

Mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in water, sanitation and hygiene projects



A case study of WASH interventions by JESE and PROTOS in the fishing communities around Lake George

MSc Thesis by Katia Leber

Master International Land and water management

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Foto: Tom D'Hayer



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Master Thesis

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Picture front: Taken by Tom d'Haeyer, Regional office PROTOS Uganda

Summary

The objective of this research is to understand the mainstreaming concept in the field of HIV/AIDS in the WASH projects of JESE/PROTOS within the fishing communities around Lake George in Western Uganda. Mainstreaming is defined as the alignment of project activities with the reality of HIV/AIDS, without changing the purpose of the development objectives. The starting point of the research is that HIV/AIDS is a problem that undermines development. HIV/AIDS affects communities, but also affects organisations working in these communities. PROTOS and JESE are two NGO's involved in improving the water, sanitation and hygiene situation in the fishing communities around Lake George. Confronted with a high prevalence in the fishing communities, they are interested in mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in their projects.

The research exists of three parts. The first part aims to understand the socio-cultural construction of the fishing communities and the drivers of susceptibility (i.e. the risk of infection) and vulnerability (i.e. the likelihood of being negatively impacted) to HIV/AIDS. Two fishing communities are compared: Kasenyi, a community inside Queen Elizabeth National Park and Mahyoro, a community outside the national park. The data is collected through interviews, observation and interaction and is analysed using the sustainable livelihood framework and a gender and power analysis. The vulnerability analysis shows that Kasenyi is more vulnerable to the impacts of HIV/AIDS due to its physical, political and economic isolation. The analysis also revealed that a livelihood approach helps to identify all vulnerable groups in the community and does not automatically assume that all women, female headed families or People Living With HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) are vulnerable. As Elsey et al. (2003) state: communities should be taken as starting point for mainstreaming instead of addressing issues like gender or HIV/AIDS. The susceptibility analysis shows that sexual relationships in the fishing community are mostly money-oriented. Both men and women aim to maintain certain lifestyles and use sexual relationships as a means. However, poverty plays an important role. Women without an income may be forced to engage in unprotected sexual relationships in order to survive and provide for the household. Risk of infection is thus both related to poverty and culture. The first part also aims to identify the community needs in relation to HIV/AIDS. An important need is knowledge on healthy lifestyles, so that PLWHA can be healthy for longer and proceed with their economic activities.

The second part exists of finding the comparative advantage of JESE. The comparative advantage of JESE and PROTOS is improved health through improved water, sanitation and hygiene. The research looks at JESE's activities in the communities and identified that, if the overall health of the community improves, the project will contribute to the reduction in susceptibility and vulnerability of the community members. Data is gathered through participant observation. The activities of JESE are compared to the community characteristics and needs in order to identify the gaps in sustainable implementation. Looking at vulnerability and susceptibility in relation to the WASH project of JESE in the fishing communities, several observations are made. JESE uses a prefixed approach to development based on measurable outputs. To implement WASH projects in the community adoption strategies towards behavior change and take up of new technologies is used. Thereby they mainly work with the middle (socio-economic) classes and often vulnerable groups are excluded. The research shows that adoption depends of financial, physical and political capital a household has and not necessarily on the willingness to adopt. Local leaders are actively involved in the WASH project, but the involvement of other community members is limited. Participation depends on local mobilisation, time and willingness by the community members to participate.

The third part looks at the concept of mainstreaming itself and discusses how different views on HIV/AIDS influence perceptions on mainstreaming opportunities. When HIV/AIDS is considered a health and/or behavioural issue only, a WATSAN organisation feels they can not bring a contribution to the reduction of susceptibility and vulnerability. When HIV/AIDS is understood as a development and underdevelopment problem, opportunities arise.

It is important to understand all aspects of HIV/AIDS in a community. The HIV/AIDS issue belongs to all four conceptualisations. The research showed that it is a health, behavioural, development and underdevelopment issue. Depending to the social, economic or political class one belongs to, one is affected differently. Comparing these outcomes with a critical assessment of the organisations activities, mission, vision and values opportunities to contribute to reduced susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS arise. Alignment of activities to the reality of HIV/AIDS can take place, without changing the purpose of development project. It is important to understand that this analysis has different outcomes in different intervention areas or communities.

Acknowledgments

This research is an answer to a question which I have been struggling with for long time. In 2003, I participated in a workshop in on HIV/AIDS in Turkana, Northern Kenya. Several NGO's discussed how their projects were affected by HIV/AIDS and what could be done. It was my first realization that HIV/AIDS is a development problem. Last year I learned about the concept of mainstreaming and decided that this was a chance for me to find out how I, as a future irrigation engineer/water manager can include HIV/AIDS in my profession. PROTOS gave me the opportunity to fulfil this idea, by assisting me in the development of this research. Therefore, I would firstly like to thank PROTOS for this opportunity and the freedom, time and resources they have given me. I hope sincerely that they will benefit from the results of this research.

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Abbreviations

ABC rule	Abstinence, Be faithful, Correct Condom use
AIDS	Acquired Immuno deficiency Syndrome
ARV	Anti Retro Viral
BMU	Beach Management Unit
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CDO	Community Development Officer
CSW	Casual Sex Worker
DFR	Department of Fisheries Resources
DFO	District fisheries Officer
HA	Health Assistant
HIV	Human Immuno Deficiency Virus
HH	Household
ILM	Integrated Lake Management
IRWM	Integrated Water Resource Management
JESE	Joint Effort to Safe the Environment
LAGBIMO	Lake George Basin Integrated Management Organisation
LC	Local government; e.g. LC1 Local government at village level
MAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
O&M	Operation and Maintenance
PLWHA	People Living With HIV/AIDS
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
QEPA	Queen Elizabeth Protected Area
S&V	Susceptibility and Vulnerability
TASO	The AIDS Support Organisation
Ush	Ugandan shilling
UWA	Uganda Wildlife Authorities
VCT	Voluntary Counseling and Testing
WASH	Water Sanitation and Hygiene
WATSAN	Water and Sanitation

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SUMMARY

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1 Introduction

Over the past decades HIV/AIDS has had a major impact on the development of sub-Saharan Africa. The disease has been recognized as a development problem affecting all sectors and layers of the population. HIV/AIDS is also an underdevelopment problem: it became clear that the disease affected the poor harder (Holden, 2004). Places with high poverty status, great gender inequality and poor public services are more susceptible to infection and vulnerable to the impacts of AIDS (Illife, 2006). This recognition has led to the introduction of the concept of 'mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in development programmes'. Mainstreaming refers to the fact that development programmes are affected by the high prevalence of HIV and AIDS. It also refers to the impact that organizations have on the risk and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS in their working communities. Each organization, within their field of expertise, should look at their activities and identify how they can reduce the impacts of HIV/AIDS in their intervention area. Within this context, the Belgian Government implemented a policy in March 2007 that all Belgian NGO's should mainstream HIV/AIDS in their development programs.

PROTOS is a Belgian NGO active in water development within fishing communities around Lake George in Western Uganda. Within the fishing communities, their activities exist of improved provision of water and sanitation facilities and awareness creation on hygiene at household and community level, so to improve the health status of the community. PROTOS believes that access to clean water is the handle to development. PROTOS implements its activities through partnerships with local NGO's. JESE is the NGO working in the fishing communities. The role of PROTOS is to provide financial and technical assistance.

In 2003, PROTOS carried out a baseline survey around Lake George to identify the livelihood constraints of the different communities. The main constraint identified by the communities was poor health conditions due to water borne diseases and HIV/AIDS (PROTOS, 2005). Generally fishing communities are considered to be highly susceptible to HIV-infection. Figures in 2005 for the fisheries sector showed an average HIV prevalence of 8.1 %, while the prevalence in the surrounding agricultural villages was 4 % (MAAIF, 2005). In 2002, HIV/AIDS was identified as the main cause of death for the age group between 15-50 years on lakeshores in Uganda (Allison and Seeley, 2004).

The question of PROTOS and JESE is how HIV and AIDS affect their programmes and what their contributions could be in the reduction of the infection and impacts of HIV/AIDS. Both organisations would like to address the problems of HIV/AIDS in the intervention communities, but have no idea how to implement the concept of mainstreaming.

This research aims to understand the concept of mainstreaming and its value in water development projects. It will look at the activities of JESE in the fishing communities around Lake George. The research tries to identify the factors contributing to susceptibility and vulnerability of the fishing communities and the role of WATSAN activities, as implemented by JESE on susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS.

2 Situating the research

2.1 *Recognizing HIV/AIDS as a development problem*

In the past, there have been two main ways of dealing with the impacts of HIV/AIDS. In the late eighties, AIDS was addressed as a health issue and dealt with by the medical world. Soon it became clear that no medicine was going to be found quickly and that medical interventions to eradicate the disease were not successful. Meanwhile, the number of people infected with the virus was still growing. A shift took place from dealing with AIDS as a medical problem, towards dealing with HIV infection as a behavioral problem. This led to large HIV and AIDS information campaigns, focussed on prevention of HIV infections. The main idea was that individuals, once informed, would be able to act rationally and change their behavior to safer sexual practises. The ABC rule (Abstinence, Be faithful and Correct Condom use) is an example of such approach. These campaigns proved not very successful either: many people these days know what AIDS is and how HIV is spread. Yet, only a few countries show a decline in HIV prevalence. In the beginning of 2000, AIDS has been recognised as a development problem affecting all layers and sectors in society and with this recognition a new shift is taking place towards a multi-sectoral approach. Taking a multisectoral view on the HIV/AIDS problem involves looking beyond prevention of the disease towards the whole epidemic. This includes not only treatment or policies and programmes to mitigate the impact of AIDS, but also policies that change societal factors contributing to susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS (Barnett and Whiteside, 2006:364). Mainstreaming HIV/AIDS is one concept towards a multi-sectoral approach. This means that non medical/health organisations play a role in the fight against AIDS. The mainstreaming approach recognises that all project and organisations can play a positive or negative on the factors influencing susceptibility and vulnerability. Development organisations should therefore reflect on their role and incorporate HIV/AIDS in their programmes. Mainstreaming does not aim to change the organisations' goals, but uses the expertise and capacities of the organisation. Using the capacity and expertise within the organisations mission, values and goals is called the organisations' comparative advantage.

2.2 *PROTOS and JESE: situating the organisations and their activities*

PROTOS is a Belgian NGO active in the water sector, in the North as well as in the South. Their mission is to promote mutual enriching relationships between the North and South through support in sustainable and liberating processes, which are integrated in the local culture and social circumstances. The overall aim is to improve livelihoods of the vulnerable communities in the South. PROTOS believes water is the key to development and aims to improve livelihoods through sustainable water management (PROTOS jaarverslag, 2005).

PROTOS is active at four levels: they provide technical support to ensure access to clean and safe water, capacity building of local actors, networking through linking actors and advocacy. Their intervention strategies are integrated water resource management and 'bouweerschap'. Integrated water resource management aims for optimal water use among different water users. 'Bouweerschap' is the process where local communities decide on their needs and what they should contribute to their development. The local actors control the process of planning and implementation (e.g. selection of contractor, organizing water rights, ect.). To implements its projects, PROTOS cooperates with local NGO's. In Uganda, PROTOS has two partners: JESE (Joint Effort to Save the Environment) and FORUD (Foundation for Rural Development). Their role is to implement different activities, train communities on water, health and sanitation, help the communities to select water points and form water committees.

They monitor the activities in the field and report field activities to PROTOS. JESE is the NGO responsible for the implementation of activities around Lake George, while FORUD works with pastoralist communities in the mountains. This research will focus on the activities of JESE in the fishing communities.

JESE is a local non governmental organization located in Fort Portal (West Uganda). They work in partnerships with other organizations in the field of agriculture, environmental conservation, water and sanitation and poverty reduction. Their mission is to empower communities to engage in productive integrated use of natural resources for socio-economic improvement (JESE reports). The organisation consists of two departments: marketing and production and WATSAN¹ team. The marketing and production team aims to enhance the livelihoods of small holder farmers by promoting organic agriculture and access to markets, while the WATSAN team is responsible for the implementation of the water and sanitation projects.

Concerned about the degradation of Lake Georges' resources and the poor health conditions of the fishing communities, PROTOS developed a plan for integrated water resource management around Lake George. At community level, PROTOS and JESE work together in water, sanitation and hygiene promotion, generally referred to as 'WASH'. 'WASH' activities consist of development of safe water sources, improve private and public sanitation levels, institutional strengthening and development of effective local monitoring and evaluation systems. In addition, hygiene promotion is organised at household and community level and consist of awareness creation and training on the importance of good hygiene and sanitation for improved health. PROTOS supports JESE technically and financially for the implementation of the WASH activities.

2.3 Communities of intervention: the fisher people

Since 2006, PROTOS and JESE are active around Lake George (see fig. 2.1).The fishing



communities live on the shores around Lake George, a shallow lake situated in the East African Rift Valley, in the South West of Uganda. Lake George is connected with Lake Edward, via the Kazinga Channel. The lake has a unique biodiversity and became part of Queen Elizabeth National Park in the 1950s. In 1988, the swamps in the north (about 15000 ha) and the lake were declared protected wetlands, under the Ramsar convention (Mafabi, 1996). Although the open water is part of Queen Elizabeth National Park, it is managed by the fisheries and water department. About 75 % of the lakeshores fall within the Queen Elizabeth Protected Area. In this area agricultural practices are prohibited which limits the livelihood activities of the riparian communities. Figure 2.1 shows a map of the area. The basin covers five districts of which three are bordering the lake: Kamwenge, Kasese and Bushenyi District.

Fig 2.1 Lake George and the fishing communities

¹ WATSAN stands for water and sanitation

The fishing communities of Lake George are situated around eight official landing sites, of which six are situated inside the national park. These communities are defined by their lake dependent lifestyles. Politically/administratively the community is build according the Local Governance Act. Annex 1 describes the decentralised policy making process and the Local Council (LC) system, which will be mentioned throughout the report. The landing sites are managed by Beach Management Units (BMU). These are legally empowered and 5-yearly elected institutions, responsible for sustainable fishing activities. All people involved in fishing activities should be registered under the BMU and pay a registration fee in order to legally carry out fishing activities.

Fishing activities are the main source of income for the majority of the households and the social classes are based on the type of fishing activities one is involved in. There are four main classes: boat owners, baria (the fishermen), fishmongers and 'others' (net repairers, net cleaners, fish processors and boat repairers). The boat owners hire two barias per boat to go fishing. Fishing activities take place at night and fishermen land around eight in the morning with their catch. The fish is sold to fish mongers, who either take the fish to outside markets or hire fish processors to smoke, fry or salt the fish. During day time the nets are repaired, cleaned and prepared for the next night. Both men and women are involved in fishing activities, but fishing itself is reserved to men. The majority of people active in the fishing sector are men. Within the community, women are mostly house wives and responsible for domestic tasks. After the fish is sold, the baria and the boat owners are free during the rest of the day. Threats to the fishing communities include the declining incomes due to reduced fish catches as a result of overfishing and illegal fishing practises.

Health is a major problem in the communities. Due to lack of alternative sources of income, people spent the rest of the day on leisure. It is common that the money earned that day is spent on drinking, gambling and women. Infection rates of STD's and HIV are high. Another challenge of the community is the poor health conditions caused by lack of access to public services like safe water sources. Most people at the landing sites use unboiled lake water, causing a high incidence of water borne diseases (PROTOS jaarverslag, 2005, Lwanga et al., 2003, Mafabi, 1996).

2.4 HIV/AIDS in fishing communities

In 2002, AIDS was identified as the main cause of death in the fishing communities in Uganda (Allison and Seeley, 2004). The fishing communities are considered to be highly susceptible and vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. Previous research on HIV/AIDS in the fishing communities revealed the impacts of HIV/AIDS (Allison et al., 2004, Grellier et al., 2004 and Tanzarn et al., 2003) and are summarized here.

Nomadic populations, but physical isolation

Fishermen are highly mobile and stay away from home for a long time, depending on the fishing season and migration of fish. Because of their long absence from home, fishermen seek company of commercial sex workers or start new families. These are easily available, since many women gather around the beaches, hoping to get some income. The fishing communities are thus characterised by easy access to multiple partnerships. Migration mostly happens within the communities around Lake George and sexual mixing is thus among the same community members, which increases the chances of infection with STD's and/or HIV/AIDS.

A gendered problem

Masculinity refers to what it means to be a man. Mostly in Sub-Saharan Africa, masculinity is linked to owning land, earn an income to sustain a family, a marital status and having children. In the fishing communities these factors are not present. Few fisher people are

officially married or own physical assets. Therefore, a real man is defined by being a good drinker, having many women and taking risks. There is a lot of peer pressure among fishermen to fulfill these ideologies. Fishing is considered as hard and dangerous work. After the catch is sold, the fishermen have available cash. After a day, or night, of hard work, many men feel they are entitled to pleasure and go for drinking. High alcohol consumption leads to impaired decision making and increases risky sexual behavior since it decreases inhibitions (Allison and Seeley, 2004).

Poverty among women makes them vulnerable for infection. Women often depend on the income of their husbands. With lack of material assets like boats, land or livestock, it is difficult for these women to negotiate over condom use (Illife, 2006). Furthermore, poverty leads women in to prostitution. Many young girls have no education and get married around the age of 15 years (Tanzarn and Bishop- Sambrook, 2003).

Leisure time/ idleness

The communities around Lake George are strongly isolated. After fishing activities are finished, there is not much to do in the community. Most communities have a football field, where men play in the evening, but there are no other economic or recreational possibilities. Men and women spend their time hanging around, sitting outside, playing cards and drink alcohol. Sexual encounters are a way to pass time.

Lack of (alternative) source of income and lack of assets (land, animals, trees, fishing gear)

Fisheries sector provides a daily but irregular income. This income is sufficient for daily needs, but not enough to invest in future needs, like material assets. Especially in the communities within the national park, it is hard to invest in the future. Land is common property and permanent houses and structures are not allowed. Also agriculture and cattle keeping is prohibited. Lack of saving opportunities motivates men to spend their surplus money on drinking and women. Men “who have ‘projects’ outside the community” (e.g. buying land for farming, start a business) are more likely to save their incomes.

Most activities in the fishing community are labor intensive and income of a household often depends on the daily ability to work. When a casual laborer becomes too weak to work he/she can not provide the necessities for the family. Households that have access to land or physical assets are able to sell of parts, in order to buy medicines or supplies for daily survival.

Lack of public services, food and water

The main outcome of a study on the impacts of HIV/AIDS on fishing communities in Uganda (Grellier et al., 2004) was that the fishing communities lack access to public services and it was stated that:

“to improve the effectiveness of HIV/AIDS interventions, action needs to be taken to improve access to clean water and sanitation” (Grellier et al., 2004).

This statement suggests that PROTOS and JESE can play an important role in reducing the impacts of HIV/AIDS on the fishing communities.

2.5 The comparative advantage of water, sanitation and hygiene projects

For social and economic development, health plays a crucial role (Wegelin-Shuringa and Kamminga, 2006). Good health ensures that people can carry out their professions and earn an income to sustain themselves and their families. WASH activities aim to improve the health status of individuals and communities in general. This creates a direct link between WASH activities and HIV/AIDS. This means that the comparative advantage of WASH projects lies in their ability to improve the individual and community health status. HIV infected people do not become ill immediately, but can function well for several years, on the condition that they maintain a good health. This is called positive living. Positive living focuses on mental and physical health of HIV-infected people. Hereby PLWHA are advised to eat well and nutritious food, drink plenty of clean water, keep hygienic living conditions and prevent situations that cause diarrhoea. Figure 2.2 shows how improved living conditions (i.e. clean water, sanitation and hygiene) help to sustain livelihoods of infected and affected people.

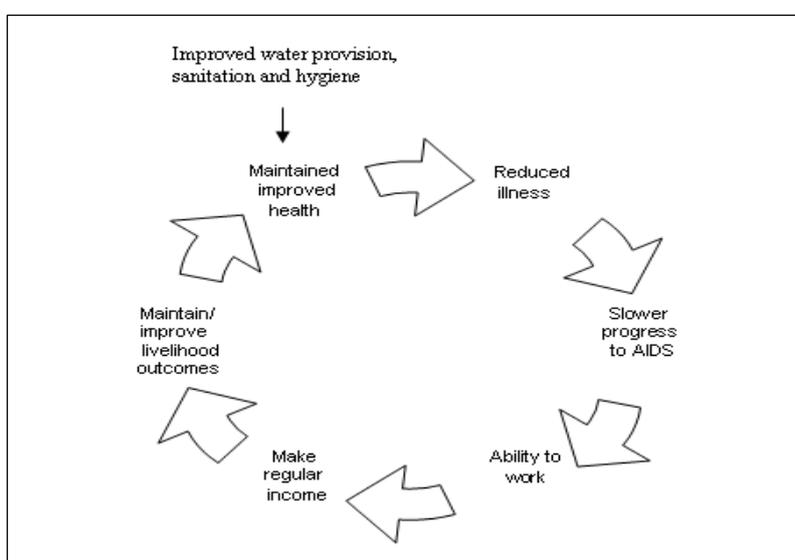


Figure 2.2 Influence of improved water, sanitation and health

It can be stated that, if WASH projects are successfully implemented; PROTOS and JESE are mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in their projects. Successfully implemented refers to long term increased health conditions due to improved water provision and sanitation and health levels.

2.5 Problem definition

In 2003, the community around Lake George identified HIV/AIDS as one of the main livelihood constraints. NGO's feel the effects of HIV/AIDS on their goals and activities. PROTOS and JESE have recognized HIV/AIDS as a problem, but have no idea how they, as a water organization, can take HIV/AIDS into account in their projects. The link between the implementation of water, sanitation and hygiene projects in the fishing communities on susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS is not known. This makes the comparative advantage of PROTOS and JESE unclear. Identification of the impact of WASH programme of JESE, on susceptibility and vulnerability needs to be identified.

2.6 Boundaries

This research will look at possibilities for external mainstreaming in JESE's activities at community level. It will only take the Water, Sanitation and Hygiene project in the fishing communities into account. Illegal fisher people will not be discussed in the report, since it was hard to get information on these activities, within the timeframe of the research.

There are many principles for mainstreaming in the literature. In this report two principles will be focussed on: the comparative advantage as entry point for mainstreaming and a people centered focus (see chapter 3).

2.7 Research objective and questions

Research objective

To gain understanding on the concept of mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in water development programmes by analysing the vulnerability and susceptibility to HIV/AIDS of the fishing communities around Lake George, Uganda and the influence of JESE's water, sanitation and hygiene projects on susceptibility and vulnerability.

Research question

Which factors influence the vulnerability and susceptibility to HIV/AIDS of the fishing communities around Lake George and what is the influence of JESE's water, sanitation and hygiene projects on the susceptibility and vulnerability of the communities?

Sub questions

- Which factors determine the vulnerability to AIDS in the fishing communities?
- Which factors determine the susceptibility to HIV in the fishing communities?
- What are the contributions of WASH as implemented by JESE to of susceptibility and vulnerability?
- How can mainstreaming be understood?

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Deepening the mainstreaming concept

Mainstreaming HIV/AIDS is a new concept and is often confused with integrating an AIDS component in a development project. This means that activities are often limited to information dissemination (ABC message) and home based care. Elsey et al. (2005) define mainstreaming HIV/AIDS as:

“The process of analysing how HIV/AIDS impacts on all sectors, now and in the future, both internally and externally, to determine how the sector should respond based on their comparative advantage”.

‘Comparative advantage’ is a key word in the definition. It refers to making optimal use of existing frameworks and expertise within the organization, while the focus of the development project remains in its original goals (ITG, 2003, Holden, 2004).

HIV/AIDS literature contains many different terms, which are often interrelated, but also used interchangeably. However, a difference needs to be made between mainstreaming and the following concepts (Holden, 2004):

- *AIDS work*: work which is directly focused on prevention, care, treatment or support for those who are affected. The work is distinct and implemented separately from other existing humanitarian or development work;
- *Integrated AIDS work*: work which is implemented along with or as a part of development work. It still focuses on prevention and care, but the work is done in conjunction with other projects or within the wider context of programmes;
- *Complementary partnerships*: organisations do not have to become specialists on HIV/AIDS, but they can link with organisations that can address other aspects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

Internal and external mainstreaming

Two types of mainstreaming can be identified i.e. internal and external mainstreaming. *Internal mainstreaming* relates to the internal structure of a development organization and aims at changing the organisational policy and practise in order to reduce the organisations’ susceptibility and its vulnerability. This is commonly created through the development of a work place policy. *External mainstreaming* aims to adapt development programmes and activities in order to reduce the risks and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS of the intended project beneficiaries. External mainstreaming tries to take into account the possible negative effects of a high HIV/AIDS prevalence on their development projects. This research will focus only at external mainstreaming. There is not one straightforward definition for mainstreaming HIV/AIDS and therefore following definition will be used in this report:

External mainstreaming will be looked at as the alignment of project activities with the reality of HIV/AIDS, without changing the purpose of the development objectives.

3.2 Principles of mainstreaming

The literature identifies several principles for mainstreaming HIV/AIDS (ITG, 2003, UNAIDS, 2005). The first principle refers to the comparative advantage as entry point for mainstreaming. The comparative advantage of an organisation exists of those activities within the programmes of an NGO that positively contribute to the reduction of the susceptibility and vulnerability of the community to HIV/AIDS. An organisation has to assess the factors which lead to susceptibility and vulnerability of the community in general and the factors within the organisations' activities that have a positive or negative impact on the susceptibility and vulnerability of the community.

The second principle points out the importance of existing national strategic frameworks. Mainstreaming efforts should relate to and be implemented within existing structures to increase the likelihood of success and to prevent duplication of already made efforts.

Since mainstreaming is a new concept, the link between water development and HIV/AIDS is not always clear. Although HIV/AIDS as a disease has been visible since the eighties, there is still a lot of stigma. The reaction of many organisations is that they are not an AIDS organization. The third principle stresses the need for sensitization and capacity building of project staff in order to create awareness, interest, involvement and participation. The fourth principle articulates the need to form complementary partnerships, because not all expertise on HIV/AIDS can be available within the organisation or not all possible actions can be undertaken by one organisation. Identifying possible partnerships for capacity building and sensitization are necessary for the success of reduced susceptibility and vulnerability. These principles have a top down view on mainstreaming.

The OXFAM mainstreaming handbook adds an important principle, namely that mainstreaming is about people. The book makes a clear link between underdevelopment, susceptibility and vulnerability. HIV/AIDS affects the live of individuals, the sick as well as their relatives and the community. In order to understand which actions should be undertaken, it is important to understand how HIV/AIDS affects the lives of people, what makes them vulnerable and what their immediate and long term needs are. Mainstreaming thus should start from a livelihood approach (Holden, 2004).

3.3 Susceptibility and vulnerability

The impact of HIV/AIDS is determined by susceptibility to HIV and vulnerability to AIDS. *Susceptibility* refers to the likelihood of HIV infection. *Vulnerability* is defined as the likelihood of HIV/AIDS having negative impacts. Resilience refers to how people and organisations are able to deal with the impacts of HIV/AIDS in order to sustain their goals (Adler, 2000). Susceptibility and vulnerability are terms which can refer to individuals as well as to groups (communities) and organisations (referred to as levels). This is indicated in figure 3.1. The figure shows the factors that influence susceptibility to HIV (S) and vulnerability to (V) at each of these levels. Additionally it shows the influence each level has on the susceptibility and vulnerability of the other level.

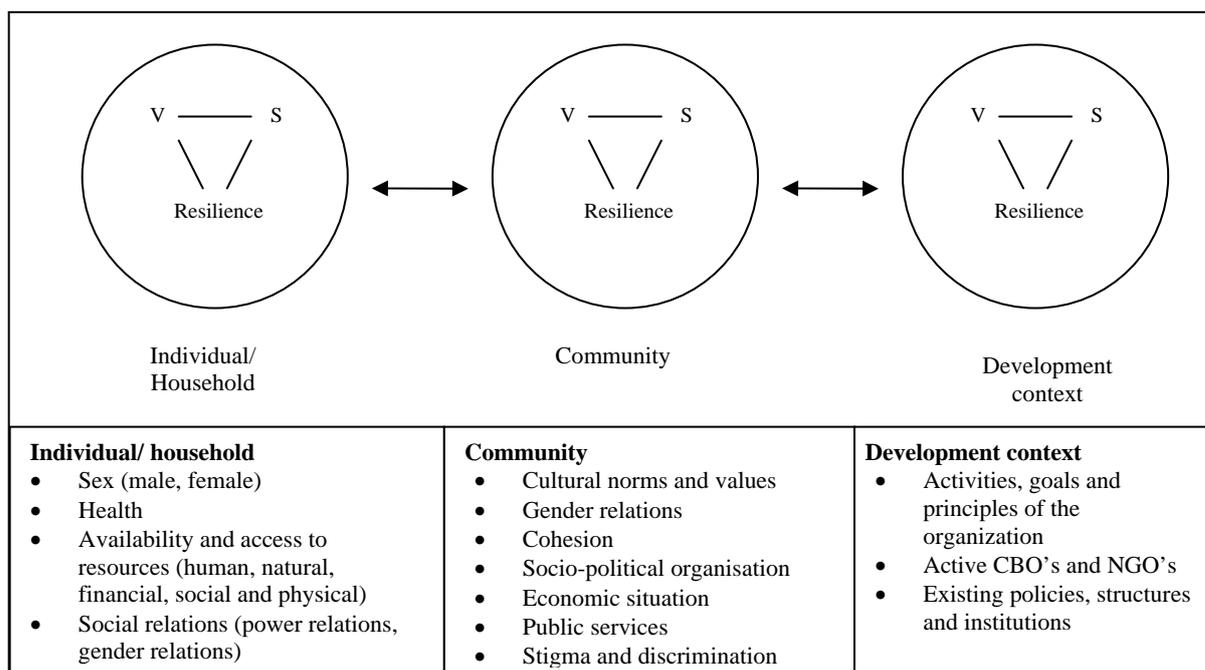


Figure 3.1 Factors influencing susceptibility and vulnerability of the household, community and the development organisations

When a large proportion of the intervention community is sick, they are unable to participate in their development. This means that a high AIDS prevalence in the community has a negative influence on development projects. Vice versa development organisations can have a (positive or negative) influence on the susceptibility and vulnerability of individuals, households and communities, depending on their actions.

Holden in her book (2004) makes a clear link between underdevelopment and susceptibility and vulnerability. This is illustrated in figure 2.2. Inside the circles a link is made between susceptibility, vulnerability and resilience, which indicate that vulnerability and susceptibility are each others cause and consequence. When vulnerability increases, susceptibility may also increase (e.g. loss of assets may lead to the need to engage in survival sex), which in turn can lead to increased vulnerability. This assumes that the more assets available, the more resilient to HIV/AIDS.

3.3.1 Susceptibility and vulnerability of the community

Cohen (1985) defines a community as a group of people who have something in common with each other, which distinguishes them in a significant way from members of another group. This definition expresses a relational idea: a group of people are marked different from the wider society by their difference in life style and patterns of behavior. These patterns of behavior are influenced by the physical surroundings and geographical boundaries, but also by cultural norms and values, institutional patterns and social identity (Fitzpatrick, 1966, Bates and Bacon, 1972). The lifestyles and the influence of it on the susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS have already been described in chapter 2.

Often the high HIV/AIDS prevalence among the fishing communities is linked to their cultural norms and values. Despite the fact that most individuals in the communities know where AIDS comes from and how it can be prevented, the prevalence has hardly reduced over

the years. Cultural norms and values include how men and women are viewed in society, the roles and relation between each class and gender and the power relations between them. Also, the political, economic and cultural factors of a community, determine sexual behavior and practices. Although sex is considered a private activity, it is also coded, interpreted and controlled through symbols, metaphors, rituals and norms that create the situation in which sexual interaction can or can not take place (Barnett and Whiteside, 2006).

The impacts of AIDS are not only limited to infected people, but have an impact on the household, extended family, community and the wider society. In order to understand the complex dynamics of vulnerability to AIDS it is important to analyse power and gender roles in the communities (Masanjala, 2006).

3.3.2 Susceptibility and vulnerability of individuals and households

At individual level, susceptibility is determined several factors. Some are bio-physical factors like nutrition level, sex (male/female) and health status play an initial role. Secondly, culture and behavior have a significant influence and thirdly the socio-economic status (e.g. livelihood activities and strategies, access to public services, the level of literacy and gender roles and status).

Fishing communities are often approached as homogeneous. However, within the fishing community, however small, several social, political and economic classes can be found. Each of them have different access to power, assets and sexual interactions. Their susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS thus differs strongly. The level of vulnerability of a household depends on the access to resources, household size and composition, access to assistance from extended families/friends and the ability of the community to provide support. Families with secure incomes, good social networks and sufficient financial and physical assets are less vulnerable to the impacts of AIDS. The impacts on the household and extended family can lead to impoverishment of the family, depending on the families' socio-economic status.

In her book "AIDS and the ecology of poverty" (2006), Stillwaggon focuses on the importance of health in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Healthy people have a chance of 1/500-1/1000 to be infected during sexual contact. Malnutrition and poor health conditions increase the likelihood of infection. HIV attacks the immune system and when the immune system is already impaired, the body is too weak to fight infections. Shortage of nutrients, protein and micro-elements weakens the natural barriers like the skin and mucus composition, so that a person has an increased chance for infection. Many water borne diseases cause diarrhoea, which increases the level of malnutrition and thus the level of susceptibility. Diseases like malaria, helminths and schistosomiasis are proven to be important cofactors in susceptibility to HIV. Good health services, improved hygiene and sanitation and clean water provision can reduce the likelihood of infection.

3.3.4 The development context and HIV/AIDS

From a community perspective, the development context exists of two parts, namely the development organisation (NGO) active in the community and the wider context in which the NGO functions and the community lives. HIV and AIDS have considerable consequences for development. Loss of human capital impacts the development sector at micro, meso and macro level. Many projects, regardless of their intervention focus, are impacted by the epidemic, either by loss of labor within the organization, or by the high prevalence in the target communities. General illness of the intervention communities compromises successful implementation and effectiveness of projects. HIV/AIDS thus is a threat to sustainable development, no matter whether it is initiated by the community or by development organisations. Using a multi-sectoral approach recognizes that that each sector can play a role

in the reduction of susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS in their intervention community by looking at their (possible) positive and negative impact on the susceptibility and vulnerability. A multi-sectoral approach generally implies looking beyond the disease and at the whole epidemic and includes actions that change societal factors that influence long term susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV and AIDS (Barnett and Whiteside, 2006:362).

3.5 Mainstreaming: linking the concepts

Figure 3.3 translates the concepts like susceptibility and vulnerability at all levels to the situation of HIV/AIDS in the fishing communities and JESE's WASH activities in these communities. Thus, figure 3.3 gives an overview of mainstreaming of WASH project in the fishing community and serves as a framework for analysis. The idea is to link the different levels, household, community and development context by analysing their influence on vulnerability and susceptibility, currently and after project implementation. This research starts from the assumption that improved health through the WASH projects of PROTOS and JESE, will lead to a positive impact on susceptibility and vulnerability at individual, household and community level.

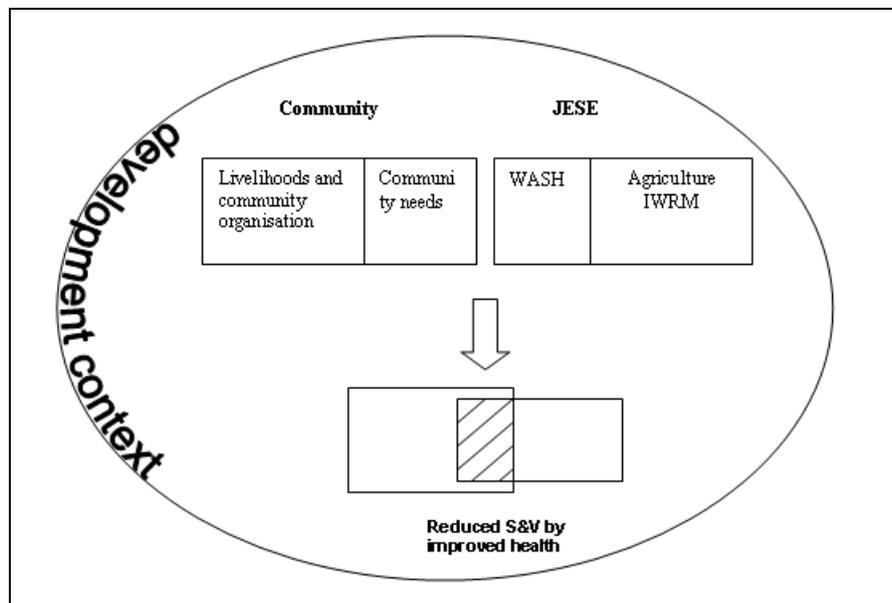


Figure 3.3 Linking the concepts

Within the community factors influencing susceptibility and vulnerability need to be identified. After this identification the influence of JESE's activities on the community and different socio-economic groups can be identified and how JESE can play a role in improving the community health status.

4 Methodology

The research tries to generate knowledge on the factors that contribute to HIV/AIDS problem. From the theoretical framework (see figure 3.1 and 3.2), a methodology for data gathering and analysis can be synthesized. Three perspectives are analysed: the views of individual/household, the community and the NGO. This to understand the influence of the WASH projects, as implemented by JESE in the fishing context on susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. Figure 4.1 gives a schematic overview of the data gathering and analysis process.

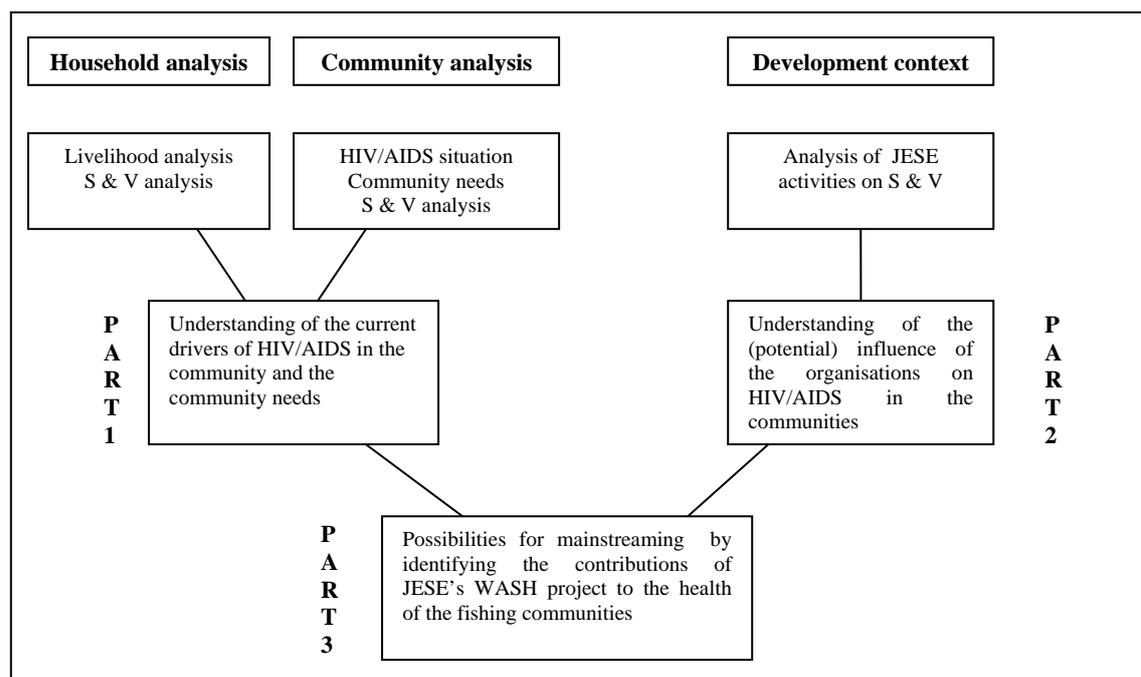


Figure 4.1 Framework of the data gathering and analysis process for research on mainstreaming

4.1 Data collection and analysis

4.1.1 Data collection for the household and community analysis

The household and community analyses aim to keep a people-centered focus in order to identify the factors contributing to the risk of infection, and to identify the impacts of AIDS on households and communities. HIV/AIDS is a complex matter, with both biological and socio-economic factors underlying susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS (Stillwagon, 2006). A case study aims to understand the unity and wholeness of the case, in its setting, recognizing its complexity and its context (Punch, 2005). Therefore, two case studies were carried out to gain an in-depth understanding of the community, the impacts of HIV/AIDS and the needs of affected people. A collective instrumental case study was used, with two cases with maximum difference. The context of both cases is a fishing community. The social phenomena studied are the impacts of HIV/AIDS on the fishing community and the community responses to the shock caused by HIV/AIDS. The selected cases and their differences are described in table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Selected landing sites and selection criteria

Mahyoro	Kasenyi
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Outside QEPA • Public services available • PROTOS/JESE active • Economic diversification 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inside QEPA • Lack of public services • PROTOS/JESE not active, but will intervene in the area • Limited economic activities

The objective of each case study is to determine the factors contributing to susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS by analyzing the lives of community members within the villages, how they cope with HIV/AIDS and their resilience. The second objective is to identify the comparative advantage of the water and sanitation project in each of these fishing communities by identifying the community needs. The case study also identifies the differences between landing sites inside the national park and outside the national park. It is assumed that due to difference in economic livelihood diversification, the communities within QEPA and outside QEPA have different needs and thus need a different intervention approach. The methods used for data collection during the case studies were observations, semi structured interviews, casual communication and field visits.

4.1.2 Sustainable livelihood approach for household and community analysis²

Much of the research on HIV/AIDS in the fishing communities in Uganda considers the fishing communities as a homogeneous group, whereby the causes and impacts of HIV/AIDS are generalized and interpreted to be the same for all fishing communities. By using a livelihood approach, the different socio-economic classes in the communities around Lake George can be identified and reveal the different strategies they use to reach their aspired livelihood outcomes. This will guide the required response and actions in order to mainstream HIV/AIDS in development planning.

The sustainable livelihood framework is a holistic approach to poverty analysis at household level and looks at livelihood outcomes in relation to the interaction between the different assets or capitals a household possesses (DFID, 1999, Baumann, 2000). The resilience of a household depends on the capitals that can be drawn upon. The framework recognizes that financial capital is insufficient to understand this resilience and argues that a household draws upon five capitals: human, financial, physical, natural and social capital. In a limited way, these capitals are interchangeable (Bauman, 2000). Besides the people centered focus, the framework helps to put the household and community in the wider context and shows the linkages between them.

Furthermore, the sustainable livelihood approach

- keeps a people-centered focus in the analysis of data;
- aims to understand the complexity of livelihoods and offers a holistic approach;
- enables determination of the drivers of vulnerability and susceptibility towards HIV/AIDS and identifies where interventions need to be taken, through a household analysis (Baumann, 2000).

² The core ideas are taken from the DFID guidelines (1999), unless stated different

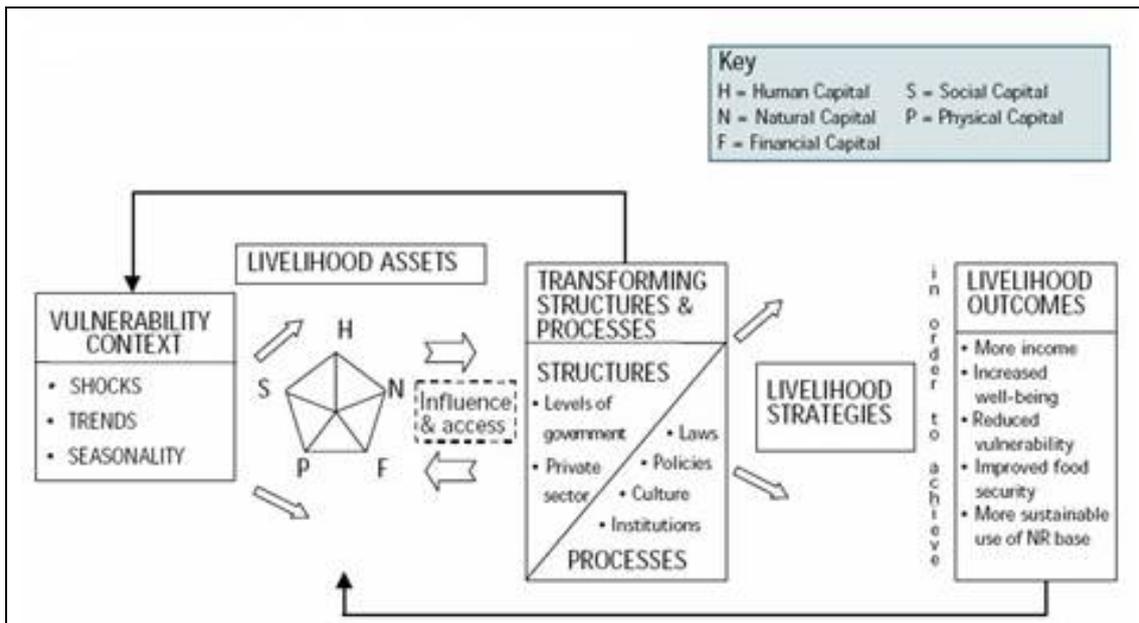


Figure 4.2 The SL framework (DFID, 1999)

4.1.3 Data collection for the development context analysis

The development context that has been studied exists of two parts. First, there is the development organization (JESE) itself, and secondly there is the wider development context. As shown in figure 3.3 in chapter 3, the community and the development organization function within a wider context, which can influence the susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. JESE as an organisation will therefore be analysed in order to identify the comparative advantage of the organization. Participant observation was used as a methodology to collect data. This is a qualitative method for data collection which aims to understand complex phenomena by taking part in the daily activities, interactions and events of a group of people (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). Participant observation is characterized by living in the context for extended period of time, actively participating in a wide range of daily routines, whereby a tacit knowledge is created. This knowledge is hard to record, but helps in the data analysis. Formal and informal interviewing and observation techniques are used, as well as active participation in the project activities of JESE. The aimed outcome was an understanding of the organisations' principles, strategies, activities as well as the influence of the organization on susceptibility and vulnerability.

Changes in the development context have possible influence on different livelihoods and the community organization. By looking at the wider development context, two principles (that mainstreaming should be done within existing policies and institutions on HIV/AIDS and the importance of forming complementary partnerships-see paragraph 3.2) can be fulfilled. Therefore, data are gathered through a CBO/NGO analysis and a policy and institutional analysis. This knowledge aims to link the household level to the wider context, as well as to understand the influence they have on each other.

4.1.4 Analysis of development context

The project cycle is used as a management tool by JESE to implement their projects in the communities they work with. Strategies are implemented through a series of activities. The field observations, obtained through the participant observation, will be held against the principles, values, strategies, activities and planned outcomes of JESE. They are also compared with the community needs, as identified in the household/community analysis. Figure 4.3 gives the project cycle.

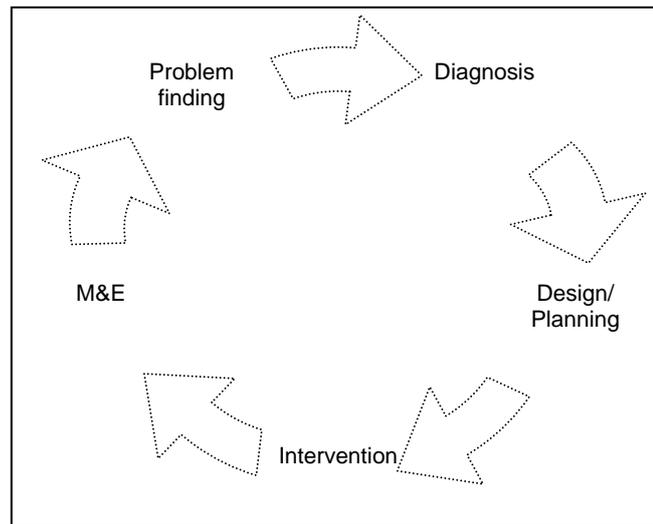


Figure 4.3 project cycle

During the participant observation different steps in the cycle were observed, namely:

- Diagnosis phase: the baseline survey in four landing sites in QEPA
- Implementation phase: the activities of the social team in Mahyoro
- M&E of the activities in Mahyoro Subcounty

Problem finding and planning will not be discussed in this report, since at the time of field work, these activities did not take place.

4.2 The field work

4.2.1 Preparation of the first case study and field work

At arrival an introduction to PROTOS and JESE took place. In that way a background and basic understanding of the research environment was created. Participation options and practical organization of the field work were discussed and agreed upon. JESE was interviewed on their perceptions of HIV/AIDS in the community and about mainstreaming activities. PROTOS organized an introductory visit to the different landing sites in Kasese District. The aim was to get a visual understanding of the living conditions at the landing sites. Four landing sites in the park were visited: Kahendero, Hamukungu, Kasenyi and Katunguru K. This visit also gave inside in the possibilities to talk about HIV and AIDS in the communities.

4.2.2 First case study and participation in activities of JESE in the Mahyoro community

The first case study was carried out in Mahyoro Subcounty, the only area where PROTOS and JESE are already active. The Mahyoro landing site is situated outside the national park, South West of the lake. An introductory meeting to Mahyoro was carried out with the JESE coordinator and a staff member of the WATSAN team. During this introductory visit a basic understanding was created for the set up of the interviews. The actual research activities existed of two main parts: studying the Mahyoro fishing community through observation and interviews and participation in the JESE's activities.

Mahyoro Subcounty is a remote place. From Fort Portal it takes at least six hours by public transport. For this reason, the WATSAN team lives in Mahyoro town. They stay in Mahyoro for two weeks and return to Fort Portal for one week. All staff members have a rental room and stay in the same compound. They work eat and live together as a team. As part of the participant observation I stayed with the team in the field, living in the same compound as they did. The research in Mahyoro took four weeks. A JESE staff member was appointed as a key informant and translator and the field visits were done by motor bike. The field work consisted of interviews, understanding the community and field visits to water sources, demonstration homes and the surrounding villages.

4.2.3 Participation in the baseline survey of JESE

In June, a baseline survey was carried out in the fishing villages around Lake George in Kasese District. The baseline took ten days and four landing sites were visited by the WATSAN team. The aim was to gain basic situational information concerning water, sanitation and hygiene levels in each village in order to develop and implement action plans. Participation in the baseline had triple goals: to observe JESE activities (how they organize a baseline survey and the data they collect, how they collect it), to identify the second location for the case study and to gain understanding of livelihood activities in the fishing communities within QEPA. The baseline activities of JESE included house to house visits (survey), a participatory community meeting, semi structured interviews at the landing site and with the BMU committee and a CBO assessments. Meanwhile, own research was carried out with affected and infected individuals and the different AIDS groups in the fishing villages.

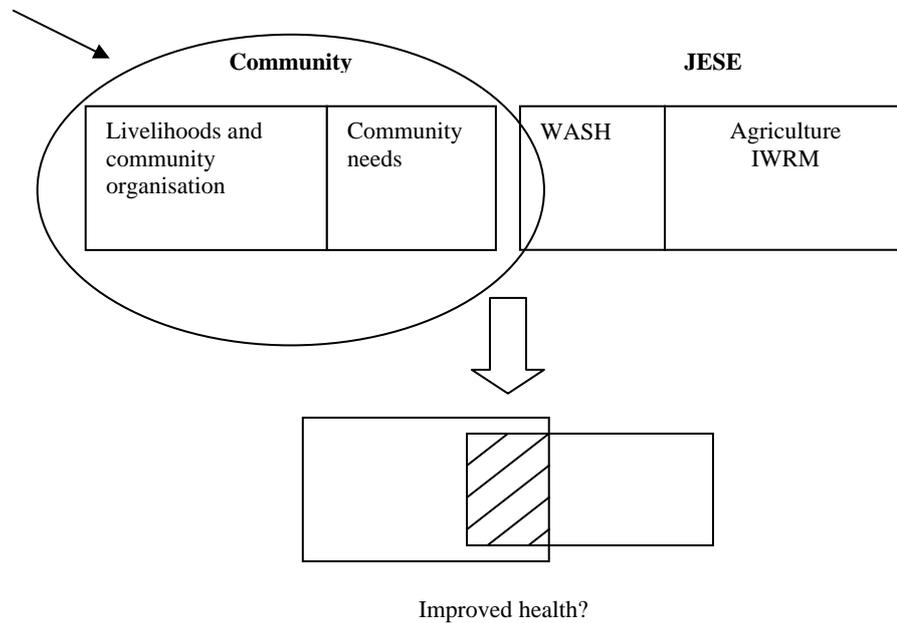
4.2.4 Selection of the second case study: the Kasenyi community

After the baseline survey Kasenyi Parish was selected as a second case. The baseline survey revealed that of all landing sites in Kasese district it is the most isolated community with the least access to public services. The community expressed a high prevalence of HIV and AIDS related deaths. Most community members were fairly open to talk about HIV and AIDS. An additional criterion for selecting Kasenyi was the probability of intervention. Considering the low level of available public services it is likely that Kasenyi will be selected first for intervention by PROTOS and JESE. Due to remoteness, lack of transport and inability to reside in the community, the case study took only one week. However, Kasenyi Parish is small (5 km²) and it was easy to cover the whole parish. Another technique to gain additional information was through the baria in the Mahyoro landing site. Many baria and boat owners interact with other landing sites and know the living conditions. Another week was spent in Mahyoro to gain information on Kasenyi and to fill gaps in Mahyoro research, through interviews with boat owners and older baria.

4.2.5 Limitations during the field work

- The Mahyoro community is mainly illiterate and most inhabitants have no or limited knowledge of English. Spontaneous interaction was inhibited and always depended on translation;
- The JESE staff would use local language when they were planning or discussing and during their free time at night;
- Sometimes an HIV positive key informant/translator was used. He would get tired after two or three house visits and made it difficult to have in depth interviews since it took a lot of his energy;
- Remoteness of the landing sites made it hard to return on regular basis. Due to lack of basic necessities like a safe place to sleep and drinking water it was hard to stay in the villages within QEPA;
- Many villages suffer from research tiredness. Academic researchers and NGO's come to collect information, write reports. After that they are never seen again by the communities.

PART 1 MAINSTREAMING IS ABOUT PEOPLE



Summary

This part consist of two chapters and aims to identify:

- The factors which determine vulnerability and susceptibility to HIV/AIDS in the fishing community
- The factors which determine vulnerability and susceptibility to HIV at individual and household level
- The community needs in relation to HIV/AIDS

These two chapters tries to understand HIV/AIDS as an underdevelopment and/or cultural issue. This helps to understand the underlying factors contributing to vulnerability and susceptibility of the community and individuals/households. In addition the main needs for PLWHA in the community are identified. The outcomes of these chapters help to find the focus areas for mainstreaming in the WASH projects in the fishing communities. Two case studies are used to identify the socio-economic classes within the community and the role of access to resources for sustainable livelihoods.

5 Vulnerability and susceptibility of the fishing communities

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to describe the community organisation and lifestyles in two fishing villages around Lake George and explains why this is. It also tries to identify the differences between communities inside and outside Queen Elizabeth National Park, in relation factors influencing vulnerability and susceptibility to HIV/AIDS. This is necessary to understand the dynamics of HIV/AIDS in different fishing communities around Lake George. This chapter starts with a general overview of the fishing communities around Lake George. There after, two fishing communities will be discussed: a fishing community within the national park and a fishing community outside the park, respectively Kasenyi and Mayhoro. These communities will be discussed in relation to their social, economic and political power, as well as their access to public services. The communities' access to knowledge on health issues and discrimination will be analysed. The chapter ends with an analysis of the community needs related to HIV/AIDS.

5.2 Context of the fishing communities

The fishing community is a community that comprises of members of which the main livelihood depends on the income related to fishing activities. Except for the fishmongers, most community members live within the fishing villages around the landing site. An official fish landing site is “a place prescribed by the minister of agriculture, where fish may be landed or disposed of and is recognized by the local government and the Beach Management Unit (BMU) for the purposes of providing access to fishing, landing, handling, processing and marketing of fish, collection of fisheries information and the issue of fish movement permits” (MAAIF, 2003).

The original inhabitants around the lake were the Basongora, who lived as cattle keepers. Fishing activities started in the 1920's by the Abagabo clan, a group of Congolese migrants. They became the leaders of the fishing communities and the beach was managed by a fishermen committee consisting of male boat owners only. Even though the committee had no legal power, all decisions were taken by the committee. The numbers of fishing boats allowed was unlimited, but the community was very small and so the number of boats. In the beginning of the 1950's, the 8 landing sites around Lake George were formally recognised and each committee was given 28 boat licenses by the Fisheries Department. These licenses were given to a boat owner for a lifetime. An applicant needed a recommendation letter of the chairman of the fishermen committee and the Chief Fisheries Officer. Boats and licenses were inherited by the family after the death of the boat owner. Both men and women could be boat owners, but it was hard for a newcomer to acquire a license. The fishing business was healthy and the community rich, which attracted many people from all over Uganda. Many women came to landing sites to earn an income through prostitution.

Today, much of the lake is over fished. Bad fisheries management has led to reduced fish catches and increased poverty in the fishing communities. In 2001, the ILM project (Integrated lake Management) was introduced around Lake George. It aimed for an improved, sustainable lake management system to improve local livelihoods. Through awareness creation the role of different stakeholders, i.e. women, baria, and others, were identified. The fishermen committees were replaced by BMU committees (Beach Management Units). They are elected by local fisheries stakeholders and include members of each class and gender. Details on the formation process can be found in appendix 2.

5.2.1 The beach management units (BMU's)

The BMU are responsible for prevention of illegal fishing activities and for sustainable and equitable fishing practises. Since the implementation of the BMU system much has changed in the fishing communities. The BMU can be considered the core unit of social, political and economic life in the communities. Since the Statuary instrument³ of 2003, the Beach Management Units are the legally empowered institutions responsible for fisheries management within a recognised landing site with thirty or more boats. The BMU structure includes all fisheries stakeholders and divides the fishing community into four groups: boat owners, baria, fishmongers and 'others'⁴. A legal committee exists of 30 % boat owners, 30 % baria, 30 % 'others' and 10 % fishmongers. At least 30 % of the committee should be women. Membership is gained through a yearly membership fee and can be refused by the BMU committee in case of inappropriate behavior (like involvement in illegal fishing activities). The committee members have the power to arrest in case of illegal fisheries operations on water or land. The BMU collects revenues for its operations, fisheries management and development and it aims to improve sanitation and fish handling quality at the landing site. A BMU operates within the borders of the existing parish and thus falls under the administration of the parish and village councils. Members of these Local Councils (LC's, see also appendix 1) can not be elected as BMU committee members, but play an advisory role in the committee. Table 5.1 gives an overview of the BMU composition of each landing site around Lake George.

Table 5.1 Overview of the key positions of the committees at the different landing sites

Landing site	No of boats	No of committee	No of women	Chairperson	Vice chairperson	Secretary	Treasurer	Defense	No of baria
Kahendero	48	10	3	Boat owner (male)	Boat owner (female)	Baria (male)	Fish monger (female)	Baria (male)	192
Hamukungu	48	15	3	Boat owner (male)	Boat owner (male)	Others (male)	Boat owner (male)	Baria (male)	192
Kasenyi	48	10	3	Boat owner (male)	Baria (male)	Others (male)	Fishmonger (female)	Net repairer (male)	144
Katunguru K	30	10	3	Boat owner (male)	Baria (male)	Boat owner (female)	Others (male)	Baria (male)	120
Katunguru B*	30								
Kashaka	48	10	3	Boat owner (male)	Boat owner (male)	Baria (male)	Fishmonger (male)	Baria (male)	167
Mahyoro	48	10	3	Baria (male)	Boat owner (male)	Boat owner (male)	Boat owner (female)	Fishmonger (male)	192
Kainya	34		3	Boat owner (male)	Baria (male)	Boat owner (male)	Boat owner (male)	Baria (male)	128

New committees elected in May 2007. Source: field interviews

*Landing site not visited

Within the fishing communities much of the power lies within the BMU. They decide on who will get a boat license and give advice the District Fisheries Officer (DFO) on issues concerning fisheries management. They also determine the legal and illegal fishing activities. Any activity taking place at the landing site, whether by local or external organisations, needs informal permission of the BMU. Theoretically, the aim of the BMU set up is a poverty focused and gender sensitive institution that promotes equal rights in membership (MAAIF, 2003). However, being in a key position in the BMU committee provides an individual with

³ Statuary instrument: The BMU is not included in the fisheries act, but in the fisheries bill which has not yet passed the parliament. To give BMU structures legal power, it was endorsed by the parliament through a statuary instrument, before the enacting of the fisheries bill

⁴ the 'others' is the legal name of a group in the BMU structure. It represent a mixed group, namely all those handling fish, but do not own boats, transport fish outside the parish or are fishermen. The name can be confusing, thus whenever the group is mentioned in this report, the name will be put between brackets: 'others'

much power. Table 5.1 shows that the key positions are still taken by male boat owners and that the least power lies with the 'others'. Most landing sites have women in the committee, but they rarely take key positions. Since these economic classes also represent the social status in the community, it can be concluded that mainly the 'others' have a low socio-political status.

5.2.2 Composition of the fishing community

The BMU members form the most important group within the fishing communities, since the only legal way to access the fisheries resources is through joining a BMU. In addition, the economic and social status is determined by the group one belongs to. The BMU members will be described here in relation to their economic background and social and political influence. The role of the LC1 and LC 2 are described in appendix 5.1 and the role of the other community members will be dealt with in chapter 6.

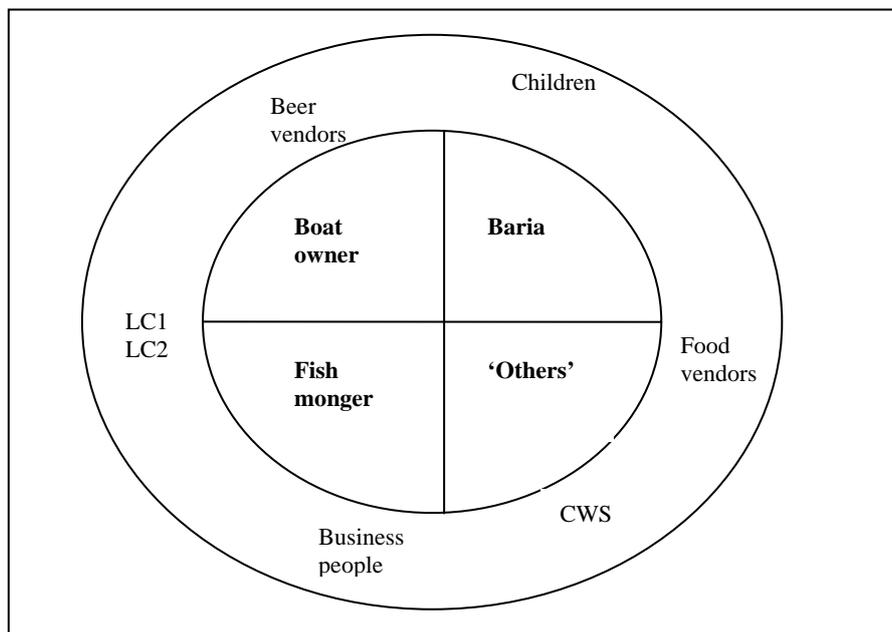


Figure 5.1 Community composition (Adapted from Tanzarn et al., 2003)

Boat owners

The number of boats on Lake George is limited through a licensing system. In the past, boat licenses were issued for the lifetime of the owner, and inherited from father to son. Since 2003, all stakeholders can apply for a boat license through the BMU committee. A boat owner must be a permanent resident of the parish in which the boat is licensed. Only one boat can be licensed per family or household. After recommendation by the BMU chairperson, a boat license is issued yearly by the District Fisheries Officer. In theory, all BMU members have equal opportunity to become boat owners. However, owning a boat requires considerable finances. Boat owners are responsible for the provision of the boat and necessary fishing equipment on a daily basis. There are also political issues involved in the licensing of a boat. Boat licenses are predominantly issued to previous license holders. New boat owners are not considered until a previously licensed boat owner becomes inactive, or the number of total licenses is increased by the Department of Fisheries Resources. Licenses are sometimes shared by two people who have agreed to divide the investments, costs, and profits involved. Most female boat owners share licenses in this way. The challenges the boat owners face, are the high investment and maintenance costs, the unreliability of some baria and the loss or theft of nets. A boat owner should always be present when the boat arrives, to monitor the fishing activities.

Baria

A baria is a licensed fisherman, registered under a BMU and is responsible for the actual fishing on the lake. On Lake George, fishing is exclusively reserved for men, since it is considered as hard and dangerous work. Rowing and hauling the nets demands a lot of physical strength. The baria play a key role in fisheries management, since they do the actual fishing and thus determine where fish is caught, the size of fish caught and which methods are used. The work is organised among the baria and varies according to their financial needs. Most baria fish 3-4 days and rest for 3-4 days. A baria does not work for one boat owner, but negotiates his work when he is in need of money. Some baria fish for the same boat owner for longer periods of time, others alter on daily basis. Alteration depends on the trustworthiness of both the baria and the boat owner. The profit division of fish sale depends per the landing site. Commonly, the boat owners receive between 50 % and 60 %. The baria receive the remaining percentage, which they split among them.

A baria is required to have a minimum age of 18 years and acquire a yearly fish permit, issued by the local government. Depending on the landing site, there are three or four licensed barias per boat. Like the number of boat owners, the number of baria per landing site is limited. Young boys start as net cleaners and fish processors. At a later stage they try to convince older baria to train them in fishing. When a baria arrives in a new landing site, he approaches other baria as a way to be introduced to the boat owners and get work. Life on the lake is challenging. Hippos and crocodiles attack the boats and during the windy season the boats easily capsize. To prevent capsizing, the barias land on the lakes' islands which belong to the national park. The baria thus risk to be arrested by the UWA guards. Often nets are destroyed by hippos and are not refunded by the UWA. Lost nets cause conflicts with the boat owners, who believe their nets are stolen and sold at another landing site.

Fishmongers

Fishmongers buy and export fish to outside markets. In the past, when fish catches were high, trucks came from Congo and Kampala to buy fresh, salted and smoked fish. These days fish is sold in Kasese and Bushenyi town, but also in smaller markets of neighbouring fishing communities. Fish mongers require a fish movement permit issued by the local government and pay a membership fee to the BMU. Many fish mongers are women, who are valued for their business and mongering talents. With the reduced fish catches the number of fishmongers has also reduced. This led to reduced fish prices, due to lack of competition.

'Others'

The 'others' is a complex group, comprising of net cleaners, net preparers, net repairers, boat makers, boat repairers, auctioneers, fish traders (people buying and selling fish at the landing site), fish cleaners and fish processors. Most of the others belong to the lowest income group. It is the group where most women are active. Principally, both men and women can be active in any activity, but some activities are gendered. The group of others do not pay taxes, because of their low income. In order to work on the landing site they have to become a BMU member, through payment of a membership fee.

5.3 The Mahyoro and Kasenyi fishing communities

In 1952, Queen Elizabeth National Park was declared a national park. It was created to conserve the fauna and flora and to minimize the influence of human activities in the Lake George area. The fishing communities were already established at the shores at the time of the park's creation. The fishing economy was healthy and the government used indirect political influence to allow the communities to remain inside the park. Today, six out of eight landing sites around Lake George lie within the national park. This has consequences, both for the inhabitants and for the wildlife authorities (UWA). The inhabitants are limited in their economic activities due to the strict park regulations. To prevent destruction of the park, only fishing is permitted as an economic activity. In addition to fishing, the communities are allowed to practice beekeeping and small scale cultivation in the form of kitchen gardens. Livestock keeping and agriculture are prohibited. Being a park enclave limits the further economic development of the villages, and especially now that the fish catches have declined, the community has little resilience to overcome shocks. Furthermore, physical isolation has led to political and social isolation. This means the enclaves in the park have no access to basic services which has a strong negative influence on local development and the ability to overcome the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The fact that the area is considered of high ecologic value and generates a substantial income through tourism, makes it unlikely that the status of the fishing villages will change (e.g. by allowing agriculture).

5.3.1 Situating the two communities

The first case study was carried out in the Mahyoro fishing community. The community lives around Mahyoro landing site, one of the two landing sites outside Queen Elizabeth National Park. It is the first out of eight landing sites around Lake George where JESE has started implementing its activities. Mahyoro landing site is situated in the South East of Lake George, in Mahyoro Subcounty, Kamwenge District (See figure 2.1). The boundaries of the fishing community lie within Mahyoro town. Mahyoro town is not an official registered, geographically bounded area, but refers to the trading centre that lies between the subcounty head quarters and the landing site. Administratively, the landing site is located in Mahyoro parish. The parish has 11 villages, but the majority of the fisher people live in Kaduku, Kamubinga and Bubale Village. The landing site lies within the borders of the latter village.

The total population in Mahyoro Parish is 5800, with 1530 homesteads (JESE baseline report, 2006). Most houses⁵ are semi permanent with iron sheets, but semi permanent with grass roofs and permanent houses can be found. They are built on small plots along the streets in the villages. Many houses are rental houses which are owned by few landlords, who are mainly boat owners. There are three gravel roads connecting Mahyoro to larger towns: Kasese town, Ibanda and Kamwenge town. There is no formal public transport. The only means of travelling is on the back of the fish trucks and pick ups. During the rainy season roads are affected by soil erosion and travelling is hard. Boda boda (small motorbikes) offer local transport services between different villages, but are expensive. Although Mahyoro is far from the larger towns, the fishing community is not as isolated as the communities in QEPA and people are able to interact with the surrounding agricultural communities.

The second case study was carried out in the Kasenyi fishing community. This community is situated inside the national park and was selected after a baseline survey in four landing sites around Lake George in Kasese District. The baseline survey revealed that Kasenyi landing site is the least developed landing site in Kasese District in terms of public and private services. It is likely that PROTOS and JESE will implement water and sanitation projects in

⁵ The type of house one lives in is an indicator for wealth

this landing site next year (2008). Kasenyi landing site is situated on the West shores of Lake George, about 50 km from Kasese town. The landing site falls under authority of Kasenyi Parish and is administratively situated in Lake Katwe Subcounty, Kasese district. The Kasenyi fishing community is easily framed: the enclave has strict physical boundaries. This gazetted fishing community lies within the national park far from the main road and surrounded by grassland and shrubs. There is little or no interaction with other communities and Kasenyi is characterized by its strong isolation. Kasenyi can be reached by a 17 km gravel road that branches off the main Bushenyi-Kasese highway. There is a dirt road between Hamukungu and Kasenyi, which is mainly used by tourists, who are interested to see the lions and hippos. During the rainy season the roads are difficult to access. There are no public means or boda boda services to Kasenyi and transport is limited to few cars visiting the landing site to buy fish.

The parish covers an area of approximately 5 km² and consists of two villages: Mwaro village and Kigabo Village. Currently, the population size is 923, with 184 households (Baseline report JESE, 2007), which is much smaller than the Mahyoro community. The population in Kasenyi is very variable, with migration patterns depending on the fishing season. The hard living conditions in the parish and the low income through fishing activities has an influence on the permanence of its inhabitants. Most houses are semi permanent with iron sheets and are scattered around the villages. There are only few permanent houses. Within the national park, individual plots can be given, without the ability to acquire the land titles. Land tenure is communal and plots are allocated by a committee (ILM, 2001). A portion of land is reserved for firewood collection and medicinal herbs.

5.3.2 Community organisation

The Mahyoro community comprises of different tribes: the Batagwenda, Bayankole, Bakiga, Bafunda, and Baganda (JESE baseline report, 2006). They are considered as migrants in the area. Before the fifties, the area around Mahyoro landing site was deserted and people lived in the surrounding mountains, practicing subsistence agriculture. The Bagabo are the founders of the landing site and the original boat owners. The majority of the Bagabo do not depend on fishing only, but have alternative sources of income and are involved in cattle keeping and large scale commercial farming (maize, rice and millet). Fishing used to be the most important economic activity, but the reduced fish catches led to a shift towards farming, cattle keeping and trading. The local leaders and NGO's encourage agriculture and cattle keeping.

Land is in private ownership. Many baria and 'others' rent or have small plots with a semi permanent house. A number of community members have small plots for subsistence farming. Geographically there is a clear division between the farming and fishing community, but most families around the landing site are involved in both activities. Sometimes, young men from neighbouring communities come to the landing site to earn a start capital to buy land and start agricultural activities. For most households fishing activities give a daily income, while agricultural activities bring food security. Both fisherpeople and farmers are found in Mahyoro town and there is a high level of interaction.

Also the Kasenyi community comprises of several ethnic groups: Batooro, Bakonjo, Bakinga, Basongora, Batagwenda, Bayankole and Bakiga, (Baseline report JESE, 2007). Livelihood activities are limited by the park laws and life of the inhabitants are mainly evolved around fishing. Another source of income is salt winning from a shallow lake just outside the village. During the dry season water evaporates and the salt is harvested, packed and transported to Kasese. Generally, men go for fishing activities, while women are involved in salt winning. However, the seasons are complementary: salt is harvested in the dry season and the high season for fishing is during the rainy season. Men and women help each other in the salt

winning and the profits are shared. Cattle keeping⁶ is limited because of wild predators and only a few families keep goats or cows as a means of savings.

There is a large difference in the political representation between Mahyoro and Kasenyi. The Mahyoro community is situated near the subcounty head quarters and the community is represented by the LC1, LC2 and LC3. The representative of LC5 for the Subcounty stays in Mahyoro town, which gives the community the opportunity to be in direct contact with the district (see annex 1 for the Ugandan government system). Since 2003, development support in the subcounty is directed towards cattle keeping and agriculture. The LC3 and the subcounty staff do not promote fishing activities, since they consider fishing as a death business. Despite the lack of interest in fishing activities, the presence of the subcounty head quarters benefits the fishing community and provides the community with most of the basic services like drink water, health and VCT services. Kasenyi is characterized by the physical isolation from the subcounty and the district, where most developmental decisions are taken. The low government representations means that the local leaders have little advocacy capacities at the subcounty and district, hence it is hard to get public services in the parish. Table 5.2 gives an overview of the government staff in both communities.

Table 5.2 Government staff in Mahyoro and Kasenyi

Government staff Mahyoro	Government staff Kasenyi
Subcounty chief	Assistant fisheries officer
Police men	3 police men
Community development officer	Primary school teachers
Health assistant	2 nurses
3 parish chiefs	Parish chief (does not reside in the parish)
Clinical officer and 2 nurses	
Primary and secondary school teachers	

5.3.3 The landing sites

A landing site is the centre of the fishing community. It is a place where people interact for economic and social purposes and many official meetings are organized and held at the landing site. Visiting Mahyoro and Kasenyi landing site, several differences can be observed. The Mahyoro landing site is called the “London” or the “Japan” of the landing sites around Lake George. The landing site is active and people are busy throughout the day. Two roads end at the landing site: Mahyoro road, which is the main road and a smaller road. The landing site has a fish slab⁷, a shed for weighing fish and data collection, three private smoking kilns, some shops and a few hotels (eating places). There is a latrine, built by one of the female boat owners and an EcoSan toilet, which is not yet in use. The EcoSan, the slab and the shed are under management of the BMU.

Most activities take place in the morning and finish around 2 pm. Between 6 am and 2 pm the landing site is used for economic purposes, but later during the day people hang out, sit under the tree or on the fish slab, talking and listening to the radio. The fishing activities are reduced to smoking and frying fish and the sale of small fish for home consumption. Further down the beach, women wash their clothes. Behind the landing site there is a football field where young men meet daily at 5 pm to play football. At the back of the landing site towards the road, there is a small market place, ran by women. They buy vegetables in the morning from farmers of the mountains. Young boys on bicycles from the neighbouring farming communities try to sell their vegetables as quickly as possible in order to buy fish from the landing site, which they take the fish to the mountains for sale.

⁶ Although UWA does not allow cattle keeping, most fishing villages have some cattle

⁷ A fish slab is a cement structure for fish handling after it is brought on land

Very different is the Kasenyi landing site. Although it is remote and has little infrastructure, the landing site has a rich history. During the colonial time Kasenyi was doing economically well. A large fish factory, TUFMAC⁸, was built in Kasenyi. The European company collected fish of the different landing sites, where after it was processed in Kasenyi for export to Europe. The factory was closed during the insecure years of Idi Amin (1970's) and marketing of fish from Kasenyi landing site became difficult (Wadanya, 1990). Every landing site took its own responsibility in attracting fishmongers from large cities. Currently, the fish catches in Kasenyi are so poor that only few fishmongers of neighbouring towns come to buy fish.

The kasenyi landing site consists of a shed for fish handling and a small shed for data collection. Boats land in a line in front of the shed, to control illegal fish practises. Fish processing consists of smoking fish, but this activity does not take place at the landing site. There are few, privately owned, smoking kilns in the villages and smoking is done at household level. Unlike in Mahyoro, there is no vegetable market. There is only one small eating place near the beach that sells porridge. At the back of the landing site, near the village, there are two public smoking kilns. They are built by the local government, but never finished or officially handed over to the community. When the kilns are finished they will be run and supervised by the BMU committee. Kasenyi landing site is not as busy as Mayhorro landing site. Arriving at Kasenyi in the afternoon, the landing site looks deserted. Most people return to their villages after the fishing activities are finished. There are few recreational options and the fishermen spent their time and money on playing cards, drinking and women. Some community members have a plot in the salt lake and go for salt mining.

⁸ The Ugandan Fish Marketing Company

5.3.4 Fisheries management and activities

Both landing site have 48 licensed boats. The fishing process and related activities at the landing site are represented in figure 5.2 and 5.3. Fishing activities start in the evening when baria go on the lake. They stay on the lake the whole night. After docking the boats, the catch is divided among the boat owners and the baria. A boat owner takes 60 % of the fish caught with nets and the baria take 40 %. After division, an auctioneer sells the fish for the boat owner and the baria. The fish is sold to fishmongers and traders who buy and sell fish at the landing site. These are mostly women. Fishmongers buy the large fish, while the small, usually undersized fish is sold for local consumption. Fishmongers either transport fresh fish to the Kasese markets or pay fish processors to smoke the fish before transportation. The price is negotiated according to the amount of fish to be smoked. Firewood is bought outside the community, since there is not enough firewood in the parish. Before fish is transported outside the boundaries of the subcounty the fish is weighed and recorded according to species. These data are collected for the district statistics and the Department for Fisheries Resources. The data collector is trained and paid by the BMU. After the fish has been sold, nets are repaired and arranged for the evening. The baria and the boat owners go home or for leisure. If necessary the boat is repaired and cleaned.

In Mahyoro, the fish processors buy their fish straight from the boat or at the local market. They smoke or fry the fish and sell it for local household consumption. Mahyoro is the only place around Lake George where boats are made and has two workshops. Other landing sites have no access to wood. A boat is bought at 150 000- 180000 Ush and lasts for 5 years if well maintained.

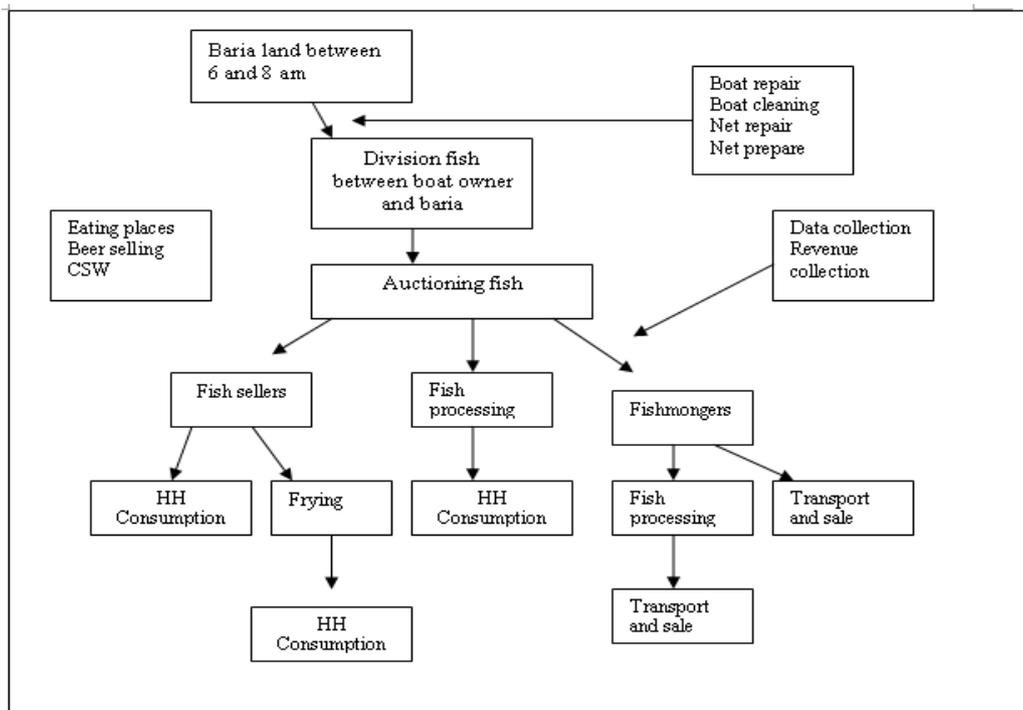


Figure 5.2 Fish chain and activities taking place at Mahyoro landing site

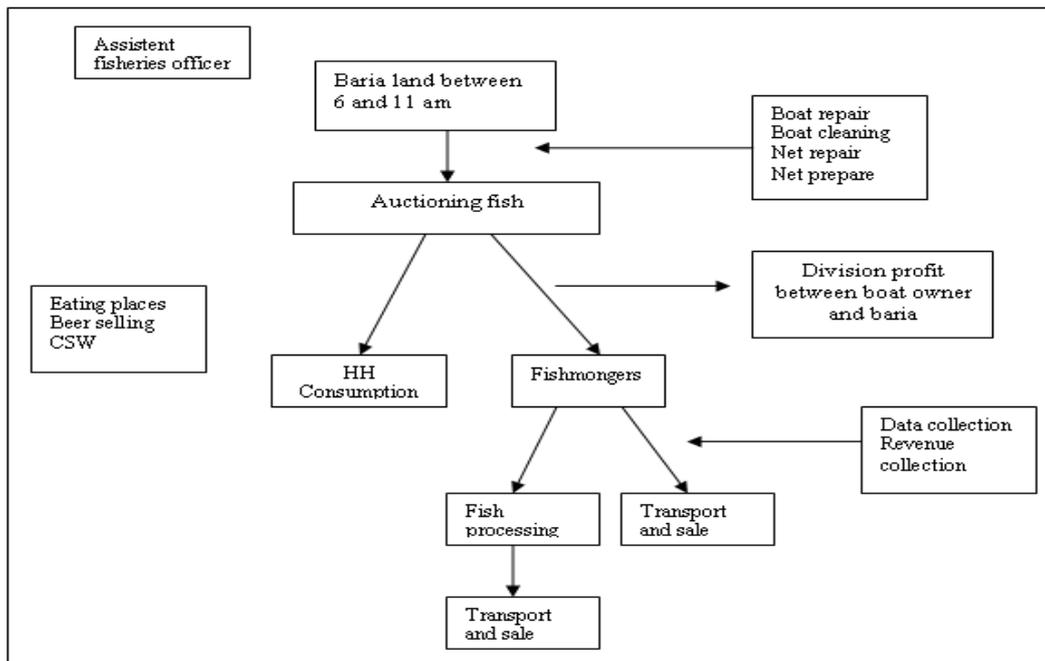


Figure 5.3 Fish chain and activities taking place at Kasenyi landing site

In both communities, the fisheries sector is challenged by the reduced fish catches since the early 1990's. However, Kasenyi faces more constraints. Currently, fishmongers prefer to go to Kahendero and Hamukungu landing sites, since the road to these landing sites is better and the sites are situated closer to Kasese town. Moreover, fish catches in these landing sites are higher⁹. This means most fish is sold and little is left for household consumption. Poverty among the boat owners¹⁰ in Kasenyi has led to a shortage of skilled baria. Many young, strong baria prefer to fish at other landing sites, where they can get a higher income. Most boat owners are unable to buy number of nets needed to get a good catch. Furthermore, Kasenyi lies far from the main road and fish catches are unreliable, which attract a few fishmongers to the landing sites. Due to lack of competition among fishmongers the prices for fish are low, which causes a low income for the households and the community. The low fish catches and fish prices have caused a low community income compared to other landing sites, while community development depends on the collected taxes¹¹ from fishing.

The BMU in Kasenyi plays a social role in the community. Because of the low income through fishing, the Kasenyi BMU advises the District Fisheries Officer to give boat licenses to active boat owners only. This ensures a better income, since the daily income of individuals and the community depends on the number of active boats. Furthermore, the BMU committee consists of several subcommittees like the hygiene and sanitation committee and the committees for baria, for boat owners and for 'others'. Some of these committees form a social network, in which different members support each other in times of need. Each committee has its own support system. Some women at the landing site have formed a credit and saving group and the baria started beekeeping as an alternative source of income. When a baria or BMU member becomes sick, the BMU contributes money for hospitalization. This is done through collection among members and the taxes collected by BMU (Interview councillor baria, Grellier, 2004).

⁹ because illegal fishing activities are higher

¹⁰ Hamukungu boat owners have about 150 nets/boat, while Kasenyi boat owners have about 80-100 nets / boat

¹¹ 25 % of the collected revenues can be used at parish level. The remaining 75 % is sent to the subcounty

5.3.5 Access to community services and natural resources

Mahyoro town has most of the basic public services and access to important natural resources like clean water and firewood. Firewood is not freely available and can only be collected from private owned trees. Ownership of trees is linked to ownership of land. Firewood is sold in Mahyoro by the neighbouring communities to fish processors and households. Drink water is available from public and private tap stands. All tapstands have meters and water costs 100 Ush per 20L. Weekly, ground water is pumped to a tank of 50 m³ and distributed through a pipe system to Mahyoro town. Regular water shortage is caused by lack of diesel to pump water to the tank. As a result, citizens do not have water for weeks. The town water system is owned by the subcounty and has a water committee, consisting of five members, selected by the subcounty. The public tap stands are run by neighbors who collect the money for the subcounty. The surrounding agricultural villages depend on shallow wells.

There are two boreholes in Kasenyi Parish built by the central government in 1994. The community contributed 200 shilling per household for the construction of the boreholes, but water use was free of charge. Both boreholes broke down in 1998 and are non functional since then. There were no water user committees responsible for the operation and maintenance. One caretaker was trained, but he died. At the moment the community members use lake water or buy water from vendors who bring water by car from Kasese. A jerrycan (20 L) costs 800-1000 Ush. In some smaller shops, clean water is sold by 0.5 L at a cost of 100 Ush. Households drink unboiled lake water due to lack of firewood. Part of the land is communal and allocated for firewood, building materials and herbal medicines, but it is often insufficient. Therefore, firewood is usually bought or is harvested illegally from the park.

The Mahyoro community has access to health services through a health unit III, since they are situated near the subcounty. A health centre III has a clinical officer and two nurses. They provide drugs and give basic health education. Once a week antenatal care is provided and all pregnant women take an HIV test. Since 2007, VCT services are offered on weekly basis. Septrine¹² is available, but for ARV's patients are referred to TASO¹³, in the neighboring subcounty. Medicines are not always available in the health centre, but there are three private clinics where medicines can be bought at higher expenses. Since Kasenyi is a parish, the community only has access to a health centre II. This means that there are two nurses, but no clinical officer. They provide diagnosis, treatment, immunization, but no antenatal care. The nearest hospital is 40 km and can only be reached by car. The health centre often runs out of medicines and only basic medicines can be bought in small shops. There are some seprine at the health unit, but these are not available for HIV+ patients. There are no VCT services.

5.3.6 Hygiene and sanitation

Sanitation and hygiene levels in the fishing communities are low. In 2006, JESE carried out a baseline survey in Mahyoro Parish. The survey showed that only 16 % of the households had a bathing shelter, 26 % had a clean kitchen and 19 % were using drying racks for their utensils (JESE baseline report, 2006). In Mahyoro the most common latrine is a pit with a temporary shelter and a roof, but no hand washing facilities. In Kasenyi the latrine coverage is 10 % and the most common toilets are made of iron sheets and centered at the edge of the village. In the communities, hygiene education is a responsibility of women, but most children learn about hygiene and sanitation at school.

¹² Septrine are antibiotics which PLWHA take daily to slow the progress to AIDS

¹³ The AIDS support organisation, an Ugandan NGO providing testing, counselling and care

Both Mahyoro and Kasenyi have a hired worker to sweep and clean the landing site. In Mahyoro the BMU committee has made several bylaws¹⁴ on hygiene and sanitation which include fish handling on the landing site, swimming and bathing in the lake and cattle keeping. However, the bylaws are not controlled or respected. In 2007, an EcoSan was built on the landing site in Mahyoro. Operation and maintenance of the EcoSan are the responsibility of the BMU. In Kasenyi, the BMU bylaws prevent washing clothes in the lake or on the landing site and swimming in the lake and are successfully monitored by a subcommittee of the BMU. Kasenyi has no public toilets and the community members use their toilet at home, or defecate in the bush.

In both communities the common bad hygienic behaviors identified were defecating, bathing and washing in the lake and near the homestead, unsafe water chain, drinking unboiled water and sharing the residence with animals. The common good behaviors observed included sweeping the compound and burning rubbish. Reasons given by the community on bad common behaviors were lack of awareness and carelessness. The Mahyoro community complained that roaming domestic animals destroy bathing shelters and dish racks and discourages inhabitants to rebuild them. It is hard to make bylaws to prevent roaming animals, since most of the animals belong to community leaders. In Kasenyi most houses lack of dish racks and bathing shelters because of destruction by wild animals like elephants.

5.4 HIV/AIDS in the communities

The prevalence of HIV in fishing communities in Uganda is twice to four times as high as in the surrounding agricultural areas (MAAIF, 2005, NAADS, 2003). A reason given is that the fisher people have been neglected for long by the government and other agencies, and were ignored in prevention, care and mitigation activities (FAO, 2007). Between the late eighties and the mid nineties many people in Mayhoro Parish have died, and although there were no testing services, people suspect they have died of AIDS. Both in Mayhoro and Kasenyi, these conclusions are based on their current knowledge on HIV/AIDS.

Since 2007, the Mahyoro fishing community has access to VCT services. Every week about 100 people take an HIV test. On average 10 % are tested positive. However, it are mainly neighboring farmers come for testing and it is suspected that the number of infected people in the fishing community is higher. During one of the interviews following story came up:

“My wife died long time ago, but I did not know it was because of AIDS. She had no skin rashes. I used to believe that skin rashes are the first sign of AIDS. I had four wives, they all died. I went for testing and was found positive. Now I suspect my first wife also died of AIDS”.

Like in Mahyoro, HIV/AIDS has claimed many lives in Kasenyi fishing community. There are no testing services available in Kasenyi Parish, which makes it difficult to estimate the prevalence of HIV/AIDS. Kasenyi has an AIDS support group, called “Kasenyi People Living With AIDS”. Based on their members and the parish population, the prevalence can be estimated between 50 and 65 %. In addition, many community leaders have tested positive and most of them have no regular access to medicines. In Mahyoro and Kasenyi almost all households have been affected by HIV and AIDS, so that stigma and discrimination are low in the community. As the community members say: AIDS has become a “fact of live”.

5.4.1 Knowledge and perceptions on HIV/AIDS

¹⁴ Bylaws are laws which are made at village or BMU level

In the early days of the epidemic (eighties and beginning of nineties), the fisher people believed they were bewitched or cursed and visited witch doctors hoping to be cured. During the early nineties, AIDS related deaths were at its peak. In response, the government and NGO's organized information campaigns and public meetings in the fishing communities. Mass media was used to convey messages on HIV/AIDS and aimed for attitude changes through awareness creation. Since there are no newspapers available in Kasenyi or Mahyoro much of the information is spread through radio programmes in the local language. A respondent in Kasenyi said "it [AIDS] was the song of the day", meaning everywhere he went he heard about transmission and prevention of HIV/AIDS. However, some community members complained that the sensitization activities were mainly limited to the landing site and that the surrounding villages were rarely visited. Another complaint was about the frequency and way information was distributed, especially by the district government. The officers visited the landing sites a few times, distributing condoms, but not including sensitization on HIV/AIDS. Every one, children included, were given condoms, without being taught on correct use. This type of meetings took place both in Kasenyi and Mahyoro. The visits by NGO's and government were irregular due to lack of good roads and the remoteness of most landing sites around Lake George (Grellier et al., 2004, interview DFR).

At the moment, prevention and transmission routes are well known in the fishing communities. Most interviewees were able to pinpoint the factors influencing susceptibility and vulnerability. However, knowledge on infection and prevention is no longer enough. Many fisher people are infected or have a sick family member and their information need is about how to take care of themselves and their relatives. There is a difference in the attitudes of PLWHA in the two communities. Generally, HIV positive people in Mahyoro are hopeful about their future. The reason given by their AIDS group is the access they have to TASO¹⁵ services. TASO provides counseling on positive living and free access to condoms, septrine and ARV's. Furthermore, since 2006, counseling services and septrine are available in the health unit in Mahyoro town. In the AIDS group, HIV positive people come together and share information on how to stay healthy and give each other advice on dealing with opportunistic infections. They also give each other moral support and encourage couples to come together to the meetings. The group also has a trained councilor¹⁶. The AIDS support group in Kasenyi is new and weak. It consists of volunteers and they have no support of larger NGO's or government. In Kasenyi, people have limited knowledge on positive living and are less organized than the Mahyoro community. Few have knowledge where they can go for testing or how to get information. Furthermore, they have no idea that they can still live for long time if they take care of their health and prevent infections. Most PLWHA know about ARV's, but have no idea when they should start taking the medicine or where to get them.

During interviews and community meetings at the different landing sites, HIV/AIDS is rarely mentioned as a challenge. Community members admit the high prevalence, but it is not regarded as a priority. Although many people in the community have died, HIV/AIDS is considered an individual problem that one has brought on him/her self. Generally the community members believe that, once their positive status is confirmed, they will die within months due to worries about the future. Even when they suspect that they might be HIV positive, they prefer not to know what their real status is. Denial prevents losing hope and worries about what will happen to their family. Another reason given is the fear of not being able to have sex again. Lately, there is an increased level of PLWHA who expose their status. Some role models in the community realized the need for openness and try to convince others to go for testing. They organized themselves in groups to increase lobbying power for local service provision, like medicines.

¹⁵ TASO: the AIDS support organization. The services are available in Rohoko, a place in the neighboring subcounty. Transport to Rohoko costs 8000 Ush.

¹⁶ The councilor was trained by TASO

5.4.2 Stigma and discrimination in the communities

It is often assumed that PLWHA and their relatives do not participate in community activities because of stigma and fear of discrimination. However, the research showed that stigma and discrimination is limited in the fishing communities. None of the interviewees expressed that they were refused jobs because of their status and it is observed that HIV positive people are involved in decision making bodies. In Kasenyi, several community leaders, men and women, are HIV positive. Examples are the LC2 chairman, LC1 secretary, a female boat owner and a female BMU committee member. They said that they have revealed their status in order to encourage people to acknowledge their status. One of the reasons given for little stigma is the fact that the whole community is affected by HIV/AIDS and that it is difficult to exclude HIV positive people from decision making positions.

Although most PLWHA in the fishing communities share that they have not been discriminated against, most have experienced felt and internalized stigma. Felt stigma was expressed by the group members as staring, whispering and pointing. They felt community members would whisper things like: “look she is going to the AIDS group” and feel they are viewed as “people who have to die”, as expressed in the story below:

“they talk about you, make jokes. When you by a bicycle people say: ‘why does he buy a bicycle, he is going to die soon. People are not discriminated in their jobs, that is against the law” HIV+ man Kasenyi

Stigma and discrimination in the fishing communities are low and it is easy to communicate with PLWHA and their relatives. Many PLWHA feel internalized stigma in form of guilt and fear: guilt of being sick and unable to do their share of work. Fear relates to not knowing what will happen to the family after they have died. There is also fear of death, although it is reducing due to the influence of counseling and the increased knowledge on where to access ARV’s. The high prevalence in the community has led to positive action and the formation of self help groups. These groups try to reduce vulnerability by lobbying for services, providing help to each other and spread relevant knowledge.

5.4.3 Cultural norms and values and social cohesion

Earlier, it has been described that the lives of the community members is majorly shaped by the nature of the fishing activities. Their live styles are marked by physical isolation. The description of Mahyoro and Kasenyi showed how physical isolation has affected their social, political and economic organisation. Cultural norms and values are shaped around fishing activities and have influenced their susceptible and vulnerability to AIDS. There is a clear relationship between the physical environment, fishing activities, the fishing culture the prevalence of HIV/AIDS.

Social norms and values are also determined by social order and cohesion (Barnett and Whiteside, 2006). Between the fifties and the nineties, the booming fishing economy attracted many outsiders to the isolated Lake George. These new fisher people came from different social, economic, and ethnic backgrounds. Cultural mixing took place, whereby also local circumstances (isolation, seasonal availability of daily cash, and migration) contributed to the formation of a “fishing culture”. Many men and women stay alone and far from their relatives and the lack of social cohesion and control allow men and women to engage in sexual activities which may not be approved in their original homes.

The literature identifies fishing populations as migratory and their migratory character is linked to susceptibility of the community. Migration in the fishing communities around Lake George is neither straightforward, visible, nor easy to understand. Around Lake George, fishmongers and baria are inherently mobile, while the other groups are more or less settled.

The baria stay in one place until fish catches are low, while fishmongers move between communities daily. Migration mainly occurs around Lake George itself. Baria frequently stay away from home for several months and may have several families in different landing sites. If they become ill, they often return to their home village to be taken care of by relatives. In this situation, their wives are not aware that their husband is sick or dying. During these separations, women may start new relationships and risk infecting new husbands, or risk being infected by their new partner.

Migration and isolation are the most given reasons for infection. This seems as contradicting, but both are present in the community and even enforce each other. Mobility depends on the seasonal fish availability, while isolation deals with the fact that 75 % of the shores around Lake George are part of Queen Elizabeth National Park and that the communities are highly inaccessible. Migration, even when just within the fishing communities around the lake, contributes to the phenomenon of parallel relationships i.e. fishermen and women have multiple partners at the same time in the different fishing communities. Due to migration within the same communities and its isolation from other communities, sexual mixing takes place within the same group of sexual active people. Consequently, the high rate of partners change between sexually active village members ensures a high risk for STD or HIV infection (Pickering et al., 1997).

Redundancy was mentioned by most of the community members as the main factor influencing susceptibility. Redundancy is a result of several factors. Due to physical isolation, especially inside the park, there are no possibilities to concentrate on additional income generating or recreational activities. therefore, fisher people spent most of their days playing cards, sitting around, drinking, smoking bangi (marihuana) and think about women. The availability of daily cash is an important factor in maintaining this lifestyle. In addition, the presence of wild life makes fishing and lives in the villages dangerous. Therefore risk taking in sexual relationships has little value (de Waal, 2006).

5.5 Health as the main need in the fishing communities

Maintaining a good health is crucial for PLWHA and the given advice by medical staff and councillors focuses on prevention of common diseases¹⁷. These include¹⁸:

- Avoid alcohol and cigarettes
- Reduce sexual activity (demands a lot of energy from the body) and always use condoms¹⁹
- Take medicines daily
- Eat 5 nutritious and energetic meals a day
- Drink a lot of clean water
- Keep good hygienic conditions
- Be positive and avoid worries
- Keep busy and join clubs

¹⁷ The more a person becomes sick, the quicker he/she will develop AIDS

¹⁸ Identified through interviews with PLWHA and clinical officer

¹⁹ PLWHA should always use a condom. Both to prevent others from being infected and prevent reinfection

Counselors, peer educators and PLWHA identified several problems with the above advices. The main problem is poverty among many PLWHA. Financial capital is needed to buy water, food, firewood and to access counselling services and medicines. PLWHA expressed the need for small saving groups and access to public services in the communities (see box 5.1).

Box 5.1 Sharings of PLWHA on their livelihood constraints²⁰

Since recent the inhabitants of Hamukungu have access to weekly testing services. It is said that about 10 people per week go for testing and that on average 5 test positive. Free medicines are provided to the community. In addition, an AIDS support group was formed where they can go for counseling. At the moment, the group has 150 members, of which 60 are on ARV's. A man on ARV's said his water use has doubled and he drinks 5 liters a day because of the medicines. He also shared that ARV's should taken with clean water, but there is no clean water available in the community. Jerrycans of water are brought from Kasese and cost up to 1000 Ush. Boiling water is too expensive, because there is a shortage of firewood in the community. He also shared that lack of food is the main problem for people on ARV's. Ideally they need five meals a day. Others contributed that people on ARV's still die if they have nothing to eat, because the medicines are toxic. All nutritious foods are available in the community but they are expensive.

In Mayhoro malnutrition is not much of a problem. There is enough food diversification, due to the neighboring farming communities. Most families are involved in both fishing and agricultural activities, so that they have access to most staple foods. In Kasenyi however, the diversification is limited. Food is brought by cars from larger towns like Bushenyi and Kasese. It is expensive and not always available. A baria in Mahyoro complained: "Food is a problem in Kasenyi landing site. You can have money, but you can not buy anything" (baria, Mayhoro landing site). On the other hand, an HIV+ boat owner in Kasenyi shared: "food is available, but you need enough money to buy it. Moreover, most of the caught fish is sold, so that fish for home consumption is limited". These examples show that the food supply is irregular and expensive. In a poor family a meal consist of watery fish soup and posho²¹. Within QEPA, home or kitchen gardens are not successful, due to vermin by wild animals like elephants, warthogs and rodents. In both communities food security at household level is threatened when key persons in a family become sick and are no longer able to fish or farm and poverty is the main reason for malnutrition.

Diseases like malaria and STD's are proven to be important cofactors in susceptibility to HIV, since they increase the viral load significantly. According to the data in the health units of Mahyoro and Kasenyi, there is a high STD prevalence in both communities. The main problems are syphilis, Candida and herpes infections. Talking about STD's is a taboo and especially women find it hard to seek help (Interview nurse Mahyoro health unit). Condom use in the communities has increased but is still limited. Nurses testify that free condoms are taken home, but STD's are still common. This might indicate that there is inconsistent condom use.

²⁰ The Hamukungu community lies inside the national park and was visited during the baseline survey.

Box 6.9 gives the views of different interviewees

²¹ Boiled maize flour

5.6 Conclusions

Two communities have been analysed in relation to factors contributing to a high HIV/AIDS prevalence. The analysis showed that HIV/AIDS in the fishing communities is both a cultural/behavioural issue as an underdevelopment problem. The fishing culture is characterised by a rewarding system that allows multiple sexual interactions after a night of hard work. Also isolation and redundancy contribute to casual sexual interactions.

The communities around Lake George face a lot of challenges. Grellier et al. (2004) identified the lack of public services due to political marginalization and physical isolation as a main factor contributing to the vulnerability of the fishing community in general. Most of the landing sites around Lake George lack basic public services like good health care and access to clean water and good sanitation, which causes the poor health status in the fishing communities (PROTOS jaarverslag, 2005). Table 5.3 gives an overview of the difference in access to services between Mahyoro and Kasenyi fishing communities.

Table 5.3 Access to services in Mayhoro and Kaseni

Community services and goods	Mahyoro	Kasenyi
Clean water	100 shilling/20 L	800 shilling/20L
Sanitation	Fair	Poor
Hygiene	Fair	poor
Firewood	Freely available or for sale	Firewood available on sale
Economic activities	Fishing, farming, labour, cattle keeping, business	Fishing, salt mining, small business
Income fishing	Fair	Low
Health services	Health unit with doctor, VCT, private clinics	Health unit with nurse No testing services
Knowledge HIV/AIDS	General: good Pos. living: good	General: good Pos. living: poor
Advocacy	Strong political representation Strong AIDS group	Poor political representation Weak AIDS group
Schools	Primary and secondary education	Only primary education
Migration	Fair	High
Isolation	Fair	High

The levels of income through fishing activities is lower in Kasenyi then in Mahyoro for each group of the community, while the household expenditures are higher. Food and water are imported from Kasese town. There is less firewood available in Kasenyi, which prevents people from boiling their water. Physical isolation of the Kasenyi community also influences their political influence and advocacy capacities. In addition, Kasenyi has a shortage of baria and fishmongers, due to the financial problems boat owners have, whereby boat owners are unable to provide the necessary nets to improve the fish catches (interview BMU committee members). Because of the low income from fishing, the revenues are also low. Therefore, Kasenyi receives a lower budget for community development like repairing their pumps or building community infrastructures, compared to Mahyoro. These general conditions have a negative impact on the fisheries sector²² in Kasenyi.

²² due to low income there is a shortage of young, trained baria and fishmongers

6 Vulnerability and susceptibility of households and individuals

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 discussed the necessity to take a people centered focus in HIV/AIDS mainstreaming. Different individuals are differently impacted by HIV and AIDS. This chapter will try to look at links between factors like poverty, gender relations and cultural norms and values in relation to the different social and economic classes within the community. Fishing communities have mostly been considered as a homogeneous group of people and factors contributing to HIV/AIDS have been identified accordingly. During the field work the factors, as described in chapter 2 have been observed and identified. In addition, a livelihood and a gender analysis were carried out, which revealed how specific groups/classes in the fishing communities are susceptible and vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. These outcomes will make a difference to how current WASH interventions are implemented in the fishing communities. First the different socio-economic classes are described. Here after vulnerability is analysed, based on the socio-economic status that individuals have in the community. The analysis uses a livelihood approach, which also includes the political capital one can draw upon. After identifying the vulnerability of different classes, factors contributing to susceptibility are determined for the different socio-economic classes. Susceptibility is the risk of infection with HIV and thus will look at how sexual relationships are constructed in the communities. Susceptibility is analysed based on decision making and negotiation power men and women of different socio-economic classes have over sexual matters. Finally, a link is given between the levels of susceptibility and vulnerability.

6.2 An underdevelopment issue: poverty, vulnerability and susceptibility

Much of the literature refers to HIV/AIDS as an underdevelopment problem. However, as the case for concepts of poverty, sustainability and vulnerability, there is no fixed definition for underdevelopment. Within the context of the fishing communities, underdevelopment is related to the fact that the communities are politically, socially and geographically marginalized (Grellier, 2004). Underdevelopment is a consequence of what is called “cumulative causation”, which states that in the case of poor groups a spiral is at work which maintains or increases their poverty status (Panico and Rizza, 2006). A low income means little possibility to save, which can cause a low income and/or a poor health, what again influences the economic productivity and so on. HIV/AIDS works as a co-factor contributing to the downwards spiral of poverty since it increases the risk of income failure due to lack of resource assets (Masanjala, 2007). Figure xx describes the relation between AIDS and poverty. In response to the impacts of HIV/AIDS, individuals and households adopt three coping mechanisms (Holden, 2004). The first mechanism is the ‘reversible strategy’ by using protective assets. Protective assets are human and physical assets that generate an income, e.g. providing labour, owning a boat or renting out land. If a family does not have these resources available, they will move to selling off productive assets like land, animals and tools. Selling off assets is difficult to reverse and reduce the families’ livelihood stability. The last stage is a stage of destitution, where people are depending on charity. Households break up and individuals/families are forced to migrate in order to find a way to survive. Reaching the third stage means permanent impoverishment. Depending on the family resources, the impacts are more or less severe. Households with enough assets e.g. labour, savings and others are able to cope with HIV infection. Other families are already near a state of destitution and an HIV infected individual in the family may have more severe consequences than a family that can depend on productive assets.

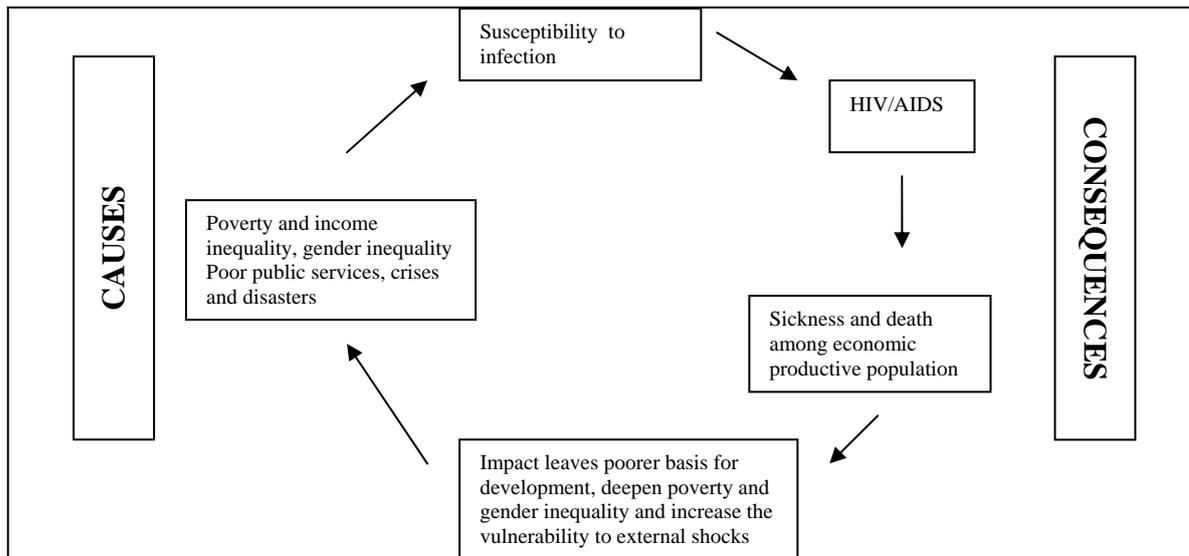


Figure 6.1 Causes and consequences of HIV/AIDS and the relation between AIDS and poverty (source: Oxfam mainstreaming handbook, 2004)

In practice it is hard to make a clear and distinct line between vulnerability and susceptibility, because vulnerability and susceptibility can become each others cause and consequence. Susceptibility always refers to individual risk (a person getting infected), although a particular group can be more at risk (e.g. CSW's). On the other hand, HIV negative people can suffer immensely from the impacts of an infected person in the family (e.g. orphans and elderly people).

Practically, the links between poverty, susceptibility vulnerability lie both in the biological and in the socio-economic factors (Holden, 2004, Stillwagon, 2006). The poor are less able to afford health services, good nutrition, condoms or treatment for STD's. Poor and marginalised communities have generally less access to health care services. Poverty increases high risk behavior and people are less able to take long term decisions. The time between infection and AIDS takes several years, in which a person functions normal. A woman or man in need of money may take short term decisions in order to survive the next day. Barnett and Whiteside (2006) add that in case of poverty little risk is taken with the few resources one has and that it is unlikely they will be invested in the future.

6.3 The concept of poverty in the fishing communities

To move away from the image of a homogeneous community, this paragraph will give an overview of the 'poor' groups in the fishing communities. These groups will be assessed in relation to susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS.

Poverty contributes to susceptibility and vulnerability and is a cyclic, downwards trend (see chapter 3). It is context specific and the process of impoverishment depends on the individuals' background, the development context and the resilience to shocks (DFID, 2001). Many organisations and projects assess poverty based upon evaluation of physical and financial assets: what do people have. The ILM project aimed for sustainable lake management, as a means of poverty eradication. It was argued that all stakeholders need to participate in sustainable fisheries management, more specific baria and women. Women are considered to play a central role in management of water resources, while baria are the actual fishermen: they decide where fishing takes place and which methods are used (ILM, 2001). Therefore the ILM project approached poverty from political viewpoint and they identified different wealth groups in the community, based on access to decision making.

The ILM project mainly focussed on women and baria as the vulnerable groups in terms of poverty²³. Looking at housing, savings, number of children in school and physical assets, the baria generally classify among the poor in the community, although they have a fair to high income compared to the different groups in the community. A baria earns between 25-30 % of the income of a days' catch. In addition, some baria hide part of the catch to sell off afterwards in order to increase their personal income. The poverty among baria has two main causes. First, at the time of the ILM project the power relations in the community were divided differently. The BMU's were not formed and most, if not all, decision making power on beach management and in the community lied with the male boat owner. The baria were considered poor, not only in monetary terms, but also in terms of power and decision making opportunities. Second, and probably a consequence of the first, many baria lack a saving culture and the money earned is usually spent in a day (Allison and seeley, 2004).

These days, with reduced fish catches, the average income of the community lies below the national poverty line. According to different BMU members, a baria and a boat owner could earn up to 100 000 Ush per day, between the seventies and eighties. These days the average income lies between 5000 – 10 000 Ush per day, depending on the season and landing site (Interviews baria and boat owners). The household income depends greatly on the presence of an alternative source of income like salt winning or agricultural activities (Grellier, 2004).

In 2004, a consultancy agency carried out a survey on HIV/AIDS in the fishing communities in assignment of the Department of Fisheries Resources. The aim was to identify the drivers of susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS in the fishing communities in order to improve livelihoods at the landing sites and come to sustainable fisheries management. This study also identified four wealth groups. The wealth groups are based on their income, with the aim to link poverty to levels of susceptibility and vulnerability (Grellier, 2004). The division of wealth groups, given in table 6.1, is close to the field observation of this study and will therefore be used throughout the report.

Table 6.1 Wealth ranking of fishing communities around Lake George (Adapted from Grellier et al., 2004), based on income generating activities.

	Poorest	Poor	Well off	Rich
Boat owner**		X	X	X
Baria		X	X	
Fishmonger**		X	X	
Business person**			X	
'Others'***	X	X		
Bar worker*	X			
Beer/food vendor*	X			
CWS*	X	X		

* women profession, ** both men and women involved

²³ The ILM project did not focus on HIV/AIDS, and vulnerability here refers to the likelihood to face poverty

6.4 Vulnerability analysis

Vulnerability refers to the likelihood of being negatively impacted. A livelihood approach is used to identify vulnerable groups. A livelihood is defined “as the means of living and the capabilities, assets and activities required for it. It is considered sustainable if it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both in the present and in the future, while not undermining the livelihoods of future generations” (DFID, 2001). Individual or household vulnerability depends on the access to resources like social, human, physical, financial and natural capital. The different socio-classes, as described in table 6.1 are analysed on their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS.

6.4.1 Vulnerability of different socio-economic classes

Boat owners

Boat owners and their families can be considered as the wealthy in the community. Their wealth depends on their daily income, the possibilities for economic diversification and their saving capacities. The wealthy boat owners are generally characterized by owning a licensed boat, maybe one or more illegal boats, and the necessary fishing gears. A boat owner gets the largest proportion of the profit, but is also responsible for all additional costs like buying nets, paying the net cleaners and repairers and the maintenance of the boat. If a boat owner becomes sick, a relative can take over the supervision of the fish sale. However, being a boat owner requires physical presence in order to prevent loss of nets²⁴ and unequal division of the catch and profits. When a boat owner dies the boat and the license are inherited by a relative²⁵. Boat owners are only present at the landing sites in the morning when the boats arrive and after the sale of the fish they are free the rest of the day. They are able to socialize and have the possibility for participation in meetings. However, they can also decide to go drinking in the village.

Due to limited economic possibilities in the national park, there is a difference in resilience to shocks between boat owners in Kasenyi and boat owners in Mahyoro. In Mahyoro, many boat owners have diverse sources of income like livestock, rental houses, shops and land for agriculture. Mostly they own permanent residential houses²⁶ and they are able to enrol their children in secondary school. Due to reduced fish catches many boat owners have shifted to large scale agriculture. The income through sale of agricultural products is higher than the fish sale, but requires a high starting capital in order to acquire the necessary inputs. The daily income through fishing activities provides this starting capital. Boat owners are managers: they monitor the sale of fish and make sure the boat is ready to fish in the evening, while they hire laborers to fish, work on the land or look after the livestock. In Kasenyi the boat owners have a lower income and less economic opportunities. Many boat owners depend on the catches of the day only. Some boat owners are unable to buy new nets, whereby the fish catches are low²⁷. The boat owners have organized themselves in a saving and credits group, whereby they save money to buy nets and to assist each other in times of need and illness.

²⁴ Loss of nets: boat owners at different landing sites complained about their nets being stolen by baria or young unemployed men

²⁵ Officially, licenses are given yearly, to give all boat owners an opportunity to legal fishing activities. In practice however, the same boat owners are given licenses yearly, depending on the recommendation of the BMU.

²⁶ Permanent houses are made of bricks and one has a higher status owning a brick house than a semi permanent mud house

²⁷ It should be kept in mind that the number of nets per boat still exceeds the legally allowed number, but is less than what boat owners have in the other landing sites.

Box 6.1 HIV positive boat owner in Mahyoro

John is an HIV positive man living in Mahyoro. His wife also tested positive, but left her husband and remarried another man. John married another woman, who is HIV negative and accepted his status. He used to be a baria, but in 2004 the number of legal boats increased and he managed to get a boat license. He also has some land and cattle. The money he gets from the boat is used to buy inputs for farming and to pay the laborers on his land. If the money is not enough he can not get laborers. In the past he was able to fish or cultivate, but now he is too weak to do heavy manual work. Part of his land was sold to pay for his treatment. Without his boat, he loses all sources of income. His wife was happy that she is HIV negative, but until her husband was on ARV's she was worried he would die and leave her alone. John said: "without me she is not able to sustain herself".

Boat owners in Mahyoro are fairly resilient if they have alternative sources of income, cattle or land. The latter two are often used as savings for hard times. These buffers help to pay for transport to hospital and to buy the necessary medicines. Compared to other groups in the community, the impacts of HIV/AIDS on boat owners and their family is relatively low. The main influence of a sick boat owner on the family is the reduction of financial capital, due to medical expenditure. As a consequence a weak boat owner might no longer be able to maintain the boat and provide the necessary gear. A lower investment in fishing gear, leads to reduced catches and thus reduced income. An inactive boat influences the income of the entire community and a boat owner can lose the boat license to an active boat owner. Shared licenses are a strategy to prevent losing an individual license. With access to medicines, support and finances a family can live a fairly normal life. Women who inherit a boat are able to have a daily income, especially if they have elder children to assist them in the management.

Box 6.2 HIV positive boat owner in Kasenyi

Katharine lives in Kasenyi parish. She is a member of the AIDS group and a sister to the chairperson of the group (who is also positive). The household consists of 10 people of which she is the household head. The youngest is a 6 year old girl and the eldest is a 20 year old girl. Three boys and one girl are in school. Katharine is a born of Kasenyi. She went for testing in 2006 in Bweera hospital when she was feeling weak for a long time. She felt pain in her joints and knees. She was found positive and is taking seprine ever since then. She does not go for the treatment herself, because transport is too expensive but her daughter sends her seprine monthly. She does not go for counselling. According to her opinion she follows the advice of the doctor: to take the seprine daily. Katharine did not feel anything when she heard she was positive, just that now she knows she is. She feels free now that she knows. There were no changes in the family relations or in relationships with the neighbors. Her children have not gone for testing. She is refusing to take the children for testing because they are not feeling sick.

Her husband was a boat owner. He died in 1998. She inherited his boat and the boat license, which provides her main income. When she is sick her children take care of her and the boat. She does not own any land, except the plot on which the house is built. She is a member of the Muslim church, and the AIDS group. She is also a BMU committee member. Within the BMU she is responsible for health and sanitation. She looks after the cleanness of the landing site, boats and toilets. Katharine used to be a member of the LC1, therefore she never misses any meetings. When she is not able to go, no one goes in her place, but she gets the news through other people. The family uses lake water with water guard for drinking. It has no negative effects. The family gets all the nutritious food like potatoes, matooke, fish and fruits, but some items are expensive because they come from outside.

Fishmongers and other business people

These two groups are mentioned under one heading, since they are characterized as private businesses, whereby travelling between communities is a necessity. Business people bring goods from towns to the landing sites/villages, while fishmongers transport fish to outside markets. The fishmongers' income depends on where they sell fish (town or village markets) and the starting capital they have to buy fish. Transport means are necessary to sell the fish on larger markets like Kasese or Kamwenge town. Fishmongering requires starting capital and strength to compete with other fishmongers. If fishmongers are sick they are unable to work and make an income.

In Mahyoro the truck that transports fish also functions as public means, which offers an additional source of income. The truck passes through agricultural area and buys bananas and other products along the road, which are sold at the market in Kasese. The truck owner also offers services to the farmers by taking goods to Kasese town for repair or sale. The fishmongers in Kasenyi do not have such opportunities, since both the main road and the highway towards Kasenyi landing site are situated inside the national park. Like the boat owners, they are thus depending on the catches of the night. Despite the relative high level of income, the fishmongers and business men are highly vulnerable to diseases, since their income depends on their daily presence at the landing site and the ability to compete with other fishmongers financially and physically.

Box 6.3 HIV positive trader

Gregor tested positive in 2003. He felt weak and sick and the doctor advised him to do an HIV test. He knew about AIDS, he was aware that the disease existed but did not expect to be positive. Before he became sick he was a trader. He bought food at markets and brought it to Kasenyi. First he was chronically sick, but then he became very weak and could no longer lift heavy things. His trading business stopped and he survived from his savings. Almost immediately after testing (2 months) Gregor started with ARV's. In the beginning he had to buy the medicines, which costed him 70 000 Ush per month. Transport to Mbarara costs 20 000 Ush. Now he is getting the medicines for free. He still goes all the way to Mbarara because the hospitals nearby often do not have the supply of ARV's. Now Gregor is involved in fishing activities, he is a boat owner and has a licensed boat. He has a license for himself (not sharing), but has a problem with buying nets. He has 15 children and the income of fishing is not enough to sustain the family. Sometimes he fails to get the money for his transport to Mbarara. His wife is a housewife. He had 4 wives before, but they all died. He thinks they have died of AIDS. He married his fifth wife before he went for testing. When he told her he is positive, she took it very simple. She went for testing and was also found positive. His family has hope because he is on medicines (he will not die immediately). He also had his children tested. Only one was found positive. All are on medicines. Nothing has changed in the household, or the household activities. They received counseling in the hospital on how to deal with the disease. They can not drink lake water, even if it is boiled. The medicines do not work because of the composition of the water: it changes the chemical composition of the medicines. Water guard costs 500 sh per bottle of 150 ml and can last for 3 months. Gregor drinks about 3 liters of water per day. He does not feel thirsty, but was advised to drink a lot of water with the medicines. He used to drink only 1 liter of water. He says the main need of HIV+ people is clean water and food. All the food can be bought, but people have no money to buy it. There is a need for 3 meals a day, which is only possible if money is available. Without eating you become weak and the drugs do not work. There is no possibility for kitchen gardens, the wild animals come and destroy everything. If there is food in the house animals enter and steal the food (inclusive elephants).

Having a wider network of people outside the fishing community increases the likelihood of knowing about AIDS related services and moreover about the hospitals that do not run out of supplies. The access to medicines is crucial for many families, since it enables PLWHA to maintain an income and their livelihoods.

Baria

The baria are highly vulnerable to HIV and AIDS. Their income depends on their strength to fish. Each day they do not fish, they have no income. Fishing activities are hard and demand the ability to row, set nets, sleeping in the boat at night in the cold wind and rain and hauling nets. When they are too weak to row or haul nets it is unlikely boat owners will hire them to go fishing, since the income of the boat owner depends on the number and size of fish caught that night. In addition, sick baria are too weak to go deep into the lake and start fishing near the shores, where fish breed.

“When a baria does not fish, he has no money. Fishing is a hard job, you feel cold, you have to row and get the nets in the boat. If you are weak, it is unlikely that others [baria] will go and fish with you. Also boat owners look for healthy people to fish. So you lose your source of income” Baria Kasenyi

A baria’s family can be very vulnerable, depending on their saving capacities. The custom among baria demands that men go drinking and spent money on women after surviving the hard work on the lake. Therefore, many baria and their families do not own land, live in rental houses and are considered among the poorest in the community. Most of their wives are housewives or work for a lower income at the landing site, or as laborer. Currently, a baria can earn between 5000 and 10 000 Ush a day, depending on the season, while a woman working as a laborer at the landing site or on the farm earns on average between 1000-3000 Ush a day. This means a families income reduces significantly when a baria does not work. Generally, wives of baria receive a daily income from their husbands, which is used for household necessities.

Box 6.4 Widow of a baria in Mahyoro

Ivy is a single mother with three children. Her husband was a baria and died some years ago. She lives in a semi permanent house with a grass roof, which she inherited from her husband. She rents a small plot (1 acre) to cultivate some cash crops and food for home consumption. In order to get some money during the low season, she works as a laborer at other farms. It is hard to combine working on her farm and on the farm of others. She was not born in Bubale, but came with her parents long time ago. Her husband was also an immigrant and they met in Bubale village. Fishing brought a daily income, while agriculture is seasonal. Her husband used to provide food and money and he paid for the school fees of the children. The children dropped out of school after his death. Also he was responsible for repairing the house. The house has many problems now, but she has no money to hire someone to do the work. Her parents are unable to assist her because they are also poor. The children fetch water and firewood. Sometimes, there is not enough firewood, so they do not boil the water which they get from the lake. Ivy used to belong to a small group of about 10 women. They would work together on someones’ farm and the money earned that day would go to one person. If Ivy is able she goes to public meetings, otherwise she gets the news and information of the neighbors. She has never joined JESE’s meetings. Ivy says she misses her husband, because he used to take all the important decisions.

When a baria neglects his family or dies, his family can move towards destitution very quickly, depending on the assets of the family. This is especially the case when his wife has no work and has many young children who are unable to help out in the household. In addition, the irregular and reduced household income often results in a drop out of the children from school.

The 'others'

The 'others' belong to the lowest income group which has least decision making power in the communities. The income of the others depends on the number of jobs they get in a day. For example, a net cleaner in Kasenyi earns 250 Ush per cleaned net, or a fish smoker gets 2000 Ush for a basket of smoked fish. Both in Kasenyi and Mahyoro, some 'others' have organized themselves in informal groups. The way the group functions differs, but the main idea is that the group weekly puts money together and gives it to one member of the group. There are two types of 'others' those who provide labor and those who work independent. The latter need start capital in order to run their business (e.g. fish traders, smokers, ect.).

Box 6.5 A fish smoker in Mahyoro

Anna has a private smoking kiln, which she built herself. She came to the landing site four years ago. Before she was a farmer, but she lacked capital for cultivation. She learned how to smoke fish from her neighbors. At 7 in the morning she goes to the landing site and buys fish for about 30 000 Ush (about 70 fishes). She buys firewood for 1000-2000 Ush. The smoking process takes several hours, whereby she keeps turning the fish, until it is ready. After smoking she sells the fish to business people of nearby villages. She makes an average profit of 5000 Ush per day. When the fish catches are bad, the competition for fish is high. When there is not enough fish, she will decide not to work that day or work together with other women. She works together with three other women. They each have their own role and share the profit together. If the fish catches are high, she buys straight from the boat owner, which is cheaper than when she buys from different fish traders. Smoking fish is hard work which requires a lot of strength. The smoke affect the lungs and eyes and the heat requires to drink a lot of water. She does not drink lake water, but buys water from the tap. If there is no tap water available, she hires someone to fetch water from a stream in the neighboring parish.

The group of 'others' is differently organized on each landing site. Mahyoro has more diversification and the near presence of farming communities. Because farmers come to buy fresh and processed fish, there is a large diversification of fish processors. Some prepare and sell fried snacks, other smoke small fish to sell it in other villages. In Kasenyi the fish smokers are hired by fishmongers, but do not buy and smoke fish independently. For the group of others good health is crucial. If they do not work they have no income for that day. Frying and smoking is hard work, with a lot of heat and smoke. It is unlikely for sick and weak people to do this kind of work daily.

Box 6.6 A single fish trader in Mahyoro

Rose is a single divorced woman with two daughters. Her two daughters live with her husband, but she takes care of the two daughters of her deceased sister. B. rents a semi permanent house. She is a fish trader at the landing site. At 7 in the morning she goes to the landing site and she buys fish from the baria. After buying the fish she settles on the landing site and sells the fish to others (e.g. farmers who came late to the landing site). In a good day she can sell 10-15 fishes, with 200 Ush profit per fish. If she is unable to sell all the fish she bought, she looks for other women who have fish left and they put their money together to have the fish smoked. If they have about 20 fish together, they are able to hire a smoking kiln. The smoked fish are stored and sold the next day. Rose faces a lot of challenges. Sometimes customers do not pay or give a low price.

Often there is a lot of competition buying the fish and later for the sale of fish. However, it is possible for these women (the majority are women) to earn a higher income than women who work as laborers on the farm²⁸. The problem is the starting capital: a fish trader needs money to buy fish. If a daily labourer becomes sick, they do not only have no income, but the starting capital for trading will likely be used for medical care. Depending on the relation with

²⁸ A fish trader can earn up to 2000 Ush per day, while a laborer at the farm earns around 1000 Ush a day. In addition, a fish trader usually works up to mid day and it free afterwards.

neighbors or friends at the landing site, they might be able to borrow money to start her business again. Though, when chronically sick this support can fade since people usually borrow from the same socio-economic class and they also need start capital for their business.

Food vendors

Eating places are run by women. These women wake up early in the morning, around 4 am to prepare food and take it to the landing site by the time the baria come back from the lake. The women sell food until 2 in the afternoon, when the fishing activities are over. Depending on the household income, a woman can decide to work as a laborer. If she has a husband with a daily salary sufficient to feed the family, she can decide to stay home in the afternoon and rest or work in her own garden. If she is a single woman or her husband is not able to take care of the family she will look for paid work on the large scale farms after she finishes at the landing site.

Box 6.7 HIV positive food vendor

Diane is an HIV+ woman on ARV's. She has been seriously affected by AIDS. She had eight children of which five died. One of her sisters died and two other family members. She suspects her husband died of AIDS, although he never went for a test. He worked as a baria. When he became sick he was unable to work and the family income decreased seriously. Diane had a small eating place at the landing site. She woke up early in the morning to cook and bring the food to the landing site by 7 am. By lunch time her work was finished. While her husband was sick, she also became sick. She was no longer able to work. Her eldest daughter took over her work at the landing site and her elder sister takes care of her at home. Her husband had a plot and built a house, which she inherited. The house is in poor condition at the moment, but there is no money for repairs. Although she is on ARV's it is hard for her to regain strength because she has no money to buy food or water. RENA, a catholic organisation, provided new iron sheets for the house, so that she can harvest rain water for drinking. She is a member of the AIDS group. The members put money together to rent a car and go to the hospital to collect their medicines. This costs 5000 Ush per month. If she does not have the money she tries to borrow from the neighbors. If she does not have the money she is unable to get the medicines that month.

6.4.2 Social cohesion and vulnerability

In addition to the vulnerability analysis some few conclusions are made based on the noted stories above. A limited social network can be found in the two communities in form of informal self organized small groups. They are mostly formed among members of the same socio-economic group. Although sometimes also existing among baria and boat owners, these support groups are especially found among the group of 'others'. Money is collected on weekly basis and given to one person. It enables a group member to buy more expensive household items (like blankets or cooking pots), they otherwise would not have money for. Many women of the 'others' are not born in the parish and have no relatives nearby on whom they can depend. Several stories showed that family is an important source of help. If a person has family members living in the landing site, or older children, they are likely to help out in times of need. However, it became clear that poverty also influences social capital negatively. The principle of social capital is based on reciprocity. If someone is unable to contribute labor or money, e.g. due to persistent illness, they can no longer be part of the group. Those borrowing no longer see the value of the relationship and often the sentence: 'he/she will die with my money' is heard.

6.4.3 Outcomes of the vulnerability analysis

It can be stated that boat owners are generally least vulnerable to the impacts of HIV and AIDS. A boat owner provides physical capital, a boat and the necessary fishing gear, in return for financial capital earned through the sale of fish. Different to other jobs in the community, being a boat owner does not require physical strength and his work can be temporarily taken over by relatives. Boat owners, who have possibilities to economic diversification, are able to sustain their lifestyle by shifting financial and physical assets. This generally means that boat owners in Kasenyi are more vulnerable to shocks than those in Mahyoro. Boat owners are mostly born in the parish and belong to the more powerful group in the community. Therefore they have a larger social network to depend on in times of need.

Many stories in this chapter have shown that female headed families have little resilience to overcome shocks. Also families depending on daily incomes with little saving capacities are highly vulnerable. This is specially so when a family consists of one bread winner and many small children. In the “ideal” situation, when such family is healthy, they might already find themselves in a survival situation. Once the main bread winner falls out, such family will likely move towards destitution quickly. Housewives depend on the income their husband brings. If their husband is sick there is no money to buy food or basic necessities like food, firewood and clean water. In addition, savings are used to pay for medical care. Women are more vulnerable than men in case they depend on casual labor, since income through casual labor is usually higher for men than for women. Women belonging to the higher socio economic classes, owning a boat and gear, cattle or practice large scale agriculture are able to hire casual laborers to do the work. These women, like male boat owners are the most resilient to shocks.

6.5 Susceptibility analysis

Since susceptibility refers to the likelihood of infection, a susceptibility analysis looks at how sexual relations are taking place. Although the most common way of infection in Uganda is through heterosexual contact, the risk of infection depends on the risk environment, i.e. the social and economic environments that enables individuals' options to reduce risk (Barnett and Whiteside, 2006, Chan and Reidpath, 2003, Parker, 2001). Susceptibility thus depends on a set of factors that determine the risk and rate of infection, including both bio-physical and social determinants. The main factors causing risk of infection, identified by the communities were:

- Isolation of the villages, leading to limited economic diversity and redundancy after fishing activities are finished, especially within QEPA
- Migration between landing sites, leading to concurrent partnerships and likelihood to have several casual sexual partners
- Lack of economic opportunities, especially for women
- Availability of cash, mainly wealth of men
- Poverty of women and young girls
- Culture of drinking and smoking marihuana
- Lack of a saving culture
- Unfaithfulness of both women and men
- High presence of STD's

These factors are also found in much of the literature on HIV/AIDS in the fishing communities. The disadvantage of such list is its generalization, whereby it assumes that all socio-economic classes are equally susceptible. To analyse the dynamics of infection risk, the level of susceptibility of different classes in the community is described.

6.5.1 Gender and sexual relations

Public messages have increased the level of knowledge on transmission and prevention of HIV/AIDS, but the hoped behavior change did not take place. One of the reasons given in the literature is the lack of freedom of women to decide on how, when with whom sex will take place (vander Kwaak and Dasgupta, 2006). Mainstream literature identifies gender inequality as one of the main factors for increased susceptibility of women. Repeatedly, HIV/AIDS is related to a behavior problem for men and a problem of socio-economic subordination of women (Illife, 2006). Arguments given in the literature are mainly limited to the stereotype ideas of sexual expectations of men and women and emphasize the dual view of male dominance/ female subordination. Power refers to overall norms which suggest that men are suppose to be knowledgeable, aggressive and experienced, while women are considered to be innocent on the subject (Barker and Ricardo, 2005). Subordination refers to the lack of decision and negotiation power of women in sexual matters, through their economic dependence on men and their social status in the community. In addition, most literature on these communities describes women's lack of economic power is a result of strict role division of the fishing activities, with women's roles of lower economic value. Box 6.8 describes the first impressions and observations in the fishing communities.

Box 6.8 Personal observations on gendered activities in Mahyoro landing site

Arriving at Mahyoro landing site, one of the first reasons given for high prevalence was that women sleep with other men, while their husbands are fishing at the lake. It soon became clear that women in the fishing community live in different socio-cultural environment where norms and values on sexual behavior of women are less restricted than in the surrounding agricultural areas. I also tried to look at the gendered roles in the community, which were hard to find through observations. Despite the

literature describing distinct economic roles for men and women, I saw both men and women involved in all sectors (although some are less mixed than others), except for the baria. I also saw men fetching water and carrying firewood and women playing cards, drinking and smoking cigarettes. These of course were first observations, but enough to realize that an open and new look was needed towards a wider understanding of the dynamics of HIV/AIDS.

These first observations showed that relations between men and women are more complex than described in the mainstream literature. Parker (2001) and Blanc (2001) argue that the gendered side of HIV/AIDS can not be understood without taking class and social inequalities into account. This part of the report tries to look at different socio-economic classes men and women belong to and their susceptibility to infection based on field observations and interviews. First an overview of classes of women is given in relation to the types of sexual relations they engage in and secondly the classes of men are described in relation to their access to sexual relationships. In sexual relations, Varga (1997) makes a difference between decision making power, which refers to the individual decisions, and negotiation power, that deals with the verbal and non verbal dynamics between two partners on the preferences and the timing of sexual interaction.

6.5.2 Women and decision/negotiation power over sexual matters

Marital relationships

The role of marriage is to provide security. A man is expected to bring financial security for his wife and children, while a woman makes a home: she welcomes her husband, provides food and takes care of the house and the children. An official marriage, where a man introduces a woman to his family, rarely happens and within the fishing community it would be better to speak of 'marital relationships' (Grellier, 2004). These marital relationships are often an economic survival strategy for women. When a man neglects his wife or family, financially or by spending his time with other women and/or drinking, a woman can respond to this neglect in several ways. She can decide to leave her husband and "remarry" another man. Another strategy is to have multiple partnerships: a woman has several men taking care of her by giving her money, food or gifts in return for sexual favors. While her husband is working at the landing site or is fishing "she visits the neighbor" (Interview peer educator Mahyoro). Generally the male-female relationships in the communities are money-oriented, whereby women are able to terminate their relationships when their partner/lovers have financial setbacks.

Unmarried²⁹ women do not feel they belong to one man. Officially when a man finds his wife with another man, he can take the other man to court. However, to prevent embarrassment the men usually arrange the matter among themselves, whereby the other man pays the husband a fine (meaning the adultery money goes to the man). On the other hand, when a woman is caught committing adultery, she is supported by her family, saying: 'after all, when did you introduce our daughter as your wife?'³⁰ Among men and women, monogamous as polygamous relationships can be found, however mostly the latter can be observed. Unlike agricultural communities, it is unofficially accepted that both men and women are involved in multiple relationships. Condom use in steady relationships is uncommon as both men and women feel that unprotected sex is a sign of love and commitment (Varga, 1999, Barker and Ricardo, 2005).

The poor and survival sex

²⁹ meaning women who are in long term or marital relationships

³⁰ official wedding and payment of dowry did not take place

Choices and actions depend on the autonomy or freedom that women have to act responsible and rational (Chan and Reidpath, 2003). When a person's autonomy declines, due to divorce, death or reduced incomes of their husbands, women find themselves in a position that leaves them little choice but to sleep with other men for the families' survival, even though they might not be interested in multiple sex partners. Especially during the dry season, when the catches are low and men migrate, women look for alternatives to get an income for the family. This group of women has little decision or negotiation power. In their situation it is hard to bargain over condom use since it is hard to compete with women who agree to have unsafe sex. Often they are paid more for unsafe sex. Sometimes women are paid in kind (like fish or food) and a man will not bother to spend extra money on condoms³¹. The type of economic activities women are involved in plays an important role in susceptibility. Women involved in beer selling or working in bars and eating places are at greater risk of having multiple partners and unprotected sex. Moreover, since alcohol takes away inhibiting factors and makes men feel free to seduce women (Seeley and Allison, 2004). Women working in bars also drink and can be seduced easily.

Casual sex workers and transactional sex

There is a difference between poor women and casual sex workers. Casual sex workers (CWS) in this paragraph are women who live at the landing site with the main aim to earn money through prostitution. Some women came to the landing sites to escape poverty in their home area or to get a starting capital for a business, while poor women will engage in sexual interactions for immediate survival. CSW's will negotiate prices for their services and look for men who made a good income that day.

“There is a local saying: “God made man, man made money, money made man” Money can make a person mad. When fish catches are high, the smile of a boat owner and baria changes. They are thinking about going out and having a drink. Women are clever: they look for those men who sold a lot of fish and surround him. If the man is weak hearted, he goes in for the activities’. Woman, Mahyoro women group

CWS tend to follow the baria to the different landing sites, while the women who are residents at the landing site engage in transactional sex during the dry season, when the family income is low. There is a diversity among CSW's which influence the “who, how and when”. Power of condom use often lies with the client who might pay more for unprotected sex (Chan and Reidpath, 2003).

The middle class and “luxury sex”

“If a woman sees her neighbor eating meat, she goes out, meets a man who can give her money. Her husband doesn't know. They (the family) will eat the meat before the husband comes home” Peer educator Mahyoro

Many interactions between men and women are money oriented and it can be observed that women in the fishing communities are not only involved in sexual transactions in order to create an income for survival. Middle class and wealthy women can be found having multiple partnerships. Luxury sex refers to the maintenance of a certain lifestyle. A “luxurious lifestyle” is valued highly in the communities, both among men and women. For men this relates to drinking, pleasure, spending money and buying things like radios and bicycles, while for women it means looking good (nice hair styles), having nice clothes and good things to eat (like meat). In return for sexual favors, women and girls receive money or goods. The availability of daily cash makes it possible for men and women to maintain this lifestyle.

³¹ The fish might be worth 500-800 Ush, while condoms cost 300 Ush.

Another reason given by the interviewees on the fact that middle class and wealthy women engage in multiple partnerships, is that women feel neglected when their husbands spend several nights on the lake and does not come home to eat. In addition, many women face redundancy and boredom during daytime, when household and fishing activities are finished. They sit outside, socialize, or also drink alcohol (observations and interviews baseline survey), whereby the likelihood to interact with different men is higher.

6.5.3 Men and access to sexual relationships

Before going into a class division of men and their level of susceptibility a short description on masculinities is given in order to understand that men do not automatically have decision making power, but their decision on the “who, when and how” are negotiations between what society expects of their behavior and how they might want to behave.

Masculinity deals with the social construction of male identity i.e. what it means to be a man. Manhood in African tradition is majorly related to achieving financial independence through employment and starting a family (Barker and Ricardo, 2005). Masculinities are actively constructed by both men and women and are dynamic over time. Identity, manhood and sexuality are intertwined and sexual experience is frequently related with initiation into and recognition of manhood. For this reason, many (young) men feel pressure from their peers to be sexually active and have multiple partners (Barker and Ricardo, 2005, Blanc, 2001). Missing in the understanding of the relation between gender and HIV/AIDS is how a man’s behavior is constrained by cultural beliefs and expectations (Mane and Aggleton, 2001). Being a man often demands control over women, with women accepting the concept of male identity, hierarchy and power (Varga, 1999). Although peer pressure plays an important role, the masculine belief is constructed by both men and women. Both dominant and subordinate forms of masculinity can be found, so that it is important to look at relations between men and women, but also between men and men (Blanc, 2001). Dominant versions of masculinity place both men and women in a vulnerable position for infection, since dominant men will more likely use force, reject condom use and view drug and drinking as a conformation of manhood (Mane and Aggleton, 2001). For men in the fishing community sexual relationships are mostly of marital or transactional nature and are related to a culture of money, drinking, cultural beliefs on fishing and peer pressure. Recently marijuana has found its way into the community and can be considered as an extra cofactor to susceptibility.

Male boat owners

Male boat owners have long been the main and only leaders in the fishing community and belong to the dominant masculine group. They are the providers of work and income in the community. A boat owner decides whether his (or her) boat will fish that day, the number of nets to fish, and thus determines the income of several people in the community. In order to maintain their boats and nets, a boat owner needs to save money. However, and especially in the past, they have high incomes and daily money to spend. Due to their position and availability of money, they are able to easily find women and girls to sleep with. Generally, boat owners try to find a balance between spending and saving.

Baria

Another dominant masculine group is the baria. Before the implementation of the BMU system, boat owners were the beach managers and “their will was law”. A baria was considered a worthless worker and his opinion of no importance (ILM, 2001). In general, the baria had no saving culture and spent most of their money on leisure, drinking and women. Perhaps because they were far from home and had no opportunity of becoming a boat owner. When a baria made enough money and he did not spend it in a day, he could decide not to

work the next day. Although baria had a low social status, they did have a high daily income. Lack of alternatives for recreation and saving opportunities, led to the described culture. There is a lot of peer pressure to drink and have sex among the baria. Masculinity is determined by the number of girls or women a man has. Masculinity among the baria is related to the hardship and dangers of fishing at the lake, which makes him less afraid of infection. Reducing risks during sexual encounters has little meaning (de Waal, 2006).

“The most infected group is the baria: they get money, go drinking and get women” Group meeting women Mahyoro

Baria are less influenced by peer pressure if they have a goal outside the community. Some baria and others started working in the fishing sector in order to save some starting capital for farming. After fishing activities end, they look for ways to avoid drinking and spending money. One former baria said he used to go to the bar with his friends, buy them one or two beers and disappear silently. After a few years of fishing he was able to buy land, built a house and a farm.

In addition, some cultural beliefs add to the sexual beliefs and behaviors. First, the baria believe they deserve to enjoy themselves after some nights of hard and dangerous work which includes coldness, the fear of drowning and attacks by wild animals. Another belief deals with creating good luck before fishing. Although never confirmed in an interview, some literature (Grellier et al, 2004, UFFCA field report, 2000) refers to a belief that sex before fishing will lead to high fish catches. If a woman refuses to sleep with the man, the fish catches will be poor.

Lastly, when fish catches are low, incomes are low and the baria are forced to migrate to other landing sites. He usually migrates without his family for longer periods of time, which puts him at risk of having other women, without knowing their HIV-status.

The ‘others’

A man belonging to the group of ‘others’ is likely to belong to the group of subordinate men. The group of ‘others’ has the least access to decision making. They are represented in the BMU, but there is no BMU committee where a ‘other’ has a key position. In the LAGBIMO meetings, boat owners (as the BMU chairman), women (mostly boat owners) and baria are represented, but there is no representative of the ‘others’ in those meetings. Whereas the number of boat owners and baria are limited by the number of boats there is no limitation on the number of ‘others’ and competition for work can be high. The income depends on the number of jobs they can do in a day, e.g. the number of nets arranged, the number of fish sold, the number of fish processed, ect. The men working as ‘others’ have the lowest income in the community. In order to have a wife or girlfriends a man needs money. Fulfilling the masculine idea of drinking and having several women is thus less likely for these men.

Boys between 12-18 years

Boys have the disadvantage of age and their low economic position. They like to hang out on the landing sites, trying to get small jobs and money. These days, the BMU committees in Kasenyi and Mahyoro have started valuing education and discourage the presence of young boys at the landing site. Officially boys can start working in the fishing sector at the age of 18 years. Boys who do get jobs are often underpaid. They rarely become baria immediately, but first start in the group of ‘others’. Boys thus have no status, nor money which makes it hard for them to get girlfriends or pay for sexual favors of prostitutes. Boys are less susceptible to HIV infection than girls their age. The susceptibility and vulnerability of youth and children is further discussed in appendix 3.

6.5.4 Outcomes of the susceptibility analysis

In this part the level of susceptibility of different gendered, socio-economic classes were described. The analysis of access and negotiation power in sexual matters of the different classes does not aim to dismiss the idea that women have less bargaining power, but shows that within the fishing community different dynamics play a role in the negotiation power of women in the agreement on the “when, who and how”. The discussed mainstream ideas on the economic subordinate position of women can be seen in the fishing communities, mainly with the poor women who lack alternative means for survival. Linked to the vulnerability analysis, it can be concluded that the link between poverty, susceptibility and vulnerability is very clear for single female laborers in the fishing communities. Women in low income groups are especially vulnerable in the dry season, when fish catches and agricultural demand for labor are low. In addition, these are the seasons that men migrate and leave their families behind. For their survival, these women will likely engage in unprotected sexual relationships.

Important, but often ignored are the observations that women actively use sexual relationships to secure their livelihoods and/or maintain a certain lifestyle. This is enabled through the socio-cultural norms in the fishing community that allows women to be engaged in multiple partnerships. This changes the overall view of a faithful rural women being a victim of her unfaithful husband. There are thus different classes of women, who have different reasons to engage in multiple sexual relationships. These different classes can be equally susceptible to infection, but poor women are more vulnerable to the impacts of infection. Accepting these different classes helps to develop tailor made interventions, which have a higher level of sustainability.

In the fishing communities masculinity is, like stated in the literature, linked to the number of sexual relations one has. These sexual relationships are based on gifts like money or goods. The ability of men to have several girlfriends depends on their income and cash to spend. Especially among baria, peer pressure is high. Being a baria demands a certain lifestyle, based on risk taking, in work as well as in their private lives. Women will surround men with money and boat owners and baria will be more easily seduced. Also lack of recreational opportunities and opportunities to improve their livelihoods (e.g. by saving for a boat or land) contributes to the culture of spending, drinking and women. Boat owners do have a reason to save: an inactive boat can lead to the loss of their boat license. Also men with families or “projects” outside the community are more likely to save their money. Young boys and poor men will find it hard to fulfil financial needs that are involved in having girlfriends. Therefore, they are least susceptible to infection.

The fact that women and men have multiple sexual partner is not so much an individual issue as a socio-cultural phenomenon. The table below gives a schematic overview of the different classes in the community and their susceptibility to infection, based on the factors mentioned by the community.

Table 6.3 Factors contributing to susceptibility for each class in the fishing community

Susceptibility per group	Male	Female
Baria	High <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migration • Availability of cash, no saving culture • Peer pressure (drinking and having many women) 	N/A
Boat owner	High/ medium <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Availability of money • Peer pressure (drinking and having many women) 	Medium/low <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rich, no need for prostitution • Through husband • Polygamous relationships*
Fish mongers (transport to outside larger markets)	High <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Migration • Availability of cash 	Medium/low <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good income, no need for prostitution • Through husband • Polygamous relationships
Fish mongers (local smaller markets)	Medium Might lack money to buy sexual favors, depends on the daily income	Medium <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both married as single women • Medium income, depends on fish catch
Fish processors (scaling, smoking, frying)	Low/medium Might lack money to buy sexual favors, depends on the daily income	High/medium <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly single women • Low income
Net repairers and cleaners Boat repairers and cleaners	Low/medium Might lack money to buy sexual favors, depends on the daily income	High/medium <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Few belong to this class • Depends on income and HH situation
House wives	N/A	High <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neglected by husband • During dry season • Need for luxury items • Polygamous relationships
Widows/widowers	High Remarry with woman without knowing her status or historical background	High <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remarry without knowing status or background • Prostitution in case of poverty • Polygamous relationships
Children	Low Boys have no money to pay for sexual favors or buy presents for girls	Medium <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Something for something love • Early marriages due to poverty • Few future opportunities

*both men and women can be involved in polygamous relationships

6.6 Conclusions

This chapter looked the factors contributing to the vulnerability and susceptibility to HIV/AIDS in the fishing communities at different levels. This chapter identified HIV/AIDS as an underdevelopment problem, a cultural/behavioral problem and a health problem.

Underdevelopment problem

It was shown that poverty plays an important role in the risk for infections. Especially during the dry season, poor women can find themselves engaging in “survival sex”. However, not all women or PLWHA are “victims” or vulnerable, as some of the stories in this chapter have shown. In order to identify susceptibility and vulnerability, it is better to use a class approach rather than a gendered approach. This ensures that poor, single women are included in intervention, but also that other, less obvious vulnerable groups, are not excluded. Different classes have different needs and therefore interventions should be adapted to the different groups.

As a community Kasenyi is more vulnerable the Mahyoro due to higher isolation, lower community income, lack of possibilities for livelihood diversification, less access to services and to political isolation. People lack information on positive living and access to medical services, and therefore lack interest in knowing their status. Knowing that they are HIV positive does not contribute to their lives, since it is believed that people die more quickly of worries once they know. Therefore it is important to understand that not all fishing communities are the same and intervention should be adapted.

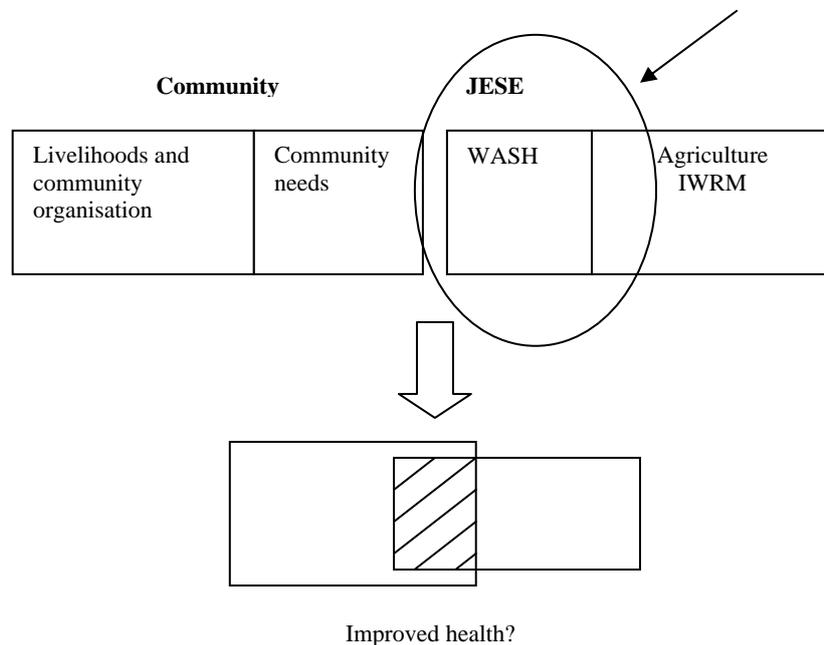
A cultural/behavioral problem

This chapter also showed that HIV/AIDS in the fishing communities is not only an underdevelopment problem. The desire to maintain “luxurious lifestyles” creates money oriented relationships between men and women. These luxurious lifestyles are based on the nature of the fishing activities and their physical location, like the daily availability of cash and the limited possibilities to invest in the future. Isolation and limited recreational and economic possibilities lead to redundancy, drinking, drug use and temporary sexual relationships. These multiple relationships are allowed for both men and women. For organisations like JESE and PROTOS, active in WASH promotions, these cultural norms and values are hard to address.

A health problem

HIV/AIDS is a health problem. Not only because the disease is caused by a virus that impairs immune system. Rather there is a lack of understanding in the fishing communities on the importance of good health. For PLWHA and their relatives a good health plays an important role for survival, which is maintained by medicines, nutrition, sufficient water of good quality and good hygienic conditions. The main identified needs and constraints of HIV/AIDS affected households are poverty, lack of food, lack of testing services and medicines, lack of clean water and lack of knowledge on positive living. Improved health and the knowledge that one easily can maintain a good health, stimulates community members to undertake to improve their lives.

PART 2: MAINSTREAMING IS ABOUT FINDING THE COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE



Influence on susceptibility and vulnerability Summary

The next chapter will look at following question:

- What are the contributions of WASH as implemented by JESE to of susceptibility and vulnerability?

This chapter aims to identify the practical influence of the intervention activities on the improved health of the community. The comparative advantage of JESE is improved health. During the field work it became clear that there are gaps between the intervention strategies and the community characteristics, which might influence sustainable implementation. There is a difference in thinking and in norms and values between the community and the development organisation. Here, the intervention activities are described from the background of JESE, with a critical link to the community characteristics.

7 Evaluation of WASH interventions of JESE

7.1 Introduction

PLWHA need a good health, which can be maintained by good hygienic conditions and sufficient water provision of good quality. This chapter will look at the influence on susceptibility and vulnerability of the WASH project implemented by JESE. Their water, sanitation and hygiene projects aim to improve livelihood outcomes by improving the health situation at individual, household and community level. This is especially important in the fishing communities where much of the income depends on physical labor. The healthier PLWHA are, the longer one is able to carry out economic activities (see fig 2.xx chapter xx). The comparative advantage of JESE is thus the maintenance of good health through WASH promotion.

This chapter analyses whether in practice JESE's activities result in improved health and thus in reduced susceptibility and vulnerability. This is done by identifying analysing their activities. As most organisations, JESE uses the project cycle to plan and implement their activities. The project cycle follows a sequence of steps which, according to JESE will eventually lead to the adoption of technologies and change in behaviors contributing to improved health at household and community level. The different stages of their project cycle are analysed.

7.2 JESE in the fishing communities

In Uganda, the role of water NGO's is generally to assist government in its fight against poverty alleviation. After implementation of the Local Governance Act in 1997, water and sanitation provision was decentralised as much as possible and became the responsibility of the subcounty and the village councils. At subcounty level technical staff is appointed for promotion of hygiene and sanitation, but often due to lack of funds and transport, they are unable to carry out their jobs effectively. Therefore, the local government can seek help from NGO's in development of their subcounties. Appendix 4 describes the activities of the local government in Mahyoro and Kasenyi.

Few NGO's are active in the fishing communities and only PROTOS and JESE deal with water provision and promotion of sanitation and hygiene at community and household level. In the past, JESE only worked in subsistent farming communities and Mahyoro is the first fishing community they work with. They will expand their activities to the other landing sites around Lake George in 2008.

JESE aims to create a behavior change towards sustainable water provision and improved sanitation and hygiene (WASH). The WATSAN team³² consists of six field extension workers: two technical staff and four social workers. The technical staff is responsible for the monitoring of construction work. They also advice the contractors, train masons, caretakers and pump mechanics. They are involved in site identification and train the local government on bidding procedures. Table 7.1 gives an overview of the technologies JESE is implementing and promoting in the fishing communities.

³² WATSAN is the official name of the team and stands for Water and Sanitation

Table 7.1 Overview JESE's technological approaches

Technology	Impact on health	JESE principle	Approach to behavior change
Shallow well, borholes and other water sources	Access to clean water near the homestead reduces the likelihood of water borne infections and increases hygiene at household level	Each homestead should have access to to good quality and quantity of water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WATSAN committee • Community meetings
Latrine promotion	Prevention of faecal contamination of water and food.	All households should have a toilet and use and maintain it in correct way	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of visual aids • Community meetings • Demonstration homes • House to house visit • WATSAN committee
Tippy tap	Hand wishing prevents transmission of pathogens leading to diarrhea, hepatitis A and other diseases	Each household and public toilet needs a tippy tap, with water and soap.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community meetings • House to house visit
Bathing shelter	Personal hygiene prevents skin and eye diseases as well as infections of parasites and diarrhea	Each household should have a proper build bathing shelter to prevent stagnant water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of visual aids • Community meetings • Demonstration homes • House to house visits
Dish rack	Dishes dry in the sun. The rack prevents dishes to become dirty and animals to lick them	Each household should have a proper build dish rack to prevent stagnant water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of visual aids • Community meetings • Demonstration homes • House to house visits

Adapted from: Study JESE social approach (Coppens, 2005)

Table 7.2 Overview of social approaches

Social intervention	Impact on health	JESE principle	Approach to behavior change
Safe water chain	A clean environment around the water source and a safe collection and storage prevents contamination and thus infectious diseases	Maintaining the water source and ensuring safe transport, storage and consumption of water is necessary to prevent diseases	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of visual aids • Community meetings • Demonstration homes • House to house visits
Gender training	If both genders understand the importance of good hygiene, it is more likely that the proposed activities are implemented	Women are responsible for hygiene and water collection for the household, while men are responsible for building activities. They should both be involved in training. Roles should be divided in the household, involving all members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community meetings • Use of visual aids • House to house visits
Social monitoring	Social monitoring increases the likelihood of correct implementation of WASH activities	Improved analysis of activities leads to awareness on personal H&S situation and what can be improved.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • House to house visits
School education	Children learn good WASH behavior at early age and implement it at home.	Each school should have a health club with well informed and motivated patrons to guide and help the children	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Training patrons • Promotion health clubs • School visits

Adapted from: Study JESE social approach (Coppens, 2005)

The role of the social team is to mobilize and train people, create behavior change in terms of perceptions on O&M, gender relationships, hygiene and sanitation at community and household level. The social team assists in the formation of committees and gives capacity building to CBO's. Table 7.2 gives an overview of the activities of the social team.

The norms and principles of JESE are to work with communities in an equal and participatory way, with respect for gender equity and vulnerable groups. They believe change has to be created by using a demand driven approach, by promoting community participation and by giving technical support.

7.3 Implementation sequence of WASH projects

JESE follows the project cycle to manage their projects (see figure 7.1). Once a donor approves the project, the local leaders are informed. A baseline study is carried out to identify the water sanitation and hygienic situation at household and community level. The needs per village are shortlisted and presented in a community meeting at the subcounty. The local leaders (LC1 and LC3) and community representatives are present in these meetings and an intervention plan is developed for the coming financial year. The intervention plan includes the identification of the villages of intervention and the type of intervention.

After selection of the intervention villages several activities are organized simultaneously. The first step is community sensitization on activities and expectations, as well as the selection of the WATSAN committees. The WATSAN committees are responsible for the operation and maintenance of public water and sanitation structures and to promote public hygiene and hygiene at household level. During these meetings a memorandum of understanding is signed with the local leaders, explaining the role of JESE and the community. To increase ownership, the LC1's organize the collection of local materials for the building process. At the same time JESE looks for model families, where demonstration houses can be constructed. Hygiene and sanitation promoters are trained to ensure sustainability after JESE has left the area. Since JESE does not carry out the actual construction, the technical staff organizes a bidding procedure for local contractors with the community for the construction of water sources and toilets. A local technician is trained for maintenance of the structures and the WATSAN committee is trained on basic bookkeeping. During and after construction work the community is trained on operation and maintenance, daily hygiene and sanitation and gender issues related to WASH.

In this chapter, JESE's project cycle is divided in four phases³³, i.e.:

- **Diagnosis phase:** aims to understand the current problems and their backgrounds through a baseline study. JESE carried out a baseline survey in four fishing communities around Lake George. The four communities are situated in QEPA;
- **Planning phase:** aims to develop an intervention plan that may solve the problem. The planning phase did not take place during the research period and will not be discussed here;
- **Intervention phase:** sequence of activities that lead to solution of the problem. The intervention strategies and activities were observed in the Mahyoro community and will be discussed;
- **Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) phase:** tries to assess the outcomes of the interventions. During the field work a M&E meeting was organised in the Mahyoro community.

³³ Chapter 4 has 5 steps in the project cycle. It includes problem finding. It is left out here since problem finding in the fishing communities was done by PROTOS in 2003 and JESE's cycle consists of 4 steps.

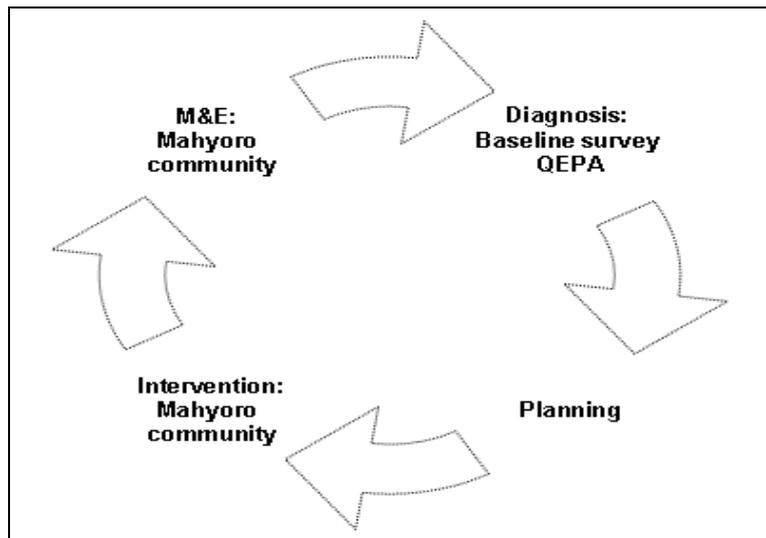


Figure 7.1 Research carried out in relation to the activities of JESE

Three stages will be described with the aim to identify their influence on the susceptibility and vulnerability in the community and households. The planning phase did not take place during the time of the field work and will not be described. The diagnosis phase was observed in the QEPA communities, the other two phases were observed in the Mahyoro community (see figure 7.1).

7.3.1 *Diagnosis: the baseline survey in QEPA*

Before JESE intervenes in an area, a baseline study is carried out. The baseline study gives information on the community of intervention, but also describes the starting point whereby intervention outcomes (at any stage of the project) will be measured against the results of the baseline study. JESE carried out a baseline study in the QEPA communities in the beginning of June 2007, in assignment of PROTOS. The survey took 10 days and aimed to identify the water and sanitation needs of the four landing sites around Lake George in Kasese District, namely Kahendero, Hamukungu, Kasenyi and Katunguru K (see figure 2.1). The baseline survey consisted of several activities. A quantitative survey form was designed for the household survey and included questions about the household composition, the sanitation and hygiene situation, responsibilities in the household, land ownership and household income. A second activity consisted of a semi structured interview with the community leaders in order to gain inside in the community organization, political power and the general water, hygiene and sanitation situation in public places, as well as the different responsibilities of the stakeholders. The third activity was a CBO assessment, which consisted of a written structured interview. The form dealt with questions on the goals and activities of the CBO, their financial management and their capacity needs. The aim of the CBO assessment was dual: it gives an overview of possibilities to form complementary partnerships and identifies the capacity gaps in which JESE could play a role. The last activity consisted of a participatory community meeting at each landing site. The goal was to identify common good and common bad hygienic behaviors from the point of view of the community. By asking which behaviors the community would like to eradicate, two processes are initiated. First, it tries to create commitment towards the project in form of a ‘promise’ and second, it helps JESE to identify the felt needs/interests and perceptions of the community in order to develop points of action relevant to the community. During these meetings, visual aids were used as tools for data gathering.

Box 7.1 Some observations during the baseline survey

At arrival, the team went to the landing site and spoke with the community leaders. The community leaders were all men and included the LC1 and LC2 chairmen and the BMU committee members. Key informants and a translator were hired. The role of the key informants was to introduce the team members in the different households so that interviews could be conducted. All key informants were selected by the BMU committee and at all landing sites, the appointed key informants were men. The household survey was carried out in pairs by the JESE staff, together with a key informant. There was no sampling technique used and a random number of households in the fishing villages were visited. During the household visits, qualitative data were not gathered. On the way back, the staff members would discuss the different stories they heard in the households, though these observations and additional information was not written down.

Good data collection is crucial for intervention planning. Community leaders play an important role in identifying the needs of the fishing communities, but it should be kept in mind that most leaders belong to the middle or wealthy class. The views of the poorest in the community will therefore rarely be represented. JESE tried to solve this by carrying out a survey at household level. However, the survey consists of standard questions, focusing on project indicators (sanitation coverage, hygiene level, cleanness of the house, ect.) rather than using a livelihood approach. Lack of a livelihood approach prevents JESE to know the vulnerable groups in the community, what their immediate needs are and how they are possibly affected by the interventions.

Box 7.2 Field observation of the Hamukungu meeting

The meeting was organised at the landing site. The BMU and LC1 chairman were responsible for the mobilization. The meeting was not announced ahead, but people were mobilised the moment the meeting was planned. In practise mobilization meant that the chairmen walked around the landing site and started collecting people. When a group of 20 people were present the meeting started. The participants were asked to take a careful look at some pictures. Meanwhile, a flipchart was divided in three areas: common good, common bad and uncommon. The pictures were held up and asked whether that situation was present in the community and whether it was a good or bad behavior. A similar exercise identified perceptions on latrine use. At the end of the exercise the community classified the most common type of the latrines used in the community and the common bad behaviors they want to get rid off. Most participant were still involved in their economic activities. Each time a boat landed a significant part of the group would run to the boat in order to buy fish or get work. Except for two old women, there were no women present at the meeting. The two women were watching the meeting, but did not contribute to the content. Other women were busy in fish sale or were in the village. Many participants left after a short time. Only five people actively participated throughout the meeting (which took about 1 hour) and most of them were male community leaders.

The idea of participatory data collection is to identify the needs from a community perspective. The way the meetings are organized prevents certain groups to participate. Participation depends on 'good luck of being around' and having the time to participate. The landing site seems a good place to organize a meeting, since many people are active at the landing site. The disadvantage is that business people lack interest to participate since they are busy in economic activities. Moreover, most women are in the village and thus are not included in the meetings. Generally, there is a research tiredness in the fishing communities. Many community leaders complain that NGO's and researchers come to collect data, but never bring back results to the community. Therefore, some inhabitants only want to participate or cooperate if they are paid for information sharing.

7.3.2 Intervention: strategies used in the Mahyoro community

Since March 2006, JESE and PROTOS are active in Mahyoro subcounty. Besides the provision of basic needs like toilets and water sources, JESE aims to create a behavior change towards hygiene, water use and sanitation in order to improve health at individual level. JESE uses different strategies to create behavior change in the communities. The strategies can be divided into three categories, i.e.:

- Adoption strategies
- House to house visits
- Community participation

These three main strategies will be described and analysed.

7.3.2.1 Creating behavior change through adoption strategies

The theory on adoption states that the adoption strategy is an approach towards development which start from an innovation or technology which is promoted and of which the uptake is regarded as beneficial for the community. The aim is to create a behavior change through a sequence of steps, starting from awareness creation to acceptance and final long term use (De Graaff et al, 2007). Awareness creation takes place through community meetings and house to house visits, whereby JESE explains the link between poor health, sanitation and hygiene. After awareness creation, ‘demonstration homes’ are selected, using role models in the community. Role models are considered to play an important role in promoting the spread of innovations. After demonstration homes are build, the neighbors are able to visit the homestead, try the technologies and observe the advantages. It is assumed that once advantages are understood, neighbors will adopt the technologies and spread among the community takes place. The role of JESE in this process is to guide the community through the several steps of adoption, so that it eventually leads to improved health.

Adoption through demonstration homes

A demonstration home is an elected homestead in the village that functions as a role model for the surrounding community. JESE helps the demonstration family to implement all technologies and good behaviors. The family contributes about 20 % to the building of an EcoSan³⁴ toilet, a bathroom, dish rack and a tippy tap³⁵. Since fishing villages are dealing with land shortage and collapsing soils, EcoSan toilets are considered an ideal technology. Tippy taps, bathrooms and dish racks are relative simple and cheap technologies. They are made of local materials and all household members are able to use it. Therefore it is expected that they are easily adopted. Each village has a demonstration home, which is elected by the community through a public meeting. JESE sets several selection criteria before organizing the election. The household should be willing to demonstrate the different technologies to others, the neighbors should feel free to visit the house and the household needs to be easily accessible. The JESE staff visits the selected homes on regular basis whereby advice is given on correct use and maintenance of the technologies. The fact that the community elects a model home is considered participatory and a community decision.

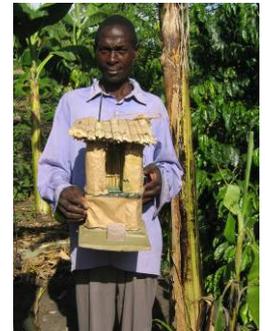
³⁴ The EcoSan toilets are a new technology in the intervention area. They were introduced because the main problem of latrines is that they collapse because of the weak soil types. EcoSan toilets are permanent toilets build of cement which makes them strong and easy in maintenance. Compared to the traditional latrine, they are clean and do not smell. The faeces are collected, dried and used as an organic fertilizer.

³⁵ A tippy tap is container filled with water, placed by its handle on a stick. By using a rope hands can be washed after toilet use

Box 7.3 Who are the owners of a demonstration home?

The demonstration homes were already elected and constructed during the time of field work. During the field work several homes were visited, both in the fishing villages as in the surrounding farming villages. The elected role models are mostly middle class people who are well known and respected in the community. They mostly have good financial positions and are influential people like the LC1 or a rich to middle class household, who are able to invest in these technologies. An example is the newly built demonstration house in Bubale village. The owner is a boat owner and a BMU committee member. He cultivates several acres of cash crops, has some illegal boats and keeps cattle. Confronted with the question how poor and vulnerable families are addressed two staff members agreed that: “It is better to focus on the middle class people, so that other people can take over. People look up to role models, they do not copy of lower class people” (Informal discussion with two JESE staff).

The man in the picture is a true “innovator”. He likes new technologies, tries them out and promotes them actively in the community without demanding compensation. In the picture he is holding a model of an EcoSan toilet, which he uses to explain his friends and neighbors how the technology works. At the time of visit, he had also installed an energy saving stove and was explaining enthusiastically how it works. Yet, during the selection meeting the LC1 chairman was elected as a demonstrator instead of him.



Within the fishing villages around the landing site the adoption rate of dish racks, tippy taps and bathrooms is very low. The community expressed that domestic animals destroy the structures. The domestic animals are property of the more influential leaders and the Abagabo clan. Therefore the community members find it difficult to create new bylaws to prevent roaming animals destroying their property.

Adoption through school hygiene programmes

The principle of school hygiene programme is based on the assumption that children learn good hygienic behavior at a young age and implement this behavior at home. During the baseline survey, JESE made an inventory of each primary school and their water and sanitation status. The status of the different schools was presented at the subcounty meeting and two schools in Mahyoro Parish were selected for intervention. JESE contributed to the construction of latrines in both schools. Two patrons per school were trained on hygiene and sanitation practices and on how to start a health club in the school. At the health club children learn about environmental and personal cleanliness and HIV/AIDS, through a child to child approach. Afterwards these children teach other children on general cleanliness (e.g. if a child sees another child with long nails, they help each other cutting their nails). Through songs and drama's the children teach their fellow students what they have learned in the club.

Box 7.4 The health club of Karembi primary school

The two schools were visited and one afternoon was spent at the club with the children. The patrons of the health clubs had already been trained by the JESE staff and given materials for the health club. The health club in Karembi school was active and encouraged foreigners (people from outside the community) to come and support the children. Overall, the children in the Karembi school had a good knowledge on health and hygiene. The Muslim school was still under construction and had not yet started the health club. The information gathered was through interaction with one teacher and the head master.

The trained patrons at the Karembi school are very motivated and find the health club important. The head master shared during the M&E meeting that thanks to the implementation of the health club, the school won a district prize for their knowledge on hygiene and sanitation. According to the patrons, the children lack general guidance at home. Many children are orphaned and live without parental care. Next to life skills like hygiene and general cleanliness, the club gives the children self confidence. They discuss about being orphaned, the consequences of walking at night and the importance of the future. The children learn that they are not the only ones orphaned or affected by AIDS or poverty. The club helps to reduce stigma by taking away fear, shame and guilt the child is feeling. The patrons use visual aids and rewarding methods to stimulate the learning process. They are interested in the background of the children, being both strict (“roaming around the village at night is bad”) and showing empathy (“sometimes these children have no choice because they have to sell food in order to buy books”) at the same time. The headmaster and teachers of Karembi primary school shared that parents rarely listen to their children. The knowledge of children is rarely acknowledged or implemented at home. It discourages children to actively participate in the club and put what they have learned into practice.

The health club at the primary school is popular and successful. Children have a lot of knowledge on the need for hygiene and a clean environment. The health club also helps students to take care of themselves and be more confident. However, the way children are viewed in the fishing communities, may prevent adoption at household level. There are two processes here that influence behavior change of the children. First, having a health club alone is not sufficient. All staff members need to be involved and be an example. Actions to create behavior change are often limited to sharing information and do not include setting examples like providing tippy taps near the toilets. Children have the knowledge but are unable to put it into practice. Second, parents in the Mahyoro community rarely value education. In the past, fish catches brought high incomes and it was believed that education was a waste of time. People believed that fish could never end. Even though, the perception on education is changing, this view still holds. Even though, the perception on education is changing, this view still holds. Parents rarely value the opinion of children and therefore adoption at home is limited.

7.3.2.2 Creating behavior change through house to house visits

Another strategy to promote health, hygiene and sanitation at the homestead is through house to house visits. The staff carries out monitoring visits and advises the households on general hygiene matters like cleanliness in the kitchen, washing hands, the safe water chain, etc. At the end of the visit a ‘contract’ is made between JESE and the household. The contract contains the date of the next visit and the improvements which JESE can expect in the household. During household visits the gender roles are discussed: who does what and why? Building a dish rack or bathing shelter is considered hard work and a responsibility of men. Therefore, the male household head is involved in the discussions on healthy behaviors. JESE visits a household about three times to monitor and record the changes on monitoring forms. This method is very quantitative and instrumental, but easy for the community members to understand. The qualitative part of the JESE’s work consists of probing on the current situation and help the household in the discovery of “good” and “bad” behaviors.

Some households are not reached. Mostly, these are female headed households, where a woman works on average ten hours per day. This means that during their home visits the JESE staff finds no one at home. Interviews with these women showed that most of them had never heard of JESE's activities. Most of these women work as casual laborers at large farms and rarely visit the landing site.

Box 7.6 Nalongo's time

Nalongo is a single mother with 9 children between 3 and 19 years old. She is married, but she has not seen her husband for two years. Her husband works at a farm near Kampala. The house she lives in and the small plot of land around it belong to her husband. He never sends any money home and she is responsible for the provision of basic needs like food, shelter and school materials. Seven of her children are in school. To earn a living Nalongo wakes up at 4 in the morning. She cooks food and brings it to the landing site, where she has a small eating place. Around 2 in the afternoon the activities at the landing site are low and Nalongo goes home to clean the house. After the domestic work, she goes to the shamba, her small garden, where she grows food for household consumption. She rents the land, since she has no land of her own. Around 7 in the evening she goes home to cook for the children. She says she only participates in meetings when she is free. She has never heard of JESE and never participated in any of their meetings. She does contribute in community work, because she fears to get a fine of 5000 Ush if she does not.

It is hard for these women to construct a bathroom or dish rack, since the work is considered as a man's job. That means a woman has to hire someone to construct the structures for her. Also this group of women often live in rental houses and have no dish rack, proper toilet or bath room. Although JESE aims to work with vulnerable groups, this is a group of community members that is not reached in their activities. Yet, due to their poor circumstances, they are susceptible to diseases which can be prevented through simple measures like boiling water, hand washing, safe water chain, etc. When these women become sick, the impacts are high: they have no income for the day and no money to buy medicines.

7.3.2.3 Creating behavior change through community participation

The idea of community participation aims to include the project beneficiaries in their development management in order to create ownership over the project. It is assumed that if the community has direct control over project and management decisions the sustainability, effectiveness and efficiency is enhanced. JESE considers a community as the inhabitants of the intervention area and their leaders and institutions. JESE aims to cooperate with the local leaders for successful implementation of the project. Involvement of local leaders and inhabitants is created through community meetings. Depending on the purpose of the meeting, JESE is either a facilitator or an implementer. JESE tries to involve all community members in decision making to ensure that decisions taken are carried by the whole community and not only by the leaders. Some examples are elections of committees or model houses. In case of technical constructions, JESE hires local contractors. The community leaders and the WATSAN committee are involved in the selection of these contractors. They are trained on how to select local contractors, so that after JESE has left the area the community is able to organise similar bidding procedures themselves.

Box 7.8 Election of the WATSAN in Lyengoma I village

On the 9th of June an initial sensitization meeting was planned in Lyengoma I village. This meeting is the first contact between the village and the JESE staff and was planned after the evaluation meeting with the community leaders at the subcounty head quarters. Lyengoma I is one of the eight villages included in the intervention area of JESE for 2008. During this meeting, it was agreed upon that the LC1 chairman would inform the community about the meeting and make sure that as many households as possible would participate. The goal of the sensitization was to elect the WATSAN committee.

We arrived at the community meeting place at 14.00, the agreed upon time. We were given some seats under a tree. No one had turned up yet and it soon became clear that the people had not been informed about our visit. The chairman was calling people together as we arrived. After about an hour the meeting started. Only 35/170 households were present. The meeting was opened by JESE with an introduction round. Everyone was asked to stand up, say their names and what they do. There were 11 women present. During the introduction round some women refused to stand and introduce themselves. After the introduction, the chairman LC1 opened the meeting with a prayer. He also informs the people who JESE is and what they do. The people are asked if they know what typhoid is and what the causes are. Some people raise their hands. After a short discussion, the need of clean water is explained. He starts explaining the activities of JESE and PROTOS and the different procedures. He shows a memorandum of understanding (MoU) and says that JESE, the LC1 and the LC3 chairman will sign the paper before intervention. He stresses that before the LC1 signs the MoU, all people need to agree on the conditions in the MoU. Meanwhile, people passing by are joining the meeting. The problem of latrines in the area is explained and the training which the community can expect about latrines. After talking about agreements, the meeting moves towards the election of the WATSAN committee. Here after the roles and expectations of the WATSAN committee are explained, by using flip charts. The initial role of the committee is to mobilize local materials for construction, labor and meetings. The committee exists of 7 members, who have to be residents of the area: a chair person, a treasurer, secretary, caretaker, advisor and 2 hygiene and sanitation promoters. After explaining the roles of each committee member, the elections starts. Naming the function, people can suggest a name. If more names are mentioned, they move to elections by discussing the different candidates and raising hands. Some of the women in front are very vocal. They speak freely, even against the chairman. They also look different then other women. They have short cut modern hairstyle and do not wear a head scarf. They also wear T-shirts. They sit in the middle of the front row. They listen actively and take notes. They are a bit fatter then the other women and wear shoes. After electing all the members, there is time for questions. One man asks whether the committee members will be paid. It is explained that the committee members work on voluntary basis. More people have joined during the meeting. I notice there are many boys of the age between 14-16 years, but there are no girls of that age present.

Similar to the meeting in Hamukungu, people are not informed ahead and only pass by-ers are able to participate in the elections. The MoU is a contract between the whole village and the organisation and includes agreements on the contributions of the households to the project. Yet, only few households are present when the MoU is signed. The question of ownership remains open.

7.3.3 Participatory monitoring and evaluation in Mahyoro community

Evaluation of projects is done in cooperation with the community stakeholders. These include the local leaders and representatives of formal and informal organisations. Together they evaluate the project and possible improvements.

Box 7.9 Participatory M&E meeting in Mahyoro Subcounty

For the financial year of 2006-2007, seven villages were selected in Mahyoro Subcounty. Several projects have been implemented, both aiming to bring technical and behavior change. In May 2007, JESE organized a participatory monitoring and evaluation meeting. The meeting had several aims, namely to report the achieved activities to the local government and the community, to evaluate the achievements together with the community and to select new villages for intervention in the subcounty for the next financial year. All stakeholders were invited for the meeting: LC1, LC2 and LC3 chairpersons, the subcounty chief, the WATSAN committees, the BMU chairman, the schools, CBO's and NGO's. Although not invited officially, a district woman councilor (LC5) was present at the meeting. Of each implemented project, a representative was asked to give a brief overview. They expressed their views on the interventions and possible improvements. After the presentations, JESE presented the new budget and the current situation of the different villages in the subcounty. The presentation showed the budget available for wells, water tanks, toilets and demonstration homes. The community now had to decide on the division between the most needy villages, schools and public places. Based on criteria set by JESE, the new intervention villages and schools were elected by the community leaders. The criteria set by JESE were necessary to promote equal and fair decision making. For example, water tanks were given to schools where there is no water provision yet. Selection of beneficiaries was a chaotic process, since all community leaders (especially the politicians) wanted to make sure their village would benefit. The final decision was always made by the subcounty chief or LC3 chairman, who would summarize the discussion and announce the conclusion. Mostly, the final result was accepted by the people present. Although there was a lot of discussions during the meeting, people left fairly satisfied at the end of the meeting.

In practise, JESE develops a plan for intervention and the community evaluates where intervention will take place and monitors JESE's activities.

7.4 Community characteristics and the JESE activities

In general, JESE uses a blue print approach for intervention, meaning that the interventions have a fixed order of implementation without considering the local circumstances. Before Mahyoro, JESE only worked in rural subsistent farmer communities. Although the community characteristics in the fishing community are quiet different from farming communities, JESE has not evaluated the influence of the community characteristics on their activities. Some community characteristics are discussed below and their potential impact on the current project principles and approaches. The next few paragraphs are not meant as a critique, but more as question to be considered in the approach to promote good water, hygiene and sanitation provision. Table 7.3 shows the principles JESE likes to maintain in intervention projects. The table puts questions next to it to evaluate whether thses principles are implemented in practise.

Table 7.3 Criteria to evaluate the implementations of JESE's norms and values

Norms and values JESE	Questions to consider
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create behavior change • With respect to vulnerable groups • In equal and participatory way • Work with communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are required behaviors adopted? • Who are the vulnerable groups? Are they addressed? • Who is able to participate? Are people treated equal? • Demand or supply driven? Who is able to demand?

7.4.1 Behavior change through adoption of technologies

The surrounding farming communities are characterized by sedentary lifestyles and investment in land and housing. This is much different than the lifestyles of many groups in the fishing communities. During the field work JESE staff admitted that adoption rates are lower in the fishing communities. JESE assumes that adoption is influenced by the migratory character of the community (interview JESE staff). In relation to the adoption behaviour of the community members, the parish chief of Mayhoro shared that the adult literacy programme failed because of the migratory character of some groups. However, the community itself has the perception that migration has little influence on community development projects. JESE has never looked into the influence of migration on their projects.

Many baria and 'others' are characterized by their seasonal migration. They mostly rent a cheap room, where they share the latrines with the neighbors. These rooms or rental houses are owned by few land lords. The monthly rent lies between 3000-5000 Ush, while the construction of an EcoSan toilet costs between 300 000 and 500 000 Ush. Comparing the income of renting and the investment in the toilet, it can be suspected that the adoption rate by the owners will remain low. Especially in Kasenyi, where the community income is, it might be hard for families to invest in the EcoSan technology. During the community meeting in Katunguru K³⁶ the participants shared that absence of a dish rack and bathing shelter is related to renting behavior. People do not consider the house as theirs and therefore it is unlikely they will invest in it. Also, when the rent increases, people move to another room/house and they have to start over again. The behaviour of moving within and between communities also implies that those who are renting can not become demonstrators.

The next financial year, PROTOS and JESE will expand their activities to the landing sites within QEPA. Within QEPA, it will be hard to construct bathing shelters and dish racks. Construction materials like wood are hard to get and expensive. It is also very likely that wild animals will destroy the structures at night. For female headed families with small children, it is hard to construct the different structures. The construction work is considered a man's job and therefore a woman would have to hire someone for building, if she has no male relative to help her.

7.4.2 Community involvement, inclusion of vulnerable groups and participation

JESE actively includes local leaders, like the LC's and the BMU committee, in their activities and report to them monthly. Criteria to form committees are based on elections and community participation. Box 7.7 describes how WATSAN committees are elected, whereby villagers are selected for the maintenance of the water source and hygiene and sanitation level in the village. Principally, the election process ensures that the committee is accepted by the whole village. In practice, few villagers participate in the elections and the committee members are elected among those present³⁷. JESE also aims to integrate vulnerable groups in their activities, so that they can participate in their development. However, vulnerable groups have never been defined or identified by the organisation. In the baseline study little attention is paid to identifying vulnerable groups and in the M&E process there are no indicators to measure the impact of the project on vulnerable groups. Moreover, it was identified in the previous chapter that some of the poor community members lack time to participate or lack physical/financial capital to adopt some of the promoted behaviors/technologies. At the same time a good health is especially crucial to them, since they depend on physical strength to earn an income.

³⁶ Community meeting during the baseline study

³⁷ These are observations of several meetings attended

The literature puts a lot of emphasis on the impact of HIV/AIDS on participation and describes how mainly girls and women have the burden to take care of patients, reducing their time for participation (Common wealth secretariat, 2002). Also stigma and illness are identified as factors influencing participation (Holden, 2004). JESE has similar perceptions and it is assumed that HIV/AIDS in the fishing community leads to reduced participation in project activities (see also paragraph 8.2). However, the link between HIV/AIDS in the fishing communities and lack of participation proved to be not this straight forward. None of the PLWHA in Mahyoro or Kasenyi expressed problems with participation due to illness or stigma. During interviews, most HIV positive community members shared that they participate in meetings on regular basis. However, the manner in which people are invited for meetings plays a role (see 7.4.2). It is assumed that the villagers are informed about the meeting and can schedule their activities in such way that they can participate. In practice, the meetings are announced at the time of arrival of the JESE staff, excluding those involved in economic or other activities.

7.4.3 A demand driven approach

The idea of participation and a demand driven approach aims to increase ownership and sustainability. JESE feels they work in a demand driven way. The community leaders decide which villages should be intervened and the community elects the WATSAN team and the demonstration homes. However, the activities of JESE are prefixed, with desired outcomes based on measurable indicators. These desired outcomes are measured in “the number of meetings organised”, “the number of WATSAN committees existing” or “the number of household having a dish rack” and are determined before community planning takes place. This means that community involvement is mainly limited to information sharing, collection of local materials and funds (community contribution) and election of local participants. The local participants have an assignment, but are rarely directly involved in JESE’s daily activities. E.g. the WATSAN committees are notinvolved in training when JESE has a meeting a village.

7.5 Conclusion: linking WASH and improved health

It is assumed that JESE can influence susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, on condition that long term and sustainable behaviour change is created towards maintenance of water sources, usage of toilets and other technologies and that hygiene levels improve at household and community level. This chapter tried to look at the influence of JESE's activities on susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS in the fishing communities. After describing the activities in the fishing communities, norms and values that JESE strives for were compared with what happens during implementation at grass root level. JESE has a very diverse set of activities, that covers much of the stakeholder groups on the communities. The analysis of the activities showed that the current activities have little impact on the susceptibility to HIV.

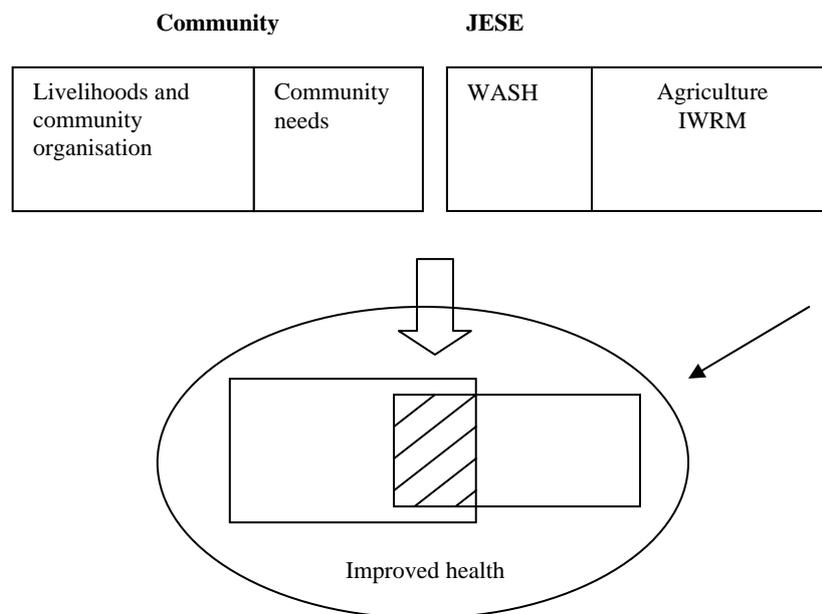
JESE does have a possible impact on vulnerability. Health is of major importance for maintaining a daily income, especially for those depending on daily incomes for survival. Therefore, it is important that these community members have access to knowledge on WASH activities. Although JESE aims to cover all stakeholder groups in the community, some gaps have been identified between JESE's activities and the community characteristics, which may prevent successful implementation of the project. Following conclusions can be made:

- Although JESE's working principles are based on a community driven approach, their intervention strategies follow a prefixed set of activities to come to desired outcomes, set by JESE;
- JESE aims to work with vulnerable groups, however within the organization it is not defined what a vulnerable group is. Therefore, they are not identified as part of the communities of intervention and the exact needs of different groups is not known;
- JESE works with middle class community members, thereby following the adoption/diffusion theories. The assumption is that people will take over behaviors of those they look up to (community and opinion leaders) and not from poor people;
- As a consequence, the underlying causes of non adoption in the community are not known, since the socio-cultural and economic factors are not considered;
- Even though local leaders are involved in the project, actual and active community participation is limited, especially by the most vulnerable groups.

According to JESE, participation in projects is very important for successful and sustainable WASH implementation. The problem of participation has two main causes.

- The local leaders call for a community meeting at the time when JESE staff arrives. That means that only pass byers can participate in the meeting
- Women in single headed households, who depend on an income through daily labor, have no time to participate in any activities. They mostly leave the house early in the morning and arrive late. They have no knowledge on JESE's activities. Yet, sickness has a major negative impact on their lives and the household.

PART 3: MAINSTREAMING IS ABOUT SUSTAINABLE IMPLEMENTATION OF WATER, SANITATION AND HYGIENE PROJECTS IN ORDER TO IMPROVE COMMUNITY HEALTH



Summary

This chapter tries to answer the following question:

- How can mainstreaming be understood?

Mainstreaming is based upon the understanding that HIV/AIDS is a development and underdevelopment problem. However, previous chapters have shown that HIV/AIDS is also a health and behaviour issue. Depending on how JESE looks at the HIV/AIDS issue, their comparative advantage can be defined.

8 Mainstreaming

8.1 Introduction

The question so far remains open on the meaning of mainstreaming in WASH projects around Lake George. This research has tried to understand the mainstreaming concept, more specific how mainstreaming can be realised by NGO's active in water development at community level. Paragraph 2.1 stated that the underlying principles on mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in development projects/ programmes is imbedded in the acceptance that the disease is a development problem. It also described four ways in which the HIV/AIDS problem has been looked at, namely as a health, behavioral, development and underdevelopment issue.

HIV/AIDS in the fishing communities has been researched in-depth, including the role of JESE as a development organisation on the communities' vulnerability and susceptibility. This paragraph will analyse each of four conceptualisations in relation to the fishing communities, based on the analysis of the previous chapters.

8.2 Perceptions on HIV/AIDS and external mainstreaming

8.2.1 HIV/AIDS as a health issue

Generally, HIV/AIDS as a health issue is understood as a medical problem that can only be solved by a medical organisation. Activities include provision of testing services, medicines and counselling. HIV/AIDS is thus seen as a problem that negatively influences health and eventually leads to death.

JESE's perspective

During the first two weeks of this research, the staff members of the WATSAN team were interviewed on their perceptions of HIV/AIDS in the community and its impact on their programme in Mahyoro Subcounty. The general view was that about 60 % of the people have HIV/AIDS in the Mahyoro community, but that the disease did not have any visible effects on the project. Possible impacts of the high prevalence mentioned by the staff were lack of participation of the community members in meetings due to death, illness and stigma.

JESE views PLWHA as weak, bedridden, unable to carry out physical labor. They are referred to as "victims". Therefore, initial ideas for mainstreaming mainly deal with selection of user friendly technologies. This is reflected in the answers of the WATSAN team on two questions given during the workshop on "Laying the foundation" (box 8.1).

Box 8.1 Views of the WATSAN team on the external mainstreaming

Question 1: how may the work of the organization increase susceptibility/vulnerability?

- Location of water and sanitation facilities in isolated places
- Late timing of meetings whereby women are in danger of being raped
- Use of labor intensive technologies e.g. water pumps
- Long distance to fetch water, while PLWHA are weak
- Uniform O&M collection for healthy and PLWHA

Question 2: how might HIV and AIDS impact the organization?

- Reduced community participation due to weakened and infected members of the community
- Poor sustainability of water, hygiene and sanitation facilities may be put in place due to death of active members
- O&M funds might be diverted to treatment and care of PLWHA
- Reduction on participation due to stigma and discrimination

Taken from workshop report on laying the foundation, JESE, 07/12/06

From a community perspective

For long the community members refused to know their status. They believed that once tested positive, death would come after a few months. Since a few years medicines to delay HIV becoming AIDS are available. These medicines make it possible for a sick and weak person to regain strength. Provision of these medicines includes counselling on positive living or healthy lifestyles. Health and preventing illness is crucial for HIV-infected people. Positive living has great impact. Other community members see how their friends and relatives regain strength and it encourages them to take on similar lifestyles.

From a mainstreaming perspective is HIV/AIDS still a health problem. “Health” refers to the challenge of maintaining a good health. Through hygiene education this can be addressed. Hygiene education includes personal hygiene at household and community level, handling water and maintaining clean sanitary structures.

8.2.2 AIDS in fishing communities is a behaviour issue and related to fishing culture

A behaviour issue relates to the fact that people are informed about HIV/AIDS and about ABC, but they do not change their behaviour to more safe sexual practices.

JESE’s perspective

After one year of intervention activities in Mahyoro community, JESE’s view on the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS was much related with the behavioral and cultural aspects of sexuality in the fishing community. This view was based upon the understanding that HIV/AIDS is a sexually transmitted disease that can be prevented by following the ABC-rule. High number of infected community members was related to the fact that both men and women have several sexual partners and few official marriages took place. The JESE staff viewed children as neglected and vulnerable. An example given was the fact that adults have sex during day time in the presence of children. Children at a young are introduced to the sexual behaviours, expectations and norms of the community. Additionally, AIDS was rarely

mentioned as the main problem in community meeting. JESE staff considered HIV/AIDS as a behavior problem and little attention was given to HIV/AIDS in their work.

From a community perspective

JESE is challenged by the fishing culture. Within their current activities they might have little influence on the factors causing susceptibility to infection. Chapter 6 and 7 discussed how vulnerability depends on one's health status. Some examples in chapter 7 have shown that the uptake and change in behavior towards usage and maintenance of water and sanitation facilities is challenging and takes time. Looking at HIV/AIDS as behaviour and cultural problem, JESE may have little influence on susceptibility. By aiming to change behaviour on hygiene and maintenance of WATSAN activities, they contribute to the reduction of vulnerability.

8.2.3 HIV/AIDS as a development issue

HIV/AIDS was earlier defined as a development problem, referring to the fact that a high AIDS related dead rate has negative impacts on local development. Vice versa, development organisations might unwillingly have a negative impact on the spread and impacts of HIV/AIDS.

JESE's perspective

According to JESE's focal point, the NGO was confronted with the impacts of AIDS during their work on the promotion of organic agriculture in farming communities. Organic agriculture is more labor intensive than current farming methods and the HIV-infected community members were not able to cope with these new technologies. JESE also noticed that the community members did not participate in meetings when someone in the village had died. At the time, JESE felt the impacts on their projects and activities, but did not know how to deal with it.

In 2006, Concern Worldwide, an international NGO, started the "mainstreaming capacity project" and organized a series of workshops for the JESE staff and management board. The focal point claims these workshops have changed their view on HIV/AIDS in two ways. First, it took away stigma within the organisation. "Stigma was a big issue among staff, although we had not realised it" (interview focal point). Second, the workshops focused much on the influence of the organisations' activities on vulnerability and susceptibility of the community. The JESE staff came to understand HIV/AIDS as a development issue (see table 8.1).

JESE thus experienced 'HIV/AIDS as a development issue' in two ways. First, the epidemic has a negative influence on the aimed project outputs and jeopardises sustainable agricultural activities and community development. Secondly, JESE realises the potential impact they may have on infection and/or impacts and therefore, as a development organisation jeopardising community health.

From a community perspective

Box 8.1 describes the JESE's view on mainstreaming. Lack of participation by PLWHA and their relatives seems the main problem according to JESE. Lack of participation refers to meetings and the ability to contribute to maintenance of structures. Chapter 5, 6 and 7 analysed community participation, more specifically who does not participate in community meetings and for which reasons. Several reasons were found, but stigma and discrimination

was never given as one of the reasons and within the fishing communities. In fact, many PLWHA are found in leadership positions.

Single women, with incomes through daily labor are unable to participate in activities, in the way the project is currently implemented. As stated before, knowledge on health, access to services and clean water and sanitation provision are crucial. About 75 % of the community members depend on daily incomes through casual labor. Good health and physical strength is a necessity and could reduce vulnerability significantly.

8.2.4 HIV/AIDS as an underdevelopment issue

Underdevelopment is related to poverty and inequalities the community and community members face. The relation between HIV/AIDS and underdevelopment in the fishing communities was not directly clear to JESE, since HIV/AIDS was considered a behavior and a health issue.

JESE's perspective

During the baseline surveys carried out in the four landing sites within the national park, JESE staff found the community members to be very open about their status. The household surveys revealed HIV and AIDS as a major livelihood constraint. During these household surveys, women explained that during the rainy season incomes through fishing activities were so low, they had to prostitute themselves. Interviews with community leaders taught that hunger (lack of nutritious food), lack of medical care and lack of water was a major issue for HIV-infected people. JESE linked underlying causes of susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS to poverty and political power to advocate for services and access to services.

From a community perspective

Susceptibility is not only related to poverty. It was discussed that parallel partnerships and the type of sexual relationships find their causes in views members in fishing communities have on how sex should take place. However, susceptibility also relates to access to money and food for survival. Poor women find themselves in situation that they turn to what is called 'survival sex'.

Underdevelopment in these communities also refers to the limited political power these communities have to advocate for basic health services and water and sanitation provision.

Poverty and vulnerability in the fishing communities is strongly related to the limited physical assets available, in the community and at household level. Also the opportunities for livelihood diversification are very limited. This means that when households have no access to income through fishing, they fall into destitution very quickly.

8.3 Mainstreaming

Mainstreaming depends on how HIV/AIDS is viewed, as well as how an organisation views itself. The latter is expressed in the mission, vision and values of the organisation. Largely this determines how an organisation views the world and conceptualises issues like HIV/AIDS. It thus determines the comparative advantage. Knowledge on HIV/AIDS is of major importance. Depending on the level of knowledge an organisations views the issue of HI/AIDS in communities different. Paragraph 2.1 described how HIV/AIDS was conceptualised and understood over time. JESE has undergone a similar process. Understanding that HIV and AIDS are more than a virus affecting health, caused by “wrong” sexual behaviour opens opportunities to understand JESE’s influence on the disease. Table 8.2 summarises HIV/AIDS seen as different “problems”.

HIV/AIDS has been analysed at different levels. But what about mainstreaming? Depending on how HIV/AIDS is conceptualised, factors contributing to susceptibility and vulnerability are perceived different and mainstreaming activities will be identified differently. The community and the NGO have the same aspiration or objective, i.e. improving health in the community by improved water services and improved sanitation and hygiene. Because they have different characteristics, their view on the problem is different. This is shown in table 8.1 and 8.2.

Table 8.1 Difference in characteristics between community and JESE

Characteristics community	Characteristics NGO
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiple needs and interests • Behavior depends on socio-cultural background • Need time to make changes • Participation means discussion and consensus • Process oriented 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited interests (water, sanitation and hygiene) • Behavior is a rational choice influenced by knowledge • Project has time limits • Participation follows provided standards / guidance • Result and project oriented

Table 8.2 shows differences in perceptions, but also ways were JESE can contribute within their own area of expertise. In this way, it complies with the definition given to external mainstreaming in chapter 3: “external mainstreaming is the alignment of project activities with the reality of HIV/AIDS”.

Therefore, analysing mainstreaming opportunities include:

- Understanding of the realities and dynamics of HIV/AIDS in the community. This includes an in-depth analysis of factors contributing to susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. It is important to analyse the meaning of HIV/AIDS for all classes of people and assess their susceptibility and vulnerability from a livelihood perspective.
- A power and gender analysis is complementary to a livelihood analysis (Masanjala, 2005). Who is able to access services and through which processes? How does this affect susceptibility and vulnerability? This research showed that gender relations are not straightforward and that it is important to address masculinities (men and how they have access to sexual relationships) and feminities (what is the negotiation and decision making power of women in sexual relationships)
- Critical assessment of own activities: how do they influence susceptibility and vulnerability? More specific, analyse the activities in relation to different social, economic and political classes
- An assessment of the perceptions of on HIV/AIDS and how they relate to community perceptions and realities

This is schematically given in figure 8.1 and is based upon the methodology designed and tested in this research.

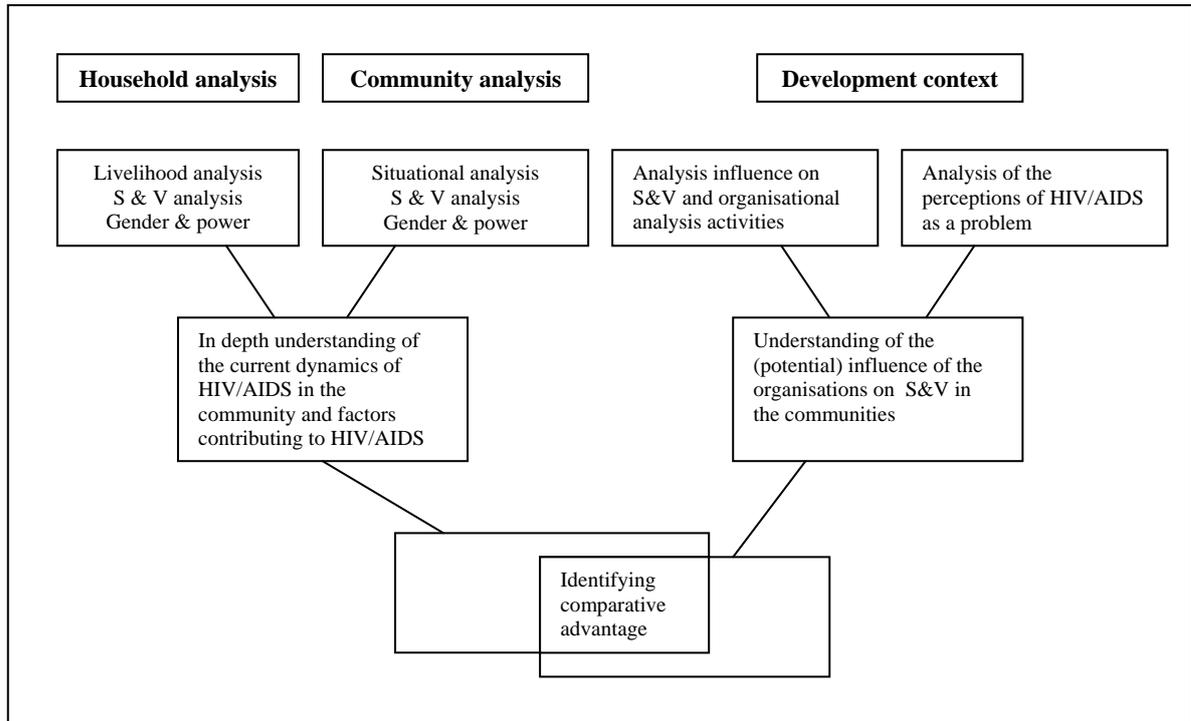


Figure 8.1 Framework for assessments needed for mainstreaming

Comparing perceptions on HIV/AIDS in the communities

HIV/AIDS as...	JESE's perception	Community analysis	Remarks
Health problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too weak to work • Too weak to maintain physical infrastructure • Too weak for participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too weak to work • Lack of medicines • Lack of nutritious food • Lack of hygiene, clean water and good sanitation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weakness appears after few years, not all PLWHA are sick HIV-infection does not reveal itself for many years. Not all PLWHA are weak and unable to perform their daily duties • Healthy living conditions improve physical strength and postpone illness and death, patient is able to work and participate in daily activities • WASH plays an important role in maintaining health
Behavior problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiple partnerships among men and women • Children learn about sex and its norms and values at young age • Drinking • Lack of official marriages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiple partnerships among men and women • Children learn about sex and its norms and values at young age • Drinking & drugs • Sex because of boredom • Sex as a sign of wealth and manhood • Sex as a reward for hard work • Sex as a way to gain luxury items (women) • Belief that knowing your status will kill you quicker 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to knowledge is a starting point and gives understanding about the infection and consequences of the disease • Poverty, lack of access to knowledge and physical isolation has great influence on sexual behaviour and knowing how to get HIV and its consequences are insufficient • Knowledge on positive living gives PLWHA hope, reduces stigma and encourages people to go for testing • Through positive living it has been witnessed that one can live relatively healthy for many years and encourages change in behaviour towards WASH and sexual interactions
Development problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too weak for participation • Stigma prevents participation • Important to assess labor demand of new technologies • Important to assess places and time of meeting and • Assess where to build infrastructure • Unable to pay for O&M of public services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good baria are dying • Sell of nets, boats and materials necessary to maintain good fishing economy • Lower catches, thus lower income for all economic groups • Lower catches, thus less attractive for fishmongers to come to landing site 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stigma and discrimination are low in fishing communities. PLWHA participate in meetings, if they are sick they get the information from the neighbours • AIDS support groups adopted a positive living lifestyle. They can be used for communicating WASH in the community • The analysis in chapter 5 and 6 showed that it can not be assumed that all PLWHA are poor and unable to pay for example O&M for public toilets and pumps
Underdevelopment problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty among women • Lack of access to clean water and health services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of access to public services like water, sanitation, information and health services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty plays a major role in susceptibility and vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, at individual and community level

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of political power to gain access to services • Lack of governments' interest in fishing communities • Low income of community members prevents to seek medical care • Lack of knowledge on how to stay healthy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is important to identify within the community who is poor or is vulnerable to the negative impacts • Vulnerability and susceptibility depends on socio-economic classes. • Single headed households and households depending on daily incomes are most vulnerable • Lack of political power in the fishing communities has great health impacts and thus a strong negative influence on PLWHA • It cannot automatically be assumed that women have no agency and thus are unable to take decisions about their sexual interactions
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9 Conclusions

This research has tried to understand the mainstreaming concept in the field of HIV/AIDS. The starting point of the research was that HIV/AIDS is a problem that undermines development. AIDS affects communities, but also affects organisations working in these communities. PROTOS and JESE are two NGO's involved in improving the water, sanitation and hygiene situation in the fishing communities around Lake George. Confronted with a high prevalence in the communities, they are interested in mainstreaming HIV/AIDS in their projects. The research looked at JESE's activities in the communities and identified that, if the overall health of the community improves, the project will have contributed to the reduction in susceptibility and vulnerability of the community members. Also it showed that mainstreaming HIV/AIDS is not about inviting PLWHA to meetings, nor about where to put which type of pumps. It is about a change in thinking about health and to make sure that all groups, vulnerable and poor included, are able to participate in their development.

Mainstreaming starts by identifying the factors contributing to vulnerability and susceptibility to HIV/AIDS. It also investigates the needs of the community and of the different socio-economic groups in the community. Vulnerability, or the likelihood of being negatively impacted, plays both at community and individual/household level. At community level, there is a clear difference between the Mahyoro and Kasenyi community. It was identified that the social, political and economic circumstances in Kasenyi make the community more vulnerable to the impacts of HIV/AIDS. It also shows that a different approach might be needed for successful implementation of the WASH projects. Identifying the vulnerability at individual/household level revealed that not all PLWHA are victims, or equally affected. Vulnerability is clearly linked the poverty and underdevelopment. Therefore this research argues for a people centered approach to development, including the poor and disadvantaged. The poor and disadvantaged need to be identified through a livelihood analysis, to make sure no groups are excluded. Using a gendered or HIV/AIDS perspective should be kept in mind, but not the basis for analysis, since not all PLWHA and women are equally vulnerable. Yet, less obvious groups in the community might remain invisible when focusing on stereotype vulnerable groups.

The drivers of susceptibility were identified. Susceptibility, or the risk of being infected, is related to factors which influence how, when and with whom sexual relationships take place. Poverty plays an important role in susceptibility, but not a sole role. Sexual relationships are socially and culturally constructed. The way these relationships take place are unique in the fishing community and are mostly money-oriented. Both men and women aim to maintain certain lifestyles and use sexual relationships as a means. Risk of infection is thus both related to poverty and culture. This implies that JESE and PROTOS can play a role in the reduction of susceptibility, through a poverty focussed approach, but should take into account the cultural factors and can not 'solve' the whole problem.

In relation to HIV/AIDS, the community members have several needs. Generally, knowledge on HIV/AIDS is sufficient, but the community members need to understand that maintaining a good health is crucial to prevent HIV to develop in AIDS rapidly. Maintaining a good health can be realized through the WASH project JESE is implementing in the community. Improved and sustainable water provision, good sanitation and improved hygienic behavior at household and community level contributes significantly to the reduction in vulnerability and susceptibility to HIV/AIDS. Although JESE's activities cover much of the community, some gaps have been identified. In relation to vulnerability and susceptibility in relation to the WASH project of JESE in the fishing communities, several observations were made:

- Vulnerable groups are excluded
- Participation depends on local mobilisation, time and willingness to participate
- Local leaders are actively involved in WASH, but the involvement of other community members is limited
- The approach of JESE is largely supply driven
- Local characteristics of the community are not taken into account
- JESE uses a prefixed approach to development based on measurable indicators
- Adoption depends of financial and physical capital a household has and not necessarily on the willingness to adopt

These gaps have an influence on the vulnerability and susceptibility to HIV/AIDS. This mainly has to do with how HIV/AIDS is viewed by the organisation. HIV/AIDS was first understood as a health and a behaviour/cultural problem. Therefore, JESE as a WATSAN oriented organisation felt they were not the 'right' organisation to deal with this issue. Making the reality of HIV/AIDS visible, i.e. identifying factors contributing to susceptibility and vulnerability, revealed that HIV/AIDS is also a development and underdevelopment issue. Poverty plays hereby an important role.

When analysing susceptibility and vulnerability at household and community level, it is understood that HIV/AIDS is a health, behavioural/cultural, underdevelopment and development problem. Laying the values and activities of the organisation next to it makes opportunities for mainstreaming clear. This can be considered as alignment of project activities with the reality of HIV/AIDS, without changing the purpose of the development objectives. This brings us back to the definition given to external mainstreaming.

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Annex 1 Ugandan decentralisation

The Ugandan decentralisation policies aim to transfer political, financial, administrative and planning authority to local councils. The purpose is for communities to take responsibilities and accountability concerning efficient management of resources (Egulu and Ebanyat, 2000). Decentralization became practise through the Local Governance act of 1997. The act aims to ensure democratic participation and control of decision making by the people concerned. It divides local governments into administrative units and local policymaking bodies. These local policy makers are the District Councils (LC5) and the Subcounty Councils (LC3). The District Council is the highest political authority within the area of jurisdiction. At local level, the LC3 is the lowest decision making body. Women councillors should form one third of the council. All councils are elected by the people. The administrative units are the County Council (LC4), the Parish Council (LC2) and the village Council (LC1). These administrative units do not have the power to sue or to be sued. They were created to serve as political units to coordinate/advise on the planning and implementation of basic services in their area of jurisdiction. They assist in problem resolution, monitor the delivery of services and assist in the maintenance of law and security. The LC5 and LC3 is supported by a team of technical staff (civil servants). The role of the technical staff is to implement policies and to advise the councils on technical issues. The technical staffs are government employees. Figure A.1 shows the policy making process in Uganda, based on the Local Governance Act (1997)

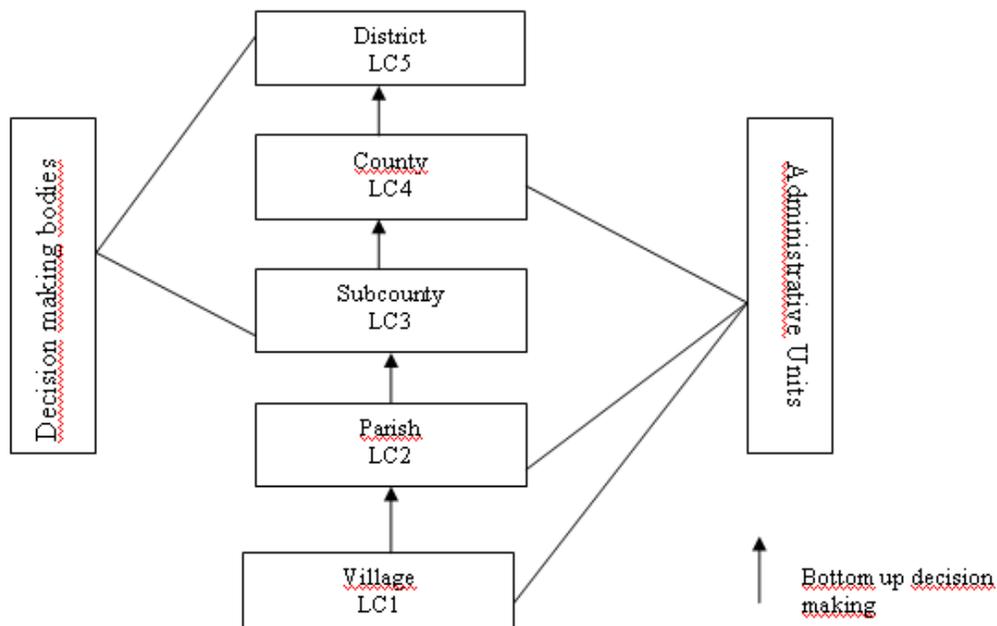


Figure A.1 Ugandan political decision making system

Each village consists of 30 households and is headed by the chairman LC1. Three or four villages together form a parish, led by the chairman LC2. Several parishes grouped together form a subcounty, the lowest decision making level in the district. The subcounty is politically headed by the LC3 chairman en technically by the Subcounty Chief. The highest decision making unit is the District Council (LC5), headed by the LC5 chairman. The head of technical staff is the Chief Administrative Officer (CAO).

Annex 2 Influence of the ILM project on social construction of the fishing communities

In response to the declining fish catches in the early nineties, the national fisheries sector realised that central management of fisheries management had little impact. In 2001, the ILM project was set up, aiming for decentralised integrated lake management. Decentralised management intends for communities to sustainably manage Lake George and its natural resources in order to improve the livelihoods of the fishing communities. The ILM project had a major influence on the social construction of the fishing communities, because of its focus on power and gender inequalities in the fishing communities. Before the project, the beaches were managed by fishermen committees in which male boat owners, mostly of the Abagabo clan, had all decision making power. The project helped to set up a new beach management structure, called the Beach Management Units (BMU). The underlying principle was that sustainable lake management can only be established if all fishery stakeholders are involved in management and decision making. The main focus lied on the involvement of baria in fisheries management. Because baria are the actual fishers, they play a key role in the protection of fisheries resources. During the development of the BMU committees, it was understood that the structure could only work if it was legally empowered. The central government was invited to attend the planning meetings, where they functioned as technical advisors and observers and whereafter they were able to develop formal BMU guidelines. In 2003, the BMU system was successfully implemented country wide.

During the ILM project it was also realised that a lake wide approach towards conservation was needed. LAGBIMO was set up and became the overall organisation dealing with the coordination, planning and implementation of sustainable management of the Lake George Basin natural resources. Sustainability refers to the ecologic and socio-economic development. The main goal of the organization is to sustain the ecologic value and economic activities around the lake. The organisation links the districts, sectors and stakeholders together, meaning: the government, private sector, communities and organisations. After the ILM project phased out, LAGBIMO lacked funds and is not very active at the moment.

Annex 3 Vulnerability and susceptibility of the youth and children

Susceptibility and vulnerability of the youth are closely linked. The likelihood of infection is often linked to poor circumstances at home, but also to the general perceptions children have on what constitutes accepted behavior in the community. At a young age, children are confronted with sexuality. Many families live in one roomed rental houses, whereby it happens that sexual interaction takes place in presence of the children. This often happens during day time as men come back from the lake. Children believe this is normal and both girls and boys imitate this behavior at young age (Baseline survey JESE, 2006, interview peer educator Mahyoro). Generally there is little parental control over the children and youths' activities. This gives them a lot of freedom. At night boys and girls can be found in bars, the disco, in video places and playing pool with adult men (personal observations), whereby children at young age learn and imitate behaviors like drinking, fighting and the relation between men and women at the landing site.

Isolation of the communities also led to the lack of ambition among the youth. Many youngsters have never been outside their community and only know about fishing activities (Interview JESE staff). Generally the literacy rate in the communities within QEPA is higher than in Mahyoro Parish, but education has little value. In the past the daily income of the community was so high that education was considered a waste of time: "why do we need education, after all we have the lake" (interview BMU member). The community members had a general belief that the fish in the lake was God-given and could never finish. Unlike neighboring farming communities, primary schools near the landing sites have more girls enrolled than boys (Interview Head masters primary schools). Many young boys (12-14 years) drop out of school hoping to get a job at the landing site and gain some status.

Orphaned children are sent to their relatives or taken in by families in the fishing communities. The MRAG study (2004), showed that on average households around Lake George take care of one to five orphaned children. Most children thus have shelter, but face difficulties finding money for food or school fees. Many older girls and boys drop out of school in order to get some food for themselves or their siblings. Poverty in the family and negligence causes children to look for money to pay their school fees and buy books. They go out at night to sell food or hang around bars and discos, which makes it possible for girls to have boyfriends and engage in 'something for something love' from the age of eleven. By accepting the gifts, girls feel that she can not disappoint their boyfriends. Boys engage themselves in illegal fishing activities or work as laborers and houseboys. These children lack the life skills which a child in a 'normal' family would have learned.

Annex 4 Role of the government in WASH intervention

The water, sanitation and hygiene activities are, as much as possible decentralized, under the Local Governance Act. Within the fishing villages, most of the boreholes were drilled by the central government, before the implementation of the Local Governance Act, with little community involvement. Each landing site had a trained care taker for the maintenance and repair, but there were no water user committees put in place to collect the community contributions for operation and maintenance (O&M). Once the pumps broke down, the community resorted again to the usage of lake water. Within the current decentralized policies, the community³⁸ identifies their needs in a three year development plan. Through this plan, the subcounty applies for yearly development grants at the district. When the grants are awarded, the district engineers design and build the structures. The operation and maintenance remain the subcounties' responsibility and all water sources are obliged to have a water user committees (WUC). The water user committees are elected by the community and trained by the Community Development Officer (CDO) and the Health Assistant (HA). The CDO and HA are government staff assigned at subcounty level. They are in charge for the functioning of the water user committees and for health and hygiene in public places and at household level through sensitization and inspection. Mahyoro landing site lies next to the Subcounty Head Quarters and contact between the Mahyoro community and the CDO/HA is regular. Kasenyi on the other hand is a parish and has no HA or CDO living in one of the villages. According to the LC2 chairman the HA visits the landing site once a month and it seems unclear to the community what his tasks are.

At village level, the LC1 is responsible for hygiene and sanitation. The HA and CDO use both enforcement and education to promote hygiene and sanitation, while the LC1 uses enforcement only. Occasionally, the LC1 carries out household inspections on hygiene and sanitation, whereby families with lack of latrine or unhygienic living conditions are fined (5000 Ush) or taken to prison. In addition, the LC1 are responsible for the organization of community work. Community work consists of the weekly contribution of unpaid labor by all families for the maintenance and cleanness of public places and structures. Families that do not provide labor are fined (5000 Ush).

Mahyoro town has a piped water system, with private and public tapstands. The water system is managed by a water user committee. The committee was not elected, but appointed by the subcounty. The water users pay per volume, i.e. 100 Ush/20L. Diesel is bought to pump water to the water tank weekly. In reality, water is rarely pumped weekly. During the four weeks of the field work in Mahyoro, only the last three days tap water was available. Although the water users pay their contribution, the officers claimed their was no money to buy the diesel for pumping. Owners of houses with iron sheets collected rain water, while others had to use lake water.

The LC3 chairman and subcounty chief of Mahyoro have a lot of lobbying power. Several public toilets collapsed because of the instable soils. They used their contacts with NGO's and the district to lobby for new public toilets. Kasenyi does not have such lobbying power, since they are isolated from the subcounty and that the fishing community is not represented in the LC3.

³⁸ The community here refers to the bottom up decision making process under the Local Governance Act and starts at village level, parish level to the subcounty, where all needs are prioritized and decisions are taken.

Annex 5 The formal and informal stakeholders dealing with HIV/AIDS

Table 1 Formal stakeholders in Mahyoro

Organization	Type of organization	Service provision	Cooperation possibilities
TASO	National NGO	VCT Counselling on positive living Supply ARV's and seprine supply mosquito nets	
Health Unit III	Government health service at subcounty level	Antenatal care VCT Supply seprine Treatment STD and malaria PMTCT ³⁹ services Health education	JESE can assist in health education Involve the health unit in JESE programmes
RENA Rwenzori East Neighbors Association	Local NGO	Mitigation of AIDS affected families through care system and provision of basic necessities to orphaned children Education for orphaned and vulnerable children	JESE can reach vulnerable families through RENA Education of vulnerable families Organise workshops with orphaned children

Table Formal stakeholders in Kasenyi

Organization	Type of organization	Service provision	Cooperation possibilities
Ngen +	National NGO	VCT Counselling on positive living Supply ARV's and seprine	No cooperation possible situated outside the community and will close soon. PLWHA will be referred to hospitals in the district
Health Unit II	Government health service at parish level	Treatment STD and malaria Health education	JESE can assist in health education Involve the health unit in JESE programmes
UFFCA Uganda Fisheries and Fish Conservation Association	National NGO	Advocates for rights of fishing communities in Uganda In Kasenyi: assisted in formation of the AIDS group	Not clear at the moment

³⁹ PMTCT: prevention mother to child transmission

The informal stakeholders dealing with HIV/AIDS

Table 3 Informal stakeholders in Mahyoro

Organization	Type of organization	Aim	Cooperation possibilities
Mahyoro AIDS group	CBO	Advocacy, friendship, counselling, savings and credits	Through positive living approach, capacity building as peer educators
Mahyoro joined fight against AIDS	CBO Drama group	Organise drama, beekeeping, income generation for women	Make dramas
Saving and credit groups	Voluntary group	Save money to be given as a loan among members in times of need	
Peer educator	volunteers	Sensitize the community on HIV/AIDS	Peer education on positive living

Table 4 Informal stakeholders in Kasenyi

Organization	Type of organization	Aim	Cooperation possibilities
Kasenyi People living with HIV/AIDS	CBO	Advocacy, friendship, counselling, savings and credits	Through positive living approach, capacity building as peer educators
Baria committee	Voluntary group	Saving and credit group, support in times of illness	
Boat owners committee	Voluntary group	Cooperation to buy nets together, provide small loans to boat owners	
Saving and credit groups	Voluntary group	Save money to be given as a loan among members in times of need	
Peer educators	Volunteers	Sensitize the community on HIV/AIDS	Peer education on positive living