
Something for Something

Understanding
Transactional Sex
among Campus Girls
in Kampala

Laura Hoeffnagel



Universiteit Utrecht

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Name: Laura Hoeffnagel
Student number: 3454479
Supervisor: Marike van Gijzel
Institution: University Utrecht
Date: August 2012
Contact details: Laura_Hoeffnagel@hotmail.com
Photographs front: By author (with the consent of the informants)

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*Manya bw'obeera n'abakazi
Olina kuuma bukuumi
ngembwa enkambwe*

*[Remember when you have women
You have to keep close watch
like a ferocious dog]*

Luganda song 'Kayanda', composed around 1992.

Translation by Mugambi (1997)

The story of Naggayi

"Naggayi is a city girl, who for quite some time deceives three men, Kataregga, Hadji Katenda, and Steven, into each perceiving themselves as her only boyfriend. When Naggayi becomes pregnant and gives birth to a baby boy, she attributes fatherhood to each of the three men. Each father names the baby according to his clan norms. Unfortunately, malaria seizes the child, who is admitted to the hospital. Naggayi sends for each of the men. When Kataregga arrives, the child is already dead. He rushes home to organize the digging of the grave and to rent a car to fetch the dead body. Meanwhile, Hadji Katende and Steven arrive at the bedside at the same time. When Kataregga returns, he finds Hadji Katende and Steven engaged in a dispute over ownership of the dead child. He joins the fight as he too asserts his fatherhood's rights. Before long a big crowd gathers. People assemble, including doctors, to determine the nature of the disturbance. Naggayi is stuck. "Her ingenuity is entangled in a web of knots." To settle the dispute, the doctors decide to use the medical records to eliminate imposters. Naggayi had assigned fatherhood to Steven, who starts to prepare the little dead body for the final journey home. On close examination, however, Steven discovers that the child had already been circumcised following Islamic custom, a fact that bestows official fatherhood to the Muslim contender, Hadji Katende. Infuriated by this final discovery, Steven storms out of the hospital to avoid taking to his home "a ghost" that does not belong to him. But by then Hadji Katende has already left. When Kataregga sees this, he too deserts mother and dead child and goes home to stop the grave digging. The child is eventually buried by the state without the sacred rites of family and community. The story once again ends with an admonition to women" (Mugambi 1997: 218-219 in Davis 2000)¹

¹ Above examples are two popular Luganda songs from the 1990's, "Naggayi" and "Kayanda", which show, according to Mugambi (1997), the construction of gender and nation in contemporary Uganda. She analysed several popular radio songs and describes how many of them include warnings to men to watch out for women, such as the last three lines in the song "Kayanda". The song "Naggayi" (composed around 1994) tells the above story and shows the myth of 'town women' in Kampala who, through the economic support of multiple lovers, live comfortable lives (Davis 2000).

Introduction

“If you want my body, what do I get in return?”
(Isabela², 22 years old, Makerere University)

While many scholars have conducted research concerning ‘transactional sex’ in Africa, sexual practices in exchange for money and commodities, few of them focused on how we can understand this phenomenon in context of a globalized world where both local and universal influences play a role and how different lifestyles, caused by a globalized world, influence sexual behaviour and perceptions on love and sexuality of people in Africa. Globalization results in a world full of *interconnectedness* which creates a global flow of ideas and ideologies about love and sexuality, where these ideas and ideologies travel all over the world (Eriksen 2007). It is a world full of movement and mixture, contacts and links, and persistent cultural interaction and exchange. It is a world where borders become less important and where more and more people and cultures are in intense and rapid contact with each other. A world where fast exchange of capital, people, goods, images and ideologies takes place (Inda en Rosaldo 2008). According to Thomas Eriksen (2007), globalization results in both the intensification of transnational connectedness and an awareness of this connectedness. Although it is often thought that globalization processes result in an exchange from ‘the West to the Rest’, these processes exchange from north to south, east to west and the other way round. Because of this we cannot see the cultural dynamics of globalization as *Westernization*, but it must rather be analysed as an intricate process with multiple directions.

Because of this *interconnectedness*, current lifestyles cannot be seen as mainly local but rather have to be viewed in a context of globalization, where both global and local processes play a role. Different scholars (see i.e. Eriksen 2007, Boellstorff 2007) point out that universal processes congregate with local traditions in a specific environment. In the context of sexuality most of these scholars use same-sex sexualities as a case-study to describe the mixing processes that possibly take place with the globalization of sexuality. Due to the lack of academic research concerning the globalization of lifestyles of heterosexual sexuality and due to the similarities between theories on homo- and heterosexuality this research will be based upon the readily available theories on same-sex sexualities. The work of Hector Carrillo (2002) *new hybridity* and Tom Boellstorff’s (2003 in Inda&Rosaldo 2008) *dubbing culture* will therefore, among others, be used to describe the theoretical framework of

² Most names in this thesis are fictitious because of informants confidentiality.

this thesis. This literature gives ample description on the different views of the mixing processes that possibly take place with the globalization of western lifestyles.

Hector Carrillo (2002) describes the concept *new hybridity* where older forms of homosexual behaviour co-exist with imported identities which results in a *global gay* identity in Mexico and other parts of the world. According to Carrillo, globalization does not cause the fading of cultural differences. In Thailand we can find men who identify themselves as gay and there are many venues which we can recognize as part of the global gay world. But we can also find men who identify themselves with the term *kathoey*, an identity which only exists in Thailand (Carrillo 2002 in Altman 2004). Tom Boellstorff (2003 in Ina&Rosaldo 2008) explains his concept *dubbing culture*. He shows how Indonesians identify themselves with terms *gay* and *lesbi*, and describes how *dubbing culture* and the use of mass media plays a role in the onset of these concepts. Contrary to Carrillo, Boellstorff points out that globalization does not result in the spread of the same concepts, but rather that these concepts are locally transformed. While both scholars emphasize that cultural differences remain, Carrillo thinks that new global concepts are developed which will co-exist next to local concepts. Boellstorff, however, contradicts this and argues that global and traditional concepts integrate, which result in local transformations. Boellstorff's local transformations complement those of Eriksen (2007), where universal and local processes mix and create *glocal* versions.

According to Dennis Altman (2004), sexuality is affected by globalization in a number of interconnected ways. He sees the economic growth of consumerism and individualism, features which are more easily transferred with economic growth, as the common thread. An increasing amount of people live in a world full of conflicting and hybrid imagery because they live in fast growing cities in the Third World where they are abundantly exposed to media images through television, cinema and the internet. These media images introduced them to different ways of imagining sex and gender arrangements and identities. He points out that though not all images arise from the United States, for example Latin American *telenovelas* and the Bollywood movies, many individuals sexual desire co-exist with “*a desire for modernity, that is, a desire to be part of the affluence and freedom associated with the images of the rich world*” (Altman 2004: 64).

To fulfil Altman's ‘desire for modernity’, some African women use their body and sexuality as an instrument to achieve a lifestyle in which consumerism plays a large role. According to Seidman (2003), consumer capitalism tends to commodify every aspect of life and pushed sexuality into the public sphere, where sex talk and images have become public.

Sex is commodified and it is now used to sell commodities. Other scholars (see i.e. Leclerc-Madlala 2003) point out how the exposure of women in the Third World to consumerism and heterosexual lifestyles can result in a practice called *transactional sex*, where women engage in sexual relationships in exchange for commodities and money. These transactional sexual relationships, ‘something for something’ relationships (Samara 2010), can be viewed as *commodification of sexuality*, where the body and its sexuality are viewed as a commodity which someone can use to increase economic value. Suzanne Leclerc-Madlala (2003) describes how young township women in Durban, South-Africa, use transactional sex for material gain and explains that we should view transactional sex in the African context as linked to consumerism, urbanisation and differences in wealth. These sexual relationships for the gain of money and commodities have often nothing to do with being poor, but are rather about satisfying ‘wants’ opposed to satisfying ‘needs’ (2003: 214). According to her, access to media images of comfortable lifestyles and consumption, combined with consumer values, enhance the chances of young women engaging in transactional sexual practices. Engaging in transactional sex is often about a desire to live a consumerism lifestyle where sexuality is used as an instrument to achieve this. Tsitsi Masvawure (2010) argues how female students from the University of Zimbabwe, who engage in transactional sex, are not always economically disadvantaged and shows how these women use transactional sex to elevate their social status on campus and fashion themselves as ‘modern subjects’. She describes how students from lower middle-class backgrounds use transactional sexual practices to achieve a modern lifestyle, while students from an upper middle-class background use it to maintain their already privileged position.

At first glance transactional sex seems to have many similarities with prostitution, where sex-workers also use their body and sexuality to gain economic resources. Reynolds (1986 in Veen 2001) presents an economic theory about prostitution which also applies to the transactional sexual relationships women engage in. In his theory, prostitutes are presented as rational agents who, by supplying sex, maximize their profit. We can however not simply compare transactional sex to prostitution. While Hunter (2002) acknowledged the fact that there are certain similarities between transactional sex and prostitution, in both cases the primary reason to engage in non-marital sexual relationships is the exchange of sex to receive gifts or money. He points out that the main difference between transactional sex and prostitution, is that participants of transactional sex are constructed as boyfriends and girlfriends and not as clients and prostitutes like in prostitution (2002: 101-102). Women who engage in transactional sex choose a lover or sexual partner, whereas a prostitute sells her

body.

While ‘African femininity’ often exists of passive forms such as modesty, tenderness and passivity (Shefer 1999 in Muhanguzi 2011), Muhanguzi points out how some scholars acknowledge the existence of women’s *agency* in several African communities by arguing that the image of African women as weak and vulnerable is too simplistic. I will use Saba Mahmood’s definition of agency throughout this thesis:

“The capacity to realize one’s own interest against the weight of custom, tradition, transcendental will, or other obstacles (whether individual or collective). Thus the humanist desire for autonomy and self-expression constitutes the substrate, the slumbering ember that can spark to flame in the form of an act of resistance when conditions permit” (Mahmood 2004: 8)

Women who engage in ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships have sexual agency by using their sexuality to fulfil a ‘desire for modernity’. They achieve this by increasing the economic value of their sexuality within a male dominated gender structure. Transactional sex can however increase a woman’s vulnerability when engaging in these practices when compared to women who do not engage in transactional sexual relationships. This because they often have less negotiating power when engaging in ‘something for something’ sexual relationships. Samara (2010) argues that girls in Busoga, Uganda, have less power to negotiate sex on their terms when the exchange of commodities plays an increasing role in the relationship. Unprotected sex is often the result, which increases the vulnerability to diseases such as HIV/AIDS, other STD’s and unwanted pregnancies. I will use the concept ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships, described by Samara (2010), throughout this thesis to describe transactional sexual practices. I will however not only use ‘something for something’ sexual relationships but also ‘something for something’ love relationships to make a distinction between love relationships which are mainly based on mutual attraction, but where ‘something for something’ plays a role; and sexual relationships which are mainly based on the exchange of sex for gifts and money.

Many scholars have written about women and girls in Uganda who engage in these ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships (see Samara 2010, Sadgrove 2007, Hugo 2012 et al.). Sadgrove (2007) argues how transactional sex is one of the most obvious social dynamics on the campus of the Makerere University in the capital of Uganda, Kampala. She explores how the religious movement Pentecostalism results in new groups of people with their own standards for social and sexual behaviour. According to her, transactional sex,

with often older men, is the easiest way for female students to achieve a lifestyle set by wealthier peers, which is why campus girls are an interesting target group to research what roles local traditions and gender relations, and western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyles play in the transactional relationships female students in Kampala engage in.

This is an anthropological thesis which will show how we can understand ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships in a context with both local traditions and gender relations, and western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyles. According to Dennis Altman (2004), there are more and more young people living in fast expanding Third World cities where they are exposed to new media images. A group of women in Kampala, who are frequently exposed to media images and different lifestyles from other parts of the world, are ‘campus girls’. Young women who study at one of the universities in Kampala. The exposure to western lifestyles and peer-pressure at the university campus can result in a ‘desire for modernity’ which enhances the changes of campus girls using ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships to achieve this consumerism lifestyle. I will argue how ‘something for something’ plays a role in the love and sexual relationships of campus girls, even when these relationships are based on mutual attraction instead of based on the exchange of sex for money and commodities. Because of the exposure to western lifestyles and peer-pressure on campus, campus girls are an interesting target group to research what elements of local traditions and gender relations, and western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyles are visible in the ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships these women engage in.

I will answer the following research question:

How can we understand the ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships campus girls in Kampala engage in from a context with both local traditions and gender relations, and western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyles?

1.1 Methodology

From February to May 2012, I conducted three months of fieldwork in the capital of Uganda, Kampala, in order to understand what local elements and western influences play a role in the ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships campus girls in engage in. I choose the capital because, according to Altman (2004), more and more young people live in fast expanding Third World cities where more and more people live in a world full of contraries

and hybridity's. Because of this, urbanizing Kampala is an appropriate location to conduct research about the impact globalization has on the lives and sexual behaviour of women in Uganda. I choose campus girls as my research group because, according to most people I talked to, they are the women in Uganda who are in close contact with globalization processes such as media exposure and contact with foreigners and because much research conducted about women's sexuality in Uganda aimed at high school students and less research is conducted among university students in the city.

The main research methods I used were participant observation and semi-structured interviews³. For two months I lived in a big student hostel near the Makerere University with mostly Ugandan students. There I shared a room with a Ugandan roommate who brought me into contact with several campus girls who lived in the same or in other student hostels in the city. With six girls I developed close friendships and with them I engaged in activities such as eating, shopping and going out to bars and clubs in the city. Being-there and listening to their stories about boyfriends, relationships and sex allowed me to get to know their community from inside (DeWalt & DeWalt 2002), and allowed me to witness their love and sexual relationships up-close. With three of them I recorded life-histories because their difference in sexual behaviour and perspectives on love and sexuality are a good representation of what the sexual lives of campus girls look like. I asked the three girls separately to describe their love and sexual lives in their own words and taped these interviews. With the help of the six girls I had informal talks with several other campus girls one or more times. In order to collect more data about campus girls in general, I did not only talk to campus girls but also to girls who are in secondary school or who did not study at the university. I had three focus groups with different senior female students at a secondary school in Kampala about their perceptions on love and sexuality, sexual behaviour and their views on campus girls and their upcoming university years. I had three interviews with commercial *ssenga*'s (traditionally the paternal aunt and the traditional sex-educators in the Buganda culture) to talk about the traditional ways of sex-education, relationships, marriage and gender structure in Kampala. To gain more insight about formal sex-education in Kampala, I observed three days at sex-education classes for youth at a health clinic and interviewed two employees and interviewed a counsellor at a high school. This formal education was mostly about the problematic aspects of sexuality such as HIV/AIDS, other sexually transmitted diseases, unwanted pregnancies etc. While my research focused more on informal sex-education I wanted a

³ See appendix 1 and 2.

complete overview of the different forms of sex-education girls in Kampala experience which includes formal education at high schools and health clinics as well.

Other sources I used during my research were various forms of media such as internet, television, movies, newspapers and magazines. Love and sexuality are subjects which are clearly visible in Ugandan magazines and newspaper and allowed me to understand the different subjects as they are discussed in the media. Subjects varied from the subjects discussed in formal education, such as HIV and unwanted pregnancy, to subjects concerning male and female pleasure during sex and readers' questions about sex and love. Three times I found letters and articles in newspapers which were directly connected to my research subject such as readers' letters about the lifestyles of campus girls or an article about love and sex in exchange for money and commodities in Uganda. I used local newspapers to contact commercial ssengas in Kampala because they often place advertisements in these newspapers to contact potential clients⁴.

Sexuality is often referred to as a sensitive subject to research and during the preparation prior to this research people often wondered how I was making sexuality an approachable subject during conversations with informants. I agree with Rachel Spronk (2006) who conducted fieldwork in Nairobi about sexuality. She states that the researcher should not view sexuality lightly, but how other subjects can be just as intrusive:

“During this research I was often asked by colleagues and other professionals how I was going to ‘make them talk’, how I imagined that men would confide in me, or how I would cope with the inevitable situation when a man would expect ‘more’ (people never mentioned a woman) – and other remarks that questioned the possibility of conducting research into African people’s intimate lives. The so-called great taboo is not insurmountable. Sexuality research should, indeed, not be viewed lightly because talking about people’s intimate lives can be intrusive. On the other hand, I do not believe that it is any less intrusive to ask people about their financial situations.” (Spronk 2006: 30-31)

It was of great importance to create *rapport* between the informants and myself, to establish a trust relationship between us. I often used the similarities between my informants and me as an instrument to achieve this trust (both women, university students and same age group). This created personal relationships, where my informants viewed me more as a friend than an academic who is conducting research about them. I used my Dutch origins and own sexual

⁴ See appendix 3.

experiences to make different subjects concerning sexuality approachable. By explaining those, they felt confident enough to explain their own,

1.2 Structure of this Thesis

This thesis will explore the impact of western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyles on the lives and sexual behaviour of campus girls in Kampala. The next chapter will show the traditional way of sex-education and the traditional gender relations in Kampala, in order to picture the local context where these ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships take place. Chapter three pictures the lifestyles of campus girls in Kampala and their views on lifestyle and modernity to show how these girls are influenced by western lifestyles and perspectives and what their ideas about ‘western love and sex’ are. In chapter four, I will describe ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships and show what aspects of local traditions and traditional gender relations, and what aspects of western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyles are visible in these practices. Here I will also explain how women have a certain sexual agency by engaging in these practices, but how this engagement creates a vulnerability at the same time. To illustrate ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships, I describe two examples: sugar daddies and Valentine’s day. This thesis ends with a conclusion, where I argue how ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships can be understood from local traditions, such as bride wealth, the current gender relations and western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyles, which result in a ‘desire for modernity’, where campus girls use their sexuality to achieve this ‘modern lifestyle’.

Chapter 2: Traditional Sexuality and Gender in Kampala

When I started this research, I looked for articles, books, movies etc. about traditional women's sexuality in Uganda and mostly found documentation about one subject: *ssengas*. It almost seemed like there was no other form of sex-education in the country. On Dutch television a documentary, *Sunny side of Sex*⁵, about women's sexuality in Uganda mainly focused on the traditional *ssengas*. In this documentary was shown how girls' sex-education was taught by a paternal aunt of the adolescent girl who has the role to educate her about sexuality and marriage. It showed what practices take place when a *ssenga* teaches her student and pictures a positive image of the content of the *ssenga* tradition and women's sexuality in Uganda. When I started looking for scientific literature about *ssengas*, I found information concerning these traditional *ssengas* which showed me a different perspective than the content of the documentary did. Where in the documentary *ssengas* seemed to be throughout the whole country it is actually a traditional practice of sex-education among the Baganda⁶ in central Uganda (Muyinda et al. 2001). Uganda exist of many different cultures and ethnic groups. The capital Kampala lies in the Kampala district which lies originally in the traditional Buganda Kingdom. Most people who live in this district are Baganda, members of an ethnic group with a specific tradition in the area of sexuality. Most of the scientific and non-scientific literature and other documentation I found about traditional sexuality in Uganda was about the *ssenga* tradition. This made me to believe that *ssengas* would be obviously present in the daily lives of women in Uganda. But where I expected to be confronted with the traditional practice when I arrived in Kampala, there were very few signs of *ssengas* for a foreign observer. An employee of an health clinic in Kampala explained to me that *ssengas* are mostly present in the communities of Kampala, but are difficult to reach because of the language barrier⁷ and because it is not easy to enter the social community. One of the employees of the guesthouse I am staying for the first weeks explains to me that 'commercial *ssengas*' have emerged in the city of Kampala, women who offer their services to girls, women, their parents, men and couples and place advertisements in local newspapers to contact potential clients. According to her, it is possible to contact these commercial *ssengas* via these advertisements.

⁵ *Sunny side of Sex*. VPRO 27-10-2011

⁶ People: Baganda
Person: Muganda
Language: Luganda
Kingdom: Buganda

⁷ Residents of Kampala often speak the local language Luganda.

When looking for advertisements from ssengas in the newspaper *Red Pepper*⁸, there is one ssenga who works in the same neighbourhood as I live in. As I walk up to the place I do not know what to expect of an ‘herbal research centre’ as described in the newspaper. Because there is no address mentioned, only a description of the location, it takes me fifteen minutes and the help of several helpful people in the area to find the little orange metal shed. Next to it is a wooden sign with the words ‘ssenga’ and ‘herbal research centre’ painted on it. As I wait for ssenga Grace to arrive, I take a look around in the shed and see several filthy looking bottles with liquids and herbs in it, which I cannot identify. In front of the small shed are second hand shoes, which, as I find out later, are for sale. Ssenga Grace arrives in a matching orange trouser and t-shirt, which contrasts well with her dark skin. Contrary to what the employee told me at the health clinic, she speaks English very well, and seems eager to talk to me about the traditional ssenga practices.

2.1 Traditional Ssengas and Bride Wealth

Ssenga Grace explains to me that ssengas are the traditional channel of communication about sex and marriage for female girls among the Baganda. A ssenga is a paternal aunt who has the role to educate her niece about sexuality, reproduction, hygiene and marriage. According to Tamale (2005), traditional sexuality in the Buganda kingdom was defined along gender and class lines. Being a wife and mother stood central in a woman’s sexuality. This corresponds with findings of this research where the traditional gender roles are reflected in the ssenga tradition. Monogamy and virginity until marriage is highly valued for women but pre-marital sex and adultery is tolerated for men. This is what Wolff et al. (2000) call a *sexual double standard*. They point out that most societies have a greater obligation to be sexually faithful on women than on men. There are more restrictions to sexual activity before marriage for women than men and there are more societies where women are restricted to one partner but where men are allowed to have multiple sexual partners or wives. Women are expected to control their sexual impulse, male sex drive is however constructed as something uncontrollable for which they are not responsible (2000: 305). This is also reflected in the erotic instructions provided by a ssenga to her student where the man’s pleasure during sexual activities is the main goal of the instructions. During this lessons a ssenga teaches the girl how to behave during sexual activities such as what noises to make, what to whisper in his ear, what positions he likes etc. The main goal of this instructions is to learn how to satisfy the

⁸ Local newspaper in Uganda.

husband. Ssenga Grace explains that this satisfaction is important because an unsatisfied man will look for this satisfaction elsewhere:

“You have to trick your man, not to run away from you”

Other aspects of the traditional ssenga tradition among the Baganda, which reflect the traditional gender relations in Kampala, are the four elements on which the tradition is based. According to Muyinda et al. (2001), the ssenga tradition is based on social responsibility, moral authority, appropriate knowledge and a suitable socio-economic environment (2001: 356). In the Buganda culture the father has the authority of raising the children and the ssenga, the sister of the father, is considered to be responsible to teach and guide her brother's daughter in his name and ethnicity. This social responsibility provides ssengas with the moral authority to exchange sensitive information and to instruct young girls in expected sexual behaviour. This corresponds with the patriarchal and male dominated gender relations among the Baganda, where men have the privilege to control decision making in society and the control over women's sexuality.

Ssenga Akugoba explains which instructions, other than the erotic instructions, are part of the ssenga lessons. The first is 'visiting the bush' where a ssenga shows her student how to elongate her labia, in newspaper advertisements often referred to as 'twinflaps' or 'twintowers'. This often starts when a girl is twelve or thirteen years old, when she starts to develop breasts and will have her first period soon. She explains to me that long twinflaps keep a man warm during sex but will also protect a girl from sexual harassers. Ssenga Grace does not explain these reasons to her students, instead she tells them that scary consequences will happen if they do not elongate their labia. She will demonstrate the elongation so they can continue doing it themselves or female friends can help each other with the pulling of the labia. According to Tamale (2005), there are three main purposes why Baganda women prolong their labia. The first is an enhanced erotic experience for both male and female. Secondly it serves as an identifier of being a Muganda woman. The third is an aesthetic reason, several Baganda men explained that they enjoy looking at and caress the elongated labia (2005: 27). While one of the reasons is enhanced sexual pleasure for the woman several girls told me, from their own experience or because they heard stories from others, that prolonging the labia is a painful practice. This shows that the practice is not mainly for female pleasure, as shown in the documentary *Sunny side of Sex*, but other reasons play an important role as well. When the labia are prolonged a ssenga and her student wait for the girl's first period. If her menstruation presents itself, the ssenga will inform the mother and supply the

girl with a piece of cotton to use. According to tradition, the ssenga will bury the cotton, when it is used for the first time, on a banana plantation. She will also inform the girl about hygiene and reproduction matters.

A ssenga plays an important role in the marriage preparation and guidance of a young woman. She informs her student how to behave in a marriage and how to socially handle an husband. Tamale describes what the role of a ssenga was in the marriage preparations and sex education of a girl. She points out that her findings are based on oral stories and popular beliefs because there was no academic research conducted about the ssenga tradition at that time. Even though there were no pre-arranged marriages among the Baganda, ssengas played an important role in the marital negotiations. Her role was to teach her students how to become a good wife, socially and sexually (2005). This reflects the patriarchal society of Kampala where the male is dominant and most visible in the public sphere, but where women mostly stay in the private sphere. One of the tasks of a ssenga is to make sure a girl maintains her virginity until she is married, to keep her own and her ssengas dignity. If a girls loses her virginity before marriage the ssenga would be blamed. According to Tamale (2005), this would however not ruin the girl her future marriage prospects.

While it seems that the ssenga tradition maintains the patriarchal gender structure in Kampala, by maintaining the man's control over women's sexuality, ssengas and their students however do have agency within this gender structure. While the main subject of the ssenga lessons is the satisfaction of a man, a ssenga often provides her student with empowering messages to create a certain independence, such as encouragements to be economic independent and not to be totally socially dependent on a husband. Ssenga Kulabako explains to her students the importance of being socially independent so they have a certain social safety net if needed. This shows that even though a ssenga is a representative of the father of a girl we cannot just view her like that, but we have to view her as a woman who is positioned in the same gender structures as the girl. This is why ssengas and their students have agency within this structure by creating a certain women's independence.

An important element of the traditional marriage ceremony among the Baganda is bride wealth. A tradition where a man supplies the parents of a girl with worthy gifts as an appreciation of accepting a marriage proposal between the man and the girl. Supporting the traditional gender structure a girl has no influence on the bride price. It is a negotiation between the man and the girl's parents. Expected gifts are often goats or other cattle. According to Hague et al. (2009), bride wealth is changing in urban areas of Uganda where goods and money become more wanted as gifts than animals. According to them the practice

is nowadays often commercialised because it has lost its traditional value of beneficially being formal recognition of marriages. Because of this commercialization a bride price becomes more similar to ‘buying’ a woman, as a commodity, to marry a man. Ssenga Grace explains the bride wealth ritual where a man brings cows as a bride price and her daughter Abigail, who joined us during the conversation, adds to this that if a man is not able to buy two cows, some women look for another who can afford more cows. The current importance of bride wealth shows when I see different billboards in the city promoting the magazine ‘Bride & Groom Uganda’, and the cover shows a quote from a woman named Zari: “*I am worth three hundred cows*”.

2.2 Commodification of Ssengas in Kampala

Ssengas used to be the only channel of communication in the sex-education and marriage preparations of a young girl in the Kampala district. But where the ssenga tradition used to be a family matter, nowadays there is a decrease in the role ssengas play in the sex-education of young girls in urban areas such as Kampala. According to many informants, ssengas do however still have traditional value in rural areas of the district. In the city, urbanization and modernization resulted in a commodification of the traditional practice where ‘commercial ssengas’ have arisen (Tamale 2005). Commercial ssengas are women who avail themselves for hire to perform the role of traditional ssengas. They often call themselves ‘herbalist’ and offer solutions to a variety of problems a young girl or woman can have. This can be herbal treatment for different diseases such as candida, but also sexual problems such as women who have less vaginal fluids during sexual practices, tightening of the vagina etc. They offer their service not only to girls, their parents and couples, but also to men to solve problems such as erectile dysfunction or premature ejaculation. These commercial ssengas are most visible in the media by their advertisements in newspapers, columns in magazines and radio shows where they provide listeners with advice etc. For a foreign observer they are harder to see because the radio shows they work for mostly target the communities of Kampala, so they often speak Luganda instead of English, and some local newspaper are also in the local language Luganda. The role of a ssenga changed in different ways. Where it used to be a family tradition, ssengas in Kampala nowadays are making a living out of this traditional practice by commercializing the practice and expanding the content of the traditional ssenga lessons by not only providing advice and instructions to young girls in the family but also to other young women, men and couples.

Next time I visit ssenga Grace, we do not meet at her herbal research centre but at her

small house in a community of Kampala and she is sitting on the worn-out bench next to me. The house exists of a small living room and two small bedrooms, one for her and one for her two daughters Abigail and Olivia. Behind the house is a small indoor kitchen where the girls are steaming *matoke*¹. While the girls are cooking, Grace tells me about the content of the instructions she provides to couples and specifically about the different sex positions she teaches them. She shows me the little books she owns for couples to borrow. I look at the books and see written instructions in Luganda with pictures of western couples in different sex positions. The pictures in the book leave little to the imagination. Grace gets up and shows me an instruction DVD which shows the western influences on the content of the ssenga tradition well. The cover of the DVD looks self-printed and contains small pictures of naked black women. The title of the movie is *Phat Freaks* and on the back of the cover is written 'made in America'. I try not to laugh while I am looking at the American porn DVD. Ssenga Grace explain with a serious expression the importance of learning new things to spice up a women's sex live. According to her, sex will get boring when you develop too many habits and sex is the most important thing in your marriage.

While I expected ssengas to be strongly visible in the daily life in Kampala they appeared more difficult to see. Different articles and the documentary *Sunny side of Sex* pictured an image of the city where ssengas would be obviously present, but it turned out that only commercial ssengas are fairly easy to contact. Another image pictured from my research in The Netherlands was a society where women's sexuality was highly valued and where the emphasis is on female sexual pleasure⁹. Where young girls elongate the labia because it enhances their own sexual pleasure. This also turned out to be different. I saw a male dominated society where the emphasis is still on a man's sexual pleasure, but where women do have agency within this structure of traditional patriarchal gender relations. Nowadays the city of Kampala in Uganda has changed due to socio-economic changes, urbanization and modernization. There is a visible decrease in the role traditional ssengas play in the sex-education of young girls and there are changes in the content of these instructions. Globalization processes have influenced and changed the local ssenga tradition. But due to globalization processes, there also other changes visible in the daily lives of residents of the capital of Uganda, which I will describe in the next chapter.

⁹ See for example the documentary *Sunny side of Sex*.

Chapter 3: Campus girls in Kampala

I am meeting informant Charlotte (21 years old, Makerere University) one afternoon in her student hostel in the area Kikoni in Kampala. While we walk across the dirt roads to her hostel, she tells me that she invited some friends over to join us. Charlotte is wearing a jeans with different colours, and a snake printed top. She has short curly hair and is wearing big, shiny earrings. On her arm and lip are abrasions which are from a boda boda¹⁰ accident as she explains to me. When we pass the gate to the hostel complex she lives in, I see three rows of concrete shacks, with metal roofs on top, which do not look like the student hostels I have seen in The Netherlands. We walk to the third row and she opens the door of the first shack. Inside I see a small bed with a big, but old looking, television across from it. Next to the television is a DVD player, with a pile of western movies on it. In the corner of the small room I see a closet with many clothes in it, it looks like the closet is too small for all the clothes Charlotte tried to put in there. Next to the closet is a shoe rack with maybe twenty pairs of shoes which are mostly high heeled. In the corner of the room, next to the mirror and a small table with earrings on it, I see a lot of empty bottles of alcohol, mostly vodka, and I wonder how long it took to finish all these bottles. The walls of the room are covered with posters, but they cannot hide the concrete walls. On the posters are American celebrities such as Jennifer Lopez and western couples hugging with the word 'love' written next to it.

Nowadays the city of Kampala in Uganda has changed due to socio-economic changes, urbanization and modernization. Globalization processes have changed the local ssenga tradition but there are more changes visible in the daily lives of residents of the capital of Uganda. *Interconnectedness* created a global flow of commodities, mass media, ideas and ideologies etc. where these flows transfer from north to south, east to west and the other way around (Eriksen 2007). As a result of this, people in Kampala see different lifestyles from different places in the world. The student room of one of the informants of this research, which is described above, shows how western lifestyles have influenced different aspects of the lives of campus girls in Kampala, which are visible in their rooms. The posters show the influence of western music en heterosexual lifestyles, and the full closet and shoe rack and empty bottles of alcohol show that consumption plays a role in her live.

Campus girls are a group of women in Kampala who are in close contact with media and different lifestyles from other parts of the world. They are young women who study at

¹⁰ Local transport, motorbike

one of the many universities in the city, the biggest and most famous one being Makerere University. These girls often exchanged their lives at home to move to the university campus or live in one of the student hostels in the city. Because girls move from all over Uganda to the capital Kampala and are from different ethnic backgrounds they often speak English with each other instead of a local language. Even though most of the universities they attend are public there are still expensive fees for a student to pay¹¹, which makes a university study inaccessible for many residents of Kampala. In this chapter I will describe the lives of campus girls in Kampala and show in what ways they are influenced by western modernity and heterosexual lifestyles.

3.1 Modern Women

The *boda boda* driver drops me off at the big black gate of the Makerere University campus, because *boda boda*'s are not allowed to enter the campus area. As I walk the long stone road to the buildings on the university campus I look around and see green lanes of grass. I am surprised how clean and neat the campus looks if I compare it to the roads and surroundings outside the gate which are dusty, full of holes and chaotic. I walk up to the roundabout and decide to go straight ahead and see both left and right different faculty buildings of the university. Walking on the street around me, while I am looking at the environment I am in, are both male and female students and once again I feel surprised about the differences I see when I compare them to the people I see on the streets outside the campus gate. The female students look like they pay a lot of attention to the way they look, what kind of clothes they wear and what their hair looks like. I see girls wearing tight jeans and tops, and sandals with different prints and colours. Many of them wear big sunglasses covering their eyes and jewellery like bracelets and earrings. They are talking on the phone or with each other and I do not only hear conversations about different subjects concerning the university but also about boys and dating. I am beginning to understand why many Ugandans tell me that they view campus girls as the 'modern women' of Uganda.

During this research I talked to many campus girls in Kampala from different universities and most of them study at the three major campuses in Kampala, which are Makerere University, Kyambogo University and Victoria University. I talked to many other residents in Kampala as well. Boys and girls who do not study, older men and women, and they often mentioned that campus girls are the 'modern women' of Uganda because of their lifestyle. According to many of them, campus girls pursue a lifestyle in which they are

¹¹ See for example Makerere University: <http://finance.mak.ac.ug/index.php?finance=payment>

influenced by western lifestyles a lot and where local traditions and traditional cultures only play a small role in their lives. People often described a stereotype campus girl to me which is a young woman with no guardians around, who likes to go out to clubs and bars and does not care about local traditions and cultures anymore. This stereotype campus girl is loose, westernized and modern.

Two major differences in which lifestyles of campus girls distinguish themselves from lifestyles of other Ugandans in Kampala and which connect campus girls to the West are their exposure to western media and contact with foreign people in Kampala. This can show them aspects of western modernity and heterosexual lifestyles and can influence their behaviour and thinking. According to Dennis Altman (2004), more and more young people live in fast growing cities in the Third World, where they are exposed to new media images via movies, television and the internet. Because of this they see different ways of sexuality and gender which results in a world full of hybrid images. Campus girls are exposed to new media images where they see aspects of western heterosexuality and gender but which mainly shows them different lifestyles of consumption and modernity.

Most of the time I spend in Kampala I lived in a student hostel, near the Makerere University, called Nana hostel. This was one of the biggest student hostels in town with both male and female students living there. During this time I shared a room with a female Ugandan student named Clare (22 years old, Makerere University) who was originally from a small town near Kampala, Mukono. I will describe her lifestyle concerning media here to picture how campus girls are influenced by western media, because I think her lifestyle represents the lifestyles of other campus girls who participated in this research, which is why she is an appropriate case-study when describing this subject.

Clare loved watching television and DSTV (African satellite network) enabled her to watch many different American channels such as HBO, where she watched American shows like *Desperate Housewives*, *Jersey Shore*, *American Idol* etc. Sometimes she watched Ugandan channels to watch the African version of *Big Brother* or other local shows. But the channel she watched most often is MTV Base, the African MTV. On this channel they often showed music videos from American artists such as Beyoncé, Rihanna, 50 cent and Jennifer Lopez. She does not only listen to local Ugandan artists but also to these famous American music artists. This channel, however, shows not only American music and shows but also music and shows from other African countries such as Kenya and South Africa. Clare does not own a laptop and all her school work is written on paper, but she still uses the internet regularly. She borrows a laptop from a friend or uses her mobile phone to surf to websites

such as Facebook where she talks to her friends and uploads pictures of self-portraits and group pictures with friends. These shows, music videos and the internet have many aspects of sexuality and gender but it mainly shows different ways of living to campus girls. Lifestyles where consumption plays a big role and which can influence their own behaviour and thinking about lifestyles.

During daytime campus girls study, take classes at the university, meet with friends etc., but most of them participate actively in the nightlife of Kampala as well. People often mentioned how campus girls are known for their clubbing and drinking and how the campus girls in Nana Hostel are '*partying from Monday to Monday*' as one of my neighbours, a male student explained. Many bars and clubs, such as Angie Noir, Club Silk and Mateo's, in Kampala have student nights which focus specifically on university students. People often mentioned this behaviour as a consequence of having no guardians around because campus girls live on the university campus or in student hostels with other peers instead of family. During this research I often joined campus girls to bars and clubs to observe how they spend their evenings and nights there. One of the first things I noticed was the metamorphosis they undergo at night. They pay a lot of attention to their appearances by dressing up differently than during day time. They often wear short skirts or dresses and wear shoes with high heels. The bars and clubs many girls go to are clubs where foreigners are no exception and where they come into contact with people from other parts of the world. Kampala has a big expat community with many of them joining the nightlife of Kampala regularly. Many times I saw western, often older, men with Ugandan girls hanging out at tables in clubs where they received free drinks while spending time with them. Most of the time I found it hard to distinguish whether these girls were just having fun and enjoying the attention and free drinks or if they were working as prostitutes.

Many campus girls acknowledged to me that they are influenced by the West a lot, maybe more than other Ugandans in Kampala. But they always mentioned that they do not just copy what they see. A good example of this is the current beauty ideal which many informants of this research have. While I often heard from western friends that a more full figure is the ideal body figure for an African woman, I often noticed that campus girls have a slimmer body figure ideal than I expected because of this. Many girls talked to me about being slim and explained their diets to me. This could look like a result from exposure to a western beauty ideal where many women are rather thin than thick, but girls always mentioned how they would like to be thin but how a bigger buttocks and breast are still ideal. They would like to hold on to their curves. Clare (22 years old, Makerere University)

explains to me how she is trying out a low-carb diet but how she would never want her ‘African ass’ to slim down. This ideal corresponds to the pictures of African women I see in magazines and on television shows, which often showed slim women instead of full figured women. Many scholars have written about globalization and the spread of ideas and ideologies all over the world. It could seem that this would result in a certain homogenization, but Eriksen (2007) argues that the universal and the local mix and create *glocal* versions. Things are never just copied but have to be analysed in a context with both local and universal influences present. According to him, people often think that globalization processes exchange from ‘the West to the Rest’ but we have to view the cultural dynamic of globalization not as Westernization but as a complicated process with more than one direction. Cultural mixing does not create homogenization but new structures of diversity. A thin body figure as beauty ideal does not just spread to other countries but is mixed with local perspectives on beauty in a specific area.

Not only exposure to western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyles can change the lives of campus girls, but peer-pressure on the university campus as well. According to Sadgrove (2007), wealthier female students exemplify a certain lifestyle on the Makerere campus in Kampala which other students try to achieve. Because of peer-pressure, students can be influenced by western lifestyles even without being exposed to western media or foreigners in Kampala. Peer-pressure and exposure to western media and people enhances the changes of campus girls wanting to achieve a lifestyle where consumerism plays an important role and which is expensive to maintain. If so, money and goods play important roles in their lives to achieve and maintain this lifestyle. As Isabela (22 years old, Makerere University) and several others in different ways told me:

“If somebody tells you we do not care about money, they lie. We are just a very money-oriented people”

Many campus girls are exposed to western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyles, which can create a willingness to achieve a certain lifestyle. Wealthier students set a lifestyle where consumerism plays a role, which students from lower backgrounds try to achieve. They see the newest phones, which are not to compare to the newest phones in western countries because we would probably view these phones as old models, not only on television but also on posters in shops and on billboards throughout the city and they want to have the same or a similar mobile phone. But while most campus girls are often more wealthier than peers who not study at the university and many informants receive an amount

of money from parents or an aunt, this does not supply them with enough money to buy all the things they want to fulfil this 'modern' live. Some campus girls are from a high-middle class background and set a lifestyle standard for students from a low-middle class background to achieve.

During this research I often experienced a, in my view, materialistic way of thinking and behaving where girls are focused on goods, money, presents etc. Isabela sometimes showed me different presents she received from men, such as perfume, and talked about the free dinners she had because of her dating different boys and men. Other informants showed and explained the importance of money and commodities in their lives as well.

3.2 Western Love and Sex

Campus girls are in close contact with lifestyles from different places in the world including different perspectives on love and sexuality and different gender relations. This can influence their own perspectives on these subjects. During my research in Kampala I talked to many campus girls about their love and sexual lives and how they are influenced by this western perspectives on love, sexuality and gender. Campus girls engage in certain behavioural practices, which they think originated in the West, and they have certain perspectives on what they think western perspectives concerning love and sexuality look like. This however does not mean these changes result from western influences, these examples show the views of campus girls on the subject. They also explained what roles different forms of sex-education play in developing their perspectives on love and sexuality.

All campus girls who were involved in this research participated in sex-education classes during their years in high school where the emphasis was mostly on the problematic aspects of sexuality, such as HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancies. Another form of formal sex-education are the information newspapers *Youth Talk*, where subjects concerning love and sexuality are discussed and which is also a platform for readers to submit questions about these subjects. Informal forms of sex-education consists of education by the internet, movies and television and friends. Hannah (21 years old, Victoria University) explained that she uses google.com if she has any unanswered questions concerning sexuality, for example questions about birth control or how a girl gets pregnant. She finds her answers mostly on western website because she uses English to submit her questions instead of a local language. Education from movies and television mostly consists of different perspectives on love and relationships. Most campus girls acknowledged that they are influenced by seeing different ways of love relationships and sex on television and in movies. Isabela (22 years old,

Makerere University) explains that her education by friends consists of informal talks with friends about their love and sexual lives, where friends inspire each other to try new things in the area of sexuality by telling each other about their sexual experiences with boys such as different sex positions, oral sex etc.

When talking to campus girls about their love and sexual lives and influences from western countries, girls often mentioned a few behaviours and views on love and sexuality that, according to them, have changed in Kampala compared to traditional sexual values and behaviour. The first is their views on boyfriends and relationships. According to all informants, having a boyfriend at young age was not allowed in Uganda and would not be accepted. Nowadays parents still do not allow young girls who attend high school to associate with boys and men but girls themselves have a different perspective on the subject. Both campus girls and female high school students think engaging in relationships at a young age is acceptable and normal nowadays. It is accepted to have a boyfriend at high school age and it is viewed as something completely normal when girls study at the university. All informants would however not tell their parents about it when they engage in love relationships with boys because they would still not accept this. They would only introduce a boy to their parents if they are certain they want to proceed towards a marriage with this specific boy. Judith (19 years old, Kyambogo High School) explains why she thinks engaging in relationships is acceptable at a young age:

“There is nothing wrong in having a boyfriend. Most girls marry when they are around twenty-three years old, but I do not want to marry a stranger, so I need to have boyfriends, so I can meet different boys”

Most campus girls view their years on the university as a possibility to experiment with boys and relationships and look for a suitable marriage candidate, which becomes, according to them, more difficult when a girl is graduated, because there are less opportunities to meet men. Most informants explained that they view marriage and having children after their graduation as the ideal future when it comes to love and relationships. This also applies to most parents of the campus girls, who think the university is an appropriate place to look for a future husband. They do however often disagree with having multiple boyfriends and sexual partners before marriage.

Besides engaging in love relationships at young age, campus girls often disassociate sex from marriage. They explained how more and more girls are sexually active and often engage in more than one sexual relationship before marriage. Sometimes they engage in

sexual relationships with more than one man at the same time. The practice where people engage in multiple sexual relationships with different partners at the same time is also known as *sexual networks*. During this research there were many billboards throughout the city which aimed to stop the sexual networks people in Uganda engage in, because of the HIV risks this entails. Lucy (22 years old, Makerere University) thinks that more and more people nowadays engage in sexual relations with more than one person and that this is a result of western influence. According to her, parents in Uganda would never allow a girl to have different sexual partners, which means that something else is the reason why this phenomena arose. She thinks this practice originated from foreign people who are more open and loose about sexuality and in their sexual behaviour. Another change in behaviour campus girls often mentioned is the exposure of public affection. Jennifer (21 years old, Victoria University) says about this subject:

“People used to do things private. The perverse things used to happen in a bedroom, with the lights down. Nowadays it happens in clubs, and on the streets. People kiss in public. I kind of like that, sometimes change is good. But it was not like this before, parents did not even kiss each other good morning. It all stayed in the bedroom”

According to her, this is a result of girls watching American television and movies where public affection often takes place and is copied by Ugandan people from there.

When talking about sexual behaviour, campus girls mentioned oral sex as a sexual practice which did not exist in Uganda but which is practiced nowadays by many Ugandan people. Student Clare (22 years old, Makerere University) explains:

“Traditionally, oral sex did not happen in Uganda, that was just culture. I cannot imagine my great grandmother to do oral sex, that is just nasty. But now people develop themselves, and they are more open to new experiences. This why oral sex do happens now”

Many campus girls admitted that girls nowadays often practice oral sex but most of them, however, pointed out that they do not talk about it with other people. It is a taboo because it is a sexual act that is not right according to Ugandan tradition and culture. Patricia (22 years old, Makerere University) explains that people would not admit that they are practicing oral sex because they are still a little conservative. The main reason given by campus girls explaining this change in sexual behaviour is exposure to western media and mainly western movies where they see certain sexual behaviour and love relationships, which result in them wanting to achieve relationships, which look like those on television.

Another change campus girls often mentioned while talking about love, sex and western influences on those subjects are same-sex sexualities. Many girls explained how homosexuality is something which did not exist in Uganda, but which people copied from the West. One of the employees at an health clinic, Sebby, in Kampala explains about copying certain behaviour:

“If we talk about sexual behaviour. There are many different places in the world with unique behaviour concerning sexuality, where Ugandan girls are exposed too. I do not want to say it is bad behaviour, because that is only relatively. But if we take anal sex as an example. Traditionally, that did not happen in Uganda, but nowadays it does. I know this because of the media. Same with homosexuality. Nowadays it happens, and that can be very dangerous”

While almost all informants would not like to have a Ugandan law which legalizes same-sex sexualities, some campus girls explained that, personally, they would accept friends who are homosexual because they view this as a different sexual orientation or as something for which the person is not responsible. Hannah (21 years old, Victoria University):

“I would not mind having a gay friend, but they will kill you for it in Uganda. This has nothing to do with religion, everybody is just against homosexuals. Personally I do not mind, I do not hate them, it is just a different sexual orientation”

All informants were certain that people in Uganda would never copy a liberal attitude towards same-sex sexualities because that is against their culture and religion. I however noticed a more liberal attitude from many campus girls, which is exactly the group of girls who are more exposed to western media in societies where same-sex sexualities are accepted and legal, compared to other Ugandans and who are a group of women in Uganda who are being accused of breaking with traditions and local culture themselves.

Campus girls in Kampala are exposed to western lifestyles, maybe more than other groups of people in Uganda. This enhances the chances of them willing to achieve a different lifestyle. A lifestyle where traditional values concerning love and sexuality are fading and where, according to these women, western views and behaviour are more and more adopted in their love and sexual lives. It is a lifestyle where consumerism and individualism plays a big role and which is expensive to maintain. Because of this, campus girls look for ways to achieve and maintain this campus lifestyle for which they use their sexuality as an instrument. They no longer accept the traditional gender relations, by using their sexuality as an instrument to achieve this consumerism lifestyle. In doing this they have a certain agency

within this still patriarchal society structure. In the next chapter I will argue how campus girls use their body and sexuality as an instrument to achieve the consumerism lifestyle described above, and how they have agency in a male dominated Kampala by doing this. I will also argue how this also increases a women's vulnerability when we compare them to peers who do not use their body and sexuality as an instrument to achieve this lifestyle, because they are more vulnerable to certain problematic aspects of sexuality, such as sexual violence, HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancies.

Chapter 4: ‘Something for something’

Life history Clare (22 years old, Makerere University)

“My sex-education consisted of education during primary and secondary school. The sex-education during primary school was not that serious. They told us to be safe but gave us no other details and that we are too young for sex. On secondary school it was more about reproduction, sex and ABC, Abstain, Be faithful, and Condom use. My parents never educated me about sex, they are really discrete. My mother almost never mentioned it, she only told me to be safe, but she never gave me any details at all. When I attended boarding school the senior ladies sometimes gave us sex-education and told us to be careful. Now I study psychology at the university where I follow a course named ‘Human Sexuality’. During those classes we get all the details, also about different sex positions etc. And there were other forms of sex-education such as newspapers and television. I used to read the information paper Youth Talk and watched programs on television which were mostly about the ABC policy.

When I was in senior five and six I talked about sex with my friends. Some of them were already sexually active and told me about it, things like with whom they had sex, what positions etc. But I did not have sex then so I just listened. Now I still talk about sex with friends.

Now I am 22 years old and I have had three boyfriends in the past. These are the three guys I had sex with. With one of them I had an on/off relationship which continued for years. Now I am dating a guy but he is so focused on sex. I really like him so we go out to eat ice cream and stuff, but he already wants to take it to the next level. I had that before with a guy I dated but when I told him I did not want to have sex yet, he never called me again. I know many girls on campus have sugar daddies but I do not do that. I do like dating. Often I tell the guys up front that I do not want to be in a relationship but they still want to take me out to dinner. And I join them and often kiss with them because I just like to go out and eat nice food. I know I exploit them but I have warned them upfront (laughs)”.

“Please write this down Laura. Money comes first, love comes next”

(Charlotte, 21 years old, Makerere University)

Peer pressure and exposure to western media can result in a willingness to achieve a certain lifestyle, full of consumerism and individualism, a ‘desire for modernity’ (Altman 2004). To achieve this modern lifestyle, campus girls in Kampala often use their body and sexuality as an instrument. They use their sexuality to obtain the necessities which are needed to add up to this consumerism lifestyle. A lifestyle which is also exemplified by wealthier peers on the university. I will use Samara’s (2010) phrase ‘something for something’ relationships to describe and analyse the phenomenon where campus girls engage in love and sexual relationships with the expectation that they will gain money and commodities from this engagement. The way campus girls use their body and sexuality can be viewed as *commodification*, where they use it as something of economic value and trade it for money and commodities. This phenomenon cannot just be understood in a local or a global context, but both processes play a role when understanding ‘something for something’ relationships, in scholarly literature also referred to as transactional sex. Exposure to western consumerism and heterosexual lifestyles play a role in in this practice, but local traditions and the traditional gender structure as well.

4.1 Transactional Sex

Many scholars have written about transactional sex in East-Africa, a practice where women engage in sexual relationships in exchange for favours, money and material support (see i.e. Leclerc-Madlala 2008, Moore 2007, Samara 2010). Many informants of this research confirmed the existence of transactional sex among female students on campus. While most of them told me they do not engage in these activities, all campus girls acknowledged the importance of money and commodities in the love and sexual relationships they engage in with boys and men. Even relationships which are based on mutual attraction, instead of based on the exchange of goods and money, gifts still play an important role when a boy or man is expressing his feelings for a girl. Many campus girls explained that a girl would remain unknown about a boys romantic interest in her if he is not buying her any gifts. It is a way of expressing his feelings and showing the girl he is willing to invest in her. Isabela (22 years old, Makerere University) explains about this exchange of gifts in love relationships:

“How would I know he likes me, if he does not buy me nice things?”

While love relationships where the exchange of goods and money play a role, even when based on mutual attraction, are not new in Uganda nowadays there is another form of relationships in which campus girls engage in. These are sexual relationships which are not based on mutual attraction, but mainly on the exchange of sex for money and commodities. During this research many residents of Kampala explained that campus girls are the group of women in Kampala who engage in these kind of sexual relationships more often than other Ugandan women. Because these relationships are based on the exchange of commodities and money instead of mutual attraction, some girls engage in relationships with more than one man or boy at the same time, to gain as much money and commodities as possible. Different informants explained how girls have more than one relationship at the same time, one with a boy for who the girl has actual romantic feelings and one or more sexual relationships in which the exchange of sex for money and goods plays a big role.

We can view ‘something for something’ sexual relationships as an instrument to achieve a certain lifestyle, as described in chapter 3. According to Altman (2004), the exposure to mass media shows campus girls western lifestyles and other perspective on sexuality and gender relations. This combined with a certain peer-pressure by wealthier peers on the university (Sadgrove 2010) enhances the changes of them willing to fulfil a ‘desire for modernity’ (Altman 2004) where campus girls want to be part of the freedom and affluence which they associate with the rich world. To achieve this lifestyle they view sexuality as something of economic value which they can exchange for money and commodities to conform to this consumerism way of live. To understand why campus girls in Kampala choose their sexuality as an instrument to achieve this lifestyle, we have to look at both local traditions and gender relations, and western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyles. Traditional bride wealth and a patriarchal society play a role in the arise of the current views on love and sexuality campusgirls have, where the woman’s worth is expressed in an amount of money and commodities. Student Charlotte (21 years old, Makerere University) explains how commodity exchange is a part of the traditional Ugandan culture:

“If you are with a guy, even when it is just a friend, he has to pay for everything. That’s just tradition. It is the stereotype of a man. He pays for everything, buys gifts, pays for diners. Even when you are married, the man pays for the house, the food etc. It was always like this, but now it has become a big issue, because so many foreigners come to Uganda. They know that they can get everything from Ugandan women, as long as they pay”

This quote shows that, according to Charlotte, money always played an important role in relationships people in Uganda engage in and how it was the man's task to provide for the household and his wife. It shows how we can trace back the way campus girls think about love, sex and money to traditional values in Uganda where the man is dominant in society.

We can partly understand the role money and commodities play in love and sexual relationships, even when these relationships are based on mutual attraction, by the role bride wealth played in traditional Kampala. During this exchange where a man supplies the parents of a girl with gifts when they accept a marriage between the man and their daughter, a girl's worth is expressed in an amount or worth of gifts. This could explain why campus girls in Uganda are focused on materialistic exchange during a relationship because they view love as something that has to be expressed via material goods and money. According to the traditional marriage arrangements a man must express his love in materialistic things. Nowadays the bride wealth tradition has changed and money instead of gifts plays a more important role, which could explain the shift to goods and money instead of just goods when engaging in love and sexual relationships. This corresponds with the findings of Moore et al (2007) about transactional sex in Africa. They describe how transactional sex in Tanzania is characterized as a modification of bride wealth.

“Bride wealth was a way that gifts or money for sexual access changed hands in traditional African cultures, and with disassociation of sex from marriage, even when sex occur surreptitiously, gifts or money for sex may be the women's sexual, and perhaps, personal worth”

(Watkins 2006 in Moore et al. 2007: 47)

Campus girls view sexual practices as something which is acceptable to engage in before marriage. They have the same disassociation of sex from marriage as Watkins describes in the quote above. While the views on sex and marriage change, the idea that sex and love is something that has to be expressed in money and commodities is still prevailing.

Beside bride wealth and traditional gender relations we have to analyse transactional sex as a result of western influences as well. While transactional sex would look related to poverty survival strategies, Leclerc-Madlala (2008) argues how 'something for something' love is often more about satisfying certain 'wants', than satisfying 'needs' (2008: 214). She explains Handlers (1991 in Leclerc-Madlala 2008) concept 'symbol capital', which are symbols of a modern and successful life. This corresponds with Altmans (2004) concept, a 'desire for modernity'. In her research, she explores transactional sex in a township in

Durban, South Africa and how this transactional sexual practices are a result from media, globalisation, and consumption. The reason many campus girls in Kampala engage in transactional sex corresponds with Leclerc-Madlala's findings, which are oriented towards consumption and not subsistence. Campus girls often explained that they do not need the goods and money but that they want to achieve a certain luxury lifestyle for which it is necessary. Emma (23 years old, Kyambogo University):

“Most girls on the university want a rich man, because the university is the place where you have to look good, where you need to have expensive things, and live in a big hostel”

Isabela (21 years old, Makerere University):

“These girls are often from rich families, we do not just talk about girls from poor communities. These girls get whatever they want from their parents, but they just want something for something”

These two quotes show how transactional sex is not related to poverty but rather about maintaining a way of live, an expensive university campus lifestyle. While girls are often from wealthier families than peers who do not study at the universities and most informants were supplied with money from parents to support themselves while living at campus or in a student hostel, they still need more money and goods to maintain the expensive consumerism lifestyle on campus. This can be commodities such as telephones, clothes, money for transport etc.

Engagement in ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships can be partly understood from traditional bride wealth and sexuality and the traditional gender relations in Uganda. These traditional gender relations are still visible in current Kampala, it is still a male dominated society. Therefor ‘something for something’ sexual relationships provide campusgirls with a way to gain control within this current gender structures. They have a certain sexual agency, by exploiting the sexual relationships they engage in, and no longer conform to the traditional gender roles where the man has the control over women's sexuality. Lucy (22 years old, Victoria University) explains:

“Guys want sex, so than they have to pay. They want your body, but what do you get in return? Women have always been used by men in Uganda, and we are tired of it. If you want something from me, my beauty or my body, than what do I get? Guys see this as something negative, and call these women goldiggers. But I think it makes sense. They cannot expect

me to give everything emotionally, while they are cheating on me with other women or when they are just using me. I just want to get something out of it as well”

This quote shows how Lucy thinks of the current gender relations in Uganda and how she views ‘something for something’ sexual relationships as a way of providing her with control of her own sexuality by using it to benefit economically. Her views on these gender roles reflect the traditional gender structures as described in chapter two, where men control women’s sexuality and where sexual relationships between a husband and wife are mainly about the sexual satisfaction of a man which allows him to commit adultery if the wife fails to sexual satisfy him. It shows the *sexual double standard* (Wolff et al. 2000), where there is more allowance for a man to have multiple sexual partners even when married. Many campus girls explained how Ugandan men are often unfaithful and how girls look for a way to benefit within these current gender structures. Leclerc-Madlala (2007) points out that women who engage in transactional sex are fully aware that they are acting an exploitative way by using their sexuality to gain money and commodities to adapt to a modern and urban lifestyle.

Though campus girls have agency while engaging in transactional sexual relationships because they exploit their sexuality to maintain their expensive lifestyle, it increases a women’s vulnerability at the same time. While I do not agree with the stereotype of an African woman as vulnerable and powerless, because campus girls have sexual agency when they engage in transactional sexual relationships, these exact ‘something for something’ sex result in a distinction between a man and a woman, where a woman has less negotiable power during sexual practices than women who engage in love and sexual relationships based on mutual attraction. When a sexual relationship is based on the exchange of money and commodities the man often controls the terms of this relationship and decides for example whether they use a condom or not. Samara (2010) argues how girls in Busoga, Uganda have less power to negotiate sex on their terms when the exchange of commodities play a big role in the relationship. Unprotected sex is often the result because they are less likely to negotiate condom use during sexual practices. According to her, power dynamics in the local Ugandan culture play a big role transactional sex. If ‘something for something’ relationships can result in unprotected sex, it creates a bigger vulnerability for campus girls of contracting sexually transmitted diseases (STD), such as HIV and unwanted pregnancies, when we compare them to peers who do not engage in these transactional sexual relationships, and who might have more negotiating power in the sexual relationships they engage in. Several informants explained how both campus boys and campus girls do not think about some possible

consequences of unprotected sex, such as contracting STD's, but that campus girls are most frightened by unwanted pregnancies which is a reason for them to use protection during sexual practices. This could explain why less negotiating power of women in sexual relationships can result in unprotected sex, because boys and men are less likely to use protection than girls are. Clare (22 years old, Makerere University) explains why women who engage in transactional sex are more vulnerable:

“Campus girls often use no protection. Especially when they have sex in exchange for money and stuff. Because then you have a disadvantage, because you have to do whatever the guy wants, because he is paying. And most men do not like protection, which is really stupid, because there are so many diseases in this country. Especially AIDS!”

Some campus girls described a practice called ‘detoothing’ which can create an even bigger vulnerability for girls. A girl who is detoothing tries to gain as much money and commodities as possible from a man while eluding sexual practices. Sadgrove (2007) describes this phenomenon as a practice in which a woman extracts goods and money from a man by using the promise of sexual contact in the future as a bargaining tool (2007: 122-123). While Hugo (2012) acknowledge the fact that detoothing is a form of sexual agency where women are able to maximize their economic welfare without engaging in sexual relationships, she argues how detoothing can result in harmful situations for women such as violence and physiological harm. None of the campus girls in the research group admitted to be involved in detoothing, but many girls are familiar with the practice by hearing about detoothing from peers who involve in this practice or via other students who heard about it. Isabela (21 years old, Makerere University) describes detoothing as:

“Extracting as much money and other material possessions as possible from a man without having sex with him”

She however disagrees with the negotiable power women have when they engage in detoothing activities because according to her *“a girl always has to pay”*. A woman might be able to hold sex off for a while but in the end she will have to pay. Hannah (21 years old, Victoria University) agrees with her by saying:

“Some girls try to delay sex, but there always comes a time when they have to do it”

Hannah (21 years old, Victoria University) explains how women who involve in detoothing are more vulnerable and explains how delaying sex is impossible and dangerous because *“a*

man will do everything to get what he wants". This corresponds with Hugo's (2012) findings where it is argued how sexual and physical violence is common when a girl involves in detoothing. According to her, girls end up engaging in sexual activities, while they started with trying to elude these sexual practices, for different reasons such as feeling guilty about all the gifts they received from a man. According to her, age and economic differences and systems of gender inequality result in less negotiation power of women in sexual relationships with men or they experience sexual violence such as rape. This violence is possible because male violence is socially sanctioned in many communities of Uganda which creates an environment where women are socialized to believe that male violence and coercion is normal and which is why they are less likely to take legal action against this violence (Hugo 2012).

Money and commodities play a big role in the love and sexual relationships campus girls in Kampala engage in and transactional sex is a social dynamic which is visible to a greater extent on the different university campuses in Kampala. Two examples which show the dynamics of 'something for something' love and sexual relationships well, are sugar daddies and the way campus girls spend Valentine's day, which I will describe below.

4.2 Valentine's Day and Sugar Daddies

I arrived in Kampala two weeks ago and I have not even thought about the fact that Valentine's day is coming up soon. When I arrive at a health clinic one morning to observe the sex-education class they are having today, one of the employees welcomes me with a red rose and says: "Happy Valentine's day and welcome". When I look around me I see that all boys and girls who are present today received a rose because of the celebration of the 14th of February. When the teacher starts today's discussion he explains what the health clinic can do for their clients. The second subject of today is the way Ugandans spend their Valentine's day. He talks about how Valentine's day is a day for love and not just for sex. "Valentine's day is a day for love and spending it with the people you care about. People come here with STD's because they had unprotected sex. But tomorrow on Valentine's day everybody forgets that they got medicine today". He continues by claiming that 70 to 80 percentage of the people who come together on Valentine's day have sex, because "you love him and you want to show him that by having sex, but let's not do that. There is no sex on Valentine's day, deal?". When I look at the audience during this speech it looks like nobody is paying attention. People are talking to each other and looking around. When the class is over I talk to the teacher about what Valentine's day means to Ugandans and he explains how many

people want to extend their love on this day by having sex. I think about the different meanings people in Uganda apparently attach to this day compared to people around me in The Netherlands do. When I am back in the student hostel I live in I ask one of the female students I met, Emma, what Valentine's day means to her and she says: "Valentine's day is about doing nice things, going out for fancy dinners and receiving expensive presents".

Above I describe how I experienced Valentine's day during my research and how surprised I was to find out that the Ugandan people I met attach different meanings to this day. Especially when I compare this to the meanings people around me in the Netherlands attach to it. Valentine's day shows the dynamic of 'something for something' love and sexual relationships well and it is a good example of mass culture which spreads via globalization processes to other parts of the world. When observing at an health clinic in Kampala one sex-education class was mainly about the subject of Valentine's day. An employee of the health clinic explained later:

"Young people often copy things from foreign cultures, but take too little time to understand it. Many people in Uganda want to extend their love on Valentine's day by having sex. Most of the time it is with a boy- or girlfriend, but some also have sex with somebody they just met in a bar. The problem is that it does not matter who it is. Men often have different sexual partners, but he only chooses one woman to spend Valentine's day with. The other women look for somebody else to spend it with"

This quote shows how Ugandans attach a different meaning to Valentine's day than people in the West do. For campus girls, receiving gifts becomes even more important on Valentine's day than it is on non-holidays and spending the day in luxury became a goal. Fair (2004) researched the upcoming of Valentine's day in Ghana and the different meanings people there attach to the concept, which seem similar to the findings of this research:

"Young, upwardly mobile residents of Ghana's capital city find in the celebration of Valentine's Day a sense of connection to global modernity. Many prize the chance to feel "sophisticated," to feel "modern" through the rituals of consumption that adhere to Valentine's Day. Far from being a barrier to participation, consumption-buying, giving, receiving, and displaying cards and gifts-is central to the holiday's celebration; it provides the sought-after sense of engaging in a modern lifestyle. Even though this kind of modernity is about consumption, modernity for Ghanaians does not mean the whole-sale adoption of attitudes and artefacts from the West. Rather, young Ghanaians claim to feel modern when

they have the chance to pick and choose from imported and local customs, creating from the world at large and from local customs an identity that is Ghanaian and forward looking, cosmopolitan and Ghanaian". (Fair 2004: 42)

The way campus girls spend Valentine's day and what meanings they attach to this day shows how campus girls are influenced by western consumerism and heterosexual lifestyles. In Valentine's day we can see both western influences and local traditions combining in a certain behaviour and thinking during and about this day. It shows the dynamic of transactional sex where girls use their sexuality to gain money and commodities, to achieve a consumerism lifestyle, a 'desire for modernity'. But it also shows how a woman's worth is expressed in an amount of money or goods, how romantic or sexual interest is expressed in economic value. Hannah (21 years old, Victoria University) explains how spending money is an indicator of a boy's feelings for a girl during Valentine's day:

"He already has a girlfriend, but she is cheating on him. But I think he really likes her, because he spend 1.2 million shilling on her on Valentine's day"

We can view Valentine's day as a *glocalized* concept (Eriksen 2007) where a part of mass culture spreads to other parts of the world, but is locally transformed. This local transformation would look related to Boellstorff's (2003 in Ina & Rosaldo 2008) concept *dubbing culture*. Scholars, however, found similar views on Valentine's day in other African countries (see i.e. Fair 2004, Ghana). This in contrast to Boellstorff's theory, where he argues that certain concepts are locally transformed and arise in Indonesia, but not in the whole East. Informants of this research never mentioned both western and traditional influences but viewed Valentine's day as a western concept which they adopted into the local culture. They were not aware of the different meanings they attach to Valentine's day and the different ways they spend Valentine's day when compared to how people in the West think of and spend Valentine's day.

Another example which shows the dynamic of transactional sex and where we can find both western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyle and local traditions and gender structures, are sexual relationships with *sugar daddies*. One afternoon I have an appointment with one of the campus girls I met during this research, and a few of her female friends in the student hostel they live in. We start talking about sugar daddies and I ask them who of them is involved with a sugar daddy. All of the girls look to one girl in the corner of

the room and one of them points to her and laughs “Becky does!”. I look at her, and she smiles while she shrugs:

“Sugar daddies are mostly about money and fun. They can please you, by taking you out to diner, buying you nice stuff and everything”

(Becky 21 years old, Makerere University)

During this research I heard the term ‘sugar daddy’ often which refers to an older, often married, man who involve in sexual relationships with younger women and provides them with money and material support in exchange. I notice that sugar daddies are present to a greater extent not only in Uganda, but also in other East-African countries. Many informants tell me about the popular television show *Shuga*¹² on MTV Base, a Kenyan show about love, sex and money on a university campus in Nairobi in which transactional sex and sugar daddies play a large role. Campus girls who involve in relationships with sugar daddies often use it as a way to gain even more money and commodities than possible with boys on campus because sugar daddies are older men, who often have jobs and more money to spend than male students on campus do.

The sexual relationship with a sugar daddy is less constructed as a ‘boyfriend’ and ‘girlfriend’ relationship and more as an agreement where both parties know this relationship is based on the exchange of sex for money and goods and not on mutual attraction. Campus girls who engage in a sexual relationship with a sugar daddy do not pretend to be in a romantic relationship but focus mainly on gaining as much money and commodities as possible. The sugar daddy does not pretend to be romantically involved either because he is often married, and exchanges financial and material support for sexual practices. Campus girls who involve in sexual relationships with sugar daddies are willing to do even more to achieve the expensive, consumerism campus lifestyle.

This chapter showed how we can understand transactional sexual relationships from both western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyles, and local traditions and the current gender structures. Transactional sex can be understood from the ‘desire for modernity’ campus girls in Kampala want to fulfil so they can be part of the consumerism lifestyle which they associate with the West. This combined with changing perspectives on love and sexuality and local traditions and gender relations results in a commodification of their sexuality where they use their body to achieve this consumerism lifestyle and to fashion

¹² See www.mtvshuga.com

themselves as 'modern women'. Valentine's day and sugar daddies show the dynamics of 'something for something' sexual relationships well and are two examples where all these different influences are obviously present. They show how globalization does not result in homogenization but that concepts, such as Valentine's day, are locally transformed with a specific environment of local traditions and gender structures.

Conclusion

This thesis aims to show how we can understand the transactional sexual relationships campus girls in Kampala engage in from a context with both local traditions and gender relations, and influences of western modernization and heterosexual lifestyles. The research results in this thesis contribute to the research field of globalization and more specific the field which explores if we can trace influences of western lifestyles in a specific context with local traditions and cultures. While many scholars have written about the globalization of sexuality, less research is conducted about the globalization of lifestyles concerning sexuality and how western lifestyles of consumerism influence sexual behaviour and perceptions on love and sexuality of campus girls in Kampala. Anthropologists can contribute to this research field by conducting qualitative fieldwork on specific locations where both local traditions and universal influences are present.

The contemporary world is globalized and full of *interconnectedness* (Eriksen 2007). Because of this globalized world campus girls in the capital of Uganda, Kampala, see different lifestyles from other parts of the world which can result in a ‘desire for modernity’ (Altman 2004), where campus girls want to be part of the freedom and wealth which they associate with life in the West. Exposure to western media and foreigners and peer-pressure on the university campus, can create a willingness to achieve this ‘modern lifestyle’. To gain the money and commodities needed to achieve and maintain this lifestyle some campus girls view their body and sexuality as an instrument to achieve this modern life and engage in transactional sexual practices. We can understand transactional sex as *commodification of sexuality*. Campus girls use their body and sexuality to increase the economic value of it and use this economic value to fashion themselves as ‘modern women’.

In this thesis I answered the following research question: *How can we understand the ‘something for something’ love and sexual relationships campus girls in Kampala engage in from a context with both local traditions and gender relations, and western influences of modernization and heterosexual lifestyles?* I argued how different elements of local traditions and gender structure such as bride wealth and the men’s control over women’s sexuality; western influences of modernization, a consumerism lifestyle; and heterosexual lifestyles, with the disassociation of sex from marriage, are visible in the transactional sexual relationships campus girls in Kampala engage in. The results of this research show that we cannot view transactional sex in just an African context, but how this practice originated in a context with both local and global elements and possibly resulted as a local transformation

when lifestyles from other parts of the world came into context with the specific environment campus girls in Kampala live in and created a desire to fashion themselves as ‘modern’.

The role money and commodities play in love and sexual relationships, both based on mutual attraction and on the exchange of money and commodities, can be understood from exposure to western consumerism lifestyles and peer-pressure to be ‘modern’ on the university campus, and by the local gender structure and the role traditional bride wealth played in traditional Kampala. According to different scholars, transactional sexual relationships have often nothing to do with being poor because it is more about satisfying certain ‘wants’ than ‘needs’ (i.e. Leclerc-Madlala 2008), which shows how ‘something for something’ relationships are used to achieve this modern lifestyle and is not just a survival strategy.

Traditional bride wealth among the Baganda consisted of gifts from a man to the parents of a girl when they accepted a marriage proposal. A bride price showed what a woman is worth expressed in an amount or worthiness of gifts. With changing perceptions on love and sexuality among campus girls came a disconnection of sex from marriage. Money and commodities became something to show a girls worthiness not only when engaging in marriage but also in the other love and sexual relationships campus girls engage in during their high school period and university years. Without the exchange of money and commodities, a girl would remain unknown about the boys romantic feelings for or sexual interest in her. This exchange is viewed as a way of expressing a boys willingness to invest in a girl.

Beside traditional bride wealth, the local gender structure plays a role in the transactional sexual practices of campus girls as well. Traditional ssengas among the Baganda, the paternal aunt who was responsible for the sex-education and marriage preparation of her brothers daughter, show the patriarchal gender structure in Kampala, a men dominated society where men have the control over women’s sexuality. When campus girls engage in ‘something for something’ relationships they have agency, because they are able to maximize the economic value of their sexuality. Campus girls often acknowledge that they are behaving in an exploitive way. While campus girls who engage in transactional sexual relationships have agency within the current gender structure, by maximizing their economic value, it can increase a women’s vulnerability at the same time. When sexual relationships are mainly based on the exchange of money and commodities, women have less negotiation power to decide the terms of this sexual relationship (see i.e. Samara 2010, Hugo 2012) such as using protection. This often results in unprotected sex and creates in a bigger chance of

contracting different diseases, such as HIV/AIDS or having unwanted pregnancies. Some campus girls engage in a practice called ‘detoothing’ where they try to receive as much money and gifts from a boy or man as possible while eluding sexual activities, which could enhance the chances of sexual violence because some men do not accept this postponing of sexual activities.

A concept which shows the dynamic of ‘something for something’ relationships well is Valentine’s day, which is also a good example of mass culture spreading via globalization processes to other parts of the world. Valentine’s day shows how people do not just copy certain western concepts, but how these concepts are *glocalized* (Eriksen 2007) in a specific environment. Both global and local processes play a role and Valentine’s day is locally transformed. Campusgirls attach a different meaning to the holiday than people attach to it in the West. While it looks like we could apply Boellstorff’s concept *dubbing culture* (2003 in Inda&Rosaldo 2008) to the local transformation of Valentine’s day there is a big difference. Boellstorff argues that concepts are locally transformed within a country but there are similar research findings about the meaning of Valentine’s day in other African countries. This shows that it is not just an Ugandan transformation, but maybe more an African transformation.

Transactional sex is a social dynamic which is obviously present among female students in Kampala and while campus girls who engage in these practices have a certain sexual agency within the current gender structure, it can also result in a certain vulnerability when we compare them to peers who do not engage in sexual relationships based on the exchange of money and commodities. This is why it is important to create a better understanding what different factors play a role in the arise of transactional sex, and what factors play a role in enhancing the chances of young women engaging in these ‘something for something’ sexual relationships. The campus girls who participated in this research showed that the stereotype of an African woman as vulnerable and weak is not correct because of the sexual agency these women have when engaging in ‘something for something’ sexual relationships. They are fully aware they are behaving in a exploitive way but we do need to consider the risks this practice entails. Transactional sex is often associated with unprotected sex and because of the problematic results of this lack of negotiation power during sexual activities, such as HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancies, we need to emphasize the context in which transactional sex develops. Understand what factors play a role in enhancing the chances of campus girls engaging in ‘something for something’ sexual relationships which are mainly based on the exchange of money, commodities and favours

instead of mutual attraction. This is necessary background information while developing certain strategies in the area of public health in Kampala.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: semi-structured interviews and observations

| Date | Interviewee/observation | Institution | Function |
|------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 08 February 2012 | Observation sex-education class | Nakuru Health Centre | |
| 10 February 2012 | Grace | | Ssenga |
| 13 February 2012 | Observation sex-education class | Nakuru Health Centre | |
| 14 February 2012 | Observation sex-education class | Nakuru Health Centre | |
| 14 February 2012 | Sebby | Nakuru Health Centre | Employee |
| 15 February 2012 | Grace + Olivia | | Ssenga + daughter |
| 29 February 2012 | Akugoba | | Ssenga |
| 05 March 2012 | Peter | Kyambogo College School | Counselor |
| 05 March 2012 | Emma | Kyambogo University | Student |
| 07 March 2012 | Vivian, Sandra, Olivia | Kyambogo College School | Senior students |
| 09 March 2012 | Abigail | | Non student |
| 10 March 2012 | Kulabako | | Ssenga |
| 14 March 2012 | Patricia | Makerere University | Student |
| 20 March 2012 | Judith + Rachel | Kyambogo College School | Senior students |
| 22 March 2012 | 5 girls | Kyambogo College School | Senior students |
| 04 April 2012 | Clare | Makerere University | Student |
| 10 April 2012 | Hannah | Victoria University | Student |
| 12 April 2012 | Charlotte, Lucy, Jennifer, | Different | Students |


| | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|------------------------|---------|
| | Becky, Emily, Maria | Universities | |
| 15 April 2012 | Charlotte | Makerere University | Student |
| 19 April 2012 | Isabela | Makerere University | Student |
| 23 April 2012 | Lucy | Makerere University | Student |
| 25 April 2012 | Jennifer | Victoria University | Student |

Appendix 2: topic list

- Boyfriends
- Sexual partners
- Sexual experiences
- Relationships and love
- Transactional sex
- Sugar daddies
- Valentine's day
- Love and money
- Sex and money
- Sex education
- Sex education by health clinics
- Sex education by school
- Sex education by parents
- Sex education by friends
- Sex education by media
- Sex education by ssengas
- Lifestyles of campus girls
- Media use
- Differences campus girls and peers who do not study
- Stereotype campus girl and reality
- Differences love/sex now and past
- Influence western cultures
- Same-sex sexualities
- HIV/AIDS

Appendix 3: ssenga advertisements

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ASIKA OBULAMU HERBAL RESEARCH-CLINIC WITH KOJJA & SENG

Do not wait to be told, come and experience for your self

- Customer Attraction
- Dry women get fluids in 30min
- Return lost lovers in 5 days guaranteed
- Body boost and loss of weight in 3 weeks.
- Elongating twin towers in 4 days
- Manhood enlargement guaranteed in 6 days.
- Pre-mature ejaculation.
- Get jobs. (Pay after work is done).
- Treats Pressure, Ulcers & Candida.



Location: Makindye opp Court Stall No.40 Tel: 0774-423520 / 070-2216127

IMPOTENT MEN REJOICE SENG MUYIYA IS BACK

Senga Muiyiya is the person you should visit to help you solve your domestic problems. With her expertise and skill in this field, she can handle all sorts of complications that are related to sex, high blood pressure, bareness, strengthening relationships and other marital problems. Don't wait for complications to put you down. Contact Senga Muiyiya to be your choice. Failure to function in bed has led to cases of domestic violence. Visit Senga Muiyiya and she solves all your problems. Below are some of the other issues she can solve:

- Twin flaps in 7 days
- Pre-mature ejaculation in 4 days
- Tightening in women in 2 days
- Impotent men
- Manhood enlargement in 7 days
- Dry women in 1 day
- Gives family planning
- Breast firming & reducing
- Reducing the size of a stomach in 4 days
- Returns lost lovers or unfaithful lovers become faithful in 9 days
- We make deliveries.



CALL SENG MUYIYA ON 0788-006066
Location: Makindye Opp Court lockup No 75