

**Local brew clubs: The breeding sites for HIV infection.
A case of women local brew sellers in Njombe District, Iringa region, Tanzania**

A Research project submitted to Van Hall Larenstein University of Applied Science
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Management of
Development, Specialization in Rural development and HIV/AIDS

By

Hussein Juma Kiranga
September, 2011

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The Netherlands**
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Cover picture showing customers drinking traditional brew in the clubs

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my gratitude, without implicating my research supervisor, Dr. Robert Baars, for his insightful comments and guidance in the shaping of this study from the beginning to its completeness despite his tight schedule. I deeply acknowledge Mrs. Koos Kingma, the Management of Development-Rural Development and HIV/AIDS course coordinator, for her invaluable support and inspirational lessons on the dynamics of rural development and HIV/AIDS which was vital for carrying out this thesis.

The completion of this study could not have been possible, without the financial support I received from the Netherlands organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education (NUFFIC) to which I am highly indebted. Also I would like to acknowledge the support I received from various people in the process of data collection in Njombe district – to mention but few includes my research assistant, Mr. Farid Jimbo, Health Officer Mr. Steven J. Ndonde, Ward community development officer Mr. Ahazi Kinyamagoha and the women local brew sellers who participated in this study, to whom I am very grateful.

Again, I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to my colleagues undertaking MOD – RDA for their unwavering moral tolerance and immense social support throughout the period of my studies. May Allah almighty bless them all.

DEDICATION

To my wife, Fatma P. Mashaka

For enduring my absence and her invaluable encouragement

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency syndrome
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
NTC	Njombe Town Council
OVC	Orphan and Vulnerable Children
PMTCT	Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission
SHISO	Southern Highlands Senility Organization
STD	Sexual Transmission Diseases
TACAIDS	Tanzania Commission for AIDS
TDHS	Tanzania Demographic Health Survey
THMIS	Tanzania HIV/AIDS and Malaria indicator survey
UHAICT	Universal HIV/AIDS Intervention for Counseling and Testing
UNAIDS	United Nation programme for AIDS
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VCT	Voluntary Counseling and Testing
WHO	World Health Organization

ABSTRACT

The study intended to determine the extent of contributing factors to the susceptibility to HIV infection among women local brew sellers in order to guide the conduct of the trade in a safer way so as to prevent HIV infections. It focused on getting clear insights on the socio-cultural and economic factors which contribute to susceptibility to HIV infection among the women local brew sellers engaging in the local brew shops in Njombe district.

Discussion interview and observation methods were used to collect data from the field. Twelve women were randomly selected to represent 6 local brew clubs from Njombe Mjini ward (urban setting) and 6 clubs from Uwemba village (rural setting) in Njombe town council. The women were visited in their workplaces during working hours and the researcher acted as a customer to maintain the natural setting during data collection. At least three visits were made to each woman discussion interview took place to generate wealth of knowledge. The observation method included 6 local brew clubs were chosen randomly from the sampled women clubs to get 3 from Njombe Mjini ward and 3 from Uwemba village. Data obtained from Njombe Mjini ward which represented urban setting were compared with those from Uwemba village which represented rural setting.

Findings revealed that women local brew sellers have at least a formal education and are aware of HIV/AIDS. The women are not gender empowered and they are culturally and economically susceptible. Hence, they are disadvantaged and do not have a say over their bodies so they can not negotiate for safer sex. This puts them at risk of HIV infection in their workplace i.e. local brew clubs. Hence, the clubs are acting as breeding sites for HIV infections

The study makes various recommendations to have HIV/AIDS prevention measures that target both men and women, and special focus should be given to men who play a greater role in the risk behaviour. Women should be empowered financially to improve their income and socially to make decisions and choices on safer sex. This could be achieved through capacity building to improve their knowledge on safer sex behaviours. Also local government authority should promote women attainment of further formal education.

Key words: Susceptibility to HIV, women, Local brew clubs

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Background information

Human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) is the cause for Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). The virus, once inside the host weakens the immune system, making the body susceptible to the secondary infections and opportunistic diseases. Without care and treatment, HIV infection fastens the onset of AIDS. Until now, the major mode of HIV transmission is through heterosexual intercourse (Kalipeni, *et al*, 2008). Other modes of transmission are mother to child transmission and blood through blood transfusion or unsafe injections.

Since its inception, HIV/AIDS has brought about serious health and development challenges, at the moment it is estimated that 33.3 Million people (women 15.9 Million) are living with HIV in the world (UNAIDS, 2010). Sub Saharan Africa accounts for about 68% of all the people living with HIV (*ibid*). According to the 2007-08 Tanzania HIV and Malaria indicator survey (THMIS, 2008), Tanzania has generalized epidemic in which 5.7 % of the prime age group (15 – 49) is HIV infected with the virus that cause AIDS (USAID, 2010). In the same trend, in Tanzania 80% of new HIV infection is through heterosexual contact.

1.1 Introduction

Njombe District in Iringa region is hardest hit by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The prevalence rate among adults of the productive age group is 14.7% in which women are 16.8% and men 12.1% (TACAIDS, 2008). Data shows that more women are infected than men. This prevalence is above the national average which is 5.7% (TACAIDS, 2008). Gender inequality, women inheritance, widow purification (cultural related) and economic factors are identified to increase women's risk of the HIV infection (*ibid*). In response to minimize the problem, Njombe district is earmarking risky areas so as to strengthen action against HIV/AIDS. Among the targeted areas, bars and guest houses, timber trading centers, long distance truck drivers parking areas and local brew clubs are included (NTC, 2009).

Local brew clubs are very common both in town and rural areas of Njombe District. Drinking local brew is very closely associated with Bena tradition – a dominant tribe in Njombe. Everyday community members after agriculture work visit local brew clubs in which majority are run by women to drink the traditional beer. Among traditional brew the famous one is bamboo wine or in Swahili is known as “Ulanzi” and others includes “Kimpumu” and “Komoni” (Mhando, 2010). There are close to 50 major and 215 minor local brew clubs in Njombe Mjini ward (22 Mitaa) and more than 30 local brew clubs in each village (40 villages). Due to income potentiality of the trade the number of clubs is mushrooming. Hence, selling of traditional beers is an important livelihood strategy among women.

1.2 Problem statement

In 2009 the voluntary counseling and testing campaign conducted by an NGO called SHISO under UHAI-CT project observed that almost 49% of the blood donors from the local brew clubs were HIV positive. This shocking news implied that not only these clubs are selling local beer but also is acting as breeding sites for HIV infection. This poses high likelihood of women engaging into selling the local brew of getting HIV infected. Yet there is no adequate information on the associated risk factors of getting HIV among women who engage in local brewing trade.

Therefore, Njombe town council is concerned about the local brew clubs to determine the extent of contributing factors to the susceptibility to HIV infections among women local brew sellers and their male clients. The council wants to guide the conduct of the traditional brew trade in safer way and to prevent further HIV infections.

1.3 Problem justification

Njombe Town council lacks information on the extent of the contribution of local brew clubs to the susceptibility of HIV infection among women local brew sellers. This study observes the associated socio-cultural and economic factors that facilitate the risky situation in the local brew clubs. The final aim is to propose recommendations that aimed at minimizing risks of infection to this vulnerable group of women. Protecting the rights of these women is very important in the poverty reduction campaign as stipulated in the National strategy for growth and reduction of poverty 2005 – 2010 (NGRSP or “MKUKUTA” in Swahili). This strategy shows the importance of providing adequate social protection and safeguarding the rights of the vulnerable groups i.e. women and children in the fight against poverty and HIV/AIDS (URT, 2005).

1.4 Objective of the study

To contribute to the HIV/AIDS mitigation responses to women sellers in the local brew clubs by providing clear insights on the extent of socio-cultural and economic factors contribution to susceptibility to HIV infection among women local brew sellers in local brew clubs, Njombe district.

1.5 Main research question

To what extent do the socio- cultural and economic factors contribute to susceptibility to HIV infection of women local brew sellers in local brew clubs?

1.5.1 Sub – questions

- What are the demographic characteristics i.e. age, marital status, and education, of women local brew sellers in the local brew clubs?
- What are socio-cultural factors i.e. knowledge about HIV/AIDS, alcohol drinking behavior, sexual practices, sexual advances and condom use behaviors, influencing the susceptibility to HIV infection among women sellers in local brew clubs?
- What are economic factors i.e. income and employment status, influencing susceptibility to HIV infection among women sellers in local brew clubs?
- What are the physical environmental factors i.e. lighting, private rooms and capacity of the local brew clubs influencing susceptibility to HIV infection among women local brew sellers?

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Definition of concepts, conceptual framework and Literature review

2.1 Susceptibility

The concept of susceptibility is commonly used in the HIV/AIDS and related articles. However, sometimes it appears to be used interchangeably with the word vulnerability. According to Oxford dictionary (2010), susceptibility means “likelihood of being harmed”, which directly resemble definition of vulnerability i.e. possibility of being attacked. In the Rural development and HIV/AIDS writings, susceptibility is about the likelihood of getting the HIV virus and on the other hand vulnerability is about the impact after the HIV infection. However, this paper is concentrating on the susceptibility factors to HIV infection among women local brew sellers.

Muller (2005) defined susceptibility as the “likelihood of an individual becoming infected with HIV virus”. The important feature of this definition is the likelihood of getting infected with the HIV virus in which, this is due to interaction of various societal factors within a particular geographical area, like a country, at household level or at social gatherings that is to this respect the local brew clubs. This definition does not openly accommodate attributing factors, which is the key ingredient of this study, to likelihood of getting infected with HIV infection. Therefore in the light of this discussion, the definition proposed by Barnett and Whiteside (2006) which refers to “any set of factors determining the rate at which the epidemic is propagated” is going to be used throughout the study so as to identify the socio-cultural and economic factors that are associated to the risk of HIV propagation among women selling in the local brew clubs.

2.2 Risk environment and local brew clubs

Risk is a common phenomenon. It is associated with choosing a strategy of survival during the time of limited options. Burleson, 1996 as quoted by Ellis (2000) considered risk to be fundamental motive when a social unit diversifies its portfolio of activities in order to anticipate or ameliorate the threat to its welfare of failure in individual activities. The vulnerable groups of women in order to ameliorate threats of poverty they engage into diverse income generating activities including selling local brew in the local brew clubs. The activity itself does not put one in risks unless it is associated with certain specific behaviour which is influenced by socio-economic factors. The prevailing socio-economic environment that facilitates the act or behaviour change is then termed risk environment. This study looks at the local brew clubs as risk environment that facilitate HIV infection. Local brew clubs are environments or places inside or outside buildings which acts as local brew, mainly bamboo wine, distribution and consumption points. The act of having sexual intercourse with multiple partners is a risky behaviour attributed by the environment a person is experiencing (Barnett and Whiteside, 2006).

Researches have highlighted several types of environmental influence including physical, social, and economic and policy which are divided into two levels that is the micro-risky environment and macro-risky environment (Rhodes and Simic, 2005). The focus of this study is at the micro-level, i.e. micro risky environment, particularly the local brew clubs and the associated socio-cultural and economic factors. The local brew clubs are identified according to the available information from health department reports in Njombe town council, local brew clubs tend to pose risk environment to HIV infection among women engaging in the traditional brew trade.

2.3 Gender inequality and women selling local brew

Gender has many definitions. Here it refers to the social contribution of the roles and responsibility and obligations associated with being a women or a man (Muller, 2005). According to Ellis (2000) the social roles are usually unequal in several avenues: these are power relation, decision making, control of events, freedom of action, ownership of resources, and others. In addition, gender is about inequality, subordination and power in which it is translated to men being assigned superior status due to patrilineal custom. A power relation between men and women is experienced in many avenues. Since, Njombe district is also characterized by being a patriarchic society, this put women working in the local brew clubs more susceptible to HIV infection once they lack power and decision making ability to negotiate safe sex (Muller, 2005).

The power relation in sexual encounters determines how sexual intercourse is expressed; determine adoption of protective behaviour, and who is at greater risk of HIV infection. In this study gender inequality is related to power relations with respect to socio-cultural and economic factors which facilitate risk situations among women who engage in selling local brew in the clubs to their clients who are mostly men. Hence in this study, Women local brew sellers are female members of any age working in the local brew clubs for not less than a week. A period of a week is given in this study as minimum period for a woman who is working in local brew clubs before engaging in risk acts or behaviours.

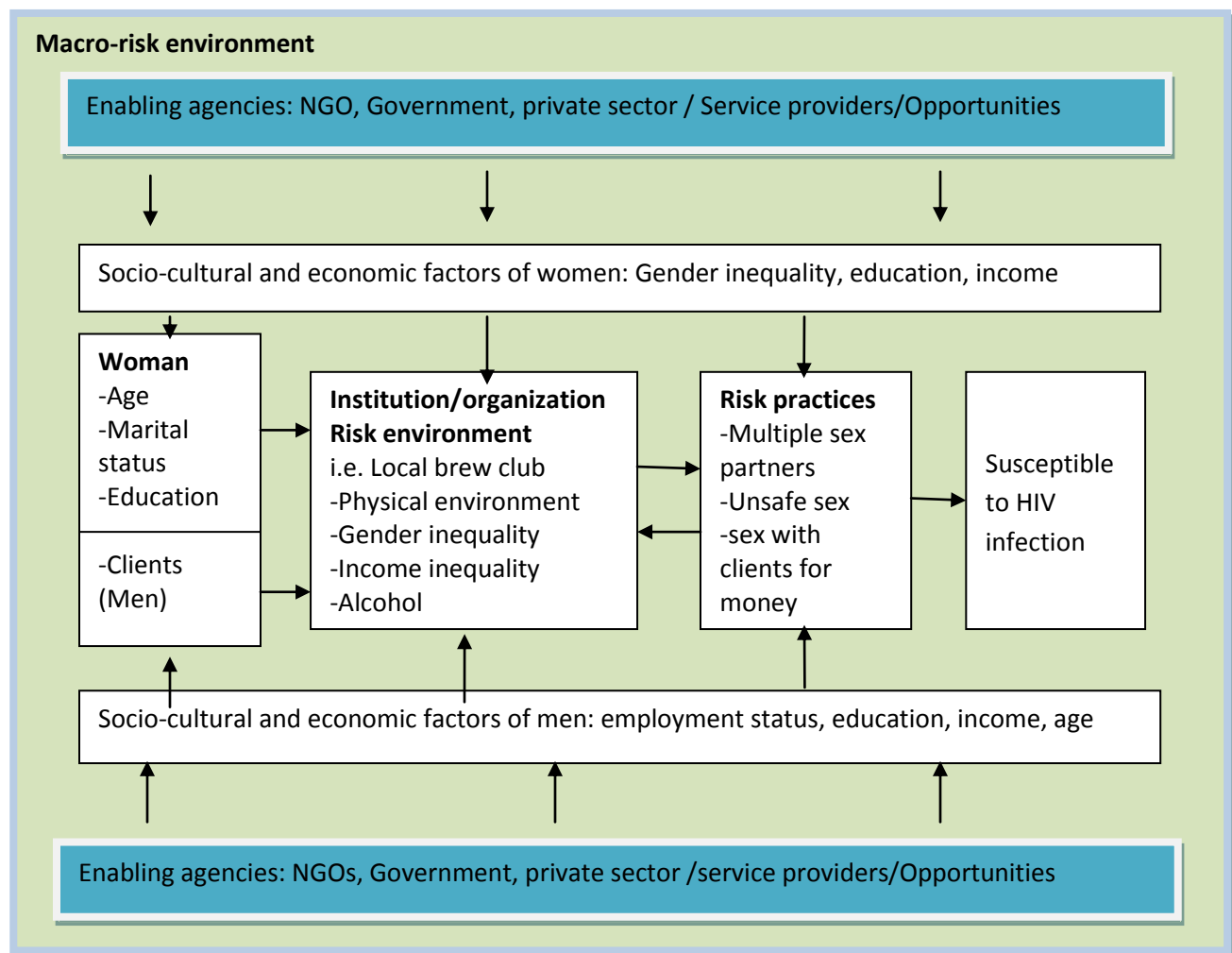
2.4 Local brew

Local brew is a traditional brew and is usually home prepared made from maize, millet, sorghum, bamboo and other food crops. Local brew clubs are places where the local brews are sold (locally known as “vilabuni”). In this study Bamboo wine is taken as a reference traditional beer due to its popularity in Njombe district. Bamboo wine as a local brew is a fermented sap from bamboo. The product is not processed and fermentation occurs naturally. Hence it used as a raw product in a ready to use basis right after it is collected from the bamboo. Apart from bamboo wine other traditional brew includes “Kimpumu” and “Komoni” (Hoffman, *et al*, 2004).

2.5 Conceptual framework

The framework (Figure 1) below shows the key factors or variables in macro-risk environment and macro-risk environment context depicting women local brew sellers’ susceptibility to HIV infection.

Figure 1: Conceptual framework showing the socio-cultural and economic factors influencing women local brew seller susceptibility to HIV infection.



Macro - risk environment

This is the higher level environment comprising all factors for determining susceptibility to HIV infection which include policies that regulates those factors. Enacted policies and the way they are enforced to the local population by the enabling agencies i.e. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Government bodies, private sector and others. The role played by these agencies with policies in place create or hinder opportunities for women in the district, hence affects their livelihood options or means of survival.

Micro – risk environment

The present study focused on the micro-risk environment, particularly the local brew clubs in Njombe district. This is a social gathering which offers local brew – Bamboo wine, by women who undertake the trade as a means of their survival i.e. livelihood option. Under these circumstances socio-cultural and economic factors have direct influence on the conduct and behaviour of women and men during the trade. Hence, these factors are studied here since they are micro-environment factors that are seen to influence women susceptibility to HIV infections

directly. The socio-cultural features such as knowledge, practices, and physical environment of the local brew clubs and power relations will be discussed in detail later in this thesis. Also, economic features such as employment status of women working in the local brew clubs and their income at the club plays an important role in influencing susceptibility to HIV infection among women. The combination of these aspects i.e. socio-cultural and economic factors influences chances for women to get HIV infected

2.6 Women's susceptibility to HIV infection and the local brew clubs

2.6.1 Gender inequality and HIV infection

A number of studies have concluded that gender based factors including socio-cultural i.e. tradition and social norms, and economic vulnerability affect women's ability to engage in self protective behaviour during sexual intercourse (Kessy, 2008). Due to gender inequality women are powerless to control sexual behaviour of their partner or unable for the reasons of economic or customary norms, for example, to resist engaging in sexual interaction even though those might put them at risk of HIV infection (Kalipeni *et al*, 2008).

According to Muller (2008), gender refers to the social construction of roles and responsibilities and obligations associated with being a woman or man. Gender transforms biological differences between men and woman into social differences which is reinforced by relations of power (Kessy, 2008). As a result women are valued differently and have unequal opportunities. In fact gender does not mean sex. Gene and biology determine sex (Muller, 2005). Researches shows that women biological make up of vagina makes them susceptible to HIV infection comparing to men since the main mode of transmission of HIV is heterosexual transmission (Kalipeni, *et al* 2008). Although women are biological more susceptible to HIV infection, a lot of researches conducted by NGOs, Government, academicians and others have documented gender related factors such as personal, cultural and economic factors as a push factor for more women into HIV infection. To justify this reasoning there are also several reasons given as to why HIV/AIDS interventions should be gender based. First, there is need to address the inequality in gender relations which drive the epidemic, second, women are vulnerable to become infected and thirdly, women suffer more discrimination than men do (Kessy and Philemon, 2008).

2.6.2 Alcohol consumption and risks of HIV infection

Many studies, particularly in Southern and Eastern Africa, have shown close significant relationship between alcohol and HIV infection as well as with the behaviour that leads to HIV infection which include unprotected sex, multiple partnering and commercial sex (Fritz, *et al* 2010). Drinking venues are also positively associated with risks of HIV infections. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that alcohol in most cases is a legal commodity in most countries and it is consumed in public, social environment, and in the alcohol serving centre i.e. local brew clubs.

A study conducted in Florida, United States of America by Fisher, *et al* (2008) examined relationship between patterns of alcohol use and HIV infection and assessed the association between alcohol drinking and prevalence of risk factors for HIV among a sample of 1050 high risk African women in a data collected between 2002 and 2003. After adjusting demographic and employment variables, alcohol drinkers were at increased risk to be HIV positive when compared with non-alcohol drinkers. Therefore greater involvement with alcohol as indicated

with frequency and quantity consumed had direct association with increased risk of HIV infection.

An almost similar study conducted by the centre for actuarial research, University of Cape Town in South Africa, showed associations between HIV prevalence and demographic variables among productive age groups to assess HIV risk factors. The study identified also alcohol consumption to be an important determinant of HIV risk of infection. The study suggested that alcohol consumption is more likely to be a risk factor if it is associated with risk environment. In the risk environment such as local brew clubs, women are at risk of alcohol related sexual-risk behaviour in several ways. Selling and serving alcohol in local brew clubs and other venues increase risk of drinking alcohol themselves, engaging in unprotected sex with their clients (Fritz, *et al*, 2010). Fritz (2010) also added that women's risk of gender based and sexual violence is also increased by their clients' alcohol consumption. In Zambia, a qualitative study on local perception of HIV risk and prevention in southern Zambia in the four villages, conducted by Elizabeth, *et al*, in 2006 an informant declared that many people who used to visit alcohol distribution centers frequently in the Japi villages were dead. Researchers added that alcohol was repeatedly associated with extramarital sexual behaviour, lower condom use, and greater promiscuity during the drinking episodes.

HIV prevention strategies targeting to minimize sexual risks are needed for women and men who drink alcohol and intervention should be targeted to alcohol serving centers i.e. local brew clubs (Kalichman, *et al*, 2007). However, it is imperative that in an effort to minimizing risks to HIV infection in the local brew clubs to take a closer look at the gender relation context. Without addressing gender, efforts to reduce alcohol related sexual behaviour are likely to be in vain or partly successful. Fritz, *et al* (2010) suggested that program that combines alcohol-reduction and gender – transformative approaches are needed to reduce sexual risk behaviour and HIV infection incidence particularly in resource constrained settings characterized by gender inequalities and high rates of HIV infection.

2.6.3 Socio-cultural and economic factors and susceptibility to HIV

In most cases, if not all societies, the socio-economic relations between men and women are mainly unequal. HIV infection occurs in all socio and economic classes this study focuses on the specific group of women working in the local brew clubs. This is because; little information is available (Nzioka, 1994 as quoted by Kalipeni, 2008). Some categories of workers such as truckers and prostitutes are well researched. There is no detailed information on occupational issues associated with risk of HIV infection among women engaging in local brew industry. Selling of local brew in the local clubs workers are expected to offer sexual services. Also according to Kalipeni *et al* (2008) in these kind of work setting there are pressures on the workers to conform to clients' expectations. The activity itself expose women to sexual harassment, violence and demand for sexual favors which are endured in order to retain the job, acquire economic favors and so on. The focus of the present study is on women to reflect on the need to strengthen women through addressing the imbalance between women and men in the light of HIV infections in local brew clubs.

2.6.3.1 Education level and HIV related knowledge

Education is a critical component of socio-economic factors (Kim, *et al* 2008). Several studies have been conducted and always a positive link is created between education component and risk of HIV infection. According to Ministry of Education (MoE) report (2008) many Tanzanian adults have no formal education and 28% can neither read nor write. Women in Tanzania are about twice as likely as men to have no formal education, a situation that is most common

among rural women in particular, 41% of them are unable to read and write. Since 2002, due to Primary education and development programs, enrollment in primary education has been steadily increasing. Literacy in the younger age group aged 15 – 24 years is 81% for males and 76% for females. The data shows no significant differences in sex with respect to access to education. This information shows 19% of the women is still illiterate. Without basic education women will not be able to get information about HIV/AIDS as well as protecting themselves.

Knowledge about HIV/AIDS is crucial in the response to prevention and mitigation strategies. According to Tanzania demographic and health survey conducted among general adult population and youth produced the following result. 100% of the respondents have heard about HIV/AIDS. 71% of women compared to 61% of men aged between 15 – 49% were able to cite ways of reducing the risk of getting HIV i.e. by using condoms every time they have sexual intercourse, and having one sex partner who is not infected. However, the survey observed some differences in knowledge of HIV/AIDS prevention between sex, age and geographic locations (TDHS, 2010). The youth aged 15 – 19 showed to have lower levels of knowledge than those in older age groups. Also levels of knowledge of preventive methods are higher in urban than in rural areas.

Having knowledge about HIV/AIDS and negotiate safer sex are two different things. In an effort to assess the ability of women to negotiate safer sex in the survey conducted by TDHS (2010) data showed nine of ten women believed that a woman may either refuse to have sex or ask a man to wear condom if she knows he has an STD. Again differences are noted for marital status, age and urban or rural residence. Generally it is observed that the higher a woman's education attainment, the more likely she can refuse or propose condom use. Therefore, chances of protecting oneself from HIV infection depends on the level of awareness on means of transmission and prevention of HIV.

2.6.3.2 Transactional sex

Transactional sex simply means sex for money. It is related to power relations and the tendency to have multiple partners (TDHS, 2010). Basically the differential income, status and social standing determine this kind of livelihood choice (Barnett and Whiteside, 2006). A study conducted among students in a Nigerian university found that a woman may end up having sex with up to three people so she can get her university education – her teacher for good mark, her boyfriend and a sugar daddy for money (Edet, 1997 as quoted by Barnett and Whiteside, 2006). Sugar daddies pay for the school fees and living expenses. Up to now, it should be noted that many women “sell sex” without regarding themselves as prostitutes, relying on regular financial support in return for sexual favours (Johnson and Budelender, 2002).

A study conducted in Tanzania observed that 8% of men had paid for sexual intercourse in the past twelve months (TDHS, 2010). The age of men for having paid sexual intercourse is between 20 and 39 years. Chances are even higher for the divorced, separated and widowed men (*Ibid*). This group of men is willing and most likely able to pay for sex acts as bait for vulnerable women. This situation is further compounded by income inequality between men and women. Women are most likely to depend on income from men which compel them to have sex for money (Muller, 2008). Hence, this widespread dependence on sex as a source of income or other benefits creates an environment conducive to the rapid spread of HIV.

2.6.3.3 ABC approach in prevention of HIV infection

This is an approach that has been used to promote safe sex. ABC stands for premarital Abstinence, Mutual faithfulness, and Condoms use. This approach tries to safeguard sexual

activities into safer sex through the use of condoms and avoidance of high-risks acts so as to reduce the chances of acquiring or spreading HIV and other sexual transmitted infections (Philemon and Kessy, 2008). Premarital abstinence has many definitions. In this study abstinence refers to not having sexual intercourse until marriage (Marindo et al, 2003 quoted by Philemon and Kessy, 2008). Being mutually faithful refers to having sexual intercourse with only single partner particularly a spouse (Ibid). According to Reverend Gideon Byamugisha (2004) from Uganda, the ABC method gives wrong message in the fight against HIV. He argues that the message implies that if you are faithful you can not get HIV. Also the message makes people think those who use condoms are unfaithful. Hence, the correct message would be to test for HIV among partners to know their HIV status and not only to be faithful among one another for the rest of their lives but also to minimize other ways of HIV transmission such sharing of sharp objects and blood transfusion.

2.6.3.4 Use of condoms

Condom refers to use of prophylactic to prevent pregnancy and sexual transmitted diseases during sexual intercourse between partners (Philemon and Kessy, 2008). Condoms when used consistently and correctly are effective in preventing transmission of HIV (UNAIDS, 2009 and WHO, 2004). Also, report by Holmes, Levine and Weaver (2004) on measuring effectiveness of condoms in preventing sexually transmitted infection found that condoms were effective in providing protection against transmission of HIV to women and men and also in reducing the risk of men becoming infected with gonorrhea. However, it has been found that the use of condoms is less effective because people do not always use them correctly especially under the influence of alcohol. Hence, as mentioned by Hearst and Chen (2004) there is not good evidence yet to prove that condoms are most effective method to protect against spread of HIV in the communities. They mentioned that effective use of condom among user range between 80% and 90% only. According to Philemon and Kessy (2008) the incremental difference is contributed by occasional rupture of condoms during sexual intercourse, semen spillage from condoms during withdrawal after sexual contact, rupture due to manufacturing defects and inconsistency use of condom in each act of sexual intercourse.

Promotion of condom use has never been easy. Major campaigners against condom use are particularly religious leaders, who have been questioning condoms effectiveness, alleged increase sexual activity among unmarried partners, which is believed to be a sin and its practicality in correct and consistent use. According to Philemon and Kessy (2008), the Roman Catholic Bishops from South Africa, Botswana and Swaziland argued condom promotion is immoral and misguided act in the fight against HIV. They added that providing condoms to people makes them sexually promiscuous. Similar trend is observed in Tanzania as well. Condom use in Tanzania has been associated with moral and ethical counter arguments for a long time. Christian religious leaders argued against provision of condoms particularly in schools and whether condoms could fit the children. Also according the GTZ project in governance and development experienced a National Muslim Council body of Tanzania could not commit itself to promote the use of condoms as a way of preventing HIV. However, there are few liberal Islam religious leaders who follow a pragmatic approach, advocate the use of condoms to prevent potential harm in society. As we have seen above, condoms bring conflict because as government and some private sector in the country promote use of condoms to the community others are condemning it.

2.6.3.5 Income and susceptibility to HIV

The underlying causes and consequences for increase HIV infection among women are not only socio-cultural reasons that work to women disadvantage also women often weaker economic

power leading to greater livelihood vulnerability (UNAIDS/UNFPA/UNIFEM, 2004 as quoted by Muller 2005). Income poverty as an economic factor is a push factor for women increasingly resorting to high risk behaviour such as transaction sex. Similar observations were made in the survey among youth aged 14 – 22 years in Cape Town, South Africa between 2002 and 2005 and found that multiple partnerships are common among girls living in households that has experienced income poverty (Kim, *et al*, 2008). Another study in South Africa among women has found that low socio-economic status increase unusual practices among women to exchange sex for money and increases likelihood of having multiple sex partners (Kim, *et al*, 2008). As a result this situation lowers the likelihood of the women to abstain or use condoms.

Low income women in the society are vulnerable to HIV infection, as most of the risk factors described above are linked to low socio-economic status. This does not mean HIV/AIDS is the disease of the poor, certainly not. The poor due to low socio-economic status are faced with challenges that put them at more risks of HIV infection. Under these circumstances one can not even access proper treatment for STDs or can not afford treatment. In this perspective, as mentioned above the importance of education, if women will be supplemented with income generating opportunities may help to larger extent to empower them to shield themselves against risk forces for HIV infection through negotiation of safer sex.

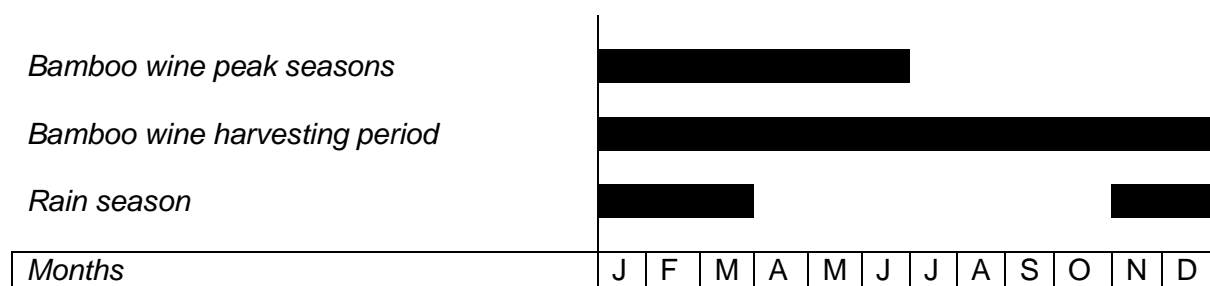
2.7 Bamboo wine in Njombe District

Bamboo wine is a fermented bamboo sap obtained by tapping young bamboo shoot during the raining season of the year. The wine is characterized by being clear, whitish drink with sweet and alcoholic flavor. Normally young bamboo is selected for high yield and good taste of the wine. The growing tip of the bamboo is removed and a container is mounted to collect the sap. Once the sap is collected fermentation begins immediately. Fermentation takes between five and twelve hours depending on the strength of the final product desired.

Bamboo is cultivated in farms of almost every family in Njombe district (Mhando, 2010). Usual farming vary between families, some plant as plantation, some in river banks and other just scattered in the farm. Most tapping is done from December to May and from May to November in lower and higher areas respectively (Mhando, 2010). According to nature of Njombe it has both lower and higher areas which foster availability of the wine almost throughout the year. Since the availability of the wine depends also with the availability of rain, this gives low and peak season of wine availability. The rain period last for five months i.e. November to March in Njombe district.

According to Mhando (2010) the number of people involved in the bamboo wine sector and its contribution in the economy is unknown. However, it is estimated that 50% of the people in the district have their economy linked with Bamboo wine (*Ibid*). Bamboo wine trade can be mentioned as the third from Maize and round potatoes providing profitable employment to people, especially women. This includes those engaging in the trade as tapers, distributors and those who sell the wine in the clubs. Market for the wine is readily available at the villages and the surrounding towns in the district.

Figure 2: Bamboo wine seasons in Njombe district



Source: Mhando (2010).

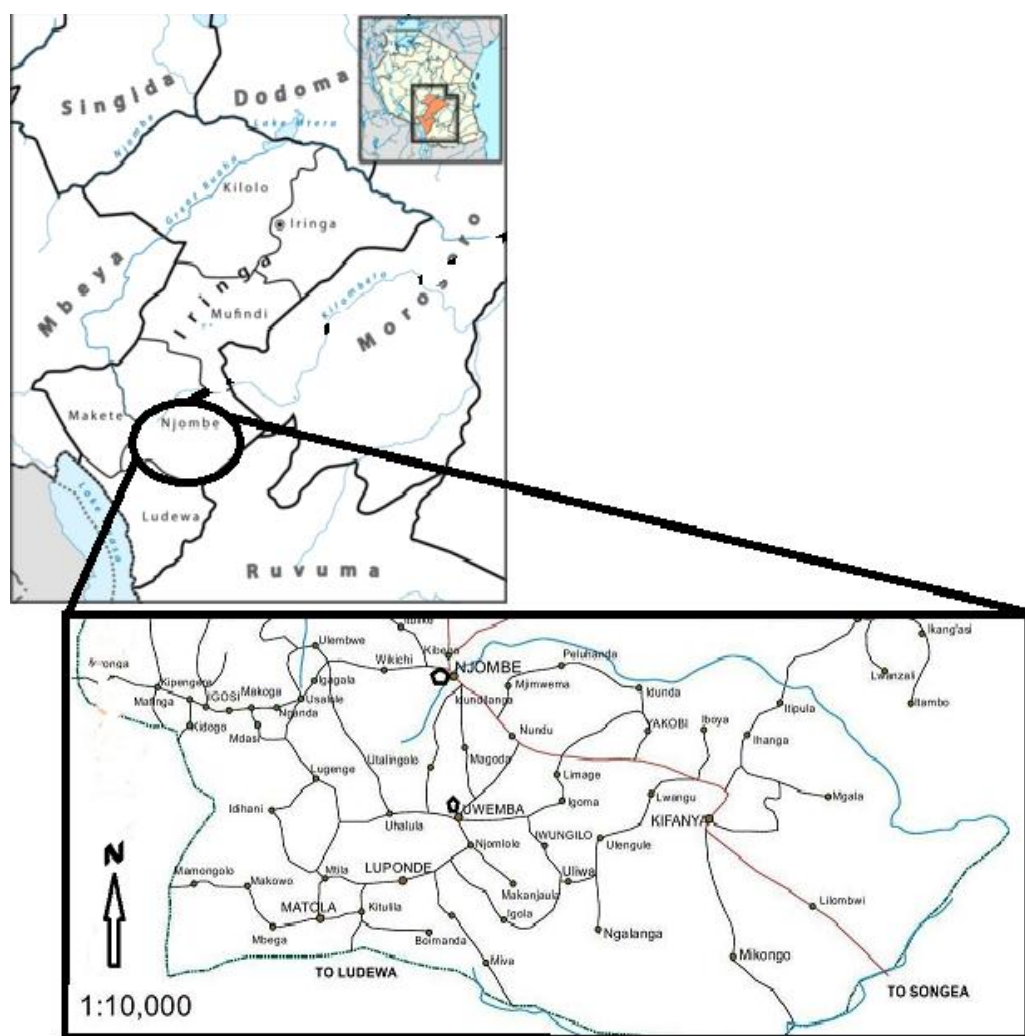
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Methodology

3.1 Study area

The study was undertaken in Njombe district. Njombe is one of the 7 districts of Iringa region. The district is located in the southern highland of Tanzania in Iringa region. It is lying between south of equator $9^{\circ} 10'$ and $9^{\circ} 45'$ latitude and $34^{\circ} 25' - 35^{\circ} 27'$ longitudes east of Greenwich. The topography is ranging from 1000 m to 2000 m above sea level and covers an area of 10,200 km². In 2007, Njombe district was officially divided administratively into Njombe district council and Njombe town council. Generally Njombe town council is in charge of the southern block of the district and Njombe district council of the northern (see Figure 3). The study was undertaken in Njombe town council because this is the location where the problem was realized.

Figure 3 Map of Njombe district showing Njombe town council region



Source: Njombe town council, land department, 2011

Njombe town council is divided into 2 divisions. It has a total of 7 wards, which are further divided into 26 Mitaa and 44 Villages. The council has a total of 220 hamlets. According to the 2002 population and housing census report, the council had 126,586 people (58,989 male, 67,597 females). The 2007 population projection released by the National Bureau of Statistics declared that Njombe town council is estimated to have 128,424 where 67,377 are female and 61,047 are males (See *Table 1*)

Table 1 : Population distribution and administrative units in Njombe town council by Ward and Sex, 2007

Wards	Number of			Number of	Number of	Number of
	Male	Female	Total	Villages	Hamlets	streets
Uwemba	8163	8337	16500	9	55	-
Luponde	7551	3331	15882	7	34	-
Njombe Mjini	23604	26183	49787	-	-	26
Matola	7346	8411	15757	9	46	-
Iwungilo	4247	4749	8996	4	20	-
Kifanya	7060	8072	15132	10	52	-
Yakobi	3076	3294	6370	5	25	-
Total	61,047	67,377	128,424	44	232	26

Source: Population projection report, NBS, 2007

The latest Njombe Town council social economic profile of 2007 shows that about 82 percent of the people in the council rely on agriculture and livestock activities for their subsistence food and money income. As a result, agriculture sector is the main economic activity in the council. It provides employment to over 78 percent of the council workforce. Among the food crops produced are maize, millet and potatoes, while cash crops include organic and traditional tea, coffee and flowers. Also some community members are engaged in local business such as forestation, processing and packaging food products, small scale mining (stone quarries, sand and mineral extraction), bee keeping, local brewing (bamboo juice and wine), and handcrafting. The economic contribution of the local brew industry is still unknown (Mhando,2010). The distribution of the local brew establishments in the council is remarkably high and growing signaling a profitable trade (see Table 2).

Table 2 : Average distribution of the local brew clubs in Njombe town council by wards

Wards	Average number of local brew clubs
Uwemba	165
Luponde	112
Njombe Mjini	215
Matola	138
Iwungilo	120
Kifanya	156
Yakobi	75
Total	981

Source: Njombe town council health department, 2011

According to the 2004 economic survey report it shows that Iringa region share of the national GDP was 5.36 percent which is equivalent to Tshs 605,027 Million making an approximate per capita income of Tshs 394,449 (equivalent to Euro 169)¹ per regional resident (NTC, 2007).

¹ 1 Euro = 2339 Tshs

In Njombe town council, two wards were chosen for study i.e. Njombe Mjini and Uwemba wards. These wards were chosen as the study areas based on two major reasons;

- There is relatively higher HIV prevalence comparing to other wards in the council. This is supported by blood donor voluntary counseling and testing (VCT) reports (SHISO, 2009) (Table 3).
- Increased number of orphan and street children comparing to other wards (NTC, 2009). (Table 4)

Table 3: Prevalence rate of HIV infection among blood donors by ward (July to Dec, 2009).

Wards	Tested			HIV positive			Percent
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Uwemba	663	701	1,364	96	112	208	15.2
Iwungilo	591	941	1532	54	121	175	11.4
Luponde	807	1147	1954	58	138	196	10.0
Matola	582	912	1494	40	71	111	7.4
Kifanya	530	665	1195	67	79	146	12.2
Njombe Mjini	144	201	345	20	40	60	17.4
Yakobi	915	1265	2180	97	162	259	11.9
Total	4232	5832	10064	432	723	1155	

Source: SHISO – UHAI-CT project report, 2009

Table 4: Njombe town council orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) report by 2009

Wards	Number of		
	Male	Female	Total
Uwemba	389	382	771
Iwungilo	108	106	208
Luponde	194	178	372
Matola	182	160	342
Kifanya	220	225	445
Njombe Mjini	773	976	1709
Yakobi	94	95	189
Total	1920	2116	4036

Source: NTC – Health department, 2009

3.2 Study design and sampling strategy

The study used both qualitative and quantitative data collection which allowed triangulation of information. The quantitative data collected attempted to make sense or interpret the socio-economic factors contributing to risk of HIV infections among women local brew sellers. The approach used were based on desk study and field work.

Desk study which generated secondary data included literature study such as books, articles from journals, internet search and reports from Njombe town council. Review of the literature gave a profound knowledge on the socio-economic and cultural factors which contribute to risk of HIV infection among women traders particularly those involved in alcohol distribution centers.

Field Data collection took place during mid July until mid august, 2011. Njombe Mjini and Uwemba wards were purposely chosen not only due to having high prevalence rate of HIV among adult blood donors and number of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), also were

chosen to represent urban and rural data cluster. Njombe Mjini ward has 26 streets and Uwemba has 9 villages. Among the nine (9) villages of Uwemba only one village was included in the study due to easy access and it has a higher number of OVC compared to other villages signifying impact from higher HIV infection (NTC, 2010). With the help from the health officer a list of local brew clubs with respect to streets and hamlets from Njombe Mjini ward and Uwemba village respectively was prepared and from the list 6 clubs were randomly selected from Njombe Mjini ward. Due to the nature of the clubs selected in which one club has several sub clubs (a single building with several rooms), one sub club was also randomly drawn from each of the selected 6 clubs. A sub club represents a single room, among many in a building, managed by a woman or two selling local brew. In Uwemba village also 6 sub clubs were randomly selected from the Serikali club which has 37 sub clubs from Uwemba Hamlet (see Table 5). Hence, a total of 12 women local brew sellers were randomly sampled from 115 sub local brew clubs.

Table 5 : Sampled local brew clubs in Njombe Mjini Ward and Uwemba Village

Wards	Streets	Name of Local brew club	Number of sub local brew clubs	Sampled
Njombe Mjini	Msikitini	Kafyulilo	8	1
	Magereza	Msema	7	1
	Posta	Tupendane	13	1
	Ramadhani	Kibena	43	1
	Kihesa	Mama Jailo	3	1
	Itulike	Amani	16	1
		Sub Total	78	6
Uwemba	Village			
	Uwemba	Serikali	37	Mwanzo Sara Veronica Agness Devota Rasta
		Sub total	37	6
		Grand total	115	12

3.3 Data collection

Selected women at the local brew clubs were approached during their normal working hours starting around 2.00 PM to 12.00 PM. Since it was anticipated that the chosen women could be busy attending clients, the researcher approached them as a normal customer. When the woman was really busy the researcher waited until almost the closing hours for the discussion or visited again in the next day. Thus, at least three visits were conducted per sampled women so as to collect enough information.

The researcher acted as a customer all the time during the visits. In order to break the ice and start conversations, the researcher had to order a liter cup of bamboo wine and offer one to the woman. All the offers given were accepted except one case in which the woman was not feeling well and requested a soda instead. After that, it was easier, now that the woman had paid the attention, to start conversations. During pretesting, it was realized the women local brew sellers are happier if a customers speaks good words about their wine, hence this was always the entry

point. The researcher started to collect data through observing the woman or asking other customers to get her background information. Since local brew clubs are very social places women local brew sellers were always known by their customers so their background information was easily captured. Then, the researcher continued the conversation with the woman asking her opinion about her customers to get information on sexual practices between the men (customers) and women selling the wine. For example, researcher could ask her a question like: "A lot of your customers are men, have they ever seduced you?" All the women replied with yes and continued explaining incidents. Then the researcher could ask how she responds to those requests. Researcher also asked some questions to get their idea on the HIV/AIDS knowledge. Then discussion was followed by trying to ask the woman for sexual intercourse, this was done by the researcher and sometime done by the research assistant, and the conversation were conducted to negotiate for the price with or without condom use. These discussion interviews were conducted by using checklist information which was not shown during the discussion so as to cause minimal disruption as possible to the social setting. Dressing code was also considered to match those wore by majority men in the clubs. In that regard women were free to express themselves as in real situation. The information collected was immediately summarized after the conversation in the night.

In addition, a total of 6 sub local brew clubs sampled above were randomly chosen for the observation method. The random sampling was purposely conducted to include 3 sub local brew clubs from Njombe Mjini ward (urban setting) and the other 3 from Uwemba village (rural setting). Observations started at 6PM to 8PM on the days of Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. Sunday was added since observations showed that customer turnover was high as well coincidental there was a special market auction. In Swahili it is commonly called "Lembuka" which occurs once in every month. The researcher had to continue with the observation in Uwemba village on that day of Sunday due to "Lembuka" attracted a lot of customers to the clubs as well. A lot of information as discussed herein below was collected to supplement the discussion interview method.

The information collected using checklist basically included:-

- Demographic characteristics of the women selling local brew clubs i.e. age, marital status, education,
- Socio-economic factors i.e. alcohol drinking behaviour, sexual practices, use of condoms, knowledge about HIV/AIDS, Income, and sexual relations

From the observation method information that collected included:

- Physical environment of the local brew club i.e. lighting, availability of private rooms, opening and closing hours, size of the club, and facilities provided
- Number of customers present over a given time.
- Sexual advances in the local brew clubs i.e. holding, kissing, hugging
- Location of condoms

3.4 Data analysis

The data were sorted, summarized and analyzed based on urban and rural clusters among women in the local brew clubs. The summary of the data were prepared in a sheet of paper and analyzed using Microsoft Word and presented in tables.

3.5 Research Limitation

The month of July and August was summer period in Njombe district which was accompanied by lack of rainfall and the scarcity of Bamboo wine (Ulanzi). Because bamboo wine availability depends on rainfall (see *Figure 2* above). This has made the Bamboo wine to be more expensive than usual. The price of the wine rose from 300 Tshs to 800Tsh per liter. This had implications to customer turnover and the consumption of the product was less than usual. Therefore the data collected might not have captured all the information related to when the Local brew clubs are in full swing - busy periods when there is full availability of Bamboo wine at cheaper price. However, there are alternatives - other local brews available called “Kimpumu” and “Komonji” made out of cereals such as maize and millet but their popularity is minimal compared to the Bamboo wine (Ulanzi).

3.6 Ethical issues

Ethics have to come first during conducting the research particularly when the subject considered is sensitive to the people involved (Chambers, 2007). Having considered about ethics, informed consent was obtained at the local government authority to conduct the research. During the discussion interview with the respondents, due to the nature of the study, the researcher in order to maintain the natural setting of the researched environment introduced only himself. For ethical reasons and protection of the rights of the respondents, their identities are kept anonymous so as to maintain confidentiality. The information collected were careful handled and false names assigned so as to retain the information at the same time not to reveal the exact source. Research was conducted in a way that respects the women and men in the clubs and intended to enhance and empower women engaged in the traditional brew trade.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Research findings

4.1 Demographic profile of the respondents

More than a half of the women selling local brew clubs sampled were at the age between 15-24 years and the rest were aged between 25-34 years (See Table 6). Only 3 of the sampled women had secondary education and the rest had acquired primary education. Observations showed that women could handle simple business mathematics and some kept records of their sales. During the discussion when asked the reasons for not continuing with secondary education some of the response was as follows;

After I got pregnancy I could not continue with my secondary education and unfortunately my boyfriend left me as well. But I managed to raise my son and now he is five years old

Woman selling local brew, 24 age, Njombe Mjini ward

I was married then I could not continue with school not anymore (divorced), now I am raising two children

Women local brew seller, 26 age, Uwemba Village

Data obtained showed there was no major difference in the education level reached between women in rural and urban local brew clubs. Women in both areas have attempted at least primary level education. As mentioned above social and biological obligations such as getting married and pregnancy is a stumbling block for women towards the attainment of their further education.

Table 6 : Demographic characteristic of the sampled women

Characteristics	Number of women	
	Rural	Urban
Age		
15 - 24	4	4
25 - 34	2	2
35 - 44	-	-
Marital status		
Married	1	2
Widow	1	-
Divorced	2	2
In relationship	-	-
Single	2	2
Education		
Primary education	4	5
Secondary education	2	1
Others	-	-

The majority of the women were either single or divorced. It was further revealed that all the sampled women were child bearing. Since, most women were not married; this indicates unsafe sex practices are taking place among women selling the local brew. However, more women in urban local brew clubs were found to be married than in the rural areas.

4.2 HIV/AIDS awareness among the respondents

Result showed that all women selling the local brew in the clubs are aware about HIV/AIDS (see *Table 7*). During the discussion interviews they were able to mention some of the major means of transmission of HIV which include through sex and from mother to child. Since all respondents had at least one child means that they attended the health centre during their pregnancy and through that they came across HIV/AIDS information because of the national wide programme on prevention of mother to child transmission (PMTCT). In Uwemba village very few women were able to mention about transmission through blood. This showed slight discrepancy in the HIV information received between Uwemba village and Njombe Mjini ward; hence Njombe Mjini ward women were more informed on HIV/AIDS. All respondents from Njombe Mjini and Uwemba village local brew clubs were able to mention that use of condom and being faithful prevents HIV transmission.

What I know is if you use condom you can not get HIV

Women local brew seller, 30 age, Njombe Mjini ward

I believe if your partner is faithful you can not get HIV the problem is these days people are not faithful at all. While you are protecting yourself your partner is walking around with other women, you can not trust anyone.

Women local brew seller, 20 age, Uwemba village

I heard you can protect yourself against HIV if you use condom and faithful to your husband though I don't really trust condoms because a friend of mine used it got pregnant

Women local brew seller, 19 age, Uwemba village

When respondents were asked whether they were at risks of getting HIV while working in the local brew clubs less than a half of the women agreed they were at risk went on suggesting it depends on the behaviour of a woman herself and if she is using condom or not.

To tell the truth yes it is very risky working in these clubs it depends with the behaviour of the woman herself especially if she is not using condom

Women local brew seller, 33 age, Njombe Mjini ward

It is risky because you will never know weather someone is using condom or not

Women local brew seller, 24 age, Uwemba village

The majority of the women did not think they are at risk working at the local brew clubs, one of the respondents mentioned

*No risky at all it depends with one's behaviour.....although we are closing the club late
I have never faced any problem
Women local brew seller, 20 age, Njombe Mjini ward*

Table 7 : Respondents HIV/AIDS awareness

Characteristics	Number of women	
Means of transmission	Rural	Urban
Sex	6	6
Mother to child	6	6
Blood	1	4
Means of prevention		
Avoid sharing sharp tools	-	1
Be faithful	6	6
Abstinence	2	3
Use condoms	6	6
Risk		
Risk of getting HIV	2	3

4.3. Sexual behaviour in the local brew clubs

4.3.1 Occurrence of sexual practices

In this part of sexual practice in order to get into reality women were really approached and asked for sexual intercourse. Respondent's answers indicated sex is practiced in the local brew clubs and hence women selling local brew are having sexual encounters with their clients. Women selling the brew were noted saying;

*Many men come here not only for Ulanzi also for sex
Women local brew seller, 24 age, Njombe Mjini ward*

When I asked for sex respondents replied as follows:

*Why in hurry we have only met today lets meet tomorrow
Women local brew seller, 30 age, Njombe Mjini ward*

*Today I am occupied lets meet tomorrow before I start working take my telephone
number and call me
Women local brew seller, 21 age, Uwemba village*

After the researcher received these answers, realized that approach was too direct and not so common among customers because these things are done in more discreet manner since the local brew clubs are a very socializing place and often people there know each other. Sex

negotiations are done discreetly because most of the times the customers are known people or favorite to the woman selling local brew. The people visiting women local brew clubs could be either relative, in laws, friends of in laws, neighbour, lovers or husband or others. Data showed women local brew sellers often have their permanent partners. This makes it somehow complicated to organize sexual encounters with the women selling the brew. The successful negotiations of sex with the local brew sellers occur when other customers are not aware of what is going on. Meeting for the act is done after closing or before opening the business, although a few cases were reported to occur during the business. The occurrence of the sexual relations in secret makes the situation even worse since the woman can have multiple relationships easily without themselves knowing from each other. A woman revealed occurrence of such drama in the following statement;

She started to be uncomfortable while serving the beer after finding out that three (3) of her lovers were there and they all needed her attention.... After realizing the situation they (the men) all left angry without paying for the wine....

Women local brew seller, 30 age, Uwemba village

Further discussion in Uwemba village revealed that there were some incidences of people being caught having sex in the bush.

She is too much, she was caught twice having sex in the bush by her husband she was not divorced.... What I dislike about her is her behaviour that she can go outside and have sex then come back to continue selling the wine, this is not fair,.... It is very unhygienic!

Women local brew seller, 24 age, Uwemba village

Don't let your friend seduce her she is HIV positive, trust me she is my friend I know now she has stopped using ARV because when you go to take your medicine and if your customer sees you taking the ARV it will spread and all customers will run away from your club...

Women local brew seller, 20 age, Njombe Mjini Ward

The majority of the women were rather shy to talk about sex even though they were agreeing. Hence, during the discussions to have sexual intercourse, the majority of the women was nodding the head giving the sign of accepting and only one woman who was rather free to talk and accepted the proposal in words.

4.3.2 Location of conducting sexual practices

In Njombe Mjini ward most major local brew clubs are located in places that are close to guest houses. Guest houses rather than housing guests are often connected as places for sexual encounters with casual partners. Njombe Mjini has many guest houses which were approximately 57 in number. The guest houses were charging about 5000Tshs to 20,000Tsh per night. In Uwemba Village there were only 3 guest houses which were charging about

3000Tshs to 4000Tshs. One of the guest house in Uwemba village is owned by a Roman Catholic mission who has a strict policy i.e. no marriage certificate no room for couples rule. This has made this guests house to be unreachable for casual couples in need for sexual practice. Affordability for the guest charge is very minimal since from the observation most of the customers for the local brew clubs are observed to be middle and lower income population. Hence discussion interviews revealed that couples opt for the following. One option is to seek for what is famously called “show time” in the guest houses. This word “show time” is derived from the word short time. One would request for a short time to the guest houses so that he/she can use the room for a short period of time i.e. one to two hours, rather than the usual 24 hours for lower price. There is no fixed price for a show time, the price is negotiable. Data obtained shows that not all guest houses accepted short timers. Other option is to use the total darkness available outside the local brew club. Unfortunately this is a very common option and it is very much practiced. Thus, having no light outside the local brew clubs influences casual partner’s sexual contact in the nearby bushes. One woman affirmed that a lot of people are having sex during the dark in the bush

Hah! Its very common to have sex just behind the local brew clubs during the night in the bush I will never do something like that because how can you enjoy like that!?

Women selling local brew, 24 age, Uwemba Village

4.3.3 Price negotiation for sexual practice

There was no fixed price to pay for having sex with a woman selling the local brew in the clubs. However there is very much difference between the woman from Uwemba village and Njombe Mjini ward in the expression of price. The discussions about sex and particularly paying the women felt rather uncomfortable and shy. Women in Njombe Mjini clubs may as well ask how much you can offer her. During the discussion in Uwemba village no respondent asked for cash. When it was asked how much is required the answer was;-

Just what you feel you can give me...

Women selling local brew, 21 age, Uwemba village

Women in Njombe Mjini ward felt rather shy. If proposed too low a price a woman can only say that it is not enough or add more. The decision on the amount to pay for sex rests on man kindness. Data obtained shows on average a woman can go to sleep with a man for a liter of bamboo wine (approximately 300Tshs i.e. equivalent to 0.128 Euro) or cash.

4.3.4 Women power to decide on use of condom

When women were asked what they would do if a man have no condom and wants sex all replied they would never have sex with him. One added that she would ask him to wear condom. When further asked if they have had used female condoms, almost all of them mentioned they have never used female condoms. When we talked about the other women on the use of condoms more than a half of the women revealed that condoms are not used.

I don't think so (condoms are not used) look around almost all women club seller have children with no marriage, of course I know a few are married, not to mention the HIV victims

Women local brew seller, 33 age, Njombe Mjini ward

Mh! you can not tell what happens behind the closed doors look at the children whom their father are not known then u can tell (they are not using condoms)

Women selling local brew, 26 age, Uwemba village

Other women said condoms are used as follows

I have seen by my own eyes in the afternoon children playing close to the club with a used condom thinking it is a balloon

Women local brew seller, 20 age, Uwemba village

Yeah, women are using condoms not properly because a friend of mine selling bamboo wine I would not like to mention her, used the condom and took it so that she can reuse it, what she thought is she can wash and dry it so she can use it next time

Women local brew seller, 33 age, Njombe Mjini ward

None of the visited clubs in Njombe Mjini ward and Uwemba village provided condoms. Near, about a half of the clubs condoms were found in the yards outside to the clubs. These condoms famously known "Salama" are sold at kiosk for 200Tshs per packet containing three condoms inside. Unfortunately, the kiosk (shops) selling the condoms are usually closed before the closing hours of the local brew clubs in Uwemba village and Njombe Mjini clubs. One woman said to me the following when I asked where I could get the condom

Here (at the club) we don't sell condoms, they are available at the kiosk at this hour (9.00PM) they are closed

Women local brew seller, 24 age, Uwemba village

4.3.5 Alcohol drinking behaviour

All women interviewed drank the local brew whether it is bamboo wine or the other i.e. "Komon" and "Kimpumu". One respondent replied on my request whether I could offer her a bamboo wine.

Of course, why not! How can I sell and not drink (the wine)!?

Women local brew seller, 24 age, Uwemba village

The other respondent was not feeling well replied the following to my offer,

No thanks just buy me a soda I am feeling headache because yesterday it was "lembuka" (A market auction day) we were very busy and I drank so much till late evening

Women local brew seller, 26 age, Njombe Mjini ward

During discussion it was revealed that some of the women can not handle very well the alcohol, the repercussion of their drinking results to risky behaviours.

.....If she is drunk she always wants to sleep with someone....some men know that and take advantage of it by offering her the brew. I always tell her she does not listen

Women local brew seller, 24 age, Uwemba village

4.4. Income of women selling in the local brew club

Among the sampled women selling the local brew only one woman was employed to sell the local brew and she was paid per month. Her salary was about 80,000Tshs per month (approx. 34Euro). The majority are self employed sellers of the local brew. In Njombe Mjini wards, the women are registered by the council. They conduct the business legally and pay fees per month of 3000Tshs. Also they have rented a room (sub club) in the club, for which they have to pay about 10,000Tsh per month per room. In Njombe Mjini ward the woman tried to minimize this cost of rent by sharing the room (sub club) to sell their wine. Hence each woman had to pay 5000Tsh instead of 10,000Tshs per month as a rent. So together with a fee from the council the woman who is doing the local brew business has to pay approximately 8000Tshs per month.

The same woman from Njombe Mjini ward mentioned to sell on average one of 20 liters bucket which is bought for 5000 Tshs of bamboo wine per day for the price of 300 Tshs per liter. Hence, she gets an approximate profit of 1000 Tshs per 20 liter bucket of bamboo wine or 30,000Tshs per month. If we minus the fee and rent i.e. 8000Tshs she remained with approximately 22,000 Tshs (Approx. 9 Euro) which is much lower than 80,000 of the employed.

Table 8 : Income of the self employed women selling local brew

Location	Input description	Amount (Tshs)	Amount (€)
Njombe Mjini	Costs (A)		
	Council Tax fee 3000/month	3000	1.28
	Rent fee 5000/Month	5000	2.13
	Purchases 5000/ 20lts/day x 30days	150,000	64.12
	Sub total (A)	158,000	67.53
	Revenue (B)		
	300Tsh/ltx20lts x 30days	180,000	79.96
	Sub total (B)	180,000	76.96
	Output (B – A)	Profit/Loss	22,000
			9.41
	Costs (A)		
	Council tax fee 3000/month	3000	1.28
Uwemba village	Rent fee 5000/Month	5000	2.13
	Purchases 3000/20ltr/day x 30days	90,000	38.48
	Sub total (A)	98,000	41.89
	Revenue (B)		
	200Tshs/lts 20ltrsx 30days	120,000	51.30
	Sub total (B)	120,000	51.30
	Output (B-A)	Profit/Loss (B-A)	22,000
			9.41

NB: 1Euro = 2339Tshs

In Uwemba village women were not sharing the room because their renting fee is lower i.e. 5000 Tshs per room hence this amount plus 3000 Tshs as the fee for doing business, then

about 8000Tsh is paid to the village government per month. Uwemba is in the rural area and availability of Bamboo wine is easier and the price is lower as well hence 20liters bucket is bought at 3000Tshs. This wine is then sold for the price of 200Tshs per liter. When assuming that the same bucket is finished per day the profit will be 1000Tshs which is equivalent to 30,000 Tshs per month. Then removing rent and fee costs, the average income of the woman is about 22,000Tshs per month.

When the women were asked whether the income obtained is satisfactory to cover daily expenses all answered that the profit is not enough to cover their daily expenses. One of the woman responded;

The profit from the business is not enough to meet daily expenses unless it is supplemented by husband.

Women local brew seller, 30 age, Njombe Mjini ward

In reality the business of selling wine alone is not very profitable to cover a daily expense that is why you can see I am also selling chips.....

Women local brew seller, 33 age, Uwemba village

4.5 Local brew clubs

The clubs have a capacity to hold on average about 47 people at a time (see table 8). However there are bigger ones that can handle up to 70 people at a time. There are smaller ones that can hold as only minimal to 10 people. To be a local brew club does not necessarily need to have a room. Sometimes the brew is informally offered just under the tree nevertheless that was not the case in this study since all sampled clubs were formal within a particular location and building. Most of them existed in a cluster (one big building with separate rooms), and others in separate buildings in the same location. Many of the clubs simply contain wooden benches and tables. Few worth to mention clubs that are Kafyulilo, Msemwa in Njombe Mjini and Mwanzo club in Uwemba village had sofa and table. In none of the sampled clubs there was a private room set aside for private affairs. Most are made in a hall and benches are arranged surrounding the wall of the hall and the middle part is most of times left open so that people can use the space for music dancing.

All clubs had a supply of electricity and therefore inside there was bright light. Also music system was observed in all the clubs sampled and TV in some of them. In Uwemba village Serikali club they control their use by switching on their electricity in their clubs starting from 5 PM evening to closing hours i.e. 12.00 PM due to high expenses of electricity. In Njombe Mjini clubs all sampled clubs have lights. However, lights are only available inside the clubs and outside the clubs in the evening is total darkness. It was also observed that clubs did not provide condoms to their clients. Due to the nature of these clubs most of the clubs attracts the less well off people. Although some of the middle income population are also observed in the local brew shops particularly in Uwemba village. However, many of those well off for example businessmen, local government workers were found more to Mwanzo club in Uwemba village than any other club due availability of sofa coaches, music and Television set.

Table 9 : Characteristics of the local brew clubs

Location	Name of club	Characteristics			
		Capacity/No. of people	Location of condom	Private rooms	Lights/electricity
Njombe Mjini	Kafyulilo	70	Outside club	Not available	Only inside club
	Tupendane	50	Outside club	Not available	Only inside club
	Chengula	40	Outside club	Not available	Only inside club
Uwemba village	Mwanzo	30	Outside club	Not available	Only inside club
	Sara	50	Outside club	Not available	Only inside club
	Rasta	40	Outside club	Not available	Only inside club

4.6 Opening and closing hours of the local brew clubs

When the respondents were asked about their opening and closing hours both clubs from Njombe Mjini and Uwemba village mentioned that they are open at 02.00 PM in the afternoon until 10.00PM in the weekdays closes at 12.00PM in the weekends and on holidays. This information was also confirmed by the health officer. In practice time for closing is not adhered. From the observation method, research observed Tupendane club in Njombe Mjini closing at around 01.20 AM in the Saturday (weekend) and in Uwemba village a Serikali club closing at around 12.20PM in Monday (weekday). This is beyond the time set by the local government for closing. When I asked the women selling the local brew about late closing of the club they replied,

It is very difficult to rush your drunken customers to leave only that you have to close the club so I just wait and entertain them

Women local brew seller, 26 age, Njombe Mjini ward

I may finish my wine but what is left is the music, if I turn off the music my customers get angry so I let them and wait

Women local brew seller, 24 age, Uwemba Village

4.7 Number of men and women in the local brew clubs

The number of men and women was recorded after every 20 minutes between 06.00 PM and 08.00 PM during the weekdays in the randomly selected 6 local brew clubs i.e. Kafyulilo, Tupendane, Chengula from Njombe Mjini ward and Mwanzo, Sara and Rasta from Uwemba village. As shown in the *Table 9* men are main visitors of the local brew clubs. Most of the club customers are community members and very few are seen from outside the community i.e. agricultural produce traders. In general clubs in Njombe Mjini have higher number of customers compared to those in Uwemba villages. This could be contributed by the club being bigger in Njombe Mjini ward and the majority of men in Njombe Mjini are well off. They can spend more for the local brew compared to those in rural areas. Observing closely the data it showed number of male pouring into the club increases with time that of women decreases with time though the data from different local brew clubs does not seem to follow similar trend. There

were times women were observed going out of the club together with men. Therefore the average ratio of men and women is 2:1.

Table 10 : Recorded number of men and women in the local brew club per given time

Time	Number of people in the local brew club											
	Njombe Mjini ward clubs						Uwemba village clubs					
	Kafyulilo		Tupendane		Chengula		Mwanzo		Sara		Rasta	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
6.00- 6.20	24	17	22	08	09	03	17	06	06	02	05	01
6.20-6.40	21	14	18	12	11	04	19	04	05	02	09	03
6.40-7.00	28	17	16	11	10	04	22	03	09	02	11	02
7.00-7.20	17	11	21	09	09	03	16	06	11	04	08	05
7.20-7.40	21	07	17	06	13	03	20	04	13	03	14	08
7.40-8.00	27	04	20	08	09	04	24	03	10	02	13	03
Average	23	12	19	09	10	04	20	04	09	03	10	04

Key: M = Male, F= Female

4.8 Sexual advances in the local brew clubs

The idea was to see the acts conducted by drunken male customers to the women selling the local brew, so the number of occurrence of activities such as kissing, hugging and private conversation were recorded two hours before closing the club in the weekends i.e. 10.00PM to 12.00PM. As it can be seen from Table 11, Kafyulilo club in Njombe town ward had a lot of activities concerning kissing of the women, forced hugging and having private conversations with the women serving the local brew than any other club. In Uwemba village, Mwanzo club showed some activities of sexual advancement towards the women selling the local brew. However, despite these acts conducted to the women selling the local brew clubs, the women themselves were not seen to be bothered at all. In addition, although these acts appeared to be forced, women were seen always to be under control i.e. handling the drunken customers or sometimes yelling at them.

Table 11 : Number of occurrence of sexual advances between 10.00PM and 12.00 PM

Location	Name of club	Number of occurrence per act		
		Kissing	Hugging	Private conversation
Njombe Mjini ward	Kafyulilo	3	2	18
	Tupendane	1	0	6
	Chengula	-	1	8
Uwemba Village	Mwanzo	1	1	8
	Sara	-	1	6
	Rasta	1	0	7

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 Discussion

5.1 Socio-cultural and economic factors contributing to women local brew seller's susceptibility to HIV and the local brew clubs.

Several studies showed a positive relationship between education and risks of HIV infection (Kim, *et al* 2008). In this section as well such relationship was observed. According to the report of the Ministry of Education, in 2008 many Tanzanian adults in rural areas have no formal education and about 28% can neither read nor write. The findings from this study showed that all the sampled women had attained at least primary education and were able to read and write. The sampled women were able to handle their business calculations and keep records. There was no difference in the education attainment level between Njombe Mjini ward and Uwemba village clubs. Results revealed that women had desires to continue for further studies were not able due to social obligations which are characterized by gender relations. Some of the gender related obligations mentioned included child rearing and house keeping i.e. managing household chores. It was also noted that a pregnant women was not allowed to continue with the school. These factors are adding to the fact that women are twice as much as men not to have a formal education (MoE, 2008). However, women sampled from this study stand a better chance of being informed about HIV as well as to protect themselves against HIV due to their education. All the sampled women were aware about HIV/AIDS as well. However, there was a very slight difference in the level of knowledge about HIV/AIDS between the urban women and rural women. Urban women appeared to be more informed than in rural women of Uwemba village. This could be contributed by different sources of information being present and accessible more in Njombe Mjini ward than in Uwemba village. Most of them suggested during the discussion that condoms if used properly, protects against HIV. Unfortunately among the women, no one declared to have used female condom. This shows that even though they know the importance of use of condom they leave it to men. This could be contributed by poor availability of the female condoms close to the premise or because sexual act are determined by men then they are hoping he should be equipped with the condom as well. Either way this leaves the women with less bargaining power during sex to use a condom. When women were asked if a man wants have sex have no condoms, no difference were noted between sampled women marital status, age and urban or rural residence because all women suggested to propose to a man to wear condom. When the women were asked about the other women the majority of the women suggested condoms are not used. The fact that all unmarried women are bearing a child, getting pregnant during studying and low availability of condoms suggested condoms are not used by women. This concludes, not only sexual acts are conducted but also unsafe sex is taking place among women local brew sellers and their male customers as well. For this reason, it is safe to say having knowledge about sex and negotiation to safer sex are quite contrary.

Until now, it is known that unsafe sex is conducted among women selling local brew clubs both in Njombe Mjini ward and Uwemba village and their customers. Then it is imperative to know whether that sex is transactional sex. From the data collected transaction sex is taking place. Although data showed that majority of the women in Njombe Mjini did it for money in Uwemba

village sex can be obtained even for a liter cup of bamboo wine i.e. 300 Tshs (approx 0.128 Euro). For the women, having sex for a cup of bamboo wine means increase brew sell for that day but also assurance of the customer for the business in the future. As suggested by Barnett and Whiteside (2006) that the differential in income and social standing determine this kind of livelihood. An average man in Njombe district has an income of approximately 394,000 Tshs per annum (Approx. 169 Euro). This amount is slightly higher than that received by women selling the local brew club per annum i.e. 264,000 Tshs (Equivalent to 113 Euro). Women from the gender point of view are also family taker and have higher expenses than men while caring for the family. This amount is not enough to meet their needs. The majority of women are self employed through selling of the traditional brew fail to meet their financial needs. Findings show they are not satisfied with their income. The data showed some women are conducting other business, such as preparing chips, along with the selling local brew to supplement their income. According to Kim, et al (2008), low income as economic factor is a major push factor for women to increasingly resorting to risk behaviours. Also, the prevalent low social standing over men made by gender inequality puts women in a very disadvantage position to resort to sell sex for money. The report from Tanzania demographic and house survey suggest that about 8 percent of men had conducted paid sex. Willingness of women plus need of the men for sex equals to the acts of risk to HIV infection. However, this is not termed as formal prostitution because sex work is illegal in Tanzania and community in Njombe district sex work is defined as immorality. Religious people call it a sin and therefore it is organized informally as an exchange of money for pleasure i.e. transaction sex. In this regard, women sell sex without regarding themselves as prostitutes and rely on the regular financial support in return for sexual pleasures (Jonhson and Budelender, 2002).

During data collection, discussions for sex prices were conducted. The majority of the women where unable to suggest the price and even more failed to discuss about it with regards to use or not to use condoms. This was contributed by the women feeling shy to talk about sex. Women were observed to nod the head and others stayed quite. This might be contributed by cultural practices which put sex as an uncommon subject to talk about particularly by women. The patriarchic system practiced in Tanzania made the women in the society to play a passive role and men as aggressive when it comes to sex act (Muller, 2005). Women find themselves to have no say in the sexual practices as observed in the data collection. This leaves men to be in control over the sexual act. It limits the ability of the women to negotiate for safer sex and take control over their body.

According to the information collected the transaction sex is a common practice and no difference was found between the married and non married women in the conduct of the act. This is supported by identified cases of married women caught in action. It was also noted that some of the women conducted sex due to alcohol influence and/or their personal behaviour. Since all of the sampled women consume alcohol. According to Fritz, et al, 2010, there is a close significant relationship between alcohols as well the behaviour that leads to HIV infection such as unprotected sex and multiple partnering. These results are in line with the findings made in this study. The women sampled in this study, all consumed alcohol and experienced multiple partner relationships. According to the information collected some of the women were caught by their husband having sex with other men. Also information revealed that a woman

selling local brew was left in the club after the men realizing the both are having the same woman. Sex with multiple partner and lack of use of condoms pose high risk of getting HIV infection among women selling local brew. According to Fisher *et al* (2008) suggested that greater involvement with the traditional brew in the clubs increases likeliness of frequency and quantity of alcohol consumed. This was observed when it was revealed that some of the men kept ordering the wine to the woman knowing the fact that when she is drunk she is easier to seduce for sex. This fact suggests that local brew is a legal commodity it has negative influence to some women to cause them to engage into risky sex. In this regard, Local brew clubs are risky environment that contributes to HIV infection for the women sellers. Therefore, strategies that target alcohol consumption avenues are important to minimize risk of HIV infection among women selling local brew clubs and their customers.

The findings showed that local brew clubs are more integrated into the society. They host more of the community members than the outside community. The local government is trying to regulate the clubs through imposing fees for the trade and setting the opening and closing hours, in contrary closing hours are not adhered. Women are forced to close the club very late due to customers' request which makes them more susceptible. In addition the information collected showed it is very dark in the evening due to lack of lights outside the clubs. This put the safety of the women at even more risk. Sexual acts are reported to be conducted very close to the clubs during darkness in the bush. Some of the women sellers have permanent partners although sexual relations with casuals still continue. Since electricity is found in the local brew clubs and many of them are found to possess TV and radio, these informational, educational and communication materials should be included in the strategies to minimize the risk of HIV infection among the women sellers.

According to researched reports, condoms when used consistently and correctly are effective in preventing transmission of HIV (UNAIDS, 2009). Results from the local brew clubs show there is limited availability of condoms. Limited access to condom in the clubs was observed in both Njombe Mjini and Uwemba villages. However, the clubs seems to attract or are found to exist where there are other services such as local shops and guest houses. Local shops sell condoms at a price of 200 Tshs per packet of condom. Unfortunately, data showed they close early before the clubs. Also, it was revealed that guest houses are directly connected as places for sexual encounters with casual partners and in the bushes during the darkness. Having no light outside the local brew premise facilitated casual partner's sexual contact in the bush. With exception of the guest houses all others places mentioned have very limited access to condoms. Non use of condoms however, increases the risk for HIV transmission among the women in those premises. Therefore, these premises should also be targeted as strategic areas for minimizing risks of HIV infection.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Conclusion and Recommendation

6.1 Conclusion

This study sought to examine socio-cultural and economic factors that contribute to women working in the local brew club to be susceptible to HIV infection. The study findings have revealed that women selling local brew clubs in rural and urban settings are not only selling the brew but are also secretly offering sex for money. The price paid for sex ranges from a liter of wine to cash in which in most cases the amount to be paid is determined by men. Alcohol consumption and lack of sound financial base are noted as a source for sex for the majority of the women although there are some of the women who do it out of personal behaviour. A cultural factor such as patriarchic system contributes to gender inequality which makes women to be more of passive rather than aggressive and reduce their ability to negotiate for safer sex. Although, the majority of the women did not see the club as risky environment to work, observations and empirical data confirms that local brew clubs to be the breeding sites for HIV infection.

6.2 Recommendation

The findings have revealed that there is no major difference between women in the urban or rural setting selling local brew concerning influence of socio-cultural and economic factors which render them susceptible toward HIV infection. All sampled women selling the local brew in the clubs are denied opportunities for further studies due to social, biological and economical obligations facing them. Although women have attained at least primary education and have some knowledge about HIV, cultural factors have weakened their ability to negotiate for safer sex. Failure to have control over their body and sexual relationships makes these women in the risk of getting HIV. In this regard, the women become susceptible to HIV infection. Having considered these facts the following recommendations are made:

- Njombe town local government authority (LGA) HIV prevention strategies in the clubs should target both men and women in which the male role which plays a greater part in the risk behaviour should be given greater attention.
- Due to cultural factors men tend to dictate circumstances for transactional sex. Njombe town council should give it a priority to involve men in the advocacy against social norms and gender roles that prohibit women to attain economic and social freedom in the community.
- The local government authority and other stakeholders should increase efforts to encourage and promote girl child attainment of further education. Further efforts should be made to advocate on change on rules which inhibit pregnant women to continue with their studies.
- Women need to be socially empowered to play a stronger role in the sexual decision making so they can take control over their body. Njombe town council should promote and build capacity among the women selling local brew on knowledge of safer sex

behaviour. Options for prevention of HIV that the women can control should be promoted i.e. such as use of female condoms and improving their availability.

- Women selling the local brew clubs should also be economically empowered through comprehensive entrepreneurship training package with microfinance schemes such as savings and credit associations (SACCOS). For instances, since Njombe district have been doing well with SACCOS the LGA could initiate Women local brew seller savings and credit associations so as build a strong income base among women and support their economic independence.
- Njombe town council should take closer look at the local brew trade and the local brew clubs. Advocacy should be conducted against the conduct of sex in the bush. Along with it, community policing should be instituted to keep an eye on the premises during the evening in the nearby bushes as a control measure. A penalty of fines should be enforced to the victims caught in the act.
- Correct and consistent use of condoms should be promoted in the local brew clubs by the Njombe town council via its health department. Also they should make sure condoms are available at all times in the local brew clubs, if possible, free of charge.
- Local government authority should pass a strict policy which requires couples seeking a room in the guest house to provide marriage certificate. The practice of short time in the guest houses should be banned as well. Council health officer, district police officers and trade officers should enforce this rule.
- There is a need to explore further on this subject of the local brew establishments particularly to look on the avenues of the contributions to HIV in the local brew so as to shed the light on the associated risk factors to the customers of the local brew clubs. Further observations should be made to assess stakeholder such local government, NGOs, CBOs, donors and others contribution so as to get additional information on the services provided by the stakeholders to the local brew clubs and the constraint they face. This information will identify whether the services offered could be considered as a potential step in building sustainable resilience of women engaging in the trade.

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APPENDIX A Checklist for the discussion interview

Checklist for the discussion with women in the local brew clubs

Introduction

Date

Name of the local brew club

Name of Mtaa/Village and Ward

Demographic characteristics

Age

Marital status

Education

Sexual practices

Men come for sex in the local brew clubs

Sexual practices

Men use condom in the sexual contact and reason

Men having permanent/regular sexual relation with women local brew clubs

Power to decide use of condom

Men offer money for sex

Sex and price

Relationship between income and use of condom during sexual practice

Alcohol drinking behaviour of women

Awareness of risk behaviour (Are you at risk of getting HIV infection)

Awareness of the risk environment

Income

Employment status;

Salary paid on time

How long have been on work

Amount received per day by selling local brew

Basic expenses in the local brew club

Income from salary meets needs of the women

Satisfaction with the work

Socio-economic factors

Knowledge about HIV/AIDS

Knowledge about modes of transmission

Knowledge about HIV/AIDS prevention

APPENDIX B Checklist for the observation of the local brew clubs

General information

Name of the local brew clubs

Location of the club

Capacity of the club (Number of tables, Number of chairs)

Location of condoms

Availability of private rooms

Availability of lighting/electricity

Approximate number of men/women entering and leaving between 6.00PM and 8.00PM on Friday and Saturday

Approximate number of men and women drunk between 6.00 PM and 8.00 PM on Friday and Saturday

Number of occurrence of sexual advances/harassment between 6PM and 8PM on Friday and Saturday