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Unequal catch: gender and fisheries on the Lake Victoria landing sites in Tanzania

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Unequal catch

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Unequal catch

Gender and fisheries on the Lake Victoria
landing sites in Tanzania

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List of abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARVs	Antiretroviral drugs
BMU	Beach Management Unit
BNPL	Basic Needs Poverty Line
CASL	Community Adaptation and Sustainable Livelihoods
CIFA	Committee for Inland Fisheries for Africa
CWIQ	Core Welfare Indicator Questionnaire
DFID	Department for International Development
EAC	East African Community
EDI	Economic Development Initiative
EPOPA	Export Promotion of Organic Products from Africa
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
HIV	Acquired Immunodeficiency Virus
KADETFU	Kagera Development and Credit Revolving Fund
KCU	Kagera Cooperative Union
LVB	Lake Victoria Basin
LVEMP	Lake Victoria Environmental Management Programme
LVFO	Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NBS	National Bureau of Standards
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
OSSREA	Organisation for Social Science Research for Southern and Eastern Africa
QUAN-QUAL	Quantitative-Qualitative
TACAIDS	Tanzania Commission for AIDS
TADEPA	Tanzania Development and AIDS Prevention
THIMIS	Tanzania HIV and Malaria Indicator Survey
THIS	Tanzania HIV Indicator Survey
TZS	Tanzanian shillings
UKIMWI	<i>Ukosefu wa Kinga Mwilini</i>
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS
USD	United States Dollars

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Accessing resources in a gendered world

Introduction

This study is the fruit of two research experiences, both at Lake Victoria. The first was looking at women's strategies for accessing men's resources. The research was undertaken thanks to a grant from the Organisation for Social Science Research for Southern and Eastern Africa (OSSREA) in 2007. A report was written and sent to OSSREA and one of the central issues that came out of the study was the fact that women circumvent the stringent structures of patriarchy on issues of access to resources, and in so doing are able to access these resources. In fact, this is the basis that underlies the general theorization in this study.

The second experience concerns a survey I conducted at some landing sites on Lake Victoria to get baseline information from which to begin a private public partnership arrangement for the eco-labelling of Nile Perch at Lake Victoria. The survey was funded by GTZ, Germany, and was executed by EPOPA, Uganda who hired me as a local consultant. One of the questions in the survey had to do with the prevalence of HIV/AIDS at the Lake and how the HIV/AIDS situation was being dealt with. It was this situation that sparked my interest on matters regarding HIV/AIDS on the islands. And from this experience, three articles have been written (Kamanzi 2008, 2009, 2011). It is the dynamics of HIV/AIDS that has become one of the core issues in the theorization in this study. So, while this study is a continuation of women's strategies to access resources, it is also a further exploration of issues surrounding the dynamics of HIV/AIDS at Lake Victoria.

This study is about women accessing financial resources from men and men letting financial resources go to women, and how such dynamics are facilitating the spread of HIV/AIDS. The study deals specifically with women who are disadvantaged in the patriarchal system on issues of access to resources and who thus become involved in activities to access resources to promote their livelihoods. On the other hand, it also deals with how men, who are advantaged in the patriarchal system, use their resources to access what they aspire to. The backbone of the study is the assumption that resources are structurally constructed as belonging to men who, therefore, enjoy more privileges in accessing them.

The study makes use of structure- and actor-oriented approaches to conceptualize issues of access to resources. The feminist approach is also used in discussing issues related to the relationship between men and women in the control of resources. The study began with a pilot study that ascertained the data-collecting instruments to be used and moved on to a survey in which a structured questionnaire, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were administered. Both the pilot study and the survey were conducted on the islands in Lake Victoria in Tanzania.

The issue of men and women and their access to resources is central in this book. For this reason, a theoretical analysis to understand the situation is important and gender issues need to be taken into account. This chapter describes how resources are accessed in a gendered world. Based on the agency and feminist theories, the link is considered between agency and access to resources, as well as the links between gender, patriarchy, and empowerment and access to resources.

It starts with a discussion of the choice of theory between the structure- and actor-oriented approaches by explaining issues of accessing resources on the one hand, and the evolutionary and feminist theories of explaining relationships between men and women on the other. The next section explains the relationship between agency and access to resources, followed by one on patriarchy and resources. Let me begin with a discussion of the choice of the theoretical orientation.

Choice of theoretical orientation

When beginning this study, I was caught up in the middle of questions demanding some choices in two areas. The first area was about people's actions in relation to resources where I was caught up in the structure-agency dichotomy. How was I to choose between structure- and actor-oriented approaches in explaining people's actions in relation to accessing resources? The second area was about the relationship between men and women, where the evolutionist-feminist dichotomy came into play. What was I to choose between the evolutionist and

feminist approaches to explain the relationship between men and women in relation to accessing resources? This section aims at clarifying my position in the theoretical approach and the underlying reasons, on the one hand, and relations between men and women regarding access to resources, on the other.

Structure- and actor-oriented approaches

Schuurman (2001) points out that immediately after World War II, there was an unconditional belief in the concept of progress and the ‘makeability’ of society. The belief was unilinear and teleological, allocating two apparently contradictory clusters of development theories, the modernization and/or the Marxist development theories. Coupled with this was a belief in the importance of the (nation) state as an analytical frame of reference and a political and scientific confidence in the role of the state in realizing progress.

Subsequently, however, since the early 1990s, the concept of development has undergone serious criticism through perspectives such as the development theorization impasse (Schuurman 1993); development as a mere gaze and authoritative voice constructing problems and their solution by reference to *a priori* criteria (Sachs 1995); poverty as a notion that reflects only the basic relativity (Escobar 1995); and aid as the wrong strategy for development because it encourages “central planners” at the expense of “searchers” (Easterly 2006); etc. according to Pieterse (2000: 175),

Development is rejected because it is the ‘new religion of the West’, it is the imposition of science as power, it does not work, it means cultural Westernisation and homogenization and it brings environmental destruction. It is rejected not merely on account of its results but because of its intentions, its world-view and mindset. The economic mindset implies a reductionist view of existence.

With the challenges regarding the concept of development, a shift was imminent, as Schuurman (2008: 161) points out:

... there is an historic shift ... from structural analysis to actor-oriented analysis. ... Now, there is nothing wrong with actor-oriented analysis as long as the structural context is not lost from sight.

What Schuurman is complaining about is a total shift that implies that instead of analysing issues of societal transformations in terms of the structures, that is, societal transformations as a result of sets of institutional mechanisms that people draw upon as they produce and reproduce society in their activities, human agency now explains such transformations. He feels that structures should not be thrown away in explaining societal transformations. While the structure-oriented approach is based on the assumption that structures frame reality, claim agency and demand adherence because “society only has form, and that form only has effects on people, in so far as structure is produced and reproduced in what people do” (Giddens & Pierson 1998: 77), the actor-oriented approach is to be based

on the assumption that social change and development are fundamentally based on human agency. The premise of this human agency is the capacity of individual humans to act independently and make their own choices, implying a focus on the life-worlds and interlocking “projects” of actors, which are a manifestation of individual cultures and worldviews, interests, capacity to give meanings, values, beliefs and purposes. In the words of de Haan (n.d.: 3), “agency is people’s capacity to integrate experiences into their livelihood strategies and to look for outlets for aspirations, ambitions and solutions to problems”.

With a study like the present one that deals with men’s and women’s accessing of resources embedded within a patriarchal structure, it is inevitable that the role the structure plays in shaping human agency, on the one hand, and the role that human agency plays in shaping structures will be identified. For this reason then, the explanations of people’s actions in relation to access to resources are based on human agency when engaging in different strategies, while at the same time the stringent context of structures on human agency are recognized.

Feminist approach

In a study like this, which has explicit issues of power involved, the choice of a theoretical orientation is important because any orientation chosen has advantages and disadvantages. Following a review of some basic literature (Gowaty 1992; Lerner 1986; MacKinon 1987; Darwin 1871; Trivers 1972), I concluded that both the evolutionary theory and the feminist theory focus on issues of power and sex. Both are concerned with power in terms of who has it, how one achieved it, how one uses it and the consequences of such use of power. Both are also concerned with the control of sexuality. I was almost convinced when reading Smuts’ (1995: 2) argument for the evolutionary theory:

[A]n evolutionary approach to understand the origins of patriarchy is valuable for two reasons. First, it goes one step further than conventional feminist analyses in searching for the origins of male motivation to gain power over females. That is, evolutionary theory not only considers how men exercise power over women, as feminist theory does, but also investigates the deeper question of why males want power over females in the first place, which feminists tend to take as given. Second, evolutionary theory explains why male power over women so often revolves around female sexuality.

I thought, therefore, that if the issue of the origins of male desire for control of female sexuality was addressed by this theoretical frame, then there would be a new and important dimension added to the analysis of patriarchy. Smuts (*Ibid.*), however, focuses on the behaviour of other primates, particularly the interplay between power and sex in monkeys and apes. This approach is interesting, with its conclusion that “patriarchy is the product of reproductive strategies typically shown by male primates, which in humans have undergone unusually effective elaboration” (*Ibid.*: 2). So I decided to investigate further. However, Marini’s

(1990) work attracted my attention and I changed orientation, towards a feminist one. Let me quote at length a paragraph that summarises the core of the argument against the evolutionary orientation that I found convincing:

Research shedding light on the degree to which observed differences between the sexes are biologically or socially determined involves the study of naturally occurring situations in which either biology or culture is held relatively constant while the other varies. One type of research has been the study of non human primates, who are biologically similar to humans but not exposed to the same social influences. It has been argued that sex differences in behavior observed among non human primates are indicative of biologically based sex differences in humans. Although there are problems in drawing analogies between human and animal behavior ..., research on non human primates has yielded some interesting findings. One is that dominance hierarchies are not universal among non-human primates and not all such hierarchies are male dominated ... Female status in the primate world is often high, ranging from assertive to clearly dominant... For example, among prosimians, females are dominant ... Female dominance has also been observed in more advanced species, such as squirrel monkeys ... In addition, male dominance does not appear inherited within primate species. Lineages have been observed to rise and fall within a generation, suggesting that what is inherited is the specific social structure of rank, not dominance per se ... Another finding is that sexual selection for dominance does not always occur ... Among chimpanzees, for example, females prefer more sociable, less disruptive males. Variation in male dominance also exists among closely related species, suggesting that similar genes can produce different behavior in different environments. Together, these findings point to the conclusion that male dominance in humans is not genetically inherited ... (Marini 1990: 100).

From these observations, I decided that male dominance in humans cannot be a matter of genetic inheritance. This led me to take more seriously a feminist orientation when looking at relationships between men and women with regard to resources.

Structures and accessing resources

The previous section presented my choice of theoretical approach. This section focuses on the issue of the structure-oriented approach in explaining how structures determine how men and women should access resources. The section begins by describing gender, followed by patriarchy in relation to accessing resources and ends with a description of the underlying operating structure of power to explain issues of accessing resources by both men and women in a patriarchal system.

Gender and accessing resources

There is always confusion between the concepts of sex and gender at a definitional level, and how sex leads to gender roles. According to Oakley (1972: 16), “sex is a word that refers to the biological differences between male and female: the visible difference in genitalia, the related difference in procreative function”. Generally, it is the distinguishing peculiarity of male or female in animals and

plants; it is about the physical differences between male and female, the assemblage of properties or qualities by which male is distinguished from female. Sex, therefore, refers to the biologically based distinctions. However according to Reskin (1988), the term 'sex' can be used when an individual's sex category constitutes a basis for classification and differential treatment, even when the differential treatment is social in origin.

It is important to note that sex differences have been generally characterized by essentialist explanations of gender and an individualistic understanding of the self, particularly from a psychological perspective (Bohan 2002). Blume & Blume (2003) - following Bigler (1997), Martin (1993) and Signorella *et al.* (1993) - argue that in developmental psychology, for example, predictable sequences have been established about children's understanding of the self, beginning with sex-related categorizations (male-female), to knowledge of sex-typed behaviours of self and others (masculine-feminine), and then to the presumed realization that sex is stable or constant (boys become men and girls become women). Thus, it is assumed that differences in sex exist.

However, Foucault (1979) argued that the body gains meaning only through the discourse of power. So, the body is not sexed before its determination within a socio-political discourse. This theorization by Foucault has resulted in attempts to transcend the dichotomous sex category (Baber & Allen 1992; Coltrane & Adams 1997; Walker 1999; Weedon 1999; Connell 1999). For example, on the basis of studies of infants whose ambiguous genitalia were surgically altered at birth to conform to a binary sex system, Fausto-Sterling (2000) suggested five sexes: male, female, herm (true hermaphrodites or persons with both an ovary and testes), merm (male pseudohermaphrodites who are born with testes and some aspects of female genitalia) and herm (female pseudohermaphrodites who have ovaries combined with some aspects of male genitalia). For Fausto-Sterling (2000), both male and female and masculine and feminine can best be conceptualized as points along a continuum. In other words, the two categories of sex, i.e. male and female, are not adequate when describing variations in sex. After clarification of this concept of sex, we now move to the concept of gender.

Gender is a matter of culture and refers to the social classification of 'masculine' and 'feminine'. Gender, therefore, is a social construct that relates to relationships between men and women, with specifications of the socially and culturally prescribed roles that men and women are to follow. According to Lerner (1986: 238), gender is the "costume, a mask, a straight jacket in which men and women dance their unequal dance".

The understanding of gender dynamics have been elaborated by the social construction theory. Blume & Blume (2003: 786), in agreement with other scholars (Eccles 1993; Leaper 2000; Maccoby 1998) agree that the strongest

influence on children's gender occurs within families when parents communicate their beliefs, sometimes unconsciously, about sex and gender. In fact, family interactions are often a revelation of implicit gender ideologies, scripts or rituals that enable family members to construct shared understandings of the dominant gender discourse in society (Ber 1993; Coltrane 1998). Parents, therefore, shape their child's gradual understanding of the gendered world by confirming or rejecting the dominant gender discourse (Coltrane & Adams 1997; Blume & Blume 2003).

Social gender construction contributes to a family's unique interpretation of sex-typed gender stereotypes or "gender schemas" (Blume & Blume 2003: 786). When children are raised in families where less gender stereotyping occurs, they develop weaker gender schemas (Ber 2001). Parenting styles can result in a different intergenerational transmission of sex-typed gender stereotypes and the reproduction of a gendered society. For example, if a parenting style is egalitarian, there is a possibility of decreasing the intergenerational transmission of sex-typed gender stereotypes and the reproduction of a gendered society (Cahill 1986, 1989; Coltrane & Adams 1997); while in a parenting style that does not conform to gender stereotypes, there is deconstruction of sex-typed stereotypes, a modelling of egalitarian roles and engagement in the fair division of house-hold labour (Risman 1998). Such families are termed differently but most commonly as non-gendered, un-gendered, trans-gendered, de-gendered or post-gendered (Kimmell 2000).

If children are raised in families that do not conform to gender stereotypes and they encounter inconsistencies in gender meanings in other social contexts outside their families, they will recognize these contradictions more easily than children from sex-typed families (Risman & Johnson-Sumerford 1998; Risman & Myers 1997). This is why families can contribute to an understanding of gender and encourage a divergence from social stereotypes (Huston & Alvarez 1990).

There have always been theories based on linkages between sex and gender. Much as many people may believe that sex differences are greater in the determination of the gender roles (Williams & Bennett 1975), this is contrary to what researches have shown: there is little basis for gender stereotypes (Maccoby & Jacklin 1974; Block 1976; Fausto-Sterling 1985; Hyde & Linn 1986). As Marini (1990) points out, there is no consistent evidence, for example, that the sexes differ in cognitive style, creativity, independence, susceptibility to influence, general self-esteem, emotionality, empathy, nurturance, sociability or loquaciousness.

An approach that unveils the wrong linkages between sex and gender is important in as far as it challenges the "biological determinist assertions that gender

inequalities in society were the natural and appropriate result of the biological differences between men and women” (Schec & Haggis 2000: 86). It puts culture central stage whereby the specific cultural conceptions and symbolizations of woman are extraordinarily diverse and even mutually contradictory (Ortner 1981; Ortner & Whitehead 1981) to an extent that “the treatment of women, their status, and their contribution to society varied enormously from one culture to another” (Schec & Haggis 2000: 86).

With the influence of post-structuralism, the distinction between sex and gender began to be dismantled because of the assumption that “the body is outside of culture and hence fixed in terms of its meanings and how it is lived in social life” (Schec & Haggis 2000: 86). With post-structuralism, it is maintained that the body itself is a cultural construction and sex, therefore, is a social category like gender:

Whether male or female, the human body is thus already coded, placed in a social network, and given meaning in and by culture, the male being constituted as virile or phallic, the female as passive and castrated. These are not the result of biology, but of the social and psychological meaning of the body. (Grosz 1989: 111)

As Butler (1992: 17) would put it, “sex does not describe a prior materiality, but produces and regulates the intelligibility of the materiality of bodies”.

Gender as “socially learned behaviour and expectations that distinguish between masculinity and femininity” (Peterson & Runyan 1999: 5) can be said to operate in at least three (interconnected) levels (Marchand & Runyan 2000: 137): 1) ideologically in terms of gendered representations and valorizations of social processes and practices; 2) at the level of social relations; and 3) physically through the social construction of male and female bodies.

It is gender at all three levels that results in gender stereotypes and gender roles. Gender stereotypes are consensual beliefs about differences between the sexes (Marini 2003: 98) and these are held beliefs about men and women. According to Williams & Best (1982), there is similarity of gender stereotypes across societies: instrumental traits, for example, tend to be associated with males, while expressive traits with females. Marini (2003: 98) talks about a high level of agreement about the existence of traits that differentiate the sexes, and the stereotypes being independent of race, age, religions, education and marital status, on the one hand, and the stability of these stereotypes, on the other. Gender roles are what are expected of a man and woman by a society as responsibilities.

These stereotypes and roles have worked mostly in favour of men, resulting in a number of gender-specific constraints for women. Gender gaps are widespread in access to and control of resources, in economic opportunities, in power and political voice. Women are still exploited, discriminated against and subjected to

harassment and violence. The stereotypes lead to women's lack of access to productive resources and low levels of human capital (Quisumbing & Pandolfelli 2010). They also lead to possible inefficiencies in intra-household allocation and the interaction between economic factors and gender roles are constraints to improvements in productivity and well-being. But what is the underlying structure that perpetuates the suppressive gender stereotypes? I discuss this question in the following paragraphs that clarify the concept of patriarchy.

Patriarchy and accessing resources

Let me try to clarify the concept of patriarchy and relate it to the issue of resources. It is more or less agreed that women have always had a lower status compared to men, even though the gap between them varies across cultures and time. Behind this gap between men and women is the structure of patriarchy. Etymologically, this concept derives from two Greek words, *pater* (father) and *arche* (rule). The combination of these two words means the 'rule of the father'. Patriarchy expresses conditions whereby the male members of a society tend to predominate in positions of power.

Before going any further with the discussion on patriarchy, it is necessary to clarify the concepts of patrilinearity and patrilocality, which are closely linked with patriarchy. Patrilinearity refers to societies where the derivation of inheritance (financial or otherwise) originates from the father's line. Patrilocality defines a locus of control coming from the father's geographic/cultural community. Due to patriarchy, most societies are predominantly patrilineal and patrilocal.

Patriarchy is about the rule of the father and his associates and is a set of gender relations that privilege the legal, economic and political power of fathers (Owa-Mataze (2004). Patriarchy means "social arrangements that privilege males, where men as a group dominate women as a group, both structurally and ideologically – hierarchical arrangements that manifest in varieties across history and space" (Hunnicut 2009: 557). Patriarchal systems are organized at different levels, the macro level with bureaucracies, government, law, market and religion, and the micro level with interactions, families, organizations and patterned behaviours between intimates. However, this distinction between the macro and micro exists analytically only because the micro and macro patriarchal systems exist symbiotically whereby interpersonal dynamics are nested within the macro level orders (Hunnicut 2009: 557-8).

Joseph (1996: 14), while trying to define patriarchy from the Arab point of view, argues that patriarchy has to do with "the prioritising of the rights of males and elders (including elder women) and the justification of these rights within kinship values which are usually supported by religion". This definition adds the dimension of age and kinship. A more comprehensive list of the dimensions is

given by Hunnicutt (2009: 558): age (already mentioned), race, class, sexuality, religion, historical location and nationality. These are dimensions that “mediate gender statuses, assigning males and females varying amounts of social value, privilege, and power” (*Ibid.*) and become fields of hierarchy that generate and nurse systems of domination.

Patriarchy, that is systems of male domination and female subordination, has been criticized because the concept implies false universalism (Connell 1999). According to Hunnicutt (2009: 558),

At some point, the term patriarchy began to imply a fixed and timeless structure that obscured differences in context and reduced all gender relations into one form. Because patriarchy was frequently constructed in static form, it did not permit variation. Its “apparent” universal feature came to eclipse its “true” multiple shapes and forms.

The point here is that what feminists wrote came to be interpreted as implying that gender relations do not change and that patriarchal systems do not vary. That patriarchy takes different forms is not a question. The patriarchal family has been amazingly resilient and varied over time and place. For example, Oriental patriarchy encompassed polygamy and female enclosure; while patriarchy in classical antiquity and in its European development has been based upon monogamy. However in all its forms, a double sexual standard disadvantages women in modern industrial states, such as in the US, as property relations within the family develop along more egalitarian lines than those in which the father holds absolute power, yet the economic and sexual power relations within the family have not necessarily changed. In some cases, sexual relations are more egalitarian, while economic relations remain patriarchal. In other cases, the pattern is reversed (Lerner 1986). However, what led to the thinking that patriarchy was universal was the lack of theoretical tools to explain the different empirical manifestations of patriarchy.

In an attempt to understand the link between patriarchy and resources, it is crucial to consider the differences in the types of patriarchy. Eisenstein (1979: 44) described familial patriarchy as the “hierarchical sexual organization for the reproduction of sex-gender as it exists in the family” and social patriarchy as the “organization of sex-gender as it exists through the society understood as totality”. The concept of sex-gender refers to “a set of arrangements by which the biological raw material of human sex and procreation is shaped by human, social intervention and satisfied in a conventional manner” (Rubin 1975: 165). Thus at the most general level, the social organization of reproduction rests on the sexual division of labour, which creates gender and provides a structural enforcement and re-enforcement of sexuality. For Ursel (1984), there is the addition of another patriarchy, communal patriarchy, which corresponds to kin-based societies that are basically pre-class societies. For Ursel (1984), familial patriarchy corres-

ponds to class-structured social systems that are characterized by decentralized processes of production; and social patriarchy corresponds to advanced labour social patterns. Thus, patriarchy goes beyond the family, with its rules of organizing society permeating all other institutions in society.

What becomes interesting in these typologies of patriarchy is how communal and social patriarchies are centred on familial patriarchy and the link with control of essential resources. Ursel (1984: 274) asserts that

... communal patriarchy gives way to 'familial patriarchy', a system characterised by the decentralisation of male dominance which is subject to and reinforced by the centralised political and economic authority of the dominant class. ... Social patriarchy is manifest in the laws of marriage, property and inheritance, etc., which preserve male dominance within a class system.

Thus, familial patriarchy presupposes a decentralized process of production because the male's control of essential resources is the material basis of his authority. In the same way in an Arab context, Joseph's (1996: 15-16) categorises patriarchy in terms of social patriarchy (due to the centrality of kinship), economic patriarchy (due to the privileging of males and elders in ownership and control over wealth and resources, including human resources), and political patriarchy (due to kinship that is central to the political system).

Control of resources for production is then translated into control of reproduction through the operation of familial patriarchy, which again results in the control of resources for production. This situation can clearly be seen from Tamale's (2008: 58) observation about the reasons why patriarchy needs to control the sexuality and reproductive abilities of women. She argues that there are two reasons for the control:

First of all, it serves to keep women's bodies in the domestic arena, where, as 'decent wives' and 'good mothers' they remain dependant on their breadwinner husbands. Secondly, and more importantly, it is supposed to guarantee the paternity and legitimacy of the children of the marriage. This is considered vital to ensuring that descent through the male line is retained and that property is bequeathed to the husband's offspring.

Needless to say, patriarchy evokes images of hierarchies, dominance and power arrangements, retaining gender as a central organizing feature. This discussion of patriarchy and resources cannot be de-linked from the discussion about power. For instance, Blumberg (1984) and Chafetz (1984) see economic power as the key determinant of women's access to the scarce and valued resources of a society. Actually, the argument is that the power of property is more important than the power of force, the power of political position or the power of ideology. The next section discusses power and access to resources.

Power and access to resources

Patriarchy as a system of male domination and female subordination has privileged men in accessing resources. While gender and patriarchy cannot be separated, issues of patriarchy are issues of power. Thus, the following paragraphs present the relationship between power and resources, beginning with a clarification of the concept of power since it is central in the understanding of empowerment.

Power is one of the central concepts that regulate relationships in societies and has to do with control over others and/or things. According to the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) in the UK, the ‘power-cube’ is a fashionable and important way of understanding power. In brief, it is a framework for analyzing the various aspects of power and how they interact through the determination of the levels, spaces and forms of power (Powercube 2010).

Before getting into the different dimensions of power, let us first consider the different facets of power. According to Rowlands (1997, 1998) and VeneKlasen & Miller (2002), power has different facets: ‘Power over’ is a negative and controlling power wielded in a win-lose relationship; ‘power with’ is a collective strength based on mutual support, solidarity and collaboration; ‘power to’ is a generative or productive power; and ‘power within’ is the spiritual strength and uniqueness a person has for his/her self-worth or self-knowledge. Kamanzi (2007) adds another type of power, namely the ‘power for’, which is the hidden energy to respond diligently by putting personal interests into projects dominated by the powerful for livelihood promotion.

Now, let me come back to the dimension of power. The dimension of levels refers to the different layers of decision-making and authority held on a vertical scale. The layers in this dimension could be the household, local, national or global levels. The dimension of spaces refers to the potential arenas for participation and action. Such spaces could be closed when decisions are made by closed groups; they could be invited when people are asked to participate but within set boundaries; they could also be created when less powerful actors claim a space where they can see their own agenda (Powercube 2010). The conceptualization of levels and spaces is a reflection of the concept of arenas as interfaces by Long & Long (1992: 2) who see them as intersections between different fields or levels of social organization where different actors present their understandings, interests and values (the battlefield of power). Field coincides with space and levels with levels. The concept of field resembles Bierschenk & Olivier de Sardan’s (1997: 240) understanding of arenas as places of “concrete configurations between social actors interacting on common issues”.

The third dimension of power is about forms, which are ways in which power manifests itself in terms of the visible (observable decision-making mechanisms),

the hidden (shaping or influencing the political agenda behind the scenes) and the invisible (norms and beliefs, socialization, ideology). This dimension arose from debates about how power operates in the processes of political decision-making (Lukes 2005; Gaventa 2006; VeneKlasen & Miller 2002).

As a way to address the issue of power asymmetries, the concept of empowerment has been developed, with numerous frameworks for purposes of development practice. According to Lakwo (2006: 23), such frameworks came along as a result of a need to operationalize the concept of empowerment and to give it measurable terms. A critical review of the literature presents these definitions of empowerment: gaining voice, having mobility and establishing public appearance (Johnson 1992: 148); when people, especially poor people, are enabled and can take more control over their lives and secure a better livelihood with ownership and control of productive assets as a key element (Chambers 1993: 11); taking control of their lives: setting their own agendas, gaining skills, building self-confidence, solving problems and developing self-reliance (CIDA 2001). This is a process by which people become conscious of their own situation and organize collectively to gain greater access to public services or the benefits of economic growth (ODA 1994: 2). It is a process of challenging existing power relations and gaining greater control over the sources of power (Batliwala 1995). According to Lakwo (2006: 24),

... empowerment remains a loaded term that means different things to different people. However, central in these definitions and concepts is that empowerment: is about both individual and collective change processes that involve the self, person-to-person(s), person(s)-to-institution(s), and institutions(s)-to institution(s); is a change that is gradual involving the redistribution of power base (resources, roles, and status not by robbing the excesses or dividends of others, but) by ensuring no one social category exploits the other to its advantage; is about the opening up of space by the hitherto disempowered to assert themselves equally in their societies; is about social justice where all segments of society live the life they value without undue manipulation and oppression.

Hence, empowerment as a social change requires the change of both actors and structures from within their contextual bases. Power as a key determinant must change away from negative 'power over' situations into that which promotes 'power within', 'power with', and 'power to' in order for social equality to be realized. For women, this change involves the change of positions in their society while tackling social practices embedded in the agents of socialization and institutionally prescribed norms and expectations.

Reading Mayoux (2002), Lakwo (2006) and Kabeer (2003), it is possible to identify different conceptualizations and frameworks of empowerment as follows:

- a. Moser's (Gender Needs) Framework (1989), where the emphasis is on gender needs, namely women's interests, practical gender interests and strategic gender interests.

- b. Longwe's (Progression) Framework (1989, 1991), which presents empowerment as a linear entity, both as a stage that feeds into the next stage, from: welfare, access, conscientization, participation and control.
- c. Rowland's (Power Process) Framework (1997), which puts the emphasis on power from within, power to, power over and power with.
- d. Chen's (Product) Framework (1997), which emphasises material change, perceptual change and relational change.
- e. Kabeer's Framework (2003), which stresses empowerment in the dimensions of resources, agency and achievement, and the levels of deeper, intermediate and immediate levels.

To access resources, the empowerment approach, which is widely and popularly applied and unquestioned, is interesting in its suggestions. Few people would question the approach because it appeals to common sense: And who would want to have disempowered people? As with such popular approaches, however, the conceptualization and operationalization are always problematic. Nevertheless, the empowerment approach has been seen as one that can assist women in accessing resources. With the 'power over', women would gain power "at the expense of men ... women should be empowered to participate within the economic and political structures of society - occupying positions of power in terms of political and economic decision-making" (Sharp *et al.* 2003: 282). With the 'power to' where there is no production of the zero-sum game in which "women's advantage is men's disadvantage, but that the increased empowerment of women will improve the community as a whole. (*Ibid.*: 282). This would imply that the increased ability to act by women in different matters, whether for market production or household reproduction, should have a positive effect on all members of the group.

The 'power over' and the 'power to' have, however, been criticized. The 'power over' is a reformist approach that accepts current social structures rather than looking for real social transformation. This approach, therefore, would accept the manner in which decisions are made and the processes through which resources are allocated, but considers that women are allocated positions in the hierarchy of power. It is through these hierarchies that women would, therefore, have access to resources (*Ibid.*). With the 'power to', the pressure to generate cash, added to other work, could be a further burden. In fact, the biggest assumption is the emancipatory value lying in leaving the household to find work (Funk & Mueller 1993; Jankowska 1991; Einhorn 1993). As Sharp *et al.* (2003: 282) point out,

For many women, the issue of empowerment does not revolve around the ability to leave the home to be admitted into the labour force; for them their lifeworlds have always spanned both public and private spaces. Women's rights in the work force simply mean a double

burden for women who must tend to responsibilities for household reproduction after a day at work. What might appear as empowerment might simply add extra burdens to a woman's work day.

There is another angle of looking at empowerment that is based on the negative effect of operations of powers. According to Lukes (2005), such effects prevent people from thinking of operating in different ways than they are used to. In Foucauldian terms (1977, 1980), these are discourses that construct notions of active selfhood and lead to negative thinking about oneself. Empowerment as 'power within', in which self-perceptions and understandings are challenged in such a way as to enable someone to think of alternative ways of existing, is crucial. The person, then, generates a belief in his/her own abilities to have some role in the enactment of change. Actually, empowerment becomes a generation of a sense of effective agency, with a central issue being women getting to decide to act. However, caution has to be taken here:

Women need to be free to act from their own analysis and priorities and not be manipulated by outsiders; yet the restrictions of internalised oppression, which limit women's options, must be challenged. (Rowlands 1997: 134)

There is a saying in Swahili that goes: *Umoja ni nguvu, utengano ni udhaifu* (unity is power, division is weakness) and has the same meaning as the English saying, 'together we stand, alone we fall'. This is the essence of the 'power with': people come together to enhance individual abilities. The 'power with', however, needs to be enhanced with the 'power for', which should give diligence to the ability to challenge and change relations that prohibit women from accessing resources. At this point, Cornwall's (2000: 20) observation needs attention:

Those relationships, experiences and identities that fall outside the narrow frame set by oppressive heterosexual 'gender relations' tend to be disregarded. In the midst of all this, there is no space at all for men's experiences of powerlessness, love or dependency in their relationships with women, nor for relations between men that are equally inflected with gender.

It is, therefore, important not to assume that all men occupy positions of power, that they are current beneficiaries of the current social arrangements, and that all men are hostile to any change towards an improvement of the relationship between men and women. Again, it should not be assumed that all women feel hostility towards men. If it is expected that women shoulder all the responsibilities of change in order to access resources, this will never work, as Chant & Gutmann (2000: 24) point out:

from the fact that excluding men gives them little chance to challenge the constructions imposed upon them, dealing with 'the problem' through women, negates the self-reflection on the part of men that might be crucial to change in gender relations.

Thus, it is a question of empowerment as 'power with' and 'power for' to forge a 'power with' that should lead to the shaking of the suppressive power relations in

order that women can access resources. The next section explains how agency can lead to actions to access resources, even in circumstances of stringent structures, as is the case with gender and patriarchal structures for women.

Agency and accessing resources

I need first to clarify the concept of agency and resources before going into the issue of access. Let us begin with the concept of agency, which has to do with the capacity of individual humans to act independently. Emirbayer & Mische (1998) criticized the theorists of practice (such as Bourdieu) for having paid selective attention to the role of *habitus* and routinized practices, and thus seeing human agency as habitually repetitive and taken for granted. In capturing the complexity of agency, Emirbayer & Mische (1998: 963) define human agency as:

... a temporary embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its habitual aspect), but also oriented toward the future (as capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a capacity to contextualize past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment).

In stressing the centrality of human agency over the social structures, This definition orders the agency within a temporal perspective. Agency, however, takes place within a social environment, which Long (2002: 2) calls a social interface that

... provides a useful heuristic device for identifying and analysing the critical points of *intersection* between different fields or levels of social organization, since it is at these interfaces that discrepancies and discontinuities of value, interest, knowledge, and power are clearly revealed.

Bierschenk (2004: 414), instead of using the term social interface, uses the term social arena, which is defined as “a place of concrete confrontation between social actors interacting on common issues”.

For both terms, however, the interaction of the different actors should be understood as battlefields of knowledge in which actors’ understandings, interests and values are pitched against each other (Long & Long 1992: 2), as a result of the different backgrounds, mandates and experiences, and the resulting differential viewpoints, perceptions, objectives, practices and strategies of the different actors in the struggles to negotiate and accommodate each other. With negotiations, accommodations and struggles over definitions and boundaries of meanings, new meanings and/or transformation of existing meanings occur (Long 2002: 2). It is for this reason that knowledge is continuously being built and rebuilt since the contexts in which people live continuously create encounters that permit the processing and absorption of new ideas and cognitive frames. This implies that knowledge is always essentially provisional, partial and contextual in nature, and that people work with a multiplicity of understandings, beliefs and

commitments (Long & Long 1992: 212-213). It is important to point out how in the exercise of agency, however, the question of power is critical because it is in such interfaces that power wields and yields (Villareal 1994), and power is endorsed, transformed or challenged. Let me now turn to the concept of resources.

So far I have been using the term ‘resource’ without any clarification of its meaning. This concept is, in most cases, used synonymously with other two concepts of assets and capitals, even though each has its own meaning. Resources are tangible or intangible, material as well as non-material realities that people use to meet their livelihood aspirations. Assets, on the other hand, are also tangible or intangible, material or non-material realities that are usually invested in productive activities. When referring to the specific configuration of resources in the livelihood platform (Ellis 2000), we talk of capitals.

Resources, assets and capitals are on a par with each other, “strongly suggesting a potential interchange of fields. If one capital, maybe land (natural capital), is lacking, it can be bought or rented through financial capital or borrowed through social capital” (de Haan 2008: 4). A criticism has always been that the term ‘capital’ sounds economistic in character because it emphasises material aspects leading to analysis in economic terms (de Haan 2008; de Haan n.d.: 2; de Haan 2000). However, people’s way of making a living is not simply a matter of income or material well-being, but rather a multidimensional phenomenon that needs to be looked at in a holistic manner. This is why Bebbington (1999: 2022), when trying to go beyond the economistic characterization of assets/resources/-capitals, argues:

A person’s assets, such as land, are not merely means with which he or she makes a living: they also give meaning to that person’s world. Assets are not simply resources that people use in building livelihoods: they are assets that give them the capability to be or to act. Assets should not be understood only as ‘things’ that allow survival, adaptation and poverty alleviation. They are also the basis of an agent’s power to act and to reproduce, challenge or change the rules that govern the control, use and transformation of resources.

Much as the concepts of resources, assets and capitals could be used interchangeably, in this study I use the concept of resources, as I have been doing from the beginning. After this clarification about the concept of agency and resources, let me now turn to the concept of access.

The concept of access has to do with the ability to utilize a resource when needed. According to de Haan (2000: 10), access “means having or getting the opportunity to use the resource in practice. Thus it refers to the real opportunity for women to gather firewood in the forest or for men to use water for irrigation from the village well.” It is in the same vein that Chambers (1995) refers to access as the possibility for women to obtain food from the compound’s granary, or for men to access information about prices of cattle or the possibilities for temporary wage labour elsewhere in the region.

The concept of access has been elaborated further by Blaikie *et al.* (1994) as an “access model to maintain livelihood”. According to this model, every household and member of it has a certain access profile to resources and tangible assets which depend on one’s rights, for example, property rights, by tradition or by law. They differ by individual and by household and may also change over time. Each actor (household, individual) decides on a choice of livelihood strategies on the basis of his/her access.

This access model resembles Sen’s ‘entitlement’ (Sen 1981; Drèze & Sen 1989). The endowment and entitlement of actors are central in Sen’s view. While endowment refers to owned assets and personal capacities by which an entitlement to something can be exercised, entitlement is the way in which access to something is obtained, for example, by producing it with other endowments, work or exchanges. Many authors have applied Sen’s entitlement approach to fields of social interaction other than food security, such as the exploitation of natural resources (Dietz 1996). Blaikie *et al.* (1994: 88) value the concept as well, even though they have criticized Sen’s initial notion of perceiving endowments and entitlements as static and given. Their observation is that it caused a constriction in the debate on famine by neglecting its multi-causality.

Issues of access to resources have a lot to do with social capital. Broadly speaking, social capital can be seen from two perspectives. The first view, propagated by Putnam (1995, 2000), considers social capital as social networks of trust, solidarity and reciprocity. In this view, it is implied that social capital is a community asset with common interests and shared values. Such a conceptualization does not, however, pay sufficient attention to issues regarding the unequal distribution of power. The second perspective is Bourdieu’s (1998a, 1998b), in which social capital has to do with actual and/or potential resources that are linked in some way to a durable network of institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and/or recognition. From this viewpoint, ‘social’ is about the opportunity to mobilize social relations and networks for livelihood promotion individually. The actual or potential resources are linked to membership of a network, which institutionalises relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition. Social capital becomes a personal asset that provides tangible advantages to individuals, families or groups that are well connected. This second perspective is different from the previous one due to its concern with the reproduction of inequalities.

It is important to notice the two dimensions to social capital. The first dimension is cognitive and consists of norms, values, attitudes and beliefs that are responsible for bringing people together in collective action. The second dimension is structural and consists of formal and informal roles and social relationships that facilitate collective action to achieve some common defined objective.

In some narrow sense of the meaning of social capital, the inclusion of “the institutions, the relationships, the attitudes and values that govern interactions among people and contributes to economic and social development” (World Bank 1998: 1), it can be negative. Social relationships, networks and trust can act as a foundation for negative actions, exclusion and oppression of particular social groups. Social capital can facilitate restricted access to opportunities, restrictions on individual freedoms or excessive claims on group members (Portes 1998). Access to resources happens in an environment of relationships of trust that are embedded in the different institutions. For example, women have faced problems in accessing resources and land has been a contentious issue in many societies for many generations. Women have been denied the right to co-own it with husbands or inherit it from parents. “Custom depicts women as being unable to manage property adequately, supposedly frail and weak, more vulnerable to the environment and easily duped in transactions involving land” (Wanyeki 2003). So women have not been trusted in this respect and, in principle, cannot access resources.

What matters in the livelihood promotion processes is not the presence of the livelihood platform with the five vital resources, but access to the resources and the chance to make use of them, even though social capital can be a stumbling block. This is simply because resources are embedded in structures, which makes them ‘unfree’. There is, therefore, the need to access them strategically. Let us now turn to the issue of livelihood strategies and access to resources.

Livelihood strategies and access to resources

Livelihood strategies are responses to adequately satisfy people’s basic needs and to secure them against shocks and stresses (DFID 1999; de Haan 2000; Chambers & Conway 1992). While shocks are violent and come unexpectedly, stresses are less violent and can last longer. However, both have their impact on one or more resources. An important contribution to the understanding of how these shocks have their differential impact on livelihood strategies was made in the 1980s (Sen 1981; Drèze & Sen 1989). According to them, it is not only the limited access of actors to the resources that cause shocks and stresses but also impacts stemming from a broader social, economic, political and natural context. Due to contextual shocks and stresses, livelihood strategies temporarily take the shape of safety mechanisms called coping strategies, that is, short-term responses to securing livelihood in periods of shocks and stress.

Depending on the severity and length of these shocks and stresses, coping strategies can lead to adaptive strategies, which then become normal livelihoods. The more frequent appearance of the contextual impact of shocks and stresses shape coping strategies more permanently. Thus, what were initially temporary

coping mechanisms develop into more permanent adaptive strategies. According to the Community Adaptation and Sustainable Livelihoods (CASL 1998: 2), when adaptive strategies result in an adapted livelihood, then the idea of adaptation vanishes and the adaptive strategy is considered to be a normal livelihood strategy.

This understanding of livelihoods strategies is challenged when considering intentional and non-intentional behaviours. De Haan & Zoomers (2003: 19) point out that “human behaviour should not always be seen as conscious, intentional or strategic: much of what people do cannot be classified as strategic”. In the same line, Devereux (2001) distinguishes between *ex ante* and *ex post* strategies whereby *ex ante* strategies are forms of intentional behaviour, while *ex post* strategies are not. It is for this reason that de Bruijn & van Dijk (2003: 11) prefer to speak of pathways rather than strategies, with experience and learning being elements that blur the distinction between intentional and unintentional behaviours:

A pathway is different from a strategy because a pathway needs not to be a device to attain a pre-set goal which is set after a process of conscious and rational weighing of the actor's preferences. Rather it arises out of an iterative process in a step-by-step procedure in which goals, preferences, resources and means are constantly reassessed in view of new unstable conditions ... Individuals decide on the basis of a wide range of past experiences, rather than on a vision of the future, while these recollections of the past depend to a great extent on our intellectual concern in the present. Knowledge ... is gathered in an incremental learning process.

However, the conceptualization of strategies and/or pathways is based on a scope determined by shocks and/or stresses. At this point the concept of organizing practices becomes important because it implies a process that can be difficult to grasp but that is rooted in concrete, everyday problems, the need to solve these problems, power relations at all levels in society, and creativity and tradition at the same time (Nuijten 1992, 1998). According to Nuijten (*Ibid.*), organizing practices are manifold and fragmented strategies of the people that arise from particular combinations of ideas, material circumstances, and interactional potentials, evolving around fields of power and struggle between different social actors around which certain forms of dominance, contention and resistance may develop, as well as regularities and forms of ordering. Organizing practices involve people in actions of manoeuvring, mobilization, strategizing and many other practices aimed at livelihoods enhancement and sustenance. Jeppesen (1996) has the same outlook on the concept of organizing practices and sees organizing practices as

... the actions people are themselves engaged in to change their life situation. ... a complicated and varied mosaic of collective action and organizations [and actions] ... to improve the present situation of their families and the future of their children. ... [while engaging] in all sorts of activities, some of which are collective.

For Kamanzi (2007: 31), organizing practices are “non-formalised forms of manoeuvres in terms of actions as reactions, responses, and socialised behaviour geared towards livelihoods promotion”, particularly when relationships are regulated by power asymmetries. This way of looking at strategic moves goes hand in hand with what Kandiyoti (1988: 274) conceptualises as ‘patriarchal bargains’:

Women strategies within a set of concrete constraints. ... Different forms of patriarchy present women with distinct “rules of the game” and call for different strategies to maximize security and optimize life options with varying potential for active or passive resistance in the face of oppression.

When introducing her study on the patriarchal bargains of nuns in the Roman Catholic Church, Ebaugh (1993: 401) reminds us that the “patriarchal bargains are not immutable, but they are re-negotiated as societies experience historical transformations”. This is to say that people engage in different manoeuvres in order to sustain their livelihoods. Most often, these manoeuvres revolve around asymmetrical power relations. In the case of this study, women engage in manoeuvres to access the resources that are in the hands of men. These manoeuvres promote the livelihoods of women by ensuring that the effects of patriarchal oppressions are minimized with respect to resources access.

Conclusion

What I make of these theoretical approaches is an argument that due to the patriarchal structure that characteristically creates power differentials between men and women, the latter are in a vulnerable position regarding access to resources. It is for this reason that women, as active agents, engage in strategies or manoeuvres so that they can access these resources. Men and women exploit each other on the basis of different gender stereotypes and their respective roles as a result of their socialization within the patriarchal structure. The weakness in thinking about women managing property, and resources in general, is a dictate of the patriarchal structure. Women are constructed as being weak managerially and this is what justifies her being ‘de-propertied’ and ‘de-resourced’. However, regardless of all the structural bases for women being excluded from resources, some women still have access to them and make use of them. This does not mean that they have come out of the patriarchal tentacles but rather that they have been able to negotiate their way through them. In so doing, they shape the patriarchal structure and that is why men are able to concede and allow resources to flow to women. It is important to understand these women’s manoeuvres in order to capture their dynamics in the spread of HIV/AIDS around Lake Victoria.

HIV/AIDS and the gender question

In this chapter, I begin with the issue of the HIV/AIDS discourse in Africa. The second section presents the situation regarding HIV/AIDS in Tanzania; Kagera Region and the Lake Victoria area are presented as melting pots for HIV/AIDS. The chapter concludes with a section on the question of gender disparity, the problem itself and the research questions.

The HIV/AIDS discourse in Africa

The explanation about the spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa has generally been linked to the issue of sexuality. However, it is possible to talk about the HIV/AIDS discourse in Africa. The concept of discourse is taken from the Foucauldian understanding of discourses as regimes of truth and the general politics of truth in each society, that is, certain ways of understanding reality or knowledge over reality, excluding or including others or guiding rationale or stories that underlie human and organizational socio-political and economic behaviours. Thus, any discourse deals with the socio-political dimension, basically to arrange and naturalize the social world in a specific way, and in so doing inform social practices (Alvesson & Kärreman 2000: 1127-1128). Thus, when I talk about the HIV/AIDS discourse, I mean a certain way of understanding HIV/AIDS.

According to van Eerdewijk (2007: 36), the medical and behavioural perspectives became predominant in HIV/AIDS in Africa because other disciplines were slow to respond to the initial impact of HIV/AIDS. It was the need to deal with a lot of people living with HIV/AIDS that dominated the medical perspectives on the original HIV/AIDS agenda in order to stop the spread of and deaths from HIV/AIDS (Packard & Epstein 1991; Parker 1995: 260; Schoepf 1995: 41). According to Vance (1999: 47), AIDS encourages biomedical approaches to

sexuality through the repeated association of sexuality with disease. And this is the basis of the hegemonic medical perspective, which is, basically:

... concerned with symptoms, with depersonalised 'seropositives'. ... Medical discourse has shaped the cultural agenda of AIDS in which the person with AIDS, as a full human person, is absent. ... To think in terms of exclusive, fixed categories, of a fixed relationship between sex and gender, and to advance monocausal explanations for extremely complex social phenomena, is to be blind to the flexibility of sexual behaviours and to the interrelatedness of risk. ... The hegemonic medical paradigm has been deaf to women's voices, and altogether reductionist. (Seidel 1993: 176)

In the categorization of HIV infection in terms of 'Patterns' (Seidel 1993; Patton 1997), with Pattern One referring to Europe and North America where most infections occur through intravenous drug use and homosexual contact, and Pattern Two referring to Africa where HIV is mainly transmitted through heterosexual sex, there was the "invention of African AIDS" (Patton 1997), and the subsequent struggle to explain the phenomenon. Higher levels of sexual promiscuity were put forward as an explanation for the number of cases of AIDS in Africa. Caldwell *et al.* (1989) and their "African permissive sexuality thesis" became an important point of reference in explaining Africa's high HIV rate from a distinct African sexuality that is characterized by high rates of change of partner and sexual networking. Their argument can be summarized thus: "there is a distinct and internally coherent African system embracing sexuality, marriage and much else" (*Ibid.*: 187). They contrast their observations about Africa with Europe: Western Europe developed into a system with "a proper and stable marriage to a person of the same social class, and its ensuring by controlling female pre-marital and extra-marital sexuality. Sexual behaviour, especially the female sexual behaviour, moved to centre stage in morality and theology" (*Ibid.*: 192). All this was geared towards controlling property. In Africa, the situation was different. Instead of controlling property, it was about the control of people, a system named "wealth in people" (Bledsoe & Cohen 1993: 70-71), whereby fertility and reproduction become important, with weaker marriage bonds than lineage links. Since non-marital births or marriage dissolution are not feared, there is little need to control sexuality and the sexual act. From the African permissive sexuality thesis, it is therefore implied that "sexual promiscuity, particularly among women, is the norm in Africa, and that the lack of 'control' of women's sexuality is the key to the AIDS epidemic in that region" (Le Blanc *et al.* 1991: 501). And van Eerdewijk (2007: 38) argues that

The conclusions of the Caldwells is that the high degree of permissiveness and little morality on sexuality in Africa allow for multiple partnership and high rates of partner change, and that this level of sexual networking makes it easy for HIV to spread.

This thesis has its shortcomings. The first criticism surrounds the interpretation of sources and findings. The thesis that claims the existence of African

sexual permissiveness cannot be supported by empirical evidence (Stillwaggon 2003; van Eerdewijk 2007); much as their selection of literature is not clear (Ahlberg 1994: 223) their choice of studies seems to be biased towards those indicating a lack of moral value for sexuality (van Eerdewijk 2007: 38) because they ignore the historical context and changes by referring to studies from 1920 to the 1970s (Le Blanc *et al.* 1991: 498-499); they have adapted, distorted and rejected data that do not support their hypothesis (Stillwaggon 2003: 819-820). Such issues indicate their zeal to interpret sources and findings to verify their theory regardless of the countervailing issues.

The second criticism demands going beyond the interpretation of sources and findings to pointing out an issue of the thesis's expression of profound Eurocentricism and racism (Stillwaggon 2003). According to Arnfred (2004: 67), the thesis

... was more a re-vitalisation of these age-old images fed by sexual anxieties and fears than an introduction of something new. It is all there: the unbridled black female sexuality, excessive, threatening and contagious, carrying a deadly disease.

This is an expression of the Africans as the 'social Other' in a form of a myth of hyper-sexualized Africans as opposed to idealized European sexuality (Lyons & Lyons 2004). As Packard & Epstein (1991), Stillwaggon (2003) and Lyons & Lyons (2004) argue, this kind of thinking was due to a limited knowledge of African cultures and societies based on the colonial literature, which was ethnocentric and evolutionist.

Regardless of the criticism of the weaknesses identified with the African sexual permissiveness theory, it has been very influential and has dominated interventions on HIV/AIDS in Africa. Basically, the theory has resulted in behavioural paradigms to deal with HIV/AIDS and focused on identifying cultural aspects of sexuality that could contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS. Gausset (2001) mentions some such as polygamy, adultery, premarital sex, wife-sharing, widow inheritance, circumcision and scarification rituals, dry sex and witchcraft beliefs. The problem is that a number of these practices were taken out of context, exaggerated, distorted or invented (Treichler 1992: 390) and, in so doing, lost their meaning, importance and embedment in cultural, social, economic and political contexts (van Eerdewijk 2007: 41).

Current efforts to deal with HIV/AIDS are, however, still informed by the biomedical perspective of interventions in treatment and change of behaviour to avoid HIV infection. This is how the spread of HIV/AIDS is still being explained in Tanzania, as can be seen from this quote from the Tanzania Commission for AIDS (TACAIDS 2010: 2):

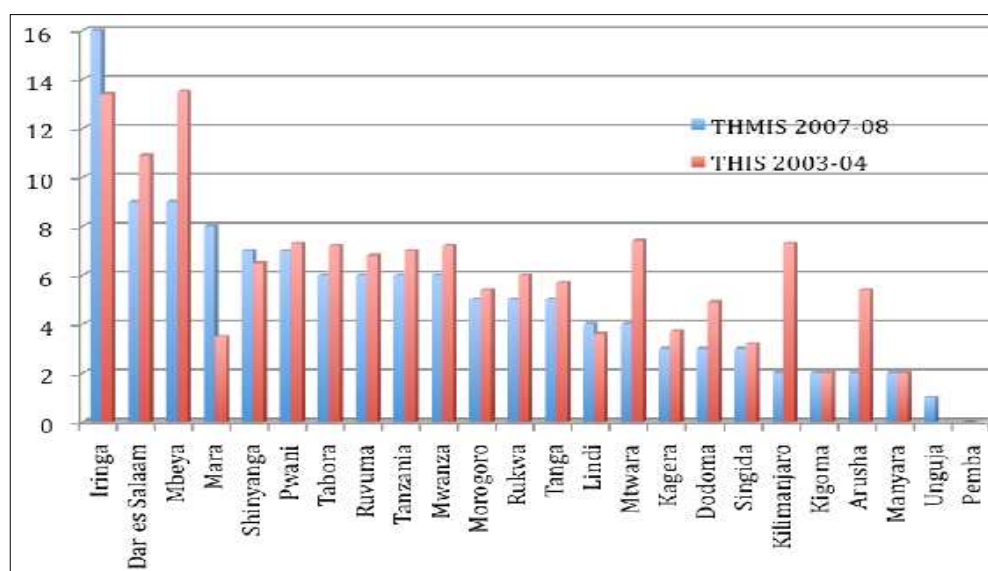
Knowledge changes are noted in the Tanzania HIV and Malaria Indicator Survey (THIMIS) but risky sexual behaviour acts still prevail among men and women of various age and socio-economic groups. Some of the driving factors include poverty ..., pervasive socio-cultural

norms and practices – which include early marriages, gender inequalities, gender-based violence, and cross generational.

HIV/AIDS in Tanzania

In Tanzania Mainland, the epidemic seems to have stabilized at around 6% since 1997, with the 2010 national HIV/AIDS prevalence standing at 5.7% (TACAIDS 2010: 1). There is regional heterogeneity with adult HIV/AIDS prevalence, as can be seen in Figure 2.1 that shows the HIV/AIDS transmissions in all the regions of Tanzania; the figure also offers a comparison between the 2003-2004 and 2007-2008 surveys.

Figure 2.1 HIV/AIDS transmission in the different regions of Tanzania



Source: TACAIDS (2010: 12)¹

Highlighting men and women separately with regard to HIV/AIDS prevalence gives a picture of how HIV/AIDS can be considered along gender lines. The comparison is done considering the demographic characteristics of age, marital status, number of partners, and wealth categories, as is summarised in Table 2.1.

¹ THIS: Tanzania HIV Indicator Survey; THIMS: Tanzania HIV and Malaria indicator Survey; TACAIDS: Tanzania Commission for AIDS.

Table 2.1 Demographic characteristics and HIV/AIDS prevalence (%)

	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men</i>
<i>Age groups</i>		
15 - 19 years	1.3	0.7
20 - 24 years	6.3	1.7
25 to 29 years	7.9	5
30 - 34 years	10.4	7.4
35 - 39 years	9.5	10.6
40 - 44 years	7.6	6.7
45 - 49 years	6.8	6.1
<i>Marital status</i>		
Never married	2.4	1.9
Married/cohabiting	6.1	6.1
Divorced/separated	14.9	9.7
Widowed	25.1	
<i>Number of partners</i>		
Only 1	2	1.4
Only 2	7.3	3.6
3 - 4 partners	12.2	3.9
5 - 9 partners	14	6.3
Beyond 10 partners	21.5	11.4
<i>Wealth</i>		
Lowest	5	4.1
Second lowest	6.6	3.5
Middle	5.1	4.1
Second highest	6	4.5
Highest	9.5	6.3

Sources: Adapted from TACAIDS (2010: 2, 3, 10, 11)

There is a constant increase in the HIV/AIDS infection rate from the age of 20 to the age of 39 when prevalence rates begin to decrease. In all the age groups except that between 35 to 39 years, however, females have higher HIV/AIDS prevalence rates than males. Regarding marital status, HIV/AIDS is highest amongst widowed women (25.1%); it is to be added here that we do not have data regarding widowed men; divorced/separated women show a higher prevalence of HIV/AIDS (14.9%) compared to men (9.7%); prevalence is lowest among those who have never married: 2.4% for women and 1.9% for men. In terms of number of partners, women seem to have higher rates of infection. With regard to prevalence in terms of wealth between men and women, generally speaking, HIV/AIDS is higher among the richest and lower among the poorest for both men and women, and the prevalence remains higher among women than

men in all wealth categories. Thus, looking at the HIV/AIDS prevalence rates in terms of age groups, marital status, numbers of partners, and wealth categories, it can be concluded that HIV/AIDS prevalence rates are higher among women than men in Tanzania. This is an indication of the question of a feminization of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania.

HIV/AIDS has been incorporated in development policies and practices in Tanzania. In fact, the country has incorporated the fight against HIV/AIDS into its *Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini* (MKUKUTA) – the National Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy – and the national Multi Sectoral Strategic Framework on HIV and AIDS. The government's goal focused on reducing HIV prevalence among 15-24-year-old pregnant women from 11% in 2004 to 5% in 2010; reducing prevalence among women and men with disabilities; increasing knowledge about HIV and AIDS transmission in the general population, and reducing stigmatization around HIV/AIDS. This is an indication that the Tanzanian government is committed to combatting HIV/AIDS through its central development policy framework. Tanzania has tried to go beyond these policies by spending money on concrete programmes such as those in areas such as Voluntary Counselling and Training (VCT), Care and Treatment Centres (CTCs), Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission of HIV (PMTCT), and supplying condoms.

HIV/AIDS melting pots: Kagera and Lake Victoria

Looking at Kagera and the Lake Region back in the 1980s, this was the melting pot for HIV/AIDS. The following quote from Ikegami (2009: 2) gives an indication of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Kagera Region in those years:

Kagera was estimated to be one of the regions in Tanzania most affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. ... Kagera is also the region where AIDS cases were reported first in hospitals in Tanzania. ... In 1983, the first 3 AIDS cases were reported and the number of cases increased rapidly to 5,116 cases in 1994. On the other hand, the share of reported AIDS cases in Kagera to Tanzania decreased from 100% in 1983 to 10% in 1994. In 2003, the percentage of HIV positive in Kagera among age 15-49 is 3.7% while the figure in Tanzania is 7.0%.

While this, basically, implies that Kagera Region is one of the first regions where the HIV/AIDS pandemic was reported, it also implies that the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Kagera Region has been remarkable, as can be seen in Table 2.2. The table shows that the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Kagera Region has been remarkable, with Muleba District having the highest rate. HIV/AIDS has resulted in an increased number of orphans. By 2003, there were approximately 20,000 orphans (URT 2003). Out of a total population of 2 million in 2002 and with 47%

Table 2.2 Prevalence of HIV/AIDS among blood donors in Kagera Region, by district

<i>District</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2003</i>	<i>Average per district</i>
Biharamulo	8.5	10.6	6.7	11.8	9.4
Bukoba (Urban and Rural)	12.2	12.7	13.1	13	12.6
Karagwe	19.5	17.4	19.2	24.8	20.3
Muleba	24.6	33.7	31.1	29.3	29.7
Ngara	25.8	25.4	14	19.2	21.1
Average per year	18.1	20	16.8	19.6	

Source: Adapted from Kessy (2004: 4)

of the population being under 15 years of age, it can be argued that 20% of all youth in the region were orphans (Kessy 2004).

The Haya people, who live in the area where the first cases of HIV/AIDS were reported and who have been badly hit by the disease, have their own story to tell about HIV/AIDS. Kagera Region, which is their area of origin, is considered to be an epicentre of HIV/AIDS in Tanzania. Among the Haya people of Kagera Region, HIV/AIDS is popularly known as *Edisi*, a local corruption of the word AIDS. In Swahili, the most commonly used acronym is UKIMWI, (*Ukosefu wa Kinga Mwilini*). It literally means “lack of immunity in the body”. The acronym has become a common term to refer to HIV/AIDS. Among the Haya people, however, HIV/AIDS has always had different names, which shows how the Haya people have perceived HIV/AIDS over time. What has to be kept in mind is that these names are a reflection of the stressful impact HIV/AIDS has had on the Haya people.

As already mentioned briefly at the beginning of this section, the first people who were known to have died of HIV/AIDS were linked to the cross-border trade between Uganda and Tanzania. Between 1978 and 1979, there was war between Tanzania and Uganda and when it ended, both countries lacked many essential goods. This lasted for at least five years and led to cross-border smuggling (locally called *Magendo*) in essential commodities (Malyamkono & Bagachwa 1990; Kaijage 1993; Weiss 1993). During this time, there was a popular commodity known as *Juliana*, a polyester-like material used to make shirts and dresses (Rugalema 1999: 90), that became a symbol of the *Magendo*. As the majority of the earlier people who were infected with HIV/AIDS were young men and women engaged in *Magendo*, the Haya people thought that HIV/AIDS came from across the border through *Magendo*. This gave rise to *Juliana*, a name given to HIV/AIDS: this was a “disease or affliction of *Juliana* or *Magendo* traders” (Rugalema 1999: 68).

One of the visible characteristics of the people who were infected with HIV/AIDS was the loss of weight. The people became “slim”. Another name,

Silimu, a corruption of the English word ‘slim’, became fashionable and replaced *Juliana* in the mid-1980s. After the war and with the liberalization of trade, *Magendo* in *Juliana* was unnecessary and unprofitable. There was better clothing material available on the market. The name *Silimu* was more used along the border areas and spread with time. However, from the mid-1980s, the Haya had another name for HIV/AIDS: *Ekiuka* (pest). Ordinarily, *Ekiuka* refers to the weevils and nematodes that destroy banana crops. Given that the Kagera Region is a banana-growing area, the name *Ekiuka*, was an analogy drawn between the infestation of bananas by pests and the infection of the human population with the HIV virus (Rugalema 1999: 68). The name was also an expression of the medical thinking, which interpreted HIV/AIDS in terms of a viral infection. As the destructive combination of weevils and nematodes kills immature banana plants, HIV/AIDS also kill young adults.

UKIMWI, *Edisi*, *Silim*, and *Ekiuka* still co-exist to express HIV/AIDS. However, more descriptive expressions have come along with connotations of unveiling the social effects of the disease, such as the increase in mortality rates, particularly among young adults. Such descriptions include *Lumara Bantu* (exterminator of humans), *Lwaka Bazaire* (depriver of parents [of their children]), and *Kinaga mw’irungu* (desolator) (Rugalema 1999: 68).

Today, HIV/AIDS is seen by the Haya people as an occupational hazard (Rugalema 1999: 69) because of the failure of medicine to kill the virus responsible for AIDS and the seeming inevitability of the disease. Sayings, such as *enfuka egwa omundimilo* (literally, “a hoe only breaks in the garden”) and *ekihosho kigwa omukikonya* (an *ekihosho* is a spear-like garden tool used for digging holes and uprooting plants such as banana stems – the proverb literally means that such a tool can only break inside the banana stump, rationalize the inevitability of contracting HIV/AIDS) basically mean that as sex is inevitable, so people will die from HIV/AIDS as a result of sexual intercourse. However, from the tone of the proverbs, one gets a sense of resignation regarding the presumed inevitable outcome.

The Haya people have always wondered about the origin of HIV/AIDS. As the first episodes occurred in their area, particularly near the border with Uganda, the first suspicions were that it originated in Uganda. With this idea about the morals of Europeans (given that the first perception was that HIV/AIDS was a matter of sexual moral decay), they also suspected the origins of HIV/AIDS as being in Europe. Such views about its origins are presented in the following way by a person who was still in primary school at the time when HIV/AIDS was beginning to emerge:

We read a booklet on HIV/AIDS, but it did not state clearly the source and where the pandemic originated. That booklet stated that Tanzanians say it came from Uganda, while some Ugandans claim that it came from Tanzania. Moreover, the booklet stated that, accord-

ing to some Europeans, HIV came from Africa while some Africans claim it came from Europe. Local people at different gatherings in our village discussed the pandemic and how its source was in Europe where people had sex with animals. (Lutatinisibwa 2008)

In general, the Great Lakes Region has the second highest rate of HIV/AIDS infection in Africa after Southern Africa (GLIA 2008). Much as HIV/AIDS remains a big challenge within East Africa, it is all the more so in the fishing communities of Lake Victoria. In fact, among the population groups that are most vulnerable to HIV/AIDS infection in the Great Lakes Region, the fisherfolk appear to be more vulnerable as its estimated prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS is high compared to others (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 HIV/AIDS prevalence rates of different susceptible groups

<i>Population group</i>	<i>Estimated HIV/AIDS prevalence</i>
Long-distance truck drivers	18%
Fishermen and fisherwomen	24.7%
Military personnel	10-20%
Refugees	1.65%
Internally displaced people (IDPs)	3.1-6.6%
Prisoners	5.6%

Source: Fraser *et al.* (2008)

The Lake Victoria Fisheries Organisation (LVFO) has pointed out that prevalence rates within fishing communities are estimated at between 10% and 40%; with average prevalence rates within the three Partner States of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda at between 6% and 7% (LVFO Secretariat 2006). These figures mask regional variations and differences between population groups. Still, they show that prevalence rates within fishing communities are between 4.5 and 5.8 times higher than among the general population. For example, in Kenya, prevalence within Nyanza Province, which borders Lake Victoria, is estimated at 13%, compared to the national average of 6.4% (*Ibid.*).

There are a number of factors that increase the vulnerability of fishing communities to HIV/AIDS: the demographic structure that shows high rates of single men in the sexually active age groups (15-35 years); the high rates of mobility and migration; people less constrained by family influences and social structures; easy availability of a cash income on a regular basis; no tangible investment or savings opportunities; irregular working hours and absence from home; sexually exploitative relations between men and women; poor health-service infrastructure; poor hygiene; a culture of risk taking, risk denial and perceptions of low

social status among many fishermen; high rates of alcohol abuse, and; commercial sex work at the landing beaches (LVFO Secretariat 2006).

Gender disparity and HIV/AIDS

The unequal power balance in gender that favours men has translated itself into an unequal balance of power in interactions between men and women, leading to an increased vulnerability of both sexes to HIV/AIDS, a negative impact on women's access to and the use of services and treatments, and women's painful experiences in coping with the stigma and discrimination associated with HIV/AIDS (Rao Gupta 2000). The vulnerabilities for women include: 1) the 'sex silence' whereby good women should be ignorant about sex and passive in sexual interactions; 2) the traditional norm of virginity and its repercussions, which include restricting women's ability to ask for information regarding sex in case they are interpreted as being sexually active; increasing the risk of rape and sexual coercion for purification beliefs by those suffering from HIV/AIDS; and encouraging alternative sexual behaviours, such as anal sex, which are more risky for HIV infections; 3) stigmatization and lack of access to treatment services for sexually transmitted diseases; 4) safe-sex methods, such as barrier methods and non-penetrative sex, as dilemmatic against motherhood ideals; 5) women's economic dependency; and 6) violence against women (*Ibid.*: 3-5). For men, vulnerabilities include: 1) the prevailing norms of masculinity that expect men to be more knowledgeable and experienced about sex; 2) having a variety of sexual partners is essential to men's nature as men; 3) notions of masculinity that emphasize sexual domination over women as a defining characteristic of manhood; and 4) the socialization of men as self-reliant, emotion-free, and non-seekers of assistance in times of challenges (*Ibid.*: 5-6).

The negative impact on women's access to and the use of services and treatment is seen in terms of gender differences in decision-making concerning the use of HIV/AIDS-related services. For instance, while men decide of their own accord to use the services available, women are obliged to consult their partners, a situation that leads to denials in using these services (Maman *et al.* 1999). Women's painful experiences in coping with stigma and discrimination associated with HIV/AIDS is due to the fact that the moment one discloses one's status as positive, social ostracism, marginalization, and sometimes even murder are possible consequences (Rao Gupta 2000).

The question of access and the control of resources is one of paramount importance in development sociology. Issues about resources become fundamental rights from the way the concept of livelihood is explained, that is, the way in which people generate a living using their resources, namely their capabilities and their tangible and intangible assets (Chambers 1995). According to Blaikie *et*

al. (1994), Chambers & Conway (1992), Chambers (1995), Carney (1999) and de Haan (2000: 9), people need five vital resources - by Ellis (2000) called a 'livelihood portfolio' - to achieve a sustainable livelihood and a way of life that is adequate for the satisfaction of self-defined basic needs and proof against shocks and stresses. These five vital resources are: *human* resources in terms of labour, skills, experience, knowledge, creativity and inventiveness; *natural* resource in terms of land, water, forests pastures and minerals; *physical* resources in terms of food stocks, livestock, jewellery, equipment, tools and machinery; *financial* resource in terms of money in a savings account in a bank or in an old sock, a loan or credit; and *social* resources that include the quality of relationships among people, for example, whether one can count on support from family or mutual assistance among neighbours. It is through these resources that people sustain their livelihoods.

In the study *Moving Out of Poverty* (Narayan & Petesch 2005), it was clearly seen that there is a relationship between possessing resources, that is, access to and control over them, and a person moving into or out of poverty (de Weerd 2005; Kessy 2004). Thus, a sustained livelihood, as in moving out of poverty, is closely linked to the possession of resources. All resources are important but financial resources seem to be of paramount importance due to their transformability capacity.

As access to finance resources is embedded in social structures, it is characteristically marked by power differentials, and all the more so in the reality of a gendered world. As with the case of this study, the area around Lake Victoria becomes a context through which "cultural constructions of both environment and gender are created and recreated" (Leach 1992: 76).

Fishing has always been perceived as a man's activity (Medard 2002), particularly the practice of fishing from a boat, which includes a huge range of onshore resource use. Mbenga (1999), in this line of argumentation, claims that while fishing has been understood as being predominantly men's work, women's work has been thought to relate only to post-harvest processes, such as smoking, drying and marketing.

This position has been enhanced by the stereotype of women being responsible for the internal affairs of the household. For example, Kurien (1996: 24) argues that women shoulder the primary responsibility for their families. Chantal *et al.* (1996: 43) point out that women are always in charge of household chores and that the money they earn is for their families. In the same line, Kronen (2002: 4) asserts that in Tonga in the South Pacific, women's major objective is to satisfy family consumption needs. Matics' (2002: 7) narration is about how women in fishery in Cambodia contribute to the maintenance of their families through fish processing and marketing. The experience is not that different at

Lake Victoria because when women control their own resources from fishing, they spent the money on their household (Medard & Wilson 1996: 163).

This position has also been internalized by women. Medard (2002) points out important responses as to why women thought they were not actively involved in fishing and men were more actively involved in fishing (see Table 2.4). The position and the stereotypic perceptions that promote men in fishing and discourage women from fishing does not imply that there are no women at the Lake involved in the fisheries and earning from fisheries (Marshall 2009).

Table 2.4 Women's perceptions on being actively involved in fishing

<i>Women's perceptions as to why women are not actively involved in fishing</i>	<i>Women's perceptions as to why men are actively involved in fishing</i>
Fishing requires a lot of energy	Men have better access to loans from factories and individuals
Cultural norms and tradition prohibit women from fishing	Men are stronger and can tolerate bad weather better
There is the need for high initial investment costs, which men have	Men have more fishing experience than women (various strategies)
Risky nature of fishing (rough weather, theft of gear)	Culturally and traditionally, it is men's work
Women have too much domestic work	Men are able to leave their families for long periods of time
Fishing involves being away from the homes for too long	Men go for more financially lucrative deals than women (such as fishing)
It is a job only for men	

Source: Medard (2002)

Women have engaged in ways of influencing the construction and reconstruction of the understandings of power (Mwaipopo 2000: 1), thus modifying local discourses and meanings to transcend socially defined gender boundaries. At a practical level, women have to be engaged in various strategies (consciously or unconsciously, planned or unplanned, or simply spontaneously) to access such resources, which according to the male-dominated worldview belong to men.

In looking at the issues of access from a male perspective, one has to understand the dynamics of access to resources in this patriarchal society, such as the lake, and to see how such dynamics impact on the spread of HIV/AIDS. The overarching question would therefore be how patriarchy facilitates in the spread of HIV/AIDS. Looking at this question, the study advances some propositions: 1) patriarchy has laid the foundation for the unfavourable economic structure for women; 2) as women are active agents, they have engaged in strategies to access

financial resources owned by men; and 3) in accessing the resources, a breeding ground for HIV/AIDS spread has been created.

Methodological underpinnings

This chapter presents the methodological underpinnings of the study. It begins with a presentation of the methodological orientation in order to understand the circumstances surrounding the collection of data and its analysis. This is followed by a description of the pilot study, the sampling and data management.

Methodological orientation

Methodological orientation relates to the approaches used in this study regarding the collection and analysis of data. The study uses the ethnomethodology and mixed methods approaches. The ethnomethodological approach is operationalized in the use of a case study, while the mixed methods approach has been operationalized by using both qualitative and quantitative means of collecting and analyzing data. Let me begin by explaining the ethnomethodological approach.

Ethnomethodological approach

Ethnomethodology is about procedures used to understand how other people make meaning of the world (Morris 1977). These procedures should allow the researcher to give people (his/her respondents) room to express their worldviews, through which one can make sense of people's everyday lives (Potter 1996). Following this ethnomethodological approach, I went to four Tanzanian islands in Lake Victoria where data was collected. I stayed on every island for a week visiting and talking to people. Getting into conversations with the people was not difficult because I could use the local Haya language and also Swahili. I had informal conversations with the people and formal discussions in the form of

group discussions, meetings with different island leaders and scheduled interviews. I observed activities and lives in general during the day and in the evenings. Three times I went fishing with them at night and helped with the off-loading of the fish from the fishing boats. I also ate and drank with the people. All of these activities helped me to gain their trust and understand their language and lives in general.

The use of a case study was of paramount importance. As Yin (1993) observed, the choice of a case study should be based on the fact that the studied phenomenon is not readily distinguishable from the context. As this study deals with gender relations and access to resources, relations highly determined by patriarchal structures favouring men on the one hand, and the spread of HIV/AIDS on the other, the islands were an interesting case. Given the identity of the fisheries activities and their bias in favour of men, the islands were ideal for observing gender relations and analysing the patriarchal system. The islands presented the opportunity for a deeper understanding of the strategies women engage in to access male-dominated resources. The islands were able to reveal the different involvement of men and women in their struggle to meet existential goals using the available resources at the Lake. On the other hand, given the high prevalence rates of HIV/AIDS on the islands of Lake Victoria, the case reflects important data on the dynamics of HIV/AIDS. And, importantly, the case was able to facilitate an understanding of how the strategies to access resources by women and men's strategies to let resources be used would influence the spread of HIV/AIDS. This was considered to be possible because gender relations are dictated by a strong patriarchal system, there is a struggle for resources and HIV/AIDS is an acknowledged presence on the islands.

The case-study area was on the islands of Lake Victoria and the main livelihood activity as fisheries. Fisheries are structurally male-dominated, with strong back-up systems based on the socio-cultural backgrounds of the people in the area, as was seen in the description of the customary law of the Haya people. Thus, the case was a suitable social arena for the relationship analysis between men and women, given an apparent power asymmetry between men and women with respect to access to resources.

Mixed methods approach

I will now explain the concept of the mixed methods approach and how it was adopted in this study. As Denzin (2010) and Morse (2010) point out, there is no clarity about what mixed methods are. However, there is some common understanding of mixed methods regarding attempts to integrate quantitative and qualitative research approaches (QUAN-QUAL). While the quantitative approach sees the world in terms of *variables and correlations*, the qualitative approach views

the same in terms of *events and processes* (Maxwell 2010: 478). These approaches are embedded in what is called the variance and process theories, respectively. The variance theory deals with variables and the correlations among them, with the basis for analysis being the contribution of differences in values of particular variables to differences in other variables. The process theory, on the other hand, deals with *events* and the processes that link them up. Processes are analysed by looking at how individuals, events and/or settings influence each other, addressing the questions of how and why, rather than simply ‘whether’ and ‘to what extent’, as is the case with the quantitative approach (*Ibid.*).

Attempts to integrate quantitative and qualitative approaches have always ended up in a “one-after-the-other (with different preferences), a side-by-side (with various degrees of independence of both strategies) or a dominance (also with different preferences)” (Flick 2002: 267). Thus, instead of integration, as such, these are attempts to combine strategies for triangulation and/or complementary purposes (Denzin 2010; Morse 2010). There are authors now who argue for the existence of mixed methods in terms of QUAN-QUAL approaches (Morse 2010).

This study uses the quantitative and qualitative approaches side by side, with each approach being independent. Thus, there was not one approach as the core and the other as a supplementary approach, as Morse & Niehaus (2009: 9) would think every mixed approach in terms of QUAN-QUAL would be. A structured questionnaire was administered to selected respondents (see below) at the same time as the interviews, focus-group discussions and observations were taking place. Let me briefly go into the issue of the pilot study.

Pilot study

One landing site on the shore of Lake Victoria was chosen for the pilot. The aim of the pilot study was twofold: to train the research assistants and to try out the instruments and adjust them for data collection. The pilot study was very useful for training purposes. The research assistants learnt about the reality of the fisherfolk and their way of life; how to talk to them and spend time with them, and how to administer the structured questionnaire.

The instruments were tested. At the beginning, the language was hard and there were a lot of difficult words and phrases. These were adjusted and the instruments were translated into Swahili and some into Kihaya (the language of the Haya people) in case someone needed an explanation in Kihaya. An additional issue was that, after the pilot study, standard procedures were laid out as to what to do on every island, who to see and for what reason. Let us now move on to the sampling issues.

Selections

Selecting the islands

The islands were purposefully selected to include Bukoba and Muleba Districts so that the study would be conducted on islands where the Haya people and their ethnographic characteristics are dominant. The islands chosen were residential as they exhibit characteristics of permanence and are therefore more stable and have established gender relations. The islands had to have fisheries as their main livelihood activity. This would give a picture of patriarchy, given the men's dominance in the activity, and the islands were to be among the main suppliers of fish to the fish factories of Kagera. This would give an indication of the financial resources earned on the islands.

Photo 3.1 Selling point: weighing a basket of fish in order to sell it



Four islands met the above criteria: three from Muleba District and one from Bukoba District. In Bukoba District, only the island of Musira was sampled while the islands of Kelebe, Makibwa and Nyaburo were sampled in Muleba District. All sell their main fish catch, particularly Nile Perch, to the two fish

factories of Kagera Fish and VicFish. These factories provide a market for the fish and are required to provide different social services for the people living at the islands' landing sites. For instance, they contribute to the education, housing and sanitation at the landing sites of the islands where they buy fish.

Photo 3.2 Landing site: a typical parking of boats on a landing site.



Selecting the respondents

The respondents were selected according to the data collection instruments that were to be used: structured questionnaires, in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions. One of the general conditions for selection for any respondent was that s/he was a registered member of a so-called Beach Management Unit (BMU), which meant that they were officially recognized as being part of the fisheries on the islands.

On each island, a BMU register was obtained of the people living on the island and 40 respondents per island were chosen at random. After each random selection of 40 was made, the chairperson of the BMU was involved in confirming whether the respondents were there or not. It turned out that a number of persons

selected were no longer on the islands. Most respondents were said not to be around because they had not been seen for a long time, others had gone fishing far away, others had gone to Bukoba town or Mwanza, and yet others had gone to follow-up on fish sales. Wherever people were missing, random sampling procedures continued in order to replace them until a total number of 40 respondents were obtained for each island.

For the qualitative data, the following procedures were used:

1. To ensure respondents for focus-group discussions, the chairpersons of the BMUs were asked to find eight to ten people who had lived on the islands for at least a year.
2. To ensure respondents for in-depth interviews, people in the focus-group discussions were asked to name at least three women who they thought were very successful, another three women who they thought were averagely successful, and another three women who they thought were not successful in doing business on the islands. They were also asked to mention one man who they thought was very successful, one man who was averagely successful, and one man who was not successful in doing business on the islands.

It is one thing to select the respondents but quite another to see who would appear during data collection. I now present the characteristics of the respondents who participated in this process. Table 3.1 shows the respondents who participated in terms of the demographic characteristics and data collection methods.

Table 3.1 Demographic characteristics of the respondents (%)

		Structured questionnaire (N=153)	In-depth interviews (N=42)	Focus Group Discussions (N=37)
Sex of respondents	Men	83	29	74
	Women	17	71	16
Age of respondents	Young adults	64	52	36
	Adults	36	48	64
Marital status	Single	31	24	2
	Married to one partner	28	24	19
	Married to more than one partner	16	30	11
	Cohabiting	21	17	54
	Divorced	3	5	14

In general, while men were the majority in responding to the structured questionnaire and in focus group discussions, more women were found in in-depth interviews. Actually, men composed 72% of the total number of respondents and women composed only 28%. Where the selection of the respondents had no explicit sampling bias, as was the case with the in-depth interviews, male respondents outnumbered the female. This follows the structure of the islands as regards male/female ratios: there are more men than women. The sample bias in the in-depth interviews where there was a preference for more women was geared towards getting more insight from women on the strategies they use to earn a living in a society that is bound by patriarchy. The men were chosen for triangulation and validation purposes.

Data management

This section presents some issues related to the study's data management by outlining the data collection instruments, their administration and the analysis process.

Data collection instruments

Quantitative data were collected in a structured questionnaire with four sections to gain personal information about the respondents' lives and financial matters and HIV/AIDS issues. The questionnaire was constructed in English and later translated into Swahili and Kihaya. It was tested in a pilot study with ten respondents on one of the nearby islands to establish whether people could understand it and if it would elicit the intended data. After some minor corrections in language, sentence construction and use of words, enough photocopies were made.

Qualitative data were collected through the traditional data collection instruments of interviews and focus-group discussions. Rather than fixed questions, in-depth interviews were composed of general questions which allowed more flexibility. The checklist for the focus group discussions was composed of topics related to how the different fisheries resources were owned, the activities of men and women on the islands and the Lake, and how men and women spent their money on the islands. The only difference between the checklist for the focus-group discussion and the in-depth interviews was that in the latter, a personal historical background was requested.

Secondary data included information about the Lake and the fisheries, together with data about the Haya people. The website <http://www.lvfo.org/> has a link to many useful documents about Lake Victoria. A book about the customary laws of the Haya people was central to information gathering as was other literature about the Haya people.

Data collection administration

Four research assistants were trained to administer the structured questionnaire. The chairperson of the BMU (Beach Management Unit) provided assistants to take the interviewers to the selected respondents. After the consent of the respondents had been sought, the questions were asked one after another and the interviewer would tick the response on paper. Respondents asked for clarification several times. Administering the questionnaires usually began at 9:00 am to allow the fishermen time to get home after their previous night's work and ended about 4:00 pm to give them the chance to prepare for the night shift and to let the women prepare the evening meal. This was when the interviewers reported on progress, handed in their questionnaires and planned the next day's work with the assistant from the BMU.

I collected all the qualitative data personally. This was simply because I wanted to make sense of their direct words and not get an interpretation from someone else later. For the in-depth interviews, some people were visited at their homes and others came to the BMU office. After I was introduced to the interviewee, I was left alone with him/her. Each interview took between an hour and half and two hours. The focus-group discussions were all conducted at the BMU office where there were tables and chairs that could be arranged however one wanted to put them to make discussion easy. I used flip charts to illustrate and summarize their ideas.

Data analysis

This section considers how the data were stored, analysed and presented in this study. All the quantitative data was entered in the Statistical Program for Social Scientists (SPSS). The analysis had four levels. Level One established frequencies for the different variables but for comparative purposes, particularly with respect to men and women, the statistical analysis went to Level Two. Here, I ran the cross-tabulations of sex and other variables, according to the questions. Level Three established averages in the cases where categories were established with different indicators. Sometimes the first averages in categories were not enough to make a clear comparison. At this point, Level Four of the statistical analysis was applied by establishing other categories (within categories) and means of comparison.

For the qualitative data, transcriptions were made from the in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions conducted. There is also reference to intensive notes made during fieldwork. Content analysis was used to make inferences from the data. From the transcriptions, different messages with respect to the organization of people's lives on the islands, their earnings and expenditures, and issues surrounding HIV/AIDS were identified.

Lake Victoria and the Haya people

In recent years, Lake Victoria has been an arena that has called for the attention of so many kinds of actors. Their views about the Lake range from being a “dying body of water” to a social, cultural, political and economic opportunity. The Lake is a busy socio-economic space. In this chapter, I present issues related to Lake Victoria in order to characterize the Lake as a socio-economic resource, particularly regarding its fisheries. I begin the chapter with a presentation of a documentary, *Darwin’s Nightmare*, to situate the Lake within a global socio-economic debate. In the second section, the identity of the Lake is considered through its names, geographical positioning and population characteristics. The third section describes the livelihood system and managerial structure of the Lake. In another section, it presents a discussion of the presence of women at the Lake and winds up with the presentation of the Haya people, the population from whom data was collected.

Darwin’s Nightmare

Darwin’s Nightmare, a documentary film directed by Hubert Sauper, was released in 2004. It deals with the environmental and social effects of the fishing industry around Lake Victoria and opens with a plane from Europe landing at Mwanza airfield on the shores of Lake Victoria in Tanzania. The plane is flying back processed fillets of Nile Perch. Through interviews with the plane’s crew, local factory owners, guards, sex workers, fishermen and village people, the film discusses the effects of the introduction of the Nile Perch to Lake Victoria and how it has influenced the ecosystem and economy of the region. While it is clear that the plane comes to fetch, it is not as clear what it brings back, a situation that

leads to speculation about occasionally bringing humanitarian food and medical aid, and more often bringing the weapons that have perpetuated the wars that have been taking place in the Great Lakes Region for quite some time. The film uncovers some contradictions about prime fillets being fed to people where the plane comes from, festering carcasses of gutted fish being fed to people where the plane goes and the unavailability of fish in the Lake area because it is too expensive.

Of course, such a film would not go out 'un-consecrated' and premièred at the 2004 Venice Film Festival and was nominated for the 2006 Academy Award for Documentary Feature at the 78th Academy Awards. For some people, however, the film meant tarnishing images: "The documentary is an insult to our country and the people of the Lake zone as it does not depict the true nature of the business", claimed one high-ranking leader in Tanzania. For those interested in global issues, it was nothing other than an expression of what was happening with the latest humiliation, namely globalization, which is euphemistically called the New World Order.

The film proposes that what has happened is linked to Nile Perch, which was introduced into the Lake half a century ago. This is the continuum of this same story that began earlier at a time when the Lake was snatched from the locals and handed to the Queen of England, then Queen Victoria. From then on, the local was to be seen through the global, the global through the local, and particularly, the global economic processes were accelerated at the Lake.

Hubert Sauper in his *Darwin's Nightmare* used a development language of the 'White elephants' to capture the attention of the people on the issues of exploitation and its consequences at the Lake: the use of a big plane coming to pick up the Nile Perch. And it made a big impact because he captured the attention of the public, the cinemas did well out of it, and the critics of the current geo-economic system had another anti-globalization bullet. Can we really remove Hubert Sauper and his *Darwin's Nightmare* from the market logic? No: Hubert Sauper spoke the language of development, a language that ignites critical insights but usually was useful to the perpetrators, consciously or not, of the modern development discourse. In fact, the Lake is still there; the poor conditions still exist; planes still land to take what is known, the Nile Perch, and to bring in what is unknown. Basically, therefore, it is business as usual. In fact, Sauper's approach to development is like throwing a handful of millet grains to a swarm of birds: the birds are hungry, yes; a few eat the grains, yes; and the one who throws the grains boasts that he fed the birds, Yes! But how many went hungry? And what has each bird done with the grain it managed to be swallowed?

Lake Victoria's identity

Lake geography

To understand the geography of the Lake, I present its location (Figure 4.1), characteristics and catchment area statistics. Lake Victoria is located in Tanzania (49%), Uganda (45%) and Kenya (6%) between the Western and Eastern Rift valleys. It is 1,134 m above sea level and lies in the Victoria Basin, which covers an area of 238,900 km² in five countries: Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda and Burundi (Table 4.1).

Figure 4.1 Lake Victoria



Table 4.1 Physical characteristics of the Lake Victoria basin

Country	Land surface area		Shoreline		Catchment area basin	
	km ²	%	km	%	km ²	%
Tanzania	35,088	51	1,150	33	84,920	44.0
Uganda	29,584	43	1,750	51	30,880	15.9
Kenya	4,128	6	550	16	42,460	21.5
Rwanda	0	0	0	0	21,120	11.4
Burundi	0	0	0	0	13,510	7.2
<i>Total</i>	68,800	100	3,450	100	193,000	100

Source: Abura (2006)

Of the water entering the Lake, 85% comes from precipitation falling directly on the lake's surface and the remainder comes from the rivers that drain the surrounding catchment area. The most significant contributor is the River Kagera, which contributes roughly 7% of the total inflow. Some 85% of the water leaving the Lake does so through direct evaporation and the rest (15%) is through the Victoria Nile. The Lake holds about 2,760 cubic km of water, which is only 15% of the volume of Lake Tanganyika.

The Lake's population

The Lake Victoria Basin in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda has an estimated population of 23.7 million, which represents about 30% of the total population of the three countries. The population density of the Lake Basin is higher than the national average. Although Kenya has the smallest basin for the Lake, it is this Kenyan part that is most densely populated, with 12.5 million people and a population density of 257 people per km². The Tanzanian part of the basin, which is the biggest in size, has a population of 6.3 million and a population density of 66 people per km². The Ugandan part has a population of 5.6 million with a density of 180 people per km² (LVFO 2008: 2-3). People are organized in a number of cities and towns that are built on or very close to the Lake, and its islands. These include Bukoba, Musoma and Mwanza in Tanzania; Kampala, Entebbe and Jinja in Uganda, and; Kisumu and Nyanza Gulf in Kenya. Many people live on the many islands of Lake Victoria, including the Sese Archipelago which is a chain of at least 62 islands. One of the largest islands is Ukerewe, which rises over 200 m above the Lake's surface.

According to LVFO (2008: 2), the population in the Lake Basin is experiencing growth at approximately 2.6% per annum. Most of the inhabitants are rural-based, although more people are now migrating from the villages to the towns and the urban areas are expanding, leading to rapid urbanization. The population structure is skewed towards the youth, with about 65% of people being under 25, while about 40% of the population falls within the working age group of 15-64 years. Due to high poverty levels, unfavourable socio-economic conditions and the prevalence of disease in the basin, life expectancy is low, with an average of 44.6 years for males and 47.8 for females. The situation is made worse by a high dependency on natural resources and small land holdings, where 75% of the population subsists on one hectare of land or less.

The majority of the people around the Lake are Bantu-speaking. According to LVFO (2008), a household survey it carried out in 2005 showed that the majority of the fishing community members in Kenya are Luo (86%), with greater ethnic diversity in Tanzania of Sukuma (26%), Jita (17%) and Haya (17%). In Uganda,

the Baganda dominate (40%), with 15% Basoga, 13% Samia and the rest belonging to other tribes.

The sanitation and health situations at the Lake are alarming. Due to a lack of proper sanitation, water-borne diseases are common, particularly bilharzia. There is inadequate access to safe drinking water and sanitation facilities; only around 30% of sites have a public toilet and 50% of the people are dependent on the Lake for drinking water. Most fisher households (80%) live in temporary or semi-permanent housing and only about half of the landing sites (56%) have a health clinic (LVFO 2008: 4). This health and sanitation situation has left the islands with a lower life expectancy compared to the national averages. There is also the issue of HIV/AIDS, which will receive special attention in the last but one chapter.

The majority of the people who live on the islands are fishermen, who have comparatively low levels of formal education. The majority only have primary-school education. It is argued that by occupational categories, the boat crews have a lower level of education than boat owners and fish processors/traders; but there are variations, with higher percentage of those without education or who did not complete primary school being in Uganda, followed by Kenya and Tanzania. Generally speaking, around 70% of boat owners completed at least primary education, compared to 62% of the boat crews and 52% of women (LVFO 2008).

With the advent of mobile phones, there is network coverage at most of the landing sites around Lake Victoria, even though many of the offshore areas have no network coverage at all. LVFO (2008) points out that 54% of all boat owners have a mobile phone, whilst only 22% of the boat crews and 18% of women do.

Naming the Lake

The naming of Lake Victoria is important for the life of the Lake. There are local names given to the Lake by the people who live on the shores of the Lake and there is also a global name that was given by a British explorer. I concentrate on three names that were commonly used and whose legacy is still felt in a number of ways: Nyanza, Ukerewe and Nalubaale.

Nyanza is a common Bantu name that means a big mass of water. This was a common name for Lake Victoria among the people around the southern and western parts of the Lake in Tanzania, and around the eastern part of the Lake in Kenya. It is a generic name.

Nyanza was also known by another name, Ukerewe, that was given to the Lake, referring to the Ukerewe islands where the Kelebe people live. Ukerewe is the largest island in the Lake and the largest inland island in Africa, with an area of approximately 530 km². The word Ukerewe derives from a Bantu word, *kuke-*

leba, meaning to be spoilt or to rust. The island was named Ukerewe by the neighbouring populations of, particularly, Haya and Zinza people to designate a place where “people who are spoilt” live. They called them spoilt people for two reasons. One, their language, with respect to their languages, “was spoilt”. This implies that the Zinza and the Haya took their languages as standard and judged the Kelebe language, which has some big similarities with them, as a spoilt language. And two, given that the Lake has had an image of a place for fugitives, particularly criminals, the name Kelebe has meant people who were “morally spoilt”. They were considered to be people who had run away from the mainland because of their criminal histories. So the island of Ukerewe is the land of the *Bakelebile*, and as it is a big island, the name was adopted as a name for the Lake where the island is situated.

In Uganda, the Lake was called Nalubaale. There are two dominant ethnic groups, the Baganda and the Basoga, on the shores of the Lake in Uganda that share the same version of naming of the Lake. The story goes that it was the mass of water called *Nyw'alubaale* (the water that swallowed Lubaale Kibwika), who was one of their ancestors who left by this mass of water and never returned. The Lake was later named Nalubaale, meaning the “wife of Lubaale”. For the Basoga, Lubaale is considered one of the highest spiritualities, others being *Kintu*, *Budhagaali*, *Mukama*, *Iyingo*, *Nawandio*, *Waitambogwe*, and *Wunhi* (Gonza 2002: 90-91).²

The global name that is the most widely known and used is Lake Victoria. It was given by John Hanning Speke (the first European to see the Lake). He named the Lake after the British Queen Victoria. In 1858, when the British explorer John Speke encountered the southern shores of the Lake, he thought he had discovered the source of the Nile. Seventeen years later, in 1875, another British explorer, Henry Stanley, circumnavigated the Lake to confirm the claim made by Speke. After convincing Mutesa, the King of the Baganda, Stanley sent word back to England, calling for missionaries, who came with soldiers and traders. These two categories signified, and indeed became, agents of conquest and business. Within 20 years of Stanley's arrival, England had taken charge of what became Uganda and Kenya.

Behind Speke's naming is not only the identification of this vast water surface as such, but the whole privatizing mentality. After its naming, the Lake did not belong to the local people any more but to the Queen of England. The naming

² Names of the towns and cities found along the shores can give the idea on the manner in which the Lake was taken by the locals. The name Mwanza, a city in the southern part of the Lake, derives from the general Bantu name of a big mass of water, *Nyanza*; Jinja, a town in the northern part of the Lake, means a stone, refers to a town which is built on the “rock” of the Lake; Entebbe, meaning “seat” in Luganda language, refers to a Town, where presently there is the State House of the United Republic of Uganda; Kisumu, another town found on the shores of the eastern part of the Lake, derives from a Luo word meaning “a place to look for food”.

facilitated the colonization of the Lake and the surrounding region. The British encounter with the Lake brought about a change of perspective through which to look at the Lake: the Lake began its processes of globalization as it no longer belonged to the local population but to the ‘global processors’ of the time, the British. The Lake was no longer a local resource, but a global one. Becoming involved in global economic processes meant the start of intensive agricultural activities that denuded vast tracts of forest in the watersheds of Lake Victoria in order to plant tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco and cotton. By 1902 the British, through its colonial government, had pushed through a railroad from Mombasa to the Lake to export the raw materials being produced. With the increase in population, the Lake was no longer an entity for subsistence but for satisfaction of a market for fish, particularly Tilapia (*Ngege*), in the growing urban centres. Currently, the Lake is famous for its Nile Perch, which has become famous among Europeans too.

Lake Victoria’s livelihood system

Lake Victoria is important to the livelihoods of the people in the countries of the East African Community (EAC) because of its natural resources (land, water, forests and woodlands) and its human resources represented by the different ethnic groups in the area, with their social and political capitals. A combination of such resources presents opportunities for the livelihoods promotion of the people living around and on the Lake. It is the most productive fresh water body and provides high-protein food, employment, income and water for domestic and industrial use; it is also used for transportation between islands and between towns and cities on the shores. It has a high diversity of fish species of economic and ecological importance; and is used as an avenue for transport, recreation and power generation. Important livelihood activities for the local people include fishing, farming, bee-keeping, trading, quarrying and mining.

While the Lake’s catchment economy is principally agricultural, with a number of cash crops and a high level of subsistence farming and agriculture, the main livelihood activities at the Lake are closely linked to fishing, particularly Nile Perch. More than 80% of the populations in the Lake Basin are engaged in agricultural production, the majority being small-scale farmers and livestock owners who grow maize and cash crops such as sugar, tea, coffee, cotton and meat.

There is no doubt that the Lake Victoria fishery is a central machine in the socio-economic development of the riparian states. According to Abila *et al.* (n.d.: 87):

Photo 4.1 MV Victoria, which serves as transport between Bukoba and Mwanza



The Lake Victoria fishery contributes immensely to the socio-economic development of the riparian states. The East Africa Community has designated the Lake Basin as an “economic region”, with the potential to develop into a major economic region. The fisheries are vital in creating employment opportunities, mostly rural-based, thereby helping to reduce rural-urban migration.

The fish resources of the Lake directly or indirectly sustain the livelihoods of the approximately 3 million people who are engaged in subsistence, artisanal and commercial fishing. Fisheries are very important as a source of foreign exchange, with an annual value of US\$ 300 to US\$ 400 million (EAC 2004). The number of fishers being supported by the Lake has been on the increase since 2000, as can be seen in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Number of fishermen, 2000-2008

2000	129,305
2002	175,890
2004	153,066
2006	196,426
2008	199,054

Source: Marshall (2009)

Table 4.3 shows the percentages of the population who go fishing with the precise fish targeted. As can be seen, Nile Perch is not the only important fish species that people catch. People are engaged in fishing *Rastrineobola Argentea*, popularly known as *Dagaa*, Tilapia, mostly the *Oreochromis Niloticus*, the *Clarias Gariepinus*, *Protopterus Aethiopicus*, *Bagrus Docmack* and *Synodontis*. Not only, therefore, are there significant percentages of the fisherfolk targeting more fish species than Nile Perch, but also the volume of all the fish species is significant.

Table 4.3 Percentage of fishermen and the specific fish targeted in Lake Victoria (%)

	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Overall
Nile perch	52	70	45	56.7
Tilapia	17	16	37	23.3
<i>Dagaa</i>	30	14	17	20.3
Others	1		1	0.7

Source: Marshall (2009)

Table 4.4 summarises the mean annual fish catch in Lake Victoria between 2005 and 2008. The Nile perch has become central in the fisheries of Lake Victoria, with quite a number of factories processing it for international export, which is an indication of the importance of the fish in terms of the economy. Although not all the Nile perch caught is exported, there has been an increase of its export and an increase in income generated. For example, while 26.8 million tonnes were exported in 1992, it was 310.9 in 2007; similarly while income generated was 19.8 million USD in 1992, it was 86.3 in 2007 (LVFO 2008).

Table 4.4 Mean annual fish catch in Lake Victoria (*1,000 tonnes)

	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Total
Nile perch	40.1	133.1	91.9	265.1
Tilapia	12.7	23.6	26.4	62.7
<i>Dagaa</i>	73.0	342.3	98.5	513.8
Others	4.1	3.0	2.1	9.2

Source: Marshall (2009)

There has also been a considerable increase in fishing efforts since the early 2000s. This can be seen in Table 4.5, which shows the number of fishermen, fishing boats, nets and hooks used between the years 2000 and 2008.

Table 4.5 Fishing efforts, 2000-2008 (*1,000)

	Fishing boats	Illegal gillnets <5"	Gillnets >5"	Longline hooks
2000	42.5	113.2	537.5	3496
2002	52.5	178.2	724.9	8098
2004	51.6	142.6	1090	6096
2006	68.8	215	1007.3	9045
2008	68.5	208	805.7	11268

Source: Marshall (2009)

The Lake livelihoods system has, however, changed dramatically. According to Abura (2006: 1):

The dynamics of the fishery of Lake Victoria has changed dramatically since the emergence of the Nile perch fishery in the late 1970s and the subsequent evolution of fish processing for export. The incentive created by the ready market in the fish processing plants has fuelled rapid increase in fishing effort. Fish export is a major foreign exchange earner of the Partner States and efforts have been made to ensure sustainability of this resource. Relevant parameters of the fishery are monitored to guide its development and management. Frame survey is one of the avenues through which the Partner States are monitoring the fishery resource.

And according to EAC (2004: 2):

At the same time the lake is the final recipient of human and industrial wastes and eroded soils from natural and human-initiated processes in the basin. The multiple activities in the Lake basin have increasingly come into conflict with one another due to several negative trends and driving forces, often working in combination. Some major threats are: ecological degradation (contamination, pollution, land/forest degradation, biodiversity degradation, introduction of exotic species), high population pressure in the Lake basin, widespread poverty ... throughout the Lake basin, high mortality rates (due to, for example, tuberculosis and malaria), high incidences of HIV/AIDS.

The introduction of Nile perch has opened up numerous processes of commercialization and different human and natural processes in the basin. This has led to a number of threats and the livelihood system of the Lake has changed from being managed in isolation by the individual states in the Lake basin to being managed jointly.

Management of Lake Victoria

The Lake Victoria Basin is now jointly managed. Bwathondi *et al.* (2001: 2) trace the desire for its joint management as far back as 1927, with Graham's (1929) fishery survey noting the negative effects of the gillnet fishery on fish stocks. From this survey, a minimum mesh size of 5 inches was set by 1933 (*Ibid.*). By 1947, the management and research of the Lake's fisheries were placed under the Lake Victoria Fisheries Service (LVFS). The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), through the Committee for Inland Fisheries for Africa (CIFA) went on coordinating the activities of the riparian states on Lake Victoria's fisheries after the collapse of the East African Community in 1977 (*Ibid.*).

In line with the recommendations in Agenda 21 following the Rio Summit of 1992, informal discussions began with the aim of broadening regional cooperation in environmental management and social issues affecting the Lake Victoria Basin. This culminated in the establishment of the Lake Victoria Environmental Management Project (LVEMP) through a Tripartite Agreement in 1994 between Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. This agreement was followed in 1996 by the signing of the Lake Victoria Fisheries Organisation (LVFO) Convention. With the revival of the East African Co-operation in 1996, the joint management adventure was enhanced by the first EAC development strategy that designated the Lake Victoria Basin as an economic growth zone; by the commissioning of a study on the institutional and legal framework for the management of the LVB in 1999; by the signing of the East African Treaty that provided the legal basis for the establishment of a body to manage the Lake Victoria Basin; by the commissioning of a study on economic potentials and constraints in the lake Victoria Basin in 2000; by the signing of the Partnership Agreement between the East African Community and the Development Partners in 2001; and by the development of a protocol for sustainable management and development of the Lake Victoria Basin in 2002 (EAC 2004).

Currently, the Lake is being managed jointly by the Lake Victoria Fisheries Organisation (LVFO) whose institutional and functional analysis was commissioned in 2008. The LVFO is a regional organization under the East African Community and is charged with the coordination and management of fishery resources at the Lake. As already mentioned, LVFO was formed through a Convention signed in 1994 by the three East African Community (EAC) Partner States (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania). The main objective of the LVFO has been fostering cooperation among Partner States through harmonizing national measures, developing and adopting conservation and management measures for the sustainable utilization of living resources of the Lake for maximum socio-economic benefits. The functions of the LVFO are to:

1. promote the proper management and optimum utilization of the fisheries and other resources at the Lake;
2. enhance the capacity of existing fisheries institutions;
3. provide a forum for discussion about the impacts of initiatives on the Lake;
4. provide the possibility to conduct research on the living resources of the Lake and its environment;
5. coordinate and undertake training and extension in all aspects of the fisheries;
6. give advice on the impact of introductions of non-indigenous organisms into Lake Victoria;
7. provide services as a clearing house and a data bank for information on the fisheries of the Lake, and;
8. promote the dissemination of information.

LVFO has several organs, as listed in the Convention: the Council of Ministers; the Policy Steering Committee, the Executive Committee, the Fisheries Management Committee, the Scientific Committee, the National Fisheries Co-management Committees, Working Groups and the Secretariat. The Beach Man-

Photo 4.2 Record keeping. Each BMU is supposed to keep key records and display it in public (at office walls).

KAMATI TENGAJI JA BMU-IGABIRO		
1. PASCHAL	NSOISA	M/KII
2. MAXIMILIAN	BERWA	KATIBU
3. SEVELIAN	WILBARD	M/HAZINA
4. VENANT	GASPARY	BOHARIA
5. ANANIA	NSIRO	MJUMBE
6. PROSCOVIA	PASCHAL	"
7. EDISON	MANDOLO	"
8. MTALEMWA	KACHILLA	"
9. WINFRIDA	ELIZEUS	"
10. GEOFFREY	TILAGANA	"
11. OMARY	ISSA	"
12. WEKISHA	RYALUGABA	"
13. ANDOCHIUS	ANTHONY	"
14. BARAJA	MALIMI	"
15. AMIBU	SEIF	"

KAMATI NBOGO ZA BMU-IGABIRO		
1. HIPANGONA FELHA	1. OMARY	ISSA
2. SEVELIAN WILBARD	2. MTALEMWA	KACHILLA
3. ANANIA NSIRO	3. PROSCOVIA	PASCHAL
4. UBORA WA SAMAKI	4. WINFRIDA	ELIZEUS
5. AMIBU SEIF	5. UJENZI	
6. EDISON MANDOLO	1. VENANT	GASPARY
7. ANDOCHIUS ANTHONY	2. BARAJA	MALIMI
8. MAJI		
9. GEOFFREY TILAGANA		
10. WEKISHA RYALUGABA		

1. IDADI JA WAKAZI - 1206	
- WANAUME - 712	
- WANAWAKE - 494	
2. IDADI JA WANACHAMA WA BMU - 799	
- WANAUME - 501	
- WANAWAKE - 287	
3. IDADI JA WAVUVI/WATESHI - 317	
4. WAMILIKI WA MITUMBWI - 62	
5. IDADI JA MITUMBWI - 106	
- INJINI - 46	
- KASIA - 60	

agement Units (BMUs) and BMU Networks are another important structure and form part of LVFO through the National Fisheries Co-management Committees.

BMUs are central to the management of the Lake at the local level. They are community-based, legally recognized fisheries management organizations, and registered with the Fisheries Departments of each Partner State. No one can work in fisheries at a beach without being a member of a BMU. Every BMU has an assembly of all its registered members and an elected committee. The process of forming and registering a BMU is set out in the harmonized BMU guidelines, which are implemented at national level. The guidelines state that the composition of the committee should include representation by the four stakeholder groups (boat owners, boat crew, fishmongers and an 'others' category) in the committees. At least three members should be women. This is intended to promote equity of stakeholders and ensure that they all have a say in decision-making.

According to LVFO (2008: 15-16), between 2004 and 2007, 1,069 BMUs were established on the Lake: 281 in Kenya, 433 in Tanzania, and 355 in Uganda and the legal empowerment of the BMUs depends on the specific BMU legislation developed and enacted in each Partner State. BMUs have been given considerable training and support to build capacity in managing the structures and participating in fisheries management. Fisheries staff has mentored all BMUs and their performance has been assessed through annual performance monitoring, carried out in accordance with the Harmonized BMU Guidelines.

Although Nile Perch fishery is different from artisanal fishery, which has led to some local fisherman being actually worse off, there are plenty of fisheries activities due to large-scale operations that exploit the introduced species. However, both illegal fishing and the invasion of the Lake by water hyacinths are threatening fish stocks in Lake Victoria. Fishermen use nets that trap mature as well as young fish in large areas of the Lake. Water hyacinths are affecting air concentration in breeding waters, which is leading to the premature death of fish. New fish processing plants are opening on the Lake.

Women at Lake Victoria

This section gives an overview of the position of women at Lake Victoria as they are a central component of this study. As with the different cultural set-ups, the Lake is a man's sphere but it is important to see what women do at the Lake. This is shown through their average income per week, the average number of sources of livelihoods, their contribution to the household through their earnings from the fisheries, and through the changes in their income since fish stocks began dwindling.

As in many cultures, a woman is a stranger in fisheries. This applies to the female population at Lake Victoria too but does not, however, mean that women are not present in the sector. The tables below show the average income per week of actors involved in the fishery, the average number of sources of household income of actors living in fishing villages, the average contribution of fishing to the household income, and the effect of the decline in fish stocks. The main actors involved in the fishery considered here are boat owners, boat crews and women. The boat owners and crews are generally men and are the ones who go out fishing. Boat owners employ crew members who go fishing for them although sometimes the owners go out fishing themselves. The owners receive much more income than the boat crews because these are their employees. However, as the fisheries process is more than just going fishing (harvesting), it includes other processes such as fish processing, distribution and consumption. And women earn money along this chain. The disparities between the various groups are relatively small. On average, boat owners' incomes are 2.2 times higher than those of crew members, while the earnings of women are similar to those of crew members (see Table 4.6). Tanzania is an exception because women's earnings there are substantially lower.

Table 4.6 Average income in US\$ per week by country

	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Overall
Boat owners	47.6	83.8	95.5	75.6
Crew members	24.4	26.7	54.5	34.9
Women	21.8	13.9	64.5	33.4

Source: Adapted from Marshall (2009)

At Lake Victoria, most people in the fishing villages have more than one source of income. This implies that they undertake multiple activities to earn their incomes. Women's multiple sources of income compete with the rest of the actors in the fisheries, as is shown in Table 4.7. In all these sources of income, going out for fishing (harvesting) still remains important. It should be noted too that the average of women's multiple household income sources are similar in all three countries.

Fishing contributes substantially to household incomes, as is shown in Table 4.8. Women's contributions to household income are significant, which implies that they earn enough to put something back into their households. The difference with men is clearly recognizable but women's contributions are still significant.

Table 4.7 Average number of sources of household income by country

	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Overall
Boat owners	2.7	2.3	2	2.3
Crew members	2.3	1.9	1.7	2.0
Women	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.4

Source: Adapted from Marshall (2009)

Table 4.8 Average contribution of fishing to household income by country (%)

	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Overall
Boat owners	69	69	85	74
Crew members	74	80	89	81
Women	72	58	78	69

Source: Adapted from Marshall (2009)

One final issue presented here concerns processes affecting fisheries. Declining fish stocks at the Lake affect all the actors in the local communities. In a survey reported by Marshall (2009) where fishing actors were asked how the decline in fish stocks as a result of over-fishing had changed their income between 2006 and 2007, Table 4.9 shows what the respondents reported. While for men it is 57% who say that the change of income is due to less fish, for women it is 66%. Thus, women were affected as much as men were. This shows how engaged and active women are in the fisheries at the Lake, but the general structural conditions of the patriarchal system do not favour them.

Table 4.9 Change in income between 2006 and 2007 in Lake Victoria by gender (%)

	Men	Women
Increased income	22	16
Decreased income	68	71
Income stayed the same	9	12
I don't know	1	1

Source: Adapted from Marshall (2009)

The Haya people

The Haya people are found in Kagera Region (Figure 4.2), which was culturally homogeneous until the arrival of the Germans in the 1890s. It had nine chief-

doms: Bugabo, Bugufi, Ihangiro, Karagwe, Kihanja, Kiziba, Kyamutwara and Rushubi. The area bordering the northwestern shores of Lake Victoria was called Buhaya and the people living there, mostly fisher people, were called Haya, a name that has remained in reference to the inhabitants of Kagera Region.

The Haya are part of the Bantu peoples. They belong to the Lacustrine Bantu group of the Great Lakes Region, the region to the north and west of Lake Victoria bounded to the north by Lake Kyoga and the Nile, and on the west and

Figure 4.2 Kagera Region



south by Lakes Albert, Edward and Tanganyika (Taylor 1969). The Haya people emigrated from the kingdoms of western Uganda and some of the Haya's neighbours in Ngara District belong to the Southern Lacustrine Bantu, together with the Banyarwanda, Barundi, Bahangaza and Baha (Kilaini 1990: 6).

Originally, the area now occupied by the Haya was sparsely populated by Bantu peasants who were organized on clan basis and with no chiefdoms. It was in the fifteenth century with immigration from the northern kingdoms of Bunyoro-Kitara, in the current Republic of Uganda, that chiefdoms were started, but the real organization of modern chiefdoms started with the Bahima conquerors. The Haya trace their political historical origins from two dynasties of the Bahinda and the Babito.

The smallest element in the socio-political organization of the Haya is an individual in a family unit. According to Cory & Hartnoll (1971: 137), a family

consists of near relatives (*abakwatane*) who may all be descendants of a common paternal ancestor in the male line. Each family has its *muzimu* (ancestors). It is from the family that an individual can identify him/herself with another unit, the clan, in a patrilineal manner. Characteristic of a clan is the totem and taboo. All the people with the same totem and taboo belong to the same clan. For this reason, a clan goes beyond a tribe. For instance, one can find the same clans in Tanzania among the Haya as well as in Uganda among the people from the west like the Banyankole, Batoro and Banyoro.

The Haya people, however, have intermarried with people from other ethnic groups in Africa and beyond. They live in Kagera and further away and some are socialized as Haya and some not. For example, a good number of Haya people cannot speak the language. This makes the issue of the current ethnographic composition of the Haya people quite complex. In fact, it can be argued that the ethnographic composition of the Haya people is transiting to a global composition.³

Conclusion

From all that has been said about the Lake, it can be argued that Lake Victoria cannot be isolated from the development discourse in terms of livelihoods promotion processes and academic and policy discussions. It is a resource that is an important source of livelihood for the local population, a source of business opportunities for entrepreneurs, and a source of protein for the world. The Lake contributes to academic and policy discussions on over-fishing, the introduction of exotic species, damaging land-use practices, and pollution from various sources. There are discussions about its sustainability due to conflicting opinions about its exploitation and destruction. The export boom from the Lake's shallow (less than 80 meters at its deepest point), murky and oxygen-depleted waters has come at enormous ecological and social cost: there is a massive loss of native species, partially caused by the introduced perch, and the increasing conversion of fish into an export commodity rather than a local protein source. More important for this study is the fact that the Lake is also an arena for gender relations.

³ For more details on the ethnographic characteristics of the Haya people, see Seitel (1999).

Patriarchy: Stringent/relaxed

This chapter gives background information on how patriarchy is stringent for women and how it is relaxed for men, with repercussions on how both men and women earn and how they spend. In this chapter, however, I shall not present the issue of the sources of women's income, something that will be presented in the next chapter.

Patriarchy: Stringent to women

Among the Haya people, there is a male-biased cultural backlog in the areas of the education system, resource access and ownership, and the economic structure.

Education system

Education as a means of socialization for the Haya people, as any other people, was imparted in different ways (Ishengoma 2005). In the first category of imparting education, the Haya used oral traditions such as riddles, folk tales, myths and historical legends, with the aim of introducing children and youths to morals, critical thinking and deep thinking (Nakene 1943). Cole-Beuchat (1957) added a dimension of recreation to the riddles. Another category is composed of more formalized education geared at training young people for professional jobs. Apprenticeships were another way of imparting education to acquire occupational training and skills for restricted and hereditary occupations. Makoye (2001) adds another dimension on the way the Haya people transmitted their education, namely dancing. He argues that through the heroic dance, *Omutooro*, performed by men, education on who the hero was, what it takes to be a hero and the beneficiaries of being a hero was transmitted. *Omutooro* is a heroic dance the

Haya people performed to show allegiance to the King, who was considered to be the hero of heroes.

In the education system of the Haya, there are clear demarcations with regard to men and women. For instance, men were specially prepared for governance jobs. According to Ishengoma (2005: 142), following Ishumi (1980), it was boys aged between 10 to 12 who, for instance,

received an intensive two month training at the royal palaces. The *Omuteeko* curriculum ... covered practical training in military warfare and tactics, moral instruction, self-discipline and self-control, agriculture and animal husbandry, legal matters, and sports such as wrestling and hurdle-jumping. Those who excelled in this training were retained at the royal courts for advanced training and were appointed to high positions in the various chiefdoms.

Such jobs were, of course, highly gratifying and were well regarded in Haya society.

The clear role of women in the education of children is emphasized as one that deals with riddling and storytelling. Ishengoma (2005: 143) points out:

In traditional Haya society, mothers and grandmothers told stories and riddles to children and youths (6-14 years old). Riddling and story-telling usually took place together before supper, which was customarily taken between eight and ten o'clock in the evening. In traditional Haya society, members of the household were generally not allowed to have supper until the head of the household had returned from his evening stroll. As a result, the female adults passed time with riddles and story-telling, partly to keep children occupied and awake. Story-telling and riddling took place around a cooking hearth located in the innermost part of a Haya traditional grass-thatched round house, known as a *mushonge*.

So it was the women's role to transmit the culture of the Haya to children at the fireplace, when the man was out in the evening.

This traditional education system of the Haya people does not mean that the Haya are caught up in it. In fact, they are well integrated in the modern formal education system, with well-established education institutions beginning from primary education to different tertiary institutions. This aspect of the Haya flourishing in the modern formal education is well captured by Bwenge (2009: 170) when he presents excerpts with the notion of development in the politics of Tanzania:

... wherever you go you will meet a Haya person. ... The Haya people are well educated, ... They are engaged in research. ... When you visit big institutes all over the world that deal with research and development, you are most likely to find the Haya people there.

All this said, however, it remains critically important to note that the traditional education system that has socialised men is based on transmitting values of heroism and governance; such values are basically elements for public dominion. For women, instead, the education system socialised them based on the values of transmission of culture to children; such values are, basically, elements for private dominion.

Resource ownership and access

To understand this issue about the Haya and their resources, I use the customary law of the Haya to describe inheritance and resources and the fisheries resources. The issues of inheritance and fisheries are important because they give a picture about the realities of access and control of resources, on the one hand, and an idea of which categories of people are in control. Looking at fisheries becomes important, again, in this study because this is a vital livelihood activity at the Lake, and it is mainly the central activity that is the starting point for analysis in this study.

• Haya customary law

Forms of customary, informal and/or non-state law operate in the majority of nations across the globe. They are customary or informal just to contrast them with the formal state systems, on the one hand, and not western-style legal systems, on the other hand (Chirayat *et al.* 2005: 2). They range from dispute resolution systems operating in different markets across the globe to customary ways of ordering life in remote villages and communities. In fact, the vast majority of human behaviour is shaped and influenced by informal and customary normative frameworks (*Ibid.*). Let me describe how customary law was operationalized among the Haya.

For detailed information on the customary legal systems of the Haya people, Cory & Hartnoll (1945) is useful as it was intended to serve as a reference book for Native Courts administrators in East Africa who were unfamiliar with local customs. At the heart of the Haya customary legal system was the *Ntegeka ya Bagarusi* (Courts of the Elders). These were community committees made up of a number of delegates (*bagarusi*: elders) appointed by the two parties in a dispute. The tendency to select delegates was to find individuals with political capital and that is why those delegated ended up being village elders.

After the parties had presented their cases and witnesses had been heard, the case was discussed among the *bagarusi*. While consensus was usually achieved, the chairman had the final say and awarded damages as he saw fit. The outcome of a *Ntegeka ya Bagarusi* was considered binding. If the judgment was not upheld, the aggrieved party could appeal to the customary appeals court, the *Gombolola*, which was usually used to formally reinforce legitimacy by applying peer pressure. The *bagarusi*'s collective social standing was respected in the community and if they were defied, villagers would refuse to extend the offender or his family social invitations to important events such as funerals or weddings and assistance in collective activities such as house construction.

Among the Haya, separate dispute mechanisms existed within certain trade groups. The *Ntegeka ya Mukondo* handled conflicts among cattle herders and the

chairman was elected by all cattle-owners in a particular village. Conflicts among fishermen were dealt with by the *Ntega ya Bajubi*, chaired by the head of the local fishermen's guild (*ikororo*). It can generally be said that the agents of the customary law were quite powerful.

The Haya people had customary law and in some instances, people still refer to it to deal with conflict resolution. However, it has to be pointed out that even with the Haya people, modern law is what is used for the everyday settling of disputes. People refer their cases to different structures in grassroots government structures, such as the village and ward, and the more formalized structures, such as courts of justice. One of the biggest shortcomings of customary law that has led to criticism is its discriminatory character. Ezer (2006: 601) points out that customary law, which is also a predominant system of intestate succession in Tanzania:

[It] limits women's inheritance on the basis of their gender. Under customary law, a widow is generally denied inheritance altogether. Her share is to be cared for by her children, just as she cared for them. Daughters inherit the smallest share with attached restrictions ... Tanzania's inheritance laws thus impoverish women and leave their survival at the mercy of men.

Such discrimination is further magnified by procedural inequalities and exploitative practices. Let me now get into the application of this customary law on issues of inheritance.

- Inheritance and resources

The Haya people are very precise on inheritance in customary laws. "Inheritance is patrilineal. Three grades of heirs proper are recognized: a) the *musika* (primary heir); b) the *mainuka* (secondary heir); and c) the *kyagati* (minor)" (Cory & Hartnoll 1945: 1). All heirs are sons. While the *musika* is the eldest son, the *mainuka* is the youngest son in a family, and the *kyagati* are all sons other than the *musika* and the *mainuka* (*Ibid.*: 2). In fact, "wives and female descendants of a deceased cannot inherit immovable property under family tenure" (*Ibid.*: 3).

With regard to inheriting money, if a man dies leaving sons and daughters:

In Ihangiro, Karagwe, and Missenyi, all children share in the money, the shares of the daughters being decided by the *musika*. [In] all other chiefdoms, ... the daughters are entitled to no share. (*Ibid.*: 23)

Ihangiro, Karagwe, Missenyi and Bugabo, Kianja, Maruku, Kyamtwara (which are other chiefdoms in the quote) were the chiefdoms that used these customary laws. In the above quote, however, one thing is clear: it is men and sons who have money and can pass it to their sons. Even in places like Ihangiro, Karagwe and Missenyi where a daughter can inherit money, she has to be allocated her share by the *musika*, who is a man.

There is something curious though on the inheritance of shares in the fishing business on Lake Victoria. It is stated that “women may inherit a share” and just above this statement is another one that “a share is inherited according to the law of inheritance of the Haya” (Cory & Hartnoll 1945: 185). This implies that there is a possibility of a woman inheriting shares in the *ikokoro*. But this is contradicted by another law which applies the supremacy of the inheritance laws whereby inheritance is patrilineal. However, given these considerations on inheritance among the Haya, one thing can be concluded: inheritance is strongly patriarchal.

But, as already mentioned, the Haya people generally follow the modern legal system. Ezer (2006: 602) acknowledges that

Tanzania’s inheritance regime violates women’s fundamental rights to equality, property and adequate standard of living, family, and dignity under the Tanzanian Constitution and binding international conventions. In 2000, Tanzania amended its Constitution to prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender explicitly. Equality is likewise a basic principle under international law, requiring modification of Tanzania’s inheritance laws.

That is why

[the] need to reform outdated inheritance laws is widely recognized. As Tanzania’s Law Reform Commission explained, ‘discrimination in inheritance on the basis of sex has received critical judicial assessment. Not only judges, but academic writers, politicians and women (activists) have decried this appalling state of affairs.

This implies, therefore, that a lot of what is being said by customary law on inheritance has changed and is changing quite a lot in the modern legal system. In fact, women have the same chances of inheritance as men.

- Haya and fisheries

Fisheries are an important socio-economic activity among the Haya people in villages along river banks, on the shores of different lakes and on the islands in Lake Victoria. Fish is one source of income-generation and forms part of the daily diet of the people. Due to the centrality of fishing and according to customary laws (Cory & Hartnoll 1945: 185),

Fishermen in Lake Victoria form themselves into guilds (*kyaka*) called *ikokoro*. ... all the waters of the Lake on the Uhaya coast are free, and no *ikokoro* claims particular rights over any part. The members of an *ikokoro* form an economic unit and all the fishing is done by the various *makokoro*, no **fisherman** fishes on his own. The number of members varies from about 6 to 12. Each member owns a share.

This is an important provision for fisheries activities in Lake Victoria. There are several basic issues that need comment. The first is that fishermen should be organized in groups, and not operate individually. This stresses the aspect of an activity being communitary. The second point is the fact of free waters: nobody owns the waters and Lake Victoria is not private property. Fishing activities in

the public waters of Lake Victoria should be communal. The communal aspect is again stressed when the law mentions the fishing outfit:

The fishing outfit, consisting of a boat, net, rope, and baskets, is owned communally by all the members of the *ikokoro*. The outfit costs about 150/- and each member contributes towards the cost. This contribution entitles the member to a share and on the size of it depends the size of **his** share ... All members are expected to take their part in the fishing. A member who does not do so and has no good reason for **his** absence cannot claim **his** work and take **his** share of the proceeds. A member may, with the consent of the others, appoint a substitute to do **his** work and take **his** share of the proceeds. If a member does not take part in the work for some good reason such as old age, illness, family business, locusts, etc., **he** is entitled to claim **his** share while absent. (Cory & Hartnoll 1945: 185-86)

The third important issue regards professionalism in the fisheries. A good example is the sharing of proceeds, as demonstrated by these statements of customary law:

The head, *nkuru*, of the *ikokoro* alone is allowed to take the money received from the sale of fish. The daily takings are written down and distributed every two or three months by the *nkuru*. The members receive amounts proportionate to the size and the number of their shares. A member who needs money before the time of distribution can be given it in advance. The *nkuru* is responsible for the money and must refund it if **he** is short in **his** accounts. The *nkuru* receives a small remuneration. (Cory & Hartnoll 1945: 187)

The job description and specification of the head of the fishing group is clear; the recording and the accountability procedures are stressed; the dividends are spelt out clearly; the possibility of getting advance money is provided; if the head blundered with the money, what has to be done is known; and finally, the head is paid. This is professionalism at work. Not only is there professionalism but also professional ethics, as can be seen from the issue of expulsion from an *ikokoro*:

A member may be expelled for one of the following reasons: **adultery with the wife of another member**; assault of another member; theft of fish or fishing tackle; embezzlement of money. An expelled member is reimbursed the amount originally paid for **his** share. (Cory & Hartnoll 1945: 187)

A fisherman is thus supposed to live according to clearly set standards and he is sanctioned and reimbursed for his shares.

And last but not least, there is the question of male dominance as manifested by the use of such words such as “fishermen”, “fisherman”, “he”, and “his” in the written laws. Even in the case of adultery, it is “adultery with the wife of another member” and not “adultery with, for instance, a husband of another member”. These are indications of membership of the *ikokoro* being basically occupied by men. To stress this point of male membership in the guild, the members of the guild (*ikokoro*) are always all men.

Institutional regulations are now changing with respect to fisheries and women, and this cannot be overemphasized.

Women in the fishing communities have traditionally had less access to benefits, including the resources, capital ownership, credit and decision-making on communal issues. To address

this disparity in BMUs, a quota of the positions in the BMU committee is reserved for women. More support is needed, however, to build on this through greater reinvestment of fisheries revenue and more opportunities created for women to gain access to credit and training. (LVFO 2008: 2)

Economic structure

The economic structure has also been quite stringent for women. This can be seen in the areas of income generating sources and how and why women spend.

• Income generating sources

The main aim of this section is to present data concerning the main income-generating sources and their distribution along the lines of men and women at the landing site, the length of time men and women have been in the activity, the ownership of fishing gear by men and women, and the type of fish catch both men and women deal with.

The main income generating sources at the landing sites include owning a boat and employing others for fishing, owning a boat and fishing at the same time, fishing, vending fish, fish processing, repairs, business, and farming. Table 5.1 presents the distribution of income-generating sources by gender on the islands of Lake Victoria. Most of the respondents engage in fishing, and quite a number are involved in business. It is also interesting to note that most boat owners do not go fishing themselves, but employ others. The few people who are involved in repairs reflect a growing industry that is taking care of eventualities with fishing gear. There is very little fish vending because it is difficult to sell fish to people on the islands because they catch fish themselves. However, as there will always be a need for fish in restaurants, some vending and processing can be

Table 5.1 Main income-generating activities by gender (%)

Activities	Men (N=127)	Women (N=26)	Total (N=153)
Owning a boat and employing others to fish	5.0	0.0	4.0
Owning a boat and going fishing oneself	1.5	0.0	1.0
Fishing	76.0	11.0	66.0
Vending fish	1.5	0.0	1.0
Processing fish	1.5	0.0	1.0
Doing repairs	3.0	8.0	3.0
Business	10.0	81.0	23.0
Agriculture	1.5	0.0	1.0
Total	100	100	100

Source: Field data

done. Agriculture is another source of income, but with very few people engaging in it.

Table 5.1 shows that the number of men is higher in all income-generating sources where men and women participate in the same activity, except in business activities. Most men (76%) are found in the fishing income-generating activities while more women (81%) - of the few women who are present at the landing sites - are found in business activities.

On the islands, 23% of the people are involved in business (Table 5.1). As already mentioned, businesses involve kiosks, shops, bars and pubs, lodging and guest house facilities, hotels and restaurants, and male and female salons. The kiosks and shops sell consumable items that are used daily by the local people on the islands including food stuffs, clothes, drinks, spare parts for fishing gear and other small items. On each of the islands, there is always a big store that belongs to the rich fisherman who owns lots of boats where they keep a stock of gas that is used in the boats and food stuffs and other provisions. In most cases, such shops are used by the workers who take things on credit and everything is deducted from what one is supposed to be paid at the end of the month.

Bars and pubs are also booming business. Beer and soft drinks on the islands are more expensive than on the mainland due to transport costs and the high demand and limited supply. Most of the bars and pubs are owned by men who are not very rich but who have enough capital to buy a few crates of beers and sodas, improvise a space where people can sit (normally with plastic tables and chairs) and get a radio and/or TV to which big speakers are attached to make enough noise. The energy supply for such electrical gadgets is generated from small petrol or diesel-fuelled generators. The bars are the most sociable places on the islands where many people come to socialize in all sorts of ways. All the workers in the bars and pubs are women.

Lodgings and guest houses also do well. In most cases, rooms in such guest houses are small divisions in a construction made of iron sheets although some are made of grass. The rate for a night is about US\$ 1. These lodgings operate in a dual mode: during the day, visitors stay for shorter times and at night they stay for longer. Generally speaking, lodgings and guest houses are spaces for sexual activities, short encounters during the day, and prolonged encounters at night for visitors who have nowhere else to stay. Almost all workers in the lodgings and guest houses are women; I never came across a man working in such a place on the islands.

The hotels and restaurants on the islands are famous. These are places where food is cooked and people come to buy, sit, and consume food. Behind such businesses are a very few men and a lot of women with some capital to organize a place where people can eat. Most of the food - particularly rice, bananas and

ugali (maize hard porridge) - in these hotels and restaurants is brought in from the mainland. This business is also booming because most of the people on the islands are single men and women, who are busy and do not have time to cook for themselves. The cooks and waitresses are all women.

Another business interest that has developed on the islands is hair salons for men and women. The salons for men are usually run by young men and those for women by women. In the men's salons, there is always very loud music, while in the salons for women it is generally quiet unless both men and women have appointments in the same salon. It is now fashionable for men to have their hair short and for women to have the hair washed and treated with chemicals.

Although agriculture only represents a small proportion (1.5%) of the income-generating sources of the people living on the islands, it is worth mentioning. People produce bananas, cassava and sweet potatoes and on some of the islands, like Kelebe, there are coffee plants which are harvested regularly and provide an income. There is also animal husbandry, particularly cattle and goats, and many households have birds, especially chicken and ducks. Some of these agricultural products end up being sold in the islands' hotels and restaurants.

The respondents were asked to tell the length of time they have spent in their income-generating activities. It is about 50% of men who have been engaged in income generating activities for a long period of time (beyond two years), compared to the 15% of women. This implies that men have had more exposure and experience with income-generating sources, have had much more time to access, own and utilize resources, and are at an advantage in controlling them compared to women. Of paramount importance, however, is the observation of gender bias in the main categories of income generation where men are concentrated in fish-related sources and women in business sources.

The distribution of fish catch by the people on the islands of Lake Victoria is important because not all the fish has the same value. Generally speaking, the fish that make up the catch are the Nile perch, Dagaa, Tilapia, lungfish, and catfish. Nile Perch is the most economically productive fish in the Lake because of its market in Europe. Tilapia is sold locally to the hotels and restaurants on the islands and on the mainland near the shores of Lake Victoria. Tilapia is easily accessible as it is found not far from the shores but to date there is no well-established mechanism to process it and thus open up distant markets for it. Catfish and lungfish are rare species and their consumption is basically domestic although they have a cultural and traditional value for the Haya people and if they are caught, they have a high economic value. *Dagaa* is a Sardine-like species which also has a very high economic value, particularly in regions far from the Lake. This is convenient because the drying process used and transportation (in sacks) are easy.

Who gets what catch can give a general idea of the amount of income that men and women generate. Table 5.2 shows the general distribution of the fish catch by the islanders in terms of gender.

Table 5.2 Distribution of the islands' fish catch (%)

	Men (N=127)	Women (N=26)	Total (N=153)
Nile perch	70.9	53.8	68.0
Tilapia, catfish, Lungfish	7.1	15.4	8.5
<i>Dagaa</i>	22.8	34.6	24.8
Total	100	100	100

Source: Field data

From Table 5.2, it is possible to compare the three economic categories of fish catch. More people (68%) on the islands are involved in high economic value fish (Nile perch), followed by 25% of islanders who are involved in the medium economic value fish (*Dagaa*); fewer islanders (9%) are involved in low economic value fish (Tilapia, catfish and lungfish). These differences in fish catch have an economic bearing for both men and women. Men are more dominant in the most economic valuable fish catch, that is, the Nile Perch and *Dagaa*. This is a situation that leads men to having more income generated through fish catch compared to women.

- Women spending: How and why?

Another expression of the stringent nature of patriarchy to women is how they spend their money and the reasons for the spending.

There are people who think women do not need money because men provide everything for them. Things have changed quite a lot and nobody should tell you a lie: we need money in order to buy a lot of our own things. (F.29.Int.Mus. Feb. 2008⁴)

This was a statement made at the first focus group discussion (FGD) when respondents were asked why women needed money. It stresses that women do need money and are not simply dependent on their husbands for money if they are married or on their parents if they are still living at home. Table 5.3 provides a summary from the FGDs on the ways women spend their income. From this

⁴ All the references for the qualitative data incorporated in this text as direct quotes have been coded. The first letter "F" or "M" stands for "Female" or "Male"; the number that follows refers to the number of the respondents; "Int" or "Fgd" refers to "interviews" or "focus group discussions"; "Mus" or "Mak" or "Nyab" or "Kel" refer to the names of the islands of "Musira" or "Makibwa" or "Nyaburo" or "Kelebe"; then there follows an abbreviation for the month and year in which the data was collected.

list, the expenditure can be divided into three categories. The first category is comprised of expenditures on women themselves (buying clothes and cosmetics, and going to salons); the second category is expenditure on others (buying clothes for children, paying school fees and taking children to hospital); and the third category involves savings (putting money aside in the bank). While the first two categories are real and actual spending, the last one is more to do with future spending. The issue of women spending money on the household, particularly on children and themselves, is of paramount importance in women's spending patterns.

Table 5.3 Ways in which women spend their income

Buying clothes
Going to hair salons
Buying cosmetics
Giving money to their parents, especially mothers
Buying clothes for children
Paying school fees
Taking children to hospital
Putting some money in the bank

Source: Compilation from field data, Musira, Makibwa, and Nyaburo, February 2008

Why do women spend their money in the ways they do? Let us begin with the issue of women spending money on themselves, which is linked to their relationship with men.

You see, we have to be beautiful; that is why we go to salons, we buy clothes, etc. ... Men give us money for this, but sometimes it is not enough and that is why we have to use our personal money. No man will want to be with you if you do not take care of yourself. *Mtaji wa mwanamke ni uzuri wake; usipolipalilia shamba usilalamike eti halitoi ndizi za kutosha* (the investment capital of a women is her beauty; if you do not weed the banana plantation, do not complain that the plantation does not yield enough bananas). (F.28.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)

This implies that women supplement their spending on themselves. The expression used in the quote above emphasizes the relationship between men and women: the more beautiful women become, the more they attract men, and the more they attract men, the more likelihood there is of getting money from them by establishing relationships with them. This is why beauty is seen as an investment: a woman's body entices men.

It is important to see the second reason too as to why women spend money on their parents and their children.

If you do not take care of your parents, especially your mother, and children, you are finished. ... It is true that men give more money for children but they rarely give money for your parents; ... it is not a lot of money you have to give to your parents, but you need to do it. ... They did well to give birth to you and take care of you when they were still strong. ... Now that they are aging and they do not have enough energy to take care of themselves, it becomes your duty. But also, even if they were still strong, giving them something is always a gesture of being grateful for all they did for you and the good wishes they always have for you. ...

Sometimes, you do not have to give the money as such to parents and children: nowadays, you get a plot of land; you either develop it by building in it if you have the money; ... men should assist you in developing your plot. ... But again you can leave it till when your children are grown up and they develop it by themselves ... you need to do it for your children and parents so that you look like a responsible daughter and parent. (F.28.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)

So, money for one's parents is to show gratitude for being born and to assist them. For children and parents, it can be argued that the income is spent for reasons of responsibility. And finally, there is also the issue of saving money:

And you need to save money: you never know when your income from a business and man will stop flowing. When we grow old, these men do not like us anymore because we are not their wives. They like us when we are still young and when we can do what they want. ... When we are old and they do not like us any more, we still have to live. God willing, we go back to our villages and use the money we have saved to do some business. (F.28.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)

As women have been socialised as private human beings, they have gradually become responsible even economically of the private sphere: that is why they have to spend on themselves, their children, and their old parents. The private is expanding from the cooking and laying of beds to the economic responsibilities. What intrigues most is the fact that even spending in taking care of themselves for patriarchal dictates: they have to look beautiful so that they can be loved by men. Once they cannot be active any more, the money saved becomes security so that when women are "no more of use", they can have something for investment in some business.

Patriarchy: Relaxed to men

As we have seen in the section above, among the Haya people, there is a male-biased cultural backlog in the areas of the education system, resource access and ownership, and the economic structure. This has been in favour of men, of course. In this section, I just want to bring some additional elements to stress how the patriarchal structure is relaxed with men by bringing about issues of how men earn and spend their income, and the reasons for such spending.

Men earning the income

The highest income earned by men is through fishing, i.e. the process of getting onto the Lake and getting fish out of it. At this point no income has yet been

made as income is only generated when fish are sold. The harvesting and selling of fish is dominated by men.

It is important to distinguish two categories of people engaged in fishing activities, as the following quote demonstrates: “I was given a boat, an engine, and 50 nets by my boss” (M.7.Int.Mus. Feb. 2008). The first category is composed of “bosses”, i.e. rich people who have a lot of money and invest in fishing gear that they buy in bulk and “hire” out to fishermen who go fishing on the Lake. The “boss” in the quote stands for rich people. The second category is made up of the boat crew, i.e. those who go fishing after having been given fishing gear. The “I” in the quote represents such people.

The first category (bosses) earns their income in a number of ways. They have a monopoly on the fish that is caught by the fishermen they hire their fishing gear out to. The boss and the fishermen draw up a kind of contract whereby the fisherman becomes the subject of the boss, which is why all the fish that are caught must be sold to the boss at the price he establishes. The boss’s monopoly is due to the fact that the boss wants to have as many fish as possible so that he can sell them to factories at a price he sets in a contract with them. The boss in the quote above was buying a fish at TZS 1,000 (around 1 US\$ by the time of data collection) per kg but at a factory, the price per fish would not be less than TZS 1,500 (around 1.5 US\$) per kg. The boss is, in actual fact, the middleman between the fish factories and the fishermen. So the first way in which the boss earns fish is by monopolizing the fishermen on the pretext of having hired out the fishing gear to them, and after monopolizing them, sells this fish to the fish-processing factories.

The second way in which these bosses earn income is by owning shops with everyday items and fuel for boat engines. It is in these service centres that the subjects of a boss have to get all they need for their daily consumption. What has to be mentioned here is that the bosses charge quite high prices of fuel. Whereas the price of a litre of petrol elsewhere at petrol stations was around 1.5 US\$, these bosses sell it to their subjects at 2 US\$ and make a tidy profit by selling items at high prices.

The third way in which the bosses get money is by the two basic levies on the use of an engine and the *mukubi*.⁵ Fishermen, for example, have to make a payment of 5 US\$ per trip for the use of the engine and another 5 US\$ for *mukubi* for the boss. All this is deducted from the fishermen’s wage at the end of the month. Not all bosses deduct as much but this gives an idea of the range.

⁵ The word *mukubi* in Kihaya language literally means “sauce”. In this context, however, it has a connotation of a levy which would be meant to go and buy sauce for the owner of the boat.

The fourth way in which bosses earn income is through dividends at the end of the month. It is common practice that the boss is entitled to 70% of what remains after deducting all the expenses incurred by the fishermen and the levies.

In fact, the relationship between the boss and the subject appears to be binding. Although there is no written contract, if the subject breached the contract, for instance by selling fish to someone else, there could be serious consequences, as was argued in an FGD:

You see, some people are strange: fortune comes their way and they push it away. This is a man who got a blessing from his friend who was rich. He was given a boat, an engine and nets. But this guy went fishing and decided to sell fish to another person. ...

You see these phones: the boss was informed. What he did was to send a message to this guy to moor his boat and the engine! That was the end of the story. The man will grass like most of us. ... You see how he has spoilt his life: wanting to become rich all of a sudden. (M.8.Fgd.Kel. March 2008)

So, this fisherman lost his job simply because he did not sell the fish he had caught to his boss but to someone else who, in fact, was giving a higher price for the fish than his boss.

However, this first category of men is made up of very few people. The biggest category is the fishermen who hire the fishing equipment from the big bosses. They are the ones who go fishing and bring fish to sell to the boss who sells it to the fish factories. They basically earn their money through selling fish to the boss. By landing-site standards, these are people with lots of money and they are the ones who sustain consumption at the landing sites.

It is necessary to mention another category of men at the landing sites, who are outside the fishing activities but are still central to livelihood activities. These are men who own different business premises and the businesses in them. They own buildings and businesses in shops, hotels/restaurants, bars/pubs, and guest houses.

Some men thus have an income at the landing sites from engaging in fisheries activities and from being the owners of small businesses at the landing sites. However, notwithstanding this favourable position, why is it that these male fishermen have less to save at the end of the month in comparison to women who lack such opportunities? To partially answer this, let us discuss how men spend their incomes.

Men spending their incomes

This is an important aspect to understand with regard to the income dynamics of fishermen. In the first instance, as we have just seen, they spend their money by paying their bosses; they also spend money by buying the basics from the shops of their bosses: "... all what I use is bought from him: I go to his shop, get what I want, and they record everything" (M.7.Int.Mus.Feb.2008).

Photo 5.1 Men fishing



However, there is more to this, as is expressed in the following quote from a fisherman:

When I have a boat, I am sitting on a grave; now when I come back, you tell me not to have life? Why not? I should sleep with as many wives as possible; I should drink as many beers as possible; I should eat good food whenever I find it; I should enjoy life, no doubt about that! (M.9.Int.Mak. March 2008)

So the respondent expresses his idea about his life: he should spend his money because sooner or later he will be dead. He does not see any reason as to why he should not spend. I took this statement to an FGD for the respondents to say whether this was the way they looked at their lives as well, in terms of spending. A young man, who was supported by the whole group argued:

... if you are a fisherman, your biggest life is in the water. When you come back you take care of your nets and boat and fish on the shore. If you have to rest, you go to a bar or lodging. ... Do you think you will find me here in my old age? And do you think I will ever reach old age here before I am dead, either from the water or AIDS? Now, why do you think I should not enjoy life? For what reason? (M.10.Fgd.Mak. March 2008)

From the above quotes, it is clear that fishermen spend their income on having fun with women in bars and pubs, hotels, restaurants and guest houses.

There is something that deserves attention in the lifestyle of the fishermen: the stress on having fun with women. This is curious because I would think that given the HIV/AIDS situation, many fishermen would be afraid of having sex, and that they would at least have safe sex. In the first instance, it is important to note that the fishermen are aware of HIV/AIDS and its gravity, as is expressed by the following respondents.

If you came with a trailer for HIV/AIDS patients to be transported free of charge to the hospital, you would fill it up, come back for another round and have some more. You can never finish us here (M.11.Int.Mus. Feb. 2008).

And another one:

You see us here: nobody knows who is sick and who is not. We all know that we are almost all of us sick. And when the signs for the sickness are clear, then we disappear and go to our villages. ... You normally hear someone is no longer here or you hear that someone went back home and he died. ... Sometimes, you hear that they have come for one of us! So, who can you point a finger at? If you did it, you would be like what the Swahili say *Nyani haoni kundule* (a monkey does not see its bum)"! (M.12.Int.Nya. Feb. 2008)

So the people at the landing sites are aware of the presence and gravity of HIV/AIDS. What is striking, however, is the daring spirit that men and women have concerning HIV/AIDS:

Others say we should use condoms in order to protect our lives. I think that the best way is to go live. Fearing death is not a solution to any problem; that I have learnt as a fisherman. (M.9.Int.Mak. March 2008)

And a woman:

I was brought to this island by my aunt who used to own this hotel, which I now own. She is now dead. ... I have two children, both girls; they stay in the village. ... I am HIV/AIDS positive. I was told by doctors, after they took my blood in Bukoba.

I used to fear giving birth because I thought I would give my disease to my baby. But one day, I remember that I was told that it was possible to give birth to a kid who is not HIV/AIDS positive when you are positive. As I wanted to give birth, I decided to stop using condoms so that I could get pregnant. ... This is the pregnancy. I did not fear HIV/AIDS because I have it already. I feared for the baby only. I needed to continue doing business. (F.9.Int.Mak. March 2008)

These quotes are from people who see their lives in a short time span and are engaging in sexual acts regardless of the danger of HIV/AIDS, of which they are aware.

Providing for families is another important dimension on how men spend their income, as can be seen from the following quotes:

Yes, we are here on the islands. The biggest reason we are here is to work, get money and send it back home for our families. .. We have families there who need to be fed; the children need money to go to school. But, again, as we are here, we make other families: we need to take care of them: that is how a man's money should go! (M.31.Fgd.Mak. March 2008)

And another respondent:

And when you are young, as I am, without any family back home, you try as much as you can to get money to buy a plot and begin building a house there. ... You have to prepare for a life on the mainland; here we just pass; the small families we have here are temporary; yes, we give money for daily needs but we think of more permanent ones on the mainland when we get married. (M.32.Fgd.Mak. March 2008)

These two quotes give an indication that men spend their income also on constructing houses on the mainland for family use. It is here where their families, i.e. their wives and children, live. The men spend money constructing business premises that are then used by women for doing businesses. Another important issue that arises from these quotes on how men spend money relates to providing for their families' basic needs. Men feel responsible for providing money for food, education and healthcare for their families. This also includes taking care of their wives and women.

It is interesting that they do not only provide for the "official" family on the mainland but also for other "unofficial" families who are popularly known as *Nyumba ndogo* (literally translated as "small houses"), which are composed of a man and a woman (there could be children as well) who live together but basically for sexual reasons. Thus, a man becomes a provider of an "official" and "unofficial" family. He has to take care of any family in which he has an "interest".

Why men spend their income

Basically, men are big spenders. From what has been seen, men spend to enjoy life and provide for their families. The questions are: why do men spend to enjoy life and why do they spend as providers for their families?

The response to the first question lies in the issue of enjoying life. According to a respondent in an FGD, men will always enjoy life:

What should prevent men from enjoying life? They work hard; they earn; ... If they were begging, you could complain; but it is their money, why should they not spend it the way they want? ... And they should spend it with the people they want: a man without a woman does not enjoy anything. That is why a man should get a woman with whom to spend his money. ... The majority of women do not have money, here at the landing sites. Or even if they have, let them use it to make themselves beautiful: we like them when they are beautiful. ... You are working on the lake the whole day and night; you earn some money and you think you should not spend it: you must be crazy! (M.12.Fgd.Nyab. Feb. 2008)

One of the biggest reasons as to why men should enjoy life is that they have the money to spend and they should spend it the way they want, after working hard. One of the FGDs was divided into two other smaller groups and each was given a question to discuss and make into a presentation. The first group was asked why they thought men should spend their money on alcohol. Table 5.4 presents a summary of their answers.

Table 5.4 Reasons why men should drink

Men have money to buy beers
Men should spend time in the bars in the evening because they are not supposed to come home early because they do not cook and do not breastfeed babies
If men came back home early, they would disturb their women and children
Men should stay in bars to talk to their fellow men
In bars, men learn from other men how to do business
The best way to relax for men is to drink, especially after heavy work
Men have money; they should boost bar businesses
Beers increase men's manhood
In a bar, men show their richness

Source: Field data, Makibwa, February 2008

When this summary was presented to the whole FGD, a man commented:

Kandi mwatusigira kaki ("what have you spared us of)? We are drunkards, we know it; we have money it is true; ... But sometimes these women also disturb us at home and that is why we have to be out for some time and come back finished to sleep! ... You go back early, you hear all kinds of requests and sometimes they quarrel with you. So, you decide to come back late and drunk. (M.13Fgd.Mak. Feb. 2008)

And to this response, a woman commented:

Why should I not quarrel as a woman? You get the money and I do not know where the money goes! I can think about where it goes, but when I ask you, you quarrel also. ... and you think boos is a solution? The problems you try to escape by coming at night drunk, you find them there in the morning when you wake up sober. (F.13.Fgd.Mak. Feb. 2008)

So, this woman thinks that men drink because they are just escaping from family problems and the responsibilities they have at home.

The second group was asked why they thought men should spend their money on sexual activities with women. The answers are summarised in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Reasons why men spend their money on women

Men have money to give to women
Men are never satisfied sexually
Men like trying all the women they see
There are more women than men; men should try to satisfy all of them
Women were created for men
Men are sometimes cowards about facing their wives at home because of family problems
There is no big commitment with prostitutes

Source: Field data, Makibwa February 2008

Let me now turn to the answers to the second question: why do men provide for their families? As we already saw, men are the providers of families in terms of constructing houses for the family and in terms of taking care of the basic needs of family members (children, relatives and wives) and other women they love. The list presented in Table 5.6 is a summary of the observations made in the FGDs on the question as to why men should provide for their family.

Table 5.6 Reasons why men should provide for their family

Men have money to take care of families because they work
God commanded them to do so
They are the fathers of children and the husbands of their wives
They are the heads of the families
It is men who marry, and therefore they should take care of their wives
Men should make their women beautiful
It would be shameful for a man if a woman took care of the family and he was there without any serious problem

Source: Compilation from field data, Musira, Makibwa, and Nyaburo, February 2008

Despite the listed answers, there are some exceptions to men being the sole providers for their families, as can be seen from the following observation from an FGD:

It is true that most men are the sole providers for their families. ... But women are also doing it. Some men do not really care about their families and it is for a woman to support the family. Sometimes, a man gets involved in a lot of drinking, and there is no money left for the family; sometimes, a man gets another woman somewhere, and he is finished and he forgets his family; sometimes, not all men have enough to take enough care of their families: it is then that the woman assists in providing for the family through some funds raised in small businesses. (F.15.Fgd.Nyab. Feb. 2008)

In other words, provisions for the needs of the family are not always done by men: sometimes (and most often) men have failed to do so and women have intervened, as we shall see in the next chapter. With less commitment to becoming sole providers of the homes, men have remained in the realm of enjoying life.

Conclusion

The cultural backlogs, which are male-biased and therefore stringent to women, have rendered women disadvantaged economically as they are not in full control of income-generating resources and they have to spend for themselves and others in their homes. On the other hand, patriarchy has been relaxed for men, rendering

them beneficiaries of the economic structure to an extent of becoming enjoyers of life. But how do women behave in such a stringent economic situation brought about by patriarchy? This question will be answered by dealing with the income sources of women.

Stereotypes in action

This chapter deals with the agency of women in the context of advantaged men and disadvantaged women. Their agency is seen through making use of the stereotypes to earn a living in two major areas of business and the relationship industry.

Stereotypes and businesses

Women: Trustworthy

Women are shop attendants in men's shops and bars/pubs. In most cases shops take the form of kiosks, i.e. small constructions normally made of wood and/or iron sheets and/or mud as walls, and with iron sheets as the roofing material. In such shops there are items for daily use ranging from food and beverages, clothing and footwear to cosmetics and other beauty items. In an FGD, it was pointed out that:

Shops are very important: they have what we need every day. ... It is not easy to own one; you need like TZS 500,000 [500 US\$]. That is why most of them belong to men who are rich and some women. And if you owned one and you do not have a boat, how would you bring items into the shop? (M.1.Fgd.Mak. Feb. 2008)

Thus, shops, which are central in people's lives at the landing sites, require a relatively large amount of capital (500 US\$), which is why men own them. Women are the attendants in these shops. An owner of a shop argued in an FGD:

You see, you cannot do everything: own boats; sell fish; get the capital; buy items to sell; transport them; keep the money; do other business; etc. You need to get someone to stay in your shop and you do something else. This could be your wife or your sister who you trust. (M.2.Fgd.Mak. Feb. 2008)

Normally the women who work in these shops are related to the owners (who are men). Talking to a woman shop attendant about her experiences as a shop attendant, she said: "This shop belongs to my brother. He called me from the

village. He buys everything and I do the selling. I have been here now coming up to two years ...” (F.1.Int.Mak. Feb. 2008)

In a FGD, a shop owner argued:

.... You need to get someone to stay in your shop and you do something else. This could be your wife or your sister who you trust. You see, if you put your brother or any other young man who can accept working for you in this kind of business, at a certain point you will see your shop shrinking and you will hear the man has disappeared to town with your money. Men are not as trustworthy as women. (M.2.Fgd.Mak. Feb. 2008)

And another shop owner added:

You see, such small shops where there is little space and you try to put in a lot of things, you need someone careful to organize things; you need someone patient who can always get things and put them back in their proper places. ... Put a man in a shop and you will see what happens: things will be thrown everywhere; items may disappear under the shelves because of carelessness. I think it is good that women do business and they are suited to it (M.16.Fgd.Mak. Feb. 2008)

From the two quotes above, it is clear that women are perceived as being trustworthy and careful, while men are perceived as untrustworthy and careless. This leads to men employing women to work as shop attendants in their shops. And the women have gained from being shop attendants:

I like my job and I do it with care; I know this is the way I can survive and I make sure that I maximize the profit. ... I add in a few items for myself; but sometimes there is extra money as change from customers; sometimes you may overcharge a customer on something; at the end of every month, my brother, who is my boss, pays me, TZS 50,000 [around 50 USD]. Don't you think this shop is my life, my *kibanja*? Why should I spoil it? (F.1.Int.Mak. Feb. 2008)

From this quote, it is clear that this woman maximizes profit from the shop in a number of ways: with the statement that “I add in a few items for myself” she means that she brings in her own items to sell in her brother's shop, of course without the knowledge of the brother; she also gets money from not giving back change; she also, sometimes, overcharges people, and she gets her pay at the end of the month. That is why this shop is her *kibanja* (banana plantation). The woman tries to argue that as a banana plantation is critical in the livelihoods of the Haya people, so is the shop key to her life.

And another female shop attendant said:

I have to earn as much as possible. If I don't do it when I am in this shop, where do you think I should earn money? This is where my life is now. What I care about is not destroying his business. I get something, he gets something; all of us get something. I am taking care of his shop and he should take care of me through his shop. Therefore, even if I have my own ways of getting money from him in this shop, I should make sure that he does not come to know of it: *noruma nohua nk'embeba!* (F.2.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)

So, much as these women who are shop attendants are trying to earn as much as they can from the businesses of men, they feel that the businesses should go on: they should not let them go bankrupt. In fact, the expression *noruma nohua*

nk'embeba (Haya expression, literally: “you bite while blowing like a rat”) means that you can hurt the person but should make sure that he does not suffer pain. The Haya people sometimes wake up to find their feet have been bitten by rats, but they did not feel them bite because the rats always bite while blowing. So, this woman says that she knows that she is hurting the owner of the shop but she does it in such a way that the person does not feel the pain.

Many women work in bars/pubs as attendants and as waitresses serving drinks. Bars/pubs are places where they sell soft drinks and alcohol. Their ownership is mostly male-dominated but the provision of services is female-dominated. Men own the constructions in which these bars/pubs operate and women act as bar attendants.

We are three women in this bar, working as people who serve drinks. I have been working in this bar for two years now, my friends for longer. In fact, one of them called me from the village to come and work here in this pub, which belongs to her man. The other woman is her sister. (F.5.Fgd.Nyab. Feb. 2008)

By “her man” she means the man she co-habits with, i.e. they are not officially married but live together as companions. The attendants and waitresses serving drinks need a dose of trustworthiness, as a respondent said:

If you do not have a trustworthy person in your bar, business will not shift at all. ... Customers in bars tend to drink a lot and they forget so many things of theirs, even money. You need someone who can keep all these things; you need a careful person to know who left what so that when the person comes back he finds his things; ... Do you think a man would manage this? ... Women are excellent at this (M.17.Fgd.Nyab. Feb. 2008).

The women have different ways of earning money from bars/pubs, as summarised in Table 6.1 from the comments made during a presentation given by a group at a FGD.

Table 6.1 Women bar attendants’ ways of earning money

Employers pay them
Employers reward them for good work
Customers give money as tips
Customers offer them drinks and they sell them
Customers offer them money to buy drinks and they keep the money
Customers give them money to find women for them to sleep with
Customers give them money to sleep with them
Customers give them money to love them
Bar attendants keep the change
Bar attendants overprice drinks when customers are drunk
Bar attendants charge customers for more drinks when they are drunk

Source: FGD, Nyaburo, February 2008.

As can be seen from this list, the ways in which women bar attendants earn money can be classified into three groups: from their employers, from their customers and from their own initiative. What is interesting is to recognize how women bar/pub attendants have a wide base from which to tap money for themselves. As to whether the money earned this way is a lot or not, a woman bar attendant said:

I am sure that I am able to come out with no less than TZS 10,000 [10 US\$] a day. By then I have already eaten and drunk. I keep this money for something else. Many people do not like to work in bars because of the bad image the bar has: it is a place of drunkards and prostitutes. It is true but I earn a lot. (F.4.Fgd.Nyab. Feb. 2008)

Women: Cooks

Many women on the islands work in hotels and restaurants. These are small constructions where food is sold. They are bigger than shops in terms of space but as the space inside is never enough, there are always benches, stools and chairs outside where people sit to have meals. Most people at the landing sites have three meals a day: breakfast, a big meal during the day, and some snacks during drinking sessions.

Unlike the shops, women own most hotels and restaurants:

Hotels and restaurants do not need a lot of money to run; the buildings are cheap; food is cheap; they do not need a lot of people to work in them; you need mostly only one or two people to serve food and one or two to do the cooking and wash the dishes. And water is nearby, so the one who is cooking and washing the dishes can fetch the water. Sometimes, dishes can be washed directly in the lake. (M.4.Fgd.Mak. Feb. 2008)

So, according to this respondent, since the restaurants are cheap to run, women own them. This is the business as such but the infrastructure, normally the building and the furniture in these hotels and restaurants is owned by men, as a woman pointed out in an FGD:

It is true that the hotels and restaurants are ours. ... But the houses and the furniture are not ours: they belong to men and they charge us a fee of TZS 20,000 [20 US\$] to use them. Houses are difficult to construct and they need quite some money, which we do not have. Men have the money to construct them. They build them, we rent them, and give them some money. We only do business inside these houses and pay the rent. Some women pay according to what they earn but it is better to pay at the end of the month. (Female Resp. 3, FGD Mak. Feb. 2008)

As to why there were so many women employed in hotels and restaurants at the landing sites, one man said:

Now who do you think should work in the hotels and restaurants? I, a man? Who should cook and serve food and wash dishes? That is work for women! They are the ones who know how to cook and wash dishes. A man with fire to cook, no way! A man with water to wash dishes, no way! Even if there is money, let them keep their money. (M.21.Fgd.Nyab. Feb. 2008)

Women are thus supposed to work in hotels/restaurants because of their knowledge of cooking and washing dishes. Table 6.2 presents a compilation of more reasons as to why women are the ones who work in hotels and restaurants.

Table 6.2 Why women should work in hotels/restaurants

They know how to cook because they were taught by their mothers
They are supposed to serve: that is what they have been taught from when they were young
Women are clean: they can take care of the hotel and wash dishes very well
Women are patient: one needs to be patient to stay in the kitchen, especially in the hot season
Women are creative: you need to be creative person to make a delicious meal
Women always serve food to people, right from when a child is born: they breastfeed babies
Women can convince you to eat, even if you have no appetite
Women are not very jumpy: a hotel needs workers who are less mobile

Source: Compilation from field FGD data from Musira, Makibwa, and Nyaburo, February 2008

When one of the owners of a hotel was shown this list, he commented:

All that has been said seems to be true; I see my women in my hotel looking like that. ... But I think that more than anything else, women are suitable in hotels because they know how to cook well. They have been taught this from childhood. And again, they know how to render the service of cooking food. At least, that is why I employed the five women in my hotel. ... But one thing that you need to stress on them is to be clean because food and cleanliness are inseparable. (M.20.Int.Nyam. Feb. 2008)

Women are thought to be knowledgeable at cooking, responsible when serving, clean, patient, creative, servers of food, good convincers and less jumpy persons. These are the characteristics that are lacking in men and make women better for work in hotels/restaurants than men.

On how women gain economically, a woman working in a restaurant said:

It is true that we have to pay rent or we have to give some money to the owners of the houses according to what we earn. But another thing is very true: the owners of these houses are our male relatives or our men. So, we sometimes do not pay as such, but we give what we have. (F.4.Mak. Feb. 2008)

Thus, women get money in hotels and restaurants from the profits of their business; they do not incur expenses in constructing houses and buying furniture for the business; and in most cases, the owners of the constructions are men who are related to them in one way or another and so the women do not pay rent or what they should pay according to what they earn.

Women: Secretful and hospitable

There are many women who are engaged in guesthouse businesses on the islands. Guesthouses and lodgings are the most famous businesses at the landing sites. They are large constructions with sheet-iron walls and roofs that are partitioned into smaller units or rooms where there are beds. As these are big constructions that require considerable funds to build, the owners are predominantly men, while women provide the labour.

Guesthouses/lodgings offer places to stay for fishermen who travel from one landing site to another and are also used as homes by people at the landing sites who have a good income. The average daily cost of a room in a guesthouse/-lodging is about TZS 1,000 (1 US\$), which means that they are affordable for many. And finally; guesthouses/lodgings are used as places of leisure where people can rest. A woman who works in a guesthouse had the following to say about her experiences.

So many things happen in these guesthouses: what you need is to be a person who can keep secrets because without that, you will leave the work and lose what you earn from it. Guesthouses are used by many people, good and bad people; ... rich men and women and fishermen come and stay here; thieves come and stay here as well. Most of the time, however, you see men with other men's women or women with other women's men coming to enjoy life in here. If you cannot shut your mouth, you might find yourself causing conflicts everywhere at these landing sites (F.5.Int.Mak. April 2008).

One of the guesthouse owners commented:

The best person you can have to work for you in the guesthouse is a woman. The hospitality a woman has cannot be compared to that of a man. ... I had a man who used to be rough with the customers. They would ask for water for bathing and he told them to go and fetch it themselves from the drum. ... A woman, instead, goes and fetches the water. (M.21.Int.Mak. Feb. 2008)

This owner of the guesthouse justifies women working in a guesthouse due to their hospitality and he discredits men due to their roughness with customers. However, there is more than this characteristic of hospitality in the guest-house business, as is shown in Table 6.3, which is compiled from the FGDs when the people were asked why women should work in guesthouses. According to this list, women work in guesthouses/lodgings because they are hospitable, careful, knowledgeable about making beds, clean, patient, discrete, sexual objects, experts in taking care of houses, and knowledgeable about cleaning bedding.

In an FGD, the respondents were asked to identify the ways in which the women who work in guest houses/lodgings earn money. Table 6.4 summarises their responses. The table shows how women working in guesthouses have various income avenues. They are able to earn money from their official wage but also in unofficial ways. The owners of the guesthouses are aware of their employees actions and argue as follows.

I know that I have more customers than what is normally presented to me. But there is no way I can check the money that comes in because I am busy doing lots of things. I know that sometimes guests come and pay and I am not given the money; I know, for instance, of a case where a guest stayed for two weeks: he officially paid for three days and gave money equivalent to four days, and the other seven days were not paid for. In fact, most of the times these guest workers benefit more than we do. But they are our relatives or women. So, it is money within. ... (M.5.Fgd.Nyab. Feb. 2008)

Table 6.3 Why women should work in guest houses/lodgings

They know how to take care of people

They know how to make beds because this is their task from home which they learnt from their mothers

They are clean: women are used to ensuring cleanliness in houses

They are patient: sometimes some customers are stubborn or drunk; their patience can help them cope with such customers

They can keep secrets; this helps them as so many things happen in guest houses

When you need a woman and you have not come with one, a woman in a guest house can assist and get you one easily, or she can be the one to sleep with you

They are experts in taking care of houses

They know how to clean bedding because that is what they are trained in

Source: Compilation from field FGD data from Musira, Makibwa, and Nyaburo, February 2008.

Table 6.4 Women workers' ways of earning money

Employers pay them

Employers reward them for good work

Customers give money as tips for favours

Customers forget their money in rooms

Customers give them money to look for women

Customers give them money to keep secrets

Customers give them money to love them

Guest-house workers (some) steal from customers

Guest-house workers steal from employers by not giving them everything they collect

Guest-house workers undercharge⁶ for (extra) days and keep the difference

Source: FGD, Nyaburo, February 2008.

⁶ The point here is that if they charged the same price, then the customers could demand that the money is accounted for, and therefore could be paid at the counter. However, as they pay less (they are undercharged), they do not demand that the money is paid at the counter; it is cheaper for the customers and the guest-worker goes away with the money.

Women: Beauty objects

One deeper reason as to why women are found in business is the stereotype about women that looks at women as beauty objects. On the question of how men considered women, a number of statements from the different FGDs deserve a mention.

You see them here how they look beautiful; that is how they should be for us so that we can see them and love them. There is no ugly woman, otherwise she does not know where the salons or the beauty shops are; women are *kaua kokupamba* (a flower for decoration). (M.25.Fgd.Nyab. Feb. 2008)

Another man sung a famous folk song for a wedding, after a brief statement, *omukazi kanana* (a woman is a sweet banana):

Akanana, akanana kahiire koonna, (A sweet banana, a sweet banana is all ripe)
Kahiire, kahiire nihakogora (It is all ripe, it is all ripe to an extent that it falls in pieces)
 (M.26.Fgd.Nyab.Feb.08)

According to these men, a woman is a beauty object. That is why the first male respondent considers her a flower and the second describes her as a sweet ripe banana. In both cases, a woman is to be consumed, either by one's eyes or by one's mouth!

Taking advantage of the stereotypes of women being trustworthy, cooks, hospitable, and beautiful, the women have been able to get to the islands and promote their living; they have been able to get into the men's income generating resources and have generated their own income. In most cases, they have earned by working hard, but in some cases they have gotten involved in cheating their bosses.

Stereotypes and relationship industry

Women: Sex objects

What is life without women? And what are women for, if not for sex and giving birth? That is why we pay bride wealth: they become ours so that when we want sex at any time, we should have it from them and they must know how to do it. ... After all, what else do we have as things to enjoy in life, if not women: we have no cars; we have no mansions; our time to live on earth is limited; ... So, what do we have if not women? And we need them to sleep with us, that's all! (M.26.Fgd.Nyab. Feb. 2008)

According to this respondent, it is sex that counts when he thinks of a woman. The next quote is an expression of a mixture of feelings about women - a woman who is serious but dangerous; a woman who cheats but is sincere, discrete and a listener:

But a woman is no joke: she is often very dangerous. You sleep with her; someone else sleeps with her; she does not tell you about it and you can never know it. She keeps your secret as she keeps someone else's secret. That is why many men get relief when they are

with women: they tell their stories; women listen; they console them with good sex; and life goes on. ... (M.27.Fgd.Nyab. Feb. 2008)

According to this quote, sexually, a woman is comforter of everyone who comes to her. According to men, therefore, a woman is an object of beauty, a sex object and a comforter. In brief, a woman is constructed in the eyes of men as someone who should provide pleasure for men.

Men: Sex maniacs

Coupled with this stereotype of women as sex objects from the perspective of men, is also a stereotype that men are sex maniacs. In an FGD, a man commented:

It is true that all women are ours; life without women has little sense: they are there for us; they are our flowers. My wife is in the village. Do you want to tell me that I should stay here without sex when there are women around? That is for priests, but even priests have women, we know them. ... (M.14.Fgd.Mak. Feb. 2008)

And a woman said:

Why should you think that women are all yours? ... I think that going out with women is just a disease that men have; God might have given it to them; they are never satisfied, and that is why they are the cause of diseases. ... (F.14.Mak. Feb. 2008)

These two quotes show how both men and women justify men's sexual promiscuity: men cannot live without sex and the element seems to be God-given.

Thus, while on the one hand a woman has been objectified as a provider of sex, a man is also objectified as a consumer of sex. These two stereotypic perspectives have been operationalized on the islands and have resulted into a vibrant relationship industry, subject of the next discussion.

Relationship industry

This kind of activity, the relationship industry, is generally about the engagement of men and women in sexual activities for commercial purposes. Relationships are important in this business because it is a web of "who knows who": it is this web that characterizes sexual activities, which ends up with men "buying" and women "selling" sex. The process of men "buying" and women "selling" sex involves four major activities: looking for women, hosting and hiding women, sleeping with women, and keeping secret the relationship between those who have slept together. It is in these major activities that women earn an income.

Looking for women is an important activity in the relationship industry. As already pointed out, the women who work in bars/pubs and in guest houses/-lodgings are given moneys by men to find women for them to sleep with. In addition to the women who work in such business premises, men also use their relatives or friends to get them women for sexual purposes, as one woman pointed out:

You see this money (TZS 10,000) [10 US\$]: My brother gave it to me. He wants a woman. ... I left him in that lodging. Part of the money is mine and part of it I'll give to the woman I get for him. I will negotiate with her. (F.6.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)

So there is money to give to a woman prostitute and also money that is taken by another woman who is looking for the prostitute.

Hosting and hiding women is another activity in the relationship industry. It is not enough to look for a woman but there should be ways in which she is hidden in a place where she will meet her man. This entails bringing the women in where she will meet her man, assisting her in leaving, and wherever this woman is, she will get food, and especially drinks. In an interview with a woman who works in a bar, I asked whether she had ever hidden a woman for a man and she said:

A woman cannot just go out like that to meet a man. She has to be hidden. Very few people should know that she is going to meet so and so. She protects herself and the man as well. She protects her dignity. Everybody might know that she is there targeting something, but still it should be a secret between her, the man, and I who hides her. ... You see, there are only a few women at this landing site; so many men sleep with one woman; going openly with one man would mean a monopoly over that man, which won't work. ... (F.7.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)

So hiding remains important for the dignity of both the man and the woman so that they will not be considered sexually promiscuous. Hiding also helps by not creating a situation of a man's monopoly by women, who are in the minority compared to men.

In a discussion about prostitution with a number of men at a landing site, one of the discussants said:

There are few women at this landing site. ... It is dangerous to bring your wife because other men will sleep with her. ... You know, ... as a man, it can be very bad to know that someone has slept with your woman. ... I know that many men sleep with the women I have slept with, but let it be done secretly: I do not want to know that someone slept with the women I sleep with! (M.6.Fgd.Kel. Feb. 2008)

The question of there being fewer women than men at the landing sites leads to men sharing women. However, even men do not want to have the women they sleep with known to others because men feel that they should have a monopoly over a woman, and nobody else should have his woman.

Sleeping with women is an important activity in the relationship industry. It is here that a man is in physical contact with the woman he found through another woman, the woman who was hosted and hidden. The man has to pay the woman for sex. The rate ranges between TZS 2,000 and TZS 10,000 (2 US\$ and 10 US\$, respectively) depending on the woman the man has slept with, the time the woman has spent with the man, and whether or not a condom was used.

Some women are considered professional prostitutes and others are seen as being new to the business. The professionals cost more than the new ones and a

woman who is officially married costs more than one who is not officially married because it is a bigger risk to take an officially married woman compared to one who is not married. Time counts: it is more expensive to sleep with a woman for a whole night than for just a few hours. Spending a whole night with a woman means less chance for her to sleep with other men that night. Finally, it is more expensive to sleep with a woman without using a condom than with a condom because of the risk involved. Without a condom, a woman risks the chance of getting HIV/AIDS and so she charges more in case she contracts the infection. Women can, therefore, earn money in different ways when sleeping with men depending on the woman involved, the time involved, and the use of condoms.

Keeping secrets about who slept with who is another activity in the relationship industry. This may not appear obvious but does earn moneys for the women. During an interview with a woman who works in a guest house, it so happened that a man passed by and the interview was halted. When the man had gone, I asked if she was related to the man, and this is what she said:

He is a very big friend of mine. ... There are other men who are also my friends like him. ... He is my regular customer. He is rich because he has several boats; he uses this guest house to bring in women. ... He knows that I know a lot about him and he knows how I keep quiet about his things. ... I hide his women in here and I never tell anybody about them. (F.7.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)

After this observation, I asked her what she gained from this.

At the landing sites, you only have to be careful and live carefully with such people. They have money and they spend it the way they want. ... But this man, and others like him, will always give you money because you keep their secrets. Sometimes, they give you money because you have advised them over a woman. They give money when you keep their secrets.

This man gave me TZS 50,000 [50 US\$] last week because a man came here asking whether the wife slept here with him. I said I did not know anything about it. He gave me TZS 10,000 [10 US\$] and told me to keep quiet and watch and inform him as soon as I saw her here. When I told this man about the story, he gave me the TZS 50,000 to thank me for keeping the secret. Secrecy is important at the landing sites. (F.7.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)

The relationship industry, particularly the sex business for the women seems to be one of the last ways in which women would earn men's money. Two accounts testify this:

I came to this island as a wife. ... My husband disappeared and I was left with four children and without any money. ... I began working in a guesthouse where men would come and give me money to sleep with them. ... That is how I have managed this life here, without the man who brought me here. (F.24.Int.Nyab. Feb. 2008)

She is engaged in prostitution because the husband abandoned her and she had four children to take care of. Similarly, another woman recounted:

It is not that I like doing what I am doing now, sleeping with different men every day. ... I would have liked to have one man for myself and I call it marriage. But it has not been possible. ... The first man who married me had three other wives, of which I knew none. ... I have HIV/AIDS and I know that any time I shall be gone. My husband brought it! ... It is with men that I can have enough money for myself and some to send home. ... With some men, I use condoms and it is cheap for them, even TZS 5,000 [5 US\$]; with some men, I do not use condoms because I do not care as I already have HIV/AIDS. For such people, I am expensive from TZS 10,000 [10 US\$] upwards. I am surviving; my people will survive until I cannot do it anymore. (F.25.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)!

This woman is engaged in prostitution not because she believes in it: she would have wished for a stable family. However, she lost her husband, she has HIV/AIDS, and she has dependants. So why shouldn't she engage in sex for money to take care of herself and her relatives?

Conclusion

There are several issues that are important to note from this chapter. The first issue is that because women are constructed with certain stereotypes (trustworthiness, cooks, hospitality, beauty), they have been attracted to come to the landing sites and they have gotten involved in different businesses for their livelihoods promotion. The second issue is that because women are constructed as sexual objects and men as sexual maniacs, a lucrative relationship industry has flourished on the islands. It is this relationship industry that has been a breeding space for the spread of HIV/AIDS on the landing sites, subject of the next chapter.

HIV/AIDS on the Islands of Lake Victoria

HIV/AIDS: The state of affairs on the islands

The main aim of this section is to discuss how people living at the Lake view the social impact of HIV/AIDS, how they see its economic impact and what they think about the stigmatization surrounding the disease. Respondents were asked how they rated the presence of HIV/AIDS on the islands and were requested to indicate it on a scale from 1 to 10. A scale of 1 to 2 was very low; 3 to 4 meant low; 5 to 6 was average; 7 to 8 was high; and 9 to 10 meant very high. Table 7.1 summarises the results of the responses to this question.

Table 7.1 Perception of the prevalence of HIV/AIDS by men and women (%)

	Men (N=127)	Women (N=26)	Total (N=153)
Very low	12.0	4.0	10.0
Low	9.0	19.0	10.0
Average	32.0	31.0	32.0
High	32.0	42.0	34.0
Very high	15.0	4.0	14.0
Total	100	100	100

Source: Field data

Further classifying these results into “low” (very low, low), “average” and “high” (high, very high) leads to the conclusion that about half of the respondents (48%) saw HIV/AIDS prevalence as high, followed by those who perceived it as average (32%) and low (20%). This implies that the perception of the prevalence is high among the people on the islands. The difference between men and women was negligible in this respect.

In several interviews, the people on the islands had ways to stress their perception of a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS differently. One respondent arguing in a focus group discussion said:

You see us walking, when we can still walk! You see most of us happy. But we know what is inside most of us. But I can assure you of one thing: most of us have so many insects walking in us. I can tell you from what I have known in this place that when you see four people around, know that three of them are sick. (M.2.Fgd.Mus. Feb. 2008)

Such a comment confirms that people on the islands perceive levels of HIV/AIDS to be quite high. For sure, they do not have numbers and therefore they can hardly give any statistics, but they perceive it as high. On why they think it is high, one respondent pointed out that:

We came here to work and get money. But some of us, and not only me, come from very far and we have our histories. We have people here we do not know where they come from. Actually they are hiding here. They are men who lost their wives, for example or women who lost their husbands there in Karagwe and they are here and you cannot know that. If they stayed in the village, they are known and they would be disturbed; when they come here we do not know them and we begin working together.

This implies that quite a number of people who move to the islands are already infected. They have run away from their home after having lost their spouse. So most of them are already infected when they arrive. And another respondent added:

You see, when women come here, they all look nice; you cannot distinguish who is sick and who is not. So, we end up loving them and they also love us. And these women who come really know love. And before you notice they are sick, you will hear the person has gone to another island or went back home because the business did not work out as she expected or she went to visit home and she has never come back. ... You can imagine how many people she will have infected!

Men and women have sex with partners whose backgrounds they do not know; but still, the situation is compromised by the ration factor, as a respondent in an interview pointed out:

Women are few on the islands; we all struggle for a few women. ... you see in that house there, there is a woman who has a list: when you want to sleep with her, you are given time because she has so many customers. (M.4.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)

With few women compared to men on the islands, there is a tendency for people to have multiple sexual relationships there. So the perception of the people on the island is that the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is high. The reasons

leading to this high prevalence are linked to people who are already infected seeing the islands as a refuge, people relating in terms of sex to people whose backgrounds are not known to them, and the small number of women on the islands, which results in them having multiple partners.

Out of this high perception and real HIV/AIDS situation, there is a strong feeling of despair for and among the people on the islands. People seem to use less condoms, as this leader observes in an interview:

There is a new phenomenon in this island: there are many women who are pregnant and many little babies. In the past, there used to be a lot of condoms sold and consumed in the guest houses. Nowadays, we sell less condoms and I think that this is why we have many pregnant women. The danger is that there must be a lot of HIV/AIDS as well. (M.1.Int.Mak. Feb. 2008)

As a follow-up to the concerns raised above, a resident who gave birth during the field research was interviewed and said:

... I used to fear giving birth because I thought I would give my disease to the baby. But one day, I remember that I was told that it was possible to give birth to a baby who is not HIV positive even when you are positive. As I wanted to give birth, I decided to stop using condoms so that I could get pregnant. ... This is the baby. I did not fear HIV/AIDS because I have it already. I feared for the baby only. (F.2.Int.Mak. Feb. 2008)

These quotations are significant in that they show how the people on the islands have despaired about HIV/AIDS and no longer bother to take any precautions to protect themselves or their partners. If there are any concerns, they are for their offspring. And it is for this reason that they do not see why they should not enjoy a little of the money that remains by engaging in enjoyment in bars and sex. For example, a fisherman commenting on how he spends money after he has paid his boss argues:

... Nothing remains for me, and I am in perpetual debt to my boss. So, why should I not drink and sleep with the woman I find on the island? After all, life is already a problem, I had better enjoy a bit of it before it is too late (M.3.Int.Mus. Feb. 2008)

Social-economic impact of HIV/AIDS

Respondents were asked to estimate the social-economic impact of HIV/AIDS on the islands in terms of major, average, minor or no impact at all. Table 7.2 summarises the responses, which, in general, show that most respondents estimated the social impact as major. When categorising the results in terms of 'presence of socio-economic impact' and 'absence of socio-economic impact', it can be concluded that only 5% of the respondents perceived no social-economic impact at all. In other words, it can be argued that HIV/AIDS has had some socio-economic impact that is being experienced by almost all the people in the islands of Lake Victoria.

Table 7.2 General estimate of the socio-economic impact of HIV/AIDS (%)

	Men (N=127)	Women (N=26)	Total (N=153)
Major impact	53.0	58.0	54.0
Average impact	27.0	23.0	26.0
Minor impact	14.0	19.0	15.0
No impact at all	6.0	0.0	5.0
Total	100	100	100

Source: Field data

Respondents in the islands characterise the *social* impact differently. I present how they perceive it with quotes presented in Table 7.3. These statements show the social impact of the disease on the people from the islands. Due to many people disappearing from the islands and others dying, the people there feel that they have lost people, particularly friends and colleagues they used to work and stay with. Coupled with this loss of people is the increasing number of children without parents. The social dislocation is important as well: not only do people with HIV/AIDS tend to run away from other people, particularly when their symptoms become visible, but they also stop caring about their lifestyles: they give up on living. Couples get into conflicts because they are trying to find out who was the first one to contract the infection; and there is a general sense of loss of trust among couples. Finally, health as a social impact has to do with people having mental problems and always visiting drug shops because of endless ailments.

The respondents also characterise the *economic* impact differently. The quotes in Table 7.4 illustrate this. Respondents at the Lake felt the economic impact in the sense of taking care of their health: they have to spend on health services in terms of drugs and transport. In terms of the labour force, one cannot work while sick and some active business people die. Conflicts arise in the struggle to acquire the property of the deceased and it is difficult to take care of the basic needs of children who are left behind by those who die of HIV/AIDS.

HIV/AIDS and stigma on the islands

With regard to stigmatization, respondents were asked if there was stigma on the islands. Only 7% (7 women and 3 men) of the respondents acknowledged the presence of stigma on the islands, while 143 respondents (93%) felt that there was no stigma on the islands. These results imply low presence of stigma related to HIV/AIDS on the islands.

Table 7.3 Social impact of HIV/AIDS on the islands

	Category	Statement
1	Loss of people	Many good friends of mine have disappeared; sometimes they tell you that they are going, but most of the time, they do not; you later hear they died. Nowadays we have so many children whose parents are not here. They either disappeared and they are where we do not know or they died.
2	Social dislocation	This disease is terrible: once it is clear on your body, people begin running away from you; you lose friends. I have a friend who could not come out as soon as he knew he had HIV/AIDS: he used to feel uncomfortable that everybody was looking at him and saying bad things about him. But again, once you have the disease, what should you care about life? You are a dead person walking. You just have to wait for your time and once it has come, you pack and go. I used to fear the disease but now no way: you can get it even from your wife.
3	Conflict generation	Many families are breaking up because of the disease. ... husband and wife quarrel because one says the other brought up the disease. You see, nowadays I do not trust any woman, even my wife I left back home. ... That is why I get any woman here and I sleep with her. The disease is everywhere and it is difficult to run away from it, it follows you to the bedroom with your own wife and you end up fighting.
4	Health	But again, I feel that sometimes people with this disease look like mad people; I do not understand them. It seems the disease gets in their heads and they start behaving like mad people. Once someone has contracted the disease and he begins falling sick, then you will never leave the shops where they sell medicine. This pain, that pain, you complain about that, before you have been treated for it another ache starts somewhere! Once you get the disease, simply become a friend of medicines.

Source: Compilation from field data.

Table 7.4 Economic impact of HIV/AIDS on the islands

	Category	Statement
1	Health expenditure	You will have to go to hospital as many times as you can. And that is money you use. You see that kiosk over there: that woman will never stop bringing Panadols: she has sure customers who will always spend their money buying Panadols. But you cannot do a lot with the kiosks here; you need to go to Bukoba. This means fares and upkeep in Bukoba Town.
2	Loss of labour force	This disease is terrible: you need a lot of money so that you can take care of yourself. But it does not allow you to work because the moment you fall sick you cannot work; and if you cannot work, where do you get money from? There is a man who had many boats on this island. He fell sick, sold all the boats to take care of himself, and went back home. I continued working with the new man who bought the boats, but he does not understand us: so the business is dying.
3	Conflict	You see, one of the young men with boats died at his home on the mainland. He had a wife here. When he died, another wife and the father-in-law came from the mainland claiming to sell the boats and the houses of the deceased. ... You would have seen how women fight
4	Difficulty in taking care of basic needs	Who do you think is going to take care of those kids there once the mother, who is remaining, is dead? They will have no schooling; they will end up working on the Lake like their parents.

Source: Field data

However, when looking for the reasons as to why the stigma is low, an explanation is given related to the people's views that since many people are sick, stigmatization is useless. This can be seen from the following quote:

[As] you see all us of here, nobody knows who is sick and who is not. We all know that almost all of us are sick. When the signs of the sickness appear clearly, we shall disappear and go [back] to our villages. ... You normally hear that so and so is no longer here or you hear that so and so went back home and he died. ... Sometimes, you hear that they have come for one of us! So, at whom can you point a finger? If you did it you would be like what the Swahili say *Nyani haoni kundule* (a monkey does not see its bum) – [meaning that nobody acknowledges his/her own ugly side]. (M.1.Int.Nyab. Feb. 2008)

Stigma is low and it can be argued that this is because many people at the Lake think that they could be sick too. You cannot stigmatise another person because you could also have the same problem.

But again, why is it that women perceive more stigma than men? I use two quotes to answer this question. The first is from a respondent who narrated to me how he thinks he contracted HIV/AIDS.

You see me here, my friend; I am almost dead. I began suffering four years back when I was at home. I thought it was malaria, and that is what the doctors told me. I took all medicines; ... during the day I am fine, during the night I always have fevers...

My wife was a business woman; she used to take goods for the shops on the islands and she comes back with *Dagaa*; it was fine with us because she was making money. ...

One day, they told me that she was sick on the islands. I left home and came to see her. ... Since then I have never gone back home. ... she had terrible diarrhoea and she was not speaking. She died in my arms. ...

I continued falling sick till one day when the doctors came here and took my blood and later told me that I had HIV/AIDS. ... It is then when I understood why my wife died and why I was falling sick. ... She brought me the disease. ... women are dangerous, ... they bring the disease. (M.1.Int.Mak. Feb. 2008)

And a woman, explaining how men regard her in her restaurant business said:

Men really like me. They are my big customers. When they come from their work, they eat their food here. ... many of them eat on bills and when they are paid by their bosses, they bring the money. ...

But again, you know men; they will always want to sleep with you; when you refuse they begin talking bad about you; but again they have money and they really use it to sleep around with women. ... even if they sleep with women, they never trust them. They say that women have got HIV/AIDS. ... and I always ask them: if you think they have HIV/AIDS, then why do you sleep with them? They laugh and some of them say: “where will you find a woman without HIV/AIDS?”

In the first account, the man argues that he got HIV/AIDS from his wife who used to be a business woman. In the second account, the woman argues that much as men sleep around with women, they do not trust them because they argue that they are HIV positive. So, the women’s feelings of stigmatization are simply because men continuously tell women that they are HIV/AIDS carriers.

Response to interventions

In the section above, I presented an overview of the HIV/AIDS situation at the Lake: HIV/AIDS has a social and economic impact, and some low levels of stigma. Given the government’s policy orientation towards alleviating HIV/AIDS, there have been various interventions in the whole country. In this section however, I consider responses to the interventions that have been made at the Lake, mostly by NGOs whose work can be summarized in the following words of one of the officials.

Our organization deals with interventions on HIV/AIDS programmes in Kagera Region. ... It has as part of its vision improved health status. ... The main purpose of our organization is to fully participate in the fight against HIV transmission and care for HIV/AIDS affected and afflicted people. ... We try to prevent further transmission of HIV/AIDS; ... facilitate and develop VCT sites; ... provide information and training on HIV/AIDS, ARVs and primary

health care; ... we provide psycho-medical care and treatment of opportunistic infections for people living with HIV/AIDS, ... and antiretroviral treatment to people with HIV/AIDS. (Interview with an official of an NGO that deals with HIV/AIDS in Bukoba, March 2008)

Generally, this is what most of the NGOs that deal with HIV/AIDS do. It is for this reason that I have picked some areas of interventions and see how the people on the islands respond to them. After establishing the perception of the people about the most important actors in the interventions, I present the levels of knowledge and awareness of the availability of services for counselling and HIV/AIDS, and the level of treatment. Let me begin with the actors involved in interventions against HIV/AIDS at the Lake.

Most important actors in HIV/AIDS awareness raising

Respondents were asked to identify the most important actor involved in raising awareness about HIV/AIDS on the islands. The actors were the radio, medical personnel, village leaders, NGOs, family members, and relatives and friends. The responses of the people are summarized in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5 Perception of men and women as to the most important actor in raising HIV/AIDS awareness (%)

	Men (N=127)	Women (N=26)	Total (N=153)
Radio	25.0	12.0	23.0
Medical personnel	17.0	12.0	16.0
Village leaders	7.0	8.0	7.0
NGOs	40.0	64.0	44.0
Family members	4.0	0.0	3.0
Relatives and friends	7.0	4.0	7.0
Total	100	100	100

Source: Field data.

Overall, 44% of the respondents pointed out that NGOs were important in raising HIV/AIDS awareness. The NGOs that operate on the islands are KADETFU, TADEPA and the Red Cross. They do not have offices on the islands but visit from time to time for medical campaigns and they speak about HIV/AIDS. Speaking about NGOs, a woman commented:

Who can be more important in your life than one who is serious about your health and your child's health? Look at these guys who come here to take care of us mothers and children. ... They examine us to see if we are OK or not; if we are OK, they tell us what to do; if we are not, they tell us how to take care of our child when he or she is born. ...

At least we see these people here and they do quite a lot for us: they greet us well; they give us medicine; they talk to us; they tell us what to do. ... They are not like our politicians

who say a lot and you see them doing nothing. ... And when such an organizations comes here to do something, you see these politicians and government leaders saying that they are the ones who brought them. ... We now know it is not true; these are people who wish to do good and that is it. (W.4.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)

This woman is talking about the different organizations that deal with the programmes related to preventing HIV/AIDS passing from mother to child. Sometimes, however, some of these programmes are done by government medical personnel, but in most cases they are carried out by NGOs organizations and not by politicians and government officials.

The role of the radio was recognized by 23%. Radio Free Africa is the radio station, based in Mwanza, that can be picked up on most of the islands. A few of the islands close to Bukoba Town can listen to Radio Kasibante, which comes from Bukoba Town. 16% recognized the role of medical personnel and the district missions that go to the islands from time to time to visit the health centres and deal with health problems. They also referred to a missionary doctor who used to fly to the islands to treat sick people, distribute medicine and sometimes fly out patients to Bukoba Town. There is also a lesser role by relatives and friends (7%), village leaders (7%) and family members (3%) in awareness raising.

Availability of HIV/AIDS counselling and testing and its use

Respondents were asked if they were aware of the availability of HIV/AIDS counselling and testing. The majority of the respondents (96%) were aware. There is no difference between men and women in this respect. The awareness is high due to a strong presence and work of the different actors addressing HIV/AIDS issues.

It is, however, one thing to be aware of the services and another to make use of such services. When the respondents were asked about whether they in fact used the services, their responses were that 112 (73%) respondents did and 41 (27%) respondents did not. Comparing men and women in the use of these services showed that more women (57%) had used the HIV/AIDS counselling and testing services compared to men (43%).

What are the reasons for people not using the HIV/AIDS counselling and testing services? The results for this question are summarized in Table 7.6. Generally, more respondents were of the opinion that they were afraid of receiving the services and that the services were expensive. The 'I do not care' attitude is quite high.

Table 7.6 Men's and women's reasons for not using HIV/AIDS counselling and testing services (%)

	Men (N=127)	Women (N=26)	Total (N=153)
Service is expensive	30.0	42.0	32.0
I am afraid	47.0	46.0	47.0
I do not care	14.0	12.0	14.0
Service is distant	9.0	0.0	7.0
Total	100	100	100

Source: Field data

Of all the reasons as to why men and women do not use the HIV/AIDS counselling and testing services, many think that people are afraid of the service. Below are some of the statements that were given by respondents in the different interviews and focus-group discussions when asked why people were afraid of the counselling and testing services:

If I went there and I was told that I am HIV/AIDS positive, I would collapse there and then, (W.4.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)

Did you not see "A": the moment they told him that he was HIV/AIDS positive, in one week he was gone. I think that it is not good that you know that your days are counted. Yes, we know that we shall die, but we should not know that we shall die soon. (M.6.Fgd.Mus. Feb. 2008)

But sometimes, these things are not true. They say someone has got HIV/AIDS first time, then the second time they say he does not have it. ... But again later they say he has it. (M.2.Fgd.Nyab. Feb. 2008)

But the doctors themselves are not sure. They deal with AIDS as they deal with malaria. ... You go to a hospital, they say you have malaria; you go to another one they say you do not have it .. And you decide whether to take the medicines or not by yourself. AIDS the same: here you have it, there you do not have it. ... so why do you go testing? (M.7.Fgd.Mus. Feb. 2008)

But do you really need to go there purposely to be tested? These people do it even by force. ... When I was pregnant I had to do it by force even if I did not want to. And even a nurse told me: 'if I did it without telling you, how would you know?' So, whether you go or not, if they want to know they will know. (W.3.Int.Kel. Feb. 2008)

And why do they want to check us? If they found me with my *dudus*,⁷ so what? Do you think they are really so interested in my life that I should not die or other people here should not die? ... If so, why did they make AIDS? I do not trust them! (M.4.Fgd.Mak. Feb. 2008)

These are some of the reasons people give as to why they are afraid of going for HIV/AIDS counselling and testing. Behind some of these reasons, it is possible to see elements of distrust in the technology, the personnel and the whole HIV/AIDS testing rationale.

⁷ *Dudu* is a Swahili word meaning "insect". So this person talks of the HIV/AIDS virus as being like an insect.

HIV/AIDS most known treatment

Respondents were asked which kind of treatment of HIV/AIDS they knew most about. The respondents were to choose between the use of traditional herbs, ARVs, condoms, or to say that they did not know any way of dealing with HIV/AIDS. Table 7.7 summarizes the responses, showing that most respondents know ARVs as treatment for HIV/AIDS. A significant number acknowledged the use of condoms.

Table 7.7 Best known treatment for HIV/AIDS (%)

	Men (N=127)	Women (N=26)	Total (N=153)
Traditional herbs	2.0	0.0	1.0
ARVs	66.0	77.0	68.0
Condoms	30.0	23.0	29.0
I do not know any	2.0	0.0	2.0
Total	100	100	100

Source: Field data

Conclusion

There are three important issues that need to be noted. The first is that the people on the islands have given up on their lives. They are no longer scared of HIV/AIDS and they thus engage in risky behaviour that could lead to them contracting HIV/AIDS. One of the reasons why they engage in this sort of behaviour is that they see no reason to live any more: their work is a risk in itself; and their pay is not sufficient to allow them to do anything substantial. They feel the pressure of life from every angle so they maximize pleasure by drinking and having sexual encounters on the islands. The second issue to be noted has to do with HIV/AIDS intervention strategies, which revolve around the issue of sex. It is as if HIV/AIDS is there because people on the islands are obsessed with sex. I think that there is another reason behind their sexual behaviour: people's lives are so difficult that they find sex as the only refuge through which to have pleasure. The problem might not be HIV/AIDS as such, but something else, which is structural and predates HIV/AIDS. This is something I shall discuss in the next chapter. The third issue to note is that people express a fear of HIV/AIDS counselling and testing. People no longer trust the science in the health management system, the personnel behind such sciences or the reasoning behind them. People are even questioning whether the protagonists of such sciences are interested in their lives and not in something else (but nobody is quite sure what).

At the end of these empirical chapters, a question arises: what has HIV/AIDS got to do with the livelihood of the people? This is a question that lays the foundation for the chapter of the discussion of the findings in this study.

Discussion and conclusion

Discussion of the findings

The islands of Lake Victoria are not simply a physical reality, with populations engaging in livelihood promotion activities. It is far more than that: it is a social arena, “a place of concrete configurations between social actors interacting on common issues” (Bierschenk & Olivier de Sardan 1997: 240). This is a social space with different identities that confront each other in everyday life. This is a power-charged space where the men have the resources exploiting other men without or with fewer resources and, generally, men exhibiting exploitative behaviours towards women. In short, it is a patriarchal space.

As with the case of Long & Long’s (1992) interface where the different actors presented their understandings, interests and values (i.e. an interface as a battlefield of knowledge), the Lake is a space where there is an exhibition of power differentials enhanced by the socialization processes that have nurtured a culture of stereotypes and economic positions that favour men and not women in terms of access to resources. It is in this space that the women in unfavourable livelihood promotion circumstances compared to men are struggling to access resources from men. Such struggles, which are strategic engagements with men, are productive patriarchal bargains (Kandiyoti 1988) in which female actors manage to access the financial resources from men. It is in this space where men, who are also in unfavourable livelihood promotion processes caused by exploitation from fellow socio-economically powerful men, have given up on their lives, desperately spending their resources on having fun, and in so doing passing their financial resources over to women. And last but not least, it is in this space that both men and women are expressing their unwillingness to go for HIV/AIDS

counselling and testing simply because they have no trust of sciences, those who are behind the sciences, the practices, and the whole rationale as to why it is being done.

Looking at how women access men's finance resources and how men are passing over the financial resources to women on the islands, I have found two interesting ways of expressing how there are reasonable behaviours that go beyond intentions and consciousness as *ex ante* and *ex post* strategies, as Devereux (2001) would put it. The first way is looking at their actions as organizing practices (Kamanzi 2007; Nuijten 1992, 1998), that is, non-formalized forms of manoeuvres that appear in the form of actions as reactions, responses and socialized behaviour, particularly when relationships are regulated by power asymmetries but with the main purpose of livelihood promotion. While for men, it is about escaping from the exploitation of other men who are socio-economically more powerful than they are, and hence running to women who they perceive as less powerful socio-economically and therefore with a possibility of manipulating or manoeuvring them, for women, it is about facing men, "demonetarizing" them, and monetarizing themselves.

Another way is to look at women accessing resources and men using resources as pathways (de Bruijn & van Dijk 2003: 1-2). The coordination of actions of men and women give some kind of regularity, which pre-structures subsequent decisions. It seems to be a regularity or pattern in the livelihood of the poor and the rich that women access men's resources through pleasure-related activities and men let their resources go in such activities.

Dealing with the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Africa has been based on the permissive African sexuality thesis advanced by Caldwell *et al.* (1989). This thesis states that "there is a distinct and internally coherent African system embracing sexuality, marriage ..." (*Ibid.*: 187), a system that Le Blanc *et al.* (1991: 501) clarified as having to do with sexual promiscuity, particularly among women as a norm in Africa, and that the lack of control of women's sexuality being a key to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Africa. Much as this thesis has been shown to have its flaws, it has boosted the biomedical discourse on intervening against HIV/AIDS in Africa, on practices such as HIV/AIDS counselling and testing, the use of condoms and ARVs, and many other behavioural change practices which have been exhausted.

Suggesting an alternative framework to look at HIV/AIDS and its causes is not easy. Thabo Mbeki tried in 2000 by sending a letter to world leaders expressing his doubts about HIV being the exclusive cause of AIDS and arguing for a consideration of socio-economic causes. He was met polemically. As Fassin & Schneider (2003) point out, however, instead of being polarized between the subjective and objective causes of the spread of HIV/AIDS, it is the "politics of

recognition” of the powerful social determinants of HIV/AIDS that needs to evolve. Much as limiting an “explanation of HIV infection to poverty is certainly an oversimplification, ... to focus attention solely on behaviour change or on treatment is to overlook the powerful social determinants of HIV” (*Ibid.*: 497). This is because “socio-inequalities in income and employment status are powerful predictors of HIV infection” *Ibid.*: 495). This is the political economy of HIV/AIDS. From the situation at the Lake, it is clear how the search for a living has led people to come to the islands because of the possibilities provided by the fisheries. Again, it is obvious how the economic exploitative relationship between the fisher people and local business people has resulted in despair that has led people to take refuge in risky behaviours concerning sex and extremely high levels of alcohol. Again, it is clear how the availability of cash from fisheries has led to the booming of a leisure industry responsible for entertaining risk behaviours. So, the political economy perspective is critical in explaining the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Issues of racialization and conspiracy are always in people’s minds because they are rooted in history, which shapes lives. As Fassin & Schneider (2003) point out, despite what is often presented as merely irrational, it always makes sense when viewed from a political anthropological perspective. A good example is the use of epidemics to enforce racial segregation in South Africa, a situation that, regardless of the national reconciliation initiatives, still remains present for many South Africans and explains much of the mistrust towards western science, medicine and public health. From the evolution of HIV/AIDS among the Haya people, the issue of suspicion about its origins cannot be forgotten; and this has impacted on the embracing of initiatives to mitigate the spread of HIV/AIDS. People lack trust in the ways to deal with HIV/AIDS. The traditional perception of the Lake as a place where people live whose social status is questionable has implications too. Once a person feels s/he could be stigmatized as one who is infected, s/he flees to the islands, where apparently, there is less stigmatization. That is why one finds people whose histories are blurred on the islands. The biggest challenge, however, is the weak social ties between the people on the islands and the people on the mainland: while those on the mainland consider those on the islands as “lost people”. Those on the islands have internalized such thinking and do less “to get found”. As a result, fewer people care about the islanders and they themselves do not care about themselves. Added to this issue of suspicion is the question of the perception of the Haya people on women and resources on the one hand, and women and fisheries on the other. Given the power imbalances among the Haya people with regard to men and women, it is the men who are favoured in accessing and controlling resources, and fisheries are taken as a male activity. Given the patriarchal structure, therefore, women are

disfavoured on issues of control and access to resources, an aspect that leads them to engage in risky practices to access the resources owned by men. Added to this is the aspect of vulnerabilities that men and women are found in (Rao Gupta 2000), as part of their socialization on issues of sexuality. This socialization has resulted in different sexually related stereotypes that, in turn, have resulted in expressions of masculinities that promote different sexual practices that encourage the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Conclusion

The analytical question for this study was how patriarchy facilitated the spread of HIV/AIDS. There is no direct causal-effect relationship between patriarchy and the spread of HIV/AIDS. Patriarchy has created a stringent economic context for women and a relaxed one for men through the cultural system. Women have made use of their stereotypes of trustworthiness, good cooks, being hospitable, and being beautiful and they have entered into the men's businesses; they have also made use their stereotypes of being sex objects and men being sex consumers and they have been involved in the relationship industry to overcome the economic disadvantages created by patriarchy. Thus, women's (few in number) advent in the islands and their socio-economic involvement, particularly in the relationship industry, has facilitated the spread of HIV/AIDS on the landing sites.

This analysis of the contribution of patriarchy to the spread of HIV/AIDS tries to go beyond the current HIV/AIDS discourse premised on permissive African sexuality and biomedicine. It is from this spirit that the policy should take direction. Munyonyo (2007: 1) points out that there is need for a broader view of addressing HIV/AIDS as a problem:

... people and communities perceive and deal with HIV/AIDS as one of the many problems and tensions they experience as affecting their well being rather than perceiving and dealing with it as their single most significant problem.

It is this broader view of people's problems that will incorporate troubleshooting and further analysis based on asymmetrical power relationships that could lead to a context that promotes the spread of HIV/AIDS. I would not counteract the current HIV/AIDS discourse by blaming western lifestyles and practices as being responsible for the breakdowns of social and moral control, particularly due to the competitive economic system and the power asymmetries resulting from it. I think that rejecting western lifestyles and practices as an alternative to African ones would not work. As Gausset (2001: 512) points out:

.... to think that restoring cultural traditions or, on the contrary, fighting traditions, will solve the problem of AIDS is ... naïve. Both discourses focus on the wrong targets. ... Traditional or western behaviour and ways of thinking are not what prevents the spread of AIDS.

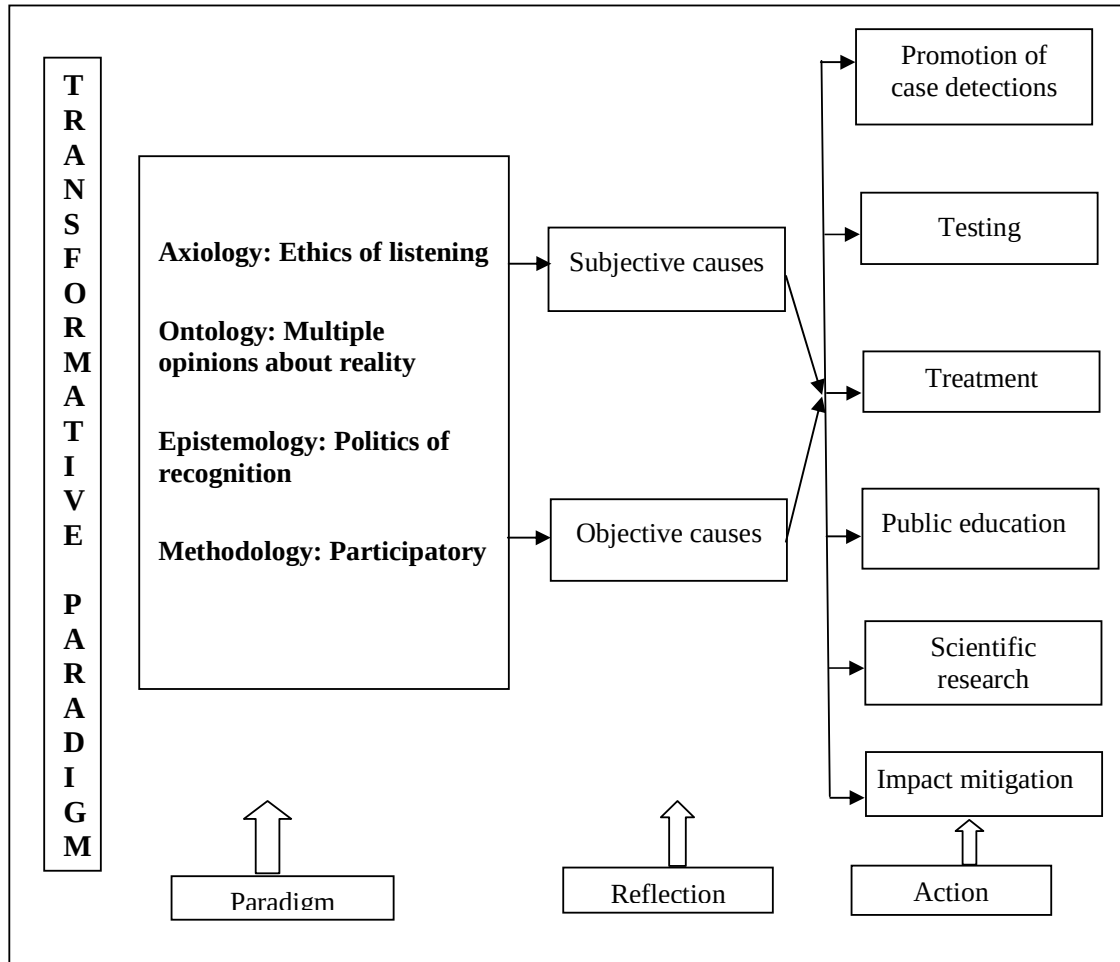
Instead, I would propose an integrated model to deal with HIV/AIDS based on the transformative paradigm. HIV/AIDS is not only a biological or medical issue but also a social-science one. As such, I think that it needs to be taken as a question of justice and a transformative paradigm could assist. It is “a framework of belief systems that directly engages members of culturally diverse groups with a focus on increased social justice” (Mertens 2010a; see also Mertens 2010b, 2007; Mertens *et al.* 2009), a furtherance of human rights, and respect for cultural norms (Mertens 2010a). This implies a concerted effort of all the different stakeholders in a system in which HIV/AIDS is a reality, as it is on the islands of Lake Victoria, and the co-efforts of the consumers, business people and the fisher people of the Nile perch.

We need to develop a model, based on the transformative paradigm, with the “ethics of listening” (Lombard 1999) (axiology), the acceptance of multiple opinions about reality (ontology), the “politics of recognition” (Fassin & Schneider 2003) (epistemology), and a participatory approach in systems of enquiry (methodology), as key pillars to hold the subjective and the objective causes of HIV/AIDS. These pillars will assist in explaining and dealing with HIV/AIDS in terms of promotion of case detections, testing, treatment, public education, scientific research, and impact mitigation.⁸ This is a kind of model – presented as a diagram in Figure 9.1 - that would holistically address the HIV/AIDS question in its known and unknown dimension.

It is from the application of such a model to deal with HIV/AIDS that a meaningful discourse to address HIV/AIDS can emerge. This would be a discourse that could put the livelihood aspirations of those affected and infected by HIV/AIDS at the centre on the one hand, and a discourse that would involve everyone who has something to do with the affected and infected on the other hand.

⁸ The four elements of case detections, testing, treatment and public education have been adopted from Parran (1937) in his *Shadow of the Land*, outlining his plan to deal with syphilis in the US. I have removed one element contact “investigation” because I thought it might not work out due to its implications concerning people’s privacy with respect to sex and issues related to stigma.

Figure 8.1 Model to address HIV/AIDS holistically



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