-primary education to be of utmost importance.

The challenge of completing formal education is in line with both the social demands of Hendry and Kloep (2002) as the girls strive for something expected by the community at large, and the theory of Western hegemonic epistemology and the global architecture of education discussed by Breidlid (2013a). The Western knowledge system of the North dominates both Uganda and South Sudan and is described by Breidlid as "the only game in town" (2013a, p. 3). The emphasis the girls put on achieving formal secondary school, or higher education, indicates that their view of education is influenced by this Western hegemony in education. These demands, expectations and goals of formal education however, are difficult to meet if your resources are limited, which might explain why the girls seek the education in Uganda instead of their home community in South Sudan.

Educational relevance

The relevance of education is important to take into consideration when studying how education impacts the youth girls' well-being. As the findings show, many of the young women in the VST centre does not consider their vocational training as formal education. Even though there are some students who do attend classes in the hope of acquiring skills and increasing the opportunity of future jobs, the VST is mainly used as an intermediary in the quest for formal education. Their perception of what a 'good' or 'correct' and relevant education is, can be argued to be influenced by the Western educational systems (Breidlid, 2013a) as agricultural or vocational training does not qualify as 'good enough' or as formal education by the girls. When looking at the empirical data it is evident that some of the young women attend and enrol for VST in order to learn a skill which will help them earn money to finish their secondary education. In this case, gaining more resources will provide both psychological, social and physical tools to meet the main challenge of lack of formal primary and secondary education.

The long-term focus of reaching formal secondary school however, does not correspond with Davies' (2004) arguments of VST to be vital life skills which helps the refugees earn a living. For many of the girls, the acquired skills will not provide an income, even with the certificate

provided by the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM). In a settlement where there are no water and sewage system it is difficult, if not impossible, to get a job for plumber-students, or for a hair dresser and tailor to get customers in a settlement which are overrepresented with these professions. This reflects Dryden-Peterson's (2011) argument of a mismatch between skills, job opportunities and the students expectations, which illustrates a challenge that exceeds the girl's resource as the expected outcome of a job and income is not met. The young women of the VST centre will therefore struggle to meet their goals and hopes for the future, as this involves either a profound income based on their VST or further formal education.

For education to be a good experience it is imperative that the education is relevant to the students. As illustrated in the findings, the quality of the formal education or specific academic educational outcomes are omitted and not seen as equally important by the girls as their opportunities of getting a job in the future. However, knowledge is argued to be important to the girls, to the extent some of the girls would even attend classes without receiving a certificate. This somehow contradictory focus does explain how important gaining knowledge is to the girls, but it does not add up to their future-prospects of higher education. It can be questioned whether or not the ambitions of achieving their goals exceed the importance of the educational content and relevance. The empirical data does not answer this question but many of the girls do believe that secondary education increases any possibility of getting a job, which is in line with the theory of Dryden-Peterson (2011) who argues that the income generally increases with secondary education. Their ambitions for education can in this case be seen as a challenge (Hendry & Kloep, 2002) as the girls strive to achieve it, often without the necessary resources.

7.1.3 Gender based violence

General reasons for fleeing, such as killings, torture, detention and fear of violence are described by all the girls and may also relate to the majority of the South Sudanese refugee population, regardless of ethnicity, gender or age. Danger and distress caused by violence and war is described by the theory as affecting children and youth's well-being negatively (Davies, 2004; Mundy & Dryden-Peterson, 2011; Winthrop & Kirk, 2008), and therefore can be placed at the challenge-end of the see-saw. The empirical data however, describes incidents of rape and sexual violence and abuse during the ongoing violent conflict in South Sudan which affects youth girls

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particularly. Even though Hendry and Kloep (2002) describes biological dispositions as a resource, gender based violence indicates that this is a challenge, which might weight more than general war related violence on the well-being see-saw. The descriptions of gender based violence are also mentioned by UNHCR (2017c) who presents these descriptions as gender-specific reason for fleeing, and by Kirk (2008) who argues for rape as weapons of war. Even though rape is recognized internationally as a war crime (UN Security Council, 2008), this does not however increase the security and protection for the many women and girls who live in war affected areas (Kirk, 2008).

As my findings show, many of the girls flee to Uganda with the belief that protection against sexual violence are provided and that sexual offenders will be punished in court. This illustrates that the knowledge of a better justice system in Uganda provides safety and is therefore a reason to flee. The loss of needs, in this case protection, is described by Hendry and Kloep (2002) to be among the challenges individuals may face that can cause suffering and distress. The aspect of protection and lack of safety combined with SGBV therefore affects the girls' well-being negatively as it might cause trauma and suffering. Devries et al. (2014) claims that girls who experience gender based violence has a lower educational performance than boys who experience the same. This might indicate that the refugee girls as a marginalized group (Breidlid & Breidlid, 2013; Møller & Roberts, 2017) becomes even more marginalized as they already have less access to education (ODI, 2016). The girls biological dispositions, hence gender and age (Hendry & Kloep, 2002), becomes a challenge when gender based violence either reduces their educational performance or decreases their access. Combined with Winthrop and Kirk (2008) who acknowledges gender based violence to especially harm girls psychological and physical well-being, it can therefore be placed in the challenge-box of the well-being see-saw.

Many girls in both South Sudan and Uganda experience SGBV in school (Devries et al., 2014; Kirk, 2008). The findings show that the girls did not refer to themselves or their own experiences when discussing this topic, but described incidents of sexual exploitation through secondary sources when discussing sexual abuse in school. This might be explained by the sensitive nature of the topic, the short relationship between me and my informants and therefore a lack of trust. It is however reason to believe that SGBV has been experienced among the girls in this study as

one of the girls indicated that she had been followed into the toilet. Another girl compared her current education in Uganda with her education back in South Sudan where she states that teachers impregnate girls and that "teachers here in Uganda cannot do that" (Ann). This might indicate that sexual exploitation of girls does not occur in her school, but it can also reflect her ignorance on the matter. In contrast, my observations clearly illustrate the latter as UNHCR did report sexual abuse of girls in different schools in Rhino Camp during the time of my fieldwork. This is in line with Devries et al.'s (2014) study which show a high percentage of children who experienced sexual violence in school. Health problem, both physical and psychological can be negative repercussions of the abuse, as well as obstructions of needs such as safety, care and positive relations, which together describes the challenges faced. SGBV can therefore be both psychological, social and physically harmful and cause distress which negatively affect the girl's well-being.

However, as reported in the findings, a fear of becoming a victim of sexual exploitation also affects the girl's experiences in school. The girls in university is expressing their fear of being pressured into sex by teachers who threatens to fail their exams, classes or subjects if they refuse to engage in sexual relationships. Refusing to participate in sexual intercourse with the teacher can lead to loss of resources and eventually lack of access to further education (Davies, 2004; Kirk, 2008). To threaten what the girls value the most might create fear among the girls and might discourage them from attending classes. When education in general becomes a negative experience due to teacher's excessive use of power, their skills and resources might not always make up for the challenges faced. Nevertheless, even with this fear, they still attend classes at the university. The reason why they attend and the high status of education, can be explained by Breidlid's theory of the global architecture of education. Breidlid (2013a, p. 2) argues that the "Western epistemology has had a major impact on the epistemological foundation of the education systems across the globe". The girls' knowledge of the importance of education may therefore be influenced by a Western hegemonic epistemology (Breidlid, 2013a), and thus influencing what is perceived as good and relevant education by the girls. This knowledge, and the dominating Western influence of what is considered good education, is such a heavy resource on the well-being see-saw that all the challenges does not pull the see-saw in the wrong direction.

7.1.4 Corporal punishment

This study show that corporal punishment is common in schools in Rhino Camp even though all form of corporal punishment in Ugandan schools is prohibited by law (The Republic of Uganda, 2016). My empirical data presents and illustrates a wide variety of corporal punishment in school, especially the secondary schools. The findings show that agricultural work and forms of cleaning is used as practical punishments for the girls. This directly relates to the theory on expectations of girls in the society (Breidlid & Breidlid, 2013; Deng, 2016; Nomlomo, 2013) where the gender roles are clearly defined and explained as "oppressive patriarchal values, roles and stereotypes which perceive women as subordinate" (Nomlomo, 2013, p. 122) to men. The findings do not indicate that the girls argued against gender discriminating chores in school, as is in line with South African school going girls in Nomlomo's study. Nevertheless, it may be based on the expected respect children have for their teachers, as well as the expected roles of women in the society (Breidlid & Breidlid, 2013).

Corporal punishments occurred in both primary and secondary schools in Rhino Camp and deeply affects the students. As the empirical data illustrate, the girls define punishment as a concrete challenge they face in school. Even though physical abuse is strictly prohibited in the NGO' run schools (The Republic of Uganda, 2016), the girls reported several incidents where caning and slapping occurred. Rose explains how the teachers will "cane you two to three sticks" for minor mistakes in the classroom at secondary school 1. A similar incident was explained by Tabu where she describes how her former primary school teacher used a whip to cane the students until their backs were soar. This was told to still be ongoing in schools in Rhino Camp and resulting in children often being afraid of going to school due to caning and physical abuse. The fear of going to school is acknowledged by Winthrop and Kirk (2008) who states that violent experiences harms student's well-being in school. According to the literature on education in emergencies, schools offers positive relationships with teachers and child-friendly environments (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008). With that in mind, Winthrop and Kirk argues that more than often this is not the case as children's reality in schools in both conflict zones and refugee settlements may be more harmful than good. In other words, Winthrop and Kirk's (2008) discussion of nurturing environment and socialization to also be harmful to children's well-being

reflects the girls' stories of negative experiences in schools in Rhino Camp. These negative experiences can therefore be placed at the challenge-end of Dodge et al.'s (2012) well-being see-saw where both psychological and physical challenges are affected.

Contrary to the abuse in secondary school 1 and 2 and at the university, all forms of punishment is shown in the empirical data as absent in the VST centre. An explanation to this was not given by the girls themselves but two possible reasons do arise. Since there were higher expectations of the educational level and specific knowledge of the VST teachers than for most secondary teachers in the settlement, there is reason to believe that their teacher training includes behavioural expectations and expected and appropriate relationships between teachers and students. The second reason may be the shared interests and respect between teachers and students at the centre. The findings illustrate that the girls felt they could be friendly with the teachers and that the teachers showed respect for the students and supported their needs. When asked if they had any challenges with their education, they either referred to their previous education or explicitly stated that they did not face any challenges, gender-specific or otherwise in the VST centre, which indicates that the VST centre is explicitly viewed as a social resource. This is directly linked with Winthrop & Kirk's (2008) theory of social interaction with teachers and a nurturing environment to foster a positive well-being. With this in mind it is therefore remarkable that the students are still not satisfied with this education but have a long-term perspective about starting secondary education and university.

7.1.5 Stigma

Stigma, taboo and shame relating to menstruation affects the educational experiences of the girls. The empirical data clearly show that menstruation leads to numerous challenges, such as menstrual cramps and lack of sanitary supplies due to low distribution by humanitarian agencies. Challenges with menstruation can exclusively be explained by their biological dispositions and maturation (Hendry & Kloep, 2002) as they are all females who have reached menarche. Their greatest concern however, is absenteeism during their periods due to lack of sanitary supplies and proper water and sanitation hygiene (WASH) facilities at school. This issue is in accordance with the theory which argues for lack of WASH facilities and supplies to be a well-known issue for refugees (Keith, 2016; Kirk, 2008; Kirk & Sommer, 2006).

However, it also leads to greater concerns, such as stigma and shame. Many of the girls describes how they get ashamed if they soil their clothes and avoids going to school out of fear of 'accidents'. Staying at home will therefore prevent embarrassing or shameful episodes. This is conforming to the theory of Goffman (1986) where stigma and shame are connected to discrimination and peoples discredited attributes, in this case to menstruating women and girls. Maturation, which is defined as a challenge itself (Hendry & Kloep, 2002), might even be more difficult to face for the young women when stigma is attached. This multiple problem is therefore described by the girls as one of the biggest challenges in education.

The stigma and shame may be connected to the limited knowledge they themselves have of their own body, but also the limited knowledge of their male peers in school, and the community as a whole. As evident in my findings, the girls resort to different types of solutions to avoid these embarrassing episodes, ranging from mild solutions such as staying at home or selling their food ratio, to extreme cases where girls sell sex in order to afford sanitary pads. This is however, in accordance with evidence on transactional sex for sanitary supplies also presented by Kirk and Sommer (2006) and clearly illustrate that education is so important to the girls that they sell sex to achieve it!

The psychological, social and physical aspects of well-being may be negatively affected by such distress, shame and stigma. For example, may embarrassment and absenteeism negatively influence the social factors of the well-being see-saw's challenge pool, the psychological well-being be affected by exclusion and bullying, and menstrual cramps and the act of having sex impact the physical well-being of the young woman. When the challenges the girls meet includes health issues, expectations of the surrounding environment, maturation, biological dispositions and needs not being met (Hendry & Kloep, 2002), the extent of the challenges is a heavy weight to the well-being see-saw's challenge-box.

7.2 Resources
In order not to stagnate or have the well-being see-saw tipping towards a negative well-being without finding balance, a set of resources are required to face those challenges. This subsection

therefore presents these resources, as they are described by the girls in the empirical data as well as the theory of Hendry and Kloep (2002). Potential and possible resources are presented by Hendry and Kloep as biological dispositions, social resources, skills, self-efficacy and structural resources. For the girls and young women in this study this includes education as prevention for marriage and pregnancy, 'cope and hope', peer group socialization, family support, and ambitions and social change.
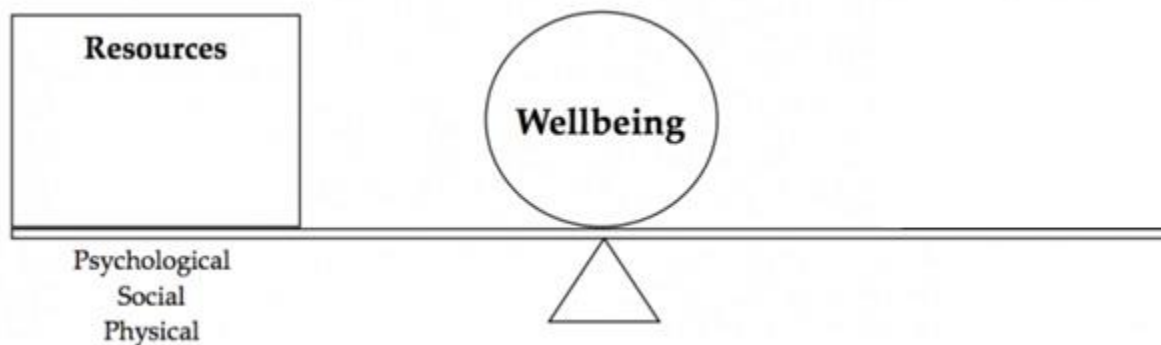

Figure 4. Model illustrating the resource-end of Dodge et al.'s (2012, p. 230) original see-saw definition of well-being.

The dimensions of psychological, social and physical resources of the girls and young women will in this subsection therefore be placed in the resource-box of the well-being see-saw.

7.2.1 Education postpones marriage and pregnancy

Attending school prevents early marriage and pregnancy, especially in a context where this is expected of girls and young women. The aspect of avoiding gender specific expectations are explicitly seen as positive and one of the greatest benefits of education as the youth girls in all four institutions highlight education as prevention for early marriage and pregnancy. Especially the girls at the secondary school and the university point out the importance of education as some of them explain how girls outside school gets married and pregnant early, and how they themselves are lucky to avoid this. Early marriage is acknowledged in the theory as a great barrier to girls education (Kirk, 2008; Nordtveit, 2016) where poverty is explained as the main reason why education is replaced with marriage for many girls in areas of conflict and fragile economy. Rena for instance, explains how she had to get married in order to provide for herself when her parents died. How she first tried to complete her education, alone, points out that this

was her main priority and how marriage was an option for survival when she could not make it alone and a solution to a challenge which exceeded her resources. Marriage is here a means of financial support, which is described in the theory as both common and important in a South Sudanese context (Deng, 2016; Nordtveit, 2016). However, even though they are provided for, their education most often ends, and the girls are well aware of the consequences, as illustrated in the findings. Ann for example, claimed that the man you marry will mistreat you. Ann's perception of men seems to be based on men as violent, superior to women and not providing for their wives. This might reflect the nature of the society she is born into, where war, violence and conflict has been taking place throughout her life. It also illustrates yet another challenge the girls connect to lack of education.

Another consequence of early marriage is pregnancy, which often means that child rearing replaces education. Many of the girls, especially in secondary and university, expresses concerns about getting pregnant as this is a major obstacle for education. Getting pregnant may drastically decrease their well-being as it hinders girls in achieving post-primary education. Nevertheless, the girls' express gratitude for their education as they believe enrolment in education postpones pregnancy. Education might therefore be a resource itself, for girls who wishes to complete secondary or higher education, as education helps increase social and structural resources as well as specific skills and self-efficacy (Hendry & Kloep, 2002). Even though sex also occurs without being married, the findings indicates that the girls directly links the two. Pregnancy and raising children is referred to by the girls in secondary school as normal for girls who do not attend school and is seen as the only option besides education for young girls in the settlement. This reflects the theory which indicates that the socialization of girls in South Sudan is directed at marriage and reproduction where the expectations of the girls' role in society stems from both parents and the community of which they are born (Breidlid & Breidlid, 2013; Mulumba, 2010; Nomlomo, 2013). "You can either get married at early age, you stay at home, produce children, take care of the kids" (Doreen) or you can get education which is seen as the other option. When the options are perceived as an either/or situation, marriage and pregnancy clearly links to girls' school-drop out (Mulumba, 2010), or the very fact that it hinders girls in accessing education before reaching secondary school. This either/or situation can here be understood as a belief that

their traditional paternal culture cannot be combined with a more western conceptualization of formal education.

Marriage or pregnancy does not however, indicate that your chance of achieving education is over. Almost all the young women at the VST centre are married mothers, still they attend vocational skills training. As presented in the theory, vocational education targets those who did not complete any formal education (Dryden-Peterson, 2011) and provides them with vital skills to help them make a living (Davies, 2004). In Rhino Camp, the VST centre provided babysitting, which made it easier for the student to both enrol for this education and to attend classes.

7.2.2 Cope and hope

It is imperative for the girls and young women in post-primary education in Rhino Camp to have a chance of dealing with their experiences of the past and the difficulties they face as refugees. At secondary school 2 and at the VST centre, the teachers are described to have an important role in the road to resilience. One of the students at the VST centre, Nyakim, specified how the teachers opened up for conversations about "the history when we left South Sudan", which indicates that the experiences of war and conflict, as well as the flight to Uganda, is processed and discussed at school. During the focus group interview as well, the girls told of teachers who gave advises about their present situation and for repatriation. Being given the chance to process their experiences and to get advises, may increase their self-efficacy in a sense they might feel secure enough to face their challenges (Hendry & Kloep, 2002). This processing can therefore be placed as a resource on the well-being see-saw (Dodge et al., 2012), and as a means of resilience (Stermac et al., 2013; Werner, 2012). Dealing with these issues in school are also in line with Winthrop and Kirk's (2008) second category of how schools can shape students well-being, namely socialization. The positive social interaction with teachers in school increases the opportunity to cope with difficult circumstances and therefore increases their well-being. Social interactions as a resource also illustrates how important the secondary socialization of schools is, as well as the role-specific knowledge distribution of the teachers (Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991).

Thinking back on their experiences from the war, the flight, and its consequences, affects the girls' experiences in school. According to the findings, the girls and young women reports incidents where they get deeply affected by memories of the past, in such a way they might cry during class, gets disorganized or gets their attention interrupted by thinking about the ongoing conflict in their home country and those who are left behind. These experiences are in accordance with Stermac et al. (2013) and Werner (2012) who describes memory and attention difficulties as a symptom of trauma which directly affects students presence in education, and therefore are described as a challenge by the girls. "We are all traumatized of all what we have [seen] and all what you have lost" is stated by Tara who says education helps her eliminate things, to put aside some of the memories from the past. Education can here be interpreted as a resource itself, as the presence in school distracts disturbing thoughts. This does not however mean their history and memories are forgotten about, but that Tara manages to suppress some of her experiences enough to focus and concentrate on her classes.

Going to school and attending classes is therefore used as a coping strategy as it distracts the students and keeps their mind occupied and focused. Akech states that "when I'm in school I'm OK because I focus my mind just for the lessons" and describes how her memories makes her sick when she is alone. Being present in the school is clearly illustrated by Akech as having a major impact on her well-being when she indirectly links presence in school to being healthy. To be distracted by classes, friends and teachers is in accordance with Stermac et al. (2013) who presents this as a coping strategy used by youth refugees. For many of the girls, their education is what brings hope, meaning and joy, and is where they are self-reliant and uses their ambitions and goals as a resource, a pathway to resilience and a somehow balanced well-being. It is therefore described as important to the girls to be able to focus on the lessons. Distraction as a strategy is therefore reducing some of the symptoms of trauma, such as depression, distress and fear and helps students get through an otherwise difficult everyday life. In the context of Rhino Camp, going to school was used as a distraction itself, along with the need of processing ones' experiences with both friends and teachers. However, the school environment itself, or the thought of school as a safe place, is simply not enough. Social interaction is described as an important factor in supporting the well-being of war affected and traumatized youth (Stermac et al., 2013; Werner, 2012; Winthrop & Kirk, 2008).

7.2.3 Peer group socialization

Social interactions and friendships is an important part of the girl's education. As the findings show, the importance of friends is explicitly mentioned by all the girls, regardless of age or school. Even though some of the girls do point out that friendships can be experienced negatively, and that uneducated friends might have a bad influence on them, they do agree that their friends in school have a positive and healthy influence and effect on them. Friends advises and support are important and highly valued by the girls, which is clearly in line with Winthrop and Kirk (2008, p. 651) who states that friends play "a significant role in the student's learning process" in school. They found in their study that students in Sierra Leone, Ethiopia and Afghanistan valued their friendships with peers solely on their help in, and engagement of, their own academic learning. In contrast, my findings show that friends and friendships are more important for moral support, not just to get help with homework, discussions or as a substitute for their teacher. Statements such as "friends make me more love, because they show love" (Anok), "your friends make you sometimes happy" (Mary) and "I'll get my best friend and I'll tell her the, that problem that is hurting my heart" (focus group interview) illustrates that having friends is important to one's well-being.

In other words, having friends are a strong social resource (Hendry & Kloep, 2002) which helps balance the girls' well-being. As described in the theory chapter, a social life, positive relationships and happiness are all important aspects of an individual's well-being (Diener, 1984; Keyes, 1998; Ryff, 1989; Seligman, 2011), which defines why friendships are important and meaningful to the girls. Their descriptions and appreciation for their friends has a positive effect on their well-being and therefore weighs heavily on the resource-end of the well-being see-saw. However, the quite opposite may arise when there is a lack of social interaction and friends in school. Susan explains the importance of friends as imperative to make it through the education. Having no friends at the university is such a challenge she wishes to end her education and go back to Rhino Camp. This is conforming to Hendry and Kloep (2002, p. 21) who states that the more people you know "the higher the probability of enrichening your resources with emotional, informational and practical support". In Susan's case, it sends a signal that the lack of support might not increase her resource pool in order for her to face the challenges of education. It might

also send signals that the emotional challenges might exceed the goals and ambitions and that the importance of education is equivalent to friendships and social interaction.

During the focus group interview the girls discussed the importance of their friends support and how friends were seen as more important than their parents. This statement may have several different reasons or explanations. Some of the girls who participated in the focus group interview fled to Uganda alone and therefore does not have their parents with them. Their parents or other family members may therefore be replaced by peers or friends of the same age. This indicates that the loss of primary caretakers are replaced by several secondary influencers which describes the transition from primary to secondary socialization (Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991). Another reason relates to the age-sets common to many South Sudanese societies (Epstein, 2012; Skårås, 2017). Even though the age-sets might not relate to all South Sudanese societies, and mainly refers to boys, the girls statement during the interview does indicate that a similar practice may occur among the girls. When stating that friends are 'always there' it indicated that friends are there permanently which reflects the nature of the age-sets. It also indicates that the socialization and culture of the age-set groups forms friendships and solidarity, which have been described as important by the girls. However, as the girls have fled their country and their home environment, it is reasons to believe they have also fled from friends back home, which indicates that many friendships are established after reaching the settlement and the school.

7.2.4 Family support

Prior to the time of fleeing, several factors influence the young women's educational opportunities. The findings show that the girls who had their education from Uganda before the flight, have greater opportunities to gain formal education in Rhino Camp. This is due to formalities such as documentations and certificates. With a certificate from South Sudan's 8th grade one is not qualified to attend Ugandan secondary school which implies that the girls with upper primary education from Uganda has a great advantage, and resources, compared to the students who have their education only from South Sudan. It is required to either retake the last year of primary school in Uganda, which is 7th grade, or to pay large amount of money to transfer the documents into accepted certificates which matches the Ugandan curriculum, in order to enrol for secondary school. This process may be the reason why many of the girls have

experienced being sent to Uganda to finish primary school, but also the reason why many students fail to enrol for secondary education in Rhino Camp.

Financial help and funding is imperative in order to achieve education past primary in South Sudan and Uganda, as secondary and tertiary school requires tuition fees as well as personal school supplies. The empirical data illustrates how those who received financial help and support from family members has more resources and a greater possibility of achieving secondary school or university. This is conforming to Hendry and Kloep's (2002) argument of structural resources, such as materials and socioeconomic environment, to be important for how one faces challenges. Family support and financial help can therefore be described as a social resource and be placed in the girl's resource pool. However, the data show that many of the girls who have received some kind of financial help in the past now struggles with educational funding. During the focus group this funding was discussed as missing due to loss of fathers, uncles or brothers and can therefore be linked with the challenge of loss of resources when the head of the family dies (Bonanno, 2004; Deng, 2016).

7.2.5 Ambitions and change

The aim and goal of acquiring education in Uganda, the rationale, is to eventually earn money to make a better living for family members. The losses the girls and young women in this study have experienced post refuge reveals a desperate need for education so they can provide for their children, siblings, grandparents, parents or extended family. This rationale is in line with the theory of Breidlid and Breidlid (2013) who found in their study of South Sudanese women's education that self-fulfilment was absent in their aim of achieving education. In contrast, the very rationale was the opportunities it would create for the whole family and even the community. Relating to the girls in this study, this goal and ambition of providing for their family is therefore seen as a resource and a motivation for growth. It increases their self-efficacy, impacts their structural resources in a long-term perspective, and develops skills such as planning, responsibility and appraisal (Hendry & Kloep, 2002). Even though Hendry and Kloep defines ambitions as a challenge, ambitions are here seen as a resource to tackle future challenges both they and their family might face.

The main priority and focus of the girl's education extends beyond their individual needs. Their education benefits not only themselves, but also their families. The empirical data illustrates that the girls in all educational levels prioritize their family. This focus and priority is in line with Deng's (2016) descriptions of family structure and family values, where caring for the extended family is central. The girls therefore aim to "help my family out of poverty" (Anok), to "tell them about the importance of education" (Mary), to pass on knowledge to family members and most importantly, to get a job, earn money, and eventually help siblings and other family members to also access education. As learning is clearly connected to helping their family it conforms to Winthrop's (2011, p. 133) theory of practical learning where she argues that "being able to contribute to and assist their families today and in the future gives students a sense of pride and purpose". A sense of pride and purpose also connects to Ryff's (1989) theory of what makes people happy, which indicates that helping others may increase ones well-being. Their family's need may therefore be a motivation to finish their education or to strive for higher education.

The students' desire to help their family and relatives, is not necessarily only based on their awareness of other's needs, but how they fulfil social expectations. Møller and Roberts (2017, p. 170) argues that "all individuals born into a community are implicated in a web of moral obligations, commitments, and duties to be fulfilled in pursuit of general welfare". This indicates that community and family relations are important, not only for the individual's well-being, but for the family as a whole, and may explain why so many girls sacrifice a lot to get education in Rhino Camp. The ambitions of helping their family also conforms to Berger and Luckmann's (1966/1991) theory of socialization where the child is emotionally connected to their main influencers, namely their family, but also to Deng (2016) who argues that the extended family are equally important influencers as the nuclear family. For the girl's in this study, their family's well-being is synonymous with their own well-being which is in line with Møller and Roberts (2017) claim that happiness is shared.

Social change
Social consciousness and a focus on the community as a whole, and not only their close family, is a common denominator among the youth girls. The findings show education as a goal which

benefits their village, community, tribe or country. This indicates that the students envision education to enable them to impact and make a social change in their place of origin. During the focus group interview, one of the girls' states that "it is good for us to be in school so that we will go and change our country". This statement reflects the value and aim of education which relates to Winthrop's (2011) category of emancipatory learning where learning on behalf of their community, not just themselves, are in focus. In contrast to Winthrop's study where refugees from Ethiopia, Sierra Leone and Afghanistan primarily valued and emphasised technical learning the most and emancipatory learning the least, my study show the opposite. The empirical data illustrates a general emphasis on repatriation for social change. This collectivistic focus of the girls can be seen as a resource as it increases their social skills and builds a social network as well as the cultural environment grows to their own advantage. Kinship and collectivism is described by Møller and Roberts (2017) to be factors of well-being in a sub-Saharan context and can therefore explain why helping the community and 'giving back' is important to the girls. The community's well-being is therefore seen as equal to one's own well-being.

Social change also means in some cases a modernization of social practices. Anok explains how her goal of returning to South Sudan to educate her village might change the practice of early marriage. She believes education is the key for a brighter future and wishes her village could see other options for their girls. This is conforming to Winthrop (2011, p. 134) who argues that "students literally are learning on behalf of others and in all likelihood will be a crucial link to the modern world for their family, community, and tribe". This indicates that the girls' future-prospects include their community and society as a whole in order to make positive change that benefits girls especially. This aim of changing cultural practices, can arguably stem from the Western Eurocentric epistemology (Breidlid, 2013a) as the 'modern world' has influenced the girls and their attitudes toward early marriage, and education.

8 Summary and Conclusion

To answer the main research question of how post primary education impacts the well-being of South Sudanese youth girls in Rhino Camp refugee settlement in Uganda, I will first explore a possible balance of well-being, based on the challenges and resources presented in the previous chapter and the well-being see-saw. The three subordinate research questions which targets the girls' past, present situation and future will then be explored in the second subsection. A possible balance and the girls lived experiences and hopes for the future will then be arguments for addressing the main research question in the last subsection of this thesis.

8.1 Balance

How post-primary education impacts the well-being of the youth girls in this study is influenced by the challenges they face, both at school and in general, as well as the resources they possess. However, balance is dynamic and what balance means to one girl does not necessarily coincide with the balance of another girl (Hendry & Kloep, 2002). This thesis does therefore not seek to measure the individual well-being of all the youth girls, but explore the overall experiences of the girls, which may impact their well-being. This subsection thus presents the resources and challenges the empirical data presents, based on the girls' perceptions and lived experiences in Rhino Camp, as well as exploring the possible balance in well-being.

How a challenge is met depends on ones' self-efficacy appraisal: "do they feel secure and competent enough to meet the task[13], or does the task by far exceed their resources?" (Hendry & Kloep, 2002, p. 28). If the challenges exceed their resources and drains ones' resource pool, it might lead to the individual not being able to deal with the challenges anymore. Any drainage therefore decreases the possibility of coping in the future. For the girls in this study, their future is immensely important, to the extent they use every resource available to make sure their future is secure, safe and without challenges they will struggle to fight or grow from. However, they do face numerous challenges in their everyday life and in school which may hinder their path towards a bright future.

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[13] Hendry and Kloep's (2002) concept of 'task' is synonymous to this study's use of 'challenge' and illustrates the challenges the youth girls faces.

To sum up, the girls face challenges of psychological, social and physical nature which weighs heavily on the well-being see-saw. Loss of family members and the following loss of financial help is described as one of the main reasons for fleeing. Especially the latter is described by the girls as a great challenge as the somewhat expensive post-primary education is perceived as the main goal. For the youth girls in this study however, who have reached education, the girls face challenges of both corporal punishment and gender based violence in school. Girls menstruation and lack of sanitary pads is also a challenge, first and foremost due to absenteeism during their period, and secondly due to stigma and shame. Absenteeism and lack of education is perceived by the girls as the greatest challenge, and the main reason for fleeing to Uganda. However, the lack of educational opportunities and the relevance of education in the settlement is still seen as a barrier to the girls' future and is a burden which weighs heavily on the challenge-end of the well-being see-saw, hence, affecting the girls negatively.

Nevertheless, the girls possess several resources which helps them tackle and face these challenges. First and foremost, education is perceived as prevention against marriage and pregnancy, also among the mothers in the VST centre. For the girls in this study, the social aspects of their education are pointed out to be of great value to the girls. 'Cope and hope', which is described as how schools help students deal with their difficulties (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008), is therefore important to the girls as they have someone to talk to and to deal with trauma and difficulties. As happiness is one of the main indicators for well-being (Diener, 1984; Ryff, 1989), friends, peer group socialization and a social network is seen as a strong and heavy resource. The family's support also affects the resources of the girls where the parent's educational and socioeconomic background impacts the girls' opportunities of education and therefore is seen as a resource. Lastly is the ambitions and collective thinking of social change and help of family members described as the very rational of education, their motivation for finishing, and striving for, formal education, and their absolute aim.
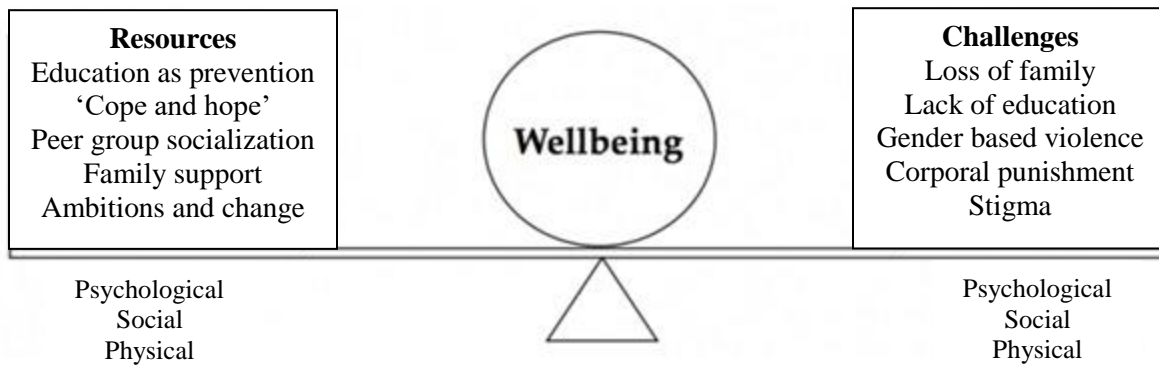
Figure 5. See-saw inspired by Dodge et al.'s (2012, p. 230) definition of well-being, containing resources and challenges which balances one's well-being, based on the empirical data of this thesis.

Inserted into the well-being model of Dodge et al. (2012) these challenges and resources of the youth girls in Rhino Camp are illustrated as balancing the see-saw.

8.2 Past, present and future

The girls background influences their educational opportunities in varied ways. Their education but also the lack of such, their family and loss of family members, funding and sudden lack of financial support, ongoing violence and the flight from it impacts the girls' opportunities as illustrated above and as presented in the complete well-being see-saw model (ref. figure 5). These dichotomous reasons illustrate that their own awareness of their past situation and their goals and aspirations affects their well-being. The girls illustrate this by describing a change in their life which negatively affects their family and their education, followed by the flight to Uganda in the hope that the goals and ambitions for education will somehow balance their current situation and create safety. The knowledge that education is available in Uganda, and therefore will increase their well-being, is tightly linked with Breidlid (2013a) and Jones' (2007) theory of the global architecture of education. A Western hegemonic education system is seen by the girls as the right and only path to a bright future and hence a better quality of life, happiness and meaning, which is described as important factors for well-being (Diener, 1984; Keyes, 1998; Ryff, 1989; Seligman, 2011). Illustrated with the complete well-being see-saw (ref. figure 5), this goal of, and quest for more knowledge, and the hope of achieving this in Uganda might balance their well-being seen compared to the challenges faced during both armed conflict and the flight. Seeking meaning and success, which is directly linked with a positive well-being (Seligman, 2011) and the hope of a better future (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008) is therefore a strong motivator for

fleeing Uganda. The challenges faced during the flight might therefore be met by this strong motivation as a resource and therefore balance some of those challenges.

However, their present situation and experiences in school might present challenges that creates an unbalance, stagnation or decay. The girls' experiences in education in Rhino Camp varies between positive and negative experiences, but also between the different educational institutions. The VST centre is described as safer and therefore 'better' than formal secondary school in the settlement, which somehow illustrates what they fled to achieve. Nevertheless, the students strive to achieve formal education even though they are fully aware of the challenges it presents. This might indicate that their current education and resources weighs heavier than their challenges, which might lead to stagnation (Dodge et al., 2012; Hendry & Kloep, 2002) as a balanced well-being requires personal growth (Ryff, 1989). Nevertheless, the above challenges described by the students in formal education may cause distress, discrimination, shame and stigma, which is acknowledged by Winthrop and Kirk (2008) to cause uneven and negative well-being among students. The quest for formal education can therefore be seen as contradicting to their aim of safety, protection and quality education. The status of formal post-primary education, as described by Breidlid (2013a), might explain why the ultimate goal of formal education trumps the challenges faced. As the hegemonic Western education is seen as the gold standard, it is valued as good education and therefore weighs as such a heavy resource on the well-being see-saw that the challenges still will not tip the see-saw in the wrong direction.

The girls' education is also perceived as positive and as a resource for reasons such as social interaction, resilience and friendships. This emphasis highlights the importance of socialization, and secondary socialization especially, as both teachers and peers are main agents (Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991). The girls explicitly mention friends as important, for support in school, in their personal life, and for happiness and fun and social interaction and activities. This conforms to Hendry and Kloep (2002, p. 21) who argues that "the greater the number and variety of people to interact with, the higher the probability that they will enrich the individual's resources with emotional, informational and practical support, whenever this might be needed in order to meet a challenge". Social interaction is therefore important to the girls' well-being and might impact how they cope with a difficult situation or the challenges they experience in

education. This is what Winthrop and Kirk (2008) explains as 'cope and hope', except the fact that the student in this study themselves adopts ways of coping with negative effects of conflict and trauma by forming friendships built on common interests, age, experience and needs, instead of using forums rarely facilitated by the teachers or the school. As social interaction is explicitly pointed out as significant to the girls, and therefore being one of the greatest resources they possess, this might explain why education is perceived as important despite the challenges they face. It might also explain why both 'cope and hope' and peer group socialization weighs heavily on the resource end of the well-being see-saw (ref. figure 5) and therefore somewhat balances the weight between the challenges and resources.

The girls' aspirations for education and future-prospects involves their family, community and country, not only themselves and their own personal goals. This conforms to the family, extended family and community's importance in a South Sudanese family structure (Deng, 2016), and the importance of actors outside the nuclear family for a child's socialization (Berger & Luckmann, 1966/1991). The focus of helping ones family and for social change, indicates that emancipatory learning and school as a tool for helping others (Winthrop, 2011) is regarded as the rational of education and might explain why it weighs so heavily on the well-being see-saw. In other words, a bright future is not so bright if a positive change for the family and community is not part of it. As this collectivistic thought is described by Møller and Roberts (2017) as the mere conceptualization of well-being in a sub-Saharan context it can therefore help explain how the girls aspirations for education and future-prospects are linked with their well-being. Kinship, solidarity and the aim of positive change for their community is perceived as a resource which conforms to Hendry and Kloep's (2002) idea of social resources and self-efficacy. With motivation for change, a strong social network and self-esteem, the girls may feel secure enough to meet the challenges not only they themselves face, but the challenges of their family and community as well.

8.3 Education for well-being

A common denominator for all the girls in this study is the challenge of lack of education. This challenge influences their past, present situation and future and are perceived as the main problem for all the described challenges in this study. Simultaneously, the resource of access to

education is another common denominator among the youth girls which illustrates that education makes up for, and seemingly balances, an unstable well-being (ref. figure 5). In order to explore how post-primary education impacts the well-being of the South Sudanese youth girls in this study, it is imperative to emphasise education itself.

According to Breidlid (2013a), the secular modernist education system in South Sudan is modelled on the global architecture of education where the Western epistemology is perceived as relevant for progress and is described as the number one priority. Consequently, this means that education is regarded as important due to Western influence, which does not always fit into South Sudanese context. This conforms to the somehow failing relevance of the VST centre and the difficulty of completing secondary school and reach higher education, and illustrates that the youth girls have been socialized to believe that a 'good future' is inextricably linked with formal education. Nevertheless, the goal of completing formal education is what motivates the girls in this study, and the belief that education itself provides a better future explains why education is perceived as vital, but it does not however, explain how education directly impacts the girls' well-being. As education is seen as the gold standard, I argue that education in emergencies (EIE) which mostly focuses on access, safety and quality education (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008), must consider the student's lived experiences in order to best adapt the education to their needs. Illustrated with the complete well-being see-saw (ref. figure 5), their resource of 'cope and hope' and peer group socialization are among the needs which must be met in order for the students to best face the challenges of their past, present and future life. Without social interaction and a possibility of building resources, education post primary may negatively impact the well-being of the South Sudanese youth girls in this study.

Education is argued as important for the well-being of children and youth in war and armed conflicts (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008), where the children and youths' well-being has a direct link to ambitions and goals for the future. However, Winthrop and Kirk, who links well-being to learning, argues for learning and gaining knowledge to be the key for refugee students and students in conflict situations. They argue that attending school is not enough, and that the schools should facilitate education of good quality and relevance in order to provide the students with the tools they need to build a safer future for themselves and their family (Winthrop & Kirk,

2008). This shows that education is a critical link between the past and the future as both quality and relevance increase the likelihood of good jobs, income and opportunity to provide for families (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). However, education itself is not the only aspect of what increases the girls' well-being and balances a somewhat challenging everyday life in both the settlement and in school. Despite the fact that the girls encounter multiple challenges at school (ref. figure 5), they express a strong sense of security and happiness through social interactions and friendships which is facilitated on a daily basis. This indicates that the social resources of the girls and social interaction in school is equally as important as the learning outcome in order to balance their well-being and create a better life for themselves and their family. Explained with the theory of Hendry and Kloep (2002) on how to create balance, this indicates that education is a road to resilience as it increases the individual's resource pool. The resources acquired in education therefore exceeds the challenges they face while attending school and therefore weighs heavier than all the challenges faced.

In sum, how post primary education impacts the well-being of South Sudanese youth girls in Rhino Camp refugee settlement in northern Uganda depends on especially three factors, namely challenges, resources and balance. Their education post primary is based on their background and prerequisites for access to education, and impacts every aspect of their present and future life. I argue for a balance in well-being to be imperative for the youth girls' well-being in education. As illustrated with the complete well-being see-saw (ref. figure 5), the students need both physical, social and psychological resources to face the challenges of both education and their personal life. These resources are imperative to create balance. I also argue for the importance of happiness, friendships, processing of trauma and social interaction to be equally as important to their current and future life, as getting tools and knowledge to build a safe and secure future.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Interview guide – Secondary school

Introducing and explaining the research. Asking for and obtaining consent.

Age, grade, when you came to rhino?

- How old are you?
- What grade are you in?
- Where in South Sudan are you from?
- Why did you come to this camp?
    - When did you come here?
    - Who did you come here with?
- Can you tell me about your educational background in South Sudan?
- Has there been any challenges with education in South Sudan?

    Did you face any of those challenges because you are a girl?

- How did you get access to this education?
- Can you say something about what education means to you?
- What are your experiences from your education here in the settlement?
- What do you like most about school?
    - Is there anything you don't like?
- What is the most important part of education?
- Do you have any challenges from this education?

    Do you face any of those challenges because you are a girl?
- What do you consider your strengths and weaknesses in education?

- What do you hope your education can bring you?
- What does your education mean to your family?
- What would the situation for you look like without education?
    - What would be different in your life if you did not have this education?
- What are your dreams for the future?
    - Will you go back to your place of origin? Why/why not?

Appendix 2: Interview guide – VST Centre

Introducing and explaining the research. Asking for and obtaining consent.

Age, grade, when you came to rhino, children?

- How old are you?

- Where in South Sudan are you from?

- Why did you come to this camp?

  o When did you come here?

  o Who did you come here with?

- Can you tell me about your educational background in South Sudan?

- Has there been any challenges with education in South Sudan?

    Did you face any of those challenges because you are a girl?

- How did you get access to this education?

    Why did you apply for the class you are taking? Is there a reason you are in that specific class?

- Can you say something about what education means to you?

- What are your experiences from your education here in the settlement?

- What do you like most about school? Is there anything you don't like?

- What is the most important part of education?

- Do you have any challenges from this education?

    Do you face any of those challenges because you are a girl?

- What do you consider your strengths and weaknesses in education?

- What do you hope your education can bring you?

- Do you feel confident that you learn all you need to be able to start a business or start using your skills at work?

- What does your education mean to your family?

- What would the situation for you look like without education?

  o What would be different in your life if you did not have this education?

- What are your dreams for the future?

  o Will you go back to your place of origin? Why/why not?

Appendix 3: Participant list

Name	School	Age	
Sarah	Secondary school 1	18	7 individual interviews with South Sudanese refugees at secondary school 1. The girls were students in secondary grade 1, 2 and 3.
Maria	Secondary school 1	16	
Doreen	Secondary school 1	19	
Rose	Secondary school 1	17	
Mary	Secondary school 1	19	
Ann	Secondary school 1	18	
Ruby	Secondary school 1	17	
Diana	VST centre	26	10 individual interviews (where one was accompanied by the informants' friend – see Rena and Tara) with South Sudanese refugees at the Vocational Skills Training (VST) centre. The women represent five different vocational classes. 9/10 women has children.
Nyakim	VST centre	25	
Janet	VST centre	18	
Rena and Tara	VST centre	25/26	
Gloria	VST centre	19	
Julie	VST centre	21	
Isleya	VST centre	19	
Akech	VST centre	21	
Ruth	VST centre	19	
Theresa	VST centre	22	
Anok	University		3 individual interviews with South Sudanese refugees studying at a university in Kampala. They are all granted the DAFI scholarships.
Tabu	University		
Susan	University		
Focus group participant 1	Secondary school 2	17	1 focus group interview with 4 South Sudanese refugees at secondary school 2. The girls were students in senior 1 and 2.
Focus group participant 2	Secondary school 2	16	
Focus group participant 3	Secondary school 2	17	
Focus group participant 4	Secondary school 2	16	

Appendix 4: Map of Uganda and research site

Appendix 5: Post-primary enrolment in Rhino Camp

Secondary school 1:

Total students: 452	Refugees		Nationals	
Class	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
S 1	101	53	20	15
S 2	102	38	13	8
S 3	75	16	9	2
	278	*107*	*42*	*25*

Secondary school 2: 279 students enrolled, 146 students attend regularly.

VST centre:

Total students: 200	Refugees		Nationals	
Trade:	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Carpentry	9	3	13	0
Plumbing	12	7	4	2
Tailoring	3	10	2	10
Hair dressing	4	11	5	5
Electronics	17	1	7	0
Bakery	0	11	2	12
Motorcycle repair	1	1	14	0
Brick laying	9	1	9	6
	64	*45*	*56*	*35*

Total amount of students attending post-primary in Rhino Camp: 798