

Prostitution in Uganda: A Burden OR A Service

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Field data in this article is an outcome of field research about prostitution in Uganda, using Kampala city as a case study. The antisocial behavior approach of Moffat has been applied. The article aims at establishing the nature, causes, forms, contribution and impact of an antisocial behavior, prostitution. Since her independence in 1962, Uganda has undergone rapid changes in the social, political and economic spheres. Most counties have grown into big towns and municipalities with features of urban centers. The most significant is the increased number of immigrants from rural areas and small trading centers. Among the migrants are a big number of young girls and middle aged women who have no permanent employment. These are commonly seen in towns of Uganda; mostly in bars, night clubs and lodge other social places. There is evidence that the incidence of prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases is on increase. Many people have a feeling that prostitution is evil and endangers lives. Civil and Religious leaders condemn prostitution in sermons and gatherings but have not taken any legal step against it. It was in this endeavor that the researcher found it necessary to investigate into the practice and, people involved in it. Finally the researcher has concluded and recommended on what the scholars, government and public should do to eradicate prostitution.

Key Words: Uganda, prostitution, developing countries

Introduction

Definition of Prostitution


The extent of prostitution and the reaction to it has been varied over many generations, but its definition has so far remained the same. Prostitution is sexual intercourse on a promiscuous and mercenary basis, with emotional indifference, it usually refers to a woman offering herself to man for the sexual pleasures for money or other favors though, the practice as of now, cannot be confined to woman alone. Male prostitutes exist when a man gives into another male for physical and emotional satisfaction or in exchanging of material goods¹. In practice however, the prostitution that has transcended generations has been largely that of a woman offering herself to a man, later in its development, men began offering themselves to their fellow men or what is known as homosexuality. There is also woman to woman, lesbianism. The commonest type of prostitution is where a woman offers herself to a man for money or any other thing; this does not dismiss the possibility of existence of women who have paid money or other material things to men for sexual favors. This means that male prostitutes exist as well.

Prostitution, being a deviant behavior, it brings social as well as personal problems. It bears connotations like; a harlot, a whore, 'secret woman', 'call girl', 'ladies of twilight,' and other more contemporary descriptive phrases depending on the society that is describing the person involved in prostitution.

Background to Prostitution

In all societies, prostitution has been part of human organization for most part of their history.² Accounts in the bible and Islamic history are given on prostitution. However, in some societies, Africa inclusive, prostitution was little known, until very recently. Prostitution is often though a manifestation of urban life, but occurs in many other areas³.

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¹ Aggleton, P. (Ed.). (1999).

²Hannan, M. (2015), Volume 18, pp 596 – 600

³ Edlund, L., & Korn, E. (2002).

Prostitution occurs almost in all countries. It has existed in some societies as an act of worship. In ancient Greece, for instance, prostitution was seen as an act of worship of the gods, in which fusion of sexuality and religion was found⁴. There were two types of the temple prostitution; the first was when a woman performs an initial act of prostitution and becomes married in an ordinary way; the second is when a woman is dedicated to the services of the temple as a sacred "virgin" for part of her life or for all her life.

The first example of cult prostitution can be illustrated by ancient Babylonian worship in the temple of Mathis (Venus). Every woman born among the Babylonians had once in her life time to go and sit in the temple of Venus, and there consult a stranger. When a woman took her seat, she was not allowed to go home until one of the strangers threw money into her lap and they went into the holy ground after which she was allowed to go home and lead a normal life. Phoenician virgins had to undergo a ritual defloration by a stranger before marriage⁵. The prevalence of prostitution in the ancient near east is confirmed in Apocrypha of the Old Testament which clearly discusses the Amorites practicing the same kind of prostitution. Clement of Alexandria speaks of prostitutions which were instated by king Cinyras of Cyprus, and another Christian author, Aerobes condemns it. Those hidden mysteries of Cyprian Venus whose founder is said to have been King Cinyras, in which being initiated they would bring fees as harlots to carry away phalli given as a sign of their deity⁶.

The earning of a dowry is also shown by ancient customs to have been a motive for prostitution.⁷ The girls of Lydia regularly prostituted themselves to earn dowry. The Peahen islanders systematically prostituted their daughters for hire and derived an income there from, perhaps with the intention of providing themselves with dowry. A similar custom existed up to the end of the present century among the Qanawuri of Nigeria. The girls of this society would go to the large towns (for example Biskra) as dancing girls and earn money by prostitution, then they would return home with money and the more money they had acquired, the more disabled they were considered as wives. However, this practice seems to have developed out of religious beliefs rather than out of economic motive.

In the New Testament era, we learn of the huge temple of Aphrodite in Corinth, where there was a large group of prostitutes in attendance to accommo-

date sailors frequenting the part. The priests who were the state's financial exports used to collect funds from these visitors for public use.

In India, the practice of prostitution still carries no social or moral stigma. In the temples there used to be found girls known as "diva – daises" (servants or slaves of the gods). These received fixed salary for the religious duties which they performed. Dubious has written about them stating that; "As the amount is small, they supplement it by selling their favors in as profitable manner as possible".⁸

The Ewe speaking peoples of West Africa were found to be prostitutes (the wives of gods). Ellis notes; "*In every town there is at least one institution in which the best working girls, between ten and twelve years of age are received. Here they remain for three years, earning the chats and dances peculiar to the gods and priests, the in mates in the male seminaries, and at the termination of their novitiate they become public prostitutes.*"⁹

It may therefore, be suggested that the advent of the secular brothel did not take place until the system that regulated prostitution in accordance with religious rates had broken down. While the demand for them in urban areas led to the formation of guide of their own, at the very least, they seem to have had recognized function in social life where there were resident prostitutes, who lived in "bordellos" and itinerant ones, who were either vagrants or else attacked, as camp followers to the temporal or spiritual armies that swept to and fro across Europe, waging wars and fulfilling the vows at various times.

Prostitution on a Global Basis

In many parts of the world, prostitution exists. In Europe, prostitution served as an economic factor. In France, for example, public bordellos were established. The income of which was shared between the city and university as was the case in Toulouse in most parts of the world, the trade was a municipal monopoly. In some parts, prostitutes paid taxes as in the case today in some countries of the world,¹⁰ in Ethiopia, Eritrea and most countries of Europe, prostitutes are licensed. This shows that prostitution was not only tolerated but also protected and regulated by law and constituted in many places a source of public income.

⁴ Horowitz, M. C. (1976). Sarah B. Pomeroy & Glazebrook, A., & Henry, M. M. (Eds.). (2011).

⁵ Hannan, M. (2015), Volume 18, pp 596 – 600

⁶ Ibid 597

⁷ Ibid, pp.596 – 600

⁸Mugo Guthi, East African Journal, No.1, vol.14, 1972, pp.13

⁹Ibid pp.33

¹⁰Paper presented by Joseph Thuku in East African journal, Prostitution in Kiambi Town Available at St. Paul's United Theological College, Limulu, Kenya, Volume 3, No.5, 1990

According to respondents, a big number of women are involved in prostitution within Dubai in United Arab Emirates. In recent history, the commission of inquiry of League of Nations prefaced its report to the council on the “traffic of women and girls,” with a statement indicating that prostitution has long existed in Europe, South America, Africa, especially the North, Asia; in India, China and Japan. In Japan, until recently, there were three classes of women outside respectable family life - the “Joro” in brothels, the “Joguku” or unlicensed prostitutes on the streets and in bath houses, the ‘Geisha’.

From the above, it is evident that prostitution has developed along the human race. Although one could not afford including all cases of prostitution that existed worldwide, it can rightly be noted that prostitution is one of the oldest practice in the history of the human race. It is still widely practiced in our midst and is likely to continue indefinitely.

Methodology

Most of the discussion that derives from the interviews conducted during field work between 2013 and 2014. Fifty guided conversations were carried with key informants working with police, government (policy –makers) and academics and twenty semi-structured in depth interviews were carried out with sex-workers.

The women interviewed were a heterogeneous group in terms of age (between 14-30 years of age) ethnicity, social and educational background (some, the youngest were poorly educated, whereas others had acquired a skill or profession. All these women were Ugandans.

Since prostitution is both illegal and regarded as an embarrassing activity (these women work, and professional reputation in a society where female prostitutes are seen as disease-ridden, immoral, dirty, vulgar, social trash – which can be summed up as the ‘whore stigma’¹¹), obtaining an adequate sample required to employ a snowballing technique¹².

A total of fifty sex workers was obtained and respondent were identified by a virtue of being part of a network of personal contacts.

In this case, generalisability of findings cannot be claimed¹³.

Data comprises of interviews and questionnaires as perceived from the participants’ versions of reali-

ty, views, subjective accounts and interpretations of events.

The nature of such sensitive research makes a research prone to dangers of being misinterpreted by both society and the participants.¹⁴

Thematic analysis was employed to code and analyse data from both interviews and questionnaires¹⁵.

Privacy and confidentiality were pertinent and participants’ identities were anonymised.¹⁶

Prostitution in the Capital – Kampala

Area of study

Field research was carried out in Kampala city and its suburbs it is the centre of business, prostitution among them. Further, it has a very big population of prostitutes. Each suburb has cell known for prostitutes.¹⁷ Kampala’s history can be traced back to the 1600’s when it was established as the capital of Buganda kingdom. It served as a political and administrative capital until 1894, when the British declared Uganda a protectorate and transferred the capital to Entebbe. It returned as capital city in 1962 at Uganda’s independence. The name Kampala derives from an expression used by the Baganda known as “Kasozi-Kampala “meaning the hill of the impala” referring to the impala (slender antelope similar to a gazelle), which was always seen on the Mengo and Old hills (two of Kampala city’s seven hills)¹⁸. Mengo acted as the palace headquarters for the Buganda kingdom.

The city is built on seven hills with beautiful fertile soils that provide a living history. Kampala is the country’s commercial centre with many business companies, industrial centre being the origin of all the manufactured goods in Uganda, political centre with it having the parliament and the “state house,” educational centre with many schools and Makerere university regarded as the academic heart of East Africa, transport centre with it having many roads which connect to different parts of the country and administrative centre.

According to the 2002 population census, Kampala has a population of 1.2 million people. This population is spread in five divisions of Kampala (Central, Nakawa, Kawempe, Rubaga and Makindye). Most people in the city do petty jobs in areas like Owino market which employs the biggest population. There are many other markets spread in the

11 Hesse-Biber, S. N. (Ed.). (2012).

12 Atkinson, R., & Flint, J. (2001), Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981) & Browne, K. (2005).

13 Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C. M., & Ormston, R. (Eds.). (2013).

¹⁴ Weitzer, R. (2014).

¹⁵ Attridge-Stirling, J. (2001).

¹⁶ Miller, T., Birch, M., Mauthner, M., & Jessop, J. (Eds.). (2012).

¹⁷ Kabuye, A. (2015)

¹⁸ Kampala: Origin of The Name” (2014)

five divisions that employ people. Some women involved in such petty jobs, supplement them with prostitution.

Compared to other towns, Kampala is the largest and fastest growing town in Uganda. In 1980's new industries were built and it overtook Jinja in terms of industrial development. The industries, unique social services like schools, hospitals, big markets for goods, sports attract many youth from rural areas, both male and female. The Agro – based industries employ both these youth. The female labour however, is cheaper than male labour, probably because ladies can supplement it with prostitution. One can therefore find more ladies than men in some of these factories.

The most significant aspect of this development is the increasing number of public places, such as bars, hotels, lodges and night clubs. This is mainly due to the increasing demand of these services. Many people come from rural areas to sell their produce and go home in the evening, but others remain for several days or months or at times permanently. Kampala being the capital and the largest commercial centre, the government has constantly laid down a strategy for its development, a plan, which creates opportunities for further development and expansion. It has been given priority because it accommodates a very big population.

Consequently, the town is changing its size and structure every year. There are more streets than there were before independence, more shopping arcades, hotels, all of which have been established within the fifty years and in a short time.

The Old Type of Prostitution among Africans

In African culture, a lady was not allowed to have a child before marriage and this rarely happened.¹⁹ Numerous rituals were performed to cleanse off the omen. This was attained through threats of imposing harsh penalty on the girl. Girls were excessively discouraged from sex outside marriage. It is apparent that prostitution was not accepted by Africans. Numerous taboos were observed between females and males to ensure that there would be no sexual intercourse. This was in disagreement with the Kikuyu ritual of "Nguiko" in Kenya when men would sleep with a female with the male's sexual organ between the thighs of the girl and no more.²⁰

Traditional Cleansing of Prostitution among the Baganda (*Amawemukirano*)

Amawemukirano is a Luganda word given to young girls that become pregnant while still at their parent's home²¹. Ideally a girl had to be virgin before marriage. The word *okuwemuka* literally means losing respect. An absolute isolation from the whole family was sort of punishment they deserved for they were said to have lost respect and brought a black spot on the family. Cooperation with these girls was considered a taboo. So a small house was built for them quite a distance away from the main house, say about 300-400 yards. No other members of family were allowed to cooperate with them.

To end this girl's problem, after her delivery, a ritual was performed. In this ritual a goat was brought to that home by someone who did not belong to the family. That person after bringing the goat was to turn back and go away without looking behind. If she did, the ritual was invalid. The goat was slaughtered, the skin removed and the intestines. It was cut into pieces in such a way that none of its bones was broken. It was put in the saucepan, the whole of it, and it was only eaten by the family members. The bones were burnt after eating that meat, which was a symbolic burial of the ill omen that the girl had brought into the family by her looseness.

Pre-marital sex is as equally a social evil as prostitution and was condemned throughout Africa.

Causes of Prostitution

Data from the current research and literature²² suggested that the following are the major causes of prostitution;

Wastage: Many school girls who get children while they are at school run to urban areas looking for jobs which they either get but not remunerating enough to sustain them in Kampala and other towns or they fail completely in securing themselves any job²³. Most ladies interviewed in Bwaise showed frustration and a dislike for prostitution but regretted that they had no alternative means of survival.

Divorce: Many of the prostitutes interviewed had divorced from husbands with a hope of leading a better life than in the wedlock but ended up prostitutes. One of them confessed that she opted to go back in the wedlock but her husband had already married.

Death of husbands; Women whose husbands had died early in their marriages had become prostitutes. Many respondents commented "when we are left alone, frustrated and with no alternative apart from seeking our daily bread by hook or crook, we

¹⁹ Ann, L. and Joy, W. (1966)

²⁰ Thuku, P. 'Prostitution in Kiamba Town', Theological Colleges Limuru Kenya. Volume 3, No5 1990.

²¹ Tugume L.H (2003)

²² Murekezi, C., & Kemigabo, J. (1993) & Tamale, S. (2009).

²³ ANPPCAN-UGANDA Chapter (undated)

turn into professional prostitutes and part time prostitutes”.

Broken Homes: Many respondents in Kampala city commented that broken homes lead to prostitution, particularly when the husband becomes irresponsible in his family duties. The result is that both the mother and daughter (s) turn to prostitution. Many of the women interviewed admitted that they were married, and complained that they never received support from their husbands or that their husbands would get involved in sex with other women. A lady in Kansanga made the confession below; *“I became a prostitute because I was left by my husband who married a second wife who could bear him children. So out of frustration and persecution complex, I became an absolutely unscrupulous prostitute.”*²⁴

Neglect of hard labour: Many ladies interviewed felt shy or weak to do hard labour. They believed that prostitution was an easy “profession”. On the other side, many supplement prostitution by doing some petty jobs.

The Growth and Evolution of Prostitution in Kampala

The history of prostitution in Kampala town goes back to as early as the coming of colonial masters into Uganda. Uganda was declared a British protectorate in 1894. The beginning of prostitution in Kampala can be dated to when Kampala became a densely populated center. The British had their headquarters at Entebbe. Since Entebbe received business earlier than Kampala, it can be concluded that the former received prostitutes earlier than the later. During the Sudanese soldiers stay in Kampala who were employed by Lugard, prostitution existed. The servicemen brought by Lugard in 1890’s, who were Nubians from Sudan, were accompanied by their wives or girl friends of the Swahili origin. These women did not stay in the barracks but they settled in the suburbs of Kampala, renown places are Narnuwongo, Kisugu, Nsambya and Kibuli typically known as “Kinubbi” or the Nubian village. Though many of them Muslims, they brew ‘Nubian Gin’ which attracted many people in these areas. To date, the brew is still made in these areas. Eventually, there were many women in the business who had no husbands. It is understood that many of these women had been divorced for various reasons among which was adultery and sterility. These made up the first generation of prostitutes in Kampala city.

Although it is difficult to state precisely as to when prostitution began in Kampala and its suburbs,

many people interviewed confessed that it was very rampant after World War I and II.

Another factor that facilitated prostitution was the building of Uganda railway. Many of the laborers of Uganda railway did not come with their own wives. Such men, who earned a stable income, got into contact with women who were ready to offer prostitution services.

The above tend to suggest that prostitution was facilitated by activities in town and a steady income for men. Since the steady income for Ugandans had its way in Uganda at the time of colonization, it would be right to suggest that organized prostitution and colonialism came hand in hand. Surely, there is much truth in it because it was during that time when the rate of prostitution increased, most especially after the world wars.

Nonetheless, it is clear that prostitution was born in towns and was noticed immediately Uganda was declared a British protectorate. Women who lived in Kampala and its suburbs did not want to be associated with or recognized as prostitutes. They had their liquor business and kept men as their part time husbands. They were usually old, middle aged or divorced women. They did not charge a fixed fee for sexual services, but they received gifts with pleasures which may constitute the equivalent values.

After independence, the more “organized” form of prostitution began to take form in Uganda. Many bars, lodges, restaurants, night clubs were built. A number of night clubs like “Suzana” at Nakulabye, “Happy land” at Kibuye, “Eden at Bwise, Half London” at Kansanga, ‘Zana’ at Bunamwaya and ‘Stella’ at Namasuba were started. Lodging houses came into being. Susana and Stella seem to have been among the earliest prostitutes. The earliest prostitutes were employed in these places and others. They lived in rented houses only to frequent bars and night clubs at night. At this time, many people came to be aware of prostitutes in town.

The prostitutes started fixing their prices depending on social status, beauty and age. According to several maids interviewed in bars and lodges, they confessed that they were paid very little by the owners of bars. The drunkards paid a higher amount than their employees. According to one respondent, by 1962, the price ranged from one shilling to five shillings a night plus some drinks a night. As time went on, demand for them became high, hence, many girls from the villages flocked the town in disguise of petty jobs. These ended up working as prostitutes.

Prostitution Today

While prostitution is illegal, anyone who visits towns in Uganda, especially Kampala, at night will notice

²⁴ Participant

prostitutes²⁵. By the year 2000, they had started seducing customers openly. They are found almost in all parts of Kampala; in bars, hotels, night clubs, and lodges and on busy streets. Prostitutes are mostly found where intoxicating liquor is sold. These places are very many throughout Uganda. On each local council it is possible to have several bars. Some are licensed others are not. Almost in all these bars, girls of between 16 and 30 years are employed as bar maids. According to an old lady who runs a bar; *It is impossible for men to buy alcohol when you do not have attractive "young ladies" to attract drunkards.*²⁶

Prostitutes are spread throughout Kampala i.e. Mengo-Kisenyi where the researcher found them waiting outside the doors and inside the local brewing houses. In Mengo-Kisenyi, there is a place called Kiziba since the earliest prostitutes were Baziba from Tanzania. They are also found in Bwaise - Kimombasa, Katanga in Wandegeya and in other places in Kampala

This does not suggest that all girls who do not do office work are prostitutes. Some of them come in town for genuine reasons. However, in many cases, they are categorized as prostitutes though they might not be conscious of the trade. Further, prostitution is not only peculiar to Kampala only but it is prevalent in all towns of Uganda and beyond East Africa²⁷.

Factors Leading to Growth of Prostitution

According to this research, below are factors which have fostered the growth and persistence of prostitution in society. The most significant are the following:

Social change; The rapid development of urban community from basically a rural community has gone far in breaking down the traditional system in which members of the family lived together under well defined set of rules. The urban social norms are based on homogenous cultural values to such an extent that urban life marks a break with the past traditional values. Individuals are detached from the traditional teaching, not only by the parents, but by the whole society, which enabled them to assume their roles in society responsibility.

Economic factors; The cost of living has sky rocketed due to inflation. There is an urgent struggle for survival. The economic and social inequality

therefore contributes to the growth of prostitution²⁸. Many Ugandans have benefited and built mansions from prostitution.

Unemployment; the population of women is big in Uganda. Men can do hard labour in town i.e. carrying luggage, driving vehicles, participate in building and the like. The chances of women doing such jobs are low. They cannot compete with men on many jobs.

The church law of monogamy; The church does not allow polygamous marriages yet most Ugandans are Christians. As a result, many women remain neither married nor employed and they take prostitution as alternative of sexual satisfaction.

Drunkenness; There are many breweries, both legal and illegal ones. The brewers are mainly women who often become prostitutes because of the surrounding. On the other hand, there are those who become prostitutes because they need money for buying drinks.

Corruption; Some women offer themselves to corrupt male officers so as to acquire jobs. They sell their bodies to obtain what they want.

Family planning; Contraceptive methods which prevent conception promotes sexual promiscuity. Some women who use them feel they have a license to sexual intercourse, some school girls and university students use them and involve in prostitution. Prostitution, according to this research, increased with the increase of family planning mechanisms. According to many respondents, many people feel that owing to the availability of contraceptives, the resistance to sexual intercourse of many men and women has weakened, so they are tempted to be unfaithful to their marriage vows.

Who is a Prostitute?

Several ladies interviewed denied that they were not prostitutes. For one to admit she is a prostitute, they argued, had to be officially licensed.²⁹ For example, the researcher interviewed a lady in Kabwohe in Bushenyi, whom he had seen in different bars with different men on different occasions. She was not married but had two children and worked as a news vendor. When he approached her at first, she thought he was a customer for that night, but when he revealed that he needed some information from her, she told him that there are many prostitutes were better informed, and commented: *'.....of course lam not a prostitute, I have my own job and whatever you see*

²⁵ Kabuye, A. (2015)

²⁶ Beatrice Namukasa of Gganda-Busiro, a suburb of Kampala, she sells alcohol. She is 62 years old.

²⁷ Igbinovia, P. E. (1984)

²⁸ Oywa, R. (1995).

²⁹ Odeke, Abraham. (2003-07-22) Tax for Uganda sex workers. BBC News. Retrieved on 2011-06-04.

*me doing here, is on part time . I have my children and I need to bring them up. As you are aware, there is inflation. When I sell few News papers, like many Ugandans, I have to supplement it. I am just chased by these drunkards who are mad with me. They chase me even when I go for service at Nganwa church, after all they waste a lot of money and I use it to look after my children. Then she asked, "Is that prostitution? Is it a sin?"*³⁰

There is no unanimity as to who a prostitute is and to what extent one should engage in sexual intimacies to qualify as a "prostitute". Some people argue that prostitutes are both men and women. Others ask, can a married woman be described as a prostitute when she indulges herself in extra martial sexual activities with people other than her legitimate husband?"

To answer these questions and to clarify the understanding of prostitution, this research has used Geoffrey's definition, which used three elements;

Payment usually involving the passing of money through gifts or pleasures may constitute equivalent of money considerations; promiscuity, with the possible exercise of choice, and emotional indifference which may be inferred from payment and promiscuity.

Classification of Prostitutes

According to this research, prostitutes in Uganda can be classified into four distinct classes. This classification has been based on the background and nature of clients: - Small timers, Head Hunters, Part timers, and Deep sea fishers. There are different categories of prostitutes but in all cases the goal is one, namely to make money. Different descriptive terms like survivalists, desperate and less politely a harlot have been used with reference to these women.

Small timers

The small timer is not "very young" and is illiterate or semi-illiterate. She lives in a small room. This category of prostitutes perhaps is too illiterate to join the streets or appear among the middle class of prostitutes. They take up to living in slummy areas of town suburbs. In Kampala they are mostly found in Bwaise-Kimombasa, Makerere Kivulu, Makerere-Kikoni, Kalerwe, and Wandegeya in Katanga, Mengo- Kisenyi in a place specifically called Kiziba, Nakulabye-Kiyaye and many others.

To the small-timers, men pay short visits and small amounts of fees. According to most respondents, they cost an average of 5000/= (2 dollars). A lucky small-timer may meet up ten men a day if she works twenty four hours. Assuming that each visitor

goes for only a minimum services, then the woman earns 50, 000 shillings (an equivalent of 20 United States dollars) a day.

Head Hunters

The other name of these is "desperate. They fall in the school leavers' age group. They blame unemployment for their state of affairs. Head hunters are fluent in English, Kiswahili, and Luganda and have acquired Black American English accent whenever they are in Uganda.³¹

The head hunters are found in dimly lit street corners and sometimes hijack tourists, and any man looking for similar enjoyment. Many of these were found by the researcher at Wandegeya near Makerere University, at Kansanga near Kampala International University and in Entebbe municipality mostly in Kitoro.³² They admitted that they wait for tourists at Entebbe air port and offer service to those who wish it. They move in groups of not more than three and are very smartly dressed.

Any man hijacked by a member of the head-hunters is sure to spend a minimum of at least one hundred thousand (100,000/=) for a night. This is because a member of this family will demand drinks, meals and being taken to disco places, and in the morning, the victim will be released after paying extra fee of about fifty thousand shillings.

Part-timers

The part timers are no other than some of the working class women, who have come to top up their salaries. They could not be able to pay for essential commodities and transport to places of work. This category is however very discreet in the manner they conduct their part time business. They prefer elderly guys and particularly so if a man has qualities of a "Sugar daddy". But even if they leave it up to the man to decide how much to offer after sex, these women will not hesitate to complain diplomatically that they deserve a little more. When the worst comes, some of the women decide to bargain in actual terms rather than using indirect necessities.

Deep Sea Fishers

This group is composed of middle aged women decent looking aged between twenty-five -up to forty. Data from this research indicate that some female musicians fall in this category. Though they do not

³⁰ Participant

³¹ Several prostitutes interviewed in Kumi and Gulu speak the three languages above Iteso and Acholi respectively.

³² Uganda At Heart (UAH) (2011)

come out openly as prostitutes on streets, they strategically look for financial heavy weights and big names from whom they extract lots of money. This type of prostitution is reefed to as deep sea fishing. Years of Deep-sea fishing have brought considerable wealth and experience to them. Most of them drive expensive cars and put up in well-furnished flats in Kampala.³³ One of the informers told me that members of the group would easily know a conference or meeting due to be convened in Kampala, say in Sheraton, Serena, Fairway, Africana, and Equatorial Hotels; likely participants and who would be staying in which Hotel and the room number. Their main targets include delegates to the meetings, mainly members of high class like ministers and permanent secretaries. Deep-sea fishers talk in terms of hundreds of thousands per night she spends with a man. They at times charge in dollars. One thousand dollars could be spent on deep sea fishers, a weekend

The Organizational Structure of Prostitutes

Professional methods

The methods of prostitution in Kampala and other towns are similar according to this research. However, many respondents confessed that the work is sometimes difficult at the beginning. One must first learn how to handle customers carefully. One feels shy and sometimes finds it hard to take any abuse or beating from drunkards.

Initially, when girls come to town, they either look for an employment as barmaids, or look for an older prostitute to stay with. Meanwhile, they search for houses for rent in a good and strategic place, inevitably near the bars or along the streets.

The “working day” usually begins at sunset, when they dress up, and with confidence of a person in business, they walk to the bars in a group.

Usually, when they enter into the bar, they meet friends who offer them drinks. If no one offers them any drink, each could buy as an operational tactic; they sip on the bottles slowly and for long hours, until a man comes on their way. If no man comes to her, one of the fellow prostitutes known by several men might bring a man. Then the business transactions and negotiations begin. In case the man is not willing to go to her house, as it is the case with many, he rents a room in a nearby hotel for a night. Most prostitutes do not mention the amount of money they require before they enter the closest. This is where they use their famine charms to earn a generous fee. In addition, the barmaids are in business after work-

ing hours. They spend the working time looking for men who keep them as concubines, although they never stick to one man.

These women are very tactful in conducting their business. They drink and you can hardly see them drunk. They are shrewd and never lose sight of their goal the “wallet of a man”. They do not hesitate dropping their customers, if they find they have no money left.

For their security, one of them confidently declared “we keep close contact with town thugs, whom we pay with a few sexual favors, or accommodation whenever they require when there are no customers, they usually give us food and beer. They bring stolen phones, clothes, watches, and other items. Every professional prostitute has got at least one of these guys”.

The charges

The fees paid to the prostitutes in Kampala, and other towns in Uganda vary, depending on the class of the prostitute. It seems as if they have no fixed price, but certainly the price goes high towards the end of the month when salary earners and farmers are paid. The price never reflects consideration of how much beer one has bought. The prices range from five thousand shillings upwards up to the ten thousands depending on demand, class, age, beauty of the prostitute and the town per night. There is a short time rate which they call ‘short’ which costs around five thousands shillings.³⁴

Clients for prostitutes

The prostitutes’ clients are of a broad spectrum. A respondent at Entebbe declared that there is no limit as regards clients. Every man including Muslims, Christians, tourists, professionals, religious leaders traders and travelers are among the best customers³⁵. She impressed upon me that man who might be regarded as sex maniacs (who never get sexual satisfaction with wives) go for solace. Men with quarrelsome and nagging wives go to them for comfort. The lady went further and explained that men whose wives are at a later stage of pregnancy or have just had babies seek sexual relief from prostitutes. But the most permanent and common clients are drivers and thieves who have no wives and permanent abode. In all, their clients are men of all nationalities, tribes, religions, and married, single and of all professionals. It is these

³³ Nelson Wesonga, Esther Oluka, Samuel Ssebuliba and Peninah Asiimwe (2014)

³⁴The current exchange rate of Uganda shillings to a dollar is approximately \$1 to 2500shs.

³⁵ Gysels, M., Pool, R., & Bwanika, K. (2001).

clients who encourage prostitution as an employment to continue.

Prostitution and the Laws of Uganda

Despite the growth of prostitution in the country, there are laws against the practice in Uganda. It is an offence for any women to live wholly or partly on prostitution. Even male persons who may be found soliciting or assisting prostitution are liable to prostitution. It is a criminal offence to run a brothel, and there are other offences which accompany prostitution including the spreading of infection deadly diseases like AIDS, indecent exposure, loitering and being a vagrant.

Rev. Fr. Simon Lokodo (MP) Minister of State for Ethics and Integrity instructed police to stage surprise clean up operations³⁶. Subsequently, many prostitutes are arrested and taken to the courts of law³⁷. Magistrates often send them for AIDS tests and examination. Many are found HIV positive and with gonorrhoea. They are convicted for spreading infectious diseases. The prostitutes are very afraid of police and most of them end up becoming friends to them.

According to the laws of Uganda, prostitution is prohibited in the penal code, 'Any person who practices or engages in prostitution commits an offence and is liable for an imprisonment of seven years'³⁸. According to this law, it is clear that prostitution is prohibited. However, it is not easy to identify prostitutes since they do other disguised jobs.

Persistence of prostitution in society

Controversial opinions on prostitution are given. Prostitution is very beneficial to owners of bars, night clubs and hotels. The owners of these places exploit the services of prostitutes to maximize their income. Prostitutes help in investigations: - According to the police woman interviewed, she commended; *"I would not suggest that prostitution should be completely wiped out. It is impossible anyway, because it is a necessary evil. We find prostitutes very useful in our investigations on serious crimes like murder. They become useful informers and tempt men when they are drunk. Further, the officers who do not have their wives with them in the police barracks get relief from. Prostitutes instead of raping women or children."*³⁹

Prostitution is a source of income: prostitution is in many cases taken as a last resort. Prostitutes need money for survivor. It is a cheaper trade and lesser evil than rape. Many Ugandans have become rich as a result of prostitution. A number of men who are shy and cannot approach women find prostitutes very useful. Prostitutes advertise themselves on roads. Hence, the shy men just have to pay and go off with them.

Public Attitude to Prostitution

Different people from all walks of life, professions, nationals have different opinions on the question of prostitution. However, most respondents despised prostitution. Even those who patronized them and kept the business thriving publicly spoke of evils associated with them. Even the prostitutes denied being participants in the practice because they may not come to terms with the psychological feeling that they are seen as social drop outs. Among the people interviewed, to be called a prostitute is a very serious insult. However, there are controversial opinions on prostitution: Most owners' bars, night club commended that prostitution is one of the yard sticks for measuring a growing town and such men argue that prostitution attracts visitors to come and spend a lot of money in the city.

Even some civil leaders of opinion take a laissez faire attitude. However, the biggest section of the public condemned the practice. Many admitted that prostitutes cause a lot of family problems. Most married women condemned prostitutes that they deprive the married women of their husbands, who spend a lot of money on prostitutes. Many respondents were very nervous, they contended that prostitutes should be hunted, averted and taken to secluded detention camps where they should be taught new trades so that men stop visiting them.

There was a group of respondents who realized no merit in prostitution out of bias. However, they felt that it should be the society to blame; it sponsors them and in the end blames them. They argued that prostitutes need sympathy other than condemnation. One respondent argued that it should not be only women to be looked at as prostitutes since for prostitution to take place there should be a male and female. She concluded that the prostitutes should be rehabilitated to normal lives than blaming them. Most respondents argued that there is need to assess the public opinion on this practice. There is no doubt most people were against prostitution. This is because very few admitted they are prostitutes. Many religious leaders publicly criticized it on realizing that most of their followers are involved in it.

³⁶ UGANDA MEDIA CENTRE (2015)

³⁷ Nelson Wesonga, Esther Oluka, Samuel Ssebuliba and Peninah Asiimwe (2014)

³⁸ Uganda penal code, chapter 139

³⁹ Female Police officer

Effects of Prostitution

Prostitution has a variety of effects on the individual and the society as a whole seen from a society's moral attitude, and seen in relation to the society's sanctioned institutions such as marriage, prostitution becomes a form of deviant behavior. It is a problem in the sense that it represents deviation from the socially expected norms of moral conduct.

Prostitution has often had disastrous and negative impact on our society's most cherished institutional arrangement, marriage. One has reason to hold that marriage and family life is being disrupted by the prevalence of prostitution in the urban areas.

It is also believed that the incidence of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases like venereal disease is directly related to promiscuity and prostitution, that the consequences of these diseases among our population may result into infertility which consequently leads to marital problems such as divorce and separation, thus disrupting marriage and family life. Unfortunately, cases of these diseases have increased considerably as one medical Assistant noted. *By 1980, there were few venereal diseases which were common in Uganda but today the diseases are indefinite*⁴⁰.

Another effect of prostitution is an economic one. It is clear that prostitution entice many people into spending a lot of their money on drinking and other unnecessary luxuries. This leaves the men with no capital to invest in business and to meet the needs in their homes and for themselves. Many husbands fail in their financial responsibilities due to this. Consequently there are frequent quarrels and general dissatisfaction in the family. Yet one can see these prostitutes more smartly dressed than housewives. It is frightening to see such a small town with almost a hundred bars, yet drinking is contemporary of prostitution. This ruins the lives of many people, socially, physically and economically, there by affecting the whole town. Development of the society is somehow hindered by drinking and prostitution.

Psychologically too, the prostitutes and those who support the practice are affected. They lose personal integrity and sense of guilt. Since they feel that they are not trusted in the society they live in realms beyond common morality and for some reasons, mental illness has been found common with prostitutes. Most of them confessed that they drink alcohol and use drugs to remove mental distress and sense of guilt⁴¹. During field research it was rare to find pros-

titutes in a sober mood. Most of the prostitutes felt guilty about the fact that they indulge in sexual promiscuity.

Conclusion

Prostitution is preventable and can be entirely eradicated. This article suggests that the underlying factors for prostitution are; environmental and central among them are economic and situational and poor upbringing. Although there is a genitive factor that cannot be changed, it is possible to change the environmental exposures that influence expression of the genes involved. All of the groups of environmental factors identified as underlying prostitution are potentially preventable. It is essential that policies and interventions for prostitution prevention include both a thorough understanding of environmental factors for prostitution and a theoretical grounding for interventions and prevention strategies. Understanding feminine is of vital importance for prostitution prevention as it is a predominant practice of women. The implications of this article are that complex interventions are needed that work at multiple levels, particularly addressing economic and situational factors as well as those working on individual level factors, such as gender attitudes.

As a critically structural factor, gender issues need to be addressed in a cross-cutting manner through prostitution prevention interventions.

Recommendations

To further strength the field of prostitution prevention, the following key areas for research are proposed:-

1. Broadening the geographical base of knowledge; there is a great need for research on prostitution from a much wider range of countries and particularly low and middle income countries.
2. Deepening understanding of risk factors for perpetration of different types of prostitution in this article.
3. Stronger research designs: there is a need to have stronger designs so that there is sufficient power to distinguish prostitution from other sexual practices. A comprehensive assessment of risk factors and confounders and more longitudinal research.
4. Multi-disciplinary research: new generations of research are needed that combine perspectives from multiple disciplines, including religions, developmental psychopathology, psychology, criminology, epidemiology, gender studies, genetics. e.t c

⁴⁰Robert Kasasa, a medical assistant in Kasambya hospital, Lwabenge in Kalungu district, interviewed 3rd June 2013.

⁴¹ Kamau S. and Wanubui M.(1985)

5. Intervention research: mixed methods intervention research is needed both to develop interventions that are effective in reducing prostitution.
6. Understanding patterns of susceptibility; research is needed to understand why some women who particular risk factors of getting diseases have become perpetrators and others do not.

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