Is fish-for-sex a special case? Mobility, local value chains and HIV



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STRIVE Learning lab, October 22nd 2014











Overview of the presentation

- Background/definitions
- Study site and fieldwork methods
- Findings
- Conclusions

What is fish-for-sex?

- Fish -for-sex: "particular "arrangements" between female fish traders and fishermen, in which the fish traders engage in sexual relationships with the male fishers to secure their supply of fish, which they then process and sell to support their families" (Bene and Merten 2008)
- Evidence of this practice from a range of sub-Saharan African countries
- Related literature looks at the fisheries sector in general (Gordon 2005) (though with some qualifications see Westaway et al 2007)
- Strongly linked to transactional sex and gendered structural drivers (Macpherson et al 2012)

What is a value chain?

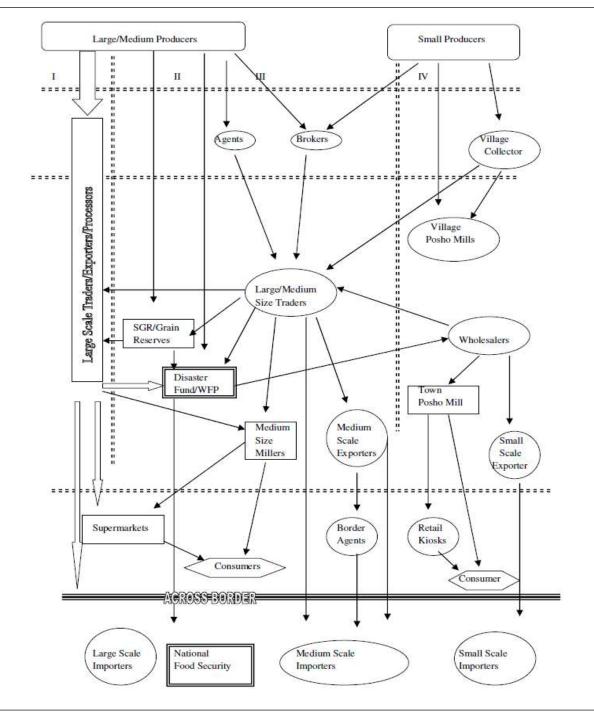
A value chain "describes the full range of activities which are required to bring a product or service from conception, through the different phases of production (involving a combination of physical transformation and the input of various producer services), delivery to final consumers, and final disposal after use" (Kaplinsky and Morris 2000)

An analytical tool

- 2 main lines of inquiry
- 1. Governance
- 2. Distribution of gains

An example of a value chain

Source: Helms and Strauss (2009) in Tanzania Value Chain Analysis in (Chemonics International Inc. 2010)



Two different types of value chains

- **Producer-driven commodity chains** are those in which large, usually transnational, manufacturers play the central role in coordinating production networks (including their backward and forward linkages). This is characteristic of capital- and technology-intensive industries such as automobiles, aircrafts, computers, semiconductors, and heavy machinery.
- **Buyer-driven commodity chains** refer to those industries in which large retailers, marketers, and branded manufacturers play the pivotal role in setting up decentralized production networks in a variety of exporting countries, typically located in developing countries.

Key issue – the power expressed through these networks by different actors shapes the distribution of gains

Relevance to Structural Drivers and HIV?

- Value chains have a structure
- Value chain structures are shaped by a range of other factors
 - What is being produced
 - Where
 - By whom
 - Gender relations
 - Power relations

The research project – methods and approach



Theoretical background

Structural Drivers of HIV:

'core social processes and arrangements - reflective of social and cultural norms, values, networks, structures and institutions - that operate around and in concert with individuals' behaviours and practices to influence HIV epidemics in particular settings' (Auerbach et al. 2011)

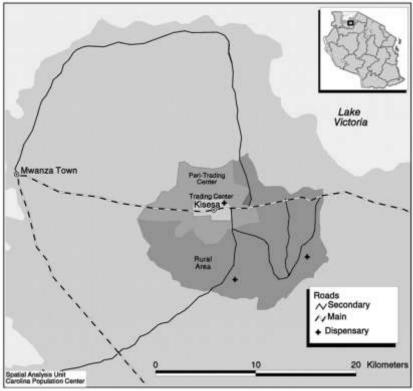
Materialist approach:

'how engaging in economic activities and specific livelihoods, and the associated lifestyles they bring, influences sexual behaviour and HIV risk'

Wajir Uganda Okapi Forestry Eldoret Kenya Butembo Kampalao Kisumu o Nakuru Maiko Makuyu Bosta National Park Parc National Nairobi Serengeti Rwanda National Park Mwanza Tsavo East Bukayu Butare National Park Malindi Burundi Ngorongoro Conservation Arusha Mombasa Shinyanga Fizi Nationale Kigosi Game Reserve Kigoma Tabora Tanga Kazuramimba Ugalla River Game Reserve Kalemie Zanziba Tanzania Rungwa Game Dar es Katavi

The Study Site

Kisesa Ward, Magu District, Mwanza Region, Tanzania



Project Overview

Phase	Objective	Methods
1	Identify important forms of mobility	Four exploratory focus groups
2	Map selected forms of mobility out as processes	Four focus groups with selected mobile groups (maize traders, farmers, male dagaa sellers, female dagaa sellers)
3	Document mobile individuals' experiences of these processes	In-depth interviews with sub-sample of phase 2 focus group participants
4a	Understand local sexual norms	2 focus groups
4b	Explore developing themes	In-depth interviews with tomato sellers and middlemen
Concurrent activity	Understand local socio-economic context	Informal interviews, secondary sources, key informants

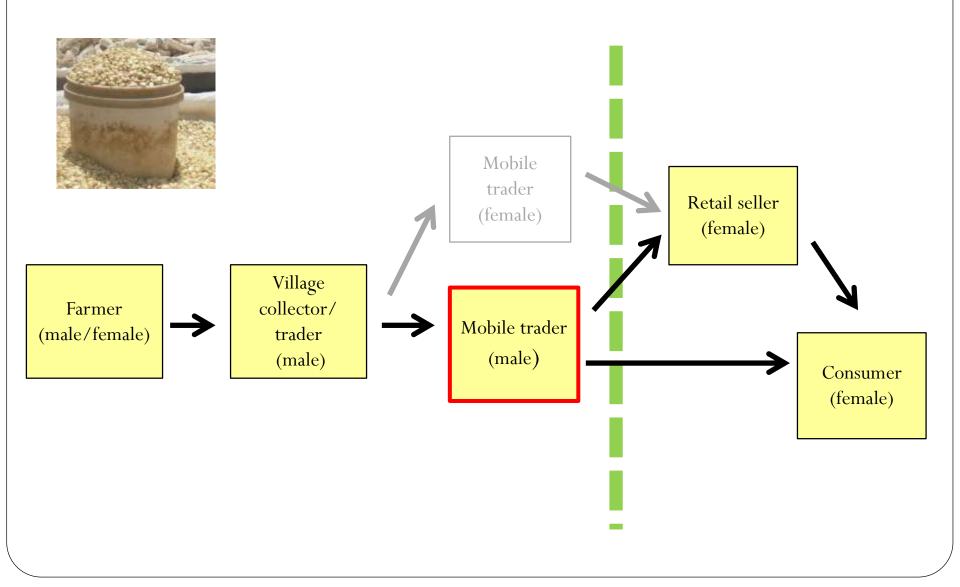
Reconsidering the role of mobility

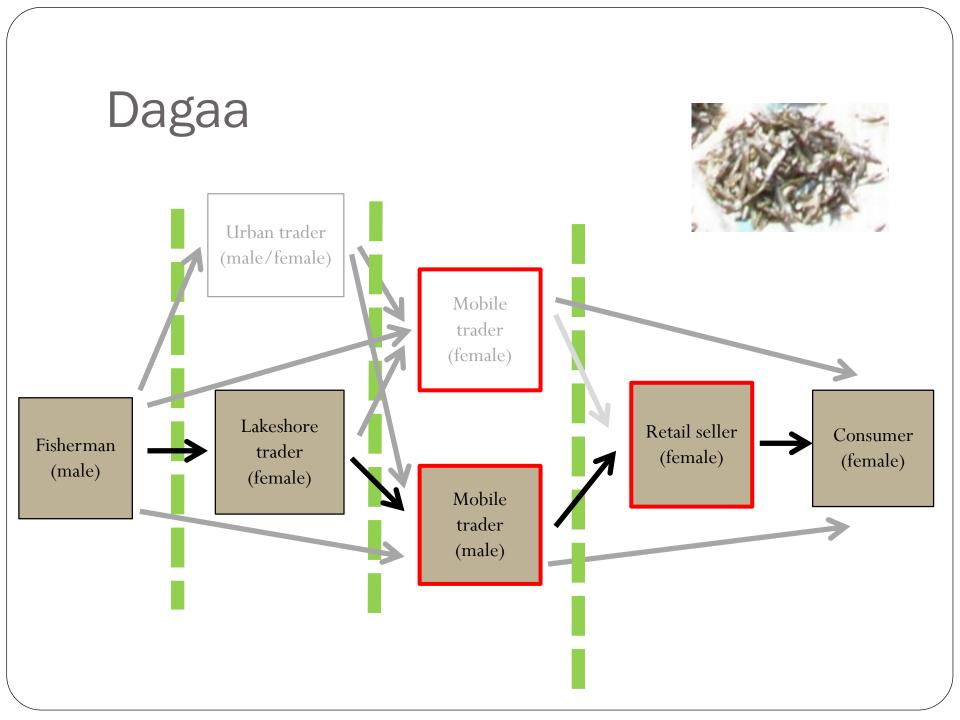
- 3 main mobile groups initially studied:
 - Farmers
 - Maize Traders
 - Dagaa (fish) sellers
- Discussion of risk behaviours:
 - 'Being away'
 - Transactional relations
 - Informal credit (maize traders and dagaa sellers



To what extent are sexual interactions related to mobility?

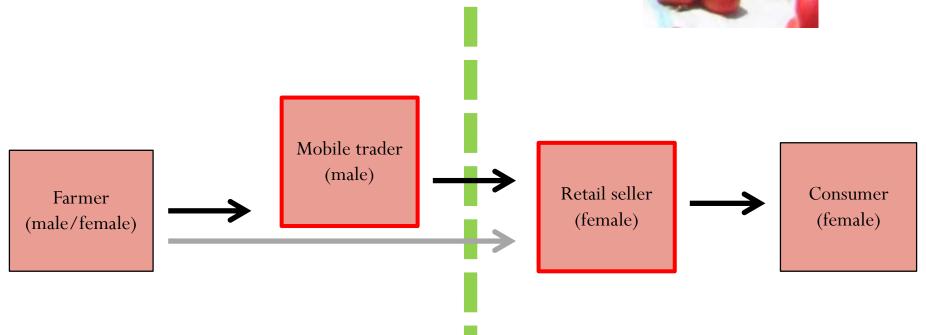
The local value chains - maize





Tomatoes





Value chains and sex: extension of informal credit for trading

"You can consider a three month experience with the customer, I am just telling you to bring me some tomato', right. You put tomato at her bench, ok. She tells you that; "you just go, I will find money for you"she tells you ...When coming back to owe your money, she tells you that; "you come back tomorrow ok" you find her have no money when you come back in the following day. That is why there is a relationship between a woman and somebody selling tomato, because, there is a long time familiarity ... Yes, that is when the relationship begins" (male tomato trader)

Credit – female agency

"Thus that can happen during the time your mind is tuned in making love, hence it leads you to fell in temptations, because somebody may come to buy maize from you even three or four times, but in the fifth time, she wants you to borrow her the luggage (mzigo), telling you a number of things, hence you will realize her intention why she came, it means that, if you are also thinking of that [sex], you will thus finish everything there" (male maize trader)

Credit – male agency

"A man has you borrow something from a man, that is, can you borrow me anchovy, [in that case] you are entering into temptations when he lends you. He tells you to keep the money when you pay him another time. You have to meet again later on. Yes, [he tells you that]; "there is no need to pay me back the money we should just make love"" (female fish retail seller)

Value chains and sex: summary of themes

Sexual interactions occur due to:

- Repayment of informal credit by
 - Street Sellers
 - Consumers
- Other transactional purposes
 - Increasing capital
 - To get a good deal
- Interactions are instigated by different actors
- Involve varying degrees of coercion
 - Female agency?

Conclusions on the role of local value chains and HIV risk

Sexual interactions shaped by:

- Gendered structure of value chains
- Gendered interfaces:
 - Economic and gendered disadvantage overlap
 - Create the space in which economic, social, and gendered power is expressed in sexual interactions that occur under varying degrees of coercion, including for transactional purposes
- The structure of the value chain also reflects broader socio-economic inequalities and structures

Revisiting the fish-for-sex literature

- Risk in the fish value chain due to the structure of the value chain and how power is expressed through it, not because the fishing industry is necessarily more 'risky' than other industries
- Multiple gendered interfaces in the fish value chain
- The type and nature of the chain and how this influences power distributed across the chain
 - Power expressed is stronger in settings in which one commodity dominates (for example a fishing village)

Final conclusions

- Fish-for-sex is not an isolated phenomena
 - Evidence suggests that similar interactions occur in other value chains
- Transactional sexual interactions shaped by structure of these value chains, and specifically at gendered interfaces
- The structure of value chains influenced by a range of broader socioeconomic factors
 - Each value chain will have it's own unique peculiarities
- Role of mobility is key in linking these chains
- Future research agenda:
 - Does this apply to other value chains?
 - If so: how is risk experienced in other value chains?
 - How frequently do sexual interactions related to value chain participation occur?
 - Are some value chains more risky than others, and if so, why?
 - Is the value of the transactions, and relative inequalities between actors related to the incidence of transactional sex?

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Thank you!

