

MAPPING GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT FOR PERIOD POVERTY

Roskilde University



INTERNATIONAL STUDIES MODULE PROJECT 1

AUTHORS:

Raramai Campbell, Ringisai Campbell,
Jessica Petersen, Sofie Aaltonen
and Darpan Raj Gautam

MAPPING GLOBAL ENGAGEMENT FOR PERIOD POVERTY

International Studies for Project Module 1 at Roskilde University 2020

Group Number: S2025242693

Raramai Campbell, Ringisai Campbell, Jessica Petersen, Sofie Aaltonen and Darpan Raj
Gautam

Supervisor: Tobias Wuttke

Character Count: 109548

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We would like to thank our supervisor Tobias Wuttke for his guidance and advice. We are grateful to all the questionnaire respondents who assisted us with their contributions. We are especially grateful to the girls who shared their stories with us. We are also thankful to Re kai Campbell who designed a lovely cover for our project. Lastly, we appreciate the time and patience of our anonymous reviewer for their assistance and advice.

ABBREVIATION LIST

- IO** International Organisation
- NI** National Institutions
- WASH** Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
- NGO** Non-Governmental Organisation
- UNICEF** United Nations Children’s Fund
- UNFPA** United Nations Populations Fund
- WSSCC** Water Supply and Sanitation Collaborative Council
- UNESCO** United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation

PREFACE

Here we present first-hand stories of period poverty from around the world. These 3 girls were asked to share their experiences, some of them have asked to remain anonymous. Their stories show the impact period poverty can have on daily life and show the many ways period poverty can be experienced globally.

Quotes:

"I lived in Nepal for 18 years and from my own experience I perceive a social tradition 'chaupadi' in villages more strict than cities. Generally, girls and women while menstruating are restricted from entering the kitchen, worshipping god and celebrating festivals, but still in some villages they are forced to reside in a small hut which is illegal since 2005. Caste plays a vital role in Nepal in terms of strictness of such practice, Brahmins are considered the most strict whereas tamangs are lenient regarding this case". **Manisha, from Nepal**

"She lives with 2 sisters and 1 brother, during her period she always uses a small towel as a replacement of the sanitary pad which she can wash and use several times. Even though sometimes the towel will feel really bulky and thick, but that is the only thing she could afford". **Anonymous from Indonesia**

"The struggle when you are approaching your period days and there is not enough money for food alone, some would even resort to asking their circle of friends and roommates for pads pretending as if they forgot to buy but in actual fact they would not be able to afford it. And to think they even scatter women condoms in hostel bathrooms and on campus restrooms instead of pads because people will open them for the sake fun and curiosity and leave them lying there unused. Pads in Zimbabwe are very expensive that some will wear one pad for a long time and may even develop other diseases, irritations thus having uncomfortable period time". **Anonymous from Zimbabwe**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
ABBREVIATION LIST	iii
PREFACE	iv
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	3
2.1 Period Poverty as a Development Issue	3
2.2 National Engagement for Period Poverty	5
2.3 International Engagement for Period Poverty	7
2.4 Development Cooperation for Period Poverty	8
3. METHODOLOGY	10
3.1 Data Collection	11
<i>Official Documents</i>	11
3.2 Data Production	12
<i>Questionnaires</i>	12
3.3 Data Analysis	13
<i>Coded Thematic Content Analysis for documents and questionnaires</i>	13
<i>Visual Analysis of the Documents</i>	14
3.4 Philosophical standpoint	15
4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	16
3.1 Constructivism	17
3.2 Global Social Policy Theory	18
3.3 Interplay of Theories	19
5. ANALYSIS	21
5.1 How do IOs interact with national institutions (NIs) on period poverty?	22
5.2 How do IOs frame period poverty?	24
5.3 How do they define the zone of overlap?	26
6. DISCUSSION	32
6.1 It aims explicitly to support national or international development priorities	32
6.2 It is not driven by profit	34
6.3 It discriminates in favour of developing countries	36
6.4 It is based on cooperative relationships that seek to enhance developing country ownership	37
7. CONCLUSION	39
8. BIBLIOGRAPHY	40

1. INTRODUCTION

The issue of period poverty, its global importance and the level of international interest to address it are all unexpected and present an interesting opportunity to look into development cooperation. A plethora of international and national actors all work together on what is normally considered a local or women's issue (Allen et al. 2011). In fact it has been a neglected area for policy making (Winkler and Roaf 2014). Period Poverty has become one of the global challenges of our time; "500 million women and girls lack a private place to change their sanitary protection during menstruation. This is equivalent to every female living in developed countries" (UNICEF 2015). So, this presents a good chance to examine the reasons behind global engagement for period poverty. To understand the full impact of period poverty, it is critical to realise the spill over effect of not having access to the necessary materials to absorb blood, places for disposal or spaces for changing and washing during menstruation. Period poverty impacts girls and women's attendance at school and work, their wellbeing and long term economic empowerment (Tull 2019). In this way there are multiple dimensions to period poverty; it is relevant to human rights, health, education and gender equality (Winkler and Roaf 2014). Importantly, period poverty also involves a culture of silence where social stigma and taboos result in limited information on menstruation (The World Bank 2018). Lack of access to affordable period materials often means girls use sanitary pads and a variety of alternative materials such as cloth, toilet paper, magazines, leaves, goat skin and cow dung which are unhygienic and dangerous (Tamiru et al. 2015; Winkler and Roaf 2014). From a social standpoint, some cultural beliefs restrict women's movement and consider them dirty during menstruation, which can affect girl's self-esteem (ibid.).

Considering the impacts of period poverty, Winkler (2019) finds that menstruation has begun to move from the margins to the centre of policy making and research as a neglected issue that needs addressing. Period poverty has also become a globally recognised health issue that has inspired a social movement of multiple actors to get involved (Sommer et al. 2015). International Organisations (IOs) are one of the primary actors. They respond by providing low-cost sanitary materials and offering menstrual education in the countries they operate in (Coker-Bolt et al. 2017:210). In this paper, we seek to understand how IOs frame period poverty as an international issue that requires international intervention as well as how they create a space of action to address period poverty on the ground. These spaces act as sites

for action that are shaped by agency, where the different actors, knowledge and interests interact (Grindle and Thomas 1981 in Cornwall 2002:2). The existence of strong taboos and cultural sensitivities can make creating new spaces difficult for external actors. It often requires IOs to create carefully worded messages and use specific language (Sommer et al. 2015).

There are currently more than 500 different types of IOs that are officially registered as working to address period poverty on Menstrual Hygiene Day¹. This study focuses on 37 of them and the spaces of participation they engage in to address period poverty around the world.

To understand the extent of international engagement for period poverty, this paper maps out the interactions and collaborations that occur when addressing period poverty. There are a diverse range of actors working on this issue since responsibility has shifted to a place where menstrual health no longer lays within the private sphere but has become a challenge that falls within social ownership (Sommer 2012:2). The national institutions (NIs) on the ground that interact with IOs are part of development cooperation efforts. In this paper we use, Alonso and Glennie's (2015) criteria for development cooperation with Cornwall's (2002) types of participatory spaces to explore the dynamics of the relationship. We seek to understand the nature of interactions that occur between IOs and NIs to address period poverty and understand what defines good collaboration by using a qualitative method approach.

The role of IOs in addressing period poverty is an important aspect to consider, since it raises questions on who is defining priorities for period poverty engagement on the ground: international or local imperatives. Global health has become a development concern which can be addressed by institutions in global and local spaces (Harman 2012). This focus on development is based on international priorities such as the Sustainable Development Goals, which helps categorise period poverty as a multisector issue that requires external development assistance (Sommer et al. 2015). Despite this, the taboo attached to menstruation means that it "continues to receive limited attention in policies, research

¹ Menstrual Hygiene Day's webpage, accessed April 11, 2020, <https://menstrualhygieneday.org>

priorities, programs, and resource allocation” (Winkler and Roaf 2014:12). At a national level, period poverty has limited attention; very few states have created national targets to improve general hygiene (ibid.). While at an international level, period poverty tends to be addressed within Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) programs by IOs (ibid.). Besides WASH, existing studies (Bobel 2018; Sommer et al. 2015) show that IOs tend to focus on providing menstrual products as the ‘be all end all’ solution to period poverty. However, there are concerns that this is the wrong kind of engagement. Bobel (2018) describes that what girls really need is to be freed from the ‘menstrual mandate’. Menstruation should be understood as a naturally occurring biological process for girls, and everyone that surrounds them; from their family , communities to policy makers in order to dismantle social stigma (Bobel 2018). This raises larger questions relating to what the role of IOs should be to address period poverty effectively.

Therefore, this paper aims to address the research question: **How do International Organisations interact with National Institutions on Period Poverty?**

1. How do International Organisations frame Period Poverty?
2. How do they define the zone of overlap?
3. What role do International Organisations play in addressing Period Poverty?

In addressing these questions, this paper adopts an interdisciplinary approach that combines International Politics and Planning, Space and Resources through its focus on created spaces between NIs and IOs. This paper draws on Constructivism and Global Social Policy Theory to understand how IOs operate on the ground, since period poverty is an issue that is deeply sensitive, country specific and embedded within cultural beliefs.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section provides an overview of existing research on period poverty in the field of global health and development. Literature on how IOs and other actors interact and respond to period poverty is discussed.

2.1 Period Poverty as a Development Issue

Much has been written about period poverty, however most of it has been described in development literature. The literature focuses on the negative effects of feminine hygiene

practices and the experiences of girls cultural menstrual practices globally (Coker-Bolt et al. 2017; Sommer et al. 2015; Winkler and Roaf 2014). Among the literature, there is a focus on international intervention for development, according to Alonso (2018), development cooperation has expanded to include new actors, new instruments and fields of work. State and non-state actors and the relationships that exist between them are examined (ibid.). States are not a homogenous group, and neither are non-state actors. States consists of multiple NIs that are governmental and non-governmental in nature (Harman 2012). They play key institutional roles within global health governance (ibid.), while non-state actors provide services and advocate (Youde 2018). Youde (2018) distinguishes between several types of non-state actors that work at an international level ranging from social enterprises to organisations. These IOs include non-governmental organisations (NGOs), intergovernmental organisations and non-profit organisations (ibid.). These types of international organisations occupy a third place outside of the government with a level of independence that allows them to address needs on the ground (ibid.). Barnett and Finnemore (2012:20) further describe IOs as mechanisms for other actors to act through, Nilsson (2017) attributes this ability to the fact that IOs have the necessary resources and knowledge to facilitate cooperation. They aim to adopt strategies that are multidimensional, applicable and global, which is difficult considering that their engagement relies on local understandings (Rist 2014).

Although most literature focuses on international engagement, much relates to the North-South relationship. This dynamic can be defined in multiple ways. Rist (2010) relates it to a continuing colonial relationship where the concept of development replaces the coloniser versus colonised dichotomy with a more and less 'developed' dichotomy (Rist 2010:20). International engagement can also be conceptualised within foreign aid dynamics for global health where donors determine the agenda (Youde 2018). Despite this, Rist (2014) finds that all texts on development agree that the gap between the Global North and South is widening, and notions of development continue to widen it. Traditional development cooperation typically involves temporary grants from the Global North to the South of aid with conditions (Alonso 2018). According to Alonso (2018), development cooperation should become more inclusive and based on horizontal cooperative relationships between all actors to meet

international or national priorities. For period poverty, this means that it must be framed as both an international and national priority to be addressed. Currently, it is defined as a public health and WASH issue (Bobel 2018:73). This focus on sanitation and health is too narrow since it underrepresents the complexity of period poverty by ignoring the underlying challenges that it carries, such as shame, silence, and secrecy (Sommer et al. 2015). The notions of hygiene that are applied to period poverty are also predominantly Westernised, even when applied to other contexts (Tilley et al. 2013; Thomson et al. 2019). Period poverty is a multi-disciplinary challenge that involves social, cultural beliefs and the fields of health, hygiene, human rights and gender equality (Bobel 2018). This means that the varying socio-cultural beliefs of menstruation result in different understandings which can often make operating as an external organisation difficult (Marván et al. 2006:469). According to Alonso (2018) development problems are diverse, context-specific and depend on country conditions, which means that development agendas should be inclusive, adaptable and complex.

2.2 National Engagement for Period Poverty

Development cooperation efforts rely heavily on NIs, Harman (2012) describes them as central to global health governance due to their sovereignty other actors need their approval for intervention and funding. Also, from a human rights perspective for period poverty, NIs have the primary obligation to integrate policies to enable women to manage their menstruation with dignity (Winkler and Roaf 2014). This is interesting considering that at a national level, period poverty is rarely addressed in policy (ibid.). Winkler and Roaf (2014) find that few countries have made national targets to address period poverty or hygiene and sanitation. In this view, efforts should be made by governments to ensure necessary menstrual services and materials are affordable to women (ibid.). In Africa, few countries have shown structural responses to period poverty, there is a tendency to rely on IOs for resources (Laleman et al. 2007:5). This is not the everywhere however, few countries have addressed period poverty in legislation (Thomson et al. 2019:12), Bobel (2018) observes that a recent growing interest has led to governments improving girls' menstrual experiences at school by approving policies that build private toilets and other measures. This is infrequent however, currently period poverty is often side-lined as an issue that needs addressing in

favour of more gender-neutral or specific health policy programs (Hein and Kohlmorgen 2005). This could be attributed to the taboo and social stigma attached to menstruation since it is often considered a women's problem (Allen et al. 2011). Culture and religion play a key role in creating stigmas (Bhartiya 2013). These stigmas are built on traditional beliefs and are upheld by the unwillingness to discuss menstruation as something biologically natural and normal (ibid.). In fact, menstruation is considered impure in many societies (Allen et al. 2011; Bhartiya 2013), this conception burdens women with shame and secrecy and creates a culture of silence (Allen et al. 2011). Often, "the treatment of menstrual blood as dirty represents a judgement on the 'place' of menstruating women" (Laws 1990:36). Other, additional interwoven issues of "sexuality, cultural norms, and gender relations" (ibid.:132) further cast menstruation as a complex context specific issue. Interestingly, girls themselves often treat it as resting within a women's domain too, for example Bhartiya (2013) finds that that 85% of the girls she interviewed in India were only comfortable talking about menstruation with other females. This is in line with Allen et al. (2011) findings where mothers are the main sexuality educator for both boys and girls. Therefore, it is key to note that since "girls (and their bodies) do not exist in a vacuum, any intervention intended to serve them must envelop their social orbit" (Bobel 2018:26). This is a difficult undertaking (Sommer et al. 2015).

Considering that period poverty is so closely entwined with cultural context, it would make sense that NIs are best suited to address it since they have necessary local knowledge (Youde 2018). Period poverty is classified as a private issue because of the context-specific notions of culture and religion that are linked to menstruation (Winkler and Roaf 2014; Sommer et al. 2015). For example, in western Nepal, the patriarchal system overlaps with the complexities of caste, religion and ethnicity (Kadariva and Aro 2015) while in South Sudan, many believe that wearing underwear leads to a woman's husband dying (Tellier and Hyttel 2018). Therefore, addressing this issue requires an understanding of local cultural sensitivities (Sommer et al. 2015). Despite the central role NIs play and their allocated responsibility to address health concerns, Aginam (2005), finds that very few public health concerns in the 21st century are restricted to national jurisdictions.

2.3 International Engagement for Period Poverty

At an international level, period poverty is addressed by multiple actors who operate in multiple fields. Youde (2018) describes this complex space as global health governance where non-state actors have begun to take over the functions and tasks usually carried out by NIs. Aginam (2005) builds on this argument, stating that for global public health, “power flows out of the formal structures of the nation-state into the hands of non-state actors” (ibid.). International engagement to address period poverty is informed by how it is understood. Period poverty is placed within a human rights framework which prompts the obligation to question on whether a cultural practice violates women or girls’ bodily integrity, their health, or other human rights (Sommer et al. 2015). Winkler and Roaf (2014) build on this, stating that “Human rights reach into the private sphere, including the very private sphere of menstrual hygiene” (ibid.:22). By situating menstruation within a health and rights perspectives, Bobel (2018:2019) suggests that period poverty can be branded as an international issue located within the Sustainable Development Goals, which in turn animates actors within the relevant fields of health, hygiene and sanitation, gender and education. Period poverty also creates four key practical needs; materials for absorption, a private space, disposal facilities and sufficient puberty and sexual information (Sommer et al. 2015), IOs attempt to address these needs. This can be seen in period poverty awareness campaigns in Kenya, and eight other African countries where advocacy activities have been supported by UNICEF, UNESCO, UNFPA and local NGOs. IOs have also responded to Period Poverty by supplying low-cost menstrual products to Low Middle-Income Countries (Coker-Bolt et al. 2017). Chandra-Mouli (2017) challenges these approaches. He argues for a more all-encompassing approach to menstruation that goes beyond menstrual products to recognise the role of cultural stigma (ibid.). This is key since a major part of Period Poverty that impacts girls stem from cultural beliefs (Allen et al. 2011).

International engagement for development cooperation stems from how period poverty is classified. Beyond a health, hygiene and rights approach, Jewitt and Ryley (2014) find that the current way period poverty is defined frames menstruation as a process that if left unchecked will compromise dignity (ibid.). Bobel (2018) suggests that this framing represents menstruation as a “bloody mess waiting to happen to the girl who is not “protected”

(ibid.:33). Jewitt and Ryley (2014) further note that girls are often depicted as existing within the category of needy, poor, and ignorant. These representations matter, Rist (2014) finds that for development, the images associated with it and the practices it involves can shape different understandings. In this way, period poverty can also be an expression of power (Laws 1990:36; Jewitt and Ryley 2014: 140). Where one doing the defining holds the power (Bobel 2018). In this case, IOs use messaging and language to legitimise their actions (ibid.). Laws (1990) frames period poverty within power relations, where its policies and guidelines dictate social definitions and what is considered 'normal'.

2.4 Development Cooperation for Period Poverty

The nature of development is highly problematised in literature. Development plays a significant role in defining international relations, but its meaning remains vague since it relies heavily on where and by whom it is used (Rist 2010:19). In this way, it can be considered a buzzword with a capacity to define reality and legitimise actions (Cornwall and Eade 2010:1). Post-development scholars consider development as doing more harm than good since it has underlying historical, socio-economic and political connotations which are impossible to remove (Matthews 2010:2). Moyo (2009) shares this impression, stating that development practices such as aid create a sense of dependency, increases poverty and weakens domestic governance. This is closely related to the historical dimension of development, such as the experience of colonialism (Lancaster 2007:11) Sachs (2010) claims that "where colonialism left off, development took over" (ibid.:ix). In the case of period poverty, Bobel (2018) brings up similar concerns, stating that IOs "have made menstruation their means of sustenance" (Bobel 2018:170), since there is a tendency to not listen to what women and girls want and need, in favour of international standards.

This raises the question of what defines good development cooperation. Alonso and Glennie (2015) define it within four criteria. It first needs to explicitly aim to support national or international development priorities, this involves shaping engagement based on agreed-upon goals such as the Sustainable Development Goals (Alonso and Glennie 2015). It also needs to not be driven by profit; this way developmental objectives are not undermined (ibid.). Other criteria include discriminating in favour of developing countries (ibid.). This is important since it considers the additional challenges that face poorer states and the new

opportunities that can assist them (ibid.). The final criteria refer to collaboration, the activities must be based on cooperative relationships that seek to enhance developing country ownership (ibid.). This is key to creating respectful relationships that support countries' sovereignty. Alternative frameworks define development cooperation as needing to meet certain purposes such as improving living conditions in poorer countries (Janus et al. 2015). When we look at period poverty and its multiple configurations, Alonso and Glennie's (2015) framework is more relevant since it has more specific requirements and expectations for cooperation. However, this framework does not talk about the spaces that exist between the actors, therefore we draw on Cornwall (2002) to examine the nature of interactions. She describes four different types of participatory spaces that are externally or internally created. The first is *Regularise Relations* which represents spaces created by NIs or actors acting as a state such as IOs (Cornwall 2002). These spaces aim to include people in governance systems to improve state performance (ibid.). The next is *Fleeting Formations*, which refers to temporary spaces that are instigated, mediated, and supported by non-state actors such as IOs to open discussions and networks, it involves workshops and campaigns (ibid.). *Alternative Interfaces*, on the other hand, are durable spaces created by citizens to engage in issues they find important. Examples include NGOs. *Movements and Moments* involves flexible citizen-initiated spaces that give temporary visibility to an issue to achieve a shared purpose (ibid.). These four spaces act as sites for policy action where change can be investigated (ibid.).

To summarise, this study aims to map the interactions between NIs and IOs to address period poverty, therefore it is important to combine Alonso and Glennie's (2015) and Cornwall's (2002) two frameworks. Table 1 below shows how we have done this to create an overarching framework to assess global period poverty engagement.

Criteria for Development Cooperation	Corresponding Space for Interaction
Aims explicitly to support national or international development priorities	<u>Regularised Relations</u> Spaces created by the state or actors acting as a state to include people in governance systems. It is aimed at enhancing state performance.
Is not driven by profit	<u>Movements and Moments</u> Flexible spontaneous spaces that act as a space to give temporary visibility to an issue through collective action.

Discriminates in favour of developing countries	<u>Fleeting Formations</u> Temporary spaces instigated, mediated, and supported by non-state actors to open discussions and networks.
Is based on cooperative relationships that seek to enhance developing country ownership	<u>Alternative Interfaces</u> Institutionalised spaces created by citizens as sites of advocacy and action, individuals gain a collective presence and a collective voice

Table 1. Framework adapted from Alonso and Glennie (2015) and Cornwall (2002).

3. METHODOLOGY

This paper aims to explore the role of IOs in addressing period poverty and the interactions that exist between IOs and NIs. This is done using a qualitative multi-method design of; documents, images, and questionnaires as sources of data. This is done to supplement the limitations of individual data sources and methods (Salmons 2016; Bryman 2016). The choice of methods was in response to COVID-19, where the internet became a primary tool to produce and collect data. Table 2 below, summarises this data.

Number of IOs	Type of data source	Sample size
15	Official documents (grey literature)	98
	Images from documents	46
26	Online Questionnaires	354 sent out 26 responses
Total number of IOs: 37		

Table 2. Summary of Data Sources

As Table 2 shows, a total of 37 IOs were evaluated in total using the questionnaires and the official documents. They were purposively sampled (Flick 2018). A review of secondary literature allowed us to extract the most mentioned and prominent IOs while additional IOs were chosen by referring to the widely publicised document ‘Menstrual Hygiene Matters.’ It was published by the IO, WaterAid, in collaboration with 18 other IOs. Other IOs were found by systematically contacting Menstrual Hygiene Day partners². 98 official documents from 15 IOs were analysed. From the documents, 46 images were extracted and analysed.

From the 354 questionnaires that were sent to IOs, the return was 7.6%, due to time restrictions and the COVID-19 pandemic. All these responses are kept anonymous. Although

² Menstrual Hygiene Day’s Partnership webpage, accessed April 11, 2020, <https://menstrualhygieneday.org/get-involved/partnership/>

it is not a statistically representative sample on its own, its role is to complement to the document and pictorial analysis. It was difficult to initially determine who would be perfect candidates, and so the email was forwarded onto people with links to period poverty. These respondents ranged from the positions of interns, country-specific administrators, and the heads of the IO. The variation in organisations responses are illustrated in Table 3 below.

Type of organisation		Number of organisations (Total 37)
Non-profit	International	12
	Regional	3
	National	7
	Local	2
Inter-governmental		6
Business or private enterprise		7

Table 3. Summary of all analysed organisations

The distribution of the IOs was a result of the organisations that responded. Therefore, there is a higher concentration of international respondents. Therefore, the combination of methods allows for an international scope that incorporates organisations from different regions.

3.1 Data Collection

Official Documents

Data collected from documents and existing literature shows the institutional position of IOs (Flick 2018). The documents served as a base to understand the different IOs perspectives, and how they engage with menstrual hygiene management. This paper collected a total of 98 documents from 15 IOs. Here we had to note the documents and IO had different aims, therefore it was seen that the intended audience varied. However, since they are publicly available, we can assume they have promotional purposes.

The process of collecting documents was limited due to access this is what Flick (2018) calls 'found data' which is data from public domains. Additionally, to add, there were restrictions for us to use only English documents (Rapley and Rees 2018). IOs verified websites and archives were used to source the documents to ensure they were official (Flick 2018). The full list of documents is presented in Appendix 8. These documents were sampled purposively (Bryman 2016) to include topics of menstruation, female health, period poverty, menstrual hygiene management in the text or title. Documents were also restricted to the period 2015-

2020 to ensure they reflected the most recent position of the IOs. This textual data included reports, pdf documents and website pages.

As well as textual data, images are also considered as data in this paper. Since they make up a big part of documents, it became important to include them in the analysis. The addition of this data strengthened our qualitative design, and allowed for flexibility to change methods and processes in the analysis phase (Watkins 2015). Images were also included due to some noticeable contradictions with the textual data, as well as their ability to situate the IOs spaces and priorities. Hansen and Machin (2008) find that discourses are created through text but also images, and thus “images can be used to promote particular interests and ideologies, particular versions of events and issues through particular semiotic choices and combinations” (ibid.:777). The images served a representative purpose (ibid.). A restricted number of images were chosen based on whether they were ‘conceptually interesting’ (Griffin 2009) and focused on IOs’ approach to address period poverty. All the images analysed are included in Appendix 9.

3.2 Data Production

Questionnaires

Questionnaires were used to supplement limited information in IOs documents and ask more specific questions on the nature of their collaborations. We assume that questionnaire represent the institutional position of the IO. Questionnaires data was treated as qualitative since the respondent’s entries were analysed (Guest et al. 2012). Due to COVID-19, these questionnaires had to be done online using Survey Monkey. Dawson (2019) defines online questionnaires as needing to be “administered over the internet to gather data about behaviour, experiences, attitudes, beliefs and values” (ibid.:288). This included open-ended questions that focused on gathering attitudes and not statistics (Bryman 2016:248). Our questionnaires format is available in Appendix 1.

In formulating the questionnaires, we attempted to be intentional in the language that we used. The term period poverty was used over other terms such as menstrual hygiene management, because it is all-encompassing of the issue and does not limit the respondents' answer (Bryman 2016). Questions were formulated clearly, to ensure that it was understandable as there would be no opportunity to clarify later (ibid.). Long-text answer

spaces were also chosen to allow the respondent space to write their perspective to not limit them (Bryman 2016). Thus, Bryman (2016:211) understands this approach as self-administered questionnaires. Most importantly, the questionnaire was kept short to improve the likelihood of respondents completing it (ibid.). Anonymous sample responses are available in Appendix 7.

This online format allowed respondents to articulate their answers at their convenience without pressure (Bryman 2016). Sometimes respondents would not reply or would only respond after the deadline. Flick (2018) identifies this as a key drawback of online fieldwork. Therefore, we contacted as many IOs as possible to limit this and asked them to forward our questionnaire on. The questionnaires were sent out over email, websites, or social media. The IOs that the questionnaire was sent to were found from official documents, social media, and the extensive database of listed partners on Menstrual Health Day website³. More than 354 IOs were listed as engaging in period poverty, this complete list of partners was systematically contacted.

Ethical and legal implications were especially important in this method since the purpose of the paper and the respondent's contributions needed to be disclosed as well as our role in keeping their identity private (ibid.:291). Therefore, contact information and conditions on how to withdraw were included in the description of the questionnaire if IOs no longer wanted their contributions to be included (Bryman 2016). Samples of this are available in Appendix 1.

3.3 Data Analysis

The purpose of the analysis was to uncover what type of collaborations occurred between IOs and NIs in interaction spaces. It also serves the purpose of understanding how IOs address period poverty. Therefore, it was important to focus on power in spaces of interaction – who occupies it, what actions occur in it and how it is defined (Cornwall 2002).

Coded Thematic Content Analysis for documents and questionnaires

The documents and questionnaires were analysed using an analytical framework, that uses central concepts from Constructivism and Global Social Policy Theory. It contains the 4 central

³ Menstrual Hygiene Day's webpage, accessed April 11, 2020 <https://menstrualhygieneday.org/>

responsibilities of IOs for addressing period poverty as outlined in the ‘Menstrual Hygiene Matters’ document. Figure 1 below shows the framework used. Since the analysis was undertaken in separate locations (due to COVID 19), a comprehensive framework was created to ensure that the team analysed the documents in the same way.

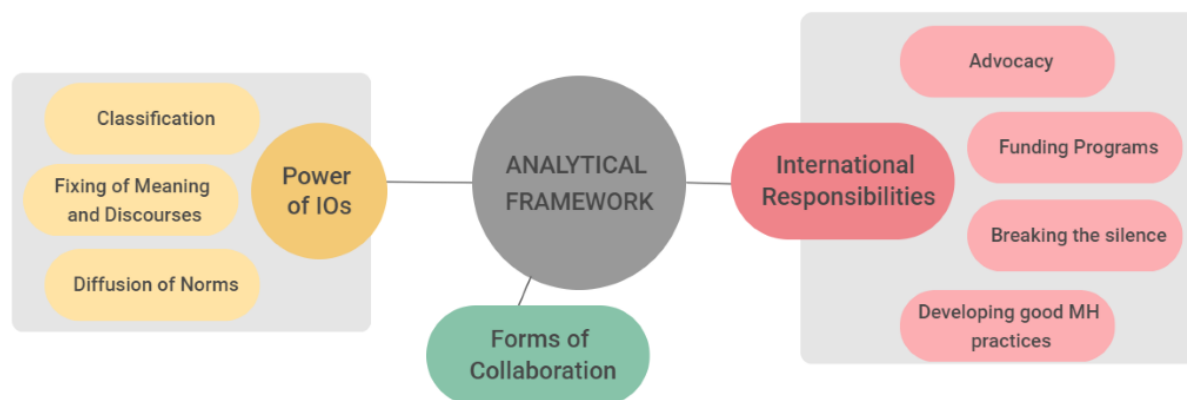


Figure 1. Analytical Framework using chosen theories and responsibilities from ‘Menstrual Hygiene Matters,’ by authors

By breaking the data down this way, it was clear to see what type of space had been created by these IOs and their interactions (Cornwall 2002). The analysis for both data sources was conducted using NVivo 12, using exploratory analysis coding (Guest et al. 2012). This coding technique attempted to group the data types to visualise trends and expose prominent patterns. As Guest et al. (2012) suggest, we went through the documents and questionnaires multiple times to familiarise ourselves with its content. Additionally, word clouds were made in NVivo12 to serve as a tool to visualise this data (DePaolo and Wilkinson 2014:38). This can be seen in Appendix 2. It is important to note that word clouds only give an indication of central ideas but have the limitation of over-simplification (ibid.).

Visual Analysis of the Documents

The method used for analysing the images from the documents falls under semiology. It questions how images make meanings by looking at the elements and the signs that make up the image (Rose 2016:107). Here, signs represent something else, and their meanings are linked to their context (ibid.). Therefore, in this paper, the depiction of a pad being given to a girl can be interpreted depending on the context of it (Griffin 2009), which is a key advantage of this method since it leaves space for multiple interpretations. Rose (2016) finds that signs

make up culture, here we focus on how the elements of the image convey the IOs menstrual hygiene management. The analytical framework is included in Appendix 9.

3.4 Philosophical standpoint

This paper employs a Social Constructivist approach that informs the choice in theory and methods. It assumes that reality is socially constructed and maintained through language and ideas (Burr 2015:1). This perspective allows for an examination of interactions and an assessment of the language used by IOs to frame period poverty. It also allows us to understand that period poverty exists within a multi-faceted reality (Egholm 2014:144). The ontological standpoint of this approach is that there is no single reality; so IOs experience and understand the world differently. The language used by IOs to describe the space of interaction, on their websites, official documents and responses are an expression of their understandings.

Social Constructivism assumes that reality is produced through interpretations of experiences that are historically and culturally constructed (Burr 2015:2–5). This is necessary when looking at period poverty, a topic interwoven with contextual implications (such as culture). Therefore, there is a need to understand this topic using subjective interpretations (Egholm 2014:229), which makes qualitative analysis of documents, images, and questionnaires useful in understanding the broader discussion of menstrual hygiene management from an IOs perspective. This standpoint also finds that science is not value-free and that understandings of the world are based on the personal perspectives of the researchers (Egholm 2014:149). Therefore, it is important to note that the knowledge produced in this paper is constructed, and at times draws on sources whose responses may not reveal decades of experienced knowledge, as we expect that websites are sanitised and have a particular agenda they aim to present. Also, some junior staff completed the questionnaires, which means the quality or depth of knowledge is more limited compared to respondents that are more central to the IOs.

2.5 Limitations and Ethical Considerations

In discussing the limitations and ethical considerations, we found that firstly, it is difficult to make generalised comments about IO activities because all IOs are different. Their roles are diverse and change depending on location. Their institutional position is catered towards a

specific audience which affects the content of this study since there are biases (Bryman 2016:384). Additionally, we were unable to conduct on the ground fieldwork, or gather enough data for a case study to verify the credibility of the statements. Therefore, we verify our findings with peer-reviewed literature (ibid.:385).

This paper was written during the COVID-19 pandemic; therefore, methods and research processes were restricted. We initially set out to do focus-groups with girls who have experienced period poverty, but this was replaced with online questionnaires to IOs and documents to restrict interaction. This multi-method design was employed to reduce the limitations of the documents (Bryman 2016) and include a larger variety of organisations. Additionally, short questionnaires were chosen as we suspected the IOs would be busy or under pressure from the pandemic and so would not have a lot of time for a more extensive questionnaire. Also, this method allowed for the respondents to take part at their convince wherever they may have been (ibid.). This, however, meant that opportunities for follow up questions were limited (ibid.). Due to COVID-19, it was also difficult to get more respondents.

The composition of our group also plays a role. 3/5 Members have family connections to period poverty in the Global South and 4/5 members menstruate. Additionally, 2/5 members have experience working with period poverty r in Zimbabwe. Therefore, our realities and cultural understandings may cause bias in this study. Therefore, methodological findings were discussed and evaluated to ensure that it remained relevant to the problem and context of the study.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

There are many theories in the development arena that describe interactions between actors at the international level and focus on development cooperation. This paper focuses on the nature of relationships between IOs and NIs and the space of interaction that exists to address period poverty. This prompted us to consider Constructivism as presented by Barnett and Finnemore (1999) and Global Social Policy to explore the role of IOs, NIs and their capacity to create social change.

3.1 Constructivism

This paper uses the international relations theory Constructivism to understand how IOs address period poverty and how meanings are created. Its starting point is that all social phenomena are socially constructed and exist within a context that stems from social norms and values (Dunne et al. 2016). This theory also explores how culture, identity and ideas can create meanings and shape realities (Barnett and Finnemore 1999). In the case of period poverty, menstruation is closely tied to cultural and societal contexts (Allen et al. 2011) which makes this a helpful theory to understand the social aspects of period poverty. Also, constructivism recognises that realities are context-specific and time-bound (Dunne et al. 2016) which is useful to recognising that menstrual beliefs and experiences are unique to their circumstances.

Constructivism also takes account of the role of IOs, in this view, they are shaped as bureaucracies and are products of social interactions (Barnett and Finnemore 2012). IOs can exercise power and make and promote norms that states and NIs can choose to follow (ibid.). This understanding is central to the period poverty discussion since IOs are central actors that address it and can play a part in influencing perceptions of menstruation. According to Constructivism, IOs can adapt to changes in circumstances to create new guidelines and practices to respond to emerging challenges that they identify (ibid.:3) Their response to these perceived challenges (such as period poverty) is through norms, rules and language. These are central parts of international relations according to this theory (ibid.). These ideas are relevant to understanding how IOs frame period poverty as an issue that requires international engagement through messaging. According to Bobel (2018) this shows “the power of development discourses to shape action” (ibid.:7).

Constructivism brings in the idea of *agency* and stresses the importance of processes of interaction to create meaning (Dunne et al. 2016.:163). The collaboration of actors is also emphasised in this theory, where Dunne et al. (2016) find that actors define each other through interaction. So, it is through interaction that meanings are formed (ibid.:165). Despite this, actors are unable to choose their circumstances, they are influenced by their historical,

cultural and political realities (Dunne et al. 2016). This is key to understanding that IOs and NIs behave differently depending on previous experiences.

Barnett and Finnemore (1999) focus on the role of IOs by looking into *bureaucratic power*. More specifically, this refers to how IOs focus on making rules and social knowledge (ibid.). This is a useful perspective, since IOs enter a space and have the power to influence or define it. It is also worth noting that IOs can also negatively affect a space by compressing diversity in the places they operate to generate or promote universal norms; this is what Barnett and Finnemore (1999) call *bureaucratic universalism*.

This theory has been applied in this paper using an analytical framework (Figure 1 in Methodology). A focus on the power of IOs allowed for the concepts of *classification*, *fixing of meaning* and *diffusion of norms* to be looked at. Barnett and Finnemore (1999) describe these concepts as;

1. *Classification* is how power shapes actions. There is a shift in definition and identity in the policy approaches (ibid.).
2. *Fixing of Meaning* is how IOs label social context, which in turn defines the boundaries of acceptable action (ibid.). This is achieved through the use of language (Dunne et al. 2016).
3. *Diffusion of Norms* is how IOs present good political behaviour to spread norms and shape NI practice (Barnett and Finnemore 1999).

3.2 Global Social Policy Theory

Global Social Policy theory explores how IOs interact with NIs, this theory has been chosen since it also considers IOs as meaningful actors and takes into account the different types of collaboration that can occur (Kaasch et al. 2019). Global Social Policy theory allows us to understand the network of actors that exist within global social governance and understand how global social policies are constructed (ibid.:89). Period poverty has multiple dimensions that prompt actors working in various fields to get involved (Bobel 2018). Therefore, Global Social Policy theory accounts for interactions between IOs and NIs, but also interaction between other actors such as private enterprises which is helpful. Deacon and Stubbs (2013:9) note that the international system is a *complex multilateral arena* where there is no

strict global governance system. It is a space filled with diverse actors and partnerships. IOs and NIs exist in this space together, where they shape discourses and practices of social policies (ibid.). In the case of global engagement for period poverty, this conceptualisation helps account for the complex inter-actor relationships that exist to address period poverty. Global Social Policy takes note of multiple forms of collaboration (Deacon and Stubbs 2013), this is central to this study since there is no one way to collaborate. This theory has been incorporated into the Analytical Framework (Figure 1) through its focus on collaborating. There are however, four key concepts that are described by Deacon and Stubbs (2013) as being central to Global Social Policy:

1. *Agency* is a meaningful, individual or collective behaviour that makes a significant difference in the social space. *Political Agency* has a strong impact on collective action and affects social-structural relationships (ibid.).
2. *Structure* refers to realities that cannot be changed *by political agents*; these are known as larger *structures* of society such as patriarchy, capitalism, colonialism and *structures* of identity such as race, gender, class, sexuality (ibid.).
3. *Institutions* refer to how *political agents* form policies that are implemented by NIs. *Structural* constraints and opportunities that connect sets of routines, rules and practices to govern action (ibid.).
4. *Discourse* is the intersubjective production of meaning and relates to the different ideas promoted by Global Social Policy *political agents* when operating within the larger *structures*, which fits with the importance of language and meaning presented by SC (ibid.).

The combination of these concepts is useful in recognising that different actors have different roles in addressing period poverty and shaping the interaction space.

3.3 Interplay of Theories

By combining constructivism and Global Social Policy we can explore existing efforts of IOs to address period poverty and the nature of the relationships that occur within the space of interaction. Constructivism focuses on the relationship of these actors and their constructed norms of menstruation and period poverty (Dunne et al. 2016). Therefore, we also needed a theory to look at the different types of collaboration that occur within this space, this is where Global Social Policy becomes helpful. Tag (2013) finds that this combination does not assume

that the world society (in our case; norms of period poverty and menstrual hygiene management) are unified but are a community of actors. Cornwall's (2002) idea of participatory space becomes a useful unifying tool in which the identified actors and cultures of the two theories interact.

The combination of these theories further illustrates that actors find their purpose, agency and power from their institutional context (Tag 2013: 30), where the context of IOs and period poverty allows NIs derive their purpose from the international context of menstrual hygiene management and period poverty. This combination also recognises cultural constructions which are especially important when looking at period poverty, here we can account for the interests and goals that actors working with period poverty pursue (ibid.). Examples of this include education or empowerment aims. Additionally, as this paper aims to map global approaches to address period poverty. The combination of theories offer a perspective to analyse how "global social policy itself has been and is constituted and constructed, how it could be established and in which forms, how certain ideas are included, institutions are emerging, instruments are being developed and actor positions are created and assigned that call for the expression of 'agency'" (Tag 2013:30).

Space becomes a good tool to bridge the theories. At its most abstract, space can define nothing and everything, but it can also describe sites of social change and action (Cornwall 2002). Cornwall (2002) notes that these spaces for participation are constantly evolving to introduce new participants. Which means that spaces can transform, and new participants can be positioned, and existing participants can be repositioned within spaces. These spaces are opening to the public, where local and global participants reconfigure ideas of responsibilities in development (ibid.:1). Habermas (1995) adds to this discussion by explaining that public space is an assigned site for the public to share opinions, and thus in extension can encourage openness. It is important to also realise that, new spaces are created with the presence of existing assumptions, therefore meanings can carry connotations from its context (Lefebvre 1991) as a space to acquire new knowledge (Grbin 2015).

In reflection, this combination of theories and space does not cover some discussion topics. One important aspect relates to how menstruation is a gendered issue (Allen 2011), therefore

a critical feminist lens may have better picked up on the disabling role of period poverty on the emancipation of women (Dunne et al. 2016). A post-colonial lens would have also been a good alternative, it would have enabled us to understand the role of knowledge and power (ibid.) and perhaps offer explanations on the *Fixing of Meaning* as a tool used by the intervening IO to influence the culture of a country in the Global South. Despite menstruation falling within these more critical categories, we were able to introduce some key ideas on the role of gender, culture and the notions of development through peer-reviewed literature. Since this study aimed to map out international engagement for period poverty and the relationships that exist between actors, Constructivism and Global Social Policy Theory are better placed to understand the interactions.

5. ANALYSIS

This section analyses the collected data using our analytical framework. Where relevant, we draw on three sources of data: document, visual and content analysis of questionnaires. The images have been selected as examples to be included in the analytical discussion.

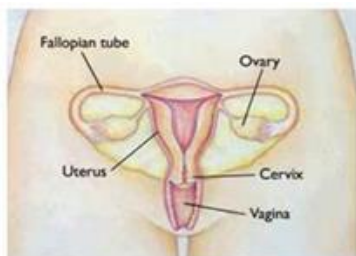


Image 1 taken from Save The Children (2012)



Image 2 taken from Irise International (2019)



Image 8 from Days for girls (2014-2015)



Image 7 from Irise International (2018)



Image 5 from Days for Girls (2015)



Image 6 from UNICEF (2019)

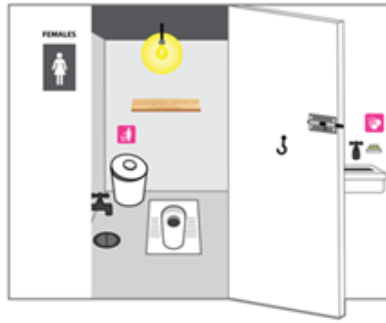


Image 3 from Colombia University et al. (2017) (under Plan International and Save the children)



Image 4 from Save the Children (2016)

5.1 How do IOs interact with national institutions (NIs) on period poverty?

The document analysis shows two distinct types of interactions that take place. One reveals how IOs interact with NIs, while the other shows IO interaction with other IOs, these interactions are visualised in Figure 2. For this figure, it is important to realise that it only gives an indication of the types of interactions that occur, and the actors involved. It does not show the quantity or a detailed composition of which actors. This is still helpful for visualising which interactions are most frequent to address period poverty.

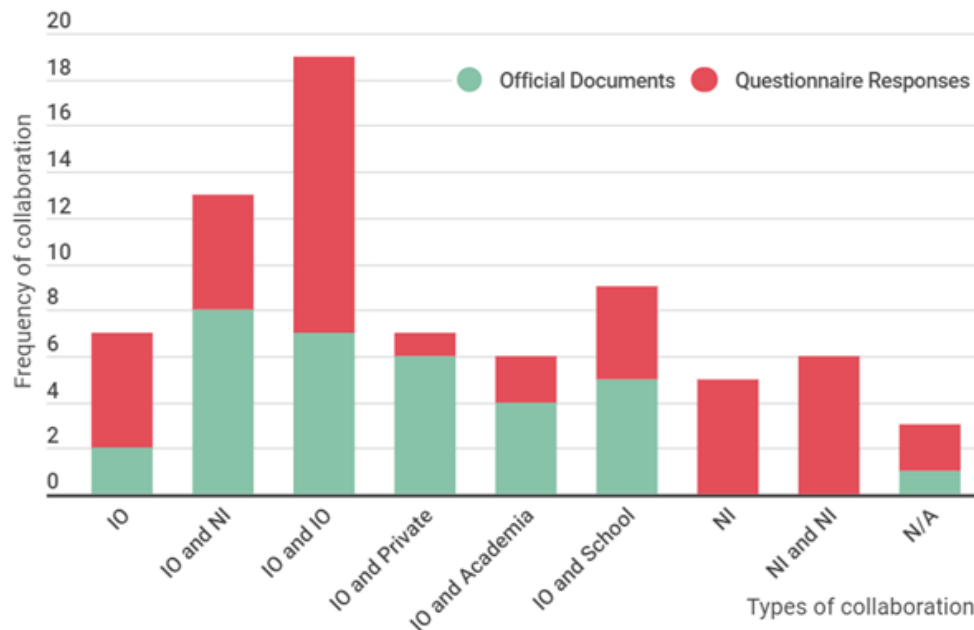


Figure 2. Types of interaction of all IOs, by authors

For the interactions with NIs, IOs work closely with the government. World Vision and Water Aid are examples of this, they collaborate with NIs to develop good period poverty practices.

Similarly, Irise International and Zana Africa *collaborate* with the Ministry of Education in Uganda. Governments are not the only NIs that IOs interact with, in fact, IOs work with a diverse set of NIs. Local NGOs, national businesses, civil society, and community initiatives are frequently referenced as collaborators, which depict a *complex multilateral* space of interaction to address PP. Interestingly, WaterAid and Respondent Intergovernmental 1 find that local institutions have the most potential and are more stable in implementing the IOs policies in the long term. This aligns with Aginam's (2005:12) findings, where in global public health, "power flows out of the formal structures of the nation-state into the hands of non-state actors" (ibid.). For ZanaAfrica, its interactions are with a variety of community based NIs such as schools and female support groups while No More Taboo works with community centres and universities. The WSSCC, on the other hand, tries to operate at all national levels, "from triggering local communities to ensuring that change is embodied in country policy" (WSSCC 2017:27). For Care International, it works with local organisation WoMona Uganda to provide menstrual cups. These IOs participate try to advance menstrual hygiene management as a global social right.

The document analysis also reveals that IO interactions are not restricted to NIs. One notable example is MH-Hub, as it aims for cross-sectoral collaboration that involves "bridging efforts and bringing together all actors working in the field – international NGOs, grassroots organisations, researchers, policy makers, health workers, educators, donors, corporations, journalists etc. – to create collective impact and sustainable change" (MH-Hub 2019:2). Questionnaire responses largely support document analysis findings (Appendix 3 Figure 2) but reveal a more unfiltered opinion on the interactions. Regarding IOs collaborations with NIs, National Non-profit 1 states:

"more needs to be done to influence government to put in place standards on how adolescent girls in and out of schools can be supported and how that data can be collected and analysed to build a national picture on menstrual hygiene management"

Considering that the primary responsibility for public health and wellbeing rests on governmental officials (Daniels 2007:314), the feeling is justified since IOs are overseeing matters that should be governed by governments. In this way, IOs are shaping social policies

within countries. Winkler and Roaf (2014:52) support this, finding that few countries have made national targets to address menstrual hygiene and sanitation. For NGO NIs, the feelings contrasted greatly. National Non-profit 2 states that it is “happy with our international partners, although we prefer to work with community-based organisations as they are better tuned in to the situation on the ground”. Furthermore, questionnaire responses similarly show that IOs interact with a diverse set of partners. For National Non-profit 2, this approach is necessary since “It will take all of us working together to educate and spread awareness on the issue of period poverty and period stigma”. Intergovernmental Organisation 1 shares this impression, noting that INGOs “will select NGOs for national operation, implementation and mobilisation (...) those NGOs abide by certain norms, standards and guidelines imposed by the INGOs/donors.” This *diffusion of norms* is expected of IOs since it presents good political behaviour for NIs to follow. IOs are in this space of interaction are depicted as the actors with the most *political agency*. IOs can therefore be seen as meaningful actors which have a strong impact on the *structural* relationships in which it operates. In this way, IOs are using their *bureaucratic power* to construct and control legitimate social action in locations they operate in.

5.2 How do IOs frame period poverty?

Document analysis shows that IOs frame period poverty in a variety of ways as shown in Appendix 4, Figure 7. Social Constructivism suggests that different IOs will perceive and act on period poverty differently. The most frequent form of framing is health (10/15 IOs) and then hygiene (9/10 IOs) which is then followed closely by themes of dignity, the Sustainable Development Goals and human rights with 8/15 IO referrals each. Unexpectedly, biology is only explicitly framed by 2/15 IOs regarding period poverty, this is interesting since, menstruation is a natural and biological process. How IOs frame period poverty is part of how IOs *diffuse global norms*. This *classification* of period poverty within human rights and public health is shared by Sommer and Sahin (2013:1559), who link menstruation with dignity and situate it within a human rights and public health framework. There is an emphasis on the ideas of ‘dignity,’ themes of ‘empowerment’ and other attainable personal qualities which can be seen in the IOs mission statements and organisational goals from both the document analysis and questionnaire responses. Ideas of ‘promise’, ‘potential’, ‘opportunity’ and

'freedom' are also used. This is exemplified in how Days for Girls describes transforming 'periods into pathways. There is a general effort by IOs to *fix the meaning* of menstruation as part of a larger framework of female empowerment. Cornwall and Eade (2010:1) recognise the power of language to redefine understandings and justify intervention. However, Bobel (2018) critiques the frequent reliance on ideas of dignity and rights in framing period poverty since it "fails to challenge the menstrual mandate of shame, silence, and secrecy" (Bobel 2018:271). The Sustainable Development Goals are referred to explicitly by No More Taboo, WaterAid, UN Women, UNICEF, World Vision, USAID, WBG, UNESCO and the WSSCC, which all state that their understandings and operations are informed by the goals, this shows a clear effort to *diffuse global norms*. These universal guidelines and programs constructed by IOs can have a negative effect on the interaction between IOs and NIs. The frameworks express a sense of as *bureaucratic universalism*, where structures and local contexts are neglected, in favour of global overarching frameworks. This is in line with the claim of National Non-profit 2. There is a negative framing of period poverty that lies within the references to Rights (7/15 IOs) and Hygiene (11/15 IOs). Plan International and Days for Girls frame period poverty as an unavoidable additional challenge girls face. Days for Girls describes period poverty as unexpected and unacceptable, in reference to how girls adapt to a lack of access to menstrual products and use cardboard and rags to soak blood.

Questionnaire responses reveal similar framings of period poverty. Themes of empowerment reappear; Regional 1 reflects that for period poverty "empowering girls and women with knowledge and know-how to create healthy sustainable solutions and environments for themselves is key. There is no silver bullet." While International Non-profit 3 employs a similar negative framing of period poverty by sharing stories of girls having transactional sex for pads in Nairobi slums. This is a distinct example of IOs ability to *fix meaning* and classify period poverty presents the problem and potential solution. Providing pads to girls, however, neglects the *structures* that cannot be changed by a *political agent* (such as IOs) unless the matter is seen in a spatial context that take into account of culture.

Findings from the visual analysis align with the document and content analysis of questionnaires on how period poverty is framed in some cases. Images of groups of girl students and seamstresses (Image 5 and 3) support positive framing of period poverty and

contribute to a sense of togetherness and sisterhood. IOs are also seen to *fix meaning* visually as it is the *discourse* surrounding period poverty that constitutes associated meanings. These meanings are promoted by Global Social Policy *actors*, who shift the discourse, and in turn shift policies in their favour. Thus, it is important that the images amplify the overall agenda of IOs as successful to ensure collaboration.

Images also counter the claims found in the document analysis on period poverty as part of the health field. Documents opt for colours that have no direct correlation to blood (pink, blue, purple, yellow, green), which contradicts messages on the normalisation of menstruation. The most direct connection with a period is an image of a pad, but even so, some IOs depict a plastic-wrapped parcel or bag. However, Save the Children is an exception to this, it depicts the female reproductive system (Image 1) while Plan International show a female friendly toilet (Image 7). Another discrepancy between the document and visual analysis is how the girls are happy to show off their pads in images (Image 2) but documents describe menstruation in some contexts as secretive and embarrassing.

5.3 How do they define the zone of overlap?

The document analysis reveals that there is a diverse set of words used to describe the types of interactions that take place in the zone of overlap (Appendix 4 Figure 6). Words such as 'collaboration' and 'support' were the most widely used, while descriptors such as 'empowerment' were used by only one IO. The word clouds show 'collaboration' as a widely applied word in documents (Appendix 2). These words are described as being carried out between multiple actors ranging from private companies to receivers on the ground. Most of the IOs prefer to interact directly with girls, and the organisational country offices aids this interaction. These activities are possible because of authority and capacity to create knowledge, information, and technical expertise for period poverty.

Questionnaire responses support findings from the documents, where a similar discourse is used to describe interactions (Appendix 3 Figure 2). The phrase most heavily employed by the respondents was 'work with'; it was used to describe relationships with a diverse set of actors, that remain undefined. This aligns with Sommer et al. 's (2015) findings where period poverty is seen as a socially owned problem in multiple actors' domains. Social Business 1 stated that

they have “worked with a large number of NGOs, NIs, companies and charities”. This is an experience shared by National Non-profit 3, who describes the zone of overlap as a space for multilevel organisational collaboration with an exchange of data at country and regional level. In this way, the questionnaires revealed that the zone of overlap is country specific. National Non-profit 1 uses feedback loops to specialise its menstrual hygiene management approach based on location and cultural sensitivities, which shows a reflexive assessment of wider structures and conditions concerning Global Social Policy.

Figure 2 below shows that most of the interactions that occur in this zone of overlap are considered satisfactory and therefore considered largely successful.

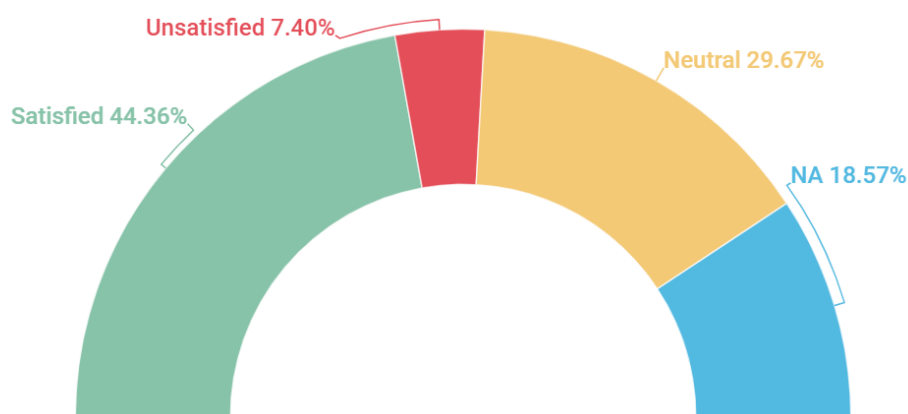


Figure 3. Questionnaire responses on satisfaction with collaboration, by authors

National Non-profit 4 defines the interactions that occur in the zone of overlap as extremely positive:

“We have established exceptional relationships with the organisations that we work with and can only define them as waves that have shattered stigma among women and girls as regards to menstruation”.

IOs have a large outreach due to their material capabilities so, IOs can respond to issues highlighted by national and local organisations. There were also negative responses on the quality of collaboration. National Non-profit 3 found that organisational collaboration as lacking. Furthermore, Regional 1 describes the collaboration with IOs as frustrating because

of the bureaucracy that needs to be overcome. The Constructivist perspective describes bureaucracy as representing a form of authority and power.

5.4 What role do IOs play in addressing period poverty?

The documents analysed were very descriptive in their account of what activities the IOs engage in to address period poverty. They also listed sites of operation, which were counted and visually represented in a Frequency Map below (Figure 3). This map shows a clear centralisation of IO activity to address period poverty in the Global South. Sommer et al.'s (2015) findings offer an explanation for this observation, stating that “in many LMICs⁴, where girls receive very limited puberty guidance, and the cost of mass-produced sanitary materials is high, the inadequacy (or complete lack) of safe, private, clean water, sanitation, and disposal facilities presents substantial additional environmental barriers” (ibid.:1303).

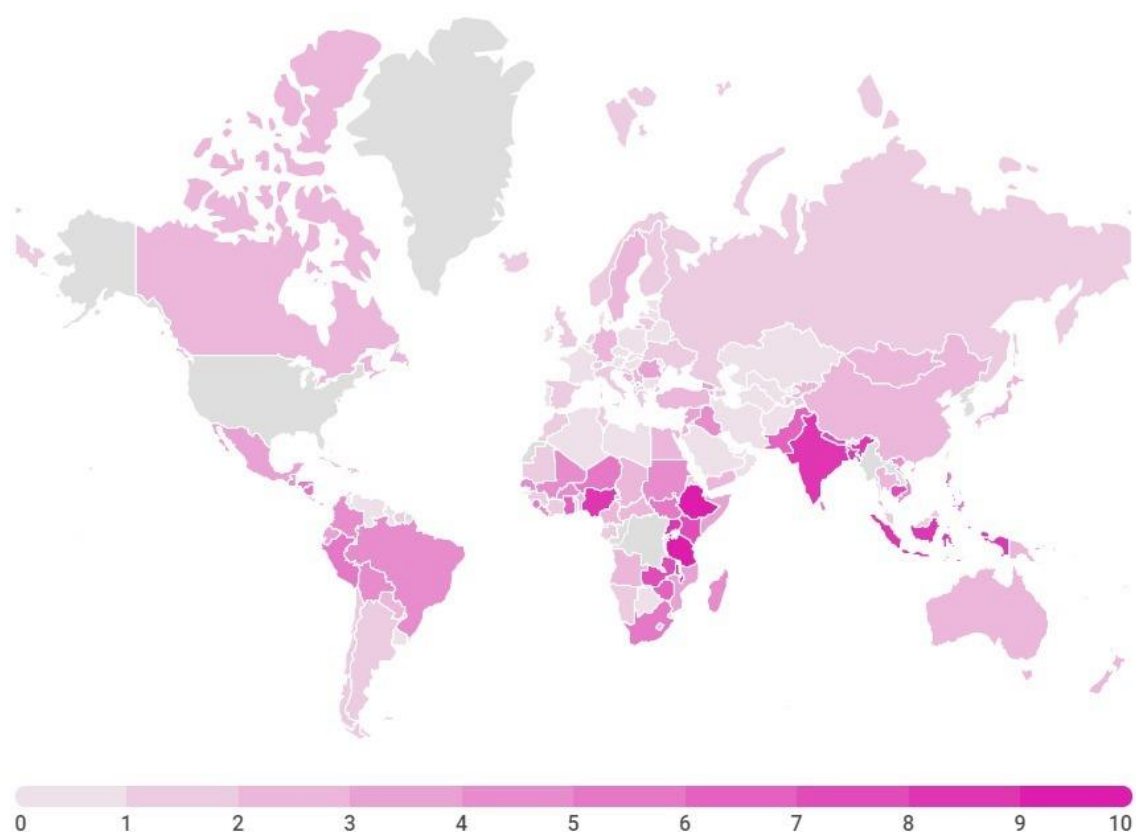


Figure 4. Frequency Map of countries where document analysis IOs operate, by authors

⁴ Low Middle-Income Countries

IOs operate in four key fields: advocacy, funding, developing menstrual hygiene practices and breaking the silence in these locations. Within these four fields, the document analysis showed that the most frequent approach to addressing period poverty was capacity training and education where 10/15 IOs undertook each approach (Appendix 4 Figure 5). While providing funds was the least used approach (3/15 IOs), which was only used by USAID, WSSCC and WBG.

Notably, provision of pads in the four different fields was a key approach employed by IOs too (Appendix 4 Figure 5). Only 1/15 IOs provide single-use pads, while only 2/15 IOs work on making pads more affordable. Plan International is an example of this, as it aims to make them more affordable to low-income families. Coker-Bolt et al. (2017:210) come to similar conclusions, where IOs have responded by supplying low-cost menstrual products. Providing reusable pads are more common (4/15 IOs) and an example of this is ZanaAfrica. However, the most employed approach to address was IOs providing complete sanitary kits (5/15 IOs). Days for Girls quotes Lauren Wolfe in a 2015 annual report by stating that “these pads have become a stigma eraser, a confidence builder and a power enabler”.

Advocacy is another widely employed tool to address period poverty (5/15 IOs). It helps combat taboos and break the silence on menstruation. Often there is a culture of silence that also makes discussing menstruation a taboo or sensitive topic (FAWE-U:2003). UNICEF does this by engaging in projects which purpose, while No More Taboo does it through workshops and campaigns. No More Taboo, the name itself is an expression of *power* and an attempt to break the silence around period poverty. Interestingly, Save the Children, approach is embedded in its program, its documents describe how it tries to “design, implement and monitor our program to respect those sensitivities as well as reduce the social stigma of menstruation and puberty”. Laws (1990) and Jewitt and Ryley (2014), also find that IOs create programs to normalise periods. WaterAid takes a similar approach to normalise periods by making an effort to include men and the adolescent boys in the conversations too. It *classifies* menstruation and by extension period poverty as a female and male issue by shaping the *discourse* around it and establishing *institutions* to promote connect routines and global norms.

Questionnaire responses are largely similar but there is a significant increase in how many IOs use reusable pads to address period poverty (Appendix 3 Figure 1). In fact, it is the tool used by (14/26 IOs). Education was the next most used approach and takes form through advocacy to sexual education in school spaces. National Non-profit 1 uses a weekly radio talk show called the 'Youth Show' to "to provide a platform for young people to discuss, sexual and reproductive health, Gender based violence, among other issues that promote gender equality and women empowerment". Social Business 2 instead uses visual arts to *fix* a more positive *meaning* of menstruation. This shows that there is no one way to address period poverty.

Funding was another tool described in the questionnaires as useful in addressing PP. National Non-profit 2 supports communities by building microfinance credit facilities and small-scale business to promote self-reliance. National Non-profit 4 on the other hand, provides sub-grants to local implementing partners to address period poverty on the ground through training and consultation. Williamsburg and Silverman (2010:6) find that women in the Global South have limited health and few opportunities for economic development, so this long-lasting approach to addressing period poverty creates financial independence. Capacity training was also used by (6/26 IOs) to address period poverty. For International Non-profit 4, providing training to other organisations is a way to create "a world where everyone is empowered to reach their full potential, regardless of their period". National Non-profit 6 on the other hand trains mother groups to sew pads. This approach is shared by National Non-profit 2 which organises leadership and social impact workshops for girls. These programs have long lasting effects since they teach skills.

Appendix 3 Figure 1 shows a variety of approaches employed by IO respondents to address period poverty. One notable approach by National Non-profit 1 is all-encompassing. Non-profit 1 considers the good practice to address period poverty as:

"supporting adolescent girls in public primary schools through construction of menstrual hygiene management change-rooms, building capacity of community Mother Groups to effectively mentor girls on menstrual hygiene management, training learners' school sanitation clubs to provide peer-education to fellow learners on menstrual hygiene

management and building capacity of school management committees to prioritise and include menstrual hygiene management in their school WASH budgets”.

The visual analysis reveals similar findings for how IOs’ address period poverty. A recurring image is large batches of sanitation kits being assembled and/or given (Image 2-5). The people in the pictures are either candidly happy, busy, posing and range from volunteers, practitioners and most frequently: schoolgirls. Other images that are frequent, are workshops being conducted (Image 4 and 6). These images contrast the advice from the analysed documents showing that reproductive health should be educated separately to boys and girls, however here they are learning together. Training for developing good menstrual health practices is also depicted in the images (Image 3,4 and 6). This suggest that IOs are bettering the lives of girls in the Global South. The images have an educational purpose and are aimed at providing guidelines for IO practitioners. It is worth noting that the images were sourced from different types of documents (such as evaluation reports, training manuals and briefs). Therefore, they have different purposes, and some may have educational purposes while others have promotional value to show the success of the intervention. Bobel (2019:171) argues that the representation of girls in the Global South to frame period poverty is to legitimise the ‘rescue’ of white saviours from the global North. This is an interesting observation considering that most IOs analysed in the study are based in the Global North.

In summary, the IOs display that period poverty is an interdisciplinary and multifaceted issue. This can be approached from different angles, such as health (10/15 IOs) and/or hygiene (9/10 IOs). In this way, IOs differing approaches to period poverty underscore that there is no one way to address period poverty. However, there is agreement that menstrual hygiene management includes making sanitary products more accessible, as well as addressing cultural stigmas. The complexity of period poverty is further seen in a space that for the most part exists in the Global South. IOs need to navigate with NIs, other IOs, the local community and global frameworks. An example is Ethiopia where more than 10 IOs operate.

IOs create a space through in their actions, as well as through the language used in their documents and responses. Their work and tools open a once private space to the public. From a Constructivist standpoint their combined understandings are what define menstrual

hygiene management practices and the scope of period poverty. The diffusion of *global norms*, and the IOs ability to set these norms, highlights their power to shape the space of interaction through their realities. However, despite aiming to normalise periods, the documents and images avoid direct references to menstruation and blood, focusing on depicting anatomy, packages of pads, kits and reusable pads.

Furthermore, the zone of overlap is defined through repeated words and phrases such as: 'collaboration' or 'support' or 'work with' where the IOs fill a vacuum in the local contexts. (Less than half of the IOs were satisfied with the level of collaboration in addressing period poverty (44.39%). However, it was observed that the IO preferred interacting with the local community directly instead of governmental channels. The role of NIs can be seen as an attempt to create a permanent space for period poverty once the IO ultimately leaves.

6. DISCUSSION

This discussion is framed using existing frameworks by Alonso and Glennie (2015) for what defines good development cooperation. It is explored in combination with Cornwall's (2002) descriptions of types of participation spaces to understand how IOs cooperate to address period poverty globally.

6.1 It aims explicitly to support national or international development priorities

Period poverty is an international issue with international involvement, Sommer et al. (2015) questions how it became a globally recognised public health issue within the last decade by analysing the relationship between IOs and NIs. Data presented here shows that IOs are consistent in framing period poverty as an international issue that requires international intervention. They do this by making frequent references to global agreed norms. Two specific norms are widely mentioned: the Sustainable Development Goals and human rights. Cornwall (2002) would describe this type of behaviour as falling within *Regularised Relations* since IOs work to create a space for people to become involved and improve state performance to address an issue. This use of global norms as a basis for engagement prompts questions on their usability since they are applied to highly context specific locations with vastly different socio-political and cultural circumstances (Maxwell and Gelsdorf 2019). Further, the active involvement and dominance of IOs in local spaces raises questions on post-colonial or

imperialistic relationships (Sachs 2010) where outsiders meddle in issues considered not high priority. This makes it difficult to have a one size fits all approach to period poverty. Findings show that IOs general programs include instructions to adapt to local contexts. For Maxwell and Gelsdorf (2019) the question of what is general and what is context specific in development assistance is an important one to consider. In development work, there is a tendency to assume that the forms of women's oppression and activism worldwide is the same, so that differences in experiences are overlooked (Mcewan 2001).

Thinking about the increasing role of IOs opens up the discussion for the wider implications of the language they use in their messaging. In the case of the Sustainable Development Goals which IOs use to describe their engagement, period poverty spans multiple goals. It is relevant to Good Health and Well-Being, Gender Equality, Clean Water and Sanitation as well as Reduced Inequalities which defines period poverty as a multisectoral challenge. As for human rights, IOs similarly frame period poverty as a human rights issue. However, unlike the Sustainable Development Goals which are clearly defined, the extent to which human rights shape interactions between IOs and NIs is unclear since the IOs do not specify how they define human rights. If IOs understandings are informed by the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, menstrual health is not deemed to be a human right. However, now it is considered an important factor to realising many other human rights such as rights to privacy (Winkler and Roaf 2014). UN Women has recently released a statement on Instagram to this end, stating that: "it is a Human right to manage periods safely and in dignity"⁵. So far, period poverty has only been mentioned once in the Human Rights Council resolution A/HRC/RES/27/7 and has been alluded to in Art. 5(a) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and in regional treaties such as Art. 2(2) of the Maputo Protocol for Africa (Winkler and Roaf 2014). It is however clear that none of these agreements explicitly refer to period poverty, this could be because menstruation is steeped in cultural significance and a tension exists between different types of human rights. According to Winkler and Roaf (2014) cultural practices must be respected and so must girl's

⁵ UN Women's Instagram Page, accessed May 11, 2020, https://www.instagram.com/p/B_sG3PLBZO6/?igshid=rudugh8eqtjq

health and dignity which can lead to conflict of interests. This becomes interesting since IOs rely heavily on human rights to frame period poverty as an issue requiring intervention.

Bobel (2018) states that Framing is power, and it determines what is important and who has the power. She finds that the ones doing the framing have the power (ibid.). Generally, data presented here shows that IOs are doing the framing and hold the power, but this assumes that NIs are inactive and perhaps ineffectual in the global governance of period poverty. It prompts us to question to what extent framing used by IOs is not influenced by NIs. A closer understanding of global governance suggests that both formal and informal ideas, norms and institutions contribute to addressing transboundary problems (Weiss 2014:211). Sithole et al. (2016) builds on this idea, finding that collaboration is the result of processes that occur in informal arenas. Therefore, it is necessary to question the source of framing, especially since this paper only has access to information in public view. We are unaware of the legitimate informal interactions that occur in hidden arenas at both international and grassroots level. As Klijn and Koppenjan (2012) suggest, this collaboration is a complex of networks that can be characterised as a triple helix situation since IOs, NIs and recipients of the support on the ground are all involved. To add to this complexity, within each group you may find different configurations of relationships and interactions that are constantly shifting and changing.

6.2 It is not driven by profit

Exploring the incentives of IOs to cooperate to address period poverty is key to understanding the nature of their engagement. There are various incentives for development and humanitarian action from reducing poverty and inequality to reducing Human rights abuses (Maxwell and Gelsdorf 2019). Development cooperation is characterised by Alonso and Glennie (2015) as not being driven by profit, the majority of the IOs analysed here are non-profit. A few exceptions are social enterprises that work on making pads more affordable can still be classified as not being motivated by profit. It is clear from the nature of their work and the collaborations that they engage in that the aim of their work is to contribute to a solution to address period poverty. However, it's important to note that there is rarely one motivation, but "competing imperatives run deeper" (Maxwell and Gelsdorf 2019:173).

Period poverty exists in the larger space of global health governance. This space is complicated and made up of multiple fields of actors who operate at different levels with shared goals but different priorities (Youde 2018:51). It is important to realise that different actors prioritise issues differently, as with other developmental concerns this is true for period poverty where states consider other issues more critical to address (Winkler and Roaf 2014). From Cornwall's (2002) four clusters of created spaces, this complex space of participation would be defined as *Movements and Moments* since it is characterised by a shared purpose to address an issue through collective action. Findings here reveal that the collective action that takes place to address period poverty is context specific and the dynamics of participation depend on the actors involved. This exploration of the space of interaction between IOs and NIs opens discussions on shared responsibility, authority and responsibility. The global health governance system contains several competing authorities (Gostin and Mok 2009:15) but operates under the World Health Organisation (WHO) which acts as the designated leader for the international community's response (Youde 2018). Data reviewed here indicates that international efforts to address are largely uncoordinated on an international scale, instead IOs are responsible for shaping their own approach and agenda for period poverty. This is in line with Cornwall's (2002) characterisation of the space of *Movements and Moments*. The findings here show that IOs, and the NIs they work with share the same responsibilities. This is exemplified in the detailed breakdown of responsibilities for tackling period poverty outlined in the 'Menstrual Hygiene Matters' document. It spans multiple levels from household, community, regional, national, and international (House et al. 2012:42). These responsibilities are largely intertwined which shows how the global health governance space for period poverty is defined by overlapping collective spaces of action. Rosenau describe this space as a 'crazy quilt' of authority with 'patchworks' of institutional efforts (in Weiss 2014:210). Harman (2012:14) finds collaboration between IOs and NIs as vital to progressive development and the strengthening of health systems while Bartsch (2011:209) frames IO efforts as helpful to global health action and meeting the needs of target recipients. This is largely since they have the capacity and legitimacy to enforce change (ibid.). This is supported by our data. It is however, important to realise that their involvement can be problematic too (Rist 2014; Wolfgang 2010).

6.3 It discriminates in favour of developing countries

Exploring international engagement for period poverty is relevant to assessing the quality of development cooperation. From this paper, we can see that IO engagement is centralised in the Global South (Figure 3). Since girls in Low Middle-Income Countries face additional challenges relating to access and low-quality facilities during periods (Sommer et al. 2015; The World Bank 2018; Winkler and Roaf 2014) it makes sense that international action is focused there. They are not the only ones facing exacerbated challenges; however homeless women, women living in informal settlements, prisoners, women with disabilities, or sex workers also face additional challenges (Winkler and Roaf 2014:10). IOs examined in this paper appear to focus their activities mainly on the needs of adolescent girls in the Global South but also work to include boys to address taboo and social stigma. Cornwall's (2002) space of *Fleeting Formations* best describes this dynamic of participation since it involves opportunistic temporary efforts organised by external actors to achieve a particular purpose. This space is organised for a moment for a particular purpose. Data reviewed here supports this idea, since most of the IOs operate temporarily through workshops and campaigns.

This form of cooperation in developing countries prompts discussions on wider North-South dynamics for collaboration on health. Harman (2012:56) finds that NGOs working on global health issues typically come from the Global North and carry out activities in the Global South, which prompts questions relating to their ability to speak for those they work with. Within development, dominant actors are those who have the power to name and classify issues, this often leaves out the voices of marginalised people (Mcewan 2001:100). This paper aimed to understand the dynamic of interactions between IOs and NIs. It focuses on the IO perspective and does not include government opinion of IO engagement. This is an interesting angle to explore further since Aginam (2005:28) describes that there is an impression that the international system is non-responsive and inequitable to public health needs of the South. Escobar (1995) explores this within broader discussions on the 'developmentalisation' of the Third World. He defines development practices as the result of unequal and dominating international discourse on development (Escobar 1995). Mcewan (2001:93) also recognises that development is about power – its operations, its geographies, its uneven distribution, and strategies for achieving it. Therefore, colonial, and neo-colonial arguments become

relevant to explore since they may reveal hidden motives to IO engagement, beyond altruism (ibid.). Although not examined here, to explore IO incentives further would require us to ask to what extent IO action on period poverty is demand driven? Further studies in this topic could reveal that if it is demand driven and IOs are prompted to intervene based on perceived needs, then the colonial argument can be discounted.

6.4 It is based on cooperative relationships that seek to enhance developing country ownership

The question of what the nature of interactions between IOs and NIs is a relevant one to address in an international environment. Collaborations change and evolve depending on who is involved and in relation to the socio-cultural contexts they operate in. It involves effective communication, trust and opens a space where effective interactions can occur (Brühl and Rittberger 2002; Klijn and Koppenjan 2012; Sithole et al. 2016). Motivations to interact are diverse, but in the case explored here, a shared goal to address period poverty often ensures that relationships can be established. Defining relationships and a space of interaction through collaboration raises challenges in understanding the nuance and broader meaning of Global North and South relationships since organisational collaborators are operating under different requirements and have different priorities (Sithole et al. 2016:77). Using Constructivism, it's clear to see that differences in position and prior experiences shape conceptions of the quality and nature of interaction for the actors involved. For Cornwall (2002) this cooperation falls within the space of *Alternative Interfaces* since it involves the work of NGOs and private initiatives to achieve a shared goal through a collective presence.

This paper aimed to map out and categorise who was working on the ground to address period poverty. Although our paper set out to look at NIs and IOs, data shows that partnership on the ground are primarily between IO and other IOs and not between IOs and NIs. This marks a shift from the traditional model where the state tends to govern health interventions (Harman 2012). It also challenges traditional notions of sovereignty, since development cooperation for health involves the intervention of non-state actors who can intervene and implement health strategies (Youde 2018:4). This would suggest that this IO to IO collaboration on the ground is operating in the gap left by NIs to fill a vacuum by providing pads and sexual education where it was lacking. Such a case is possible and has

been seen in other developmental fields such as emergency response where external actors enter a space to fulfil a need (Klijn and Koppenjan 2012). However, this raises questions and indicates a need to understand both the role and absence of NIs. Maxwell and Gelsdorf (2019) describe this complicated space of actor relationships as an ecosystem consisting of connected interactions and suggest that new understandings of partnerships are needed to capture the current complexities.

This study found that relationships and interactions between actors can be described in multiple ways. Some of the words used by the IOs such as “work with,” “collaborative” and “partner” are themselves difficult words when they are not defined. So, it is difficult to define the relationship between IOs and NIs. While these words are common in development, they are essentially contested concepts (Cornwall and Eade 2010). Neera Chandhoke calls them ‘consensual hurrah-words’ which she describes as words that “gain their purchase and power through their vague and euphemistic qualities, their capacity to embrace a multitude of possible meanings, and their normative resonance” (in *ibid.*:2). Even in the questionnaires, the meanings of these words were not made clear. The only way to verify the nature of the relationships would be to explore the opinions of the relevant NIs, which we were not able to do in this study. Though not covered extensively in this paper, one of the key challenges to interaction is the underlying power dynamics that exist between IOs and NIs, IOs are clearly responding to a gap left by NIs to address period poverty. One can pose the question to what extent is IO involvement seen as domineering or capturing the space. When mapping the global engagement in this study (Figure 3), the number of IOs present in a country indicate that there is no resistance from NIs to operate there. This could indicate that NIs on the ground are addressing a more pressing need or have not prioritised period poverty as a critical issue to address. Therefore, on one hand one can assume that IO involvement is welcome since it has the potential to empower and benefit marginalised people (Mcewan 2001) but it is difficult to ignore the often problematic nature of development practices. Rist (2014) finds that in “the same breath that ‘development’ cooperation is motivated both by disinterestedness (solidarity) and by self-interest” (*ibid.*:43). This quote embodies the difficulty in assessing international engagement for period poverty and the motivations behind it, since development agendas, alike foreign aid are defined in line with donor

motivations not the recipients (Riddell 2007). Whose priorities matter and who defines the imperative to assist in period poverty are key questions that this discussion raises.

7. CONCLUSION

Period Poverty has been recognised as a global public health issue that has prompted action from multiple actors. This paper aimed to map international engagement for period poverty by exploring spaces of interaction between IOs and NIs. The significance of these interactions to address period poverty is clear yet looking at these relationships in the context of broader development discussions raises several important observations. One of which stems from our process of mapping international engagement, where we saw a centralisation of IO action in the Global South. This could suggest a pattern of neo-colonialism as IOs try to spread Western principles and priorities on the states they operate in. While this was not addressed here, IOs created spaces are indirectly based on the underlying history of aid assistance in the international system.

At the same time, this international engagement sheds light on development cooperation and the dynamics that can occur between external and internal actors when dealing with a challenge that is deeply context specific. Considering that NIs are better placed to understand the cultural nuances of menstruation in their own countries, we can question whether the existing spaces created by IOs on the ground are a good thing. It becomes relevant to ask whether IOs should even be involved in addressing period poverty at all. Their involvement is problematic because it raises questions on what their genuine motivations are to create and maintain spaces for period poverty. While the absence of national policies to address period poverty could indicate a form of priority management, the larger question of whether imperatives of states are being overlooked in favour of global priorities or imperatives from the Global North remains. This is a key area of study that would be relevant to explore to understand the effect of conflicting priorities for development. At the same time, their engagement can also be welcome since period poverty is a complex multi-dimensional challenge that requires action from actors from various sectors. IOs' involvement indicates that they are addressing a need and filling a vacuum to address period poverty where NI action has been limited or non-existent. While their activities are not the solution to period

poverty, it could signal the start of more regular, long lasting, sustainable action to address period poverty. Current approaches could create more enduring and permanent spaces for period poverty to be addressed by NIs.

Several important lessons can be learned from this study. One being that there are multiple different configurations of the kinds of relationships that can exist between IOs and NIs. They change based on the experiences, location and shared aim as well as the personal objectives of the actors involved. These collaborations underscore the importance of bridging cultural divides and having a proper understanding of the social space for good development cooperation to occur. Development cooperation requires a strong, non-discriminatory interactive zone of overlap between IOs and NIs. This is key to creating context specific programs and improving the longevity of period poverty policies and activities in states. According to our study, current international collaborative efforts to address period poverty are largely uncoordinated. This could be attributed to the multiple realities of actors that exist within the space of interaction. Different aims, priorities and capabilities can make collaboration more difficult. Another key lesson from this study of participatory spaces is that spaces are temporary and context specific. Space is more than a site for action to share ideas and pursue shared goals between multiple actors. It can be created, reshaped and contested. The dominant spaces that were found in this study exist between IOs and other IOs. Other spaces included interactions between IOs and state actors. This shows that within the space of interaction to address period poverty, there is room to manoeuvre based on the shifting interests of different actors. These spaces are influenced by the power of language and messaging. This study has found that IOs rely on global norms to create spaces of action and justify their intervention. IOs should try creating more interactive spaces that include national imperatives with cultural and social contexts to ensure that the needs and wants of the people they are attempting to help are being addressed. Only this way can the sensitive challenge of period poverty be addressed effectively.

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aginam, Obijiofor. 2005. *Global Health Governance International Law and Public Health in a Divided World*. University of Toronto Press.

- Allen, Katherine R., Christine Elizabeth Kaestle, and Abbie Elizabeth Goldberg. 2011. "More Than Just a Punctuation Mark: How Boys and Young Men Learn About Menstruation." *Journal of Family Issues* 32(2):129–56.
- Alonso, Antonio Jose, and Jonathan Glennie. 2015. "What Is Development Cooperation?" Retrieved May 16, 2020 (https://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/newfunct/pdf15/2016_dcf_policy_brief_no.1.pdf).
- Alonso, José Antonio. 2018. "Development Cooperation to Ensure That None Be Left Behind." *Journal of Globalization and Development* 9(2).
- Barnett, Michael N., and Martha Finnemore. 1999. "The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations." Pp. 699–732 in *International Organization*. Vol. 53.
- Barnett, Michael, and Martha Finnemore. 2012. "International Organizations as Bureaucracies." in *Rules for the World International Organizations in Global Politics*. CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS.
- Bartsch, Sonja. 2011. "A Critical Appraisal of Global Health Partnerships." *Partnerships and Foundations in Global Health Governance* 29–52.
- Bhartiya, Aru. 2013. "Menstruation, Religion and Society." *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity* 523–27.
- Bobel, Chris. 2018. *The Managed Body: Developing Girls and Menstrual Health in the Global South*. Palgrave Macmillan US.
- Bobel, Chris. 2019. *The Spectacle of the "Third World Girl" and the Politics of Rescue*.
- Brühl, Tanja, and Volker Rittberger. 2002. "From International to Global Governance: Actors, Collective Decision- Making, and the United Nations in the World of the Twenty-First Century." *Global Governance and the United Nations System* (Lynch 1998):1–47.
- Bryman, Alan. 2016. *Social Research Methods*. Fifth. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Burr, Vivien. 2015. *Social Constructionism*. 3rd ed. Taylor and Francis Group.
- Chandra-Mouli, Venkatraman, and Sheila Vipul Patel. 2017. "Mapping the Knowledge and Understanding of Menarche, Menstrual Hygiene and Menstrual Health among Adolescent Girls in Low- and Middle-Income Countries." *Reproductive Health* 14(1):30.
- Coker-Bolt, Patricia, Annika Jansson, Sherridan Bigg, Elizabeth Hammond, Harmony Hudson, Sarah Hunkler, Jana Kitch, Heather Richardson, Erica Tiedemann, Janet O'Flynn, and Columbia University, and UNICEF. 2014. *WASH in Schools Empowers Girls' Education Proceedings of the Menstrual Hygiene Management in Schools Virtual Conference 2013*.

- Cornwall, Andrea, and Deborah Eade, eds. 2010. *Deconstructing Development Discourse : Buzzwords and Fuzzwords*. Rugby: Practical Action Publishing.
- Cornwall, Andrea. 2002. *Making Spaces, Changing Places: Situating Participation in Development*. 170. Sussex.
- Daniels, Norman. 2007. *Just Health*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dawson, Catherine. 2019. *A–Z of Digital Research Methods*. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2019.: Routledge.
- Deacon, Bob, and Paul Stubbs. 2013. "Global Social Policy Studies: Conceptual and Analytical Reflections." *Global Social Policy: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Public Policy and Social Development* 13(1):5–23.
- DePaolo, Concetta A., and Kelly Wilkinson. 2014. "Get Your Head into the Clouds: Using Word Clouds for Analyzing Qualitative Assessment Data." *TechTrends* 58(3):38–44.
- Dunne, Tim, Milja Kurki, and Steve Smith. 2016. *International Relations Theories*. fourth. Oxford University Press.
- Egholm, Liv. 2014. *Philosophy of Science - Perspectives on Organisations and Society*. 1st ed. edited by and T. McTuck. M. Laurberg, K. L. Jensen. Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Escobar, Arturo. 1995. *Encountering Development*. edited by S. B. Ortner, N. B. Dirks, and G. Eley. Princeton University Press.
- Flick, Uwe. 2018. *An Introduction to Qualitative Methods*. 6th ed. SAGE.
- Gostin, Lawrence O., and Emily A. Mok. 2009. "Grand Challenges in Global Health Governance." *British Medical Bulletin* 90(1):7–18.
- Grbin, Miloje. 2015. "Foucault and Space." *Bauhaus University*.
- Griffin, Em. 2009. *A First Look at Communication Theory*. 7th ed. New York: M Graw-Hill.
- Guest, Greg, Kathleen MacQueen, and Emily Namey. 2012. *Applied Thematic Analysis*. 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks California 91320 United States: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1995. *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action* . Reprint. Cambridge: Polity.
- Hansen, Anders, and David Machin. 2008. "Visually Branding the Enviroment: Climate Change as a Marketing Oppertunty." *Discourse Studies* 10(6):777–94.
- Harman, Sophie. 2012. *Global Health Governance*. Routledge.
- Hein, Wolfgang, and Lars Kohlmorgen. 2005. "Global Health Governance: Conflicts on Global Social Rights."

- House, Sarah, Thérèse Mahon, Sue Cavill, and WaterAid. 2012. "Menstrual Hygiene Matters: A Resource for Improving Menstrual Hygiene around the World." *Reproductive Health Matters* 21(41):257–59.
- Janus, Heiner, Stephan Klingebiel, and Sebastian Paulo. 2015. "Beyond Aid: A Conceptual Perspective on the Transformation of Development Cooperation." *Journal of International Development* 27(2):155–69.
- Jewitt, Sarah, and Harriet Ryley. 2014. "It's a Girl Thing: Menstruation, School Attendance, Spatial Mobility and Wider Gender Inequalities in Kenya." *Geoforum* 56:137–47.
- Kaasch, Alexandra, Martin Koch, and Kerstin Martens. 2019. "Exploring Theoretical Approaches to Global Social Policy Research: Learning from International Relations and Inter-Organisational Theory." *Global Social Policy* 19(1–2):87–104.
- Kadariya, Shanti, and Arja Aro. 2015. "Chhaupadi Practice in Nepal Analysis of Ethical Aspects." *Medicolegal and Bioethics* 53.
- Klijn, Erik Hans, and Joop Koppenjan. 2012. "Governance Network Theory: Past, Present and Future." *Policy and Politics* 40(4):587–606.
- Laleman, Geert, Guy Kegels, Bruno Marchal, Dirk van der Roost, Isa Bogaert, and Wim van Damme. 2007. "The Contribution of International Health Volunteers to the Health Workforce in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Human Resources for Health* 5:1–9.
- Lancaster, Carol. 2007. *Foreign Aid, Diplomacy, Development, Domestic Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Laws, Sophie. 1990. *Issues of Blood: The Politics of Menstruation*. London: Macmillan.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. English Tr. Blackwell.
- Marván, Ma. Luisa, Dyana Ramírez-esparza, Sandra Cortés-iniestra, and Joan C. Chrisler. 2006. "Development of a New Scale to Measure Beliefs about and Attitudes Toward Menstruation (BATM): Data from Mexico and the United States." *Health Care for Women International* 27(5):453–73.
- Matthews, Sally. 2010. "Postdevelopment Theory." Pp. 1–27 in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. Oxford University Press.
- Maxwell, Daniel, and Kirsten Heidi Gelsdorf. 2019. *Understanding the Humanitarian World*. Routledge.
- Mcewan, Cheryl. 2001. "Postcolonialism, Feminism and Development: Intersections and Dilemmas. Progress in Development Studies." *Progress in Development Studies* 1(2):93–111.

- Moyo, Dambisa. 2009. "Why Foreign Aid Is Hurting Africa." *The Wall Street Journal* 1–5.
- Nilsson, Adriana. 2017. "Making Norms to Tackle Global Challenges: The Role of Intergovernmental Organisations." *Research Policy* 46(1):171–81.
- Rapley, Tim, and Gethin Rees. 2018. "Collecting Documents as Data." Pp. 378–91 in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*, edited by U. Flick. 1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Riddell, Roger. 2007. *Does Foreign Aid Really Work?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rist, Gilbert. 2010. "Development as a Buzzword." in *Buzzwords and fuzzwords: deconstructing development discourse.*, edited by A. Cornwall and D. Eade. Practical Action Publishing.
- Rist, Gilbert. 2014. *The History of Development : From Western Origins to Global Faith*. 4th ed. ZED BOOKS.
- Rose, Gillian. 2016. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*. 4th ed. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Sachs, Wolfgang ed. 2010. *The Development Dictionary A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. 2nd ed. ZED BOOKS.
- Salmons, Janet. 2016. "Collecting Extant Data Online." Pp. 115–25 in *Doing Qualitative Research Online*. 1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Sithole, Bevlyne, Torben Birch-Thomsen, Ole Mertz, Trevor Hill, Thilde Bruun Bech, and Thuita Thenya. 2016. "Collaborative Education across Continents: Lessons from a Partnership on Sustainable Resource Management Education." Pp. 58–82 in *Higher Education and Capacity Building in Africa*, edited by H. K. Adriansen, L. Madsen, and S. Jensen. Routledge.
- Sommer, Marni, and Murat Sahin. 2013. "Overcoming the Taboo: Advancing the Global Agenda for Menstrual Hygiene Management for Schoolgirls." *American Journal of Public Health* 103(9).
- Sommer, Marni, Jennifer S. Hirsch, Constance Nathanson, and Richard G. Parker. 2015. "Comfortably, Safely, and Without Shame: Defining Menstrual Hygiene Management as a Public Health Issue." *American Journal of Public Health* 105(7):1302–11.
- Sommer, Marni. 2012. "Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education Structural Factors Influencing Menstruating School Girls' Health and Well-Being in Tanzania."

- Tag, Miriam. 2013. "The Cultural Construction of Global Social Policy: Theorizing Formations and Transformations." *Global Social Policy: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Public Policy and Social Development* 13(1):24–44.
- Tamiru, Selamawit, Kuribachew Mamo, Pasquina Acidria, Rozalia Mushi, Chemisto Satya Ali, and Lindiwe Ndebele. 2015. "Towards a Sustainable Solution for School Menstrual Hygiene Management: Cases of Ethiopia, Uganda, South-Sudan, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe" edited by M. Sahin. *Waterlines* 34(1):92–102.
- Tellier, Siri, and Maria Hyttel. 2018. "Menstrual Health Management in East and Southern Africa: A Review Paper." *Menstrual Health Management Symposium* 1–47.
- The World Bank. 2018. "Menstrual Hygiene Management Enables Women and Girls to Reach Their Full Potential." Retrieved February 15, 2020 (<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2018/05/25/menstrual-hygiene-management>).
- Thomson, Jennifer, Fran Amery, Melanie Channon, and Mahesh Puri. 2019. "What's Missing in MHM? Moving beyond Hygiene in Menstrual Hygiene Management." *Sexual and Reproductive Health Matters* 27(1):12–15.
- Tilley, E., S. Bieri, and P. Kohler. 2013. "Sanitation in Developing Countries: A Review through a Gender Lens." *Journal of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for Development* 3(3):298–314.
- Tull, Kerina. 2019. *Period Poverty Impact on the Economic Empowerment of Women*.
- UNICEF. 2015. "International Women's Day: 10 Quick Facts on Girls." Retrieved May 22, 2020 (https://www.unicef.org/media/media_81135.html).
- Watkins, Daphne, and Deborah Gioia. 2015. *Mixed Methods Research*. Oxford University Press.
- Weiss, Thomas G. 2014. "Rethinking Global Governance ? Complexity , Authority , Power , Change." 207–15.
- Williamsburg, Mary, and C. Arkady Silverman. 2010. "Menstrual Management."
- Winkler, Inga T. 2019. "Human Rights Shine a Light on Unmet Menstrual Health Needs and Menstruation at the Margins." *Obstetrics and Gynecology* 133(2):235–37.
- Winkler, Inga T., and Virginia Roaf. 2014. "TAKING THE BLOODY LINEN OUT OF THE CLOSET: MENSTRUAL HYGIENE AS A PRIORITY FOR ACHIEVING GENDER EQUALITY." *Cardozo JL and Gender* 21(1).
- Youde, Jeremy. 2018. *Global Health Governance in International Society*. Vol. 1. Oxford University Press.