#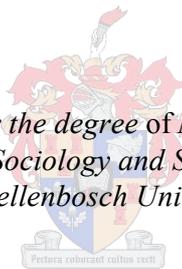 Imagining "Whiteness": An ethnographic exploration into fantasy and experience of young women (and men) seeking bazungu partners in Kampala, Uganda

by
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in the Faculty of Sociology and Social Anthropology at
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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: 26 February 2013

Abstract

In one of Uganda's main national newspapers, the *New Vision*, women and men advertise that they seek 'white' partners. Using emergent design, this study set out to explore this yearning for local - 'white' relationships. I conducted exploratory and semi-structured interviews with 20 of these women and men. As I started conducting the interviews, it became clear that this was a topic which provoked emotionally charged responses and a great deal of 'identity work', with participants identifying with, or disidentifying from, particular groups and categories, notably 'prostitutes' and 'traditional', 'cultural' or 'modern' women and men. Engaging critically with post-colonial writings and contemporary feminist research, I argue that my respondents provided important insights into the broader dynamics of gender, sexuality, race and power, as well as processes of identity construction in post-colonial Uganda. I explore the fantasy constructions and stereotypes perpetuating beliefs in 'white' superiority and address the various influences upon which respondents draw to bolster constructions of 'whites' as superior. These are marked by explicit beliefs in racial hierarchy, as well as 'modernisation' and 'developmental' discourses which positively associate 'modernisation' with 'Westernisation.' I discuss respondents' negative constructions of local, 'black' men and women born out of past experiences with local partners. Male respondents expressed frustration with Ugandan women, whom they constructed as 'money minded', whom they believe forfeit dignity, for love of money, in their search for modernity. 'Tradition' and 'culture' were often invoked by men against women, who were seen as failing to live up to presumed cultural standards of femininity. I also explore female respondents' appeals to 'tradition' and 'culture' which they feel benefit Ugandan men to the detriment of women and romantic relationships. I show that female respondents draw on discourses of Western 'modernity' and human rights, to illustrate the extent of gendered inequalities in Uganda, and find that Western humanism, embodied in the 'white' male, is constructed as a solution to their relationship dilemmas.

Opsomming

In *New Vision,* een van Uganda se vernaamste nasionale nuusblaaie, plaas vroue, sowel as mans, advertensies waarin hulle aandui dat hulle op soek is na 'wit' metgeselle. Hierdie etnografiese studie steek voelers uit en probeer vasstel wat die motivering is om in verhoudings met 'wit' metgeselle betrokke te raak. Semigestruktuele onderhoude was met respondente (wat advertensies geplaas het) gevoer. Die studie vind dat respondente hul geslags- sowel as rasse-identiteit konstrueer. In sommige gevalle word dit gedoen deur identiteite te konstrueer waarmee hulle hulself nie wil assosieer nie. Deur bogenoemde in diepte te ondersoek, kry ons insig in die wyse waarop, in die kontemporêre Ugandese konteks, identiteitsvorming plaasvind. Ek ondersoek ook respondente se verbeeldingryke konstruksies en stereotipes wat die opvatting wil vestig dat 'wit' gelyk aan 'superieur' is. Ek spreek dan ook die verskeie beïnvloedingsvelde aan wat respondente gebruik en waarop hulle hul 'wit is superieur' opvatting bou. Ek dui aan dat die beïnvloedingsvelde dikwels gekenmerk word deur 'n eksplisiete geloof in die bestaan van 'n bepaalde hiërargie van ras. Diskoerse oor modernisering en ontwikkeling waarin 'modernisering' en 'vooruitgang' sterk geassosieer of gelykgestel word met verwestering is ook aan die orde van die dag. Voorts bespreek ek respondente se negatiewe konstruksie van plaaslike mans en vroue en die feit dat dit dikwels gebore is uit hul vorige (negatiewe) blootstelling aan plaaslike metgeselle. Manlike respondente spreek dikwels hul frustrasie uit met 'geldgierige' Ugandese vroue wat, volgens hulle, van hul eertydse waardigheid afstand doen in hul koorsagtige soek na modernisasie. Mans assosieer sterk met eie 'tradisie' en 'kultuur' en hulle voel dikwels dat vroue nie voldoen aan die mans se selfopgelegde kulturele standaarde van vroulikheid nie. Voorts ondersoek ek die pleidooie van vroue waarin hulle aanvoer dat sekere 'tradisionele' en 'kulturele' gebruike Ugandese mans onbillik bevoordeel. Ek dui aan dat vroulike respondente gebruik maak van redenasies oor Westerse modernisasie asook menseregte, in hul pogings om die mate van geslagsongelykheid wat in Uganda bestaan, uit te lig. Laastens vind ek dat Ugandese vroue Westerse humanisme (wat verpersoonlik word deur 'wit' mans) beskou as die oplossing vir hul verhoudingsprobleme.

Dedication and acknowledgments

I dedicate this thesis to respondents, who exposed personal experiences and desires, to make valuable research possible.

I thank God.

I thank my delightful Professor Pattman, for his enthusiastic support, unfailing guidance and shared enjoyment of the topic. I also thank Professor van der Waal, who, though he was not involved in this research specifically, taught me to pursue the highest standard of research, dignity in interactions and sound research ethics.

Lastly, I thank my parents who have managed to love and support whole-heartedly, each one of their four children, no matter how unconventional our pursuits or challenging our dreams.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background

I arrived at Brood bakery on Bombo Road with my writing pad and voice recorder in hand. Ignoring the busy hustle of business, food and drink, I scanned the dining area for Justine. A bright-eyed girl, stylishly dressed in a denim waistcoat and low-cut white top, eyed me as I made my way through the tables. When I took out my phone to make a call, she waved at me cautiously and I walked over to meet her. Her excitement could hardly be contained, as she burst into conversation with an explanation as to why she had chosen that specific table. She pointed over my shoulder to a middle-aged 'white' man a few tables away. "I chose this seat so that I could watch him," she explained. "I am someone who is so much interested in the white people. When I look at the colour I am like 'Oh god!' With the colour you look so beautiful."

"You find him attractive?" I asked surprised.

She nodded enthusiastically, a brilliant smile on her face.

Justine was the eleventh woman I interviewed in this ethnographic study exploring the phenomenon whereby local women in Kampala desire 'white' partners. Like the majority of respondents, Justine had advertised in *Saturday New Vision*'s Meeting Point section that she is looking for a "white man". In this thesis, my primary interest is to understand, from the emic perspective of women (and men), this yearning for local *muzungu* relationships, whether attained or only desired.

The outcome of this research is strongly influenced by the epistemological and methodological approach I took for this study. Adopting a constructivist approach, emergent design has proved helpful in exploring the many vast and connected identity trajectories that arose as I engaged with my original research question. This approach also allowed for a flexible exploration of the relational, intersecting, contradictory and (forever) constructed/negotiated nature of identities. Originally I set out to interview women who desire 'white' men. I soon found that female respondents position themselves in relation to others in their attempt to explain their relationship desires. Female respondents position themselves in opposition to those they refer to as 'prostitute-like' women who also desire 'white' men. And they position themselves in opposition to those they describe as 'traditional women,' who uncritically accept 'tradition,' 'culture' and 'subordination'. Lastly, they situate themselves as overcoming (through rejecting) 'local men,' who are portrayed as undeservedly benefiting from patriarchy and dominant social/cultural norms. In response to these initial findings, emergent design allowed me to acknowledge the far-reaching and unanticipated issues raised by female respondents by redirecting or expanding research interests, making radical changes in the research process, for example including men who desire 'white' women. Some of the issues raised during initial interviews include, discourses of power, gender, race, tradition, identity and culture. Some of the unanticipated questions that arose

are: Why is it mainly women who are accused of being violators of culture? Why are discourses around culture highly gendered and sexualized? Why are female relationship desires problematized in public discourse, when men's are not? And why do women feel that they have to rescue themselves from highly sexualized 'prostitute' labels?

In this thesis I explore the fantasy constructions and stereotypes perpetuating beliefs in white superiority. These constructions are powerful in the lives of respondents because of symbolic and emotional investments. I address the various influences upon which respondents draw to bolster constructions of 'whites' as superior. These are marked by explicit beliefs in racial hierarchy, as well as 'modernisation' and 'developmental' discourses, which positively associate 'modernisation' with 'Westernisation.' I attempt to understand the foundation of claims respondents made, and find that they express pure constructions that are based on very little or no interaction or real-life exposure to 'whites'. 'White' people are constructed as the antithesis of that which respondents dislike about Ugandans of the opposite sex, suggesting that relationship desires are a reaction, not only to beliefs in white superiority but also a reaction to local relationship frustrations. I touch on the references to ethnicity that arose during fieldwork and address the 'Othering' of 'darker' blacks from northern Uganda. I also explore the power of imaginary 'Africa' and the group identification 'Africans' that results in gross generalizations, problematic stereotypes and discrimination against 'black' people.

I discuss the negative constructions female respondents have of local men and the negative constructions male respondents have of local women that are born out of past experiences with local partners. I delve into male respondents' expressions of frustration with 'money-minded' Ugandan women who they believe forfeit dignity and trust for love of money and their search for modernity. I attempt to understand why 'black' women who seek relationships with 'white' men are constructed as prostitutes. I also explore female respondents' criticism of popular discourses on 'tradition' and 'culture,' which they feel are invoked in ways, which benefit Ugandan men to the detriment of women and romantic relationships. I show that they draw on discourses of Western modernity and human rights to illustrate the extent of gendered abuses against women in Uganda, and suggest that versions of Western humanism, embodied in the 'white' male (for female respondents), is the solution to their relationship dilemmas.

Throughout these discussions I consider the ways in which respondents construct relational identities i.e. subject positions that are contingent on their relationship to other positions. Believing that "identity is about being positioned and investing in a particular (subject) position," I am particularly interested in the ways in which various and intersecting and sometimes contradictory identities are negotiated and constructed through binary oppositions, essentializing and difference (Eriksson Baaz

2001: 5) and how these identities draw on long-standing discourses on culture, gender and 'race'[1]. Not only do respondents articulate racial and gendered categories, they also orientate themselves in relation to these in ways that benefit themselves or support their arguments. These negotiations are key to understanding respondents' identities, which, as I will show, are highly racialised, gendered and cultured.

While literature has been incorporated throughout this thesis, special mention needs to be made of Franz Fanon's *Black skin, white masks* (2008). His psycho-analysis of post-colonial inferiority applies to my research and has been very influential in providing an understanding of the psychological effects of colonialism on the colonized. Furthermore, his work has aided an analysis of the 'cultural imperialism' suggested by respondents' responses. Finally, the normalization of the Othering of 'blacks' and 'African' sexuality which Fanon addresses, has made me sensitive to the ways in which I approach, address and present my research questions and findings as not to contribute to discourses of racial Othering.

1.2. Rationale, research problem and research questions

My rationale, research problems and research questions changed slightly once I undertook research in the field and followed various leads and trajectories.

My initial interest in doing research in Kampala was ignited during the 4 months I spent living there in 2010. I was struck by publicly displayed, inter-racial relationships between older 'white' men and younger Ugandan women. My first reaction was one of shock, as I contemplated the global economic inequalities that give rise to the unequal power plays in such relationships. But after casual enquiry, I had to set my assumptions aside as I became aware of the agency practiced by women as they seek strategies to better their lives both economically and socially. I was told by acquaintances of what some women would do to 'hook' a *muzungu* man: applying skin lightening products, or trying to fall pregnant as fast as possible. I realised that this is a complex phenomenon, which needs to be understood from the perspective and experience of the women involved. And so set out to study it.

My plan was to understand this phenomenon from the emic perspective of the women and to focus on the fantasy of 'white' men as imagined or constructed by these women in the urban setting of Kampala. Furthermore, I was interested in their lived experiences as they go about consciously 'hooking', possibly dating and potentially conceiving with 'white' men in the hope that these fantasies will be fulfilled.

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[1] In this thesis race is understood to be socially constructed. Race is constructed by respondents in such a way that racial categories become fixed and essentialized. In order to understand this phenomenon from the perspective of respondents, I may use fixed categories such as 'white' or 'black' in explanations, though always in inverted commas to indicate their socially constructed and context-specific nature.

However, one week after arriving in Kampala a Ugandan, male acquaintance mentioned advertisements in the *Saturday New Vision* newspaper, where local men and women advertise that they seek 'white' companions. He scoffed at the stupidity of people so desperate for riches and so blatantly denying their 'own'. But my heart soared. I was offered unproblematic access to perfect respondents: self-proclaimed *muzungu*-seekers, not afraid to voice their desires. I was also drawn to this lead because of the discomfort and many ethical delicacies surrounding approaching 'sex workers' in bars[2] and asking why they are dating their 'white lovers'. These women might not be sex workers at all and could be highly offended that I am questioning their motives, and approaching them without the attention of their male companions could be tricky. Needless to say, I grabbed the research opportunity. Buying *Saturday New Visions,* I cut out advertisements and spent hours calling possible respondents. I was pleased to find that most of the advertisers who suited my research were eager to participate.

After the first few interviews I realised that my research had taken a turn. These advertisers were not the women I had heard of or seen out in Ugandan nightspots: The ones who hang out in bars skimpily clad, where older men look for drunken pleasure. Nor were they the ones who try to fall pregnant as fast as possible, nor the ones who become sex workers with the hope of meeting a 'white' man. My respondents looked down on women like this, who they believe ruin their chance for decent, respected mixed-race relationships. It is because of women like this, respondents believe, that they struggle to avoid being labelled prostitutes, gold-diggers, indecent, pitiful and deviant.

Not long after that, I realized that I would have to make another change: start interviewing men. Female respondents were eager to express their frustrations, anger and even hatred towards local men. It became obvious that I need a male perspective. I decided to interview local men who were also seeking 'white' partners. Male respondents were also contacted through their advertisements in the *Saturday New Vision*.

Eventually, my research questions focussed:
My primary interest was to understand, from the perspective of women and men, the desire for local *muzungu* relationships, whether attained or only desired. I was interested in the role of fantasy and the meanings that women and men attach to whiteness on both a symbolic and emotional level. My secondary interests flowing from my primary objectives were: an exploration of ideas about love or romance in relation to economic or other motivations for relationships; power and inequality; and

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[2] In Kampala there are places and nightspots, which have a reputation as meeting places for 'black' women and 'white' men. The 'black' women going to these places are often perceived, by the public, as prostitutes.

sexual cross-cultural perceptions. I was particularly interested in the intersecting identities of race, sexuality and gender.

Lancaster and Di Leonardo (1997) state:

> Historical research shows that people have repeatedly altered both their own sexual practices and their mental construction of erotic desire.... Metamorphoses in sexual and gender relations have always been inseparably linked to political, economic, and cultural changes (1).

Consequently, I was led to explore the political, economic and cultural changes that have created the local and global environment in which these relationships became desirable. The constructions of sexuality and race during the colonial period are crucial influences that needed to be taken into consideration. Signe Arnfred (2004) draws attention to "the *colonial continuities* in present day globalization, and of the continued existence of [a] colonial discourse" where sexualities in Africa are concerned (9).

Chapter Two: Orientations

2.1. Chapter outline

In Chapter Three of this thesis I discuss my methodological approach. I refer to a study by Francis Nyamnjoh (2005) on sugar mommy and sugar daddy relationships in Senegal as my methodological inspiration and rationale. Thereafter, I refer to the work of Kathy Charmaz and Richard Mitchell (2001), to explain the way in which I have incorporated a grounded approach into ethnography. I consider my position as a researcher and the influence that I as a gendered, raced, and socio-economically positioned subject might have on respondents and their responses. I suggest that these influences can be immensely beneficial to this study as they shed light on the research topic. I address the ethical problems of this study, noting that the research topic, which deals with areas of life conventionally considered private, is the most delicate, and suggest ways to manage it. In the section on respondent demographics I use important demographic information to position respondents. And finally, in the Defining *'muzungu'* section of Chapter Three, I describe what respondents mean when they use the terms 'white' and *'muzungu'* in relation to relationship desires.

In Chapter Four I look at the various strategies respondents use to attract 'white' partners. And consider whether *New Vision* advertisements are successful.

I investigate references to the inherent superiority of 'whites' by respondents in Chapter Five, by briefly delving into areas, which influence and bolster these beliefs. These are colonialism, development, race and foreign aid to Uganda. I draw on the work of Philip Curtin (1974) in the section on colonialism in order to understand arguments for and against colonial rule in Africa. This, along with Franz Fanon's work (2008), aids my apprehension of respondents who speak of colonialism in a positive light and use colonial rhetoric to suggest the inferiority of 'blacks'. Thereafter I refer to the work of Donna Pankhurst (2002) and Tarsis Kabwegyere (1972) to sketch briefly the form colonialism took in Uganda. And finally, I turn to Messay Kebede (1999) who writes about the way in which colonialism has disturbed the perceptions that people have of themselves, resulting in feelings of 'black' inferiority as expressed by respondents.

In the section on development I draw on the work of Stefan Andreasson (2005) who writes about the Western agenda of 'developing' the 'dark continent' in its own likeness and explains the way in which 'development failure' in Africa has been depicted as a result of 'backward' African cultures. He explains that reductive repetition is used by the West to depict Africa as a homogenous group that has failed to develop because of internal deficiencies. Next I draw on Jephias Mutunhu's (2011) explanation of modernization theory as a 'one-solution-fits-all' strategy for development and its hazardous application to African communities as well as the way in which modernization theory

discourse has been used to devalue African cultures, while glorifying Western notions of law, governance, markets and democracy. Mutunhu's explanation is important because respondents use the same arguments when they claim 'white' superiority. Next, I turn to Arjun Appadurai (2004) who sheds light on attacks by proponents of modernization theory on African culture, explaining that the very concept of 'culture' is problematic when it is associated with the past alone. Thereafter I illustrate the ways in which modernization theory is inapplicable to contemporary African contexts, drawing on arguments by Andreasson, Mutunhu, Kebede, Amartya Sen (2004) and Arturo Escobar (1995).

The section on race sets out to understand the origins of a racial hierarchy and the reasons why this pervasive and destructive construct has been incorporated into the worldviews of respondents. I draw on the work of Curtin, Amina Mire (2001) and Kabwegyere who discuss scientific racism as a key justification for colonial rule and the post-colonial continuation of racial discrimination in policy and global media. The section on race and ethnicity deals with ethnicity as a social marker used to discriminate in Uganda. I present examples from interviews where 'darker' blacks are Othered by respondents. I also discuss the power of imaginary Africa as a concept used both for positive identification and discrimination.

In the Foreign aid section of Chapter Five I challenge the dominant belief, adopted by respondents, that external aid to Uganda is a good thing. I discuss the argument set forth by Andrew Mwenda (2006) and Oloka-onyango and Barya (1997) that suggest that aid stifles domestic reform and undermines the basis for long-term economic growth and prosperity. Not only does aid provide incentives for corruption, it also maintains unequal power relations and dependency between Africa and the West. Furthermore, I illustrate that aid enhances stereotypes of 'whites' as inherently wealthy, superior and generous.

Thereafter I discuss the stereotypes of 'whites' that arose during interviews. I illustrate how 'generous whites' are praised and juxtaposed to 'exploitative' Indians. I look specifically at the stereotypes respondents have of 'whites' in relation to romantic relationships and sexuality and try to understand the basis for their claims.

In Chapter Six I address the main reasons male respondents give for not wanting local partners. I situate their accusations that local women are 'money minded' by referring to Nyamnjoh's (2005) study addressing the ways in which global consumer television and other information and communication technologies have influenced romantic relationships in Africa. Thereafter, I discuss detoothing, or economic milking, referring to studies by Stella Nyanzi et al. (2001), Suesanne Samara (2010), Ann Moore (2007), Jo Sadgrove (2007) and Bohmer and Kirumira (2000). I touch briefly on the dangers of detoothing and consider its unintended consequences on romantic and gender relations.

In the next section I discuss male respondents' and public[3] accusations labelling women who desire 'white' men, 'prostitutes'. I refer to a study by Cowie and Lees (1981) that explains the sliding and position-specific nature of such labels as well as love as a defence against these labels. Female respondents project the 'prostitute' label, onto other women, in order to distance themselves from these accusations and emphasize their own search for love, as a way to distinguish themselves from 'whores'.

Chapter Seven deals with the reasons why female respondents do not want to date/marry local partners. The first reason relates to culture. Female respondents complain about the almost law-like enforcement of patriarchal culture and its manifestation in romantic relationships. In order to understand this fixing and strict enforcement of cultural 'laws,' I turn to the work of Meyer and Geschiere (1999), Adams and Markus (2001), Partha Chatterjee (1989), Kebede, Sen and Appadurai (1996). These scholars explain cultural 'closures' as a reaction to fears of globalization's homogenizing tendencies and as reactions to Western imperialism and colonial discourses that undermine black masculinity and African cultures.

Next I explore the concept 'culture' as articulated by respondents. I highlight the problematic nature of a bounded understanding of culture by referring to the work of Peter Geschiere, Appadurai (2004), Mary Douglas (2004) and Sen. These scholars emphasise the heterogeneous, changing and permeable nature of culture. I draw on the work of Pattman and Bhana (2009) to understand the often-relational nature of fixed identities, explaining the production of masculinities in relation to femininities, constructions of 'black' in relation to 'white', 'modern' in relation to 'traditional' etcetera.

Thereafter I devote a section to understanding the double standard between men and women's acceptable access to 'modernity' as described by female respondents. I engage with Chatterjee's work on how nationalism in India sought to address colonialism and Western Imperialism by fixing 'acceptable' femininities and controlling femininities, through the separation of private and public domains. Chatterjee's work is relevant, because female respondents refer to a similar fixing and separation amongst middle-class Ugandans in Kampala.

I discuss the gender equality debates that arose during interviews and the human rights versus cultural relativism arguments, made by women and men respectively in the section on human rights versus tradition. I refer to a study by Mark Hunter (2010) in South Africa, which illustrates the importance of

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[3] 'Public' refers to members of the public who heard of my research and expressed judgment towards female respondents.

understanding identity negotiations that are often at the heart of these debates and the importance of understanding these debates within social, economic and historical contexts.

In the Desiring modernity section of Chapter Seven, I convey the desire female respondents express to be 'modern' women. I draw on the work of Karen Kelsky (1999) who writes about the ambiguous position of professional Japanese women and how they deploy discourses of the modern, to construct the West as emancipatory, in contrast to their 'oppressive' patriarchal traditional society. Next, I discuss the figure of the Modern Girl that emerged during the first half of the twentieth century and highlight the similarities between this figure and female respondents. I draw on the work of Barlow et al. (2005) who illustrate the way in which global processes intersect with gendered social hierarchies, in specific urban contexts and how global commodity and cultural flows shape 'modern' femininities. I also draw on the work of Sarah Stevens (2003) who writes about the Modern Girl in Republican China, who sought subjectivity and threatened masculinity by challenging pre-existing ideologies of female subservience.

The next section in Chapter Seven deals with cheating, which women suggest is widespread amongst local men. I turn to the work of Nyanzi et al. (2004) (2009) and Margrethe Silberschmidt (2001) who illustrate the relationship between promiscuity and masculinity in East African contexts. Nyanzi et al. explain that 'cheating' needs to be understood within a social and cultural context where male promiscuity is celebrated. I discuss two of their studies in Uganda amongst motorbike taxi-riders to illustrate the connection between sexual behaviour and specific constructions of masculinity. Silberschmidt shows that sexual behaviour of men may be a response to their perceived loss of power, in a changing socioeconomic context. I discuss her research conducted in Kenya and Tanzania to illustrate this connection and apply it to my findings.

In the 'Spoilt' women section of Chapter Seven, I refer to the work of Uma Narayan (1997) who discusses accusations against third-world feminists that are similar to those directed at female respondents. Like third world feminists, respondents face accusations of 'Westernization,' 'inauthenticity' and 'rejection of cultures' that result in them being dismissed by men as 'spoilt', in that they are no longer desirable for marriage. Pattman (2002) and Hunter explain that these accusations are often in reaction to threatened masculinities. So too, discrimination directed at homosexuals is a reaction to what people perceive as an attack on heteronormativity. Discussing the Anti-homosexuality bill in Uganda, Sylvia Tamale explains that when people (in this case men) feel vulnerable and their power is threatened, they turn against weaker groups (homosexuals).

Chapter Eight, offers a critique pointing out the limitations of Fanon's analytic framework presented in *Black skins, white masks*, when it comes to questions about gender in post-colonial contexts.

The conclusion summarizes my findings and relates the sections to one another. I argue that exploring intersecting racial and gendered identities is key to understanding the phenomenon, whereby Ugandan women and men desire 'white' partners and illustrate the way in which global and local, historical and modern forces have combined to produce this phenomenon. I identify the limitations of this study, proposing ways in which it could be improved. Thereafter I make suggestions for further studies. The exploratory nature of this study has resulted in the emergence of a number of interesting research questions.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1. Methodology

In my thesis, 'respondent,' refers to a person I interviewed because s/he advertised/acknowledged that s/he is seeking a white companion. 'Acquaintance,' refers to a person I met randomly, who helped me gain insight into my research topic. Finally, 'informant' refers to a person with whom I had a sustained relationship and who was closely acquainted with my work. Informants discussed emerging themes and situations with me and in so doing aided my understanding of them in context.

Methodologically, I draw on the approach taken by Francis Nyamnjoh (2005) in his study on *disquettes* and *thiofs* in Dakar. His approach is relevant, because his study deals with transactional and intergenerational relationships, consumer sex, desire, power and agency. Nyamnjoh notes:

> [N]ot every subject matter can be adequately explored with the rigour of a sample survey. Subjective and intersubjective accounts sometimes say much more about a phenomenon than does a dull and phoney objectivity. As one often realizes in the course of research, not all that counts can be counted and not all that can be counted counts (2005: 297).

Nyamnjoh states that one is always doing fieldwork, and that seeking "hard facts" may lead to researchers missing the realities that do not fit into our practiced instruments (2005: 298). Considering the nature of the phenomenon researched and my experience while living in Kampala, I believe that such an approach was most effective for this study. I chose a methodology that allowed for an exploration of the immense complexity of intersecting identities at the heart of this phenomenon. Data was collected ethnographically, anytime anywhere, through casual interactions, observation and analysis of a variety of media, including newspapers, magazines and music, though I draw mostly from unstructured interviews conducted with 20 respondents. Public spaces such as bars, clubs and shopping centers provided spaces where I could observe social interaction and representation.

My social network in Kampala acted as a base from which I connected to informants, insightful acquaintances and a few respondents. Soon after arriving in Kampala, I learnt of Meeting Point in the *Saturday New Vision* newspaper's Intimate section. Meeting Point offers men and women a space to advertise their relationship desires. Advertisers typically state their name and age and identify the type of person they want to date. For example, "I am Joseph, 23, searching for a beautiful white lady, 18-23." or "Born-again Muyankole lady, 26, is looking for a God-fearing white man for marriage." I focused on the advertisements specifying racial preference, and called advertisers seeking 'white' partners to request an interview. These advertisers became key respondents. All but four respondents were approached in this way. A mutual friend connected me to Patricia and another respondent

introduced me to Diana. A respondent introduced me to Edward, who introduced me to Banet. I interviewed eleven women and nine men between the ages of 19-30 years. Interviews were unstructured and typically lasted for 1 to 2 hours. All interviews, except one[4], were recorded and transcribed verbatim, for analysis.

Inspired by the work of Kathy Charmaz and Richard Mitchell, I have incorporated a grounded theory approach into ethnography. The particular approach to grounded theory I take here is one that builds on a symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective and constructivist methods. In other words, I "assume the existence of multiple realities, the mutual creation of knowledge by [researcher] and research participants, and [aim] to provide [an] interpretive understanding of the studied world." (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001: 160). The grounded theory strategies most evident in my work are: simultaneous data-collection and analysis, a pursuit of emergent themes through early data analysis, a construction of categories that explain and synthesise emerging social patterns, and an integration of categories into a theoretical framework (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001: 160). I developed analytical interpretations of initial data as a step towards further data collection, so that data guided and refined my research questions and not the other way around. Aware of the positivist tendencies of grounded theory, I lean towards an alternative constructivist grounded theory, which takes a middle ground between postmodernism and positivism, embracing an open-ended practice of grounded theory that stresses its emergent constructivist elements. I draw from grounded theory gentle guidelines, using its methods as flexible, heuristic strategies, not as formulaic procedures (Denzin and Lincoln 2003: 251).

Though I identified themes to explore prior to interviews, they acted merely as a guide and were changed and re-prioritized by interview responses and my experiences in the field. While the themes I set out exploring related directly to respondent's desires for sexual relationships with 'whites,' the themes that emerged, unexpectedly, covered a wide range of issues and concerns. These were related to respondents' identifications and relationships, as young women and men growing up in contemporary Uganda, more generally.

The themes I set out exploring were:
  – Important contextual information such as biographical and socio-economic details of respondents
  – Motivations for 'marrying white', including expectations
  – Motivations for not 'marrying Ugandan'
  – Key experiences influencing perceptions of 'white' and local men

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[4] One female respondent requested not to be recorded.

- Strategies for 'hooking' 'white' men[5]
- Sexual health issues

When other themes emerged during interviews, I veered off in those directions to explore all possible trajectories and included those themes for discussion in the following interview with the next respondent. My themes grew, constantly changing throughout my time in the field, to include colonialism, 'development', foreign aid and Westernization, 'culture,' 'tradition' and detoothing. I was amazed to find that respondents' expression of desires for 'distant' 'white' partners, actually reflected back onto their everyday lives, their racial and gendered experiences, and relationships, growing up in Uganda. This meant that large amounts of time were spent discussing local 'black' men and local 'black' women and the racial and gendered tensions respondent's experience within specific local contexts. Furthermore, 'culture' and 'tradition' were invoked in various ways throughout these discussions. I was also delighted to find that respondents' explanations took the form of them identifying and disidentifying with constructed Others, in ways which clearly illustrate the relational nature of identity formation.

Consequently, I organized my analysis of interviews around key themes. In line with my constructivist 'bottom up' epistemological approach to research, participants' experiences, understandings and personal histories are used to build broader themes, while theory is incorporated throughout the research process (Creswell & Clark, 2011: 41).

Self-reflexivity is important in this study. During my time in the field I was constantly aware of my position as a 'white,' middle-class, foreign woman. This position undoubtedly influenced participants and their responses. While this influence could be considered negative in certain research situations[6], I believe it was beneficial. The ways in which respondents chose to relate to me and present themselves, shed light on my research topic; their constructions of self and constructions of me during interviews offered valuable research data that provided insight into discourses on culture, race and sexuality. One female respondent mentioned that she was proud to be seen with me (a 'white' person) in public. It was not uncommon for male and female respondents to compliment my skin-tone. And the majority of male respondents approached me as a possible girlfriend, thereby exposing their strategies. Furthermore, the questions[7] respondents asked concerning my views, my 'culture' and my experience in Uganda, shed light on their perceptions of *bazungu*.

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[5] A theme, strategies for 'hooking' 'white' women, emerged once I included men as respondents.
[6] For example, respondents who perceived me as a 'white' middle-class foreign woman might have been reluctant to talk about certain topics and they might not have felt comfortable to 'direct' interview discussions, expecting me to 'control' the interview.
[7] For example, one respondent asked whether I have "a culture."

I was also acutely aware, that respondents' willingness to participate, relied partly on the fact that I am 'white.' When I called to request an interview, my accent might have encouraged interest and participation. (One advertiser who was not convinced by my accent said, "I know that you are a black," and promptly refused participation.) While I was thrilled that respondents were keen to meet me, I was uncomfortably aware that I was being constructed, racially, in very specific ways. I was also aware that in some ways my behaviour confirmed their idealizations of whites, and in other ways I challenged these idealizations[8].

The fact that I am a 'white' woman undertaking this research topic did lead to a few research difficulties. Despite repeated attempts to explain a purely academic interest in male respondents' views, numerous male respondents refused to see me as simply an interviewer. One morning I woke up to five love messages on my phone and ten missed calls from a potential respondent. Another respondent insisted on calling our interview a date. Every time he did, I corrected him and explained my research objectives. Women saw me as someone who could find them a white man. One respondent sent me a message after the interview that read, "Nici, a blood test is a must!" These misunderstandings, I also responded to with repeated explanations of my research objectives and respondents' role in the research.

3.2. Ethical considerations

My fieldwork was ethically challenging due to the fact that research and everyday life and relationships were often one and the same, with no clear boundaries. Any relevant thing said or done during casual interaction became data for study.[9] For this reason I made sure that respondents, acquaintances and informants were well informed regarding my research topic, methodology and methods. The data for analysis has been carefully selected and represented with sensitivity, as not to invade the privacy or to expose the identity and integrity of respondents. The names of respondents have been changed to protect their identity.

This study is also ethically challenging with regard to the area of research, which deals with topics conventionally and generally considered private. My probing into personal sexual desires and relationships may be experienced as offensive and invasive. I believe that openness, honesty, sensitivity and respect for what people choose to keep private were key to overcoming this dilemma. Once again, I have kept this challenge in mind when presenting and discussing findings. I was acutely

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[8] At times I found myself almost regretting having arrived 'on time' for an interview or being polite and friendly as these confirmed stereotypes held by respondents. I also felt an obligation to challenge flawed stereotypes of 'white' people, for example that 'white' men do not cheat, though I chose to reserve my opinion, unless asked for by respondents.

[9] This characteristic of my work was especially problematic with acquaintances and informants, who were not always aware that I was making mental notes of things said during casual conversation.

aware of these ethical considerations throughout my fieldwork and writing. Due to the fact that most of my interviews were conducted in public spaces such as coffee shops, canteens and restaurants, I chose not to use consent forms that might have drawn suspicion to respondents. Instead I relied on verbal consent of participants for recording interviews and using responses for research purposes.

3.3. Demographics: Positioning respondents

Respondents either grew up in Kampala, or have spent substantial amounts of time in Kampala, attending school or university, or working in the city. Consequently, respondents identify as urban Ugandans, as opposed to rural Ugandans, and have been exposed to more 'Western' commodities and global media influence, than the majority of Ugandans. Three respondents mentioned that their families endured financial difficulties during their upbringing, but schooling opportunities, presentation and English fluency suggest that the majority of respondents come from middle-class families in Uganda.

Female respondents

I interviewed eleven women. The youngest was 19 years old and the eldest 28, with the average age being 24.

Five female respondents are Baganda. Two are Bayankole. Susan is from West Nile. Patricia explained that she is from the Fort Portal region, while her father is Rwandese. Sarah said that she is a mixture of Rwandese, Muhima, Musoga and Mugwere. And Liz said that she has one Muganda parent and the other is Rwandese.

Four respondents (Patricia, Prisca, Diana and Rachael) are currently pursuing or have achieved a university degree. Justine and Sarah dropped out of university due to a lack of funds. Susan, Liz and Julia completed high school (with no tertiary training). Sharon is currently completing her final year of high school and Jane dropped out of high school and later completed a secretarial course.

Patricia, who is pursuing a Masters degree, is currently a full-time student. Prisca, Susan and Justine, work in sales. Diana is a teacher, Jane a radio presenter and Sharon is completing her final year of high school. Julia and Rachael work in the beauty industry, while Sarah and Liz are currently unemployed.

All eleven female respondents identify themselves as belonging to the Christian faith. Seven female respondents come from monogamous families while the remaining four come from polygamous families.

Patricia is the only female respondent who has travelled outside of Africa. She spent a few months working in England. Prisca, Diana and Jane have travelled to various parts of East Africa, while the remaining seven respondents have never left Uganda.

Four female respondents admitted that they have no 'white' friends and have never had sustained interaction with a 'white' person before the interview. Patricia, who lived in England, has obviously had the most contact with 'white' people. Susan explained that she dated a 'white' German man for a year. Liz reminisced about two American missionary women who visited her church when she was young. Julia admires her 'white' American pastor and his wife. Diana, once had two Danish friends, but they left for Denmark soon after the friendships were established. Jane says that she has been exposed to *bazungu* through her work, where they occasionally have foreign interns. And Justine has dated a number of European men, mostly Germans, online (who she has never met in person). She also dated a Turkish man in Kampala.

Male Respondents

I interviewed nine male respondents. The eldest is 30 years and the youngest is 23 years, with the average age being 26 years.

David is a Mutoro from Tanzania, but grew up in Entebbe. Three respondents are Banyankole, another two are Baganda. Joshua is a Musoga and Paul a Mugisu, while Edrin is a Musoga from Kamuli, Eastern Uganda.

Three respondents (Emmanuel, Edward and Banet) are currently full time students at university level. Bob and David completed their university degrees and are now working in government. Joshua is a qualified, medical laboratory assistant, Paul is a qualified mechanic who works for a seed company and Bandrew, who has no official tertiary training, is a phone repairman. Edrin is currently enrolled at a vocational training center.

All nine male respondents identified themselves as Christians. Four come from polygynous families, while the remaining five come from monogamous families.

Emmanuel and Bob have travelled outside of Africa to China and Germany respectively. David, Edward and Paul have travelled to parts of East Africa, while the remaining four respondents had never left Uganda.

Four male respondents admitted that they have never personally interacted with a 'white' person before the interview. Emmanuel and Bob who have travelled internationally have had the most

interaction with 'white' people and Emmanuel said that he dated a Chinese girl during his stay in China. David says that he meets *bazungu* at conferences, and spoke extensively about his friendship with a Korean girl. Edward and Banet have dated *bazungu* online.

3.4. Defining '*muzungu*'

While some respondents actually used the Swahili-originating term '*muzungu*' during the interview, others said that they want a 'white' partner. When I asked respondents to define '*muzungu*' or to define 'white' I was asking in relation to their relationship desires. So while some respondents said that Indians and Asians are not included, they may mean that while they are included in the general category 'white' or '*muzungu*', they do not want to date them personally and therefore do not qualify for their advertised criteria.

Amongst female respondents, only Susan and Justine include Asians when they say they want a 'white' partner. Although Susan added that "Indians don't marry black ladies," and Justine said, "But me, what I want most is the white people, not these Islamic…You know, those people from Europe."

Others do not include Asians. Sharon seemed disgusted at the proposition. Prisca explains, "Actually what I like is, what are they called? They are called Caucasian? Ya. I think they are different from the what, the Indians."

"Ok let me be straight for you. I hate the Indians. I don't like Indians, I don't like, um, what do you call them, men from Japan…They feel big and they have bad behaviours…I don't dream to get one, I would rather be alone." (Jane)

"Indians, no. Actually I don't know what is wrong, but if you have an Indian man, a Chinese man, a Japanese man that is not prestigious … any other person with white colour ... I mean you are from South Africa, but you are a *muzungu* to us. I mean you are African, but the fact that you are that colour, you are white to us." (Diana)

Amongst male respondents, Emmanuel and David included Asians in their definition of *muzungu*, but others did not:
"How do you define *muzungu*? Do you include Indians, Asians?"
"No, *muzungu* does not always include Indians and Asians."
"So what do you want?"
"German. Or South African. Else I would specifically have indicated that I want Indian what."
"So if you met an American girl, but she was African American, would you go for her? Or do you want 'white' skin?"

"Ya surely I want white skin." (Joshua)

Paul explains that anyone who could 'pass' as American is classified *muzungu*, however his definition of 'American' is stereotypically Caucasian.

"A *muzungu*, let me say all of those people…like even the white-white skin…those people. Let me say not Africans."

"Not Africans? So would you say that Indians are *muzungu*?"

"Indians are not *muzungu*."

"And Chinese?"

"Chinese are not *muzungu*."

"Not?"

"Ya…You know people know that the only *muzungu* you call a *muzungu* are from America, Russia those places. The Chinese the way they look, they know. Is it a *muzungu*? No, it is a Chinese. Is that a *muzungu*? No, Indian."

"So am I a *muzungu*?"

"Yes you are a muzungu…because if you say 'I am from US,' they will say 'yes.'"

"They will believe me?"

"Yes, because you look like them. But now a Chinese, they can't lie. Japanese, they can't lie. Indian they can't lie."

Findings and thematic analysis

Chapter Four: Strategies

4.1. Women's strategies

Contrary to what I had been told about 'women who want white men,' my female respondents are extremely cautious about finding them in clubs or bars. This is a reaction to popular stereotypes equating them (with their relationship desires) to 'money-hungry whores.' Female respondents feel that because they seek 'decent' men and 'decent' relationships, they should find them in 'decent'[10] ways. Furthermore, Jane explained that because she works for a "big organization with respect," clubbing and dressing like "a prostitute" are out of the question. Justine said: "I actually thought of that. But most of these places, they are places for prostitutes. So the person who will pick you from there will think you are a prostitute and I fear that." This illustrates that respondent's strategies cannot be separated from their motivations that will be explored throughout the following sections.

Diana explained that while she does visit nightspots where 'white' people go, it is not a good place to meet someone, because "he will think that I probably want to steal his money. He will hold his bag so tightly."

Susan was the only respondent who mentioned nightlife activities as a viable strategy for meeting 'white' men. In fact, she successfully met and dated a 'white' German man[11] who she met at Iguanas, a bar frequented by expats in Kampala. She explained, "We[12] normally go out to places where whites are," and then mentioned popular expat urban suburbs like Kololo and Kisementi.

Respondents are more likely to draw on religious convictions and faith regarding the fulfilment of desires, than on personal strategies of attraction. In response to me asking about her strategies, Liz said, "I pray." And Justine said, "If I pray to God maybe one day I will fall on the Mr Right. I will land on him and then we'll be together. That is my dream." Patricia and Prisca explain:

"I want a white guy. It is what I have been praying for since 2009. Ya, I hope God hears my prayer. You know the Bible says that if what you are asking is good, and there are good intentions in it, then you will receive and one day you will really get what you are praying for … Marriage is a gift from

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[10] While female respondents did not elaborate on what they mean by 'decent ways,' they did identify what they perceive to be 'indecent' ways.

[11] After dating for one year, Susan's German boyfriend returned to Germany and broke off the relationship. When I asked whether she was disappointed, she explained that he had no choice, because he had to return home. They have not had any contact since he left Uganda.

[12] Susan is referring to her and her friends. I am not sure whether her friends are also interested in finding 'white' partners, though her description suggested that they too are interested in 'white' men.

God you know … You never know what God is going to give you. But you can also ask, just like any child can ask a parent." (Patricia)

"My mom says that whatever I decide is what is in my heart and whatever decision I take is from God. So she always tells me, 'The decision you make is from God, what you want is what He will give you.' So your decision is from God. She takes it as a gift. She takes it as a God decision." (Prisca)

Along with faith, Prisca mentioned a few other strategies that were not raised by other respondents. Firstly, she explained that she visits the beach where the dress code lends itself for seduction:
"Actually I do go out. I go to the beach."
"To the beach? Are there a lot of 'white' men there?"
"Ya. You know the dressing code at the beach. I do that."
Secondly, Prisca mentioned visiting forest reserves and lodges, because "They (white people) enjoy nature," though she has only been to a lodge once in her life. When I asked Prisca whether she dresses according to what she thinks 'white' men will like, she responded, "Ya, actually I do the psychology of the Caucasians. Say I'm going to a party, I dress nice." Lastly, Prisca said that her church is a good place to meet 'white' people. She explains, "The white people always come that side." She recalls making "Some jewellery for them, African jewellery" and initiating friendships.

Diana responded to a television program "for those who are searching". But the advertisement yielded no results. Another strategy that she is eager to pursue is studying abroad. She explains,
"I am doing my Bachelors. I want to finish and get a scholarship. I want to get a scholarship and leave this country. Now when I go out, I want to go and study and I want to look for a white man. Because here, chances that I will get one are few … so if I can get one that side, fine."

Justine is another respondent who suggested unique strategies. She has been applying "for years and years" to "a certain organization…to work in their ('white' people's) countries." But with no success, "I have tried many, but all in vain. I give them my money all in vain."
Justine is also the only respondent to mention Internet dating as a strategy and spoke extensively of her frustrating and degrading experiences. She had been Internet dating on Afro Introductions for two years and explained that internet dating failed for a number of reasons. "It has been hell." Firstly, she was regularly accused of internet 'cheating'. "When you have taken time without talking to him then he is like 'Woman, you are with someone online, because you are taking time to reply to my messages.'" Another reason she felt internet dating failed was because "At the end of it all, no one was serious." I asked:
"So they just do it for fun?"
"Most of them, they just do it for fun."

"But what do they get out of it?"

"Some of them, they want to see your nakedness."

"Oh so they are like send me pictures?"

"Ya, when you are naked, or maybe sometimes they look for a private chat room and you put your clothes off. So most of them, they enjoy that."

"Do you do that, when you think they are serious?"

"I have never done that. That is why I have never been successful with any. Because they are like 'Justine can you at least…I just want to see your breasts.' Or 'Can I please see your pussy.' I'm like 'Ah excuse me. This is a public place. You want me to undress?' But I think I need to respect myself. We Africans, we believe in honour. You have to honour yourself. You have to respect yourself. If I don't respect myself, then who will? So I'm like 'If you want to see my nakedness, come and see from these ends.'"

Justine mentioned that most of the men on the Afro Introductions website are Germans. I wanted to understand what attracted them to an 'Afro' site, so I asked:

"Why do you think they go for 'black' women?"

"Some are saying that we are more woman than the white. You know, more warm inside, the blood, we are warm blooded. I mean when you have that heat in you. And then others say they are not interested in a fellow white. Then others say that they have already seen the white women, so they want to change the colour and see what is happening on the black … some of them they are more open, when they are calling they say 'Justine, I want a black woman just because I want to sleep with her.'"

"OK so some just say it straight up."

"So some are open-minded. He tells you, 'Justine the only thing I want is to have fun. I just want to have fun with you.' But I don't want fun. At least I want a serious relationship. I want to settle down with someone."

Justine mentioned a girl who asked her advice for meeting and dating a 'white' man. This is what Justine said: "First and foremost you have to be patient with these people. They fear that you will want money from them. At least you should keep time. And another thing is that most of them are not serious. They want just to have fun, to see your nakedness, just so that they are at least sexually satisfied, even if he is not seeing you."

What is fascinating about these accounts is that though they blatantly expose the falsity of stereotypes depicting white men as valuing women, as sensitive, relationship-serious and caring, the experiences do next to nothing to hamper Justine's desire to marry a 'white' man. Even though she critiques 'white liberalism' by claiming, "We Africans, we believe in honour," she is still prepared to put up with

offensive 'liberalism' to find a 'white' partner. This might be due to the fact that Justine, more than any other respondent, was absolutely and illogically 'in love' with the racial colour 'white'. She referred to 'white' children as "flowers" and explained how she would despise having a black baby in her womb. She was also the only respondent who dabbled with skin-lightening creams. Furthermore, Justine's account is interesting, because it includes an explanation for age-disparate, mixed-race relationships. She explained that the "young ones" are not serious. "For them what they want when they come in touch with you, he just wants to see your nakedness and then he goes." In this way she constructs older men as more serious and as potential partners.

Sharon, Julia, Rachael and Sarah said that their only strategy was to place an advertisement in the *New Vision*. Julia explains that this is a good strategy for her because she does not have the confidence to "go and approach him" in public. This way, "someone can call" and she'll chat to him. And Sarah explained, "The message costs only 200K."

4.2. Men's strategies
Besides posting advertisements in the *New Vision* newspaper, men mentioned international friends (Bob), internet dating (Edward and Banet), the beach (David), work conferences (David) and me as strategies/opportunities for finding 'white' girlfriends, though these do not seem to be successful and men are generally despondent, explaining that there really are very few 'white' girls in Uganda. David asked, "When you move around campus, how many do you see?"

Bob explained that though he has a 'white' German circle of friends, the girls see him as a friend, not a potential lover, and most of the girls have their own boyfriends back home. David stated that while he comes into contact with 'white' people at work conferences, the conferences are usually too short for one to establish a romantic relationship. And Edward and Banet spoke of the difficulties associated with internet dating:
"For me it is not a good way." (Banet)
"And for you?"
"For me it is not a good way, but I have no alternative. It is the only thing. And even approaching someone and you are discussing all that, it is strange. She can mistake me for a con-man." (Edward)

At the end of the interview Edward and Banet suggested that I "connect" them to my 'white' friends. And Paul suggested, "Maybe you have a sister?" When I responded that he should try to make 'white' friends, he said, "Maybe you have become a friend."

Despite the adversities, forever-hopeful Banet suggested tips for attracting a 'white' girl:

"You have to be someone who is exposed to life. You need to be educated, speak English and use a laptop. You know knowledge is the key. As long as you have the knowledge."

4.3. *New Vision* advertisements: Are they successful?

The *New Vision* advertisements were unsuccessful amongst female respondents. Not one female respondent received a call from a 'white' man. Justine was the only respondent who dated a caller, an Indian man, but the relationship ended when she realized that he saw her only when he wanted sex. She has since decided never to date Indians again. Though other respondents also received calls from Indian men, they do not consider them 'white' and so declined their offers. Female respondents explain that the advertisements resulted in advances and harassment from black men, more than anything else:

"Can you imagine? You want a white man. Somebody reads 'WHITE MAN WANTED'; then somebody from Lira, from Kapchorwa calls me. Imagine!" (Julia)

"All the responses have been from blacks. But I always tell them 'I think the message was clear that I want a white man, not a black man.'"
"Do some of them get angry?"
"There was one guy who got angry…He said, 'You will get so many white men, but they will not marry you.' That's what he said." (Prisca)

"To be straight with you, I got so many phone calls, but they are from local...There was someone I told him, 'Did you really read that paper clearly?" And he said, 'Yes'. So I said 'OK read it for me.' And he read it. I said 'Please, in those, where do you belong?'" (Jane)

"Then after the third one, they were all blacks, it was only one Indian who called…So I asked 'Are you white?' then he said 'No.' So I said 'Why are you bothering me? I am looking for white people.' Then they say, 'What do you want with the white men? Is it because you want money? I have money.' So for them they believe that if you are looking for a white, you are looking for money. I said, 'I am not looking for money, I am just looking for a white man'…so at least I did not want to end my day like that. Someone just calls me and abuses me. So I had to explain kindly, 'No black men,' then he goes off." (Justine)

The New Vision advertisements were equally unsuccessful for male respondents. Not one respondent received a call from a 'white girl', except for me (some pointed out). Two mentioned receiving calls from local girls, to which they responded: "The message was clear. I don't need a local girl to call me," and "That paper was clear, I want someone who is white. You are calling; you are not a white…why are you calling? Surely you are not a white." (Paul)

Chapter Five: Inferiority? Understanding ideas around 'white' superiority

There were two areas in which inferiority emerged during discussions with respondents: Colonialism and development. And in some discussions, these overlapped. These topics were also inextricably mixed with ideas about race and modernity. With regard to colonialism, some respondents were indifferent, saying that they were not affected personally. Others felt that though it was tough, colonialism was essentially good because it brought development to Uganda. I decided to include colonialism as a theme when Patricia mentioned it during the interview.[13] Regarding development, the Western path to development was seen as the ideal by the majority of respondents. Respondents said that African countries aspire to achieve the same development standards upheld by the first world. Furthermore, underdevelopment in African countries is seen as proof of 'black' inferiority. Western, first world countries, are used as examples in arguments, claiming 'white' superiority. South Africa was mentioned three times as proof that a 'white' presence in Africa substantially increases modernity and development. An acquaintance explained, "South Africa is so developed because of the white people who live there. With this African-mentality, Uganda cannot develop." He was planning on starting a factory when he was dissuaded by 24-hour power cuts in his western Ugandan town, Mbarara.

5.1. Colonialism: A civilizing mission

Philip Curtin discusses the opposing views of anti- and pro – colonialists. Pro-colonialists point to hospitals, missionary schools, economic growth and the opening of export markets to argue, "colonies with relatively numerous settlers experienced the most rapid economic development and arrived at the end of the colonial period with the highest per capita incomes" (Curtin 1974: 25). Pro-colonialists argue that the imperial system was "one of the most powerful engines of cultural diffusion" (Curtin 1974: 26). While pro-colonialists obviously attach great value to this cultural diffusion, anti-colonialists view European impact as a "massive homogenizing steamroller" that destroyed valuable cultural diversity and authentic identity in Africa (Curtin 1974: 26). In the 1960s Franz Fanon drew attention to the psychic injury caused by colonialism and urged the third world to pursue a new direction to modernization, rather than take the course prescribed by Europe (Curtin 1974: 26). In short, the debate weighs up cultural change towards Western norms, on the one hand and psychic damage due to racist rhetoric, on the other. And the material well being of African populations under colonization is weighed up against material exploitation (Curtin 1974: 27). I found that the majority of respondents were neutral and some were pro-colonialism. Alternative routes to modernity or

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[13] We were discussing how her family would respond to her marrying a 'white' man when Patricia explained that her grandmother might be unhappy about her marrying a 'white' man, because it would be like she is "bringing back the colonisers."

development were never mentioned. And poverty traps preventing development such as conflict or internal strife were never referred to.

"Do you think that colonialism affects the way in which people see *bazungu*?"
"Ah no, it doesn't."
"Why?"
"They don't mind." (Rachael)

"We don't hate whites, we take them as superior. And the reason stems from history." (Acquaintance)

"How do you think colonialism in Uganda affects the way you see 'white' people?"
"Me, I was young by the time colonialism was in Africa. In fact I was not yet born. I studied it … if it weren't for those people we would be more than a 1000 years back. If it had not come to Africa." (Earlier in this conversation, Edrin mentioned that Uganda is 100 years "back" or behind Europe with regards to development.)
"So you don't think it was bad?"
"Though people say it was bad. But according to me, it was good. Because like in South Africa, if I am not mistaken, they have just had their independence, but you see if you had to compare Uganda and South Africa, there is a very big difference in terms of development."
"Development? And you think that is because of the 'white' people there?"
"Ya." (Edrin)

Curtin explains, that racism hurt least, where African culture remained intact, where Africans could continue living their lives in a community, where shared ideas and social relations protected their sense of identity and self-respect. It was most destructive in situations, where Africans were in constant contact with Europeans, who claimed superiority or where Europeans were in the majority. In the latter case, Africans had to endure the constant onslaught of accusations, reinforcing their "permanent and inherent inferiority" (Curtin 1974: 27). It seems that Uganda is one of those cases where colonialism hurt less. The exceptionality of Uganda lies in the fact that it was a protectorate, rather than a full colonial state. In 1956 only 0.1 percent of the population was classified European (Curtin 1974: 24). Rather than being forcefully forged into one state, it retained strong, distinct societies (Pankhurst 2002: 120). Colonization in Uganda took the form of indirect rule and an inductive system was used. This means that below the District Commissioner, there was Native Authority, which received commands and handed them to a hierarchy of chiefs, down to the lowest chief in the village. This means that the implementation of colonial rule was facilitated by local Africans, who spoke the local languages (Kabwegyere 1972: 304).

The British strategy, involved the identification of different ethnic groups, to play distinct roles in the economy and politics (Pankhurst 2002: 120). As elsewhere, the British utilized existing, tribal conflicts to enforce control. In this case, they benefitted from the pre-contact era conflict between the Buganda and Bunyoro Kitara kingdoms. What made this system destructive, was that colonialists favoured and empowered the Baganda over other tribes. They had a monarchy admired by explorers and the British considered the Baganda to be the most advanced peoples in East Africa. Furthermore, they had a hierarchical system, which the colonizers decided to transplant to other areas of Uganda (Kabwegyere 1972: 305). To aid this process, the British employed Baganda agents throughout the country where they served as tax collectors, labour force recruiters and judges (Kabwegyere 1972: 310). Colonial officials reported complaints regarding persecution at the hands of these Baganda agents (Kabwegyere 1972: 307-308). It is understandable, that with their elevated positions and subsequent abuses, they came to be the tribe considerably disliked by all other tribes in Uganda (Kabwegyere 1972: 310). As an informant explained, "It was not the white man, but Baganda who whipped people into line."

Despite the factors drawing attention away from perceived colonial injury, colonialism still hurt. Nineteenth century literature such as Sir Richard Burton's The Negro's place in Nature (1864) and Winwood Reade's *Savage Africa* (1864), along with concepts of an Aryan 'master race,' illustrate the devastating attitudes, governing interactions with Africans. Colonialism was fuelled by the belief that Africans were primitive. Primitiveness was associated with irrationality, myths, and out-dated habits. In response, colonizers took it upon themselves to supervise Africans and force their own rationality upon them. Messay Kebede quotes Aimé Césaire and explains, "Africa being the land of 'those who invented neither gunpowder nor compass,' ... nor gave birth to universalist religion, still less to expanding empires, the colonial discourse was bound to be devastating. No other race in the world was so reminded of its alleged inferiority, and no other race was so disarmed to combat the allegation." (41)

In *Black skin, white masks*, Fanon offers an investigation of the psychology of colonialism, the psychoexistential complex: the way in which patronizing colonial discourse is internalized by the colonized to produce an inferiority complex so that 'black' people end up emulating the racism of their oppressors. Fanon argues that colonialism produced black and white identifications as relations of power, where 'black' people were the Other and 'white' people the ideal; "one is white as one is rich, as one is beautiful, as one is intelligent." (2008: 36) "When it comes to the case of the Negro…He has no culture, no civilization, no 'long historical past.'" (Fanon 2008: 21)

The devastation of psychological violence and injury referred to by Fanon and Césaire is evident in the words of respondents who, without hesitation, praise 'white' superiority and express their belief in

'black' inferiority. Respondents' views suggest that the dehumanizing practice of colonialism (and neo-colonialism) "has deeply disturbed and negatively affected the perception that they have of themselves" (Kebede 40):

"To me they are better, because at least they have things they do that we can't do. They do understand what we cannot understand. They have that knowledge that we, we don't have" (Prisca).

"I think they look at you as so intelligent. You are so ahead. So beautiful. Every good thing is in your country. If a white guy wanted any chick he might want, he needs to come to an African country. I am telling you, just the fact that he is white, he will get the fat, the short, the tall, the small ... because he is white. I am telling you, you are still seen as a little bit better off. We find everything beautiful, the hair … we actually find them much more developed. We look up to them. We find them a little more intelligent." (Diana)

"Then when I was becoming a bit older, I see the difference between us and you.… So I expect that maybe the whites are better than us. And what I know, they are more intelligent." (Sarah)

Emmanuel explained the favouring of 'whites' and the desire to marry 'whites' in Uganda as a result of colonialism:

"It is from the background. Colonialism. What do I mean? There were two classes. The rulers and those who are being ruled. So they think 'I wish I could be in that class of the rulers'.… They are still attaching superiority to the colonialists then. One will say he would love to be part of those ones.... So what I see is that they are associating superiority, enlightenment, richness with whites, which could not be true…It is a question of superiority, a question of ruling, welfare, money...So that is one thing I still see. That my fellow black boys who are like 'I wish I could marry a white lady,' they are looking at it like maybe for civilization, maybe it is wealth, you know?"

"Civilization? Do they think that white people are more civilized?"

"Exactly, what do you read in Europe? They say Africa is dark. Nothing good comes from there...Chinese have a word meaning fake continent. They call Africa a fake continent."

In his explanation, Emmanuel notes that superiority, enlightenment, riches and civilization are characteristics associated with 'white' people. Though colonial injury is one factor contributing to these beliefs, there are other influences that perpetuate them, even today. These are ideas about development, foreign aid, understandings of modernity and westernization.

5.2. Development and the 'reductive repetition motif'

In the nineteenth century, the White made a man of the Black; in the twentieth century, Europe will make a world of Africa. To fashion a new Africa, to make old Africa amenable to civilization – that is the problem. And Europe will solve it. - Victor Hugo[14]

"Contemporary Africa is generally depicted as a failure" (Andreasson 2005: 971). Throughout the 20th century things have "gone seriously wrong" and "progress" has eluded the continent (Andreasson 2005: 971). Many have attributed this situation, to the systematic failure of African cultures, to confront and overcome the challenges of the modern world. Furthermore, allusions to African deficiency and the "natural weakness and incapacity" of Africans is commonplace in theoretical, policy and political discourse on development (Andreasson 2005: 972). Even my respondents partake in these accusations and express their exasperation with their country's inability to 'develop'. Jane explains that she would like to travel to developed countries so that she might better understand why Uganda is so "back". But to understand failure, one needs to question the type of development sought, the way in which it was/is pursued and why?

Modernization theory to development

The colonial period was characterised by the identification of internal deficiencies and the imposition of external solutions. External solutions were sought for internal problems, because colonizers believed that "the natives" could not govern themselves. Because indigenous cultures provided "no useful resources with which to approach modern civilization," colonizers took it upon themselves to organise colonised societies and dictate their governance (Andreasson 2005: 974). Colonizers were determined to "enlighten" the "dark continent" (Mutunhu 2011: 66). Though colonialism was eventually brought to an end, the idea of developing Africa through external tutelage was not. The colonial "idea of development itself survives and adapts to new social and political circumstances in the post-colonial era" (Andreasson 2005: 974). Stefan Andreasson goes as far as to suggest that post-colonial development in Africa is a new way of justifying the West shaping Africa in its own interest, most notably its access to the continent's wealth of natural resources and entrepreneurial opportunities (Andreasson 2005: 975).

And so, developing the "natives", finding solutions to their plethora of social problems and dragging them into some kind of rationality to achieve modernization, remains a responsibility of the West. Mutunhu explains that "Modernization is about Africa following the development footsteps of Europe" by passing through distinct development stages (Mutunhu 2011: 65). A model of development, otherwise known as westernization, is imposed upon Africa where external solutions are

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[14] V Hugo, quoted in J-F Zorn, 'Emancipation et colonization', paper presented at the seminar 'L'émancipation comme problème', Paris, 18-20 September 1989, p6.

privileged and pre-colonial African development is discarded (Mutunhu 2011: 66). This development essentially adheres to the Rostownian model of development, where a country needs to move from traditional point A, to high-mass consumption point B and so moves along a linear development path. This one-solution-fits-all model is most evident in structural adjustment policies and economic liberalization (Andreasson 2005:977; Mutunhu 2011: 66). This model, promoting Western imitation, seems to be the type of development respondents refer to when they talk about progress. The West is an example of how Uganda should be:

"Yes, because the white men first came with a car. The first person to be the governor of the Bank of Uganda, the first person to be director of a company etc. etc. And we have many stories of people who have been to the UK. They come back and say, 'Oh when you reach it is like this blah blah blah'. You know when you go to America, New York, they tell us it is so good, the way they do things. The way they build their roads, the way they build their houses. So if those words are pumped into you from childhood up to adulthood, then they shape your perception." (Acquaintance)

How modernization theory explains failure

According to modernization theorists, the main reason for developmental failure in Africa is the inability of African governments and individuals to harness Western notions of law and order, governance, markets and democracy. These notions are considered a prerequisite for Western-style development. Jephias Mutunhu (2011) explains that the Western metropolis implicitly or explicitly implied that sub-Saharan Africa's development failure is a result of the 'innate' inferiority of black people at mastering socio-economic and technological environments in order to improve their social and economic conditions (66). This inability, they say, is a result of the "progress resistant" and prerational nature of "African culture" and its chaotic societal structures that resulted in the implementation of a "cultural adjustment program" aimed at laying the foundation for Western values and development (Andreasson 2005: 973). Mary Douglas explains that economic backwardness used to be referred to as an affliction called "cultural inertia." Cultural inertia was "a form of irrationality, a preference for living in the past that affected the poor countries and not the rich." (Douglas 2004: 87)

More recently, hypermodernists have perpetuated this kind of development thinking. Scholars such as Harrison (2000), Huntington (2000) and Landes (2000) argue that societies steeped in traditional cultures are unsuited to market-orientated development. These societies are hampered in their pursuit of growth, due the "clash of civilizations". "[T]oxic cultures" from the past, need to be reformed so that adverse rules and norms no longer impede development (Rao and Walton 2004: 10). According to these scholars, "infusing more Calvinist values into non-western cultures would improve their potential for growth" (Rao and Walton 2004: 10).

Arjun Appadurai sheds light on this perspective, when he explains that for more than a century many scholarship definitions and understandings of culture have been faulty. Culture has been understood "as some or other kind of pastness – the keywords here are habit, custom, heritage, and tradition," while "development is always seen in terms of the future – plans, hopes, goals, targets." Thus, from the start, culture is opposed to development, as tradition is opposed to newness, and habit to calculation." A solution would be for anthropologists to reconsider conceptions of culture that omit the implications of norms for futurity and allow pastness to dominate and widen their conceptions of how human beings engage with their own futures (Appadurai 2004: 60/63).

Andreasson suggests that modernist attitudes are similar to Orientalist scholarship that repeatedly reduces the "histories, traditions, ideologies, practices, arts and other manifestations of civilization to a 'theory' of the Orient that is defined by its juxtaposition, and inherent inferiority, to the West" (Andreasson 2005: 972). Reductive repetition reduces the many heterogeneous characteristics of African societies to a core set of deficiencies (Andreasson 2005: 972). Respondents tend do the same thing. 'Africans' are portrayed as a homogeneous group that has failed to develop because of internal deficiencies:

"Even now our development is seen in the mirror of the white person. If someone is not behaving like a white, then that is uncivilized. So that is why we see them as people who are above us." (Bob)

"I know I have my country. You know I am an African. But there are things that you look at that are not right and you cannot put them right as an individual. And yet, developed countries, you admire staying there, you learn a lot. The environment just encourages you. Back here I would have told you that I am coming at 10am and then I come at 11am, you know African style, which I really hate. When you are in a developed environment, time is time." (Patricia)

Some respondents feel that the development gulf between Uganda and the West illustrates the intellectual superiority of whites:

"Here in Uganda we are a bit, OK our country is still developing. In technology and what. So those people are a bit far ahead, let me say a hundred years ahead of us…They are more intelligent. I'm not undermining we as Africans, but it is a reality." (Edrin)

"I decided I think I need a white man. I think he will be a person who can understand me. Because you know here in Africa we believe that the whites have intelligence so they understand more than us."
"So these ideas that you have about white men, that they are understanding and so on. Where do you think that comes from? Why do you think that?"

"What I think it comes from is that those whites they have not grown up in Africa, so they are born in their countries and their countries are developed. So they have that understanding at a higher capacity." (Prisca)

Joshua explains that by marrying a white woman, he can be sure of bearing intelligent children.

"Then another one. Of course if I get someone from a different race, colour, then I can bear children who are more knowledgeable than the majority. Whites you know, you people are intelligent. So that kind of thing. You are more knowledgeable and intelligent compared to Africans."

"You think that white people are more knowledgeable and intelligent, why?"

"Ya it is because you are much into technology. You have much technology compared to African countries."

Why modernisation theory is inadequate

Not surprisingly, no respondent alluded to literature or arguments that highlight the inadequacy of modernisation theory as a model for understanding African development. Various scholars have challenged the theory promoting 'development for all' by pointing out its ecological, economic and social impossibility. They illustrate the problems of growth-based development and suggest that solutions should come from post-developmental thinking, which questions assumptions regarding rationality, linearity and modernity (Andreasson 2005: 971).

Scholars, like Andreasson, criticise the prevailing tendency from colonialism to present day development programs that find solutions for African problems outside of Africa. We find a context in which the world's "'social majorities' … are generally the objects (if not passive ones) of development strategies, contrived by the world's 'social minorities'" (Andreasson 2005: 974). In this way development remains a 'mission of rescue,' where Africans must be saved from themselves (Andreasson 2005: 976). External aid, with strings attached, and externally drafted and packaged development strategies are preferred, while African creativity and initiatives are not recognized (Mutunhu 2011: 67). And the attainment of 'modernity' still seems to coincide with the devaluation of African abilities, traditional knowledge and skills (Mutunhu 2011: 71).

Post-development scholars also question the construction of development failure as an African problem, emphasizing that it is a global problem; African states do not exist in a vacuum. They show how the 'superiority' of the West was built on the exploitation of "man by man" through a dialectical process that underdeveloped Africa (Kebede 1999: 47). Scholars suggest that the European domination of Africa during colonialism retarded the economic development of the continent. Even today African states continue to be dominated economically and politically by external powers, especially through their dependence upon America and Europe (Mutunhu 2011: 68).

Escobar, for example, applies techniques of deconstruction to study development as a cultural system. He exposes the ways in which economists have shaped modernization perspectives and how these perspectives have dominated development thinking since the 1950s (Rao and Walton 2004: 10). Escobar suggests that Western ideologies and interests have created a "mechanism of control," that has lead to the "creation" of the Third World (Escobar 1995).

Various alternative paths to development have been suggested. These include: degrowth economics that suggest disentanglement, delinking, emphasis on breaking the 'cognitive locks' created by modernist assumptions about development; decolonization of the mind/spirit; the construction of Africa's own social and cultural models that are not mediated by a Western episteme; the revival of past African traditions and the modernizing of African values of communalism, ethnicity etc. (Andreasson 2005: 979, 981/2) (Kebede 1999: 42). Scholars warn that if alternatives are not sought, development may mean "only 'a weak mixture of lost tradition and unaffordable modernity' for peoples of the South." (Andreasson 2005)

Amartya Sen has suggested reinterpreting the meaning of development. Sen questions the goal of development as being the maximization of material well-being. Instead, he proposes a more holistic vision for development, in which development is measured according to a person's capabilities – the potential or agency a person has to convert entitlements over goods and services, into a range of functionings (Rao and Walton 2004: 12). Sen also points out that jumping from neglecting culture in development to ready-made theories of cultural causation and cultural determinism is dangerous. Sen explains, "There are complex epistemic, ethical, and political issues involved in identifying the ways in which culture may or may not influence development." (Sen 2004: 55)

Despite the fact that academics have started questioning the imperialist explanations of African failure, it seems that ordinary Africans, or at least, my Ugandan respondents, have not. They perceive African under-development as a result of African incapacities. This calls for greater dissemination of academic debates to ordinary people.

5.3. Race

Race is intimately connected to ideas about development and colonialism, for race differences lay behind all of the policies that Europeans tried to follow in colonial Africa (Curtin 1974: 18). Establishing a racial hierarchy, in which dark-skinned native Africans were considered primitive and inferior to light-skinned Europeans, was a key component of control during the colonial period, because racial hierarchy justified unequal distribution of resources, exploitation and domination (Mire 2001).

The tide of scientific racism coincided with the European conquest of Africa and the first impositions of colonial rule, with the result that "ordinary xenophobic prejudice gained the support of what then passed for science" (Curtin 1974: 19-20). During colonialism, the dominating scientific gaze rooted in Western philosophic thought provided a means by which the bodies of colonized subjects could be studied. Racist knowledge based on dichotomies and the "great chain of being" hierarchies was produced as undisputed scientific evidence (Mire 2001; Curtin 1974: 19). As biologists began to classify species, ranking them hierarchically, they began to rank mankind as well. With skin colour being the most obvious distinguishing trait, humans were ranked according to skin tone, with 'white' skinned Europeans ranked highest and dark skinned Africans given the lowest rank (Curtin 1974: 19). In this way, nineteenth century science justified 'white' supremacy. The great material progress of industrial Europe and the perceived uncivilized state of African countries backed these beliefs (Curtin 1974: 19).

During the colonial period, colonized people's culture, traditions and body images were constructed as pathological, backward, and ugly (Hugo 2012a). Fanon explains, "We witness the destruction of cultural values, of ways of life. Language, dress, techniques are devalorized" (Fanon 1969: 33). The 'white' body was represented as virtuous and aesthetically most appealing so that 'whiteness' became the paradigm, while 'blackness' has become the Other: deviant, corrupt and unappealing (Mire 2001). Corporeal blackness was associated with moral darkness, unrestrained sexuality, pollution, dirt, and disease (Hugo 2012a). A 1930 French advertisement for Dirtoff illustrates a dark African man washing his hands, which have become 'white'. Advertisements like this one, a soap that cleanses so thoroughly that it even removes pigmentation, were common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Glenn 2008: 284).

Racial hierarchies remained after colonial rule ended, as did a racially, stratified distribution of power and status. Western influence, such as global media, engulfed a vulnerable African region during the post-colonial period, thereby perpetuating these beliefs (Hugo 2012a). Even today, media images continue to portray lighter skin as beautiful and preferable over darker skin (Lewis et al. 2011: 31). The international cosmetics industry and widespread and growing use of skin-lightening creams in Africa, testify to the manifestation of these beliefs and their persistence. Skin lightening "has become one of the most common forms of potentially harmful body modifications practices in the world" (Lewis et al. 2011: 29), and African women are among some of the most widely represented practitioners of skin-lightening products (Lewis et al. 2011: 29). Despite government efforts to ban these products and public health campaigns discouraging their use, the pursuit for light skin has escalated over the last few decades. The market for skin-lightening products has mushroomed in many parts of the world (Glenn 2008: 283). Studies indicate that their use is growing most rapidly among

young, educated, urban women in the global south, where light skin operates as a form of symbolic capital (Glenn 2008: 281).

Justine is the only respondent who mentioned once having used skin-lightening products. She stopped, because she heard that they are harmful and because she learnt that white men prefer "dark black girls". In her explanation, she explains, that though she may never have lighter skin, at least she will have a 'white' man and her children will have the light skin that she's always wanted:
"Some time back I used to use these cosmetics that can bleach. But I was told that it is bad, that I should stop it. And then I saw some people who have used them for some years and at the end of it all, they are like gorillas. So at least I stopped using that and I think at least one day I will get married to a white man and give birth to such a beautiful kid. And then I was told that white people like black women. So why would I be bleaching? So then I had to stop."

The idolization of 'light' skin, as perpetuated through capitalist distribution of skin-lightening products, gives insight into the 'superiority' of 'whites' as described by respondents and the way in which they devalue 'dark' skin. The devaluation of 'dark' skin is further explored in the following section on race and ethnicity.

Some male and female respondents suggest that 'white' skin is aesthetically more appealing:
"The dark skin is not good, it is not beautiful. When I look at the white colour, it is the most beautiful that I have ever seen." (Justine)

"First of all, you have a different colour and white looks better than black." (Diana)

"One might like a white man because a brown man gives birth to beautiful kids. These dark ones don't look nice." (Acquaintance)

"Those guys from the north east and north, they may not appear so handsome, because most of them are dark." (Diana)

Most respondents who mentioned an aesthetic preference for white skin mentioned it in relation to their desire to have mixed-race children:
"I want cappuccino kids. That's what we call them. Kids who are in-between black and white. I really find them beautiful." (Diana)

"Another thing I want from a white man, there is something which comes out when a black woman goes in with a white man, the colour which they bring out for the kids. I love it." (Julia)

"If I were to give birth to a kid with that white colour, I'd love my kid to the last. I reached an extent to where I thought that maybe I can apply somewhere as a maid to look after this kid, with this white colour. I can look after the kid, I can love the kid as mine…. When I came here I saw him (a middle aged white man sitting in the restaurant) and it made me so happy.… Even just looking after the colour … make[s] my day. And if I could be given a kid like them.…" (Justine)

"I know that my kids, your blood, my blood, it will come out they are handsome or beautiful."
"You mean mixed-race kids are beautiful?"
"Ya, they normally say that if you go to America, those beautiful ladies you see, they are mixed. Or you go to any country that is mixed with black, the kids come out being strong and beautiful." (Paul)

I asked Justine whether she would date black men in the meantime, until she met a 'white' guy. The slight chance of being pregnant with a black baby is enough for her to abstain:
"I will never do it. I'd rather stay single. Because you are there just to occupy him and then you get pregnant. Oh keeping a black kid in my belly! No no no. And then everyone is like, 'Justine, we are waiting for the half-cast!' And then after nine months a black kid comes."

Emmanuel was the only respondent who preferred to have mixed-race children not for aesthetic preference, but for what he referred to as "the cross-breeding of the genes."
"Some genes are weak, some genes in certain races are strong … so for me it would be better to marry a *muzungu*."

Not all respondents desire 'white' partners because they consider 'white' skin more appealing. Only five out of eleven female respondents mentioned preferring 'white' men for aesthetic reasons. And six out of nine male respondents mentioned preference for 'white' skin (aesthetically), as a reason for wanting a white companion. Furthermore, those who do find 'white' skin more appealing, also had other reasons for their companion choice. These reasons are based not on colour per se, but on what the colour 'white' represents. Or they want 'white' companions; because of the negative experiences they have had with black partners in the past.

"So you dating a 'white' guy, does it have anything to do with the skin colour?"
"No it has nothing to do with the skin colour." (Prisca)

5.4. Ethnicity and race: Othering other 'blacks'
Though this section is a slight detour from the main focus of this thesis, I have included it because I feel it necessary to document respondents' widespread use of the essentializing, and therefore

problematic, terms 'Africa' and 'African' and also their derogatory references to the Nilotic tribes of northern Uganda. In this section, I try to make sense of respondents' investments in identifying as 'Africans,' the way in which 'African' serves as a source of positive identity, but also how it serves as a means of devaluation, thereby justifying respondents' racialised relationship desires. I explore briefly, the reasons why respondents discriminate against Nilotic tribes and illustrate that ethnicity acts as a way of fracturing 'African' unity, so that respondents may distance themselves from degrading colonial-derived associations with the concept 'African'.

"It is what every African family would expect of their daughter after school." (Diana)

"We Africans, we believe in honour." (Justine)

While I am highly critical of the essentialising colonial-born[15] terms 'African' and 'Africa,' I recognize that respondents, who identify as 'African', have adopted these concepts. But what do respondents mean when they use the term 'African' as in: "these African men…." or "We African women"? I find that the 'African' identity with which they identify is a 'black' identity, i.e. it is biological. It is constituted as pre-colonial identity, it is associated with culture and tradition and is based on the belief that 'black' countries suffered shared experiences under colonialism. It is constructed against the West, where the West is positioned not only as exploiter, but also as superior. And finally, it is essentialist and problematic in that 'Africans,' as a 'group,' are believed to possess certain traits, 'African' countries are perceived to be 'black' and 'the West' is not problematized in their discourse.

In the section on colonialism, I referred to colonialism's devastating discourse and its persistence to this day, as confirmed by respondents' uncritical belief in white superiority. Messay Kebede writes about the often, unconscious, internalization of this discourse that "paralyses the African mind" and results in a "disability," induced by the colonial discourse (2011: 97). He explains that the colonial discourse claiming rationality as a Western appanage, one that is out of reach for 'prelogical' and 'mystic' Africans, is perpetuated today through Western education and the normative equation of modernization with Westernization (98).

While Kebede may be criticised for his uncritical use of the generalizing term 'Africa', the "paralysis" or "disability" of which he speaks is relevant. The section on modernization and development clearly illustrates that respondents have bought into the 'modernization-is-Westernization' mentality and that in their discourse, the West is constructed as the archetype of modernity and success. Yet another way

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[15] Ali Mazrui notes that the concept 'African' is essentially a colonial construct and suggests that colonialism informed 'Africans' for the first time that they are 'Africans.' (Adibe 2009: 23)

in which colonial discourse is perpetuated is through the investments 'Africans' (or respondents) make in colonial notions of race to articulate their solidarity and common interests, in opposition to the West. When 'Africans' define themselves by racial attributes, which respondents do, they are sanctioning a Western codification that was used to alienate them from rationality (98). Respondents not only buy into racial classifications for solidarity, in some instances they use racial classifications and ethnicity to differentiate themselves from other 'Africans' and from the negative associations with the term 'African'.

African philosophers have attempted to produce theories to counter the colonialist discourse and decolonize the 'African mind'. These include ethnophilosophy, professional philosophy and particularism. The problems of otherness (negritude), evolutionary lag and deconstruction with which these schools of thought grapple, are illustrated by the contradictory identity constructions of respondents. Respondents find themselves caught between two opposing ends. On the one hand, they feel compelled to exhibit loyalty to 'African' cultures and traditions, in resistance to colonial and neo-colonial rule, alluding also to an 'African' essence and 'African' characteristics such as honour, but at the same time, they feel they need to criticize these 'backward' institutions, if they are to access modernity (a rational Western modernity) and overcome 'African' marginality from the world stage. At times, respondents seek to represent themselves as proudly 'black' 'African,' like when Julia explained proudly that 'African' women dress decently, while at the same time jeopardizing this stance when they explain their desire for 'white' 'non-African' partners and 'cappuccino' children.

One way in which respondents attempt to resolve this contradiction, is to draw on essentialist 'African' identity in some cases when it suits them, while emphasising their difference from 'Others,' usually 'darker blacks,' in other situations. 'Darker blacks' and other tribes serve as 'Others' upon whom the 'barbaric' and 'backward' accusations of colonialism may be projected, so that respondents' own cultures may be redeemed. This difference is emphasized through a highlighting of Western influence in their culture, thereby confirming an adoption of good 'Western' or Christian values. Patricia explains that the prominence of Christian names in Western Uganda, testifies to the adoption of Christian and Western values in the region. A number of respondents justified their own cultural practices, by referring to female circumcision in eastern Uganda as an example of a "bad," cultural practice. But what was most notable was that respondents, the majority of whom are from central and western Uganda, imply that Nilotic Ugandans from the north are racially 'inferior' and culture-bound.[16] This illustrates that ethnicity and emphasis on tribal difference, play an important role in respondents' attempts to overcome 'backward' 'Africa' accusations. Ethnicity offers a way in which

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[16] This emerged when I asked respondents whether they have any other partner preferences if they were not to find 'white' partners. The majority responded that they could not marry someone from northern Uganda and that they would prefer to marry someone from their own tribe.

'Africa' as a degraded category may be fractured, and cultural and racial superiority may be sought through Othering and the emphasis on difference. If respondents have bought into a racial hierarchy, which they undoubtedly have, it follows that they need to position themselves as best they can within this hierarchy. Respondents differentiate themselves from 'blacks' or 'Africans' through their critique of these groups; also through their desires that they perceive as their own 'liberation' from the 'backwardness' they associate with 'African cultures'. The more respondents are critical of 'blacks' and 'Africans,' the more they elevate themselves to a position of judgment and perspective outside the general category. This explains why judgments may seem unnecessarily harsh or exaggerated. Their emphasis is two-fold: it explains respondents' desires in relation to negative past experiences with 'local' partners, and it distances them from negative historical, present, and personal associations with 'black'.

"And then when you look at men from the north, like their way of life. When you get a child they tell you, you have to put this kid out in the sun for about seven days so that it can darken the skin, you know, the complexion. When you are a girl growing up and you hear such stories, I mean really, you are not going to want to go into those territories." (Patricia)

"Northern people are very dark and they are very tall."
"What is wrong with dark and tall?"
"Eh no there is a big difference between people from the west and the other side. Imagine I give birth to kids that are very dark and this side they are brown. They will not feel happy, you get?... I would like to produce offspring that are more of the west. We don't look the same…Like they may be as dark as Patience (She points to her sister who is a few shades darker than she is), but there are those that are really dark eh. Like Sudanese. They are too dark. And if you produce kids who are dark, when they meet their cousins, they may be the darkest, so they may not be happy. They will be like, 'I wish my parents married a westerner, or a Muganda.'" (Acquaintance)

5.5. Foreign Aid and its consequences
"People are not bitter towards whites. In fact, they see them as people who brought, and still bring, education, health care and aid." (Acquaintance)

Foreign aid emerged as a theme in an attempt to understand respondents' belief that 'white' people are wealthy and generous, and that these qualities illustrate their superiority. Foreign aid to Uganda plays a role in the way in which respondents construct race.

"Maybe the generations that have passed, hated the whites, but for us, we did not feel the colonialism. What we know is that you are giving us aid. That is all we know, that you are providers." (Bob)

Africa is the world's poorest continent and continues to lag far behind the rest of the world on human development indicators, including infant mortality, undernourishment and school enrolment. The international aid lobby suggests more foreign aid and greater debt relief for Africa as solutions (Mwenda 2006: 1). In 2005, Africa's suffering was brought to world attention at the G8 summit in Gleneagles, Scotland. The G8 "restated the conventional and failed solutions to Africa's poverty, by endorsing increased foreign aid and the cancelling of Africa's debts." (Mwenda 2006: 2) But in recent years, scholars have increasingly begun to question the belief that aid is a good thing. Furthermore, they have illustrated that the excuse that aid is merely misapplied is not a convincing argument for the continuation of aid in Africa. "Between 1960 and 2003, some US$ 568 billion poured into Africa, yet the continent has been growing poorer, not richer" (Mwenda 2006: 3). Some scholars suggest that aid can stifle domestic reform and undermine the basis for long-term economic growth and prosperity (Mwenda 2006: 4).

In the 1990s, when Western governments developed increased interest in funding civil society in Africa, Uganda was identified as one of three African countries pivotal for the West. Uganda, South Africa and Ghana were believed to be part of a wave of African states seen to be turning their backs on decades of authoritarian rule, instead embracing open government and open economies, in productive 'partnerships' with the West (Hearn 2). Naturally, these three countries came to be amongst the African nations that received the most foreign aid and debt relief. In 1986, when Museveni came to power after twenty years of civil war, US aid focused on rebuilding the economy and the organs of government (Hearn 9). In 1995, Uganda was the ninth-largest recipient of US aid and was Denmark's top aid recipient worldwide. Uganda was the UK's second largest African aid recipient in 1996/97 (Hearn 3). In 1999, Uganda's aid donors made known the country's biggest-ever loan of $ 2.2 billion (Ayodele 2005: 2). And in 2005, Ayodele noted that Uganda depends on foreign aid for 58 % of its budget (2).

Andrew Mwenda is a strong critic of aid in Uganda. He believes that the Ugandan situation illustrates, that foreign aid and debt relief, exacerbate Africa's problems by postponing economic reforms. The government can pay its bills without having to undertake necessary economic reforms (Mwenda 2006: 1). Foreign aid, which makes up half of the Ugandan government's budget, provides the Government with a source of 'unearned' revenue, allowing the government to avoid accountability to Ugandan citizens. Debt relief to Uganda has allowed the Government to borrow still more money and remain highly indebted and inordinately dependent on Western countries (Oloka-Onyango & Barya 1997: 129). This dependence on external assistance, has led to the "impoverishing [of] domestic institutions, staffing them with expatriate personnel, and leading to an explosion of the burden of debt" (Oloka-

Onyango & Barya 131). Civil society organizations have become dangerously dependent on donor support (Oloka-Onyango & Barya 135).

Rather than more foreign aid, Mwenda argues that the Ugandan government needs to improve its tax administration and replace its profligate military and public administration expenditures with prudent, fiscal policy (Mwenda 2006: 3). The main reason that these changes are not happening is the incentive structure that foreign aid creates: Foreign aid acts as a subsidy for government corruption and incompetence. "If donors began to turn off the aid taps, the government of Uganda would likely be forced to reform its imprudent fiscal policies or stare regime collapse in the eye." (Mwenda 2006: 3)

Oloka-Onyango and Barya strongly question the intentions of donors and the character of development assistance. They explain that the pressure to liberalize remains one directional, benefiting the North (1997: 131). They suggest that the paternalism shown by non-local organizations to their local partners fosters dependency rather than self-reliance (1997: 132). The problem with non-local groups is that they take it upon themselves to define the problem and also to design the most appropriate methods for addressing it (1997: 132). Another problem is the commercial element of donors' relationships with recipients. Oloka-Onyango and Barya explain, "[T]oo much aid is being squandered by governments on projects, which have more to do with commercial or political advantage than poverty eradication" (1997: 133).

Despite the emergence of criticism against foreign aid, respondents still seem to view aid as essentially beneficial to Uganda. Not only is aid beneficial, it also confirms their belief in 'white'-generosity, superiority, wealth and development. Asked why Ugandans favour 'whites', an acquaintance said, "It is because of the history. First of all you will see that for the black man, with all his problems, the white man always came with the solution. When he was fighting with his neighbour, the white man brought him a gun. You understand? When he had issues, the white man came and colonised him." (Acquaintance)

Bob explains, "I think it is because of the assistance we get here. First of all, the whites portrayed themselves as people who are above us, from the beginning … so we looked at them as people who were above, who provide everything, who are more intelligent, because they brought their religion, their education and everything … and the donations also. The aid shows they are people who have money. Because you can't give what you do not have. That is why when you go to the villages, they see a white person, they say '*Muzungu* give me sweetie,' '*Muzungu*' ... things like that. Because they know that you are givers."

5.6. *Muzungu* stereotypes

In addition to the influences described above, respondents' idea of the West and 'whites', in many ways a fantasy, is built on Hollywood stereotypes, television soaps and fleeting interactions with missionaries, NGOs or lavishly, generous 'white' tourists and international students.

I found that both women and men express ideas about 'whites' that are pure constructions. They are based on very little or no interaction or real-life exposure to 'whites'. They draw on once-off encounters and examples from their distant past to illustrate the 'good,' 'caring,' 'humble' nature of 'whites'. While these pure constructions may be perceived as nothing more than misinformed and inconsequential in the lives of people, who hardly interact with 'whites', they become extremely powerful in the lives of respondents, because of the emotional investments they make in them. In other words, their construction of 'white' forms the premise on which they build dreams, aspirations and desires. In this sense, understanding the stereotypes, no matter how silly they may seem, is crucial for exploring the phenomenon whereby Ugandans advertise that they want 'white' partners.

Furthermore, the absurdity of some of these constructions poses a very real problem for inter-racial relationships in Africa. In *Black skins, white masks* (2008), Fanon draws attention to the internalisation by the oppressed of the oppressor's norms and values. This internalisation is evident in the worldviews of respondents, who link 'whiteness' with 'civilization' and all things modern. The depictions of 'whites' in the Ugandan media and the access that people have to Hollywood films (on just about every street corner in some parts of the city) need to be critically explored.

5.6.1. 'Whites' as investors, Indians as exploiters

During interviews I found that 'whites' are idealized in a variety of ways. Respondents make statements that illustrate their belief that 'whites' are naturally affluent and successful. Sarah suggests that a 'white' man could help her finish her studies and Sharon believes that if she could marry a 'white' man, she would be in a financial position to help her struggling parents. Justine told me about a day when she had to move publicly with an Indian customer. When *bodaboda* (motor-bike taxi) men saw her with the *muzungu*, they said, "Justine you have reached!" One teased, "You have to give me money, because now you have money. And they give you that money in dollars!" Respondents were surprised, some disbelieving, when I pointed out that one does in fact find poor 'whites' in the world. Julia said that while she has heard people say that the 'whites' in Africa are poor because they walk long distances instead of taking *bodabodas*, she knows that they may simply be exercising their bodies.

In the majority of respondents' discourse 'whites' are praised, not blamed, for their wealth, while Indians are blamed. An informant explained that 'whites' are seen as investors, while Indians are seen

as exploiters in Uganda. Furthermore, while whites are seen as celebrity figures that are appreciated for their humble interaction with 'mere' 'blacks', Indians are constructed as arrogant.

It is interesting that Indians are Othered in this way. They provide a peg on which to hang derogatory characteristics often associated with 'whites' in a post-colonial context. It may be that Indians need to be Othered so that the 'whites' can be purged of these associations and relationship fantasies, which respondents have undoubtedly invested in emotionally, can remain undisturbed. However, Indians are not Othered for this reason alone. Respondents give examples of the exploitation of 'blacks' at the hands of Indians and give accounts of Indian racism:

"I have some friends they are working in the company of the whites. They said they are having good health, they treat them well, give them advances, medical, everything that person needs. But Indians, my friend, when you work there for two weeks you will say 'I will never work for Indians'.… You will end up not eating all the day. That is why that sugar company got burnt. Mistreating badly of the employees."

"They burnt it?"

"Ya. And when there are some riots in Uganda, the Indians, they run. Because they know that Ugandans don't like them…They hate Indians." (Jane)

"The Indians, they are not friendly. Even to be working for them. Ah they mistreat. I know one; he has a car. His employees are black, ah he mistreats…They are rude! People will rather stay unemployed than work for an Indian. They can even beat you, no matter how old you are. And they underpay. And they segregate … even when it comes to Indian children. If you touch her skin she feels like even fighting you back. They are rude. Maybe they are raised like that. You say 'Hello,' he or she turns away." (Justine)

5.6.2. 'Whites' and romantic relationships

Not surprisingly, one area in which whites were most idealized is their role in romantic relationships. Stereotypes ranged from "white women are not jealous" to "white men never cheat" and often these 'positive' 'white' stereotypes where backed with 'negative' stereotypes of 'black' people. These stereotypes are maintained for two reasons: one, they are supported by unrealistic and idealised depictions of whites on television[17], in film and other media; and two, they offer the possibility that desires may one day be realized, in other words, they keep fantasy alive. In this sense, whites are chosen to represent a dream, a possibility, not because they actually do, but because there is a need, in the hearts and minds of respondents, for their dreams to remain alive. They dream of an alternative reality where their idea of love is fulfilled.

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[17] Prisca mentioned that she learnt a lot about 'whites' when she watched the American soap *The secret life of the American teenager.*

Joshua, who arrived for the interview with three written pages of reasons why he wants a 'white' woman, managed to list more 'white' stereotypes than I had come across in all my time in Uganda. Joshua compares "our" women to his fantasy of 'white' women in a way that denigrates 'black' women and idealises 'white' women. His list included, and I quote:

- "What I know is that you white ladies, you are caring. You take too much care, compared to ours."

- "Then of course you look beautiful. I don't know if it is because of your colour or what, but you look beautiful…and I like someone who is tall. And the majority of *bazungu* you are tall."

- "And then I like them because they have good behaviours and are disciplined…like you hardly find someone quarrelling, a *muzungu*. Quarrelling like these African ladies of ours, just quarrelling in the public, abusing and what. *Bazungu* don't normally do that."

- "Then you are faithful, surely. If you decide to have only one boyfriend, then you have only one. Maybe when you end the relationship that is when you can get another one. But African ladies, here in Uganda particularly, they are not faithful at all."

- "Then, surely I see that they know what true love is…they are not after money, money minded, like the African ladies."

- "I also see them as people who are generous, generous ladies. You are not liars like our Ugandan ladies. You don't use deceptive kinds of things."

- "Then I even see you people as you know and you stick to your religions. You are religious. You are religious compared to African girls here." (Joshua explained that Ugandan girls often "pretend". They go to church to meet guys, or they are really involved in witchcraft. He estimated that 70% of Ugandan girls "go for these traditional things like witchcraft.")

- "You are outgoing ladies, surely. Like going for parties, beach or what…and the way you conduct yourself. "

- "Then you realize your mistakes and ask for forgiveness quickly. Ya you ladies do."

- "Then I also like them because they are not jealous ladies, surely … OK there may be those who are jealous, but if compared to our ladies here, ah they are too jealous!"

- "Then I also like white ladies because you are patient and you rarely hear cases of murdering in them, such cases … you just take your time to look at something whether it is real or not true. You don't always go by second-hand information…but here, someone can do anything whatsoever when she hasn't even gotten information."

- "Then another one, I like you ladies because you are good time managers, surely, you keep time. Unlike our ladies here."

- "I also like you people because you are not rumour-mongerers … you hardly find a white lady rumour-mongering."

- "Then another one, you are welcoming, understanding, and you have good morals in society."

Throughout Joshua's enthusiastic reading of his reasons, I questioned the basis for his propositions. I would ask, "Why do you think that?" or "How do you know that?" or "Do you base that on movies?" or "Do you have *muzungu* friends?" To which he answered, "Ya I watch movies," "I have seen very many people," "I have seen them here in Kampala," "I have ever been with them," and "Surely you can just look at someone. You can look at someone who is lying and someone who is not lying … like for me I have done psychology and counselling. I can really know these people." When I asked Joshua whether he has 'white' friends, he replied, "No, not really." This suggests that Joshua's opinions of 'whites' take a particular form, because 'whites' remain distant figures. They are not based on intimate relationships with 'white' people.

Because Joshua pretty much touched on all the stereotypes of 'white' women, I will not repeat the ones referred to by other male respondents. Below, are some of the stereotypes female respondents referred to of 'white' men. In general, female respondents were more tentative when generalizing. They would refer to what they have heard other people say, or narrow their stereotyped group, rather than make outright racial generalizations themselves. For example, Liz differentiated between born-again and non-born-again whites, and Patricia first refers to 'white' men generally, then clarifies: "a good white man." Once again, 'white' stereotypes are emphasized through negative stereotyping of 'black' men.

The stereotype that attracts respondents to 'white' men most is that 'white' men are honest and straightforward, implying that, unlike black men, they can be trusted.
"And I love the honesty that comes with a white man, if you find a good white man, he will be honest, from the beginning … so if you get into a relationship you know where you stand." (Patricia)

"One thing is that those men are very trustful … They talk straight. But here we have the black men, they are hiding the truth … You know those white men when he got another woman, he comes straight to you, 'I have got another woman.' But here he cannot." (Jane)

"I think they are different. Because when a white man gets a girl, even if it is a black girl, OK it is rare to find him running to other girls. It is very rare to find him leaving his girl." (Rachael)

Secondly, respondents believe that 'white' men "treasure" women and know how to treat them well. Susan explains that while some 'white' men do cheat, "at least they treasure."

"I think the whites are a little more caring than the black guys. I find the black guys, like they don't really know how to treat a lady. The few white men that we've seen, they attach some value to a

woman. They will not beat up their wives. OK some do, but few do that. They are not like these black arrogant men who do that." (Diana)

"Something I know about the whites is that if you separate with someone you do it officially. Not just have someone in the house, then I come and find someone in the house, you understand?" (Prisca)

Finally, 'white' men are believed to be responsible:
"Even if a white man left, he would still take responsibility for this child. A black guy can abandon a child and they don't even care to know how the child is doing. I don't think a white guy would do that. Even if it was an accident, he didn't really love you, he will still take responsibility for the child. He will take care of the child and leave the mother alone. He will deposit money in an account for the child. A black man, you would even have to take him to court for him to give money for his own child. Black men, I don't want." (Diana)

When I asked respondents on what they base their statements, Jane explained that she "researched them on the internet," Rachael has a cousin who is married to a "very caring" 'white' man and Diana told of her close observations of 'white' men in Javas, an American-style coffee shop frequented by ex-pats.

'Whites' are not always perceived as superior. There are a few 'black' characteristics that respondents and acquaintances feel make 'blacks' better than 'whites' in some situations. These are:
- 'They' do not tolerate homosexuality in 'their' 'culture'.
- 'They' are decent and modest, especially in dress. Some female respondents commented disapprovingly on the very short skirts worn by 'white' girls in Kampala.
- 'They' are religious and adhere strictly to Christian values.
- 'They' don't have high rates of divorce. Divorce is perceived as pandemic amongst 'whites'. "Now another aspect we don't like about the whites is the divorce. They like divorcing so often." (Acquaintance)
- Black women fulfil 'feminine' and 'motherly' roles. A respondent and an acquaintance told me that people feel sorry for black men who have white wives, when they see, for example, "the black men carrying the baby around in public". An informant explained that people would say, "Poor man, he probably has to change the diapers too!"
- 'Black' women are curvaceous which makes them more attractive than 'white' women. Patricia explained that girls shouldn't be 'fat,' they should be what men refer to as 'portable,' i.e. they have curves (a small waist and hips), but are still overall slender. She says, "When you are walking he sees your butt is shaking, he's like 'Ah that one is portable.' He feels he has a woman in you compared to when you are just too small and you have nothing on you."

5.6.3. 'Deviant' sexuality

Regarding sexuality, 'whites' represent sexual freedom and liberation from the policing of desires that respondents may experience in their own culture or family. These stereotypes are generated and sustained by idealized and inaccurate media images of 'white' sexuality. While some respondents (especially male respondents) welcome the liberal and 'deviant' sexuality of 'whites', others spoke of what they perceive as horror stories with regards to 'white' sexuality. These stories are told to respondents by people trying to dissuade them from desiring 'white' partners. For example, a 'black' man who responded to Jane's advertisement told her of his experience with a 'white' girl. He relayed how this girl had cheated on him and when he walked in on her, she told him to see the sexual position she and the other man were using, so that they could do that later on. He also explained how she had made him take photographs of these sexual positions. After getting his humiliating experience off his chest, he pleaded with Jane to stay away from 'whites'.

The following quotes illustrate how 'whites' were constructed as sexually deviant by some respondents, against the backdrop of 'African' sex, presented as 'natural' and 'moral.' These issues tended to be raised when respondents were speaking about arguments their friends used to dissuade[18] them from seeking 'white' partners:

"So today because of this homosexuality," which is believed to be rampant amongst 'whites', "most people think that white men are gay. Or that they are bisexual. That he will have you as a wife, but he will still go out and meet with another man … and besides that, I have been told that if you get a white man, he will reach a point by which he will want to have his sex through, um, you know… "

"Anal sex?"

"Ya anal sex. And that is common with them. That is what they say. 'That is very common with them so please don't go there, those people are weird! The way they have their sex is not good, it is not natural.' I have a cousin, she is a lawyer and she also told me the same thing. She said, 'Will you be ready for that, for having anal sex with your husband?' Ya she was trying to discourage me and she was trying to encourage me by bringing pictures of her friends, black men, the one is from Nigeria, the other from Rwanda…" (Patricia)

"They say, 'You know these white guys, a time will come when he does not want to have sex, he will want to have oral sex. Will you be satisfied with that? Please don't get married to a white man.'"

"But people do oral sex here as well?"

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[18] While some respondents mentioned their friends and family trying to dissuade them from pursuing 'white' partners, the majority of respondents felt that their family and friends would support their decision. I do not know why some respondents were dissuaded in this way, but suspect that it has something to do with them being perceived as abandoning their 'race' and/or 'culture'.

"Ya they do, but they think that it was started by white people. So as black people, we believe in sex in the right way. You know penetration through the vagina, not any other place. So the practices that are coming from the Western world, that has added on the stereotypes that people have of white people ... actually they think that that is what they do most vis-à-vis sex. Most black people think that. They either have sex from behind, or they have oral sex." (Patricia)

"OK we get this picture from the movies that we've watched acted by whites, they love this oral thing so much. They love to be given blowjobs. And they would want to do the same thing to you, because OK that friend of mine has that guy and the guy was like, 'you know what, I want to cum in your mouth.' I mean a black guy wouldn't do that! Oh my goodness. How can he cum in your mouth?! Oh my goodness. So we get a feeling that they are so crazy.... She was like "What?!" I mean for sure, I don't think a black guy would do that. That is a bit too much to ask. So we get this feeling that they have crazy sex ya. And for sure I would love. I would love to just test it and find out how it is." (Diana)

While Diana seems repulsed by her friend's experience, she is also inquisitive and eager to 'experience' 'white' sex. She explains that 'whites' are seen as "a bit ahead" when it comes to sex, but that the local men "are really picking up." Diana is equally curious when it comes to 'white' penises. In the following quote Diana not only describes her curiosity, but also manages to reduce men to mere sex objects. She has "tasted" the black ones and they are no longer intriguing, in fact, they are all the same. In this way she uses objectifying language usually associated with men and is almost patronizing when she refers to local men as "these traditional guys":
"I keep speaking about this to my friends. We[19] want to know what a white dick feels like. That is crazy? But we have tasted the black ones. I have tasted the black dicks and they are, there is just this difference in size, but they are all the same. But now I am imagining what does it really look like. Is it red? (laughing) We have all these stupid things in our minds. So we would love to really get that, how do they do it? Are they like these traditional guys, or is it a bit different."

However, the fantasy of sex with a 'white' man is not without apprehension. Diana explains,
"Although we are a bit scared they could have slightly smaller, I am vulgar right?"
"No no."
"OK so we think they have slightly smaller things, something like that. But now I am only assuming I want to get there and know what is really there." (Diana)

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[19] Diana might be using "we," as opposed to "I," to distract from her own desires. Or she might feel that her desire for 'whites' is validated through conversations and interactions with other 'black' women who express similar desires.

Patricia also refers to this stereotype that 'white' men are not as well endowed as their 'black' counterparts:

"Then someone was telling me that some of her classmates, when she was doing her masters in the UK, that some of them were dating white men and they were not happy, because of their size, you know their penis being small.…Their reproductive organs were very small and you know black men usually have, well they try their best to make sure that their penises are big enough."

"But how do they try their best?"

"Some take herbs to enlarge their penises."

…

"I have some friends of mine who usually ask 'OK you want a white man?' and I'm like 'Yes, that's what I want,' and then they will ask you, 'Does that mean you will have another black guy on the side, so that if this one doesn't satisfy you, you will have this side dish?'"

An informant commented on the 'deviant' sexuality of 'whites,' explaining that though 'it' is deviant, at least 'it' is gender equal, in that the pleasure of both male and female partner is considered:

"Maybe they do practice deviant sexuality, but at least when he asks you to suck his dick, he will do the same for you. A black man will ask you to suck his dick and do nothing for you in return."

A male acquaintance told me of a 'black' man who used to date 'white' girls exclusively and how, because of this, "He was hated by local girls," and accused of being racist. But now that he (the acquaintance) has dated two white girls himself, he understands. "I cannot go back to dating black girls," he explains, "You get used to how the relationship is open and free. I can't go back to a relationship that's stiff and awkward and where the girl is constantly playing games." He went on to explain how 'white' girls are "liberated sexually". "They are free to try different things even if they fail ... to talk about sex and masturbation." He lamented that local girls are not like that, "You can never talk to them about masturbation.… The girls that you would imagine are free in bed, they are so rigid! They might do a maximum of two positions: You on top or her on top. Anything else will make her uncomfortable." Exasperated he exclaimed, "Imagine what love is to them!" and then added, "That is the problem with culture." In his account, this acquaintance expresses frustration with what he perceives as culturally policed, 'black'-'black' relationships in Uganda.

Female respondents mostly refer to 'public opinions' that 'white' men are good in bed, while 'white' women are not. And male respondents refer to 'public opinions' that 'white' women are good in bed, while 'white' men are not. I suspect that believing in the sexual inferiority of rival others plays a crucial part in maintaining the relationship fantasies of respondents:

"I wonder what they say about 'white' women?"

"Ah it depends. Not going for longer hours.…Like when you are having sex with a white woman, maybe she will get tired very quickly in a few minutes." (Patricia)

"For the black men, for them they believe white women are not good in bed ... And the black men believe that white men are good … for them they think that white men, they know how to romance. He kisses you all over the body. They all have that belief. I think because they watch these blue movies. They believe that the white men are like that ... one of my friends told me that white men are hot in bed." (Justine)

Edward and Banet explain why 'white' women are good in bed:
"They say that white ladies are good. Because for them they really know because they watch, they discover … and I think they watch, they develop those ideas from the movies. You know those movies were first brought about by the whites." (Edward)
"Porn movies?"
"Ya exactly." (Edward)
"So they think that white girls are good because they are exposed to pornography?"
"Yes." (Edward)
"So do you prefer that? Women who are experienced?"
"Ya. We don't want virgins or innocent girls." (Edward)
"Those who are shy, those ones you can't tease." (Banet)
 "They say that white men are somehow lazy. They are not like African men in bed." (Edward)

Prisca was the only respondent who raised sexual health in relation to 'white' sexuality:
"When you are with a Ugandan man, you cannot stand up and say 'Let's go for a test,' when he has not said it.… You might find he doesn't say it and he might be HIV positive when you're not … but I believe that whites, before they get married, before they enter into that relationship, they do carry out the tests. So I believe that when you carry out the tests at least you are sure of someone's status." (Prisca)

Chapter six: Men accuse: Whores, modernity and money

6.1. Detoothing and its unintended consequences

Francis Nyamnjoh explains that Africans are increasingly bombarded by global consumer television and other information and communication technologies, enticing them to join the consumer bandwagon (Nyamnjoh 2005:295). This almost taunting promise of material abundance is contrasted with the darkening reality of increasing poverty, in a continent where half of the population subsists on 65 US cents or less a day. He believes that consumer desires result in some Africans being "ready to sacrifice anything, including morality, dignity and ultimately even their humanity, just to be consumer gatecrashers and zombies" (Nyamnjoh 2005: 295). It seems that Nyamnjoh's observation that ordinary Africans are taken up by the allure of material abundance and consumer possibilities is true. One aspect of local relationships that has come out repeatedly is men's annoyance with local women who they believe to be "money minded" and who expect them (men) to pay for everything. One male respondent said that women want the advantages of being "modern", having equal opportunities, income, modern commodities, luxury, respect and power, but simultaneously they want the advantages of being "traditional", having the man provide and pay for everything, including their often flashy, modern lifestyles.

"Girls here, how they are brought up is that they are supposed to be provided for. So it is in their psychology that they are supposed to be provided for. And you find these, if you also have money and the wife works, she can refuse to pay rent. You can't say 'Now I don't have money, can you pay rent?' She will find you very funny. You also have to pay bride price. Or give gifts. It is part of our culture. So because of that it makes a girl have this feeling that she should get something from a man. And as a boy you are also expected to do that. And it puts a strain on your finances" (Acquaintance)

"But with Ugandan girls, they expect you to do each and every thing. To pay. Even those who are working. You find somebody with no salt at home, but she is waiting for the husband to buy. Yet the person has money." (Joshua)

Diana explains, "Now, sure, we don't really want them to give everything, but we, the African women, have this thing that if somebody cares, he can provide something small. It does not have to be too much, once in a while. We want to be able to call our boyfriends up and be like, 'I don't have money for the week, I am so broke, please help me with some money.' He should be willing and ready to provide. Or you are like 'My hair is doing badly. Please help me with some money for my hair.' A boyfriend should be able to do that." (Diana)

I have witnessed this gendered expectation many times when out at bars or restaurants. One man would be expected to cover the cost of up to three girls. I joined a group of friends at the beach. There were five men and thirteen girls. When the bill arrived, the girls did not enquire about the cost, did not reach for their wallets or offer to pay. They simply ignored its existence or looked away with folded arms and pouted glossy lips, over-sized sunglasses shining in the afternoon sun. Even when the men in the group stated that they needed 50 000 shillings more to cover the group's bill, the girls did not respond. At a club Silk, I witnessed one man buying drinks for three girls throughout the night. What is most striking about this phenomenon is that this expectation is not limited to dating relationships. A male acquaintance expressed his exasperation by telling me of a girl who expected him to pay for her and her friends at a bar. When he agreed, they ordered the most expensive cocktails on the menu. When it happened the second time, he said, "Order what you usually have, or leave."

From the women's perspective, however, their actions seem justifiable. With the uncertainty of faithfulness and feeling that relationships lack emotional fulfilment and security, getting what one thinks one deserves may just have to come in the form of economic milking. Furthermore, women who feel that they offer companionship and a sultry accessory on nights out, may feel that their offer of public female association, the hair, make-up, dress and stilettos, may be compensated for by the man's expenditure. The glitz and glam so popular in Ugandan nightclubs, undoubtedly puts pressure on girls[20] to dress outside their means. Considering the sacrifices girls feel they make in order to look fabulous, the least their male counterparts can do is pay their way for a night.[21]

A male informant referred to this phenomenon as 'detoothing' and defined it as: "Girls who go out on dates with guys who have money and they practically take all your money in return for nothing. If a girl knows you have money, she might not even want to date you, she'll pretend. Then every other time she will call and say let's go out and then she'll bring like six friends. She'll even tell her friends that there is a rich guy who will pay for everything, 'Let's go out and blow his money'. They will order expensive things, want to go to expensive restaurants. And the man will pay, because he expects something. But then eventually she just disappears".

He also discussed the pressure men feel to live up to this expectation. A failure to provide what is expected would be an embarrassment, a threat to his manhood. He explains:
"So I had this friend. He was seeing this girl casually. You know the ultimate point of the whole thing is you want to fuck her. You know those girls who call when they need something. To drive her somewhere or she wants to go out. Then one day she calls and she's like, it's her birthday and she wants to go to Garden City. So he goes. He took 50 000 because he thought for the two of them that

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[20] It is possible that men also feel pressure to dress outside their means, but this was not evident.
[21] These are my observations. Female respondents did not express this explicitly.

would be enough to chill for the night. He gets there and finds the bitch with *two* other friends. So now he had to think very fast, because he only had 50 000. They said they want to eat and watch a movie. A movie is 15 000 each so that is already 60 000 because they are now four. With food it could come to 100 000".

"Why didn't he just say 'I only have 50 000'?"

"No he can't, that would be an embarrassment. So he convinced them to first watch the movie and then eat. He went and bought their three movie tickets. Then he said that he got a phone call and that there was an emergency, he had to leave immediately. So he went home. He saved face. They didn't suspect anything."

"Was that man you?"

"No way. I do not do those things. If it was me I would be like, 'Who the fuck are these two?'"

The fact that this acquaintance boasts about his ability to call girls' bluff, suggests that he assumes that I, as a 'modern' 'white' woman, will sympathise with his position or the position of men being exploited by 'black' women.

Male respondents are not the only ones to talk about detoothing. Diana comments on girls who bring their friends on dates, "That is done by stupid girls. Girls do that a lot, especially campus chicks. But if a girl does that then you can be sure that the girl does not love you. If a girl really wants to put you off, she will come with all her friends. And if you do that, you show that you are a man and you have all this money. And what is funny is that those girls get there and they ask for all these expensive wines."

Four out of nine male respondents identified money-mindedness as the main reason why they do not want to date local women. Detoothing (*omukuula ebinnyo*) is a practice that emerged in the midst of traditional marriage negotiations, accepted courting scripts and the changing socio-economic environment in Uganda (Hugo 2012b). Detoothing involves women 'milking' as many gifts, or money from interested men, while successfully eluding sex (Nyanzi et al 2001: 89). Women do this by deceiving boys and men, with false promises, while delaying sexual relations, thereby prolonging the customary negotiation or gift giving period. They use their sexuality and the promise of sexual activity in the future as a bargaining tool, to maximize the size and frequency of gifts that they "pull like teeth from potential partners." (Nobelius et al 2010: 98)

"Now you find one girl, she has four men. Now she has said one is buying me airtime. The second is buying me clothes. This one may be for transport. So she targets. So that is why you find she is still young, she is driving. You see her family, not rich. Where did she get that money? Is she married? No." (Paul)

Girls do not necessarily deny these accusations. Diana reflects on why she was tempted to cheat on her boyfriend:

"This guy who didn't buy me anything, he didn't care. I'd be on campus for three weeks without him calling me and he is my boyfriend. So sometimes I would feel like this other guy comes around, he is so caring, so sweet, for a while he gives me money. So you would kiss and do those things, but the one I truly loved was the other one."

Studies suggest that the expectation of gifts in exchange for sex has become the norm among teenage girls in sub-Saharan Africa (Luke 2003: 70). And Suesanne Samara (2010) explains that something-for-something relationships are not uncommon in Uganda. From a young age, girls and boys are socialized to understand the ways in which relationships are negotiated. A study by Nyanzi et al. (2001) amongst adolescents, describes the important role of exchange in the negotiation of dating and sexual relationships in south-western Uganda. Boys initiate relationships through the giving of gifts. They hope that gifts will strengthen the acquaintance and that they will be rewarded with sexual favours (Nyanzi et al 2001: 83). Mediators, commonly referred to as "dealers," deliver these gifts. Dealers, who usually have a way with words, persuade the girl to have sex with their friend. They convince girls by illustrating that the boy has money and material possessions that will benefit them (Nyanzi et al 2001: 85).

It is culturally expected for girls to resist boy's advances and it is expected for boys to persist, offering more gifts over a longer period, until the girl accepts. There are a number of reasons why girls play coy, innocent and hard to get: they delay engaging in relationships to avoid appearing "loose," because they want to find out about the boy's character and sexual health, and because they want to increase the money and gifts received from the boy during the negotiation period. This script is not only followed by boys interested in sex alone; it is also followed by boys who are interested in establishing serious long term relationships; in which case, gifts and money are not only transactional, but symbolize commitment and shared affection (Nyanzi 2001: 86).

Boys and young men, who have more money, have higher bargaining power to successfully establish sexual relationships (Nyanzi et al 2001: 86). Nobelius et al. found that many young women said that pressure due to gifts, and their implied contract, was why they made their sexual debut (Nobelius et al 2010: 98). This means that women feel obliged to have sex with men who offer gifts, and they are less likely to suggest condom use with these partners. Despite these pressures, women believe that the giving of gifts is an essential part of true love and a lack of gifts justifies ending a relationship (Moore et al 2007). In a study by Samara, amongst young women in Uganda, participants said that if a man does not give a woman gifts, she couldn't have sex with him. Gifts illustrate that he is willing to "invest" in her and that he will not abandon her after sex, leaving her without anything (Samara 2010:

515). In the Nyanzi et al. study, girls explained that they would feel humiliated and disrespected if they had received nothing in return for sex, while boys argued that "only an HIV-infected girl can give you free sex" (Nyanzi et al 2001: 88). Women are not the only culprits of detoothing. Julia referred to the lack of gifts in return for sex as a form of detoothing in which men detooth girls. "You don't give her anything. You don't even take her for salon care, but again you want to sleep with her, you do each and every thing with her. Because for us women we want a man [who] must finance you. So he sleeps with you without giving you anything. You give every time."

Detoothing is most common on university campuses, where transactional sexual behaviour is most aggressive. Jo Sadgrove explains that poor first years from the village are quickly exposed to pressure, to "keep up with appearances" at Makerere University, in Kampala (Sadgrove 2007: 116). The fastest and easiest way to attain commodities and create an appearance of material success is to tempt a wealthier, older man and detooth him (Hugo 2012b). A skilled detoother can detooth anything from drinks, clothing and airtime to money (Sadgrove 2007: 123). A Makerere University campus male explains, "The thing is, a girl can say 'before I do that (sex) I want a home cinema system' and you give it to her and she just runs. It happens all the time and the guy can't do anything." (Sadgrove 2007: 123). In 2002 Janet Museveni motivated students at Makerere University to live "morally upright lives". She warned about the temptation of engaging with sugar daddies who can fulfil many campus girls' aim of attaining the 3C's: cars, cash and cellphones (Sadgrove 2007: 121). Similar to what my male respondents said, Sadgrove found in his study that male students at Makerere University complain that campus women are too expensive and identify money as the main reason why they do not have girlfriends (123).

Because many young campus men have financial restrictions, older men who are wealthier and like to show it, are often targeted for detoothing. These men are referred to as "twelve-month contracts," as they are only needed during the academic year when lifestyle costs are high (Sadgrove 2007: 124). Older partners have been reported to pay for university tuition, living expenses and university housing (Luke 2003: 72). Sadgrove echoes Nyamnjoh's concerns, when he explains that detoothing is not performed only by female students who are struggling financially; rather, detoothing is spurred on by "a ceaseless desire for bigger and better things." (Sadgrove 2007: 132).

Both men and women are fully aware of the implied exchange that gifts suggest. For this reason women who have accepted gifts need to come up with strategies to avoid reciprocation. Girls report hiding, disappearing or evading partners. Further strategies involve becoming cold and uninterested (Nyanzi et al 2001: 89). In a study by Bohmer and Kirumira men spoke of girls who claimed they were menstruating in an attempt to avoid sex (2000: 281).

While detoothing illustrates women's agency, as women capitalize on the economic value of their sexuality, in a patriarchal context of escalating consumerism, it also makes them vulnerable, as it could involve danger, physically, sexually and psychologically (Hugo 2012b). Detoothing is linked to coercive sex, power inequality and risk of unsafe sexual practices (Luke 2003: 67). Studies conducted in East Africa suggest that sexual or physical violence, including rape, are relatively frequent male responses to partners who assert themselves, overstep the limits of their bargaining power or forego the rules of negotiation (Luke 2003: 74). The Nyanzi et al. study found that all participants, including girls, agreed that rape is justifiable in cases of detoothing and that they would not report the rapist (Nyanzi et al 2001: 89). Besides these very serious risks, detoothing has other consequences: some local women have become stigmatized as unfaithful money-minded detoothers, resulting in mistrust and relationship tensions. One of Uganda's leading female R'n'B artists, Sharon Chandiru, responds to this stigmatization in her recently released song *Gold Digger*. Her lyrics explain, "I give you my heart, I give you my soul, I give you my life. I'm not a gold digger..."

Detoothing demonstrates one way in which culture has combined with consumerism, in the midst of social and economic change, to produce an intensification of contemporary gender issues. Not only does it illustrate the logic behind relationship and sexual negotiations amongst young people in Uganda, it also exaggerates the power dynamics and status inequalities inherent in these negotiations (Hugo 2012b). While these women may be celebrated as active agents who manipulate their assets and context to maximize their social and material gain, they have to face the broader unintended consequences of their actions. Women cannot 'milk' men and expect the unquestioned social norm of male provider to remain intact. Furthermore, the general mistrust between the sexes caused by detoothing undoubtedly casts a shadow over "normal" dating relationships.

"The girls, they want to run fast to reach that level, driving themselves, having cars, but how? They look for rich men. So there is now nothing like love for the black African. So it has cost us, we men, black men, to look for love, real love. You find it very rarely. Because you will go to her, she will ask you, 'Do you work? Do you have a house? Do you drive yourself?' … Now you find a kid of 14, 15 years, she is in love with a 70 year old. Because of what? Money. So it is like those men are taking our chances." (Paul)

"Money orientated. You know the demanding isn't bad, but then over-demanding is bad. Because someone can turn you into an investment...You know they say that if you have ever been bitten by a snake, even when you see a rope, you have to run."
"But do you think all local women are like that?"
"That is what I am assuming." (David)

It is ironic that women get blamed for being 'money-minded' in a patriarchal society in which women's sexuality often becomes commoditised and objectified.

"You know the bad thing for us black men is that you must show her first that you have money. By the time that money goes, she will also what? Follow the money. She leaves you there and goes." (Paul)

"They want to brag a lot. They want showbiz, they want to show off that they have money. So someone cannot stick to one partner. If this one gives her 200 dollars, the other one gives her 200 what what. That is why they are not faithful at all. Out of 100, you find 80 percent of the girls; their relationships are not faithful. Reason: they are after money ... and then others even end up killing their husbands, because they want wealth. They want money. Then when you kill, you will be protected by those traditional stuff. But you *bazungu* don't do that, surely." (Joshua)

"I once dated a local girl. I was in S3. But our courtship was not so good, because she could like me only when I had something in my hand. She would come, 'What do you have? Do you have money?' But me, I want true love." (Edward)

An acquaintance told me that he once dated a local girl who dumped him after visiting his home and seeing his family's low socio-economic position. He said that it was such a bad experience, that he no longer wants to date Ugandan girls.

While male respondents insisted that their desire for a 'white' woman has nothing to do with money, they are convinced that local girls who want 'white' men are after money alone. The respondents are not the only ones to express this belief. Most acquaintances that heard about my research expressed one of two sentiments: "Those girls are after money," or "They must be poor and uneducated."

This belief is exacerbated by public figures like Bad Black, a highly publicized Ugandan women who was imprisoned for stealing and lavishly splurging her 'white' lover's money. An article in one of Uganda's leading tabloids, *The Red Pepper*, explains: "Days after Briton, David Greenhalgh splashed millions buying his lover, Bad Black, a brand new Audi Q5, she tells him, 'I don't love you'. After Greenhalgh had handed over the keys to the sleek black Audi, Reg no UAP 355U, last weekend at Garden City, Black took to the social network to voice her opinion. She posted this on her wall; "dis Mzungu luv's mi soooo much heeeheee...& I'm not sure if I do." (The Pepper Publications Ltd. Thursday, 15 December 2011)

Another social category perpetuating this belief has emerged: The white man's flashy black wife. An informant explains, "Usually they are uneducated and come from poor backgrounds. When they have

money they brag about it. They walk out the gym in tiny bikinis with fake boobs, lots of make-up and flashy jewellery. They brag about their fancy cars, their drivers, expensive holidays and international schools. I met one the other day. Of course she had the belly ring and her unnatural breasts looked like oranges, too plump and too far apart."

Some ordinary working class women also perpetuate this belief when they express their desires for 'white' men. One day I was buying a dress in a little clothing store run by a mother and daughter in Wandegya, Kampala. While paying, the daughter mentioned randomly that she wants a 'white' husband and that I should find one for her. She said that one from South Africa would be fine, as long as he was 40 years or older, because she needs one with money. When I asked whether she wants to marry for money or love she responded, "If he loves me, I will marry, but if he does not have money, I cannot. He must have money, because I am struggling."

In the light of these figures and stereotypes, it is not surprising that references to the age old category applied to Other women, was not far from people's lips: the prostitute.

6.2. The prostitute

I have included the prostitute label as a section in this study, due to the fact that all female respondents felt the need to dis-identify as 'prostitutes,' by emphasising 'love' as their main motivation for a relationship with a 'white' man and distancing themselves from others who they construct as 'prostitutes'.

Paul believes that because local women can no longer fool and detooth local men for money, they have turned to 'white' men in search for wealth:

"OK for them here, if they see a *muzungu* person, they are thinking money. So that is why they fight, African ladies. If they see *bazungu*, they fight for them, but they do not love.… African ladies, they know that African men, they are not easy to give out the money. But *bazungu*, they are easy to give their money. So they normally know that a *muzungu* is rich and a *muzungu* giving out money is common."

It is important to understand these accusations in the context described by Nyamnjoh. In his article on *disquettes* and *thiofs* in Dakar, Nyamnjoh discusses the role of global consumer television and the lure of material abundance in encouraging sugar daddy and sugar mommy relationships in West Africa. He explains,

> In matters of sex, first rate consumption means going for the juiciest and rarest, which for older
> men and women entails shopping down the generational ladder (right into paedophilia) for

power, status and privilege. For the younger generations it means shopping up (among sugar daddies, sugar mummies, business men and women, whites, tourists and others) for consumer opportunities and consumer citizenship" (Nyamnjoh 2005: 296).

He expresses an annoyance with girls chasing money, referring at one point to "women seeking after any American male they could set eyes on" (Nyamnjoh 2005: 300). Nyamnjoh is very critical of consumerism and the commoditization of sex in Africa, which, he believes, is pursued selfishly at the expense of family and community.

It is true that the majority of mixed race couples, one might encounter in Kampala's nightlife scene, evoke suspicion in that they seem to be sex-worker client relationships. Even I was amazed by the number of old 'white' men seen out at bars with their very young and very sexy companions. The men are greying and their looks fading, wrinkles abound. Beer in one hand and the other slinked loosely over the petit shoulder of a slender 'black' girl in sky-high stilettos. Her skin-tight dress reveals an ample amount of cleavage and hardly covers her bum leaving her glossy thighs exposed. One night I ventured out to *Rock Bar*, notoriously known as 'the prostitute bar', to find a grey, slouched man with a girl on either side; one hand on one's thigh, the other around the other's waist. In response to this public display of sugar-daddy/prostitute-like relationships men have come to believe that any girl seeking a white man, must be a prostitute. An acquaintance said, "We call skinny black girls at bars 'whores', because we all know that they are looking for white men." It is generally accepted in Kampala that 'white' men prefer skinny girls. Local men value curves. For this reason, girls who flaunt their skinny bodies at bars must be looking for 'white' men.

It seems that women are constantly vulnerable to the onslaught of 'the prostitute' label. Though the term is usually used in ways that suggest it is referring to certain identifiable girls, its application shows that it is mostly used as a stereotype that bears no or little relation to the woman/women to whom the term is applied. As Cowie and Lees (1981) explain, "the status is always disputable, the gossip always unreliable, and the criteria always obscure." (21) For this reason, it is fascinating to understand the ways in which the term, as a deviant and often out-of-place category, is used, and why.

Female respondents refer to prostitutes, or prostitute-like behaviour and tell scandalous stories in order to distance themselves from these associations, they strongly dis-identify as 'prostitutes'. In a study conducted amongst adolescents in England, Cowie & Lees discover that the term 'slag,' used as a deviant, stereotypical category, is constantly sliding, "always being shifted elsewhere, from one group to another, and that that shift is invariably socially downwards" (1981: 18). My research reveals a similar phenomenon. Some members of the public consider respondents prostitutes, because they want 'white' men. In turn, respondents vehemently reject the label and suggest and discuss other girls who

they consider prostitutes. This accusation, just as the ones imposed upon them, is mostly stereotypical and unfounded, based upon assumptions. According to respondents, a girl may be labelled a whore if she smokes and drinks, wears short dresses, wants money from men, dates 'white' men, dates older men, hangs out in bars, rejects customs and cultural gender roles and is too 'skinny'. As can be expected with a sliding category, the definition of the term differs from group to group (Cowie & Lees 1981: 20). Despite the fact that 'prostitute' implies sexual promiscuity, the application of the term often has little to do with actual sexual behaviour.

Jane responds to my question of money-mindedness with, "But for me, I think it is the character, the behaviour, the culture. Those are the first things, then the other things come. Not wealth, then I take you as a whore. You are after money, after wealth, you know? For me it looks like you don't like him, you are after his things."

"Do you think that if you found a 'white' guy and you were out in public in Uganda that people would accuse you of being after his money?"

"For me there are some girls in Uganda who do that. And there are some, a woman who married a white man and they have children. She loves him. She doesn't love his money. But then there are those, they are in clubs. You find them in clubs. You can find a young girl with an old man and she is kissing him. And you can say 'Eh he is too old for this girl. Why?'"

"They end up dating white men who are older, I don't know, older than forty. But now me, I am twenty-eight, but for me thirty to thirty-five. I don't want fifty, sixty...it is too much." (Julia)

"Ya, and others, he starts telling her about his riches, you know?"

"And she will fall for him?"

"Mmhmm, but leave alone falling for you, she can even kill you."

"So do you think there are many women here who are so desperate for money?"

"There are many here who are desperate for money, they can do each and every thing so they can get it. You know at times there are these who don't want to work and yet they want money, so that's what they would do."

"Use their bodies?"

"But for me, however desperate I am, however much I need, I will not." (Julia)

"In Uganda, most ladies think that they [white men] like black girls, you know really dark, dark and slim. And that they like girls who smoke and drink, take alcohol. You see that is why the society in Uganda, when you are a black girl and you are seen with a white guy, they will always brand you as a prostitute … because in our society girls who smoke, who drink, girls who tattoo themselves, or put on in a very unpleasant way, according to our culture, they are looked at as prostitutes."

"So girls who do that to be with 'white' men are seen as prostitutes?"

"Mmhmm, society looks at them as prostitutes, even if they are not really prostitutes. She is dating somebody, this white man, and probably they even have a child together. Wherever they pass people will be pointing fingers at the girl, 'Oh that is a prostitute.' You know they use the local word, '*malang*'. 'You are *malayo*.'" (Patricia)

Cowie and Lees find that the distinction between "sexually promiscuous" slags and "marriageable" drags, is love. In love, female sexuality is appropriate for "Nice girls cannot have sexual desire outside of love" (1981: 21). For this reason, premeditated sex, exposed through the use of contraceptive precautions on a casual date, violates the "dominant code of romance" (1981: 21). These findings explain the emphasis respondents place on love as a motivation for relationships with 'white' men. A desire for love distances them from 'the prostitute' who desires money.

"In Jinja there is a woman. So far she has used two *bazungu*. And they have already left her a business what, a car. But for me, what I think is that it depends. Whomever the *muzungu* has landed on."
"OK, but for you it is not about money?"
"It is all about love." (Sarah)

"People have that point that girls just want white men because they are wealthy, but that is not the case. You know there are some people for whom money won't matter. So long as you guys love each other, that is the most important thing." (Susan)

In Susan's explanation 'love' is constructed in opposition to 'money' as a motive, despite the fact that these cannot simply be separated, the relationship between the two is complex and they are interlinked.

"Me, I want a white guy, because I need passionate love...Ya, it is all about love." (Liz)

Another noteworthy aspect of the prostitute label is that it is gender specific. It offers a means by which women seeking 'white' men can be degraded or accused. Men who seek 'white' women are spared. Once again the very unfair relations between the sexes are accepted, unquestioned and naturalized. This may be a feature of a patriarchal society in which men are positioned as subjects and women the objects of sexual desire.

"A black man with a white woman is seen as a pride thing. He has accomplished something. But for a black woman to be with a white man, she is a prostitute." (Female informant)

"OK, most Ugandans have a bad attitude towards those who get white men. Most of them they think they were prostitutes."

"Why do you think they are negative towards those girls?"

"Because most girls get those men from bad places. Like bars. Most of them were prostitutes. So if you get a white guy, they will think that you got him like that, through that business."

"But if it was a white girl with a black guy, what would people think of that guy? Will he also be judged?"

"No, that one they don't mind." (Rachael)

In the light of the prostitute label, respondents have to tread a very fine line in their strategies for attracting 'white' men. They have to get themselves out there, but not in the wrong places; they have to dress according to 'white' men's desires, but not too tight; they have to act according to "what white men like", but still protect their vulnerable reputation.

"OK so you have decided to marry a 'white' man, what do you do to get one? The places you go, the way you dress etc.?"

"For me it depends, because for me I work in a big organization with respect. I can't dress like, you know, a prostitute like that."

"But do you think that's what white men like?"

"For me I think that when I respect myself, others can respect me. When a man finds you are dressing badly, he will judge you like that." (Jane)

"I actually thought of going to clubs, but most of these places, they are places for prostitutes. So the person who will pick you from there will think you are a prostitute and I fear that." (Justine)

"Actually, I have been told there are so many things, some ways that you can get a white man. Of which me, I can't do them."

"You can't? Why, what are they?"

"I have been told *bazungu* … there are some places where they sell themselves."

"You mean prostitution?"

"Ya that's it. Here in town, there is a place. White men go there. Actually that place, if at all somebody finds me there, they will say that this one, she has also started selling her body." (Julia)

"Although a young white guy would be better. If you have an old one it's OK. Although some people will look at you as a gold digger, you just want the money." (Diana)

Local men and women are not the only ones to dish out the prostitute label. Justine shares her frustration with the fact that white men also think that she is after their money: "And that is one of the problems I have seen with the white people. You chat to him and he tells you, 'you black women are more interested in money,' not them. So that is why some of them fear to come in, just want to use you and run away, because he knows that you don't love him, that you want his money...At least I have been trying to show these people that I am not after money."

Diana explains her restraint when hitting on 'white' men, "I met this guy, he was from the US, but he was black. He was telling us that when white people are coming here they are briefed, they are told that black people are con-men, black people are beggars, black people will want your money, you have to be careful. So now I still have that thing in my mind. Now I am going to him and tell him [I like him] and he will think that I probably want to steal his money. He will hold his bag so tightly...I am like I cannot go to him! So you just dance and dance and that is just it and he goes. You will not ask for his contact..."

Patricia suggests that prostitute references directed at them are as a result of local men being jealous of 'white' men who take all the most beautiful Ugandan girls. "Because most of them complain, 'our beautiful girls are getting married to these white guys.'" A male acquaintance explains bitterly, "If you see a bunch of really skinny girls in a bar, then you know that they are not there to meet Ugandan men. If they are stupid enough to believe things will be better with a white man, then I am not interested in them anyway."

What is interesting is that even though most local men I spoke to dismissed women seeking 'white' men and referred to them as whores, my female respondents reported scores of 'black' local men responding to their advertisements, despite the fact that they explicitly indicated seeking 'white' men. These men tried to persuade girls to go for them instead[22].

Female respondents are defiant against the onslaught of the prostitute label. Besides redirecting the label to other girls, they also expressed hope that these labels could be changed: "I believe that getting married to a white man, I am changing some beliefs, you know. Like that the children belong to the man. And I'm sending out a message that not all women who get married to white men are prostitutes." (Patricia)

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[22] These men might be interested in female respondents because they want to 'save' them from betraying 'blackness,' or they might see these women as 'worth' dating because they were setting high standards by seeking 'white' men. This is assuming that the men who called also buy into a racial hierarchy.

Diana was the only female respondent who mentioned status and positive attention as motivation for dating a white man:

"Being a Ugandan, if you have a white boyfriend, goodness. It is kind of prestigious. I would show him around. I would let everybody know that I am moving out with a white guy. Despite the fact that we have moved from those ancient things, we still find whites a little more ahead of us. You're seen as, I don't know how to explain it, but prestigious. My friend tells me, every time she is with him and they are out there, people look at her with this 'Eh she is lucky' - something like that."

Next, I explore the main arguments put forward by female respondents justifying their companion choice.

Chapter Seven: Women speak out: Critiquing masculinities and cultural discontent

7.1. 'Culture'

Culture emerged during discussions as an important source of identification and dis-identification and also as a point of contestation for respondents. This chapter has been included because the majority of female respondents referred to local culture as a reason why they do not desire local men. Not only does a critique of culture explain their motivation for desiring 'white' men, their discourses of culture also illustrate some of the identity positions they take while expressing their desires.

In this chapter I first discuss globalization and fears of its homogenizing tendency, as well as cultural closures and identity fixing, as a reaction to these fears. I have included fears of globalization and identity fixing, because the majority of female respondents draw attention to a strict and dominant patriarchal discourse of culture. Thereafter, I explore the notion of culture as understood and articulated by respondents. I refer to discussions on culture by leading scholars to position these understandings. Next, I discuss the selective modernity of men as they navigate change and decide on cultural closure in order to protect the dominant construction of masculinity. I take on gender equality debates, related to culture, that emerged during interviews and fieldwork, looking specifically at various femininities and the ways in which they are negotiated. Finally, I look at how respondents' ideas of losing or changing culture merge, often awkwardly, with their desire to marry 'white' men and women.

7.1.1. Global flows and cultural closures: In flux or fixed?

In female respondents' discourse, local men are portrayed as privileged benefactors of culture. And women believe that men, like culture, cannot be changed. In contrast to women who adopt change and seek modernity, men are believed to be "static and dehistoricized emblems of particularity," who fear Western influence, especially its influence on gender issues (Kelsky 1999: 238). One day, in my residence laundry room, I asked a friend about Kiganda culture in relation to gender equality. A man I had never met became emotional and responded on her behalf, "You come here with your Western agendas, your dangerous Western agendas." I was interested in his response and decided to get his view on culture. Ironically, much of what he claimed to be traditionally 'Kiganda' has been adopted or influenced by the West or East. For example: piety and modesty in dress as is exemplified by the *gomesi*. When I alluded to missionary and colonial influences, he refused to acknowledge them. Culture is seen to be essentially pre-colonial, wholly African, and most importantly, unchanging.

"For sure, exactly. I don't want that one, over-loading my culture." (Edward on globalization)

The fear that globalization's homogenizing tendencies will eradicate cultural particularities is not new. The male fears of cultural loss, referred to by female respondents are actually an articulation of an argument first proposed by economists, political scientists and mass communication experts at the time when globalization first emerged as an academic subject. They pointed out that through "the impact of new technologies of communication and transport, and the intensified circulation of goods and people on a global scale, cultural difference was supposed to disappear" (Meyer and Geschiere 1999: 1). Some celebrated homogeneity, the utopia of the 'global village' and the economic prosperity that globalization could bring to nations; others criticized economic globalization and the overpowering nature of Western imperialism in the asymmetrical relationship between the West and other countries.

Scholars have since shown that "uniformization" actually tends "to lead to a hardening of cultural contrasts or even to engender new oppositions" (Meyer and Geschiere 1999: 2). The culturally homogenizing tendencies of globalization have been met with "continued or even reinforced cultural heterogeneity" (Meyer and Geschiere 1999: 2). 'Global flows' have produced cultural 'closure,' because open-ended, global flows prompt a desire, "for fixed orientation points and action frames, as well as determined efforts to affirm old and construct new boundaries" (Meyer and Geschiere 1999: 2). These explanations describe what is happening in the urban setting of Kampala. Gendered identities that were once more "fussy and permeable" are being reified. And in the process, culture too, is being fixed.

Fear of globalization's homogenizing effects is not the only influence fixing identities. Rouse, urges scholars to study identity as part of Western imperialism. He suggests that capitalist discourse has resulted in the belief that one should own an identity as one owns capital. His argument is illustrated in the efforts of colonial regimes, to fix identities of subjects through the 'identity card' (Meyer and Geschiere 1999: 9). Partha Chatterjee encourages scholars to understand identity in the light of new techniques of domination, applied by the modern state (1993: 221-223). Modern states tend to fix population by censuses, tax measures etc. These techniques of control solidify boundaries of communities that used to be more diffuse and permeable (Meyer and Geschiere 1999: 9).

Yet another take on identity fixing is seeing it as a reaction to the disparaging discourse of colonialism, that produced what some refer to as, Africa's "deep and lasting crises of identity" (Kebede 1999: 40). Emmanuel refers to this crisis that manifests in what he perceives as inferiority:
"Now when food is nice they say 'Eh it is English food' … That is the mentality. 'You are like a *muzungu*.' 'You look nice like a *muzungu*!' You get the point? So people's mentality has been driven to perceive that way. 'Eh this car. You have got a nice one like a *muzungu*.' 'It is clean like a *muzungu*, like a white.' But are blacks dirty? Do you see the point?"

In relation to underdevelopment, Messay Kebede explains, "Should Africans feel that a major reason for inadequacy is the loss of identity, we see them engaged in the task of restoring precolonial links" (1999: 42). One witnesses the emergence of concepts, like 'negritude,' 'African personality', and 'black is beautiful,' as attempts to "liberate the psyche from the shackles of oppression" (Kabwegyere 1972: 312). In the light of this resistance, modernization may be perceived as "the abandonment of individual's cultural values, in favour of that of the former colonisers" (Mutunhu 2011: 67). And selective modernity should be understood as an ideological response to the colonial critique of local traditions. Pre-colonial identities are drawn upon as a form of resistance. They offer the ideal African identity that is "undominated, sovereign, master of its own fate." (Chatterjee 1989: 624) The problem with this reaction, as explained by Amartya Sen, is that people are redefining themselves as "the Other" (in contrast with "the West") and this implies the loss of independent identity (Sen 2004: 55).

In this study, I find that gender is an area in which these fears, 'closures' and identity fixing are emotionally and sometimes aggressively articulated and enforced. If men decide to embrace Westernization selectively, gender issues are an area, where flows are strictly controlled, so that influence is minimal. In this case, uncertainty caused by global cultural flows fuel the defiant 'production of locality' (Adams and Markus 2001: 291). In the light of constant reinterpretation and adaptation of gendered identities, men (and some women) develop an obsession with clarification and fixing 'true' identities. Arjun Appadurai (1996) warns against the dangers of attempts at closure and their often-violent enforcement. Brigit Meyer and Peter Geschiere, emphasize the importance of understanding closures by asking the following questions: Who creates new boundaries and securities by which to live, why are these created, and against or with whom? (1999: 14).

Female respondents suggest their own answers to these questions. They believe that men protect culture (particularly those areas relating to gender) because it benefits them.[23] But before I address this protection or policing of culture, I first deal with the particular understanding of culture articulated in respondents' discourses.

7.1.2. "But who is this culture?"

"If a man cannot tell you that I am doing this for me, he will at least tell you that culture requires us to do this. But who is this culture? Who wrote this culture? If we didn't have it, wouldn't we live? Wouldn't we be happy?" (Patricia)

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[23] "It is to the advantage of the man to preserve the culture…they are trying to preserve their power, their authority as men." (Patricia)

Policing and protection of culture implies that culture is some*thing* to protect. In this way, men, and women, express an understanding of the term 'culture' that is highly problematic and leads to feelings, as expressed above, that abandoning culture will bring freedom and happiness. Meyer and Geschiere diverge from the classic view of culture produced by anthropologists, adopted by social scientists and internalized by the people concerned. This is a view "of the world as a conglomerate of separate and internally homogeneous cultures, each with its own essence, so that intercultural contacts are understood in terms of loss of authenticity" (Meyer and Geschiere 1999: 4). This view is based on the belief in authentic cultures that need protection from 'Americanization' or 'westernization'. But the very 'authentic' and 'endangered' cultures that people are trying to protect, are themselves products of historical forces, including the colonial enterprise and the ensuing world order (Meyer and Geschiere 1999: 4).

Scholars like Geschiere, Appadurai, Douglas, Sen and others have tried to redeem anthropology, and other disciplines, from this bounded understanding of culture. Sen has developed a concept of culture that sees it as part of a set of capabilities that people have to draw upon (Rao and Walton 2004: 4). Bourdieu describes culture as a form of capital (Rao and Walton 2004: 117). Kuran considers culture, a living organism (Rao and Walton 2004: 117). And Douglas explains that culture is the moral and intellectual spirit of a particular form of organization (2004: 88). Rao and Walton explain that culture, "is not a set of primordial phenomena, permanently embedded within national or religious or other groups, but rather a set of contested attributes, constantly in flux, both shaping and being shaped by social and economic aspect of human interaction." (2004: 4)

Amartya Sen identifies three undeniable characteristics of culture that are important to consider for this study. First: what may be considered as one, distinct culture may in fact be immensely heterogeneous and have many internal discordant voices. Secondly: culture does not stand still. Sen suggests that any presumption of "stationarity" can be disastrously deceptive (2004: 44*)*. Not only does this deny the variation within the category, it also overlooks the evolution of the culture with its variations over time. And finally: cultures interact with each other. They cannot possibly be seen as insulated structures (2004: 44*)*. In the words of Appadurai, "the boundaries of cultural systems are leaky, and… traffic and osmoses are the norm, not the exception." (Appadurai 2004: 61). Mary Douglas asserts, "There is no such thing as 'traditional culture'. It is misleading to speak as if it were definable and recognizable." (2004: 88)

Despite the fact that a reified view of culture is academically and socially problematic, it does exist and is powerful in the understanding and lived experiences of people. People do sometimes, misleadingly "construct an experience of both self and culture that is more coherent, continuous, reified or thing-like, than is true in fact" (Adams and Markus 2001: 284). And these social

constructions place constraints on the identity negotiation of individuals. Constraints may arise from the tendency of identity claims to be subject to social consensus, or from individuals having identities imposed upon them, regardless of acceptance or resistance. In other words, in the dialectical process of identity formation, individuals actually "produce and reproduce institutions, practices and artefacts of identity that take on a life of their own" (Adams and Markus 2001: 292). Identity formation/negotiation is socially and culturally grounded and personal identities are often closely related to identity categories that have been naturalized, through the making of norms or cultural generalizations (Adams and Markus 2001: 293).

Rob Pattman and Deevia Bhana's work on identity formation amongst youth in South Africa illustrates the relational nature of many identity categories. Their interviews with Grade 11, 'black' learners at formerly Indian schools, revealed that these girls draw on heterosexuality when identifying themselves in relation to girls (and boys) they construct as 'racial' Others (2009: 21). Relational identity categories "make sense only in relation to characteristics constructed as Other" and these oppositions tend to be reified as in 'black' and 'white', or male and female (2009: 22). Furthermore, Richard Johnson suggests that opposing identities are not only constructed in relation to each other, but that "they always carry in their inner configurations, some version (fantasy, image, imago) of the Other" (Johnson 1997). Understanding these identity constructions, as often reified and oppositional, is crucially important in this study. Masculine and feminine roles are articulated in respondents' discussions on culture where masculinity is often expressed as domination of the feminine and femininity is expressed as subordination to the masculine. I find that men express strong opinions on what a woman should be. Similarly, female respondents express their frustration with what they understand as traditional/cultural masculinity, versus their fantasy of a Western masculinity.

Terms such as "culture says," "culture believes," "governed," "rules," "bear culture" and "we found it there," common in respondents' discourse on culture, clearly illustrate a very specific understanding of culture in this context. The words and phrases used by female respondents illustrate the perception respondents have of culture as a sacred source that commands and decrees. When asked to explain their understanding of culture, many respondents simply stated general rules such as, "To me culture, now here in Buganda, a woman has to kneel down to a man." (Julia) And, "[W]hen I think of culture here women are supposed to kneel. She is supposed to respect her husband. Supposed to do whatever he tells you." (Justine)

Culture is seen to be something inherited from the past, inherited in a fixed form. The fact that respondents perceive culture as something that has been passed down over generations unchanged, means that they are reluctant to seek change. As in a relay, they are hesitant to drop the torch, that respected ancestors and elders have kept burning for so long. Respondents express an acceptance of

the world, and of themselves, as is defined by 'culture'. An acquaintance explained that he does not know where culture came from, but "it is here", "it is a given"[24] and it is something that cannot be changed because "We found it in the world."

Furthermore, culture is believed to be incompatible with or counteractive to modernity, education, development and (sometimes) civilization. It is also understood to be one with tradition and is believed to be 'strongest' in 'the village'. Respondents explain that in 'the village' one will find culture in its purest form. This is where it is most strictly enforced and passed down from one generation to the next. Consequently, women and men explain, this is where women are most oppressed (implying a strong connection between culture and female oppression as perceived by respondents). As one moves from 'the village' towards town and city, as one encounters 'education', 'development' and 'modernity', 'culture' becomes increasingly contested. Education is one influence that brings culture and gender roles into question. Modernity, globalization and development mix uneasily with culture. Understanding culture in the light of these influences gives rise to various negotiations, often creating contradictory positions, as fluid phenomena are imprisoned by articulation, identity fixing and cultural closures.

"…The more people are educated, the more they leave their cultures. Because some men fail to get married to educated women, just because they believe that educated women are unruly. You cannot rule her. An educated woman cannot kneel down when greeting you. She will just say, 'Good afternoon honey.' And then for them they want you to kneel down, to greet in their local language. You can't even say anything in English when you are at home." (Justine)

Even though education is seen to be encouraging culture change, Patricia explains that often education is not enough to overcome the powerfully engrained cultural beliefs dictating gender roles:
"Our generation is spoilt I would say. I think we are contaminated somehow. Christian, non-Christian, educated, not educated, culture and the way we have been socialized as women and men … a man grows up, from the time that he is a child, knowing that he is superior. That is why you see we have ministers, we have pastors, we have teachers, people who are in positions of power and still they are living according to what was instilled in them, you know the stereotypes. So it is very difficult to get a man, I would think, who would treat you as an equal. Really it is difficult."

While women perceive culture as unchanging (or changing too slowly) and often oppressive, men perceive valuable culture as changing rapidly. While the majority of female respondents experience these rules as restricting, most men see them as valuable in that they order society. David explains that

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[24] While culture is perceived to be "given," it is also perceived by women to be constructed and used by men for their benefit.

culture "streamlines people. It puts them on the right path." While Prisca says, "You are supposed to bear the culture, yet the culture is in control of your future, is in control of your life. So you are forced to bear it…So that is the life we live here in Africa, most of us live like that, because we are forced. It is not what we want. But we are born in Africa, we have grown up in Africa. So you find you have grown up in that culture, you are down, always down. You can't think of something extra. You always think of culture, culture, culture."

"Generally they (men) are not happy, because they still want to retain their superiority. And women's emancipation is a threat to their superiority. But that does not apply to all." (Bob)

Edward expresses his fears of cultural loss and its detrimental effects on gender relations:
"African tradition for sure it is deteriorating. And personally, I want to maintain our culture. It is very important. The lifestyle has completely changed. There is no respect between men and women because of culture.…Before, in the past years, you could find that women are not supposed to do some activities, like going clubbing.…The way of life has completely changed. The dress code has changed, because I remember traditionally if you could just wear these mini-skirts, you could even be chased from the family."
"So you would prefer if women were still wearing long dresses?"
"Yes, they should be putting on long dresses and dress smart."

But these roles of critics and policers of culture were not always clear-cut. They were often "shifting, contradictory, and contingent" (Kelsky 1999:230). Men would explain their desire for 'white' women, and when the question of culture arose, they would change their arguments as to glorify traditional Ugandan women and assert 'African' pride and allegiance. Once questioned, Edward went as far as saying that 'black' women are much better than white women, because "for sure they know how to dig."
"Dig?" I asked.
"You know when you are in the village there are those kinds of activities which for sure you cannot learn when you are already old. Now for example, a white cannot make a mat like that one (pointing to a colourful woven mat on my floor). But at our place my grandmothers they can do better, they can do good things which you [white women] can just see and appreciate. So my sister was like never do that [marry a white woman], OK actually she generalized them to be lazy. As in they are not hard-working compared to the local women.… I think black women are better, because currently they are carrying out agriculture.… If I bring a white lady here, she would have messed that up.…"
"So even though you think 'black' women are better, you still want a 'white' lady?"
"Still I want a white. However much I am informed, I know I want a white lady."

Some male respondents were also critical of the local culture and emphasized the need for change, especially concerning gender issues.

Women, on the other hand, express their frustration with an "African mentality" hindering modernization, but draw on their 'African identity' to emphasize their desirability as women. There are two ways in which they out-do white women: first, they have African curves and secondly, they are decent, respectable and pious. They offer their desirability as good, decent 'traditional' wives to 'white' men in the hope of marriage. Women express their belief in gender equality and simultaneously expect the traditional parts of their culture that benefit them to remain unquestioned:
 "We, the African women have this thing that if somebody cares, he can provide something small." (Diana)

"Here girls … how they are brought up is that they are supposed to be provided for.… If she also has money, if the wife works, she can refuse to pay rent … and you also have to pay bride price. Or give gifts. It is part of our culture." (Ben)

Women want a "modern" Western man, who will care for them financially as a traditional Ugandan would. These changing and sometimes contradictory positioning(s) of self illustrate the "increasingly complicated terrain of identity formation in transnationalized capitalist regimes, among cosmopolitan – or would-be cosmopolitan – subjects" (Kelsky 1999: 231).

Lastly, I want to introduce a few excerpts that illustrate the double standard of cultural flexibility. Men, who were usually supportive of cultural practices, explained that they, and their families, would excuse a 'white' woman who did not perform or participate in practices such as kneeling to male relatives. When I asked why she would be excused, they explain that she is from a different culture, that she did not grow up doing these things. Then, when I asked whether a 'black' woman from a different culture would be excused from these practices, they said absolutely not. This double standard serves to illustrate the belief in 'white' superiority or exceptionality as well as belief in concepts like 'Africa' and 'African' implying unity, similarity and conformity, throughout a geographical imaginary.

"I don't feel bad about that [women kneeling], simply because I grew up in it. But I would not demand anyone to kneel for me."
"So your wife, you would not expect that from her?"
"No. I have only one problem. For whites it is fine. But if I get someone from Acholi, then we go down to Buganda, to my home. If that someone brings [something] to me, or to my dad, or to my

mother like this without kneeling, then the family will say, 'what is this?' So that is my fear. That they will say, 'What kind of lady is this?'"

"The Acholi don't do that?"

"No they don't do that. Etesols, Northern Uganda and eastern Uganda they don't kneel. So my worry is the family. What will they say? Because this is our culture."

"So if it is a 'white' person they will understand, but if it is another 'black' person from a different culture, they will not understand?"

"No they will not understand. I don't know why."

"But they are both from different cultures."

"That's right, but I think, like to explain, you know there is a way that people here favour whites. I don't know why. But they consider them so different."

"So they will excuse them?"

"Ya they will excuse them." (Bob)

"Where I come from it is rare to see that, but now if you bring a lady from Kenya, she won't kneel, but after one year she will be kneeling."

"Why?"

"They will force her."

"Who?"

"Culture will make her. They won't force her physically, but emotionally. Because to show that you are disciplined you should do that." (David)

"In your culture, do the women kneel down to the men?"

"Ya that one is compulsory."

"Would you expect a 'white' girl to do that?"

"White girls for them they are quite different from us. Because us here in Africa you are brought up from a child with that habit of kneeling. It is a sign of respect."

 "If you were to marry a local woman, would you expect her to kneel down?"

"I would expect her to kneel before me." (Edrin)

Culture change

As mentioned previously, most female respondents do not express hope that what they construct as oppressive aspects of their culture can change. And those who believe that it can say that change is too slow for them to wait for it:

"Culture can change, but it cannot change overnight. But you will not wait for those years till culture changes for you to be happy. If I can find my happiness somewhere else, then let me go for it. And in the mean time while I'm looking for my happiness, culture will be changing gradually. But I will not

wait and sit in Uganda and say 'OK maybe culture will change in 2020 let me wait, that's when I'll also get married.'" (Patricia)

While female respondents believe that a lack of education is the main factor prohibiting cultural change, they are also critical of women who "oppress themselves," by buying into cultural expectations of femininity:

"Some women embrace these cultural beliefs so much that they even oppress themselves and oppress fellow women. For example, you find if there is an emergency at home and there is no man, maybe the husband has gone away and the grandfather is not around, women will not be able to make a decision unless they bring in even a young boy. They will bring in a young boy and say, 'Let's listen to what X has to say'. The fact that he is a boy, they will listen to him. So that is how culture has enabled women to even oppress themselves…which is not the case with the white race." (Patricia)

Female respondents believe that getting married to a 'white' man is one way in which they can change their own culture and the culture of their children. In this way 'whiteness' is associated with gender equity.

"It will take years and years and I don't know, when is that? Culture, OK it changes in some ways. But when it comes to relationships … maybe the only way it can change is when it comes to inter-marriages." (Justine)

"Maybe like we, who are planning to get married to white people. The children will be raised to see both ways, so they will be in a position to say 'No, I am not doing this because it is not right, I will do this,' so it is them who will have to change. Their generation will have to change. Because they will look at mom's culture and say 'No, I do not like this culture of kneeling down, I cannot do that. Because back home in my father's culture we do not do that,' so they will have a choice. They will have their own way of showing respect that does not oppress their rights or their freedom as children or as future adults. We hope that that will bring light to our lives, as far as culture is concerned." (Patricia)

"You as an individual you also have to try and change culture in a positive way. So if I get married to a white man, I am changing my culture, but in a positive way. I don't have to be circumcised for you to know that I will be a good wife. I don't have to be submissive in a very derogatory way for you to know that I am a good wife. I don't have to be uneducated for me to be a good wife. No. I can participate in family affairs, make decisions, go and work and also contribute towards family welfare and still be a good wife." (Patricia)

Amartya Sen draws attention to the destructive consequences of cultural generalizations. They can "serve as tools of sectarian prejudice, social discrimination, and even political tyranny. Simple cultural generalizations have great power in fixing our way of thinking …" (2004: 44). Similarly, Rao and Walton note that culture affects the way in which a disadvantaged group views its status within social hierarchy. It can also limit the aspirations of those at the bottom of the hierarchy, create discrimination, and block mobility (Rao and Walton 2004: 15).

Some respondents refer to the danger of cultural fixing/generalizations:
"Culture is somehow fixed. It can be fixed somewhere where you don't like. It can limit you." (Banet)

Rachael explains that, in her case ('culture'), women are the disadvantaged group:
"No they are not equal."
"Why? What makes you say that?"
"OK it's the culture. Because for us here in Buganda men and women are not supposed to be equal … because the culture believes that women are under men." (Rachael)

Prisca refers to the mentality of inadequacy that this inequality fosters:
"Most women you see here in Africa are always down. They don't mind education. They don't have that feeling that I can do something on my own." (Prisca)

And Julia talks about the sometimes-violent enforcement of cultural generalizations as rules:
"If you kneel down for the first time and then the next day you don't kneel down, the guy just, I don't know he can even slap you. It is like you are not respecting him." (Julia)

Based on the ways female and male respondents spoke about 'culture,' I want to pose the following questions: Why are women given the burden of being symbols of culture in that they are expected to 'wear' or 'display' 'culture'? Why, in the panic of cultural change and loss, do men point fingers at women for not taking up their traditional gender roles? Why the double standard, where men pursue modern lifestyles, dress in suits and work in high-rise offices, but if a woman works an office job, wears heels and form fitting skirts, she is accused of being sexually promiscuous or culturally deviant? Why do men choose which areas of life they wish to keep traditional (e.g. polygyny) and which they wish to modernize? It is important to consider these questions in the light of the urban setting of Kampala, where cosmopolitan meanings are sought, not only from the rural village surroundings, but also from the world at large.

In *The wretched of the earth*, Franz Fanon states:

the passionate search for a national culture which existed before the colonial era finds its legitimate reason in the anxiety shared by native intellectuals to shrink away from that Western culture in which they all risk being swamped. Because they realise they are in danger of losing their lives and thus becoming lost to their people, these men, hot headed and with anger in their hearts, relentlessly determine to renew contact once more with the oldest and more pre-colonial springs of life of their people. (1990: 168-169)

In this section, Fanon accurately identifies and predicts the role of culture by black intellectuals in a post-colonial period. "Claim to a national culture in the past" serves "as a justification for the hope of a future national culture." I find a similar tendency amongst most male respondents, who emphasize the important role of 'culture' and stress its preservation in the face of Westernization. Fanon also accurately highlights that an emphasis on 'culture', especially, 'pre-colonial culture,' tends to construct culture as sacred, traditional and timeless in highly problematic ways. This too, is evident in my findings.

However, Rob :states:

> Fanon's understanding of the historical dilemma of the black colonial or postcolonial intellectual, fearful of being culturally rootless while confronting alien domination and racism, has profoundly influenced debate in postcolonial studies. Yet Fanon's view falls short, despite its critical importance, because it accounts for only part of the complex stance towards culture which elite intellectuals adopt in the course of their postcolonial education (1999: Page unknown).

Pattman explains that it is the force of gender relations in the making of elite intellectuals and their discourse around culture, which is largely missing from Fanon's observations. Pattman draws on his research undertaken at Masvingo Teachers' College in Zimbabwe to illustrate the impact of gender relations on the ways that elite intellectuals come to construct culture as a discourse. Pattman draws attention to the way in which 'culture' is mobilized against 'modern' women students who are perceived by men to challenge male dominance/status. Furthermore, women who are perceived to be 'modern' are accused of violating their 'culture' and their bodies in their pursuit of westernization, while rural women are glorified as repositories of culture.

I turn now to the question of selective modernity by men, as well as their self-appointed roles as policers[25] of culture. Despite the fact that women perceive men as unchanging and static with regard to culture and modernity, they are undeniably changing, possibly at a slower pace. In their encounter

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[25] 'Policers of culture' is a term I use to describe the protecting-culture-behavior discussed by female respondents.

with modernity and western imperialism, men choose which aspects to embrace, which to reject, which norms to strengthen, which identities to invest in etc. Here I try to understand the double standard between men and women's acceptable access to modernity as described by female respondents. I reason that it is in fact men, for the most part, who make these decisions, who set the boundaries, and try, possibly failingly, to impose them in what is undeniably a patriarchal society. I draw on Partha Chatterjee's work on how nationalism in India sought to resolve the women's question in the face of colonialism and Western imperialism.

7.1.3. Selective modernity

Partha Chatterjee writes about the nationalist project in India where material techniques of modern Western civilization were incorporated, while retaining and strengthening the distinctive spiritual essence of the national culture (1989: 623). The nationalist project chose what to take from the West and what to reject. In the same way, the patriarchal order in Uganda may choose to adopt specific aspects of modernization, while rejecting others.

Chatterjee refers to the separation of social spheres into the home and the world. While the world represents the external, the domain of the material, the home represents one's true identity. The home is also typically a male domain, in that it is an area where gendered identities can be most aggressively enforced. This resulted in a separation of social roles by gender, to correspond to the public or private domain. While the public sphere had no alternative than to learn from the West in terms of modern sciences and arts of the material world, the private sphere could be protected, preserved, the essence of the people strengthened. The private sphere was the one place where colonizers were not allowed to penetrate, or corrupt. Chatterjee explains, "In the world, imitation of and adaptation to Western norms was a necessity: at home, they were tantamount to annihilation of one's very identity" (1989: 625). This separation of public world and private home in the preservation of culture, sheds some light on my study in Uganda and is brilliantly illustrated in the following two quotes, where Patricia comments on the double lives of middle class women:

"She knows she is educated, yes she has her masters, her degree, her PhD, or she is a professor, but back home she is being beaten and she feels it is OK, because culture says … culture has brought us up to believe that men have more authority than the women."

"… We even see professors here, doctors who are having problems back home. She is educated, more than the husband, but back home the man will tell her, 'Leave your degrees outside, when you get into my home you are my wife and behave like a wife.'"

Chatterjee describes the crisis of the newly emergent middle class of Bengal during colonial rule. This crisis was that the very institutions of home and family were under threat, they were being forced to

adjust, and a certain degree of imitation of foreigness was unavoidable. But could these new forms of family life be allowed in their homes? Would they not lead to a breakdown of identity? Furthermore, the position of women in the "modern" world offered a moral dilemma. New norms were needed that would be more appropriate to the external conditions of the modern world, and yet not a mere imitation of the West. Thus new attempts to define the social and moral principles for locating their identities were sought (1989: 625/626). This dilemma discussed by Chatterjee is strikingly similar to the cultural panic over gender issues brooding in Kampala today. And so too the response: seeking solutions through fixing identities, pinpointing norms and creating ever-stricter boundaries.

Chatterjee explains that one attempt at solving this dilemma in India at that time, was the identification of the natural and social principles, which provide the basis for feminine virtues. And modesty, or decorum in manner and conduct, was identified as the most important feminine trait (1989: 625). What is important for this study, however, is not the specific traits identified during that time in India, but the fact that feminine virtues were being identified and fixed. And this fixing was a crucial form of resistance against Western imperialism, within the private sphere of the home. Chatterjee's study thus gives insight into the enforcement of feminine roles upon middle class women in Uganda and the contradictions and difficulties that arise between women in the public domain, versus women at home. Women are torn between the influences of a changing outside world and the increasingly strict enforcement of fortified traditional gender roles at home. To make matters even more complicated, women's resistance in the home may, in the eyes of their male kin, jeopardize the greater fight for independent African identity and emancipation from Western imperialism. For this reason, they are vulnerable to accusations of cultural deviance and are easily labelled traitors, for siding with 'former colonizers'.

Along with the separation of public and private domains, women are pressured to take up the main responsibility for protecting and nurturing the 'essential qualities' of 'traditional culture.' They must not "become *essentially* Westernized" (Chatterjee 1989: 627). As in India, "There would have to be a marked difference in the degree and manner of Westernization of women, as distinct from men, in the modern world …" (Chatterjee 1989: 627). The changes that the modern world has forced upon men, have to be compensated for, by purity of behaviour on the part of women, "they must maintain the cohesiveness of family life and solidarity with the kin to which men could not now devote much attention". This new social responsibility as the guardians or symbols of identity, tradition and culture, Chatterjee explains, "[bind] them to a new, and yet entirely legitimate, subordination" (1989: 629).

The "new woman" is being subjected to what Chatterjee refers to as "a *new* patriarchy". New, because traditional gender roles are not simply recalled, they are adopted selectively, reinterpreted, reconstructed, essentialised, decontextualized and "fortified against charges of barbarism and

irrationality" (Chatterjee 1989: 627). This reconstruction and reinforcement of tradition is the result of various debates relating to women's education, their place at home, their place in the public working environment etc.

Interestingly, Chatterjee notes that the ideal balance of traditional and modern femininity could elevate local, middle-class women to a position of superiority over Western women who through education and other skills in the public domain lose their feminine virtues completely (1989: 627). This position of superiority, or local dignity and pride, may explain why many middle-class women embrace and perpetuate the patriarchal ideal of the "new woman". They find meaning in the precarious and delicate positioning on the tightrope between tradition and 'modernity'. They may be encouraged to pursue PhD's, for example, while still proud to kneel down to husbands at home. In this way education does not eliminate their femininity. Indeed, Chatterjee refers to the Indian women writers of that time, who themselves justified the importance of so-called "feminine virtues" such as "chastity, self-sacrifice, submission, devotion, kindness, patience and the labours of love" (1989:629). Once essential femininity was fixed in terms of certain culturally, visible qualities, women could access more freedom in the public sphere. There would be no confusion, as the signs of their femininity were clearly marked – "in her dress, her eating habit, her social demeanour, her religiosity"; these markers all had their own histories of inclusion into culturally appropriate feminine forms (Chatterjee 1989: 629). Consequently, adherence to patriarchal ideals of femininity, actually serves to facilitate women's freedom to move out of the confines of the private domestic domain.

However, respondents are not these women. They cannot, or will not, resolve the contradictions. They want full-blown, 'Western modernity', a 'Western modernity' that they perceive as non-patriarchal and humanistic.

In the following section, I explore female and male understandings of the term 'equality' and the contradictions that arise throughout discussions that draw on both human rights and traditional discourses. I have included a section on 'equality,' because female respondents identified gender inequality as a reason why they do not desire relationships with 'black' men.

7.1.4. Equality: Human rights versus tradition

All respondents, except Susan from West Nile and Sharon from central Uganda, said that in their culture men and women are not considered equal and that men are superior. When I asked for their personal opinions, most respondents, except Edward, agreed that men and women are in fact equal.[26] However, further discussion revealed that there are vastly different understandings of 'equality', and

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[26] Edward commented on gender equality saying, "Personally I think that a man should remain a man." (Edward)

these might be race/culture specific. Women mostly explain equality in terms of education, work in the public sector, equality in the domestic sphere, and financial security; and see gender equality based on human rights, as overriding cultural norms. While men understand equality in terms of women in public positions of power and opportunity to work (not including the domestic sphere) and believe that cultural norms override equality. And while women draw on universal humanist rights to back their understandings of equality, men point to traditional signs of respect between the genders, to keep equality discussion in check. Within these generalized opposing views, there are contradictions and complexities.

The following excerpt demonstrates that terms like 'equality' are not straightforward. Edrin sees no contradiction between gender equality and male superiority. Equality stops at an ideological level, whereas culture and "compulsory" gender roles are practiced daily:

"Do you think that in your culture, men and women are of equal value?"

"Ya for me they are equal, they are all humans."

"And culturally, do you think they are equal?"

"No. A man is more superior than a woman."

"So what changed your mind?"

"I have it in mind they are equal because of the way my mom raised me up. She contributed towards my success. That is why I say they are equal."

"In your culture, do the women kneel down to the men?"

"Ya that one is compulsory…It is a sign of respect."

"Why do the men not do it?"

"No us men cannot kneel for ladies."

"Why?"

"No no no, that one is not here in Africa, it's not. With the man being superior."

"But you said the man is not superior."

"No I said they are equal. But it is to show respect."

"But how do you show respect?"

"The way I behave towards her."

"But can she not show it in the way she behaves towards you?"

"No."

"If you think they are equal doesn't that inequality make you angry?"

"Me I have no problem with that." (Edrin)

Mark Hunter writes about the problematic nature of the simple opposition between universal, human rights discourses and tradition and draws attention to the fact that rights must be understood within their historical context. "[R]ights have never been hermetically sealed entities," he explains, and

suggests that a simple positioning of rights, as a modern alternative to backward traditions, misses the political-economic changes that shape gender inequality today (2010: 131). Through his ethnographic work in South Africa, he explores the multiple sites of struggle that arise out of gender equality, rights-based approaches, by situating them historically. He also illustrates the creative ways in which women blend discourses of liberal rights, with wider moral claims, in constructing their interests and identities - and to navigate intimate relationships with men (2010: 131/132). What follows, is a discourse analysis that illustrates the ways in which my female respondents construct identities, involving 'modern' and 'traditional' gender roles, in relation to their interests. These identity positionings emerged as female respondents discussed their, and other women's, experiences regarding gender equality in Uganda.

Some female respondents explain female oppression, as Liz does below, as men's failure to provide. In this way, they see oppression as men's inability to fulfil accepted cultural gender roles, so that a 'loss' of culture results in female suffering. Women are forced to take on the burden of masculine fatherly roles along with maternal roles:

"OK the government has tried to improve this because it has put emancipation. Equality. But not really, because many women are now suffering. When I look at my sisters, they are the ones who take the kids to school, their fathers don't attend to them, they don't buy anything, they don't buy clothes, they don't buy shoes ..." (Liz)

Liz's quote is important, because while she acknowledges government attempts at promoting gender equality, she explains that these attempts do not bring change in the lived experiences of women, especially not in domestic matters. Furthermore, her quote illustrates the danger of gender equality initiatives backfiring, when they result in men abandoning cultural gender roles that are actually beneficial to mothers. This implies that women find ways to draw on 'culture' and 'tradition' in ways that benefit them by providing material security for them and their children.

On the other hand, some women explain female liberation, as Jane does, as a woman's ability to provide for herself, to care for her children and send them to school, especially when the man cannot or will not. This implies that female emancipation or feelings of empowerment are often directly related to men's failure to fulfil socially accepted masculine roles. Jane states:

"I am equal. I can get my own money…I can take care of me…They are happy when a woman comes and kneels down 'Please can I get some money to go to the salon,' he feels big…But me, when I have a problem, I can decide, because I have my own money." (Jane)

In this quote, Jane clearly illustrates the link between female earnings and empowerment. She is critical of women who subordinately "kneel down" to men, glorifying them as providers. The

relationship described by Jane, between female empowerment and male disempowerment, or at least feelings of disempowerment, sheds light on the often-aggressive retaliation by men and their attempts to enforce, fixed cultural and traditional gender roles. Jane says that men feel "big" when a woman asks for money, thereby illustrating that men's masculinity is confirmed by their ability to exercise the masculine role of provider, as "A good man is someone who can care for the family" (Edward). Furthermore, a woman kneeling down and asking for something from a man, his ability to grant or deny, confirms his superiority. Consequently, it doubly confirms his masculinity, as men are considered superior to women.

Contradictions are found in men's discourse on equality as well. Men say that they believe men and women are equal, but then add that women must not take equality too far. Women take equality too far when they "want to take over," "want to be on top," "disrespect" men, "put on trousers" or refuse to kneel to male relatives. The concept of equal is problematic because it is culture dependent:
"They don't know the limits of women's emancipation. They don't know what they are supposed to do and what they are not supposed to do. So at times they go beyond. What they call equality, they interpret as disrespect or something.…They go to the other extreme, they actually want to take over, to be on the top. Not to be equal, not to strike a balance, but to be above." (Bob)

I asked Joshua whether gender equality is a good thing, he responded:
"Ya it is a good thing, but no it depends on what makes them equal."
"What do you mean?"
"Like for example. In our culture they used to say that ladies don't put on trousers what. Like in church you find a lady putting on a trouser or a mini skirt like this, you know?" (Joshua)

Hunter (2010) discusses men's outrage at women wearing trousers in a community in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. He explains that contestation over the "seemingly mundane act of wearing trousers," makes sense when one understands that trousers are articles of clothing associated with men. And women putting on 'men's' clothes evoke emotions and arguments associated with women taking on, or taking over, 'men's' roles. In South Africa these struggles, he explains, first started when industrialization in the late 1970s and 1980s produced "industrial women," who were finding work and even becoming householders (2010: 171). Women's move into the labour force, combined with "the virtual ending of the 'patriarchal bargain' centered on marriage," resulted in the contestation of male-female relations (Hunter 2010: 173).

In his explanation on the dangers of equality, Joshua also refers to women wearing miniskirts. Here he draws on the very common tendency, to sexualize women, constructed as modern as a way of devaluing and degrading their 'new found' freedom. In order to emphasize the degradation of women,

through equality, he draws on religious notions of piety. Not only do women who are equal-to-men wear trousers and mini-skirts; they wear them "in church!" Joshua implies that this behaviour must be considered an abomination, thereby suggesting the moral 'danger' of gender equality.

Not all male respondents expressed panic over the perceived loss of masculinity, in relation to their versions of female liberation. In fact, some said that one of the very reasons they desire white women is because 'black' women are culturally taught to be silent and passive, qualities they do not appreciate. In this way they reject 'culturally appropriate' women, seeking instead what may be referred to as 'modern women'. Banet said, "Me, personally I prefer women who are equal to men," and explained that he likes a woman who can speak her mind. David said, "You know most of our women here, when she has a problem with you, she doesn't talk," and said that in his experience with a Korean friend, 'white' women are straightforward. And an acquaintance suggested that men appreciate that 'white' women are straightforward and "open", because local women are culturally socialized to be quiet and submissive. David believes that this quiet, subservience is problematic and detrimental to relationships because "silence can kill you slowly by slowly."

What follows is a discourse analysis of female respondents' views, regarding areas of contestation over gender equality (the ones that arose during interviews). My aim is to explore their experiences, in what they perceive to be a man's world and how they choose to position themselves, as they struggle to navigate and combine various femininities.

Working women are dangerous!

Women working in the public sphere and earning their own salaries, are a danger to masculinities based on the role of male provider. Mark Hunter explains that "masculinities are, at one level, always connected to male power; and that power is not readily given up" (2010:166). While the role of male provider may, in some cases, be beneficial to women (as explained by Liz), it also results in male economic control, and consequently power over women, especially when a woman is completely financially dependent. This explains why men have sought to prevent traditionally "good women" from "gaining an education, taking paid work, and avoiding domestic duties" (Hunter 2010: 166).

"I am equal. I can get my own money, I can pay my rent on my own. I can take care of me, I can take care of my brothers and sisters. And there are some things I can do, that men cannot do. Because you can find a man who cannot pay his own rent, but for me I can pay my rent. I can take care of myself, everything I want." (Jane)

In retaliation to women working and threatening male economic power and control, as Jane does, men accuse working women of being sexually promiscuous. Accusations of sexual promiscuity - so easily

directed at women, who are highly sexualized in public discourse - validate men putting an end to female employment. Patricia explains:

"You are working and then you are putting on your good skirt, maybe it is 'too tight' and then your husband is complaining so that means you are seeing the boss, or you are seeing some of your co-workers, because you are dressed in a very tight skirt. 'So from today onwards I don't want you contributing to anything.'" (Patricia)

There are other ways in which men manipulate women, in order to prevent them from working. Patricia refers to "economic violence," whereby a man economically manipulates a woman into resigning from her job, in order to get her into a financially dependent position. She elaborates:

"Back here when you get a man and have children and you are working, he will expect you to provide. And like I said, economic violence, there are moments when he will stop providing for the family, insisting that since you are working you should provide, you should support the family. A white man knows that the fact that I have children with this woman, these are my responsibilities. I have to look after my children….She is forced to quit. She becomes totally dependent and that is what I was talking about: economic violence. Culturally you are told a woman must depend on her husband. And it is very common in sub-Saharan Africa. Ya it is very common. Even we as girls when you are being prepared for marriage you know some of the things you are told, you have to show your husband that you are depending on him for everything. Because if you don't then he will feel less of a man."

In this account, Patricia brilliantly illustrates the connections between working women and the way in which they challenge the masculine role of 'provider' and in this way threaten masculinity. Furthermore, she refers to the way in which young girls are socialized to respect and cushion 'fragile' male identities. A girl needs to "show" or perform her dependence to bolster her husband's ego. This illustrates that men's affirmation of masculine traits is often directly related to, or dependent on feminine traits of subservience. In the light of this socialization and construction of delicate male identities that are maintained by female subservience, it is no surprise that working women literally 'bring down the house,' built on traditional heteronormativity.

Yet another reaction by men to working women is to literally deny the reality of women working, earning, providing and acting as consumers. This denial takes the form of acknowledging a man's provision as the reason for a woman's appearance of financial success. Jane explains:

"And when you do something, when you are a woman, they say 'Ah she's a woman.' When you can buy yourself a car, they think 'Ah the man buys her a car,' you know? They don't think that there are some women who can work and buy their own cars. They always think that we depend on men. But you see nowadays, many women are working. They have their own buildings, their own cars, and their own companies. Like ours is a women's organization".

In the same way that female employment threatens male power, men's unemployment undermines their ability to be "real men – to marry and make certain demands on women and junior men," thereby exerting power (Hunter 2010: 160). This explains why in areas with high unemployment rates, fears over gender equality increase, as does the patriarchal control over women.

Equality at the expense of marriage

The self-identified, third-world feminist, Uma Narayan (1997), tells of her personal experiences growing up in a traditional Indian home, to illustrate the contradictory messages mothers give their daughters in contemporary, third-world contexts. While her mother was eager for her to go to school and excel academically, to be confident, self-assertive and impudent, she was also anxious that these qualities would result in Narayan's inability to be a good "Indian" wife, for she would lack the essential, good-wife qualities of compliance, deference and submissiveness (1997: 8). This inherent contradiction and the anxieties it creates are expressed by respondents who seek to be 'modern' women, but at the same time desire successful marriage relationships. Performing certain traditionally, subordinate roles may protect one's marriage, in that they please one's husband and his family; but are women willing to make this compromise? For respondents, the answer to this contradiction is to marry a 'white' man. But will this solution be realized? Furthermore, it does not solve the contradiction in the lives of women who do not have that desire. Yet another complexity arises, when respondents draw on traditional feminine identities as assets for attracting ('white') men. This leads to women identifying some traditional roles/practices as "OK" and others as "oppressive". Or some are identified as "OK" if not taken too far.

The norm of women kneeling down, when talking to male kin arose often. I suspect this may be due to my particular interest in this practice. Julia says that at times she finds kneeling down too much, however, if she does kneel down for "each and every one" she will receive affirmation from her family-in-law:

"These things of kneeling down, there are times when it is too much. Kneeling down all the time. You kneel for elders ones, for the young ones and then eh, simply because you are married to their son. You know those things you kneel down for the brother-in-law, the youngest…. Ah me I don't want to do it. I don't want to kneel down for a boy, a young one. At least I can respect the older one. Now if you kneel down for each and every one they will say 'Ah here we have a woman. Sure you brought a woman!'" (Julia)

Diana, who feels that kneeling is not something typically done by educated women, suggests that kneeling is something one "can do once in a while. Like say it is in public and his friends are around or other big people are around. You can do it once in a while just to show that you respect him."

This conundrum of balancing a modern pursuit, for equality and self-respect, with being a 'good wife' or 'marriageable' woman, is not unique to respondents. Hunter found in his South African study that some female residents attempt to take on the identity of "a good woman". Because the notion of "a good woman" is linked to more traditional virtues of 'respect' (for men), these women are obliged to partially give up the notion of rights (2010: 132).

During his research in South Africa, Hunter came across the gendered figure *uzendazamshiya* – a single woman, literally left behind (she gets older, while remaining unmarried). This figure, he believes is symbolically important, especially amongst middle-class women, because it serves as "a painful reminder" that "reflects women's inability to control their intimate lives, in the way that dominant narratives of rights describe" (Hunter 2010: 154). This observation relates strongly to my research. While most female respondents presented themselves as liberated, independent women, their fragility in the uncertainty of their most intimate desires being fulfilled, seeped through their discourse. With every degree gained, every move towards 'modernity' and every year aged, female respondents become less desirable as marriage partners for Ugandan men. And while they seem strong in their convictions to marry a 'white' man, they constantly battle accusations of stupidity, for aiming at something unattainable, for missing realizable 'local' opportunities, for marriage and a comfortable life.

Diana expressed her concerns regarding delayed marriage and the social pressure to wed:
"I am so young, but you know what happens here. I am now in my third year. When you leave campus, usually your parents expect you to introduce someone. They are expecting you to get married. You know here they attach so much importance to marriage. It is not like out there where women don't get married and it's OK. Here you must, I should use the word must. If you are not married, even if you have a PhD, but you are not married, you are not respected, you need to have a man. And now I am concluding and I don't have a man. I am actually beginning to panic."

Submissive, subordinate wife: "You endure everything"
Female respondents spoke of marriage to a 'black' man as inescapable entrapment. In a cell where inequality, subordination and abuse reign, one is socialized to remain silent and endure. These very emotional accounts, are likely a reaction to hurt caused by past relationships with 'black' men. They may also be justifications for desires, in response to accusations of 'betrayal' for preferring someone of a different race.

"You know you have to endure these things no matter what the man is doing to you. You just have to endure for the sake … it is ok to be beaten, it is ok to be oppressed. This is actually still happening." (Patricia)

Patricia suggests that marriage and children bind a woman to a man, in a way that allows the man to abuse her. When leaving him is unthinkable, he is free to do "all the oppressive things," without consequence. Patricia uses a friend's experience as illustration:

"But the moment they had their first baby, of course he knew, she has a child, she will not leave, because culture tells us women that you endure everything in marriage, the beatings, all the oppressive things that the man will do to you, just endure for the sake of your children. So even this lady cannot leave. She keeps saying, 'But if I leave, who will look after my children? And when I leave who will cook food for my husband?'" (Patricia)

"You know from back then a man has always been a man. And a man is free to do whatever they feel they want to do. That is the tradition… and if a man says something, you are not supposed to say anything.… You know here, when you are getting married, they tell you that you have to treat a man like a man. When a man says this, you have to obey your husband. If he tells you to do this, you have to do it. That is the only way you will keep your marriage. So I think men still have that thing of treating us like that." (Diana)

Diana explains these gender norms as stemming from a time, when a man provided everything in the home and therefore had the right to dominate. But today, when both men and women work and provide, she feels things should change. Even though her explanation is questionable, the fact that she sees female financial contribution to the home as a justification for gender equality, is significant. While it is sad that there should be any justification at all, it is encouraging that women like Diana feel there are things they can do that empower themselves.

Lastly, Patricia singled out what she perceives as a physical abuse or exploitation of women's bodies and reproductive rights. She explains that because men want to increase their clan, "most black men want to have as many children as the woman can push out."

Marrying 'white' and culture

When male respondents like Banet and Bandrew expressed discontent with what they perceive as a loss of 'culture', I became curious regarding their desired marriage to 'white' women and how that would affect their 'culture'. When I suggested to them that marrying a 'white' woman had the potential of promoting 'culture loss/change,' especially within their immediate family and the lives of their children, they had interesting responses. Bandrew believes that while 'white' people do not have

culture, the women are in fact more "disciplined" and respectful (towards men) than 'black' women and therefore, this would not be a problem for him. And Banet explained that he would expect his culture-less 'white' wife to adopt his culture:

"I really want to marry one, but I want her to follow my culture. If you can change the way."

"So you would expect the 'white' girl to fit into your culture?"

"Exactly. I want to marry her. Then of course she comes into my family and she has to live up to my culture."

7.2. Desiring modernity, distancing culture and gender trouble

During my interviews with female respondents, it became clear that they draw on discourses of the modern to access a language of rights against what they perceive as an oppressive, patriarchal, Ugandan culture.[27] This modernity is always in reference to "the originally modern West" and though it is emancipatory, it is also essentially Eurocentric and patriarchal (Kelsky 1999:229). It is a modernity founded on enlightenment ideas (as was colonialism), "based on liberal democratic humanism, individualism" and self-expression (Kelsky 1999: 234). Finally, it is a modernity seen to be independent from gender and culture. Respondents, male and female, think that 'white' people do not have culture, have moved beyond culture or have a very open-minded culture:

"I was making a research and I heard that you guys don't have culture. Do you have cultures?" (David).

In female respondents' discourse, the emancipatory foreign/West is constructed in opposition to a gender-stratified and oppressive, traditional Ugandan society. Ugandan men are presented as backward and shameful in their treatment of women, especially according to Western standards that govern the way 'white' men interact with women. And culture is presented as reified, out-of-date and a tool constructed and used by men to control and oppress women. The West, with its democratic humanism, becomes a model against which the 'backward' norms of Ugandan culture, must be judged and rejected. The West is constructed as redemptive, a place of female emancipation (Kelsky 1999: 232).

"These people [whites]...are not under culture, you know they are not under the umbrella of culture, those practices and beliefs that oppress women. They are above that. And a woman, when you get married, apart from being a wife, you also want your own life. You know, as a human being, enjoy your freedom, enjoy your rights; not getting married for your rights to be abused or oppressed." (Patricia)

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[27] I use "Ugandan culture" here, because it is something referred to by respondents, it is something they perceive to exist. Though I am aware that there is no such thing as a homogenous Ugandan culture. The country is made up of over 54 ethnic groups, divers religions, philosophies and ideologies that create diversity.

"You are his property. You know it is culture. Our culture is really bad. No I mean I am African, I am Ugandan, so I think somehow I have the right to criticize some of the barbaric practices. Because it doesn't make sense for me to have a man that will be ruling me by the cultural rules, you know? This is the way that women are supposed to behave. Which is not the case with most white men, because in the developed world, or in white men's countries, they are not really governed by culture. The practices, I mean like in Uganda …you know the stereotypes: Women are inferior, women are weak. A woman is supposed to be submissive. A woman has to be beaten to be put in the right path, so they say. You have to discipline your woman. Which is not the case with white men. You know, they do not have those cultural practices that really exploit or oppress women's rights. You get?" (Patricia)

"[Women] are oppressed culturally…Because when I think of culture women are supposed to kneel. She is supposed to respect her husband. Supposed to do whatever he tells you. But most of you [whites], you don't believe in that." (Justine)

"You will find that when it rains, she still has to kneel … even in the capital. You can imagine that people are a little more civilized, but then you find a woman kneeling down on the street while talking to a man.… All these things are still practices, because of the stereotypes that the man is superior. And because he is superior, you have to bow down to him, you have to be submissive … even if it is abusing your freedom, oppressing your rights, because he is a man." (Patricia)

"White guys, even if a white guy left, he would still take responsibility for his child. A black guy can abandon his child and they don't even care to know how the child is doing. I don't think a white guy would do that." (Diana)

As interviews progressed, it became evident that women's allusions where not actually to the 'modern West', but to their idea of the West, presumably influenced by hegemonic media and cultural discourses, which idealise 'whiteness' and 'white' men[28]. Either way, these allusions, whether based on fantasy idealizations or reality, created "a much needed and effective space for oppositional female praxis" (Kelsky 1999: 230). Though a Western fantasy and interracial utopia are used to express ideas about culture, these ideas and the feelings they evoke are legitimate and important, because they give voice to women's experiences. So too is the search for "a truly emancipated [feminine] subjectivity" (Kelsky 1999: 231).

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[28] I presume the influence of media and cultural discources, because most female respondents have never actually had a relationship, let alone a friendship, with a 'white' man.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the figure of the Modern Girl emerged around the world. From Tokyo to New York, the Modern Girl, fashionable, erotic and pursuing romantic love, discarded and challenged the traditional female roles of dutiful daughter, wife and mother in ways that transgressed national, imperial and racial boundaries (Barlow et al. 2005: 245). Scholars explore the emergence of this global character; they question whether she was looking for "sexual, economic or political emancipation". Some propose that she was simply "the product of clever advertising campaigns in the new commodity culture" (Barlow et al. 2005: 245). Barlow et al. suggest that she is the product of intersecting influences including: multi-national corporations, imperial relations, the mass media and modernist literary, aesthetic and political discourses (Barlow et al. 2005: 245).

Here I wish to draw specifically on the Modern Girl's "continual incorporation of elements drawn from elsewhere," i.e. her internationalism, and her tendency to produce panic over the vulnerability of male control in a modernizing setting. These characteristics are similar to those of female respondents and, as in the early twentieth century, they shed light on how global processes intersect with gendered, social hierarchies in a specific urban context. Furthermore, they illustrate how global commodity and cultural flows shape modern femininity (Barlow et al. 2005: 246). The Modern Girl uses commodities to open up new possibilities in the realm of self-reflection, self-creation and self-valuation. In this way commodities allow for the production of a self-consciously crafted femininity (Barlow et al. 2005: 267).

In Kampala, a Western cosmopolitanism is exploding, with modern lifestyles consisting of "the latest fashions, make-up, women's magazines, physical exercise, Western brand name products and Hollywood movie stars" (Stevens 2003: 84). It is in this context that my "Modern Girl" respondents seek modernity, female subjectivity and challenge social conservatives who strive to maintain the cultural idea of womanhood associated with traditional roles.

Sarah Stevens writes about the cultural characters of the New Women and Modern Girl that emerged in Republican China. These figures, Steven argues, reveal the anxieties over the alienation and loss associated with the concept of modernity and the modern nation project (Stevens 2003: 82). While the New Woman represents a positive view of linear modernity and supports the nation-building project, the Modern Girl is defined "as a self-absorbed woman searching for subjectivity and as a dangerous femme fatale who devours the urban male" (Stevens 2003: 82). Stevens explains that during the first few decades of the twentieth century, Chinese intellectuals used the "women question" as a means by which to address the issues of modernity and the nation. Tensions over contending ideas of womanhood not only revealed anxieties over the changing roles of women, but also the anxieties associated with modernity. These anxieties include individual alienation, danger and cultural loss

(Stevens 2003: 83). Interestingly, in Kampala too, gender issues seem to be at the heart of anxieties over modernization and the loss of culture and tradition.

Researchers allude to the Modern Girl's "capacity to challenge pre-existing ideologies of female subservience and self-sacrifice" (Barlow et al. 2005: 288). The Modern Girl, as sexual agent, selects her own sexual partner and consults her own desires regarding marriage. Stevens describes the representation of the Modern Girl as a "character actively seeking love, romance, and subjectivity (Stevens 2003: 89). Romantic love is used as a trope for personal liberation (Stevens 2003: 91). She is also depicted as using direct language, she is sexually direct and she has freedom of expression (Stevens 2003: 90). Female respondents, like the Chinese Modern Girl, struggle to find their voices in a new and changing environment. They have gone as far as advertising their desires and agreeing to talk to me about the motivations for these desires, expressing discontent with their culture and 'black' men. In this way, female respondents "[transgress] and [rework] modern regimes of heteronormativity." (Barlow et al. 2005: 288)

"If you wake up and stand, they take you as somebody who is wrong … they say you are breaking the culture, breaking the culture. But you know the world is changing, some things are not supposed to be there." (Prisca)

"I was like, 'I am sorry,' but it is what I feel my heart wants (a white man). It is what I feel, so I cannot force myself to do what my heart does not want." (Prisca)

"I want passion and love. You know here in Buganda a man can come to you, marry you, take you to his home and then he just drops you, beats you, he takes alcohol. And me I don't like those things, I just hate them … and I have two friends of mine, they went abroad and got white men. I see they love them with passion." (Liz)

The Modern Girl is sometimes represented as "sinister and dangerous", sure to bring the "ill-prepared male subject to his ultimate demise" (Stevens 2003: 89). Indeed, female respondents question ('black') male control, dominant masculinity and male subjectivity on their path to modernity and liberty. They verbally and publically reject 'black' men. They evoke male disillusionment with modernity and fears of female subjectivity. This illustrates the way in which globalization intersects with gendered modernity. Margrethe Silberschmidt, suggests that the recent demise of men's social value, identity and self-esteem in East Africa, influences their sexual behaviour (2001: 657). Multi-partnered sexual relationships and sexually aggressive behaviour are pursued because they strengthen male identity and a sense of masculinity. This issue is further discussed in the section on promiscuity and cheating.

Female respondents refer to the way in which 'liberated' women are perceived as dangerous:

"OK there are some men, they think that when a woman gets money, she becomes very dangerous. She becomes dangerous [because] she doesn't want to know, she becomes big in the house." (Jane)

In their desire for this particular Western modernity, marrying a white man, being taken to a Western country, is seen as a form of empowerment or liberation for the 'black' woman (Kelsky 1999:233):

"[Change] will take years and years and I don't know when is that? Culture, OK it changes in some ways, but when it comes to relationships, the only way it can change is when it comes to inter-marriages." (Justine)

Freedom "is inevitably eroticized, symbolized through the (interracial) love marriage" (Kelsky 1999: 245). Women[29] expressed their desires in ways that suggest that once a woman is whisked off to a foreign country with a *muzungu*, it is concluded that she will have a happily-ever-after, or Cinderella ending to her life story. The reality of living in a foreign country, with a foreign culture, having to learn a foreign language, eat foreign foods and raise children away from one's family was never referred to by respondents. Possible multiple marginalities and displacements, racism and sexism at the hands of Western superiors are unthinkable. When I suggested the difficulty of such a move, respondents simply stated that they would enjoy living in a foreign country. A few suggested moving back to Uganda when they have children. One respondent said that she would like to move to Canada. When I asked why, she said that she thinks it must be nice there. Prisca explains that though she would have to face differences, they are comfortable, and she welcomed white differences:

"They are different…we all have differences…But at least I know that with the difference I will be comfortable according to what I have seen so far." (Prisca)

For female respondents, the 'white Western male' embodies modernity[30]. He is the "moderator of commodity desire and adjudicator of racial upward mobility" (Kelsky 1999: 238). I was surprised to find some respondents referring to Western men in "the role of teacher, mentors and guides" (Kelsky 1999: 238):

"Me, I want a white guy…I like a person with whom I am going to unite ideas, he is going to teach me things." (Liz)

Male respondents (and some acquaintances) were very critical of this female desire for all things 'modern', especially female desire for modernity incarnate: the 'white' Western male. According to them, these women were "selling" themselves as "whores" for the sake of a modern lifestyle and were

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[29] Not all of the female respondents expressed a desire to live in the West. Some would actually prefer to marry a 'white' man and live with him in Uganda.

[30] For female respondents the 'white Western male' embodies modernity as exemplified through the ways (they believe) 'white men' treat women.

violating and disrespecting 'culture'. Men often saw the lure of Western modernity as devastating and dangerous, as challenging 'African' identity rooted in pre-colonial tradition and as threatening their power and masculinity, as explored in the preceding section of this thesis.

"You will find a woman who is educated will never be at peace with a man who is not educated … the woman will want to do something and the man will be like 'No, at least you should respect our culture'. They are going somewhere; they have a party. If the man is not educated, for him he believes that she is supposed to put on tradition, the *gomesi*. And then the woman just wants to put on something like a trouser. The man will be like, 'No, we are Baganda. You are supposed to put on a *gomesi* if you want to move with me.'" (Justine)

Female respondents, who are self-proclaimed, *muzungu*-seekers have all given up on the hope of internal change. African men cannot be changed. For this reason, they "choose the option of "exit" over protest" (Kelsky 1999: 235). They can either stay in Uganda with a Ugandan man and suffer, or leave, physically or emotionally. This choice is strongly influenced by their understanding of culture as something reified, passed down over generations and all-powerful. The majority of female respondents do not believe that it is possible for culture, which is patriarchal, to change, and so, instead of fighting for change, they decide to leave, to pledge allegiance to something or someone foreign.

7.3. Cheating or celebrated promiscuity?
The main reason most female respondents gave for not wanting local male companions is that "local men cheat."

"So when did you decide that you want to marry a white man?"
"For like two years.… Before I had a boyfriend, but he disappointed me, we were in a relationship for four years.… One day I went to his place, I found there a lady. I was so disappointed, I felt so small. I couldn't do anything about it … so after that I decided I think I need a white man." (Prisca)

"Most of my relationships I have had with black guys, they have all disappointed me and all that. So I just woke up one morning and made up my mind, because I was tired of that business of moving from one guy to another."
"What do you mean they disappointed you?"
"You know the person will tell you that he loves you, but because you cannot look deep into the person's heart you won't know that that person is true. The next time you find the person cheating, or you find him red-handed, I got tired, I gave up love."
"But you think you will find love with a 'white' guy?"

"Ya I am sure." (Susan)

"… The experiences I have had with black men, ya, you know in Uganda it's just not so good. And what my friends or relatives have gone through. It makes me hate having a black man for a husband." (Patricia)

Promiscuity is a relative term. Here I consider it 'widespread,' based on the views of female respondents; it is more prevalent than they would prefer. Due to the fact that the prevalence of promiscuity was not the focus of my research, I rely on other studies to shed light on respondents' views. I have chosen studies that relate strongly to issues raised by respondents, suggesting similarities. A literature review reveals that there are two possible reasons why male promiscuity (multi-partner sex) may be 'widespread' in East Africa. One: A social and cultural context that celebrates male promiscuity. And two: the sexual behaviour of men, as a response to their perceived loss of power in a changing socioeconomic context. Furthermore, understanding 'traditional' notions of masculinity is crucial to understanding contemporary constructions and expressions of manhood. During colonialism, African sexuality was pathologised. In response to derogatory colonial accusations, men today may be obstinate in their attempt to maintain 'African tradition'. I elaborated on this last thought in the 'Global flows and cultural closures: In flux or fixed' section of this thesis.

Nyanzi et al. (2009) and Silberschmidt (2001) draw attention to the need for more research exploring constructions of masculinity in sub-Saharan Africa. Male ideologies in sexual relationships, socially proscribed and prescribed male gender attitudes, values, and behaviours, are under-explored in contrast to a proliferation of studies on female experience and subordination.

Celebrating male promiscuity

A study by Nyanzi et al. illustrates the link between various understandings of masculinity in a specific context: manhood and promiscuity (Nyanzi et al 2009: 75). In their study amongst motorbike taxi-riders in Masaka, Uganda, they find that social scripts, expectations and understandings of masculinity influence men's sexual behaviour. In this community, higher social status, economic well being, power and 'more' manhood are associated with multiple, sexual partners (Nyanzi et al 2009: 73). They explain that expressions of masculinity today are a result of traditional, ritualistic, political and contemporary contexts (Nyanzi et al 2009: 73).

In their study, Nyanzi et al. find four major concepts related to manhood. These are: physical maturity, money, sexual activity and independence from the family (2009). Here I am particularly interested in the findings on sexual activity; the concept identified as the most important and defining feature of manhood. Sexual activity plays a major role in defining the progression into manhood and is vital to

retaining one's status as a 'real man'. The majority[31] of respondents in their study explained that the more virile a man, the more of a man he is. They claimed that multiple, sexual partners made one a real man and a man who was able to initiate a sexual relationship with an attached woman, was considered fearless. A male married to one wife is a man, but a male who is able to settle down with more than one woman is a strong man. In other words, "[t]he more the wives, the more manly the man" (Nyanzi et al 2009: 83). And finally, fathering a child is a sign of manhood, but fathering many children with many wives (and being able to provide for them), defines one as a man among men (Nyanzi et al. 2009: 83). Because these qualities are socially valued, it is important for one's sexual promiscuity to be known amongst one's friends. A man's reputation regarding his expertise, boldness at suggesting sex to women, skills at playing different partners without getting caught, and the number of sexual partners he has, strongly determines his socially perceived manhood (Nyanzi et al. 2009: 84). The motorbike-rider respondents "relegated abstinence to the very old, the bewitched, the ill, the impotent, the mentally disturbed, and the very young children" (Nyanzi et al. 2009: 83).

This study clearly illustrates the connection between male promiscuity and ideas of masculinity, so that promiscuity becomes esteemed. Female and male respondents also comment on this connection: "They think they are superior. It's the power relations…Women are objects in Uganda. It shows you are a man to have more than one woman. For those who have two children they will always be told, 'What kind of man are you? How can you only have two children? Why don't you go and have children aside, apart from your wife? You should also have children outside your marital home.' They are encouraged, because culture has brought us up in a manner whereby boys are told 'You are a man, you are superior, you have more power and authority compared to the women, so you have the right to be polygamous, to have children outside, to have another wife …'" (Patricia)

"Some have that feeling, you [have] used me, and he used the other one and the other one. It's like [he thinks], 'I have used her, I am strong.' He takes himself as strong, as responsible, can you imagine? And then he boasts. He can tell his friends 'Oh yesterday I used five.' Someone can be like 'Oh you are a strong man.' Imagine." (Justine)

"Let me call it backward, because we need to be forward sometimes. You know people have this mentality that if you have many women, then you are a man."
"So it is part of manhood?"
"Ya, to prove that now you are a grown up person, or now you are a man in the house, to talk in front of your fellow men. They ask how many women are you having. Then you say, 'At least I have two'. Then they say, 'You are fitting.'" (David)

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[31] The few respondents who disagreed with promiscuity and polygyny did so on religious grounds, or referred to sexual health and economic concerns (Nyanzi et al 2009: 84).

David also explains that the fact that men can "play" more than one girl at a time, illustrates their superior intelligence:

"You know they say man is wise. Man is more intelligent than the woman. That is what they say … [and] him, a man, he can play like four girls."

"Because he is intelligent?"

"Ya because he is intelligent. But a woman, it is very hard for her to play like two. Because she is less intelligent." (David)

Female and male respondents spoke of the social pressure from other males to be promiscuous to prove one's manhood:

"The reason is you can find a man who is not lying, but in the future they get, OK they have groups, friends, those friends can advise him, 'Don't be with only one woman,' 'Get another one,' 'See this one is so beautiful.' Then he starts getting that thing." (Jane)

"Do you feel pressure by your friends to have more than one girlfriend?"

"Of course that one is there. Of course you have to reject some of the ideas. But the pressure is there … they feel you should not put all your eggs in one basket."

"Do you have friends who have like two or three girls at the same time?"

"There are many. You know we are here on campus. You find people have very many girls." (Edward)

"It can be peer pressure. If you hear your friend has someone else and he is boasting, then you can also say, 'Why don't I also get someone else?' Perhaps it is peer pressure, because everyone around is doing it." (Bob)

One respondent referred to the high scores of women men try to achieve:

"They want to adventure, be with this woman, this woman, this woman. They want the number. To get the number. Some of them have a diary. When he got one, he writes the name, that one that one that one." (Jane)

In another study on motorbike taxi riders, Nyanzi et al. found that it is common for riders to be 'single' in town and 'married' in the village (2004: 244). This study also reveals that it is typical for a riders to have a 'wife for the home' and another, semi-permanent sexual partner known as 'an outside wife'. Outside wives may be family-approved or concealed relationships. And the 'wife for the home' and 'outside wife' may or may not know of one another (Nyanzi et al. 2004: 246). Another type of extra-marital relationship with a woman referred to by men as 'my lover' was common. In these

relationships the man had no moral or social obligation towards the 'lover' and the 'lover' was fully aware of the man's other sexual partners (Nyanzi et al. 2004: 246). Sex workers and 'sugar-mummies' were also identified as possible, extra-marital sexual partners (Nyanzi et al 2004: 247/248).

Female respondents refer to this phenomenon of outside wives and outside lovers in their experience. They explain:

"I think most men in Uganda cheat. That is true by the way, because you will find some who are married telling you that they are not married. He just removes his ring. I have relatives, cousins, boys who do it." (Patricia)

"You know those white men when he gets another woman, he comes straight to you 'I've got another woman'. But here he cannot. He can produce like eight children without you knowing." (Jane)

"You know here in Africa most people take it as a cultural belief that, actually the Baganda say that you have to marry every woman you feel you want … so in the Kiganda tribe, in my belief, I know that even if you are married to a Muganda, one day, one time, expect another woman to be." (Prisca)

Julia explains, "Even if they don't have a second wife, they have these concubines." And a male respondent, Bob, points out: "It is almost worse now. Now they have mistresses, it is in secret."

A study by Theo Vos in Zimbabwe, reveals similar male attitudes towards sex and relationships, as were suggested by female respondents. Vos explains that "[t]he notion that men can and should have more than one wife has proven to be remarkably resilient to pressure from Christianity, capitalism and growing urbanization." (Vos 1994). Vos found that men, particularly in cities, are inclined to have 'outside' wives in more or less stable relationships. These relationships are seen as the modern equivalent of the cultural idea of polygyny (Vos 1994). Focus groups estimate that between 50 and 90% of married men in the Vos study have extramarital partners. Men's promiscuity is condoned because of the widespread belief that "all men are polygamists" (Vos 1994). Men were depicted as being "driven by strong biologically determined sexual motives, which are difficult to control" (Vos 1994). Besides men's innate need for polygyny, migrant labour and money were other reasons given for men's promiscuity.

Prisca referred to the persistence of polygyny despite widespread Christianity:
"Do some of the Christians also marry more than one woman?"
"Ya some do, but I think they do it not because they want, but because … they say because so and so has more than one woman, why don't I also get another one.…So that is why you find them. Christianity says: one woman, but so and so has more than one woman."

Respondents also alluded to beliefs about men (especially African men) being inherently polygynous:

"OK I don't know if it is now common with black men, but they have this mentality: If I have one girl, then I'll never be satisfied. The person will want to have at least two or three or four."

"Why do you think men have this mentality?

"I don't really know, but it is really stuck in them. It is really stuck and I don't know how they can avoid it." (Susan)

"He can use you and dump you. OK he may come for sex, then he leaves you. It is very difficult to find a Ugandan guy who will stay with you. And for what I have seen is they like to cheat."

"Why do you think they cheat?"

"It depends. There are others who are so, OK they like to know what any girl is like."

"So they want to try all different girls?"

"Ah uh, you know Africans." (Sarah)

Paul suggests that promiscuity is in a man's blood and it derives from his innate desire to further his clan:

"Not that you want her, but there is something in you, driving you. It follows the life of your clan. It is from your clan. It is just in you. 'What about that one?' 'What about that one?'" (Paul)

The Vos study found that while it is commonly accepted for married men to have extra-marital relationships, women are expected to be sexually monogamous. Unlike men, women are subject to strict rules regarding sexuality. If they show interest in sex or dress provocatively, they risk being labelled a prostitute or 'loose' woman. Focus groups estimate that around 20% of married women have extramarital partners. In the study, most women suspected or knew of their partner's unfaithfulness, while most men felt confident about their partner's faithfulness (Vos 1994). Single women sometimes have more than one sexual partner in an attempt to increase their economic security (Vos 1994).

Loss of male power and sexual behaviour

Based on research conducted in Kenya and Tanzania, Margrethe Silberschmidt suggests that patriarchal structures, stereotyped notions of gender, and studies focusing on female subordination, hide the increasing disempowerment of many men in rural and urban East Africa (2001: 657). Silberschmidt argues that male disempowerment, due to socioeconomic change has left men with a patriarchal ideology, bereft of its legitimizing activities. The material base of male authority has been dramatically weakened. Economic hardship and changing norms and values mean that men increasingly fail to fulfil expectations of their social role, as head of household and breadwinner,

resulting in men's lack of social value and self-esteem. While male roles have become unclear and contradictory, women's roles and responsibilities have increased, leading to gender antagonism (Silberschmidt 2001: 657).

In both research locations, Silberschmidt found economic decline, economic instability, a large percentage of female headed households, unemployment and lack of income earning opportunities, especially for men, a breakdown of social and political institutions, and a change in norms and values (Silberschmidt 2001: 661). Silberschmidt reports that both men and women believe that "men drink and are rude to women to forget that they cannot provide the family" (2001: 661). In the research areas, a man who is the head of his family and who can provide financially is socially valued and respected, but men's earnings are no longer the main source of income for the urban household (Silberschmidt 2001: 663). Silberschmidt found that men emphasize their status as god-given head of household, as well as their control over wives and children. They also reiterate their right to correct or beat an obstinate wife (2001: 661). While men displayed macho behaviour, they also complained about today's women who "have forgotten that men are the masters" (Silberschmidt 2001: 662). Men suggest that when a woman has her own money, she becomes less respectful of her husband (664).

For women who are well aware that the household could not survive without them, intensification of roles and responsibilities has "nourished their sense of identity and reinforced their self-esteem" (Silberschmidt 2001: 662). The working opportunities that urban life offers women have created new-awareness, autonomy and self-confidence. The fact that women can increasingly "stand on their own" has changed women's view of their role in the household and society (2001: 664). Silberschmidt's male respondents express fears that women working outside the home may be attracted to other men. They also fear that when a man's economic power starts declining, his wife will look for other men to satisfy her material needs. Silberschmidt explains that "women's sexuality represents an active and threatening power" to a man's honour, reputation, ego and masculinity. Controlling one's wife/woman becomes essential in the fight to retain one's honour as a 'real' man. In the view of desperate male respondents, the government and women's advocacy groups are seen to undermine male authority and turn women against their husbands (2001: 666).

In a context where respondents say, "a woman is better off without a husband," and where patriarchy has been placed at increased risk and uncertainty, Silberschmidt believes that multi-partnered, sexual relationships (promiscuity) and sexually aggressive behaviour that strengthen male identity have become essential for men's self-esteem (Silberschmidt 2001: 657/661). Silberschmidt quotes a respondent who explains that overcoming women gives respect and self-respect to men (2001: 665). Furthermore, her male respondents indicate that men's "need for sexual/extramarital partners is particularly urgent 'when a man has lost control over his household and is humiliated by his wife,'" (2001: 666) so that promiscuous behaviour has become a tool to acquire self-esteem and legitimize

masculinity (2001: 668). These expressions of "masculinity", promiscuity and aggression, are chosen because of the social value ascribed to them traditionally, and their ability to demonstrate male authority (Silberschmidt 2001: 659).

Silberschmidt's findings are fascinating. They suggest a research gap; masculinity studies would greatly benefit from an exploration of her hypothesis in the urban and rapidly changing environment of Kampala.

Traditionally speaking

Silberschmidt explains that traditionally, like today, rich men were admired. A man who could afford to pay bride price for at least one wife and also afford 'girlfriends' was held in high regard. Having a wife and other lovers gave status and respect (Silberschmidt 2001: 662). Masculinity was closely associated with sexual virility, potency, fertility and male 'honour' (2001: 667). Today, sexual performance remains one of the main areas in which "masculinity is socially constructed and enacted," so that strengthening a faltering masculinity is achieved through sexual manifestations (2001: 667). Furthermore, Silberschmidt believes that polygyny has taught men and women "to believe that relations with one woman has never been part of man's nature" (2001: 666). Amongst her female respondents in Tanzania, it was an accepted fact that men have casual and more stable extra-marital relationships (2001: 666).

Similarly, Nyanzi et al. point to continuities from traditional Kiganda culture to explain sexual promiscuity in their study area today (2009: 85). In traditional Kiganda culture, polygyny was an institutionalized social practice. A man could have as many wives as he could support economically after paying their bride-price (Nyanzi et al 2009: 85). Furthermore, social strata in traditional Kiganda society directly corresponded to an increased number of wives along with other possessions. In the Buganda kingdom, the Kabaka (king) held the highest position in the social hierarchy and had access to all women in his sphere of rule. The chiefs and clan leaders came next and they typically had several wives. The common man could generally afford only one wife (Nyanzi et al 2009: 85). In this way, the number of wives one had, indicated one's social standing, economic wealth and political power. This legacy, in which women were a status symbol, has been translated into contemporary understandings of masculinity, thereby justifying men's promiscuity (Nyanzi et al 2009: 85).[32]

Respondents also refer to culture and tradition to explain male promiscuity:

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[32] The Nyanzi et al. study found that some participants argued against sticking to traditional/customary patterns of behaviour. Men having multi-sexual partners were discouraged on the grounds of modernity, education, Christianity, the advantages of small families, economic hardships and fears of HIV infection. These men practiced what is locally known as "zero-grazing." (Nyanzi et al. 2009: 85)

"OK when you go to the culture, our grandfathers, they got women. Like four women in the one house. Then they share rooms. So it is from deep."

"Do men want to keep practicing that culture, but the women want something different?"

"Yes. They want to keep their culture. And they have the slogan called, 'A man is a man.'" (Jane)

"It used to be when you marry many women, you earn respect and honour in the society. But nowadays, apart from the Muslims, you know they can marry like four … others, they do get more women, but secretly." (Justine)

It is important to note that four out of eleven female respondents and four out of nine male respondents come from polygynous families.

Other influences

Besides cultural/customary conceptions of manhood, other reasons given for multiple sexual partners in the Nyanzi et al. study included social pressure to conform to the new occupational society, a desire to experiment with different women, the acquisition of money, attending pleasure places like bars, high levels of mobility/migrations and the urban lifestyle (where traditional social support networks are weakened) (Nyanzi et al 2009: 86).

Male respondents also mentioned other reasons motivating promiscuity. These include: protecting one's heart against promiscuous, Ugandan girls, being able to make an informed choice of marriage partner, having the satisfaction of diverse sexual partners (avoiding sexual boredom), the influence of alcohol, marital disputes and economic inequality that justifies high male expectations and cheating if these are not fulfilled:

"Some just try this one and this one and see who is the best out of those. Maybe someone can come up with the best and say this one is faithful, disciplined, is educated, caring, out of the three he can decide to pick this one." (Joshua)

"Just satisfaction. You know if you are eating so many g-nuts, then today you feel like eating another meal. You change, you eat another meal." (Emmanuel)

"Because that strain on a man is high, he expects a lot also. Because he is the one who is building the house, providing everything. So you see if somebody has provided all that, you are not on equal terms." (Acquaintance)

"These people who drink. If you are sober you can't think about that, but the more time you have taken something, you start seeing new faces around you. You forget that you have a girlfriend." (Paul)

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"What takes place is that sometimes polygamous marriages arise out of circumstances that have not been handled properly. Failure by the couples involved to make good decisions on how to solve problems in love. For example, if a man has a problem with his wife, he thinks that the way to discipline this woman is by getting another woman so that this one feels hurt. Then if the second wife doesn't find him as what he expected, then he can even get a third one." (Acquaintance)

Personal experiences

One after the other, female respondents told of their experiences. All female respondents, except one, have been cheated on. Julia who had not been cheated on, was dumped by her boyfriend when she unexpectedly fell pregnant. Here I have chosen some of the most telling stories:

"I had a boyfriend, we dated for some time. He's from central, a Muganda. We got to the point where I took him home … to meet the family … and I kept asking him 'Do you have a child out, with someone else?' and he kept saying 'No I don't have' …. We had plans to live together, to have a family. Then a few weeks before the introduction ceremony a woman calls me and she tells me, 'You are trying to destroy my life and the life of my little baby.' And I asked her, 'Do you mean you have been seeing this guy?' and she's like, "He is my husband. I even took him home and introduced him to my family. He is known. And I am also known in his family.'" (Patricia)

"There was one, I was with him for six years, after those six years, OK he used to see those other girls, but he used to hide it. But time came, they went on and they introduced, so they are staying together."
"And he was still seeing you?"
"Ya, but when I discovered it, then I decided to leave." (Rachael)

"When I came back from school he told me that he is leaving, because I don't want to play sex with him. So I did it for the first time when I was twenty-two years. But I did it, because I thought it was the way to make him come back to me. And the time I did it, after a month I was told that he had gotten married. He had gotten married and the wife was pregnant. So I had to leave him." (Justine)

"I had this guy since I was 15, I am now 22. All that time I had him. I loved him so so much.… I went home to Entebbe so I decided to pass by … I know where he stays, so I decided to go there. Now I get there and oh my goodness, he had another lady inside. They seemed very happy. I stood at the door for some time before knocking. I wanted to be sure that I was not mistaken." (Diana)

"If a local man is pursuing you, would you date him or would you say 'No, I am waiting for a 'white' guy'?"

"First I just want to relax, because all that started bringing a bit of hatred. I began hating men. But you know what? I just asked God to help me. Because that time came that I began hating all men. Because a time came that I would not even want to look at my brother and my dad. I hated men so much." (Susan)

Jane explains her concerns regarding health in a context where promiscuity is common and men cannot be trusted to tell the truth:

"At this time you must think of health, because these days are very dangerous. When you see someone who is jumping you must think of another step, because you must think of your health. Because those men, many of them, they do not think what will come from there. You may end up sick. You as yourself you must control yourself, when he gets another woman you say me, I will leave. I will live my life. I can't be there. Because I cannot trust you, how you go there."

While local men are accused of being cheaters, white men are believed to be faithful:

"One thing is those (white) men are very trustful" (Jane).

Female respondents are not the only ones who opt for "trustful" white partners in the face of "local" cheating and promiscuity. Bob explains:

"I think that there is a lot of cheating among men in Uganda. I can't deny it. But it also balances. It applies to both sexes. Even girls do cheat a lot. And it is also a reason for me, why maybe I like whites. Those are the characters that are embedded into whites. I know that there are white girls who cheat. But the degree, like the percentage, is little. So they have a lot of loyalty, that commitment to boyfriends."

Change?

Female respondents do not have much hope that promiscuity in Uganda can change. Despite the fact that they feel it is something deeply imbedded in men and is strengthened by tradition and patriarchy, they also feel that women who accept promiscuity undermine change.

"I don't think it will change."
"You don't?"
"No, because they are used…(and) if you refuse to go with him, somebody else is already going with him … those girls don't mind. Even if the man is cheating, if the man walks with how many girls."
"Why do you think those girls don't mind?"
"I don't know, but we are different. Something that annoys someone, for someone else it can be right." (Rachael)

Male respondents also testify to women who tolerate promiscuity:

"Another chick might be coming to me. She is aware that I have been sleeping with you, but she is coming to me. If I am divorcing you today, another chick is taking me. She is very much aware that I have been sleeping with you." (Emmanuel)

"You see them having like 10 girlfriends."

"10?"

"Ya, you can, that is possible. I had a friend who had 12."

"At the same time?"

"Ya, at the same time."

 "But most of them know."

"You mean the girls know?"

"Ya, sometimes they know."

"And they don't mind?"

"They mind if they get you red-handed, but if it is just words they don't mind.… We have what we call men cheat, but it depends on how they cheat." (David)

An acquaintance later explained that many women who have accepted the polygamous nature of men, tolerate male promiscuity as long as they are not confronted with it openly, as long as the man is discreet about it.

7.4. 'Spoilt' women and homosexuals challenge heteronormativity

"If I wake up and say this and this, they will say that I have broken the cultural rules, the tradition … because you find that if you wake up and stand, they take you as somebody who is wrong, because you are breaking the culture. They say, 'You are breaking the culture,' 'Breaking the culture.' But you know the world is changing, some things are not supposed to be there." (Prisca)

Narayan writes against accusations charging third-world feminists as inauthentic, as embracing a 'white' or 'Westernized' politics. Though respondents do not explicitly identify as feminists, Narayan notes, "Many Third-World women, who do not consider themselves feminists know and acknowledge that women face mistreatment within their social contexts and cultural institutions" (1997: 9). And female respondents, like third-world feminists, are rethinking "notions of what it is to 'be at home' in a 'culture'" and they are struggling to redefine, in their own lives and personal desires, notions of "'cultural loyalty, betrayal, and respect'" (Narayan 1997: 9).

Like third-world feminists, they are often confronted with the same accusations of 'Westernization,' 'inauthenticity' and 'rejections of cultures'. In fact, they might be even more vulnerable to accusations

of regurgitating 'white' or 'Westernized' politics than other women, because they are outspoken about desiring 'white' men. But what is significant is that their desire for 'white' men is mostly a solution to frustrations and negative experiences with local men. In this sense, respondents' desires cannot simply be brushed off as betrayal of culture for the blind pursuit of Westernization. Their experiences are local and authentic. Narayan explains, "our feminist consciousness is not a hot-house bloom grown in the alien atmosphere of "foreign" ideas, but has roots much closer to home" (1997: 6).

Narayan responds to accusations of 'Westernization' by making two points: First, she points out that third-world feminist contestations are a response to problems women encounter within a variety of third-world contexts. Furthermore, they are part of the political debates within these nations. Second, she explains that accusations of 'Westernization' are inextricably connected to the contrasting views of 'Western culture' and specific third-world 'cultures' constructed during colonial times. She emphasizes the ideological and problematic nature of these contesting characterizations of 'culture' (Narayan 1997: ix).

The problem with reified understandings of culture, she explains, is that they are used selectively in self-serving and shifting ways for the benefit of certain groups. And while certain social changes in third-world contexts "are castigated as symptoms of 'Westernization,'" others are regarded as innocuous (Narayan 1997: ix). This hypocrisy is often most evident when it comes to gender roles. As soon as women criticize patriarchy and inequality, there is a multitude of voices ready to turn their criticisms into "a mere symptom of their 'lack of respect of their culture,' rooted in the 'Westernization' that they seem to have caught like a disease" (Narayan 1997: 6). Pattman's research amongst black male students in Zimbabwe found that men tend to "position themselves as arbiters and spokespeople for an authentic 'black' or 'African' 'culture,'" while women tend to be constructed as "potential betrayers" of 'culture' who are to be rebuked for adopting 'Western' styles (Pattman 2002: 23).

Female respondents explain that as soon as the 'Westernized' label has been associated with them, they become 'spoilt women,' spoilt in that they are no longer any good for marriage. They are too educated, too liberated and too modern. I met a woman who is completing her masters in Women and Gender Studies at Makerere University. She explained that she is doubly disadvantaged when it comes to marriageability: "I am educated *and* I study gender," she said, "so which Ugandan man will want to marry me?"

Diana explains that educated, modern women are considered 'spoilt' because they challenge traditional gender roles and male superiority:

"They keep saying that education has spoilt us. I mean now we feel we have studied, we cannot kneel down for the guy. So I personally don't, and most of the women who are studied, who are learned, don't do it." (Diana)

During his research in Zimbabwe, Pattman found that "accusations about 'forgetting culture' directed at young 'black' women often focus on sexuality. Women are "sexualized (usually) and demonized if influenced by 'modernity'" (Pattman and Bhana 2009: 34). Chatterjee explains that in nationalist India, distinctions between 'different' women in the public sphere became significant. Women were judged according to signifiers such as attire, attitudes and behaviour to be 'Westernized,' 'traditional,' or 'low class'. It was important that women be identified and labelled, so that they could be signified as "a deviation to the acceptable norm" (1989: 630). Once a woman was confirmed as Westernized or deviant, all the ascriptions that the 'normal' woman is not, would be associated with her. These included accusations of sexual promiscuity, irreligiousness and material greed. Chatterjee suggests that the fact that both men and women who considered themselves 'normal' ostracized women considered 'different' in this way, illustrates the hegemonic power of the ideological construct 'normal woman' (1989: 630).

The accusations described above are often a reaction to threatened masculinities. Masculinities are threatened by changing femininity because these are relational identities (Pattman 2002: 2). Conventional masculinities are also threatened by homosexuality, which is seen as "a full frontal attack on heterosexual-identifying men…" (Hunter 2010: 174). Even though discussions on homosexuality did not surface during interviews, I came across numerous, homophobic statements and newspaper articles during my time in Kampala. The Anti-homosexuality bill introduced by lawmaker David Bahati in 2009 to criminalize homosexuality in Uganda is the most obvious example of homophobia and suggested violence towards homosexuals. Homophobia is justified by "anti-gay crusade" arguments, purporting that homosexuality is unnatural, un-African, and un-Christian. And it is fuelled by panic-evoking comments, like the one made by President Museveni that "European homosexuals are recruiting in Africa." (Gyezaho 2009) In a speech at Makerere University on the Anti-homosexuality bill, Dr Sylvia Tamale said, "Anyone who cares to read history books knows very well that in times of crisis, when people at the locus of power are feeling vulnerable and their power is being threatened, they will turn against the weaker groups in society." (2009)

In a context where conventional constructions of masculinity are being threatened[33], men feel they need to distance themselves from the feminine Other and from men who are seen to be effeminate. Distancing from the feminine takes the form of subordinating women, putting them in their 'rightful'

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[33] As discussed in the preceding promiscuity section of this thesis.

place below men, through the enforcement of reified culture, oppression and violence. Distancing the effeminate male, or homosexual takes the form of legal persecution, violent acts of 'correction' such as corrective rape, and widespread discrimination.

Not only are effeminate Others distanced and stigmatized, masculinity itself is policed through pressure on men to assert themselves as men, through the performance of roles and attitudes considered masculine. A study by Pattman et al. in 2011 found that South African schoolboys are pressured to assert their masculinity through ridiculing boys who engage in activities that might be construed as feminine (2011: 83). Like these boys, men in Uganda need to affirm their masculinity by creating or emphasizing the contrast between what is considered masculine and feminine. Yet another way in which heteronormativity may be restored, is through the strict preservation of the 'traditional family' with traditional gender roles performed (Hunter 2010: 175). This explains why the Ugandan Anti-homosexuality bill is being promoted as an attempt to 'protect' the 'traditional African family,' if ever there were such a thing. The strict enforcement of heteronormativity, in the context of threatened power, may take the form of increased "disciplining of women" (Hunter 2010: 172) and homosexuals.

Chapter eight: Limitations of Fanon's analytic framework

8.1. Critiquing Fanon

As illustrated throughout this paper, Fanon's work has contributed greatly to my understanding of postcolonial discourses, bolstering beliefs in 'white' superiority and cultural imperialism. However, my findings also beg to add to a critique of Fanon.

While Fanon's work has contributed greatly to the exposition of colonial and postcolonial discourses, which render 'black' and 'white' essential and oppositional identities, it has also been criticized for reproducing these, with 'black' people (and notably 'black' women) being accused of despising blackness and wanting to be 'white' by seeking cross racial heterosexual relations. Furthermore, he has been criticized for applying a "sexist double-standard," in his understanding of sexual desire across the lines of race (Hook 2004: 125). While the 'black' man's desire for a 'white' woman is portrayed "as containing an almost redemptive political value," the 'black' woman's desire for a 'white' man is portrayed as pathological and detestable (Hook 2004: 125).

In the chapter "Woman of color and the white man" (*Black skin, white masks* 2008) Fanon discusses the relationship of Mayotte Capécia and her 'white' partner. He is critical of what he refers to as Mayotte's 'infantile fantasies' and says that "It is customary in Martinique to dream of a form of salvation that consists of magically turning white." Indeed Fanon despises the 'black' woman's desire that he sees as pathological. Fanon explains the "negress's" relationship with a 'white' man as "an attempt to acquire – by internalizing them – assets that were originally prohibited" (2008: 42), an attempt to save herself from her race (2008: 38).

While Fanon's reference to a 'white' salvation is applicable to my female respondents, his assumption that this is a salvation from *blackness* cannot as easily be applied. Fanon may be criticized for lacking a gendered analysis of the type of salvation sought by "women of colour". The female respondents I interviewed, who do see 'white' men as emancipatory, see them not as emancipatory from 'blackness,' but rather as emancipatory from 'black men' and the 'black culture' that endorses certain forms of masculinity. While the minority of female respondents expressed that they have desired a relationship with 'white' men from adolescence, the majority explain that this desire was ignited by the negative experiences they have had in relationships with 'black' men. Indeed, ten of eleven female respondents have been cheated on. And the eleventh respondent's boyfriend deserted her when she fell pregnant. In their discourse, 'white' men are constructed as the antithesis of that which female respondents dislike about Ugandan men, suggesting that their relationship desires are a reaction not only to beliefs in white superiority and idealization, but also a reaction to local relationship or gender frustrations. Gwen

Bergner explains, "Although they may emanate from a common construction of Otherness in psychoanalytic discourses, racial differences and sexual differences intersect in contextually variable ways that preclude separate or determinist description." (1995: 77) Fanon misses the fundamental role of gender in the construction of racial identities.

Female respondents suggest that negative forms of masculinity are rooted in and strengthened by tradition, culture and patriarchy in ways that make them almost impossible to change. Drawing from his experience at Masvingo Teacher's training College in Zimbabwe, Rob Pattman suggests that Fanon misses the important force of gender relations in the making of elite black intellectuals and their discourses around culture. Similarly, I would like to suggest that my findings confirm Fanon's failed acknowledgement of gender in the making of post-colonial subjects and the ways in which they engage with and construct culture as a discourse; also the way in which 'black' women are policed and accused as violators of 'culture'. Fanon not only fails to recognize the patriarchal form that colonial and anti-colonial discourses take, he actually perpetuates this patriarchal form in his work. Berger explains that Fanon's decontexualization from material reality, women's economic and sexual choices, ironically "recreates the structure of the colonialist discourse Fanon successfully deconstructs in much of *Black skin, white masks* (1995: 83).

Chapter nine: Conclusion

9.1. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to understand the phenomenon, whereby young, urban, Ugandan women desire and advertise for 'white' partners. This paper has illustrated that the following are at the heart of this phenomenon: Female subjectivity, threatened masculinities and 'black' inferiority. In other words, intersecting identities, that are constructed and negotiated in specific local, global, and historical, contexts, are key to making sense of respondents' racially specific relationship desires and social reactions to these desires. This paper has attempted to explore the contexts that shape certain identities, by looking into Uganda's colonial legacy, racial discrimination, past and present, 'development,' westernization and foreign aid to Uganda. Furthermore this paper has delved into local, cultural and social changes that affect gendered and racial identities. Not only have I attempted to situate the identities that produce desires, I have also aimed at illustrating the complexity of these identities, and the ways in which they intersect and are negotiated by respondents.

Female subjectivity

In the 'Desiring Modernity' section of Chapter Seven I conveyed the desire female respondents express to be 'modern' women. When female respondents seek modernity, they look to the originally 'modern' West. And the Western modernity that they envision is one based on democratic humanism, individualism and self-expression. Similar to what Kelsky found in her work amongst professional Japanese women, I find that respondents deploy discourses of the modern to construct the West as emancipatory, in contrast to their 'oppressive,' patriarchal 'traditional' society. In this section I also introduced the figure of the Modern Girl and highlighted the similarities between her and female respondents. This comparison has made clear, the way in which global processes intersect, with gendered, social hierarchies in specific urban contexts. Furthermore, research on the Modern girl that illustrates the way in which global commodity and cultural flows shape 'modern' femininities, has aided my understanding of the femininities sought and performed by respondents. In a way female respondents are Kampala's 'Modern girls' in that they seek a 'liberated' female subjectivity that threatens conventional masculinity, by challenging dominant ideologies of female subservience and subordination, especially within romantic relationships.

The way in which 'modern' female subjectivity, sought in a context of 'oppressive' patriarchy, relates to my research question is that freedom, particularly gendered freedom, is eroticized and symbolized through the interracial, love marriage. The way in which respondents glorify mixed-race relationships testifies to a treasured fantasy. Respondents invest in this fantasy because it offers a much-needed alternative, to the hurt they have experienced in relationships with 'black' men and the patriarchal

forms heterosexual relationships often take. This demonstrates that experience plays a crucial role in the construction and performance of gendered identities.

In Chapter Six, I addressed male accusations that local women are 'money minded,' that they are ready to sacrifice culture, 'real' love and dignity in their blind pursuit for material wealth and consumption-crazed modernity. I also addressed accusations, labelling women who desire 'white' men 'prostitutes' because they are believed to engage in sexual relationships with money, not love, as their motivation. I hope that I have made it clear in this paper that these accusations are misdirected, that female respondent's desires are far from shallow, materially fixated and blind/unfounded. However I recognize that the accusations charged against them are also not completely unfounded. In their pursuit of 'modern,' female subjectivity, respondents lash out at local men, patriarchy, tradition, culture and backward 'Africa' as they praise the 'white' Western male and the 'modern' he is seen as representing. Furthermore, female respondents desire 'white' men in a context where 'prostitute-looking,'[34] mixed race relationships are common. Many women do sacrifice whatever is needed to gain the material wealth associated with 'white', usually older, men. What is more, female respondents' desires are judged in a local context, where women in general are seen as potentially untrustworthy due to widespread economic milking, or detoothing. In the section on detoothing, I remarked on the consequences of detoothing, especially mistrust, on romantic and gendered relationships.

This search for subjectivity and 'modern' femininities is not straightforward. A discourse analysis illustrates that respondents do occasionally position themselves as proudly traditional, or proudly 'Baganda,' or proudly 'African' women. I found it very interesting that Jane, who stressed her financial independence, said that she would enter a polygamous marriage, if the man were a good man. The most obvious example of 'African' solidarity however, is female respondents' judgment of 'deviant', 'white' sexuality in relation to 'Africans' doing it the 'right' or 'godly' way. Furthermore female decency seems to be a marker of African-ness praised by respondents. To dress decently, to be religiously decent/pious, to have sex in a decent way … these are important. I suspect that decency is important because it distances female respondents from accusations of cultural denigration and prostitution. Labelling other women 'indecent,' helps respondents to distance themselves from degrading 'prostitute' or 'anti-culture' labels. Another reason why respondents may stress decency, is because 'white' women were sometimes referred to as 'indecent,' especially in dress, and this difference gives respondents the edge they need over 'white' women. Subservience, and other 'traditional' female traits, may be perceived as beneficial, because they make respondents more desirable to 'white' men than 'overly-independent' 'white' women. I suspect that while respondents

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[34] 'Prostitute-looking' because they are age-disparate.

would not be happily subservient to a 'black' man, they would more easily be happily subservient to a 'white' man, but further research is needed to confirm this proposition.

Masculinities threatened

In Chapter Seven I explained that one of the main reasons why female respondents do not want to date/marry local partners relates to 'culture'. Female respondents complain about the almost law-like enforcement of patriarchal culture and its manifestation in romantic relationships. In order to investigate their allegations, I turned to the work of various scholars who explain cultural 'closures' and strictly enforced patriarchy as reactions to globalization, Western imperialism, modernity and colonial discourse. Men, and some women, bolster a patriarchal order by claiming to protect African 'cultures' in response to processes that threaten this order. This reaction is further intensified by a related reaction to disparaging, colonial discourses that undermined 'black' masculinity and African cultures.

The strict enforcement of culture, referred to by female respondents, is aided by a problematic and widely held concept of culture, as reified and law-like. In order to demonstrate the danger of this bounded understanding of culture, I referred to the work of Geschiere, Appadurai, Douglas and Sen. These scholars emphasise the heterogeneous, changing and permeable nature of culture.

In the section on selective modernity I demonstrated that men assume the role of policers of culture, while women are often accused as violators of culture. This accusation is connected to the belief that women are the carriers, or symbols of culture; implying that their adherence and performance of 'culture' is much more critical. I drew on work by Chatterjee, on colonial India to make sense of the double standard between men and women's acceptable access to 'modernity,' as described by female respondents. In reaction to Western imperialism, 'acceptable' femininities are fixed and controlled, through the separation of private and public domains so that women may uphold and protect an 'untainted' or 'authentic' 'culture' and 'African' identity.

In the spoilt women section of Chapter Seven, I referred to the work of Uma Narayan, to illustrate that accusations directed at female respondents, are similar to those directed at third world feminist writers. Like third world feminists, respondents face accusations of 'westernization,' 'inauthenticity' and 'rejection of cultures' that result in them being dismissed by men as 'spoilt' women, in that they are no longer desirable for marriage. I found that forgetting/rejecting culture directed at young black women, often focuses on sexuality because sexuality is a convenient target for degrading women, who are highly sexualized in public discourse. The sexuality of women is an important area to control in order to maintain heteronormative order. This control may take the form of identifying 'deviant' women, who challenge heteronormative gender roles and differentiating them from 'normal' women who

conform to heteronormative roles, thereby maintaining patriarchal order. Once 'deviant' women are identified, through the application of specific markers, they can be 'disciplined' through public ridicule, discrimination or physical and economic violence.

I drew on the work of Pattman and Bhana to understand accusations of deviance and the 'disciplining' of women, through fixing and controlling gendered identities. They explain the often-relational nature of fixed identities; that the construction of masculinities is in relation to specific constructions of femininity. Understanding this principle, I now see that changing femininities have a direct effect on dominant masculinities. And in this case, masculinities are being challenged (by female respondents) and threatened (by globalization, Western imperialism and 'modernity'). In Chapter Seven, I also noted that discrimination directed at homosexuals, is a similar reaction to what people perceive as an attack on heteronormativity. Men, who feel that their power is being threatened, retaliate by turning against groups, constructed as weaker: women and homosexuals. These discussions illustrate that the violent disciplining of women and the violence directed at homosexuals, cannot fully be understood without recognizing the role of masculinities within these expressions. This experience suggests that finding solutions to gendered discrimination, requires a greater understanding of the ways in which dominant gendered identities are constructed, performed and protected in relation to 'Other' gendered identities within socio-economic contexts.

The control of femininities and discrimination against 'effeminate' males, are not the only reactions of threatened masculinities. Men, who feel that their power is being endangered, because of culture change, changing socio-economic environments etcetera, may also react to this real or perceived threat by demonstrating their masculinity, through the performance or emphasis of roles and traits conventionally constructed as masculine. In Chapter Seven, where I addressed female accusations of male promiscuity, I turned to the work of Nyanzi et al. and Silberschmidt, who illustrate the relationship between promiscuity and masculinity in East African contexts. Nyanzi et al. explain that 'cheating' amongst Ugandan motorbike riders needs to be understood, within a social and cultural context where male promiscuity is celebrated, while Silberschmidt shows that sexual behaviour, in this case promiscuity, of men in areas of Tanzania and Kenya, may be a response to their perceived loss of power in a changing socioeconomic environment.

It is important to note that this exploration into cultural 'closures' and their strict enforcement as a response to threatened masculinities, does not necessarily apply to the male respondents I interviewed. While some male respondents clearly express discontent regarding 'culture' loss and changing gender norms, others desire 'white' women because they do not appreciate women who are 'culturally raised' to be subservient, soft-spoken and submissive. It is ironic that, in many ways, female respondents fit the 'type' of women desired by male respondents. And vice versa. However, I'd be surprised if

'desirable' characteristics associated with 'white' women such as 'strong-willed' or 'outspoken' would be as much appreciated if a local 'black' woman performed them. This suspicion would have to be confirmed by further research.

'Black'/'African' inferiority

The majority of respondents believe that 'white' people are superior: Superior in intellect, superior in appearance, superior in material wealth, etcetera. And if respondents are hesitant to say outright that 'whites' are better, they acknowledge that they desire to associate with the 'superiority' that 'whites' represent. In Chapter Five, I discussed some of the stereotypes respondents hold of 'whites' and found that 'white' people are praised as inherently wealthy and generous, in juxtaposition to Indians, who are considered exploitative and proud. Indians are labelled in this way because: one, they become people upon whom the negative associations of 'whites' can be fixed, so that relationship fantasies remain intact; and two, one needs to understand the history in which Indians were expelled from Uganda, and three, because they seem to have a bad track record, with regards to their interaction and employment of Ugandans.

In the section dealing with 'white' stereotypes regarding romantic relationships, I found that 'whites' come to represent everything that respondents dislike about the opposite sex within their culture. I suggest that unrealistic and idealized stereotypes of 'whites' are maintained for two reasons: They are supported by depictions of 'whites' on television, other media and cultural discourses as continued legacies of 'white' idealization during colonialism; and fleeting interactions with 'whites.' These idealizations keep relationship fantasies alive. 'Whites' come to represent a dream, or fantasy, because respondents need to believe in an alternative reality, where their idea of love is fulfilled, and their relationship disappointments are overcome.

Earlier in Chapter Five, I investigated references to the inherent superiority of 'whites' by briefly delving into areas which influence and bolster these beliefs, including colonialism, development, foreign aid and race. I suggested that devastating colonial discourses that draw on racial hierarchies and claim black inferiority (as explored by Fanon in *Black skins, white masks*) are still alive today. Furthermore, I illustrated the devastating effects on the perceptions that respondents have of themselves and 'black' people more generally.

With regard to development, I showed how modernization theory and its patronizing discourse has been adopted by respondents, who use 'development' as a yardstick for determining degrees of racialised intelligence. Respondents draw on modernization theory's explanation of development failure in Africa as evidence for 'white' intellectual superiority. They criticize the 'backward' mind-set and 'African' culture that has resulted in development stagnation. And refer to accounts of

development 'miracles' in Western nations. None of the respondents suggest alternative explanations to development stagnation in Africa, nor do they question whether modernization theory is actually an appropriate model for African communities. In order to challenge these views, I presented arguments against modernization theory in Africa by referring to the work of Andreasson, Sen and Escobar.

In the foreign aid section of Chapter Five, I challenged the dominant belief, adopted by respondents, that external aid to Uganda is a good thing, pointing out how aid bolsters stereotypes of 'whites' as inherently wealthy, superior and generous. I discussed the argument set forth by Mwenda (2006) and Oloka-Onyango and Barya (1997) that suggests that aid stifles domestic reform and undermines the basis for long-term economic growth and prosperity. Not only does aid provide incentives for corruption, it also maintains unequal, power relations and dependency between Africa and the West.

In the section on race, I explained the origins of a racial hierarchy, as stemming from the tide of scientific racism, during the colonial period. Racial inferiority of 'blacks,' was a key justification for colonial rule in Africa. I also suggested reasons for this pervasive and destructive construct being adopted into the worldviews of respondents, including the continuation of racial discrimination after colonialism, global media, global consumerism and capitalism. These influences are evident, when one considers the growing use of skin-lightening products in Africa. Thereafter, I presented examples from interviews, where 'darker' blacks are Othered by respondents. This tendency is undoubtedly influenced by the same racial hierarchy used by respondents to elevate 'whites'. Furthermore, the Othering of some 'blacks' somehow 'redeems,' or distances respondents from negative associations they might have with 'black' skin and the notion 'Africans.' This illustrates that ethnicity plays a major role in Othering as it acts as a social marker that is easily used to discriminate.

9.2. Limitations of research

Focus groups, along with individual interviews, would have been beneficial in this study. All the interviews I conducted were one on one, except for the interview I conducted with Edward and Banet. Until I met them, I was not aware that Edward was bringing along a friend, Banet, who was also seeking a 'white' partner. In this specific interview very interesting dynamics evolved and both Edward and Banet, developed strong performances of masculine identities, especially when they disagreed. For example, the more Edward argued for the preservation of patriarchy, the more Banet tried to counteract this argument, by claiming white superiority and gender equality. In retrospect, I realize that the dynamics created in a group setting, produce identity positionings that one might not find in individual interviews. And these too, need to be explored as they add greatly to understanding the research topic.

This study does not explain why most respondents originate from western and central Uganda. And why I did not interview one person from northern Uganda. This could be due to the geographic location of Kampala. Or it could be that respondents are from tribes in which there is currently much cultural discontent between the sexes. Yet another explanation could be, the historical experience of these areas with 'whites'. Whatever the reasons explaining this demographic, I was unable to uncover them in this study.

My study took an exploratory form, because I undertook research on a phenomenon that has not been explored previously in Kampala. Though this is not problematic, it did limit the research in some ways. Because I felt that I needed to do justice to all the themes that emerged, I was unable to study any one theme in depth. It seems that more questions arose than were answered. Nonetheless I feel that this broad overview sets the stage for further research.

9.3. Recommendations for further research

As explained in the limitations section, my research, with its exploratory nature, resulted in the emergence of a number of questions that need to be explored in greater depth in further research.

While my research made me aware of great tension and discrimination between 'black' and Indian Ugandans, I was not able to grant this theme any of the attention that it deserves. During the Kampala riots of 2011, a British friend of mine was told that he is safe, as long as he is not Indian. And I was told that Indians are the first to close shop downtown, when unrest breaks out, because they fear being attacked. Furthermore, when Museveni considered selling part of Mabira Forest to Indians, a public outcry included a threat that for every tree cut down; 'black' Ugandans would cut off the head of an Indian. These examples clearly illustrate that this is a rich topic for research. Not only should research focus on discrimination against Indians, it should also explore whether discrimination at the hands of Indians is really as bad as people say it is. And it should include an historical understanding; the legacy of hatred towards and blaming of Indians, introduced by Idi Amin during his reign; also their expulsion and subsequent return to Uganda.

Another area for exploration is whether the 'culture wars' around gender issues, which surfaced during interviews, are something unique to respondents, or whether these are happening on a larger scale, amongst middle-class men and women in Kampala. Furthermore, while I discussed the areas of contestation regarding gender equality that emerged during interviews, I suspect that there must be many more that still need to be explored. A study undertaking these questions, would also have to include people's attitudes towards 'westernization', globalization and ideas about modernity. During my time in Uganda, a man overheard a conversation I was having with a Ugandan woman regarding gender equality and reacted emotionally, intercepting our discussion with: "You come here with your

Western agendas, your dangerous Western agendas." This illustrates that gender equality is a highly, emotional topic and that it is seen as something inherently Western; as something foreign that is infiltrating and threatening 'African' identity and a local order based on cultural norms. This example demonstrates the connections people make between gender equality (also 'universal' human rights) or changing gender roles and the West. It also illustrates that femininities and masculinities are identities in which people invest emotion. And that makes this a fascinating topic for research.

Yet another question, which is linked closely to the previous one, is to explore the ways in which people understand, manipulate and negotiate 'culture' and 'tradition' so that their interests, goals or positions of power can be attained/maintained. I mentioned in this paper that Bourdieu describes culture as a form of capital. Indeed it would be interesting to see how people put this capital to work for their benefit. Furthermore, one could explore this in relation to gender, an area where these manipulations and negotiations prove to be exaggerated. Anti-homosexuality discourses in Uganda, also relate strongly to this question.

I think it is generally accepted, that stereotypes are unhelpful, but when people invest in them emotionally, they have the potential to become dangerous. Even though respondents may have good intentions, the stereotypes they express and the misinformation they articulate, point to a huge failure on the part of media, education and 'whites' in Uganda regarding the ways in which the West is represented. I feel that the absurdity of some of the constructions of 'whites' by respondents, point to very real problems when it comes to inter-racial, post-colonial and neo-colonial relationships in Africa. The ways in which Ugandans construct 'whites' as superior and the influences they use to do so, would make for a very interesting and important study. Such a study would have to take into account the idealizations of Western media and Hollywood especially, also the Ugandan–'white' relationships in Uganda, including foreign aid and international NGOs.

I was initially drawn to this topic because I was told by Ugandan friends and acquaintances of women who will do just about anything to "hook" a 'white' man. I was told of women who use skin-lightening creams and who try to fall pregnant with a white man as fast as possible. I was also told that these women are mostly after material gain. When I started interviewing female respondents, I realized that they are not 'these' women; in fact they are highly critical of women like this, who they believe decrease their chance at 'decent' mixed-race relationships. While respondents do not 'fit' the stories I was told, I believe that there are women, like Bad Black, who will go to great lengths to detooth 'white' men, or access their wealth through sexual agency. A study that would access the perspective of women like Bad Black would add a different angle to the themes explored here. And while women like this are branded as whores and dismissed as money-hungry, I believe that their voices and their motivations deserve to be heard. I also think that it would be fascinating to interview

Ugandan sex-workers, who have 'white' clients, and explore their perceptions and 'lived' experiences of 'whites'.

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