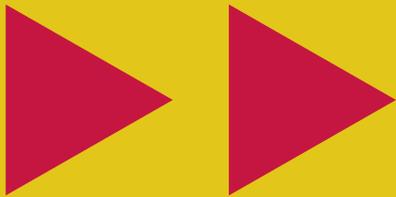


“No, I’m not a Sugar Daddy” : Adult Men’s Self-Perceptions and Views of Intergenerational Transactional Sex With Girls in Uganda and Tanzania.

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LINEA project

- Learning initiative on norms, exploitation and abuse of children and adolescents
 - Research
 - Conceptualisation of exploitation
 - LINEA Network

Background

- Higher incidence of HIV amongst adolescent girls and young women (AGYW) relative to male peers in sub-Saharan Africa.
- Difference attributed in part to intergenerational transactional sex (IGTS): heterosexual intercourse with a non-marital partner ten or more years older involving a transaction element.
- Relationships characterised by an imbalance of power driven by age and gender differentials, the economic realities that frequently drive such relationships and the transactional element in most of these relationships.
- The term 'sugar daddy' is at times used to describe the men in these relationships.

Rationale

- Some attempts to prevent inter-generational transactional sex have been made in the two countries (media campaigns).
- However the impact has been limited. The fataki campaign in particular seemed to have shifted community willingness to engage with IGTS and girls' involvement in the practice but did not seem to have an impact on men.
- Social norms supporting the practice have not been fully addressed.
- Adult men's motivation, and rationalisation of IGTS is poorly understood which limits the impact of these campaigns.

Methods

- Study conducted in 2015 in one urban and one rural site in both Central Uganda and Northern Tanzania
- 37 focus group discussions and 87 in-depth interviews were conducted with young people (both in and out of school) and adults in their communities, including men identified as sugar daddies.
- Semi-structured topic guides, audio recorded, transcribed verbatim and translated into English.
- Analysis was thematic and complemented by constant comparison and deviant case analysis techniques.

Relationships and Gifts

- Gift giving is normalised in relationships outside of marriage and men openly discuss this 'strategy' to seduce young girls

"There are very many ways of capturing a [girl]... I used the gift method." (FGD, Tanzania)

"Okay, with those kids, it depends on the way you have been relating with her you could have started when she is very young, [...] if you succeed in that you start buying her small gifts and some money she can use at school and to buy certain things to use. At this moment you are building the relationship and if you are really close you start asking her for sex." (IDI, Uganda)

Readines for sex/IGTS

- Men rationalise relationships with younger girls by highlighting: The context where they met...

"[...] I go out and when I find a girl in a bar even if she is 16 but her body physically shows that she is old, if I ask her for sex and she agrees I use her for my purposes. Yes, because I met her in a wrong place that is not recognized by the government because the government doesn't allow a girl of 16 years to work or drink in a bar so if she is there and I meet her there I take her as old enough" (IDI, Uganda)

- Their physical attributes...

I: "So what do other men depend on to determine that a girl is mature and ready for sex?"

R: "In most cases when a girl starts dressing smartly and secondly when she starts having a big bum and then when she gets breasts" (IDI, Uganda)

- Or their willingness to engage in these kind of relationships, ultimately placing the responsibility in the girl herself:
 - *Some girls are able to 'carry a man' - they are more independent from their parents, seductive etc.*
 - *Some girls are ready to 'die in war' - they have signed up for IGTS, and therefore deserve what they get*

Men's views

- These relationships are a point of pride, and display of masculinity in front of other men

“ When you tell [your friends] ‘I have broken a girl virginity’, then [your friend] tells you ‘I have broken two’ you tell him ‘I [am the one who has] the highest’ ” (IDI, Tanzania)

However...

- Men also recognised the undesirability of their behaviour and described how it could attract both social and legal sanctions.
- Some even expressed shame and regret about their participation in IGTS relationships

“The greatest thing that gives me fear when I look at the past record of my life the greatest thing is to spoil that girl's future.” (IDI, Tanzania)

I am not a sugar daddy/fataki

- Men distanced themselves from the sugar daddy/fataki identity by establishing clear differences between them and these 'other men'
- Among the characteristics mentioned as different they mentioned financial status:

"...in most cases sugar daddies are rich. For you to be a sugar daddy you are supposed to have money to spend on girls. He can provide the girl with whatever she wants... (IDI, Uganda)

"...those men often have a lot of money and you hear such stories in news about rich men sleeping with girls as sugar daddies...sugar daddies give out more money [than men like me] because they have a lot" (IDI, Uganda)

I am not a sugar daddy/fataki

- Having many young partners, being promiscuous

“They cannot refer to me like that... [I am not a sugar daddy] because a sugar daddy, you have to understand, is a person who is not satisfied with one girl.” (IDI, Tanzania)

“Fataki is somebody who has unprotected sex with this one today and a different one tomorrow. He is someone who is already infected with that disease [HIV] and he is spreading that infection regardless of whom he meets.” (IDI, Tanzania)

- Age

“The difference... is that the sugar daddy is very much older [than me]” (IDI, Tanzania)

“In most cases it refers to an older man who sleeps with a younger girl. He should be very old compared to the girl to the level that she can be his daughter...to me it includes men older than 40 years (IDI, Uganda)

I am not a sugar daddy/fataki

- “Good” versus “bad” intentions and behaviour

*“I am not fataki... maybe we are [not] different by the physical appearance or money but, [the difference] is the conscience, and together my intentions...”
(IDI, Tanzania)*

I: But why do you think somebody would see you with that girl and be able to use that label [fataki] to refer to you?

R: It is just because I am older than her...they also assume that I have enticed/lured her into being with me...but even though there may not be a difference between me and other men who have such relationships, I think the intentions matter ...my intentions were to help her (IDI, Tanzania)

I: “Do you remember the last time you slept with a younger girl?”

R “Yes, I met one in Kigali-Rwanda and I had sex with her. She was tall, but she was still young because she was a virgin and I am sure she had never had her menstruation periods [...] I didn’t use her harshly, when I noticed that she was still naive, I didn’t force her...you know as a person who has experience you can easily tell an innocent girl from another person.” (IDI, Uganda)

Discussion (1)

- Men viewed gift giving as a natural 'strategy' to seduce young girls.
- They rationalised their engagement with girls by bringing up the context where they met them, their physical characteristics and their behaviour.
- Men agreed that they were engaged in intergenerational sex, but distanced themselves from the label fataki/sugar daddy.
- Sugar daddies/fatakis were often described as being 'very rich', 'much older than me', 'having many girls' and most of all having "bad intentions".

Discussion (2)

- Adult men distinguished themselves from these labels by describing their “good” intentions of being in such relationships, i.e. caring for the girls material needs, looking after her and helping her.
- Ultimately their own behaviour was normalised by using language reinforced by gender normative and social expectations in relationships i.e. men need to provide, take care and protect women.

Programmatic implications (1)

- It is apparent from our research that stigmatising/stereotyping labels may not necessarily change the intended behaviour of people who engage in this practice.
- When designing interventions it is important to pay attention on the way we portray the characters as using extreme examples might achieve the opposite effect as people will find it easy to distance themselves from them.

Programmatic implications (2)

- Efforts to prevent adult men's engagement in transactional sex should encourage men to recognise the negative impact of their behaviour on girls' wellbeing and reproductive and sexual health, as well as on their own lives.
- It is also important to recognise that the complexity of the men engaged in these practices, as men who recognised the problem associated with IGTS and the gender and social norms driving their behaviour despite this.
- Hence, there is also scope to work on the masculine gendered expectations that encourage IGTS.

Thank you



Background and rationale

- Attempts have been made to prevent inter-generational transactional sex
- Multi media Fataki campaign in Tanzania which showed increased communication and willingness to intervene, and less involvement of girls but not effect on men
- A social marketing campaign against cross-generational sex in Uganda Population Services International (PSI).
- Defined as a non-marital relationship between a young woman aged between 15 and 24 years, and a man at least ten years her senior, the campaign has been criticised owing to social norms supportive of older men marrying younger women, particularly considering strong male provider gender norms. As such, a 10 age gap is viewed by some as 'normal', thus limiting the impact of the campaign.
- The success of such campaigns is also limited by poor understanding of adult men's motivation, and rationalisation of sex with girls in such relationships.
- Develop and include other campaigns interventions. Check on Uganda AIDS commission interventions

LINEA resources

- Webinars and recorded meeting presentations
<https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCqPXrWnTnyGrl-r3ZmAtw1Q>
- Meeting resource page:
<http://blogs.lshtm.ac.uk/samegroup/2015/05/15/linea-annual-meeting-2015-resources/>

Results: Uganda (3)

- A few described however that AGYW's early sexual debut was so normalised that they expected their own daughters would be in sexual relationships at a young age and thus did not view their relationship with young girls as exceptional or especially problematic
- I: "If you had a 15 year old daughter and find out she is sleeping with a man of 30 or 28 years old, how would you feel?"
- R: [Firstly] would I even know? Do you think she would bring him to me and say 'dad, I got a man and here he is'... It will be hidden and one thing you have to know is that any girl will get a man at a point in life no matter the age of the man. So you have to have that in mind and it will depend on how soon she begins but men of all ages are the same" (Ka-M-IDI-SD J1)

Results: Uganda

- Many had particular views however on what constituted a sugar daddy. Indeed sugar daddies were seen as men of a particular age, of means, men who pursued AGYW for the sole purpose of sex (as opposed to more 'noble' intentions such as to take care of them or to marry them) and those with many young partners. As such, many did not accept that they were sugar daddies and instead 'othered' such behaviour/relationships.

Older men

R: "In most cases it refers to an older man who sleeps with a younger girl. He should be very old compared to the girl to the level that she can be his daughter...to me it include men older than 40 years (Ka-M-IDI-SD J2)

Rich

Perception that to be sugar daddy you need to be really old, they do not care about the gap with the girl

I: "do you mean that that description [of a sugar daddy] is dependent on the perception of the people in the girl's circles and how they want to perceive you?"

R: "yes because in most cases they do not know my age and so they refer to me as a sugar daddy...[but] I am still young... as I told you, it (sugar daddy) is supposed to 40 years and above" (Ka-M-IDI-SD J2)

"No. At that time we were in the same age bracket so they couldn't call me a sugar daddy" Ma-M-IDI-SD (R1)

R: "In most cases it refers to an older man who sleeps with a younger girl. He should be very old compared to the girl to the level that she can be his daughter...to me it include men older than 40 years (Ka-M-IDI-SD J2)

Results: Uganda (2)

And as such some go to great lengths to hide their relationships

- “Okay, with those kids, it depends on the way you have been relating with her you could have started when she is very young, then after relating with her and bringing her closer to you, you start referring to her as ‘*mukyala*’ (my wife) much as she is still young. In most cases she will also start calling you ‘*mwami*’ (my husband)...if you succeed in that you start buying her small gifts and some money she can use at school and to buy certain things to use. At this moment you are building the relationship and if you are really close you start asking her for sex. For example, I have one I got and asked her for sex but told me that, ‘no, my mother told me that if you sleep with men you get pregnant’...but it all depends of how you have been building the relationship. You cannot just start right away asking for sex... maybe if you were studying with her, especially the younger ones or age mates in school. With those ones, the amount of time he offers her makes it simple to get her for sex. But for us the older men who are not in school with those girls, it depends on how you relate with her...even your stature matters, sometimes you are 35 years or more but the children will think that you are their age mate...so your physical body also matters a lot if you want a relationship with those girls. The only problem they have is that they bother a lot. You are never confident especially since you are a target for the police. You cannot stand with her in public, you have to keep hiding communication is hard because she doesn’t have a phone and even when she has it, she has to hide to make a call. And since most times she is at school and then tightly kept at home, the ability to access her whenever you want her is another challenge. You fear taking her at your home because the neighbours will see you and complain so, as a person you are never confident with her” (Ka-M-IDI-SD (J2))

Results: Uganda

- Pursue AGYW only for sex
- I: “Some people use the word sugar daddy to refer to older men who sleep with younger girls. Do you think other people such as your friends can also use the same term of sugar daddy on you?”
- R: “*nze tebampita sugar daddy naye bampita mulya buto* [they don't call me a sugar daddy but they call me someone who has sex with kids]...the two are different...the difference is that I fall in love with the girls but the sugar daddy entices or lures a girl to sleep with her. For instance with me, if a girl refuses I don't mind about it like the sugar daddy who will do whatever it takes to get a girl. Even if the girl asks for a car, he can buy it for her just to sleep with her” ((Ka-M-IDI-SD(J1)

Results: Tanzania (3)

- Men deny being fatakis, and blame other types of men instead...

"So I was telling him, 'My friend, stop behaving like Fataki!'... He told me 'Leave me alone, you are Fataki!'... So there was a big fight between me and him when I told him about this issue." (IDI#12: Rural man)

"The difference... is that the sugar daddy is very much older [than me]" (IDI#13: Urban man)

- ... or blame the girls in relationships

"[These] girls really like leisure... they are not firm. That's why she can be with me... When she leaves you again she meets with another one." (IDI#26: Rural man)

"I am not Fataki... maybe we are [not] different by the physical appearance or money but, [the difference] is the conscience, and together my intentions... I don't want her to suffer during that time so that I can... fulfil my desires." (IDI#12: Rural man)