

Spring 2005

Religiosity and Attitudes on Intimacy: Implications for the HIV/AIDS Pandemic in Central Uganda

Herbert Ssewagudde Kibuuka

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RELIGIOSITY AND ATTITUDES ON INTIMACY

Implications for the HIV/AIDS Pandemic in Central Uganda

A Thesis Paper

Presented to the

McAnulty College and Graduate School of Liberal Arts

Duquesne University

In partial fulfillment of

The requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

By

Herbert Kibuuka

03/18/05

SIGNATURE PAGE

Name: Herbert S. Kibuuka

Title: RELIGIOSITY AND ATTITUDES ON INTIMACY
Implications for the HIV/AIDS Pandemic in Central Uganda

Degree: Masters Degree in Social and Public Policy

Date: 03-18-05

Approved _____
Mary Frances Antolini, Ph.D., First Reader

Approved _____
Charles F. Hanna, Ph.D., Second Reader

Approved _____
Dr. Richard Colignon
Director, Graduate Center for Social and Public Policy

Approved _____
Constance D. Ramirez, Ph. D., Dean
McAnulty College and Graduate School of Liberal Arts

ABSTRACT

Herbert S. Kibuuka

Religiosity and Attitudes on Intimacy: Implications for the HIV/AIDS Pandemic in Central Uganda.

The purpose of this study has been to carry out an exploratory survey study of how religion can be instrumentalized in the fight against HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. After years of research, different drugs have been produced; and different methods of combating HIV/AIDS have been used. The pandemic, however, is still on the rise in most of the world. By 2010 for instance, South Africa will have more than two million orphans (of 57 million projected population), and Uganda today has more than 2.5 million orphans (13% of the population). Significant behavior changes across the population can, however, stop and even reverse this trend. It is clear that lifestyle plays a dominant role in individuals' chance of infection, and it seems probable that the level of the disease over the coming decades is more likely to be decided by changing lifestyles. My study focused on the relation between religiosity and attitudes towards premarital sexual intimacy. With a sample of 52, I found a negative relationship between the two variables. Other important variables included age, and type of religion.

My recommendation is for policy makers to use religion in the effort to change behavior, especially sexual behavior by way of changing our attitudes to premarital sexual intimacy. This religiosity should, however, go beyond denominations. It should be measure not in how often one goes to his place of worship but rather in how rounded one is in being a good person. For Ugandans where the survey took place, it is a call to return to the true African who was also religious not only on the weekend but in his every day moment. It is call to return to the roots; to the search for relevant new paradigms of human development

and participatory democracy. A holistic development of the individual as a *unity-identity-whole* who looks, understands, formulates, judges, decides responsibly, falls in love with the truth and finally believes.

1st Reader: Mary Frances Antolini, PhD → 2nd Reader: Charles Hanna, PhD

TO BE AFRICAN IS TO BE RELIGIOUS
-JOHN MBITI-

PREFACE

Towards the end of the first of my two years masters' course in conflict resolution and peace studies, I began to scratch my brain for a suitable conflict to study. After a while, it became apparent that no matter what I thought about, HIV/AIDS came up prominently as Sub Sahara's major conflict. Personally, I have lost four sisters and a brother to this single silent killer. As for relatives and close friends, I have long lost count. No conflict has been as disastrous. AIDS has managed to bring African economies to the disastrous states they are in today and we are not only fighting off a problem, we are fighting for our very existence. Africa is poorer today than it was back in the 1960's. After the cold war, we thought at last we would achieve national unity and begin to build a better future for our children. HIV/AIDS has erased any hope of that. Thus the need to rake our brains for any possible final blow to it.

Religion has been co-opted for centuries by crusaders of all religions to give moral authority to their bad wars and this has given religion a bad name. On the other hand, religion, just like fire, is a good thing in itself. Its power to influence people for the good of order is undisputable and used for the good intentions, it can indeed heal society by good behaviors and by the solace we get from it. Above all, it costs nothing and for poor countries like my Uganda, this explains why millions have turned to God in this hour of uncertainty and loss.

I would like to thank the following for helping me to finally complete this paper. Dr. Yenerall helped me from my first topic to the current one. But it was Dr. Antolini, who finally took over as first reader, who nudged me to the end. Her loving insistence on doing the right thing is unmatched. Dr. Hanna's ever present delight in seeing me was also overpowering. A professor who inquires after your personal life is indeed precious. I thank Susan, my wife,

who carried out the actual survey since I could not go to Uganda then. I recognize the priceless role of Alka Arora, a research associate at Boston College, who helped me learn the use of SPSS syntax function which finally decoded the mystery of recoding my variables. Last but by no means least, I recognize my family back home who for I know you share in my ups and downs. Thank you all and may you all be blessed.

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I. Introduction

In the prevailing scholarship, especially in the west, religion is accorded little power as a source of social change. In the developing world, however, this is not the case. The potential influence of religion is still recognized and appreciated. In 1962, Reinhard (1962) maintained that Weber's idealistic interpretation of religion was reasserting itself and that we had to seriously consider religion in our nations' policy packages for social change and development. His discovery is no less true today than it was then. Religion has once again become a major player in public policy and today's power plays are greatly influenced by religious ideology. The major hypothesis of this paper is that there is a negative correlation between religiosity and premarital sexual permissiveness. This religiosity, however, is not solely based upon one's religious membership and/or on the frequency of one's church attendance. It has far greater impact on the daily lives of the people in Uganda.

Through the study of existing literature and my own survey, this inquiry will seek to find how the two phenomena of religiosity (independent variable) and the attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness (dependent variable) relate. The *whyness* of this study is to find out how religion affects people's attitudes on sexuality in Central Uganda, and also to discuss the possibility of harnessing religion as a social-cultural political economic tool to bring about positive change in society.

Statement of the Problem

Can religion be used to change society? The urgency of this question has never been more relevant for the Ugandan society than it is today. The AIDS pandemic in Sub-Saharan Africa continues unabated. With the incidence of infection still rising, it already has more

HIV positive citizens (South Africa has between 3 and 4 million) than any other part of the world. In a few countries like Uganda there is a leveling out pattern, and a reverse trend is beginning to be noted. In many countries, however, especially in Southern Africa, this happens only after hundreds of thousands have died, families destroyed, and millions infected. Translated into socio-economic terms, the toll on sub-Saharan Africa's economic development is disastrous. The ratio of dependants (old and young) to able-bodied producers is increasing. It is estimated that by the year 2010, South Africa will have more than two million orphans (of 57 million projected population), and Uganda today has more than 2.5 million orphans (13% of the population) (Garner 2000: 5). Consequently, although reports predict a 'soft landing'- a less disastrous effect- for the macro-economic level, the effect on the micro-economic units (households) has been at best, catastrophic. It is worth noting that unlike the west where HIV/AIDS incidence is connected mainly with homosexuals and drug abusers, and poor people in general, in Africa it is almost solely spread through heterosexual sexual encounters and affects all classes equally.

Most government-sponsored anti-AIDS programs- including condom promotion, sex education and selective treatment, have had very insignificant impact on peoples' attitudes. Their methods date back in the 1960's when the movement to combat venereal diseases and to control population growth began. Their drive to reduce female sterility disorders through more restricted sexual networking (Polenski 1966) has been appropriated by those fighting the spread of HIV/AIDS. Often propagated by 'medical missionaries' from the west (Caldwell 1989), they have targeted the macro economy, but they have largely ignored the micro economy, and their faith in social engineering has been instrumental in their ignoring behavior change as a serious option to fight the epidemic.

Yet statisticians agree that large-scale behavior change would have a real impact on the gravity of the AIDS crisis. Research carried out in a KwaZulu township in South Africa (Garner 2000), shows that significant behavior changes across the population would reduce the 2010 projection of the spread of HIV/AIDS for South Africa, to cite one example.¹ At this stage, when most conventional means of fighting the pandemic are making very little headway, if any, mass behavior change, as a means of prevention², is very relevant. Caldwell (1989) writes;

It is clear that lifestyle plays a dominant role in individuals' chance of infection, and it seems probable that the level of the disease over the coming decades is more likely to be decided by changing lifestyles than by medical breakthroughs.

Several alternatives to achieve this end have been proposed. The most realistic is the one of encouraging people to heighten their religiosity or to join those religious organizations that impart a high level of religiosity to their adherents.

Rationale

The study aimed at exploring the possibility that different levels of religiosity impact differently the attitudes of individuals about intimacy. Religion is not only a social phenomenon, nor is it only a political tool. It is more profound than that. It is also a cultural, social and political force. This aspect is seen when we talk of the Christian capitalist west and when we see the impact of Islam on Muslim culture. The best expression of religion and its influence on all aspects of life, however, is manifest in all pre-industrial societies. In Africa for instance, Mbithi (1969) tells us that to be African was to be religious. The same situation is still happening in most parts of sub-Saharan Africa. Religion is one of the essential means

¹ Such as a 40% reduction in the number of sexual partners, each year for at least five years, and a 20% reduction in unprotected sexual contacts

² It is cost effective, efficient and can be sustainably implemented in poverty-stricken and largely still unlearned societies.

man uses to meet his everyday life, existential situations; situations that are in most cases beyond the common man's capacity to solve. Today also we see the most oppressed, the underserved, the underprivileged, and the terrorized, turn to religion as their medium of self expression. Thus this study has a lot of significance, theoretically, socially, and existentially. Its major aim is to seek to find how different levels of religiosity impact on the attitudes on premarital sexual permissiveness in Central Uganda.

Theoretical Significance

The study was based on the importance of religiosity in forming attitudes of people. For poor people, whose lives are still very much influenced by the forces of both natural and social elements, religion is still very much a part of their lives and a person's life can be significantly impacted depending on one's level of 'religious emersion'. The new trend in the South in general, but in sub-Saharan Africa in particular, is the search for relevant new paradigms of human development and participatory democracy. Religion, especially the type of religion that impacts and leads to the holistic development of the individual as a *unity-identity-whole* who looks, understands, formulates, judges, decides responsibly, falls in love with the truth and finally believes, is one of the current favorite social tools (Lonergan, 1957).

Social Policy Significance

Findings from this study would tell us how different levels of religiosity can affect the necessary dynamism to fight the foes Ugandans face today, namely, the evils of poverty, political bankruptcy, immorality, and anomie. Religion has filled in the vacuum left behind by the shrinking role of the state, the tribe, and the family. Religion provides for many of the people in Uganda today, a support system, spiritual guidance, room for self expression, and- for the new popular religions-, material success. If the people whose level of religiosity score

was high on the religious scale also scored low on the premarital sexual permissiveness scale, the study would support the theory. If however there were no differences in attitudes to premarital sexual permissiveness among the different religiosity levels, the study would not provide supporting evidence for the theory.

If this exploratory study found that religion can play a big role in filling in the vacuum left by the governments which have virtually surrendered their autonomy to globalization and *technologism*, it would perhaps prompt policy makers to consider *religion* a serious policy option. Religious leaders too would see the relevance of their teachings and thus improve them to better suit the social, political, spiritual and economic aspirations and needs of their followers. Lastly, policy makers would discover that religion is not simply going to the place of worship, or a leisure thing, but rather a tool- though sometimes a subversive one- we can use to bring about man's holistic wellbeing and sustainable development.

Research Question and Hypotheses

This study aimed at casting a critical look at how different levels of religiosity impact differently the attitudes of individuals about intimacy. My major question was: to what extent is religion an influencer of people's attitudes on sexuality? This impact can be direct, through preaching and socialization, or indirect by way of financial empowerment. By analyzing data that already exist, and supplementing them with questionnaires, I was able to take a more critical look into the individual's level of religiosity. I focused on exploring the possibility that different levels of religiosity impact differently the attitudes of individuals on sexual relations. My dependent variable was 'the attitudes about premarital sexual intimacy' and my independent variable was the type and depth of religion (religiosity). My assumptions included the following:

- Particular aspects of religiosity have certain peculiarities that directly or indirectly inform and affect the attitudes about intimacy.
- High religiosity directly affects the person's attitudes, and indirectly, his behavior. From the above theoretical perspectives, I have drawn an hypothesis:

Hypothesis

People with low levels of religiosity are more likely to be more permissive in their attitudes on premarital intimacy than people with high levels of religiosity.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

There has been a fair amount of research conducted on religion and its impact on attitudes (Hohman & Schaffner, 1947; Kinsey, 1953; Dedman, 1959; Lindfeld, 1960; and Reiss, 1969). A lot of research on the impact of religiosity on the political views of individuals and/or on their views about issues like abortion and the death penalty (Jules-Rosette, 1976; Wignaraja, 1993; Gifford, 1994) has also been carried out. However, in the case of Uganda, there has not been much research conducted on the comparison of different levels of religiosity and their respective impact on people's attitudes on intimacy. In addition, very few scholars have ever considered religion as a policy option to solve a social problem. Yet recent studies indicate that statisticians agree about the positive impact large-scale behavior change would have on the gravity of the AIDS crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa.

In the capital city Kampala, the level of HIV infection among pregnant women attending antenatal clinics fell from 31% in 1993 to 14% by 1998. Meanwhile, outside Kampala, infection rates among pregnant women under 20 dropped from 21% in 1990 to 8% in 1998. Elsewhere, among men attending STI clinics, HIV infection rates fell from 46% in 1992 to 30% in 1998³.

The pertinent question then is what religion actually is and what purpose it serves.

A Classical View on Religion

The term 'religion' can be used in two distinct yet related ways. First, in a material sense, it refers to religious establishments (that is institutions and officials) as well as to religious and *religio-political* groups and movements whose *raison d'être* is to be found within both religious and social-political concerns (Haynes 1996:1). Secondly it refers to 'religiosity' in the spiritual sense, which pertains to models of social and individual behavior that help believers to organize their everyday lives. In this sense, religion goes beyond

³ <http://www.who.int/inf-new/aids2.htm>

institutions to transcendence and the ultimate conditions of existence where holy and sacred can be contrasted to worldly and profane.

For Freud (1927), religion is nothing more than infantile dependency and wishful thinking; an illusion leading to neurosis and mental disorder. For him, religion is simply the individual's mechanism for tolerating infantile helplessness. This comes as a result of the instability caused by conscious intellect and choice battling with unconscious impulses, drives, fantasies, and emotions. For Oxtoby (1996) religion is a mere expedient function to meet psychic needs. And Jung also agrees when he finds rich levels of meaning in religious symbolism, including magic and alchemy; that religion is a product of psychological processes (Rosen 1991). Though it is still very debatable whether what serves to meet psychic needs is necessarily merely the product of those needs, what these psychologists are pointing out is the fact that religion's primary task is to address the needs of the individual. It is thus a utilitarian social fact borne of the need for therapy from the challenges of life. This element has made religion a very powerful though ambivalent tool usually co-opted by both the powerful and the weak.

Conflict theory father Marx has called religion the 'opium of the people', administered by the *bourgeoisie* to better master the *proletariat*; and Appleby (2000) says religion is a powerful medicine and it should be administered in small doses, if at all, prudently, selectively and deliberately. This materialist analysis of religion echoes the concerns of liberation theology, and portrays popular religions, both Christian and Muslim, as a form of false consciousness (Garner 2000: 314-31). This is seen to operate in three ways; through the imposition of the Neo-Liberal ideas and structures of the ruling international classes; through the unscrupulous manipulation of the poor via prosperity theology; and emphasis on

eschatological rather than earthly expectation, through the neglect of social and political activism (Haynes 1996).

The functionalist view sees the current religious fundamentalism resurgence as a coping mechanism in the face of the upheavals of modernization; disillusionment with the post-colonial 'developmental' state; the cold war and its wake, and now today, the new strictures of Structural Adjustment. Thus fundamentalism has been portrayed by many analysts as appealing exclusively to the poor, simple people, especially those disoriented by the stresses of globalization. Here the adherents are portrayed as victims of the cynical, manipulative champions of religious dogma that promises spectacular improvements in people's lives but can only deliver them into the clutches of domestic or foreign religious charlatans with altogether different aims (Haynes 1996: 196)). Kothari (1993:68) too, using the functionalist perspective, urges that such people are duped by the 'ruling class' to follow religious fundamentalism in order that they forget their 'true' class interests. The fact is, many have attacked and ridiculed religion but none has disputed the power of religion to impact individuals, cultures and history in general.

Today, the world is changing into one of high Church membership, but low church attendance. It is a drive to religion without dogma and predetermined forms of prayer. Franco Ferrarotti (1993) in his book, *Faith Without Dogma*, maintains that while the absence of dogma results in a reticence to accept hierarchical direction from above or beyond, it is belief that propels membership. He views the demand for religious renewal and revival as part and parcel of the emergence of broad social agendas - agendas to which not even the Roman curia could remain impervious. The former symbiotic relationships between Church and State at the expense of the individual members spiritual and material being, gave way to a critical defense

of individual rights within a context of a broadened vision of religious doctrine although this reform has been too little too late for many people.

HIV/AIDS Policy and Religion

That Uganda today boasts of only 8% HIV/AIDS positive among adults (down from over ten in 1995) is not due to the use of condoms, but rather to large scale behavior change (Hogle J et al. 2002). USAID's assistant administrator for global health, Dr. Anne Peterson, was very optimistic when she testified on Uganda to the U.S. Senate's Subcommittee on African Affairs on May 19 2003;

A "turning point" has now been reached in the battle against HIV/AIDS, and successful interventions against the deadly virus, such as the one now being conducted in Uganda, must be highlighted and, to the greatest extent possible, adapted to other countries.

Peterson acknowledged that the push for abstinence in the 1990s has produced a noticeable decrease in the percentage of youth who reported ever having sex. Buttressing this, she explained, is also the promotion of a "*zero grazing*" policy in Uganda -- which promotes being faithful to one's mate.

Elsewhere, in Sub-Saharan Africa, a major intensive study carried out by Garner (2000) in South Africa shows that significant behavior changes across the population would reduce the 2010 projected numbers of possible HIV positive individuals from 650,000 to 210,000. Governments have tried universally recognized, and usually multi-national corporations syndicated methods of combating the pandemic, all of which have hardly had an impact on the spread of the HIV/AIDS scourge. Sex education in schools has had no large scale effect on attitudes; condoms are rarely used or are inconsistently used. Poverty has rendered the relevant drugs out of bounds for the majority of the victims and for those who try to use them; it is an added strain on the already meager resources of the households or the

governments, already irremediably indebted, which subsidize them. It may then be that religion, because of its universal, intensive appeal, extensive reach, and organizational power, is the most efficient way to 'encourage' people to change their attitudes about premarital sexual relations in central Uganda.

Religion is not an alien thing to Ugandans either. Like in most societies still in close contact with nature, religion is a natural spontaneous experience. In his famous book *African Religions & Philosophy*, Mbithi (1969) states that in Africa, man's worship and turning to God are pragmatic and utilitarian rather than spiritual and mythical as it is in the west. Africans, Mbithi continues, have no word for religion for to be man is to be religious. He adds that religion in African societies is not a theological treatise on paper, but rather it is in people's hearts, minds, oral history; rituals and religious personages like priests, rainmakers, healers, elders and kings. It is this religiosity that will be used as the dependent variable of this paper. I have divided it into four distinct, though related, components. This more thorough religiosity model is based on a combination of Glock's (1965) five and Garner's (2000) four-dimensional measures of religiosity. The four final categories are;

- i) The ritualistic practice dimension; including church attendance, it is centered on what people do.
- ii) The religious knowledge dimension; which is based on how well informed and knowledgeable a person is about the fundamental tenets of his religious faith.
- iii) The religious belief dimension; which measures what the respondent believes about the supernatural phenomena.

- iv) The religious experience/effects dimension; which measures the impact, or 'effects' of the prior three dimensions on the everyday life of the person.

The literature review concentrates on three areas of research. First it identifies the major categories into which the three different types of religion fall, each of which parallels a level of religiosity. The second part will highlight the impact of religiosity on attitudes on premarital sexual permissiveness and, indirectly, on behaviors as it has been studied in the west. In addition, we shall see whether what applies for the west can be applicable to Africa and to Central Uganda in particular. Thirdly, the study will explore the implications of the different levels of religiosity for the individual who either is suffering or is affected or is likely to be affected by the HIV/AIDS scourge in Central Uganda.

Types of Religion and Religiosity

Mainstream Religious organizations

Haynes (1996: 57) calls the mainstream religions *mission churches*, as it is the missionaries who introduced them during the colonial era, and their introduction coincided with the conquest of Africa. Traditionally, before the emergence of splinter reform and charismatic groups, many of which eventually became fundamentalist, religiosity was thought of as the frequency of attendance in the churches. The differences among mainstream religions like Protestantism, Catholicism, and mainstream Islam were really insignificant. As the inadequacies of this limited view of religiosity surfaced, however, other dimensions of religiosity had to be considered too. The debate finally led to a more comprehensive view of religiosity, which has stood the test of time.

In Uganda, and one could argue, in sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, the similarities between these churches or religious organizations, outweigh their differences. Although they have significant doctrinal differences, their discourse and practice overlap significantly; and this is especially true of their articulation as regards sexual attitudes (Garner 2000:50). Lugalla (1997) says that many of the informants he interviewed in North Eastern Tanzania, provided religiously influenced responses such as obeying God, stopping adultery, abstinence and faithfulness when asked what they should do in order to avoid HIV/AIDS. Most of them belonged to the dominant religious groups (mainly Catholics, Protestants, and Islam) all of which condemn premarital sexual relations. A large majority of Africans are affiliated with Christian churches, but this has not prevented the types of sexual behavior that promote the epidemic. The geographical reach of these religious organizations is universal and political influence is very high. Unfortunately, what they have gained in geographical extension they have lost in religious intensity. The institutionalization of these religious organizations, and the huge numbers of adherents they actively crusaded for, have led to preoccupation with ritualism and legality. This has resulted in low subjective experience, low religious knowledge and experience and laxity of unity among the members (Garner 2000). In a bid to recruit as many members, as fast as possible, the leaders had to lower the entrance expectations. This led to lower requirements of acceptance and to low religiosity. Thus although most of the people Lugalla interviewed knew what to do, their convictions did not rhyme with their practice. Soon, therefore, the new challenges of the shrinking world through globalization, the *marketization* of the world economies through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank's Structural Adjustments, and the increasing poverty and hopelessness, demanded more realistic solutions from their religious leaders. The centralized

churches, reluctantly tried to rise to the occasion since, being some of the major beneficiaries of the *status quo*, it was in their interest to slow change as much as they could. The Vatican Two Council (1962-1965) is one of these endeavors. This paved the way for the emergence of liberation theology as a more pragmatic and rewarding form of religiosity.

Liberation Theology

While the mainstream churches represent the lowest form of religiosity, liberation theology represents the middle level of religiosity. In terms of impact on peoples' attitudes, liberation theology lies mid way between institutionalized religious organizations and fundamentalist groups that have been associated with high religiosity (Garner 2000). Some commentators on religion- including Peter L. Berger (1969, 1985, and 1999) - have portrayed Liberation Theology as a political ideological text. They have labeled it Marxist, and have placed it among the far-left groups. This is a big *contradictio in adjecto* (contradiction in terms);

Liberation theology has been and still is a powerful movement of opinion that is rooted in the scandal of a Christian conscience vis-à-vis the subhuman living conditions in which millions of human beings are forced to exist. It has to do with a moral thrust rather than with a systematic doctrine or a political platform (Ferrarotti 1993: ix).

Liberation theologians maintain that Christian beliefs and practice range along a continuum between two poles. At one end is the kind of religion, which in effect serves the establishment, that is, those in authority such as a government. This kind of religion teaches that reward will be a better life after death. Liberation theologians advocate the other pole that emphasizes compassion and leadership in the struggle against oppressors, in the struggle for a better life here and now in this life. It is this affinity to the disadvantaged and the oppressed in general who need religion the most that helps to build high religiosity. Manfred (1994) says

that Christianity is struggling forward towards its roots in response to the social and economic problems of global humanity at the present time towards what Jesus taught, towards the social laws and social system of the Torah, which were being argued about and discussed by Paul, and the writers of the Gospels.

In Latin America, Liberation Theology was used to make Catholicism progressive, and to stand for solidarity and collective commitment. It was for a reading of the Bible through the eyes of the poor, and for the pursuit of the Kingdom of God on earth and in society, rather than in heaven and in individual isolation. In Africa it was principally introduced to address the shortage of the clergy. In both instances, however, it was still a tool of the institutionalized religious organizations. Liberation theology, therefore still had some vestigial control from the traditional established churches. In a fast changing world, liberation theology was not quick enough in addressing the most pressing problems of the day. It was found lacking as a philosophy of community development in many social environments (Hynes 1996: 228). Given that the nature of African society has changed greatly as a result of urbanization over the last thirty years or so, we might expect the types of religion people want would reflect this development. This explains the appeal and popularity of the fundamentalist and/or charismatic religious organizations.

Fundamentalist Groups

Garner (2000) maintains that the highest level of religiosity (as measured by the multi-dimension Glock-Stark scale) is largely correlated with fundamentalist and/or charismatic religious groups. In *Safe Sects: Dynamic Religion and AIDS in South Africa*, he explores the rapidly escalating HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa and its demographic and social impact, which are beginning to be felt. Although the damage to the *macroeconomy* is

projected to be slight, the consequences for affected households will be dire, and social indicators such as life expectancy will deteriorate dramatically. Based on research in a KwaZulu township, he presents evidence on the level of extra- and premarital sex (EPMS) among members of different church types. He argues that only Pentecostal churches significantly reduce premarital sexual relations among members. They achieve this by maintaining high levels of the four crucial variables of indoctrination, religious experience, exclusion, and socialization.

Indoctrination describes the methods and depth of the sect's educational program. The Bible and the Koran are the main books of reference and since the writings herein are believed to be a result of revelation, their teachings are taken as unquestionable dogma. Scriptural study is prodigious in these groups, and certain phrases, key to the faith, are repeated over and over again. Religious/Subjective experience concerns the strength of subjective experience of members, as manifested by the level of participation in meetings, opportunities for self-expression and emotional involvement as exhibited in intense prayer life, lay activity determined by religion, and spontaneity in public worship. Exclusion concerns discontinuity or the boundary the group perceives between its members and society at large. This is affected by way of profession of faith, adult baptism for the Christians and the observation of special practices and ceremonies aimed at further accentuating the group's identity.

For the Muslims among others, this involves the adding of a sixth pillar to Islam; that of the '*jihad*', which is interpreted as 'exertion' or 'struggle' in behalf of Allah. Socialization has to do with the involvement of the group or church in the lives of its members. It includes the amount of time that membership entails; the social activities which the church organizes

and promotes; the level of surveillance and control of social activities (especially of time and money, and the functions of sex and marriage) that is exercised; and the maintenance of church discipline (Garner 2000: 48-49). The meetings are frequent, long and energetic, with plenty of participation. The romantic and financial aspects of members' lives are monitored, if not exactly controlled by the leaders.

Antoun (2001), in his *Understanding Fundamentalism*, has given six major themes that define fundamentalism. These religious groups, he maintains, tend to have a literal belief in an inerrant sacred scripture (*Scripturalism*); the search for purity in an impure world, and the drive to make the ancient immediately relevant to the contemporary situation (*traditioning*). They take religion out of the worship center and into many other domains like the home, the school, the bank to mention a few. To do this, they confront establishments (political or religious) by protest or violence in their struggle against evil and finally, they selectively modernize and control acculturation. Just like all categorizations, no one religious organization can be said to maximize all these attributes. Instead, all religious organizations said to be *fundamentalist* lie on the continuum, from the center to the extreme right, to use political terminology.

As opposed to the sedate missionary and/or hegemonic religions, fundamentalist or popular religious groups are more dynamic and charismatic. Many have sprung up all over the world in a bid to better address the plight of the suffering millions. Following Haddad (1985), I would like to define religious fundamentalism as those “*scriptualist* forms of religious piety which affirm the central relevance of a holy book for day-to-day activities and which insist on the regulation of all aspects of individual and social behavior” (p.277). According to Garner, these are the most powerful religious organizations as far as heightening religiosity and

impacting peoples' attitudes are concerned. While the traditional institutionalized religious organizations have a wider geographical reach and have until recently been more politically influential with bigger numbers of adherents whose religiosity is largely nominal, the relatively new popular reformist religious organizations have more power to impact their members' attitudes (Garner 2000).

Religion and Attitudes toward Premarital Sexual Relations

Permissiveness and its determinants

Sex is not only a person's strongest drive, but also one of his greatest needs (Omarian 1982:131). Omarian's stand agrees with that of the behaviorist psychologists who portray sexuality as an inevitable, natural drive in man that can only be controlled at the peril of the individual. The imperious drive of sex is capable of impelling individuals, reckless of consequences while under its spell, toward behavior that may imperil or disrupt the cooperative relationships upon which social life depends. But this fatalistic portrayal of sexuality is not supported by the fact that sexual-ethical attitudes and behaviors have changed with different phases of history. Attitudes toward sexuality have evolved from the medieval ascetic to the post modern liberal permissive and because of this, premarital and extra marital sexual permissiveness have been the subject of a lot of research and discussion both common sensical and scientific.

Over the years largely cross-sectional studies of attitudes about premarital sexual relations and their determinants have been carried out and it is assumed that trends in these attitudes have increasingly become more permissive (Singh 1980). There is a general consensus as to the determinants of premarital sexual permissiveness. There is, however, a

lack of clarity about the factors that account for the differences in attitudes over time.

Research indicates that premarital sexual relations are prevalent among certain groups; and certain authors (Reiss and Miller 1974)) have labeled these groups as being ‘traditionally sexually permissive’. Studies in the United States have consistently suggested that males are more permissive than females; that blacks are more sexually permissive than whites; the unmarried more than the married; the young adults more than the older adults and that urban residents are more permissive than the rural residents (cfr. Bayer, 1977; Harrison et al., 1969; Hunt, 1974; Kinsey et al., 1948; Reiss, 1965; and Singh et al. 1978).

Many sociologists have demonstrated that there is a strong negative relationship between religious commitment and premarital sexual activity (Hohman & Schaffner, 1947; Kinsey, 1953; Dedman, 1959; Lindfeld, 1960; and Reiss, 1965). Others, (Middendorp 1970; Cardwell, 1969; Ruppel, 1969; Reiss & Sponaugle, 1980), have agreed with the conclusion, but they have shown that in addition to religiosity, there are other important variables which are correlates of sexual activity. Gender is one of the determinants of premarital sexual permissiveness. Middendorp (1970) and Reiss (1979), for instance reiterate that since men are traditionally socialized to take a more pleasure-oriented approach to sexuality, and females to take a more affection-oriented approach to the same, men tend to be more permissive, both in their attitudes and in their behavior. Autonomy from external control is another key predictor of premarital sexual permissiveness (Reiss & Miller 1979; Gilmath 1978). Freedom –of movement and of association- from control by adult institutions such as family and religion are also strong determinants of premarital sexual permissiveness, both directly and indirectly. They are responsible for what Middendorp (1970) termed one’s position on the liberalism-

conservatism continuum, concluding that the more conservative one is the less likely s/he will be sexually permissive.

Age is one other factor that is predictive of one's attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness (Reiss and Sponaugle, 1980; Middendorp 1970) as it influences other variables. Reiss and Sponaugle found that while it has a mutual causality with religiosity, in addition, it affects one's view of the world. Thus it directly impacts one's attitudes towards premarital sexual permissiveness while at the same time it indirectly impacts a person's political view. Education and one's residence are the weaker variables found to influence one's attitudes to premarital sexual relations. Middendorp (1970) found that, though not very significant, still they have some indirect influence on one's attitudes on premarital sexual permissiveness.

By the 1970's, Singh points out, these antecedent factors still could modify the negative relationship between the principally unidimensional measure of religiosity (frequency of attendance) and premarital sexual permissiveness. For example Heltsley and Broderick (1969) reported a negative relationship between religiosity and premarital sexual permissiveness for whites but not for blacks. Over time, however, the differences between the social classes and the political views have narrowed. While traditionally highly permissive groups have remained approximately the same over time, Singh (1980) found that the approval of premarital sexual relations in previously low permissive groups has increased considerably.

Researching in this same field, Reiss (1980:398) found that although people tend to have permissive attitudes about sexuality, their behaviors are not necessarily consistent with their beliefs. He found though that the two stands get closer in premarital sexual

permissiveness than they are in extramarital sexual permissiveness. This, he reiterated, is due to the extra guilt involved when people are married than when they are single. In agreement with Reiss, Ferking (1965) states that there is often a discrepancy between what one believes and how one behaves. Glock and Stark (1965) found a wide discrepancy between the reporting of a belief in God, and attendance at a church or any other place of worship. Cardwell (1969), however, found a high correlation (.74) between ritualistic behavior and religious belief. He discovered that with respect to ritualistic behavior, as the measure of church attendance and frequency of prayer increases, attitudes towards premarital sexual activity become less permissive (p.77). This was in partial agreement with earlier findings by Ferking (1965) who had found that cultic and devotional participation before coming to college were highly significant in relation to all levels of participation; and with Garner (2002) who observed that there is a negative relationship between knowledge of Holy Scriptures, and strong positive morality. According to him, if biblical knowledge is low among members of the worship community, there will be no strong, conservative, sexual morality.

Unlike the correlation between ritualistic behavior and premarital sexual activity, the belief correlation to permissiveness was found to be low, and one possible reason for this is that while it provides information concerning what a person believes, it provides no clue about the person's knowledge of holy scripture; his or her level of participation, and nothing about the person's subjective experience (Reiss, 1980, Ferking, 1965). Glock and Stark (1965), however, caution against a quick dismissal of belief as a strong indicator of attitudes to premarital sexual permissiveness. They state:

But the salience of belief is more appropriately studied in terms of the kind of religiosity individuals express on other dimensions. How active one is ritualistically,

the kinds of religious experience s/he has, how well informed s/he is religiously, and the extent to which s/he acts out his or her beliefs in practice are all measures of the salience of belief (p.226)

Despite the still fluid definition of religiosity, however, most studies have demonstrated that it provides the bulwark for the attitudes people hold regardless of their age, race, gender, social class, place of residence, or political views. Using his premarital sexual permissiveness scale and the uni-dimensional (frequency of attendance) measure for religiosity, Reiss (1967) demonstrated that the lower the traditional level of sexual permissiveness in a group, the greater the likelihood that social forces would alter the individual levels of sexual permissiveness. To support his claim, he cited the evidence that;

Generally speaking, male permissiveness was affected less by such social forces than was female permissiveness, and Negro permissiveness was affected less than was white permissiveness (1967:41).

In the first retest of this particular proposition, however, Heltsley and Broderick (1969), failed to find total support for what Ruppel (1970) calls the *traditionalism proposition*. Testing it among a non-random student sample of largely single, female, white, Protestant, middle class Southerners, they found support for it only to the extent that they found the expected differences in the relationship between religiosity and premarital sexual permissiveness only between whites and blacks. They did not completely dismiss Reiss's hypothesis though. They instead set forth an alternative explanation which suggests that the differences noted between the blacks and whites with regard to religiosity and sexual permissiveness is a result of a qualitative difference in the stimulus variable (religiosity) rather than the effect of the contingency variable (general level of permissiveness of the group) as suggested by Reiss.

These findings, therefore, do not completely invalidate the Reiss theory. Ruppel (1970) points out that we are here considering only one dimension of an obviously multidimensional social force (religiosity). This frequency of attendance by itself is inadequate since it only deals with the ritualistic (attendance) nature of religiosity. Since then, the shortcomings of the measure of religiosity have evolved. This trend has led to the most comprehensive multi dimensional measure of religiosity by Glock and Stark (1965) whose four-dimensional concept framework (for religiosity) has held strong under empirical investigation (Faulkner and Shriver, 1966; King, 1967; Lehman and Shriver, 1968; Cardwell, 1969; and Ruppel, 1969). Their findings are summed up by Ruppel (1970), who maintains that any complete appraisal of the relationship between religiosity and sexual permissiveness is very likely to fail unless it considers the intellectual, the ideological, and the experiential aspects in addition to the traditional ritual and affiliation dimensions of religiosity.

Improvements in operationalization of both religiosity and attitudes to premarital sexual relations have thus allowed researchers to eliminate most of the contingent variables to the point where today religiosity is the one that stands out as the most influential. The narrowing of the attitudes between the traditionally low permissive and the traditionally high permissive groups reinforces this view. The gains in approval of premarital sexual relations, a parallel to the convergence of attitudes, signals the declining influence of social class variables in determining core attitudes.

Religiosity is thus the one variable that is a consistently strong finding by a majority of researchers. As Vernon (1962) stated, religion provides man with definitions and directions of what is moral and immoral, what is good and bad, and what is righteous and unrighteous. It thus underlies most of the other predictors of premarital sexual permissiveness. In this study, I

want to find out whether what is true for the west can be equally applicable to Africa and Central Uganda in particular.

The paucity of literal evidence as to the religiosity and sexual relations studies in Africa is due to the fact that the African culture is more oral than literal. There is thus a paucity of comparative quantitative studies. Yet a balanced assessment of the nature and extent of African religiosity and sexuality was vital for this study. The only way therefore was the laborious one of listing and anecdoting the available anthropological studies, and judging the weight of the 'evidence'.

In spite of the apparent disarray in the experience of modern politics and brutal internecine wars in many parts of the country the sense of community and humane living are highly cherished values of the majority of Ugandans. Like it is for traditional Africans, the community is basically sacred, rather than secular, and it is surrounded by several religious forms and symbols. It is this stress on community, on the 'we' rather than on the 'I' that makes the African primarily religious. John Mbiti (1990) underscores the importance of belief and the high sense of the community among traditional Africans. In traditional Africa, the individual does not and cannot exist alone except corporately. He owes his existence to other people, including those of past generations and his contemporaries. Whatever happens to the individual is believed to happen to the whole group, and whatever happens to the whole group happens to the individual. The concept of *Ubuntu* (humanness) is based on the fact that we are people because of people. "I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am (J.S. Mbiti; 106). This *embededness* of the individual in the mechanical solidarity community-which Heidegger called the "*they*"- is almost an antithesis to the western individual who is, at least by intent, autonomous.

An African community is at the same time a religious community, organized in families, lineages, clans, tribes and kingdoms or chieftainships, sharing life intensely in common;

There are communal farmland, communal trees, streams, barns, and markets. There are also communal shrines, squares, masquerades, ritual objects and festivals for recreational activity, social, economic and religious purposes. (Ejizu, 1980).

It is the ambivalent encounter with the veiled violence of nature that pushes the living to invoke the invisible members, especially ancestors, who are believed to be more powerful and superior to human beings. This violence of nature, its sublimity and ambivalence push man to trust in *the- more- than- himself*; to transcendence, to faith. Nature, like the gods, is both feared and revered; it terrorizes us but at the same time it fascinates us (Kearney, 2003). Ejizu maintains that;

Closeness to nature, the experience of life in terribly hazardous environment, and the crucial need for security and better performance in means of livelihood are some relevant factors that combine to deepen the natural impulse for gregariousness and sense of community.

The African world-view is thus one that is fundamentally holistic, sacred and highly integrated.

In it, religion is indistinguishable from morality, for traditional Africans, Ejizu writes;

the line dividing the two is very thin indeed. African traditional religion plays a crucial role in the ethical dynamics of the different groups. .. 'gods serve as police men'. African traditional world-views invariably outline a vision of reality that is, at once ethical in content and orientation. Human beings and their world are the focal centre of a highly integrated universe. Human conduct is seen as key in upholding the delicate balance believed to exist between the visible world and the invisible one.

In such a world, individual or group permissiveness is a sin against the community and the 'sinner' is either ostracized, excommunicated or severely punished since his sin is against the wellbeing of the whole society.

One may counter, and rightly so, that Africa is no longer traditional. Truly the situation in Africa has changed radically. The African system has been under assault for centuries by the guns and the religions of the more technologically advanced Eurasian system. It is thus no longer intact. The experience of colonialism; the ambivalent Christian missionary activity and the sometimes overzealous Islamic religious campaigns have given rise to a radically different socio-political and religious background in Africa. Colonialism created a new social and political order in sub-Saharan Africa. The colonialist, helped by the missionary who abhorred every African ritual or practice, created modern nations by putting together traditional groups with diverse language and cultural identities, the intention being to tear down all hitherto distinct identities.

Urbanization has given rise to mega-cities in different parts of the Continent. Most communities are no longer homogeneous. They are heterogeneous, being divided into urban and rural, rich and poor, educated and illiterate, easterners and westerners, Christians and Muslims, and *Democrats* and *Movementists*. In short, as Chinua Achebe (1959) says, "Now he (white man) has won our brothers, and our clan can no longer act like one. He has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart" (176). A wedge has been driven between the sacred and the so-called secular aspects of life. That is true but Africa is not modern either, or post modern for that matter. Today most Africans are affiliated with one of the three major Judeo-Christian religions but this has not radically deprived them of their pre-modern world-view. Africans are no longer what Loenard said of the Hindus;

in the strict and natural sense of the word, a truly and a deeply religious people, of whom it can be said, as it has been said of the Hindus, that "they eat religiously, drink religiously, bathe religiously, dress religiously, and sin religiously". In a few words, the religion of these natives, as I have endeavored to point out, is their existence, and their existence is their religion". (A.G. Leonard 1968; 409)

African religion-culture no longer enjoys exclusive dominance and control it used to. It is to the credit of these changes that the old men, who gained most from the old system and thus worked hard to maintain the *status quo*, have lost some of the control to the young men and to the women. Nevertheless, like it is for many African people, traditional beliefs still command respect in the life of many Ugandans. The prevailing social and political order in most parts of contemporary sub-Saharan Africa resembles more and more the state of affairs in European countries. Civil society now prevails. There are civil governments, civil law, agencies of government responsible for law and order, Western-type schools for formal education and socialization.

The changes have far-reaching implications for the ideal of community-living in contemporary Africa. The world-view with which people explain and control reality is no longer exclusively religion-dominated. Certain traditional African beliefs, customs and practices associated with the idea and promotion of community-living among many African groups have been outlawed. For example, the old practice of killing twins by some traditional African groups has long stopped; polygamy is in serious decline, and ritual circumcision and genital mutilation by some groups is under attack.

Many anthropologists however, and most of the African *religio-culturalists* continue to regard the ideal as the actual practice. Discussions of modesty, sexuality, chastity and of ethical pollution have often fallen into this trap. Virginity for the unmarried, polygamy and polygyny are still regarded as social norms. A more critical look can however find that that is far from being close to reality. Schapera (1971) reported that polygyny and socially sanctioned polygamy were under assault as early as the 1960's in sub-Saharan Africa. Thus despite the universal law against premarital sex and pregnancies in Africa; despite the fact

that girls could be banished from home for getting pregnant ‘at home’; and the fact that big rewards were given to the parents if the newly married was a virgin, Paulme (1963) wrote, “almost everywhere a large measure of premarital sexual freedom is permitted to girls- provided they use it with discretion” (3). Almost a half century earlier, Smith and Dale (1920) had also reported that the Ila people of northern Zambia thought of sex much as they did of eating and drinking; and Epstein (1981), reporting after his study of the Zambian Copper Belt in the 1950’s wrote;

In contrast to western society... attitudes toward the sexual act are simple and straightforward, without the tremendous solemnity that so often surrounds it in Euro-North American society.

He went on to assert that there was no puritanical sense of guilt about the sex but rather the assumption that it was “a legitimate source of pleasure. But these reportings, of little guilt, substantial permissiveness, and scant danger of punishment by the mostly western anthropologists, mainly writing about Africans for the European readers, do not do justice to the actual reality. On the other side, Kisekka (1973) a Ugandan researcher reports a greater pressure among Uganda’s Baganda for unmarried girls to remain chaste. The problem is that both sides idealize their conclusions. While the traditionalists romanticize the glorious fossilized past, the modern researchers and anthropologists idealize their ‘findings’. This language is itself part of a stereotype that may well limit needed research. Caldwell (1989) worries that it is the

very specific and in many ways peculiar western world view that renders hazardous the discussion of different patterns of sexual behavior by the use of terms like “promiscuous” and “excesses” and that finds cultures guilty by concluding that they do not significantly differ from Western patterns.

The fact is that Africa is neither of the two polarized positions. As Caldwell (1989) puts it, in Uganda, as it is in most Sub-Saharan Africa, there is emerging;

a social politico ethic that is distinct and internally coherent. It is an independent African system embracing sexuality, marriage, individualism, community, and much else, and it is no more right or wrong, progressive or unprogressive than the western system.

These changes have come as a result of schools having largely displaced traditional initiations as the main channel for formal education and socialization of youths. In its own time, traditional African religion served the major purpose of religion.

It served as a vehicle for discharging anxiety by connecting isolated individuals to the group and making them feel as though somehow the power of the entire group flows through them (Zindler, 1999).

This role has partly been filled by the different religious systems. The mainstream religions still take pride in having the largest numbers of adherents and the ear of the leadership of the country, but fundamentalism is on the rise, both within the churches as reform groups and as completely independent groups. The mainstream churches with a highly transcendent and rather remote God have not fully appealed to the Africans whose God was highly anthropomorphic and active in their every day lives. We therefore have a scenario where the accidents of culture have undergone major transformations while the fundamental values and practices have not changed. Community living remains a cherished value, and the support network of the extended family is still strong. The social political upheavals today under globalization have increased the urgency of community and for this reason, many Ugandans, are finding solace in the security of the group. The more relevant a religion is to the immediate needs of the people, the more effectively and powerfully it will influence the lifestyles and attitudes of the adherents. Weber writes;

Not ideas, but material and ideal interests, directly govern men's conduct. Yet very frequently the 'world images' that have been created by 'ideas' have, like switchmen, determined the tracks along which action has been pushed by the dynamic of interest.

'From what' and 'for what' one wished to be redeemed and, let us not forget, 'could be' redeemed, depended upon one's image of the world (Fischhoff (trans) 1991).

What people choose to do or be in life after an ideology has acted upon them is likely to be a product of cultural convention and self-interest. People do not act against their *perceived* self-interest (Garner 2000: 330). This self-interest may take on a different form from that assumed by the Neo-Liberal, mercantilist economists. It may include a cultural, metaphysical or eschatological dimension, but still it is a form of self-interest. The more a religion promotes aspects of behavior and analysis that are closest to the perceived self-interests of the people, the more it will influence their attitudes, and ultimately, their behavior. The popularity and the power of an ideology depend on the way it addresses the most pressing problems of the cultural context in which it is operating.

Today in Uganda, there is a culture of suffering from the ravages of HIV/AIDS, which in turn has generated poverty and hopelessness. More and more Ugandans are joining the conservative evangelical churches which have a lot in common with African belief and practice systems. They both stress a total commitment not to separate the sacred from the secular, and their highly functional anthropomorphic God is very active, which leads to high religiosity. Tom Layton writes in the *Decision* magazine (02, 2002);

Many Ugandans have taken the Gospel to heart.. no country in the world has a greater percentage of evangelical Christians than Uganda.

And the results are manifest in the effects. Uganda has managed to stay and turn the tide of HIV/AIDS not by condom use or by use of preventive drugs. Uganda has turned the tide of AIDS by sexual abstinence. True this is manifest behavior but behind it is a whole array of changed attitudes. The cause of this is the unprecedented religious explosion in Uganda today.

Impact of Religion on Behavior in Central Uganda

Religion has had both direct and indirect impact on the way Ugandans go about their daily lives. With 1.7 million children having lost their mother or both parents to AIDS, Uganda has the heartbreaking distinction of having the largest population of orphans in the world (*Social Economic Policy 2001*). It is one of the first countries in the world to experience the AIDS epidemic and it was also one of the first to show a sustained decline in HIV/AIDS prevalence rates. A rapid national response under the great leadership of President Museveni and the First Lady, Janet Museveni, religious resources were encouraged and they have played a key role in reducing the prevalence of HIV/AIDS. Knowing the limited financial resources, Uganda has drawn upon the cultural and moral resources to great effect. With the religious leadership taking the lead, a recovery plan called ABC was devised, aimed at reaching a long-term solution. *Abstinence* was the first priority, followed by ‘*Be faithful*’ and lastly, as the last alternative, using a *condom*. It is important to note that no mention of drugs was made. This is indicative of the proactive choice Uganda took.

“*Does Religion Protect from AIDS?*” is the title of Gruenais Marc Eric’s 1999 article which he subtitled “*Congolese Religious Congregations Face Pandemic HIV-Infection*”. In it, he reiterates the fact that representatives of religious congregations have a special place in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Providing the first defense line, they help with prevention work by advocating abstinence and fidelity. All religions in Uganda, without exception, dutifully advocate and preach against sexual permissiveness. In addition, religious organizations materially aid and give moral support to the family members and to persons who are already ill with AIDS. All religious organizations have in place spiritual, material and emotional mechanisms and support systems aimed at preventing further infection, and where it is

already late, to alleviate the suffering of those infected and those affected. For instance, the Catholic religion has, among several, a mass youth program called *Youth Alive*. This is led by the youth and many of them volunteer to go and sensitize fellow youths about the evils of sexual permissiveness and the values of morality as Christian youths. The Moslems have- among several- a very systematic IMAU (Islamic Medical Association of Uganda) which by 2001, trained over 8000 religious leaders (Imams) who by 2002 had made repeated home visits to over 100,000 families in 11 districts across the country (UNAIDS and IMAU 1998).

Several intensive studies have been done elsewhere in Africa to study the relationship between religiosity and changes in attitudes. In his study in Adendale Township in South Africa, Garner (2000) found that the mainstream churches have the lowest score as far as affecting attitudes on all aspects of life is concerned. The Pentecostal churches have the greatest effect on attitudes, and there are reasons for this. Membership in mainstream religious organizations such as the Catholic, Protestant, Seventh Day Adventist and Mainstream Islam, is largely hereditary. Each of these organizations opposes and actually actively preaches against premarital sexual permissiveness. However, there are certain core factors that undermine this ideal value. Membership in such organizations is not very demanding and few questions are asked about the private lives of the members in this central Uganda region. In many cases too, the priests and preachers tend to be politically correct in their preaching. This lowering of the barriers has made them powerful as far as numbers, geographical extension, and mobilization are concerned. At the moment, the mainstream religious organizations - officially-account for over 60% of the people of Uganda (1999 Statistics). Unfortunately, this has also lowered average religiosity among the members. On the other hand, it is the charismatic and fundamentalist groups, which have maximized the variables of indoctrination,

religious experience, exclusion and socialization that have had the most intensive power on the adherents.

Membership in such organizations is by responsible adult choice. The costs, both social and economic, of membership are high. The meetings are frequent and energetic with plenty of lay participation. Members meet almost everyday and the romantic and financial aspects of the members' lives are closely monitored. In one church, for instance, the youth group meets about five times a week for prayer, bible study and choir practice. This leads to high indoctrination and religious experience. The group is very easily the most important social reference group for its thirty or so members, and it is a powerful influence on their attitudes and behavior. This church does not allow any boy/girlfriend relationship without the express go ahead from the pastor and even then, after weeks or months of prayer. Members, who don't smoke or drink alcohol, are taught to marry only other "members" ('brothers' and 'sisters'). And the truth is almost impossible to hide given the smallness of the group (due to high exclusion), the high level of socialization, and the force of the teachings, which members make sure they adhere to, given the high stakes involved; that is salvation, success in life, and acceptance.

The higher morality as enforced by the intense religious socialization, exclusion and indoctrination, makes it uncommon to have extra and premarital sexual encounters. For group members, who know each other too well, premarital and extramarital sex is a risky business, which leads to exclusion from society, and from salvation. Abstinence improves the economic prospects of both men and women as they will have more years of education and they will not spend money on numerous children (Garner 2000:57). In a country where condom use is widely absent, lower levels of premarital sexual relations are desirable in order to reduce the

chances of early parenthood with all its repercussions. But the impact is not only negative or simply deterrent. On the positive side, the economic prospects of members are improved by way of tithing and improved savings since they do not smoke or drink or indulge in extra marital sexual relations. The daily reading of the Bible and other religious literature improve the literacy rate of the members and this helps them to better manage their finances. Thus, although they give more to the churches in form of tithe and other donations, the members belonging to these religious organizations are gaining more social mobility than those belonging to the mainstream religious organizations (Garner 2000).

Islam has most of these characteristics too. The Five Pillars of Islam are the framework of the Muslim life. They are the testimony of faith, prayer, giving *zakat* (support of the needy), fasting during the month of *Ramadan*, and the pilgrimage to *Makkah* once in a lifetime for those who are able. Prayers are performed at dawn, noon, mid-afternoon, sunset, and night. A Muslim may pray almost anywhere, such as in fields, offices, factories, or universities, and socialization among the Muslims is one of the highest among all religions. This high degree of inner identification and unity leads to a high degree of exclusion.

Zaka, which means 'giving a specified percentage on certain properties to certain classes of needy people, is practiced since it is believed that setting aside a small portion for those in need, purifies possessions. Like the pruning of plants, this cutting back -it is believed- balances and encourages new growth. In addition, every year in the month of *Ramadan*, all Muslims fast from dawn until sundown, abstaining from food, drink, and sexual relations. The goal is to gain true sympathy with those who go hungry, as well as growth in one's spiritual life. Finally, the annual pilgrimage (*Hajj*) to *Makkah* is an obligation once in a lifetime for those who are physically and financially able to perform it. About two million people go to

Makkah each year from every corner of the globe. Islam thus has almost all the characteristics of a dynamic religion; it exacts a lot of commitment in fiscal and temporal terms and this heightens the religiosity of the members. It discourages smoking, encourages giving and sacrifices, and prohibits drinking. This external control of the members is a predictor of less premarital sexual permissiveness (Reiss, 1980), and may explain the yet to be proved claim that there is less prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Muslim countries.

In Uganda, HIV/AIDS is principally spread by heterosexual means, nourished by the powerful drives associated with love, affection and desire (Huber and Schneider 1992). This spread thrived largely on the poverty, social disruption, and ignorance that have haunted most of Sub-Saharan Africa since independence (Social/Economic Policy 2001). The religion that can affect most the way people relate and control their sexual appetites as well as affecting their income, will thus have the greatest impact in preventing any further spread of HIV/AIDS. Charismatic religious groups, with their high level of religiosity, seem to have the greatest power to affect positive attitudinal, and indirectly, behavioral change among their adherents. According to Garner (2000) and Gifford (1994) charismatic religious groups are the most effective in fighting poverty and ignorance by way of changing the attitudes of the people. Most of these popular religions are opposed to the missionary doctrine, which promotes self-denial and humility (Gifford 1994). Instead they preach and teach prosperity, and since HIV/AIDS is linked to poverty, this is a very welcome message.

For millions in the world, and for tens of thousands in Uganda, religion has become therefore, a personal enterprise though it is still consummated in a societal milieu. We are thus witnessing the demise of organized centralized worship. In its place we are witnessing the emergence of intensive decentralized religion, a form of religiosity that does not recognize

places or authority, except that of the scriptures. This is the critical element, one that goes beyond specific doctrinal accommodations. It is a new primary connection of Church to people rather than Church to State. We see the emergence of new varieties of prayer, prayers that are spontaneous rather than written and pre-dictated by the central authorities. These dynamic religious organizations deny any association to tradition and they recognize no authority apart from that of the Holy Scriptures (Garner 2000).

In Uganda, like Garner found in South Africa, charismatic (Pentecostal, fundamentalist) religious organizations emerge as the theological type of religion with the lowest implied level of extra and premarital sexual relations. Their members are least likely to have an illegitimate child, and are by far the most optimistic about the absence of premarital sexual relations among members of their church or religious worship group. The combination of everyday life with faith rhymes with the core identity of the people of Central Uganda as Africans. Donovan (1978) maintains that in societies that are communally oriented, it is useless to convince the individual. In Africa the individual gets his or her identity from the community. If you are to educate the individual, the community has to sanction that education. Education is the way society passes onto the young ones those aspects of its culture-values, arts, skills- that are worth retaining and propagating.

Donovan (1978) has equated missionary work to aid to developing countries today with strings attached. Using St. Paul's example, he distinguishes missionary work from pastoral work. While missionary work is principally evangelization, or the sowing of the gospel seed, pastoral work involves staying and 'educating' and 'civilizing'. While pure evangelization is giving aid, pastoral work is attaching strings. When he compares the two, he finds that St. Paul's influence has been greater than the work of thousands of missionaries.

Then he gives the answer; missionary work was born of slavery and slave mentality. It alienated many young people from their communities through mission schools (1970: 12).

His solution is the type of evangelization that does not take material goods as the principle bait as did the missionaries who baited with education, a chance to a clerical job and a position in society. He advocates for communal evangelization; an evangelization that leaves Africans *africans*. He agrees with Mbithi (1969) that to be African was to be religious: “Before we came among them, religion and life was the same thing. There was no separation between religion and life as there was with us”. Bailie (1995) too agrees that primitive people were not hypocrites (p. 28). Thus he suggests that missionary work has to be done all over again with a different methodology. If that happens, there will be a continuum of authenticity and consistency from culture to religion, to attitudes and finally to the actions of the people for people naturally love what they feel is their product. This consistency is largely found in the fundamentalist religious groups that have sprung up all over Africa today.

There are no definite accounts (as there are no well-informed estimates) of the number of Africans who would describe themselves as religious fundamentalists. Despite efforts by the hegemonic religions, together with the governments to downplay the influence of the fundamentalist religious groups, however, it has been noticed that since the 1970's, their numbers and influence have steadily gained ground (Haynes 1996:201). What the mainstream churches have lost, the fundamentalist groups have gained. Why are so many people joining fundamentalist religions? It is true that these dynamic religious organizations offer ways of worship that give assurance to millions of poor people, disoriented by the stress of modernization. But that is not all; unlike the mainstream religions that have largely served the

well to do, fundamentalism is an example of popular religion that, once adopted by Africans, serves increasingly as an indigenized vehicle of community solidarity.

Africans are basically a community-oriented worshipping people; and the gods they believed in and worshiped were active gods who participated in peoples' everyday lives. For such people, religious or magical action or thinking must not be set apart from the range of everyday purposive action, particularly since the elementary ends of the religious and magical actions are predominantly economic –and political (Weber, Fischhoff (*trans*) 1991).

Colonialism and the nation building eras failed to return these to the people. Fundamentalism has its roots and *raison d'être* in the failed promises of independence. It reacts against unwelcome manifestations of modernization- poverty, relative deprivation, marginalization, and unending insecurity. In the face of this, almost all traditional habits and cultural beliefs have been rendered ineffectual in the last three decades of the galloping globalization.

Individual worth is now measured in what one has. By joining the fundamentalist dynamic religions, the urban, culturally uprooted people, are trying not only to achieve material success, but even more importantly, to rediscover the lost economies of affection (namely family, community, religion and tribe/clan). Thus these religious organizations provide what the state has failed to provide. It is a revolution from below.

The current resurgence of fundamentalism and new popular religions signals a return to this form of religion, which existed when man was in greatest danger from the unknown. When faced with the elements, people can do nothing but hope and pray to the transcendent being(s). What they lack in geographical extension, fundamentalist/ charismatic religious organizations make up in the intensity of religious experience and the depth of religiosity. Their value added sex education communicated through indoctrination to an excluded

community that is intensively socialized has changed the lives of thousands of youths all over sub-Saharan Africa (Garner 2000).

Summary

It was the goal of the literature review to see the extent to which particular religious organizations affect the attitudes of the people who adhere to them. The literature review concentrated on three areas of research. First it identified the major categories into which the three different types of religion fall and each of which parallels a level of religiosity. The literature showed that the missionary mainstream religious organizations represent the lowest level of religiosity. Those who have adopted liberation theology, but still under the influence of the mainstream centralized religions represent the middle level of religiosity. Reformists in the mainstream religious organizations, seeing their legitimacy among the grassroots people being eroded, tried to revitalize their doctrines by initiating liberation theology. The literature however showed that in Africa, its slow progress was overtaken by events like globalization and structural adjustment, which made the suffering of the people more acute. Thus more relevant religious orientations were sought and charismatic groups offered the best alternative. The fundamentalist or charismatic groups or churches have been credited for endowing the greater numbers of their adherents with the highest degree of religiosity.

The second part highlighted the impact of religiosity on attitudes on premarital sexual permissiveness and, indirectly, on behaviors as it has been studied in the west. The literature review and the conceptual framework showed that the fundamentalist religious organizations, being the most relevant to the problems of the day, also affect the attitudes of individual members more. This is so because they maximize the four variables of indoctrination, religious experience, exclusion, and socialization. They have limited geographical extension

and political power, but they have more intensive power over the attitudes, and ultimately, the behaviors of individuals. Those who have advocated for liberation theology had the ideal but not the infrastructure to carry out the reforms necessary to make religion relevant to the changing needs of the people. Because they are still part of the established mainstream churches that change very slowly, the charismatic religious groups whose flexibility allows them to change as quickly as the times implemented liberation theology's ideal.

In addition, the literature tried to see whether what applies for the west can be applicable to Africa and to Central Uganda in particular. Africa has changed a lot since the days of colonialism. Many of its traditions and institutions have been transformed. Nevertheless, Africa still remains uniquely *African*. The community-individual unity is so close that one without the other is not possible. That is why, although many Africans, and Ugandans in this case, have adopted Judeo-Christian and Islamic religions, they have adapted them to the African mentality. Thirdly, the study explored the implications of the different levels of religiosity for the individual who either is sick with AIDS, or is affected or is likely to be affected by the HIV/AIDS scourge in Central Uganda. It was seen that the fundamentalist religious groups, because of their capacity to impart high religiosity upon their adherents are also the most capable of changing attitudes to premarital sexual relations, high risk behaviors that are most likely to help the spread of HIV/AIDS which is spread almost exclusively by heterosexual means in the central region of Uganda.

III. METHODOLOGY

My choice of research design was the exploratory survey method. I chose the survey method not only because I was not personally in the field, but also because it allowed me to operationalize attitudes on sexual intimacy, education and religious affiliation, variables that would be difficult to measure from direct observation in the limited timeframe I had. The data collection involved presenting structured questionnaires to randomly chosen respondents. All the questions were close-ended. This method, though easy in coding, did not allow me the freedom to gather non-predictable information from observation, open-ended questioning, and interviews.

Selection Criteria

The questionnaires were presented to the participants and all religions in Uganda were sampled proportionally. Following the representation of each religion in Uganda, each religious leader we approached was given a specific number of questionnaires. This way my research assistants managed to have a percentage quota for each religion sampled.

I operationalized my independent (religiosity) and dependent (attitudes to premarital sexual relations) using the Likert Scale⁴ for all but a few items. This was done firstly to allow for easy recording and clarity, given the limited time and resources, and the exploratory nature of the study. Secondly, because the likert scale is the best measure for the intensity of a respondent's feeling or attitude on a particular topic by allowing the researcher to obtain more quantitative information about the survey subject. For instance instead of a finding that 90 percent of the respondents favor premarital sexual intercourse before marriage, I can

⁴ Developed by Rensis Likert in the 1920's in an attempt to improve the levels of through the use of standardized response categories in survey questionnaires. Respondents state their level of agreement with a series of attitude statements. Each degree of agreement OR disagreement is given a value on a predetermined scale. A set of Likert items is then summed to provide a total score for the attitude.

obtain more specific levels of favor that provides me more valuable insight. A more detailed treatment of the operationalization of both the independent and the dependent variables has been dealt with in the data analysis section.

Problems

The questionnaires were quite long so the respondents took a long time to answer them. In addition to the high costs incurred, this made the collection quite difficult and because of that the original plan of having a bigger sample was discarded and instead the researcher ended up with just a fraction of the original. The exercise was costly in terms of transport; moving around to look for the particular respondents who were in different locations of the central region. Quite a number of respondents tended to be suspicious of the researchers. Despite the explanations and assurances from their religious leaders, several intrusive questions were skipped. Furthermore, some of the respondents did not see the distinction between the female and the male attitudes to premarital sex as important and so answered only one of each pair of questions. These omissions forced me to omit a sizable number of questionnaires, which I deemed incomplete.

Validity

The two scales used to measure both the independent and the dependent variables have been retested and have stood the test of time. The questionnaires were intended to measure both religiosity and sexual permissiveness empirically and consistently. To control against any threats to validity, I made a pretest on ten of my fellow students, both African and American, whose value standards I knew quite well. The results were consistent with the expectations; those whose religiosity was low scored high on the premarital sexual permissiveness scale. The improved sexual permissiveness scale I used was developed by

Reiss in a bid to overcome the shortcomings of the permissiveness scale. His scales have been retested on national adult and on student samples (1959 and 1963). The religiosity scale has also undergone several empirical investigations (Faulkner and Shriver, 1966; King, 1967; Lehman and Shriver, 1988; Cardwell, 1969; and Ruppel, 1969) and has finally been modified to measure all aspects of religiosity.

The scales for both the independent and the dependent variables were very explicit and exhaustive of all aspects of each variable they were supposed to represent. Content validity was demonstrated in that the measure covered the whole range of meanings included within the concepts of religiosity and sexual permissiveness. The questionnaire, however, lacked thoroughness and finesse, as the open-ended questions, which would have given more insight into the attitudes of participants, were not included in the questionnaire.

IV. DATA ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

The Sample

A probability sample of 100 young adults was drawn from seven religious denominations in central Uganda. Uganda's population is slightly over 21 million.⁵ Kampala, the sample frame of my study, and capital of Uganda, where I carried out my study, is very representative of all the people of Uganda. With a population of just over 1 million, it is a microcosm of Uganda as every ethnic group of Uganda and every religion is represented within the city. Sixty-six percent of the people of Uganda are said to be Christians.⁶ As per 1999 statistics⁷, Uganda's religious spectrum would look something like this:

TABLE 1 RELIGIOUS REPRESENTATION IN UGANDA

Christian	Muslim	Others
66%	15%	19%

A questionnaire was administered to the above sample group at conveniently located places. The questionnaires were presented to the participants and all religions were sampled proportionally. I used the likert-scale for all but a few items. This was done to allow for easy recording and clarity, given the limited time and resources, and the exploratory nature of the study. Because of the sensitive nature of the topic of this study and in keeping with the general ethical rules for research in the social sciences respondents were informed as follows:

- a. The respondents were informed about the purpose of the study, the selection criteria (voluntary), and the research methods.
- b. They were informed that it is their right to decide for themselves whether to complete the entire questionnaire, or only a portion of it.

⁵ <http://www.multied.com/nationbynation/Uganda/Population.html>

⁶ <http://www.2001pray.org/PeopleGroups/Kampala.htm>

- c. They were guaranteed anonymity and assured that the information they provided would be treated confidentially and professionally.
- d. They were offered a copy of the final research report if they so wished.

The principal research assistant was a college educated, middle class, Christian female. This definition of her status might have been instrumental in influencing the way she approached the potential respondents and ultimately her sample. The fact that she was female and college educated might have had an inhibiting effect on some of the men and the less educated respondents. I have to point out, however, that this was taken into account, and after a critical look at the descriptive statistics, no bias was evident and so the sample was judged to be typical of the intended population.

The desire for easy measurability due to lack of time, and the immediate presence of the primary researcher, led to limiting of the information we could otherwise get. This also led to the smallness of the sample size, which, in effect, reduced the *generalizability* of the study, as the sample did not fully represent the population from which it was drawn. As an exploratory study though, it served its purpose very well. This study helped me achieve my primary goal, which was to find what attitudes the people of Central Uganda held about premarital sexual permissiveness and the effect of religion on the same.

Thus the study was cross sectional as well as exploratory. Table 2 summarizes the descriptive statistics of the sample studied. Approximately 40 percent of the sample was single; only 9 percent were married. All respondents had at least fourteen years of education. Slightly more than 77 percent of this sample was between age 20 and 30. The median age was 28 and only 12 percent were in the 35-47-age range.

⁷ http://www.adherents.com/adhoc/Wh_333.html

TABLE 2 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL STATUS, LEVEL OF EDUCATION, SEX AND RELIGION.

	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent
Marital Status			Type of Religion			Age		
Cohabiting	4	7.7	Catholic	10	19.2	20-25	25	48.1
Married	9	17.3	Charismatic	6	11.5	25-30	15	28.8
Priest	1	1.9	Muslim	5	9.6	31-35	6	11.5
Single	38	73.1	Pentecostal	10	19.2	35-47	6	11.5
Level of Education			Protestant	12	23.1	* Median Age: 27.6		
O-level	6	11.5	SDA	5	9.6	* Mode Age: 23.5		
A-Level	4	7.7	Tabliq	4	7.7	Sex		
College	15	28.8	Catholic	10	19.2	Female	27	52
University	27	51.9				Male	25	48

*N= 52

About 52 percent were women and of all people sampled, only one (a priest) was not eligible for marriage. Of the one hundred young adults sampled, only fifty-two turned in complete questionnaires. Forty-eight of them turned in incomplete questionnaires that I could not use in my analysis.

Theories

My hypothesis in this study is that people with low levels of religiosity are more likely to be more permissive in their attitudes to premarital sexual intimacy than people with high levels of religiosity. I am arguing that religiosity is very likely to influence the opinions a person will have on premarital sexual permissiveness. Reiss (1969) has argued that the ability of certain social forces (religion, romantic love, and frequency of falling in love) to alter individual permissiveness differs within groups that are traditionally low on permissiveness and those which are traditionally high on permissiveness. A study by Heltsley and Broderick (1969) failed to find support for Reiss's proposition. They did not, however, dismiss Reiss's primary argument that religiosity has an impact on people's attitudes. They instead held that

with a better measure of religiosity, the proposition could find support. Religiosity as measured by Reiss comprised of only one item, church attendance. This approach did not measure all the aspects of religiosity and so was not effective as a standard measure of religiosity. This study uses the composite measure of religiosity and in it I analyze the impact of this better operationalized religiosity on people's attitudes to permissiveness as measured by the Ira Reiss permissiveness scale.

The Independent Variable

In this study, I have measured religiosity using the five-dimension scale as developed by Glock and Stark (1965). The Glock and Stark model has guided the construction of a seven item composite scale in which two were selected from the ideological dimension scale, two from the ritual dimension scale, and one each from the experiential, the consequential and the intellectual dimensions. .

The questions in the first part of the questionnaire aimed at operationalizing the respondent's attitudes regarding his religious beliefs and feelings. The statements in this part aimed at measuring the personal views individuals hold on certain key religious beliefs and feelings. The ideological, the consequential and he parts of the ritual dimensions were measured. I did not duplicate Glock and Stark's (1967) questionnaires since this was a different cultural, social, economical and geographical situation. Without losing the structure of their model, however, I used pertinent questions particular to the area of Central Uganda. The questionnaires contained questions and statements that aimed at measuring the composite variable of religiosity. The respondents were asked to circle the degree of agreement or disagreement on the basis of how they felt toward the views expressed. I was interested in

their personal views about the questions I asked. Below are the questions that I used to operationalize the religiosity variable.

FIGURE 1. ITEMS USED IN PART ONE AND TWO TO FORM RELIGIOSITY

Part One	
Q 1 I believe that all people who don't belong to my religion are doomed	
1. Strong Agree	4. Strong Disagree
2. Medium	5. Medium
3. Slight	6. Slight ⁸
Q 2. I believe that all religions are the same; different roads to the same goal.	
Q 3. I believe that the Holy Scriptures are the very words of God/Allah dictated to the writers.	
Q 4. I believe that with faith one can heal the sick and raise the dead and move mountains.	
Q 5. I believe it my duty to preach to others and spread the good news.	
Q 6. I believe that Adam and Eve (Kahwa) were real people.	
Q 7. I believe that the devil exists and actively acts for our damnation.	
Q 8. I believe there is life after death	
Q 9. I believe heaven and hell exist.	
Q 10. I do believe prayer can heal a person with AIDS.	
Q 11 I believe every believer should give a tenth of his earnings to his place of worship.	
Q.12 Religion affects all my actions and relationships.	
Part Two	
Q 1. How often do you go to your place of worship?	
Q 2. How often do you read the Holy Scriptures?	
Q 3. How often do you feel the need to pray? ⁹	
Q 4. Give a monthly estimate of what you give to the church/Mosque as offerings in Ugandan Shillings (if you give the 10 th of your earnings, include it in the amount)	
Q 5. How many hours per week do you spend reading Holy Scriptures? ¹⁰	
Q 6. How many hours per week do you give to small group involvement?	
Q 7. How many hours per week do you spend praying?	
Q 8. How many times a day do you pray? ¹¹	

The answer codes ranged from one (strongly agree), to six (strongly disagree). The second part of my operationalization of religiosity aimed at finding out what people do as practitioners. The questions in this part of the questionnaire measured the respondents'

⁸ The six-way choice given in question 1 follows every question in part one of the questionnaire.

⁹ The answers to questions 1 to 3 were: 'Every day' → 1; '2-3 times a week' → 2; 'Once a week' → 3; 'A few times a week' → 4; and 'Never' → 5.

¹⁰ The answers to questions 5 to 8 were: '8-10+' hours → 1; '6-8' hours → 2; '5-6' hours → 3; '3-4' hours → 4; and '0-2' hours → 5

¹¹ Part three of the questionnaire consisted of questions to which the respondent had to answer "yes" or "no" or "not applicable". Items Used In Part Three: 1. Do you give testimonies at your place of worship, or anywhere else?, Do you speak in tongues?, Do you do charity work and give to the poor?, Mark off all the activities you participate in at your place of worship: Retreats, Choir/band, Administration, Camps, Usher, Evangelization, None

activities and the extent of their personal involvement. The answer codes ranged from one (highest involvement) to five (least involvement).

For the analysis reported in this paper, I have used a seven-item model and I excluded the entire third part of the questionnaire because its scoring does not follow the Guttman scale model and they items did not identically apply to all religious denominations sampled.¹² This would have led to a lot of incomplete questionnaires.

I preferred to use only scale items that showed the strongest consistency in the different groups of the population sampled. All religions sampled believed in healing prayer, in heaven and hell, in tithing, in praying and in the reading of Holy Scriptures. Almost all the individuals who agreed to statement 6 also agreed to statements 3, 7, and 8. Also almost all those who agreed to statement 4 also agreed to statements 8 and 10: those who agreed to statement 9 also overwhelmingly agreed to statement 9; and in part 2, item 2 duplicated item 5. Items 4, 6, 9, 11 and 12 in part one, and questions 1 and 2 in part two formed my seven-item scale.

FIGURE 2. ITEMS CHOSEN TO FORM RELIGIOSITY SCALE

- Q 4. I believe that with faith one can heal the sick and raise the dead and move mountains
 - Q 6. I believe that Adam and Eve (Kahwa) were real people.
 - Q 9. I believe heaven and hell exist.
 - Q 11. I believe every believer should give a tenth of his earnings to his place of worship.
 - Q.12. Religion affects all my actions and relationships.
 - Part Two
 - Q 1. How often do you go to your place of worship?
 - Q 2. How often do you read the Holy Scriptures?
-

These seven items in addition, operationalized the five dimensions of religiosity.

Items 4 and 6 measured the ideological dimension; item 9 measured the consequential dimension; item 11 and 1 (in part two) measured the ritual dimension; item 2 in (part two)

¹² Not all religious denominations carry out retreats; or had a choir of band. In addition, activities like camping, evangelization and ushering are almost exclusively Christian, excluding the Muslims.

measured the intellectual dimension while item 12 measured the experiential dimension of religiosity. All responses were dichotomized into ‘agree’ or ‘disagree’. For items in part one, value labels 1 through 3 were coded as ‘1’ and those equal or more than 4 but less than 6 were coded as 0. For items in part two, value labels 1 through 3 were coded as ‘1’ and those from 4 and 5 were coded as 0. The questions involved and the scale types are as follows:

TABLE 3. RELIGIOSITY: QUESTIONS INVOLVED AND THEIR SCALE TYPES

Item Number	SCALE TYPE							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4 ideological	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6 ideological	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
9 Consequential	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
11 Ritual	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1 (part II) Ritual	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2 Intellectual	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
12 Experiential	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

* A plus sign indicates agreement with the item.

The diagram indicates that a respondent would be assigned to one of the eight-scale type on the basis of how he or she answered the seven items. A person who agreed with all the questions would get seven points and the one who disagreed to all would get zero points. All the rest would fall in between. The “yes” of the first part and the “high” activity of the second part all became “agree” or “+” after the recoding. Having formed the scale, the next step was to form a trichotomy. To do this, I reduced the eight scale types to three groups of scale types. Since my sample tended to sexual conservatism, I valued the scale-type 0 through 2, ‘1’ and I labeled it “low religiosity”. For scale-type 2 through 5, I valued it as ‘2’ and I labeled it “Medium religiosity” and that between 6 and 8, I valued it as ‘3 and labeled

it “High religiosity”. Lastly, I developed subscales of each of the five dimensions of religiosity.¹³

The Dependent Variable

Rather than trying to apply a moralistic approach to the study of sexual permissiveness, this paper follows Reiss’s (1964) approach, which instead puts emphasis on establishing what is characteristic of a sexual relationship. My measure of sexual permissiveness focuses on the systematic, empirical investigation of premarital sexual standards and their objective measurements. There are three levels of intimacy. Kissing is recognized as the least intimate. Petting is deeper than kissing but not as deep as full sexual intercourse, which is regarded as the most intimate of the three. In turn, each of them is divided into four degrees of intensity. Permissive attitudes, not only in America where Reiss carried out the original study, but all over the world, are vitally dependent on the type of affectional relationship involved. It is imperative therefore, to state whether the individuals involved are engaged, in love, have strong affection for each other, or have no affection for each other at all. Implicit in this measure of permissiveness is the second vital dimension of equalitarianism. Comparing the answers a respondent gives on the Male scale with those given on the Female scale one can find differences which can point to double standards in premarital sexual relations. This study, however, was limited to the relationship between religiosity and permissive attitudes.

¹³ The **Ideology** dimension was operationalized by items: all religions are the same (r_allsam), that holy scripture is dictated (r_dic_hs), the miracles can heal and raise dead (R_mirac), that Adam and Eve are real people (R_r_adam) and that prayer heals HIV/AIDS, (R_p_aids). The **Consequence** dimension was operationalized by items: those not of my religion are doomed (R_doomed) that the devil exists (R_devilr), that there is life after death (R_postlf) and that hell exists (R_hellex). The **ritualistic** dimension included: that one should tithe (r_titheg), going to place of worship (R_go2wor), hours one reads holy scriptures (R_rdhscr), and hours one prays each day (r_hp@day). The **experience** dimension included three items: how much one believes religion affects his actions (R_r_act), how often one feels the need to pray (r_ndpray), and how much one involved himself in church group activities (r_grpinv). Finally, the **Intellectual** dimension included items: that one has a duty to preach (R_preach), how much one reads Holy Scripture (r_readhs), and how often one actually reads Holy Scripture (r_rdhscr).

To measure the dependent variable, I used the exact permissiveness scale just as Reiss formed it. I used Reiss's scales to test the dimensions of permissiveness and equalitarianism. These scales too meet the requirements of a Guttman scale and they have been found valid by a number of retests. The Reiss Premarital Sexual Permissiveness Scale aims at operationalizing the personal views individuals hold about premarital permissiveness. The questions used do not concern what people do. Rather, they all concern what individuals believe about courtship. I used all the twelve items in each of the two scales (male and female scales) when administering them to the respondents. This was because all could be useful when forming subscales. In addition, I used the six-way choice for each item as it makes the respondent feel he can present his feelings more accurately and also because I could use the full information drawn for further use.¹⁴ The respondents were asked to circle the degree of agreement or disagreement they had with each statement. For example, if one agreed slightly with a statement, he would circle "3." If he disagreed strongly, he would circle "6." The respondents answered the statements on the basis of how they felt toward the views expressed as opposed to what they themselves did. Below is the Reiss permissiveness scale in its entirety.

FIGURE 3 FEMALE AND MALE PREMARITAL SEXUAL PERMISSIVENESS SCALES

Q 1. I believe that kissing is acceptable for the female before marriage when she is engaged to be married.

	1. Strong		4. Strong
Agree	2. Medium	Disagree	5. Medium
	3. Slight		6. Slight ¹⁵

Q 2. I believe that kissing is acceptable for the female before marriage when she is in love.

Q 3. I believe that kissing is acceptable for the female before marriage when she feels strong affection for her partner.

¹⁴ Appendix E, Ira L. Reiss: "The Social Context of Premarital Sexual Permissiveness", Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York - Chicago - San Francisco - Atlanta - Dallas - Montreal - Toronto - London - 1967

¹⁵ The six-way choice given in question 1 follows every question.

Q 4. I believe that kissing is acceptable for the female before marriage even if she does not feel particularly affectionate toward her partner.

Q 5. I believe that petting is acceptable for the female before marriage when she is engaged to be married.

Q 6. I believe that petting is acceptable for the female before marriage when she is in love.

Q 7. I believe that petting is acceptable for the female before marriage when she feels strong affection for her partner.

Q 8. I believe that petting is acceptable for the female before marriage even if she does not feel particularly affectionate toward her partner.

Q 9. I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the female before marriage when she is engaged to be married.

Q 10. I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the female before marriage when she is in love.

Q 11. I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the female before marriage when she feels strong affection for her partner.

Q 12. I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the female before marriage even if she does not feel particularly affectionate toward her partner.

*THE SAME SECTION IS DUPLICATED FOR MALE STANDARDS. BOTH FEMALE AND MALE CHECK BOTH SECTIONS.

Scoring the Dependent Variable

Measuring premarital sexual permissiveness directly by the Reiss permissiveness scales allows the researcher to place the respondents on a continuum of more or less acceptance of permissiveness (Reiss: 1967). With both the male and female scales in full, I assumed I had a Guttman scale, since these scales have been tested on thousands of individuals in various groupings and always have been validated. I recoded the items into dichotomies such that any degree of agreement ('Strongly agree', 'Moderately agree', and 'Slightly agree') was counted as 'agree' and any degree of disagreement ('Strongly disagree', 'Moderately disagree', and 'Slightly disagree') was counted as 'disagree'. Scores were assigned to individual respondents on the basis of the following diagram:

TABLE 4 PERMISSIVENESS; QUESTIONS INVOLVED AND THEIR SCALE TYPES

ITEM NUMBER	SCALE TYPE					
	0	1	2	3	4	5
5	-	+	+	+	+	+
7	-	-	+	+	+	+
9	-	-	-	+	+	+
11	-	-	-	-	+	+
12	-	-	-	-	-	+

* A plus sign indicates agreement with the item.

The diagram indicates that a respondent would be assigned to one of the six scale types on the basis of how he or she answered the seven items. For example, if a person disagreed with all items, he would be given a scale type of zero. If he agreed with all items, he would get a scale type of five. I only used item 5 and item 9 since in each case each item weighs virtually the same as the one (6 and 10 respectively) left out.¹⁶ So, I used questions 5, 7, 9, 11 and 12. By simply looking at how each respondent answered these questions I placed him in one scale type or another accordingly. I dropped all respondents who had not answered all twelve questions for only then could I be sure that I possessed the complete attitudes of those respondents.¹⁷ I wanted to measure the permissiveness of the respondents, and to do this, having obtained answers for both the male scale and the female scale for each respondent, I gave scale types for each respondent on the scale that is the same sex as the respondent (women on the female scale and men on the male scale). I called this their same-sex permissiveness scale type.

Finally I reduced the six scale types to three groups of scale types. Because my sample group tended to sexual conservatism, I decided to trichotomize my scale by combining scale-types zero and one as 'low permissiveness; two and three as 'medium permissiveness' and four and five as 'high permissiveness'. Because kissing is not involved among the items chosen, the scale-type zero mostly were those who only accepted kissing; scale-types one and two also accepted petting, and scale types three, four, and five also accepted coitus. Next I

¹⁶ See Reiss: 1967: Appendix E: instructions are to use one or both.

¹⁷ This partly accounts for the small sample size. Of the 100 questionnaires handed out, over 80 percent were returned but of these, 26 percent were incomplete and so had to be discarded.

developed subscales of permissiveness. Using the same procedure above, I developed the ‘kissing’¹⁸, ‘petting’, ‘coitus’, ‘engaged’, ‘love’, affection and ‘no affection’ subscales.

Analysis of the Scales

My research was basically concerned with relating premarital sexual permissiveness to religiosity. The Guttman scales I used provided me with a scale type for each respondent and because they can be considered ordinal, the respondent could be ranked from low to high with reference to the variable being tested. My first attempt to testing the null hypothesis was to run cross tabs to see whether there was a relationship.

TABLE 5 PERMISSIVENESS BY RELIGIOSITY CROSS TABS (N=52)

		Religiosity			Total
		Low	Medium	High	
Premarital sexual Permissiveness	Low	20	50	81	69
	Medium	20	20	11	14
	High	60	30	8	17
	Total	100	100	100	100

Value -.689 Approx.Sig. .004

The gamma of -.689 means that knowing the depth of one’s religiosity would improve my estimate of that person’s attitudes toward premarital sexual relations by 69 percent. This is indeed a case of high predictability. Only four times in a thousand would I expect the results in Table 5 to occur by chance. For this reason, I rejected the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between one’s religiosity and his attitudes to premarital sexual permissiveness. I went ahead to test my research hypothesis that people who are highly religious are likely to be less permissive in their attitudes to premarital sexual behavior. The significance level of .004 shows that the strong negative relationship between the two variables was not a chance

¹⁸ Each of these subscales involved the flour levels of intimacy: (when engaged, when in love, if one feels strong affection and even when one does not feel strong affection). The *Engaged*, *Love*, *Affection* and *No affection* subscales had each three items of kissing, petting and full sexual relationships.

occurrence. Eighty one percent of individuals who are highly religious also indicated lower permissiveness in premarital sexual intimacy. The reverse is also true; 60 percent of the individuals whose religiosity is low were also highly permissive. Only 8 percent of the respondents were high both in religiosity and in permissiveness. High religiosity occurs with low permissiveness and the lowest religiosity is associated with the highest of permissiveness.

To try to look deeper into the reasons for this, I ran the correlations to find out how the two variables and their respective subscales relate. As Table 6 below indicates, there is a strong negative relationship between the principle variables of religiosity and permissiveness.

The significant level of .000 indicates strong relationship and the (Pearson) negatively correlated value of -.471 is pretty high. The same applies to the respective subscales only that the relationships here were even stronger.

Among the relevant negative correlations, the intellectual subscale proved to be the strongest religious subscale. Related to the 'no affection' subscale, we see a strong absolute value of -.547 with the matching significant level of .000. The relationship between the 'intellectual' and the 'coitus' subscales was almost as strong, with the strong negative absolute value of -.538. The relation between '*permissiveness*' and effect subscale turned out to be the weakest at -.105 with a significance level of .461.

The most important subscale on the independent variable side was the *intellectual* subscale. The intellectual subscale had strong correlations with *coitus* (significant level of .000 and value of -.538), *engaged* (significant level of .005 and value of -.381) and *Permissiveness* (significant level of .001 and value of -.448) subscales being the most significant. The 'ritual' subscale came second as it too had strong relationships with all the independent variables.

TABLE 6 CORRELATIONS OF THE SCORED VARIABLES

Pearson Correlation coefficients and 2-Tailed significant level														
	Ritual	Effect	Consequence	Ideology	Religiosity	Kissing	Coitus	Permissive	Petting	Engaged	In love	No affect	Affection	Intellectual
Ritual		.001	.004	.003	.000	.007	.001	.000	.030	.003	.028	.048	.000	.000
Effect	.442		.038	.003	.000	.320	.289	.461	.199	.627	.522	.593	.192	.004
Consequ	.391	.291		.000	.000	.141	.001	.002	.033	.023	.061	.104	.033	.000
Ideology	.406	.407	.547		.000	.050	.038	.004	.003	.009	.129	.186	.016	.000
Religiosity	.590	.573	.610	.710		.012	.002	.000	.001	.003	.052	.054	.001	.000
Kissing	-.369	-.141	-.207	-.274	-.345		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.001	.000	.078
Coitus	-.464	-.150	-.443	-.288	-.423	.500		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000
Permissive	-.472	-.105	-.414	-.393	-.471	.590	.829		.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	.001
Petting	-.300	-.181	-.296	-.401	-.459	.560	.595	.800		.000	.000	.000	.000	.014
Engaged	-.406	-.069	-.315	-.361	-.408	.782	.651	.782	.645		.000	.000	.000	.005
In Love	-.305	-.091	-.262	-.213	-.271	.676	.653	.685	.749	.572		.000	.000	.119
No Affect	-.275	-.076	-.228	-.186	-.269	.444	.725	.636	.663	.469	.596		.000	.000
Affection	-.522	-.184	-.296	-.332	-.447	.756	.760	.865	.691	.758	.716	.576		.008
Intellectual	.515	.390	.505	.599	.626	-.247	-.538	-.448	-.338	-.381	-.219	-.547	-.362	

** The bottom half of the matrix presents correlations while the top half presents levels of statistical significance.

This could be because the ritual subscale includes the ‘church going’, ‘tithing’, ‘scripture reading’ and ‘hours one prays each day’, items that are strong indicators of more than nominal religiosity. Consistent with the predictions, the ritualistic part of religiosity involves the greatest participation and commitment from the members. Because it is an inevitable matching of word and action, this makes it a good predictor of religiosity. The intellectual dimension is second in strength as a predictor of attitudes to permissiveness. This could once again be due to the deliberate effort one has to make to read the Holy Scriptures. To note, however, is the fact that all the independent variable subscales have a negative and significant relationships with permissiveness.

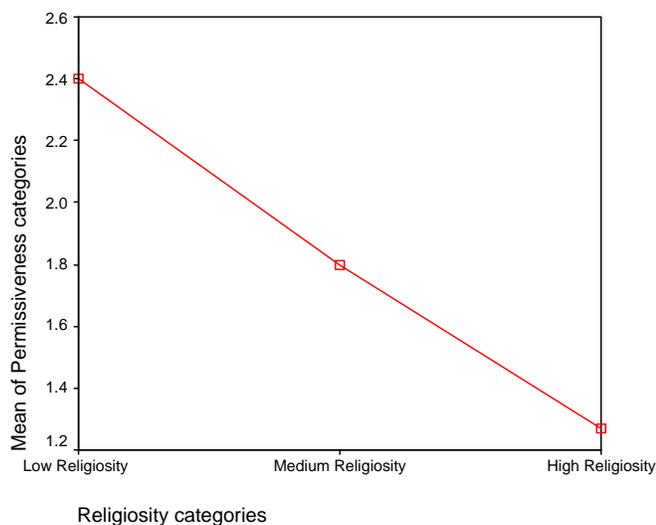
TABLE 7. PEARSON VALUE AND SIGNIFICANT LEVELS OF THE SUB-SCALES WHICH MEASURE THE FIVE DIMENSIONS OF RELIGIOSITY WITH SEXUAL PERMISSIVENESS

Sub-Scales for the Five Dimensions	Sexual Permissiveness	
	Value*	Significant level**
Ritualistic Dimension	-.472	.000
Intellectual Dimension	-.448	.001
Consequential Dimension	-.414	.002
Ideological Dimension	-.393	.004
Experiential Dimension	-.105	.461

*The figures are Pearson correlations

** The significant level is two-tailed.

FIGURE 4. MEANS PLOT SHOWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOSITY AND PERMISSIVENESS CATEGORIES



As one's religiosity deepens, his or her attitudes towards permissive behavior are likely to become less pronounced, or, to say it more correctly following the social causal laws, as religiosity increases, attitudes to premarital sexuality become less permissive. The plot (Figure 5) shows a clear negative relationship between the independent and the dependent variables.

The F ratio (Table 8) of 6.999 is far greater than 1, and this supports my research hypothesis that religiosity impacts one's attitudes to premarital sexual permissiveness. The petting subscale shows an even bigger F value of 7.569 and the likelihood that there was no

relationship between one's attitudes to petting in any situation and religiosity was very minimal (only 1 chance in a thousand).

TABLE 8. ANOVA F VALUE AND SIGNIFICANT LEVEL OF PERMISSIVENESS, PETTING SUBSCALE AND COITUS SUBSCALE AGAINST RELIGIOSITY.

	F	Sig.
Permissiveness	6.999	.002
Petting Subscale	7.569	.001
Coitus Subscale	5.951	.005

The consistently negative relationship between the independent and the dependent variables was striking.

FIGURE 6. BAR GRAPH SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOSITY AND PERMISSIVENESS

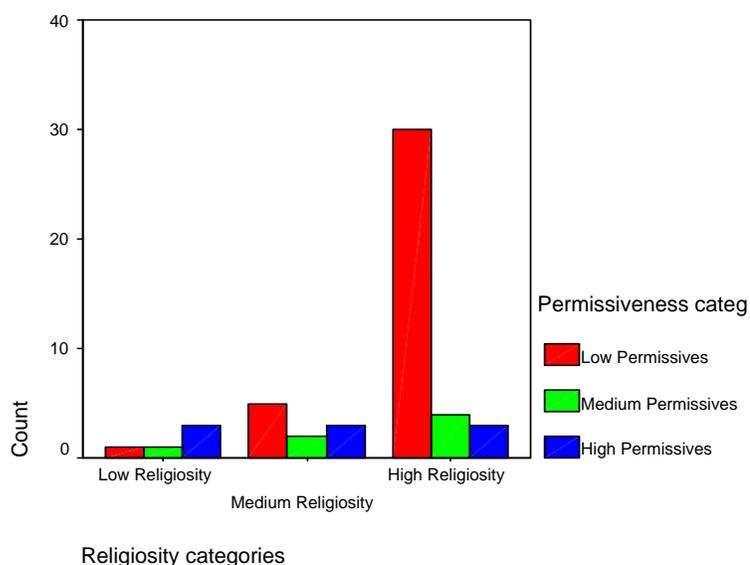


Figure 6 illustrates this relationship. Since all five dimensions of religiosity were negatively correlated with permissiveness, I had support for the multi-dimensional conceptual framework of religiosity suggested by Glock and Stark without duplicating their operationalization.

A complete appraisal of the religious factors, which are related to permissiveness, thus brings out a negative relationship. After this affirmation of the likelihood of religiosity affecting the incidence of premarital sexual permissiveness, its occurrence or absence, the

next step was to ask the pertinent question in all research. Were there any other intervening variables that could affect this relationship? Here I looked for any possible significant relationships between my two variables and the demographic characteristics of, age, sex, marital status and level of education.

Relationships of Permissiveness and Religiosity to other variables

Large numbers of research studies have shown older people to be more religious and less in favor of premarital sexual permissiveness (Glock and Stark, Reiss, 1965). Reiss et al (1980) also found an indirect link between education and premarital sexual permissiveness by way of gender equality¹⁹. My study's major aim was to find a possible link between religiosity and attitudes toward premarital sexual permissiveness. Because of this, I did not make any concerted effort to carry out a systematic sampling of the other variables. The only attempt at balancing was made in the variables of type of religion one identifies with and gender. With 75%²⁰ of the respondents single, 81% of them having an education equivalent to college, and 77% of them ranging between age 20 and 30, the balance was out of the question. Given the small size of my sample, the only two variables where I could look for possible interactive relationships were the type of religion one confesses to, one's gender and age.

For the initial analysis I divided the variables into their respective items in order to locate the initial patterns. There were no significant differences between the male and female scores. Taking into account that in small samples small margins can mean big percentages, I found the two genders were almost tied, except for the 'effect of religion' and 'going to

¹⁹ Males were likely to be more permissive. Women could only match this permissiveness if they got the same rights men had (Reiss, Anderson and Sponaule: 1980 :).

²⁰ See table 1b

worship’ in the independent variable, and ‘affection’ and ‘no affection’ subscales in the dependent variable.

TABLE 9. PERCENT OF THOSE WHO AGREED TO AND THOSE WHO SCORED HIGH TO STATEMENTS THAT FORMED THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

RELIGIOSITY	Male	Female	PERMISSIVENESS	Female Scale		Male Scale		
				Male	Female	Male	Female	
1. Dead can rise	28	25	Petting	32	33	32	33	
2. Adam & Eve real	80	85		2. In Love (Q6)	32	33	28	37
3. Hell exists	92	93	Coitus	32	37	32	30	
4. Tithe	88	89		4. Engaged (Q9) or	28	19	28	26
5. Effect of Religion	80	67		5. In love (Q10)	16	19	24	19
6. Go worship	83	93		6. Affection (Q11)	20	26	16	26
7. Read Scripture	72	67		7. No affection (Q12)	4	19	8	22

Items 1- 5 ‘agree’; items 6 & 7, ‘high’

Women in this sample tended to go to their place of worship more than men did. This nevertheless did not translate into the impact one would expect. Thus, perhaps because they read more scripture than the women (76 percent against 67), men also claimed to be more influenced by their religion in their daily lives. Although this study was principally about relating religiosity to permissiveness, mention of equalitarian traits in the data was in order. More women than men (22 percent as opposed to 8 percent for men) thought it was okay for men to have full premarital sexual relations even without much affection. This was perhaps the result of the lingering effect of traditionalism, which is still strong in our culture. On the other hand, women seemed to protect their rights when more of them indicated it is okay for women to have sexual relations before marriage even without any affection. The above two social phenomena are in line with the major tendency in Uganda today called ‘women emancipation’. For the purpose of this paper though, the issue was not resolved by the above data. So I needed to run the crosstabs and get the gamma readings and the significance levels.

Contrary to popular expectations, the data below (Table 10) do not show any significant relationship between gender and religiosity. This finding was supported by the statistics when I ran the crosstabs to compare religiosity and permissiveness by gender.

TABLE 10. PERMISSIVENESS BY RELIGIOSITY BY GENDER (n=52)
Figures are in Percent

		Permissiveness			
		Low	Medium	High	
Religiosity	Male #27	Low		100	
		Medium	33	33	
		High	88	12	
	Female #25	Low	33	33	33
		Medium	75		25
		High	75	10	15
Gamma		Female	Value	Apporox.Sig.	
		Male	-.375	.335	
			-.927	.001	

Data from the table above indicate that men are more likely to be impacted by religiosity than are women. Men have been found to be traditionally permissive²¹ and that is what we find in these data. Eighty-eight percent of the men indicated high religiosity and all of them (100 percent) indicated they were highly permissive in their attitudes to premarital permissive behavior. This seems to support Reiss' (1970) assertion that groups that are traditionally permissive are more likely to be influenced by increases in religiosity and the results are significant at the .01 level.²² This is not the case for the women, 75 percent of whom indicated high religiosity and 15 percent high permissiveness. While the absolute value for men was very significant and negative (-.927) that of the female, although still negative, is small (-.375) and not significant at the .05 level.

Age as a traditionally major independent variable and as a possible factor in the religiosity of individuals in Central Uganda was another important demographic factor to consider. Following the findings of many important researches,²³ age is supposed to factor strongly as an independent variable. In a multivariate model of the determinants of extramarital sexual permissiveness, Reiss (1980) established a path from age, which directly

²¹ Reiss, 1970

²² But this paper cannot make that claim since there has not been such a systematic study in Central Uganda.

²³ Glock and Stark, 1960, Reiss, 1967, 1970, 1980, and Garner 2000

affected one's religiosity, which in turn directly impacted premarital sexual permissiveness²⁴.

TABLE 11. PERCENTAGE OF AGE

AND RELIGIOSITY AMONG RESPONDENTS					
Religiosity of Respondents (#52)					
	#	%	Low	Medium	High
20-25	25	48	16	20	64
26-30	15	29		13	87
31-35	6	12		33	67
36-47	6	11	17	17	67

Value: .171; Sig.: .494

With 77 percent of the respondents' age ranging between 20 and 30, any findings thus elucidated would be at best erratic. Looking at the table (11) above, we notice right away that there is no pattern. Of those people whose answers came to indicate they were low on religiosity, 80 percent of them were in the age range of 19 to 26. None of those beyond age 31 registered low religiosity. With a big sample such readings would indicate the not far-fetched relationship between age and religiosity. With this sample, however, we notice that all age levels are high in religiosity. The value of .171 and the significant level of .491 further showed a very weak relationship between these variables. Since religiosity is supposed to influence permissiveness, I was obliged to conclude that age in this sample would not impact on permissiveness either.

Taking the different types of religion as internal variables of the independent variable 'type of religion', I found that it has some impact directly on the independent variable and indirectly on the dependent variable. I divided the religions into two main groups; the mainstream (Catholic, Protestant and Muslim) and the fundamentalist (Charismatic, Tabliq Pentecostal and Seventh Day Adventists [SDA]).

²⁴ See Journal of Marriage and Family, May 1980, Figure 2 page 401.

TABLE 12. PERCENTAGE OF RELIGIOSITY BY TYPE OF RELIGION

		Mainstream			Fundamentalist				
		Catholic	Protestant	Muslim	Pentecost	Charismat	Tabliq	SDA	
Religiosity	Low	10	17	20	10				
	Medium	50	17	20	10	17			
	High	40	66	60	80	83	100	100	
		Value: .393		Approx. Sig. .023					
Permissiveness	Low	40	58	80	90	66	75	100	
	Medium	20	17	20		17	25		
	High	40	25		10	17			
		Value: -.320		Approx. Sig.089					

Those belonging to the fundamentalist groups are more likely to be more religious and thus less permissive. Thus 100 percent of the SDA's scored high on religiosity and all of them scored low on permissiveness. On the other hand, the Catholics and the Protestants, two typical mainstream religions, were well distributed. The Tabliq, a fundamentalist branch of Islam, also scored very high on religiosity and low on permissiveness. The significance level is not very strong but it is not too far off the mark and it is supported by the negative absolute value of $-.320$. The degree of religiosity therefore differs according to the type of religion one identifies with. This study found that there is a relationship between one's type of religion and the level of religiosity he is likely to experience.

Of the three mainstream religious organizations, Islam tends to have figures that are close to those of the fundamentalist religious groups. This is due to the intensity of Islam as a religion. Islam, although it is a traditional religion and thus categorized as liberal, in actual sense it has fundamentalist traits. That is why the sample I took produced a high percent of low permissiveness in Islam. By grouping the religions, although one may account for the major traits, at the same time one ignores many fundamentals. It is definitely not the case that

the mainstream religions are completely similar. Like in all classifications, a degree of arbitrariness is always present. For example, Glock and Stark (1965) found striking differences between the Catholic and the Protestant churches.²⁵ And it is worth noting that even within liberal churches there are groups of members who resemble fundamentalists both by virtue of their reliance on the church as a primary source of friendship (socialization) and their propensity for religious experiences (Glock and Stark [1965:164]).

Findings

This study has produced what I intended to do in the first place. It has indicated that it is plausible that religiosity has a relation to the attitudes of people on premarital sexual permissiveness and that this relation is likely to be negative. If a person is highly religious he is more likely to be less tolerant of permissive behavior. Such a person is very likely to be opposed to premarital sexual intimacy of any sort. Such a person may be tolerant to some mild expositions of sexual intimacy like kissing when one is engaged or in love and considering marriage. As such intimacy becomes more liberal; however, a religious person is likely to become more opposed to such actions. Thus a person who is well rounded in all the five dimensions of religiosity is likely to be more strongly opposed to two people engaging in sexual intercourse than to the same couple when engaged in kissing.

My findings have indirectly pointed to the possibility of using religion to change behavior, a necessary factor in the fight against the HIV/AIDS epidemic that is threatening to destroy Sub-Saharan Africa. Given the size of my sample, one would say there was not

²⁵ Protestants were more likely to feel they were certain they had been saved by Christ and to feel more the religious experience in their daily lives. On the other hand the Catholics were more likely to feel a sanctioning from God. Thus while for the Catholics motivation mainly came from their unworthiness and thus fear from damnation to hell, the Protestants were mainly motivated by the positive promise of going to heaven.

enough evidence to prove or to disprove the existence of any relation between the independent and the dependent variable. We cannot deny, however, that a pattern existed. There was a consistent show of evidence that one's level of religiosity, as measured by the key independent variables, is related to how one will view sexually permissive behavior; premarital sexual permissiveness in this case. The analysis, despite the shortcomings, has pointed to the fact that the more one is influenced by religion, the more religion is a likely factor in his life, and the less permissive that person is likely to be. There is no way I can infer causality, since I have not exhausted all possible independent factors. However, considering this was simply an exploratory study, my findings are very interesting and are actually pointing to areas of further research. This means that with a more representative sample as far as size and kind are concerned, further study in this line can be very revealing and useful for any future researchers and policy makers.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL POLICY RESEARCH

HIV/AIDS Policy in Uganda

Uganda is the only African country, which has successfully managed to reverse the tide of Aids infections (*The News Medical*, Monday 12-Jul-2004). This reverse has come as a result of resilience, hard work, and the brutal teaching by experience. Among Uganda's records, we boast of the longest encounter with HIV/AIDS. This gives Uganda one other heartrending distinction as the country with the highest percentage of orphans per capita- 8%- in the world. Uganda was the first country in sub-Saharan Africa to experience the devastating impact of HIV/AIDS. In the early 80's, a little more than 22 years ago, Ugandans first registered the effects of HIV/AIDS on our consciousness. At first people associated it with witchcraft. They thought a group of businessmen who had cheated a tribe in the Kagera region of North Eastern Tanzania, which is particularly known for witchcraft, and had been given a bad spell. This group of individuals and their acquaintances wasted away even as they ate and talked normally. Eventually they all died off. As more people outside this particular group died though, this 'wasting disease' (*Mukenenya*) came to be associated with sex.

Stigma quickly grew as whoever was afflicted with this *Slim* was thought immoral and thus deserved the death he got. With time, however, as more precious friends and relatives became sick, very sick, and the funerals increased in number and frequency, it seemed that no one was safe. Soon the epidemic reached far beyond the areas of South Western Uganda and North Eastern Tanzania where the epicenter was. By the year two thousand, the expansion was checked not by prevention or treatment. Like a wild bush fire, which dies out after destroying everything burnable, the epidemic's sheer force checked its

spread. Almost every individual in Uganda had by then lost at least two close relatives. This brute force of the epidemic had two positive outcomes. Firstly, it helped remove the stigma hitherto attached to HIV/AIDS. Secondly, it shocked the country into action against it. Rather than reactively attack the symptoms by concentrating on drugs, cash scraped Uganda chose to actively attack the roots of the epidemic.

Prevention

President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni of Uganda caused a stir among participants at the 15th International AIDS Conference in Thailand by stating that abstinence and marriage are the best ways to stop the spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. For him, the use of condoms is not the ultimate solution in the fight against HIV/AIDS (*The News Medical*, Monday 12-Jul-2004). Yet he knew what he was talking about for under his leadership, Uganda has been one of the few African nations to successfully reduce its AIDS infection rate, using what has become known as the ABC method (Abstinence, Being Faithful or/and Condoms). Basically the ABC model prioritizes abstinence for all those not yet married and strongly advocates faithfulness for couples while it grudgingly but strongly advises condom use for those who must indulge in sexual intercourse. Since the Ugandan government launched the ABC program infection rates have fallen from 30% to about 6% of the Ugandan population (*New York Times*, June II, 2003). Behind this success is a whole array of preventive strategies involving a wide range of partners and all sectors of society. The ABC model especially draws the attention and support of strong religious conservative groups from all over the world. Elisabeth Bumiller quotes Ken Connor, the director of the anti-abortion Family Research Council:

... the A.B.C. program has been politically palatable to Mr. Bush's conservative base because of its emphasis on abstinence. It doesn't use the distribution of condoms as

the first line of defense (*New York Times*, June 11, 2003).

In her report before the Subcommittee on African Affairs Committee on Foreign Relations, Dr. Anne Peterson (May, 2003), USAID's assistant administrator for global health, said that being faithful is a strong cultural norm in Uganda, which has resonated strongly across Uganda. Although the ABC's played a major role in helping reduce HIV/AIDS rates in Uganda, Peterson also outlined a host of other factors which have all worked collectively to make Uganda an HIV success story, including:

- A strong political commitment from the Museveni government to HIV prevention and care.
- Same-day results for HIV tests.
- Self-treatment kits for sexually transmitted infections.
- A corresponding role by faith-based leaders to work with the Ugandan people to combat HIV / AIDS
- The communication of a consistent HIV / AIDS message not only by the government and faith-based leaders but also by entertainers and community-based counselors
- An aggressive and unique sex education process that has led to the elimination of stigmatization of victims, which often serves as a barrier to effective prevention measures.
- A campaign to implement policy and law changes to support increased HIV / AIDS awareness and care for its victims
- The offer of confidential, voluntary counseling and testing and a low profile promotion of condom use; and
- Availability of funds, a valuable player in this fight.

At a meeting prior to the 14th international AIDS Conference in South Africa, Dr. Seth Berkley, founder and president of the International AIDS Vaccine Initiative (IAVI), said that an effective vaccine is the only way to end the pandemic that threatens to kill more than 68 million people between 2000 and 2020 (Wells, 2002). As the years have gone by and no vaccine is in any way near to coming on the market, many prominent people, including President Thabu Mbeki of South Africa have come out and spoken against such a strategy.

Firstly, it is not yet in our nations' powers to come up with the vaccine. Many African nations are dependent on western pharmaceutical companies for drugs. The attempts to find,

test, and ultimately distribute a safe universal vaccine seem too long delayed. In most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, the worst ravages continue because the drugs that we know can make a difference to life remain unaffordable, and thus unavailable to the people who need them most. Secondly, even if a vaccine, or better still a drug, were found, it would be too expensive for our governments to afford²⁶. At \$40 a month per victim, that would amount to billions of dollars just to get the drugs to the victims. Thirdly, there are simply too many HIV/AIDS victims. Countries like Uganda cannot afford to spend that much and so we would either resort to borrowing, or to soliciting for aid. Neither scenario is acceptable; while one would increase our national debt, the other would further deepen our dependence on foreign aid. The sheer effort to attempt to treat all of our victims would be a futile one and treating just a fraction of them would serve no purpose.

Yet poor countries like Uganda could not simply stand and wait for the rich nations to make up their minds to help. Less costly alternatives existed that leaders could effectively use to mobilize the masses to fight the killer epidemic. Uganda's major approach in the battle against HIV/AIDS has been a battle for the souls. Underlying the whole strategy is the key issue of abstinence. To achieve this, the architects of ABC have relied principally on the faith-based custodians of social morality and tradition, the major religious organizations and belief-cultural systems in Uganda.

It is widely agreed that not having irresponsible sex is the most certain way to prevent sexual HIV transmission - and few, if any, object to that teaching. Abstinence is the ideal strategy in curbing the spread of the epidemic (James, John, 2004). Marriage is the second proposition in this strategy. As a legal socially sanctioned medium where sex is

²⁶ In Botswana, it was estimated that such a program would cost US\$24.5 million in 2002 and it would include 19,000 people.

legally consummated, marriage was taken to be the only positively sanctioned means of expending sexual drive. The general message of ABC was thus simple; abstain or marry. Yet, neither abstinence nor marriage is a magic answer, and in fact the latter can be a serious HIV risk factor for women in some societies. This is especially so today where sexual maturity comes earlier while the ability to support a family comes increasingly late in life because of the years spent in education, which makes most of them delay getting married. Yes, most people can abstain at critical times, reducing the risk of HIV infection, and this should be encouraged. But eventually, the majority of the people give up. This makes the treatment part of the fight against HIV/AIDS relevant.

Condom use and Treatment

The last two of the triad letters of the *ABC* were implemented as a backup, in case one failed to abstain. Remarkable things were done; a massive public education program; a big program of publicly funded health care for people infected; reluctantly at first, an aggressive sex education in schools; and lastly, a nationwide promotion of condom use. Latex condoms, when used consistently and correctly, are highly effective in preventing transmission of HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. Proponents of condom use, perhaps with help from the producers, assert that using a latex condom to prevent transmission of HIV is more than 10,000 times safer than not using a condom at all (Carey, F, 1992). Critics of condom use, however, contend that condoms simply make the problem worse. Dr. George Mulcaire-Jones maintains that condoms actually exacerbate the problem by promoting promiscuity in places where that behavior is most deadly at this point in time. In addition, Father Cremins in an unpublished article he wrote recently condemns the hourly jingles on African radios and televisions, which, “like the billboards and posters plastered along its roads, tout the ease, safety and unqualified efficacy of condom use.” Such messages, he

writes,

...contain a subtle yet deadly lie — that a person will be completely protected by a latex device that is often not properly used and will likely fail at least one out of 10 times (Laugesen, 2001).

On many occasions, the culprit has been the government itself, the problem institutional.

For example, the Ministry of Health in Uganda is under attack after reports that *Engabu* condoms, which have been widely used in the country, were defective and had holes. Ten million condoms have been withdrawn from the market as a result.

Drugs, too, are and should be part of the fight against HIV/AIDS. Developing nations like Uganda, however, cannot afford the too expensive drugs. There has been a concerted effort to advocate for generic drugs but until recently, the powerful pharmaceutical companies have blocked this effort. The main reason we do not have cheaper, generic drugs circulating is simple: greed²⁷. For an average Ugandan whose annual income is less than US\$2000 a year most of these drugs are still way beyond his capacity to afford. Nevertheless, in the long run, the solution to the problem of unaffordable drugs is to allow local companies to produce affordable generic drugs. Secondly, we need to encourage and subsidize local firms in their research for a cure.

As my arguments above obviously indicate there are several methods to choose from in the fight against HIV/AIDS. I would like to choose one whose importance and role has either been downplayed, or simply ruled out of court yet whose power to impact attitudes and

²⁷ The recent debacle over the AIDS drug *Norvir* illustrates why governments need to stop siding with pharmaceutical companies, and start standing up for the people. In addition to the benefits of *Norvir* itself, this drug had the distinctive ability to enhance the benefits of other protease inhibitors. *Norvir* thus also became widely used as a supplemental drug. It soon became a central part of a "cocktail" of drugs that so many people with HIV and AIDS take. *Norvir* became a huge success but unlike other drugs, which become cheaper as they become more widely used and more profitable, its price went up. Abbott Laboratories decided to raise the average price of the drug, used by tens of thousands of Americans with HIV and AIDS, from about \$1,500 (UGShs 2,550,000) per year, up to about \$7,800 (UGShs13, 260,000) per year. That means the same dose of the

change behaviors is not disputed. Religion can be a disrupting force, but it is also clear that over the years, it has been a major factor in influencing and mobilizing nations and cultures. In the west, Christianity has over the centuries, modified and given greater vitality to its (West) ethical and moral values. In Africa too, religion was and has been a great definer of what is to be or not to be done. Religion's integrative force derives from the fact that it gives divine authority to ethical and moral principals. Religious beliefs are tied to rules of behavior and usually give strong support to custom and tradition.

It has to be made clear though that by promoting religion as one of the major players in policy, I am not advocating for a theocracy. Religion has for centuries been suppressed as a positive policy option and only co-opted in times of crisis to give credence to unpopular policies. Thus its potential power has, to date, been used principally to disrupt. Many theorists have thus shied away from studying religion seriously because they erroneously believe it is a sort of cultural fossil. Contrary to their assumptions, however, religion is not far from where the action is. This is why in the United States for instance, a country strongly against mixing religion and politics, God has become a big issue after the terror events of September 11, 2001. Thus the influence of religion has not really faded. The problem is not so much one of faith though. It is more of corrupted, too rigid, too institutionalized, too formalized, and too politicized religious organizations, which cannot meet the pertinent existential needs of the people in an increasingly turbulent world.

Whatever problems religion may face in this modern world, it still exerts tremendous influence on millions of individuals, and through them on society in general.

For the greater number of Ugandans, there is no easy substitute for religion; for a faith that

drug today costs five times more than it did a year earlier. In Europe the average cost of the same drug is somewhere around \$700 to \$750. Americans pay 10 times more for Norvir than are Europeans.

sustains them in the hard struggles of life and gives them comfort and hope. If the governments cannot do their duty, and the international community is yet to make up its mind how to help, in the meantime for us the third world, the cheapest and most cost effective way to fight for survival against HIV/AIDS, which in turn aggravates the problem of poverty, has to be by way of behavior change. And the best primary and efficient cause for this mode of action is religious sanction and power. HIV/AIDS and poverty are tied together, and to fight one is to fight the other; and the policies aimed at reducing poverty may also assist in halting the rapid progress of HIV/AIDS. If there were less poverty, especially among the women, the latter would be empowered. More girls would go to school and stay there, and women would not have to depend on the men for subsistence, a factor that makes them have no say in sexual encounters, rendering them hostages in risky marriage situations.

Politics Does Count.

Politics can sometimes play an important positive role. This is possible if the leaders take the initiative to be honest about a prevailing problem. Brave moves by leaders and prominent individuals can have mighty consequences. There is a need to mobilize the local political, religious, and civic leaders into working together. We need to get all sectors involved; this will reduce and eradicate stigmatization, which is the key to making progress against the epidemic. Dr. Peterson (2003)says:

Very soon, the limiting factor to combating HIV/ AIDS will not be funding but "human capacity" or "the people factor...". So human capacity is going to be one of the biggest limiting factors," to combating the ongoing HIV / AIDS pandemic.

In the African sector, three players have been responsible for the as yet to be contained spread of HIV/AIDS. National leaders can do a lot in spreading or in halting the spread of the epidemic. Until recently, Thabu Mbeki, the South African president was still in

denial. A freedom fighter, his stand may have been a knee jack reaction against anything close to apartheid; or anything in the line of foreign control and colonialism. Or it could simply be a rebellion against the opportunistic international pharmaceutical companies, which have unscrupulously profited from the world's misfortune by way of selling drugs and condoms. Nevertheless, denial of the HIV/AIDS reality by the South African President was a gross mistake, to say the least. While some leaders have thus helped fuel the fires of conspiracy theory, others, like Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, have come out to recognize the reality of HIV/AIDS and they have come up with appropriate means of combating it.

Potential Obstacles and Recommendations

Elizabeth Bumiller (2003) has asked pertinent questions that are haunting all who encounter the stark facticity of HIV/AIDS. Will we have conquered AIDS in the next 20 years? Will it by then be just a footnote to the history of epidemics, just like the Great Plague, the Black Death, syphilis, and other conditions that have wreaked havoc on humanity and then disappeared? Or will it be a story like diabetes? Controlled for those who can get the medication, deadly for those who cannot?

With its persistence and high capacity to destroy especially poor societies and yet with no end to it in sight, the international community is at last taking on the task of taking serious measures to prevent and combat HIV/AIDS. Finally the world leaders have to realize that if Sub-Saharan Africa is left to fend for itself with its, though ample, yet hitherto mismanaged and thus unavailable resources, it is their interests that will eventually suffer as more wars will breed more poverty and hopelessness which will in turn provide more immigrants, more ready recruits for rebel armies and for terrorist organization. Lastly, the African worldview is a stumbling block in stopping the epidemic and has to be addressed. In his article, Green

(1994) has observed that even the most successful condom promotion has been met with inconsistent use, defective condoms, and resistance from community, civil and most especially, from religious leaders.

Thanks to the colonial legacy, Ugandans, like many people in Africa, have a deep-rooted distrust for the west's intentions. Politics aside, many still believe that remotely, witches or sorcerers cause HIV/AIDS; still others think it is a conspiracy from the drug companies and the western governments to sell drugs and condoms, and to control the runaway population growths. Education with help from all community leaders, including traditional healers and village elders is thus very crucial. In Uganda, all traditional 'doctors' have been taught about the real causes of the epidemic and the custom of using paternal aunts (*Sengas*) to instruct the daughters who have come of age has made a dramatic come back. This dual approach combining both the focused modern and the more holistic traditional/religious strategies has already produced positive results in Uganda and the epidemic is in full retreat.

In twenty years, one wonders where we will be; will the moralizing and stone throwing have been abandoned and replaced by strong action motivated by empathy for fellow human beings as the world has witnessed in the Tsunami disaster? Will the wealthy countries view the infected and affected in Africa as brothers and sisters in distress, or as simply another African problem? One is allowed to wonder but no one will be allowed not to act and the time is now.

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TOOLS

Instrumentation

RELIGIOSITY AND ATTITUDES ON INTIMACY

Implications for the HIV/AIDS Pandemic in Central Uganda

Co-sponsored by

Duquesne University, Graduate Center for Social and Public Policy

QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION

A. Check what is applicable to you.

1. Gender: Female _____ Male _____

2. Age: _____

3. Marital Status [] Married
 [] Single
 [] Divorced
 [] Co habitant

4. If married and male, number of wives: _____

5. Level of education completed.

[] Primary [] Secondary [] Advanced [] College [] University

6. What is your religious affiliation, or membership? _____

7. How long have you been a member of this religious organization? ____ Years.

Measure of Religiosity (practices and attitudes)

The following questions concern your attitudes regarding your religious beliefs. We are interested in your own personal views about the questions we will ask. On this sheet we would like you to circle the degree of agreement or disagreement you have with each statement. For example, if you agree slightly with a statement, you would circle '3.' If you disagreed strongly, you would circle "6." See the answer codes below. Just answer these statements on the basis of how you feel toward the views expressed. The words we have used are intended to mean just what they do to most people, but some may need definition:

Evangelization: The whole process of preaching and spreading ones religion to others.

Give testimonies: Open declaration either in one's place of worship, or in public about what God/Allah has done or does for you.

Speaking in tongues: Being possessed by the Holly Spirit such that one can speak in the celestial tongues. It's a sign of deep intense connection with God/Allah.

Beliefs:

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5	6

1. I believe that all people who don't belong to my religion are doomed

1 2 3 4 5 6

2. I believe that all religions are the same; different roads to the same goal.

1 2 3 4 5 6

3. I believe that the Holy Scriptures are the very words of God/Allah dictated to the writers.

1 2 3 4 5 6

4. I believe that with faith one can heal the sick and raise the dead and move mountains

- 1 2 3 4 5 6
5. I believe it my duty to preach to others and spread the good news.
1 2 3 4 5 6
6. I believe that Adam and Eve (Kahwa) were real people.
1 2 3 4 5 6
7. I believe that the devil exists and actively acts for our damnation.
1 2 3 4 5 6
8. I believe there is life after death
1 2 3 4 5 6
9. I believe heaven and hell exist.
1 2 3 4 5 6
10. I do believe prayer can heal a person with AIDS.
1 2 3 4 5 6
11. I believe every believer should give a tenth of his earnings to his place of worship.
1 2 3 4 5 6
12. Religion affects all my actions and relationships.
1 2 3 4 5 6

Behaviors:

Please read carefully the items below and circle the number that corresponds to your level of activity.

Every day	2-3 times a week	Once a week	A few times a year	Never
1	2	3	4	5

1. How often do you go to your place of worship?
1 2 3 4 5
2. How often do you read the Holy Scriptures?
1 2 3 4 5
3. How often do you feel the need to pray?
1 2 3 4 5
4. Give a **monthly** estimate of what you give to the church/Mosque as offerings in Ugandan **Shillings** (if you give the **10th** of your earnings, include it in the amount)
[] UGShs 50,000 + (1)
[] UGShs 10,000—50,000 (2)
[] UGShs 5000—10,000 (3)
[] UGShs 1000—5000 (4)
[] UGShs 100—1000 (5)

Circle the number that corresponds to the number of hours you give to the following activities per week

0-2 hours	3-4 hours	5-6 hours	6-8 hours	8-10 + hours
5	4	3	2	1

5. Reading Holy Scriptures 1 2 3 4 5
6. Small group involvement. 1 2 3 4 5
7. Praying. 1 2 3 4 5
8. How many times a day do you pray?
1 2 3 4 5 times
(5) (4) (3) (2) (1)
9. Do you give testimonies at your place of worship, or anywhere else?
Yes (1) No (0)
10. Do you speak in tongues? Yes (1) No (0)
11. Do you do charity work and give to the poor? Yes (1) No (0)
12. Mark off all the activities you participate in at your place of worship.
Yes(1) No(0) Not Applicable

Retreats	[]	[]	[]
Choir/band	[]	[]	[]
Administration	[]	[]	[]
Camps	[]	[]	[]
Usher	[]	[]	[]
Evangelization	[]	[]	[]
None	[]	[]	[]

Reiss Premarital Sexual Permissiveness Scale ²⁸

The following questions concern some attitudes of yours regarding courtship behavior. We realize that you may be tolerant of what others do and think, but we are not interested now in that. **We are interested in your own personal views** about the questions we will ask. These questions do *not* concern what you do--they all concern what you believe about courtship. On this sheet we would like you to circle the degree of agreement or disagreement you have with each statement. For example, if you agree slightly with a statement, you would circle "3." If you disagreed strongly, you would circle "6." Just answer these statements on the basis of how you feel toward the views expressed. Your name will never be connected with these answers, so please be as honest as you can. We use the words to mean just what they do to most people, but some may need definition:

Love means the emotional state which is more intense than strong affection and which you would define as love.

Strong affection means affection, which is stronger than physical attraction, average fondness, or "liking"-but less strong than love.

Petting means sexually stimulating behavior more intimate than kissing and simple hugging, but not including full sexual relations.

Female and Male Standards

Kissing Subscale

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5	6

1. a) I believe that kissing is acceptable for the female before marriage when she is engaged to be married.

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) I believe that kissing is acceptable for the male before marriage when he is engaged to be married.

1 2 3 4 5 6

2. a) I believe that kissing is acceptable for the female before marriage when she is in love.

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) I believe that kissing is acceptable for the male before marriage when he is in love.

1 2 3 4 5 6

3. a) I believe that kissing is acceptable for the female before marriage when she feels strong affection for her partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) I believe that kissing is acceptable for the male before marriage when he feels strong affection for his partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6

4. a) I believe that kissing is acceptable for the female before marriage even if she does not feel particularly affectionate toward her partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) I believe that kissing is acceptable for the male before marriage even if he does not feel particularly affectionate toward his partner.

²⁸ Israel M. Schwartz and Ira L. Reiss. 1995. P.80

1 2 3 4 5 6

Petting Subscale

5. a) I believe that petting is acceptable for the female before marriage when she is engaged to be married.

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) I believe that petting is acceptable for the male before marriage when he is engaged to be married.

1 2 3 4 5 6

6. a) I believe that petting is acceptable for the female before marriage when she is in love.

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) I believe that petting is acceptable for the male before marriage when he is in love.

1 2 3 4 5 6

7. a) I believe that petting is acceptable for the female before marriage when she feels strong affection for her partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) I believe that petting is acceptable for the male before marriage when he feels strong affection for her partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6

8. a) I believe that petting is acceptable for the female before marriage even if she does not feel particularly affectionate toward her partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) I believe that petting is acceptable for the male before marriage even if he does not feel particularly affectionate toward her partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Coital (Sexual intercourse) Subscale

9. a) I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the female before marriage when she is engaged to be married.

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the male before marriage when he is engaged to be married.

1 2 3 4 5 6

10. a) I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the female before marriage when she is in love.

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the male before marriage when he is in love.

1 2 3 4 5 6

11. a) I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the female before marriage when she feels strong affection for her partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the male before marriage when he feels strong affection for her partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6

12. a) I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the female before marriage even if she does not feel particularly affectionate toward her partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6

b) I believe that full sexual relations are acceptable for the male before marriage even if he does not feel particularly affectionate toward her partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6

APPENDIX II

The following four questions concern *your* attitude regarding **premarital sexual intercourse**. First decide whether you agree or disagree with the view expressed. Then indicate the level of your agreement or disagreement by *circling* the number that best expresses *your* view. To answer, use the following 6-point scale.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5	6

(The above six choices are given following each question.)

I. I believe that premarital sexual intercourse is acceptable if one is in a love relationship.

1 2 3 4 5 6

2. I believe that premarital sexual intercourse is acceptable if one is in a relationship involving strong affection.

1 2 3 4 5 6

3. I believe that premarital sexual intercourse is acceptable if one is in a relationship involving moderate amounts of affection.

1 2 3 4 5 6

4. I believe that premarital sexual intercourse is acceptable even if one is in a relationship without much affection.

1 2 3 4 5 6