

samudra

DOSSIER

**Women in Fisheries Series
No. 4**

Globalization, Gender and Fisheries

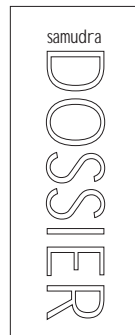
**Report of the Senegal Workshop
on Gender Perspectives in Fisheries**



**International Collective in Support of Fishworkers
27 College Road, Chennai 600 006, India**

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Preface

This Samudra DOSSIER contains the report of the concluding workshop of the first phase of the Women in Fisheries programme of ICSF, held in Rufisque, Senegal, from 9 to 18 June 1996. There were 38 participants from 12 countries at the workshop, half of whom had been present at the initial workshop in Cebu in 1994. All the participants were directly involved in working with fishing communities and the nature of the deliberations reflected the daily survival problems faced by coastal communities.

This workshop aimed at a global analysis of the impacts of the fisheries crises on gender relations in coastal communities and how a feminist perspective on fisheries could evolve to enhance sustainable fisheries policies.

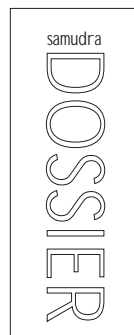
We will not claim to have achieved our objectives in toto, but we have made large strides. The positions articulated at the workshop are debatable and so, making this document available to a wider readership is primarily aimed at encouraging wider debate on this perspective, so that we can work towards greater objectivity and clarity.

This Dossier has been compiled by Chandrika Sharma, Programme Associate at the ICSF Programme Co-ordination Centre, Chennai. She has indeed done a good job of capturing the spirit of the complex process and the interactions that took place at Rufisque, Senegal.

The resource persons, Barbara Neis from the Memorial University, St. Johns, Newfoundland, Canada, Gabriele Dietrich from the Centre for Social Analysis, Madurai, India and Brian O'Riordan from Intermediate Technology, Rugby, UK, did a marvellous job throughout the workshop. Their commitment to the subject and issues involved helped them respond directly and creatively to the participants, and arrive at a broader analysis. We acknowledge our thanks to each of them. Aleyamma Vijayan, Aminata Wade and Chantal Abord-Hugon formed the Steering Committee and ensured that the group processes at the workshop were democratic, participatory and on track.

This workshop was made possible in Senegal due to the excellent support extended by CNPS and CREDETIP. Held in the Foyer de Charite, Rufisque, right on the seashore, to the accompaniment of wonderful Senegalese music and food, these two organizations helped make the workshop worthwhile and memorable. Various organizations funded this workshop and to all them, we are extremely grateful.

Nalini Nayak
International Co-ordinator, WIF Programme of ICSF



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Background

The Women in Fisheries programme of the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF) was initiated in 1993, with the main objectives of strengthening the participation of women in fishworker organizations and in decision-making processes at various levels, and of enhancing an understanding of gender relations in fisheries. A workshop on Gender Relations in Fisheries was held in Cebu at the end of the exploratory phase of the programme. The first phase extended from July 1994 to June 1996, during which it was operational in the Philippines, Thailand, India and Senegal. The workshop on Gender Perspectives in Fisheries, held in June 1996, in Senegal, marks the 'official' end of the programme in these four countries. The programme is now being initiated in Ghana and Brazil. Through the ICSF network, the WIF programme has also maintained ongoing links with people active on gender issues in fishery sector organizations in other countries, as in France, Canada, Spain, Norway and Fiji.

Objectives

The workshop was organized with the following objectives:

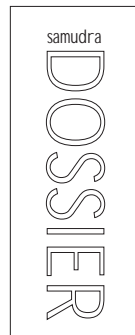
- to review the WIF programme of ICSF in Asia, Africa and Latin America;
- to consider the impact of diverse development strategies and practices on the sexual division of labour in fisheries, and on the coastal fishing communities;
- to examine how fishworkers' movements can better integrate the gender perspective into their survival struggles;
- to arrive at a global understanding of the power and trade equations in fisheries and their impact on gender relations; and
- to develop future strategies for the WIF programme.

Structure and Process

The workshop was preceded by a three-day exposure programme. Participants had the opportunity to learn about Senegal's history and to stay with families in the coastal fishing villages of Kayar, Mbour and St. Louis.

The six-day workshop was structured thus:

- reports from participants relating mainly to the present problems in fisheries in their countries and the response of fishworker organizations;
- responses from resource persons;



- globalization in the fisheries sector and its impact on gender relations;
- patriarchy and the development model;
- strategies for struggle and directions for the future; and
- focus on emerging issues.

The main languages spoken by participants included English, French, Wolof, Portuguese and Spanish. Simultaneous translations were, therefore, undertaken during the sessions. Discussions were held either in plenary sessions, or in smaller language-based groups, which then followed up by reporting to the plenary.

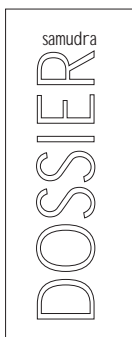
PLENARY: INTRODUCTION TO THE WORKSHOP

Chair: Aliou Sall

A warm welcome was extended to the participants by the President of the Collectif National des Pêcheurs Artisanaux du Sénégal (CNPS) and by Aliou Sall of CREDETIP.

Nalini Nayak provided a brief introduction to ICSF, its concerns and objectives, and the major landmarks in its existence as an organization. ICSF has worked towards highlighting the problems of artisanal fishworkers in different parts of the world, and has tried to defend their access to resources, to their way of life and systems of knowledge. During the Bangkok Conference in 1990, ICSF members identified the need for a sustainable fishery with a focus on conserving and nurturing nature, the need to recognize the nurturing role of women in fisheries and the need to fight against their exploitation in the fisheries sector.

The Women in Fisheries programme, initiated in 1993, is now more appropriately focused on the issue of gender in fisheries. The programme objectives are primarily to make visible the role of women in fisheries, and to work towards a sustainable fishery. Work was initiated with some of the fishworker organizations associated with the ICSF network in France, Canada, Spain, India, Thailand, Philippines and Senegal. The workshop at Cebu was followed by a workshop on Gender relations in Fisheries, during which a framework was evolved for the work under this programme. The manner in which patriarchy works in fisheries, as well as the parallel between the exploitation of women and nature were discussed. After 1994, each country was free to evolve its own programme, based on the framework evolved. The programme has 'officially' come to a close in the Philippines, India, Senegal and Thailand, and is now continuing in Brazil and Ghana.



Part I

Country Presentations

FRANCE

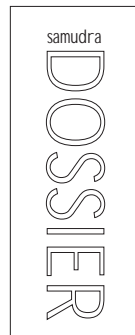
Danièle Le Sauce and Raymonde Marrc

Chair: Aminata Wade

The report on France focused on the crisis in French tuna fisheries in the 1980s, precipitated, among other things, by the impact of the weakening dollar and a mercury scare in the tuna fishery. The Plan for Fishery Renewal was adopted by the French Government to promote the rebuilding of the fishing fleet, *inter alia*, by providing subsidies through co-operative structures. As fishing in European water increased, fish stocks were rapidly depleted, facilitated by the use of 'efficient' fishing technology. The government then acted to reduce the fishing capacity of the French fishing fleet by, for example, providing subsidies to decommission older boats.

As a consequence of these developments, the level of unemployment among fishers and the number of accidents at sea have increased. The Fisheries Survival Committee (ASEPED) was formed in 1993, on the initiative of several owner-operators and their wives, to defend the interests of the fishermen in the face of this serious crisis in their fisheries, and to advise them on what to do when their businesses were under threat.

While earlier the roles played by the wives of fishermen were confined to the domestic sphere, the crisis in the fishery sector has catapulted them to the forefront, alongside their husbands, in crucial support, advocacy and protest roles. Women took part in several demonstrations, organized a free distribution of fish to raise public awareness, and established food banks to help fisher families in difficulty. Women also took on the roles of managers for their husbands' businesses, repaying their loans, managing their accounts, and so on. Despite their active involvement in the fishery, women are not recognized by professional organizations. Through ASEPED, women are demanding an official recognition of their roles. Training courses for women on the subject of fishery enterprise are being organized to help them become more professional. At the same time, to cope with a decline in the family income, women have begun to look for work outside the fishery sector. Given the prevailing high rate of unemployment, this is difficult. Women are trying to organize and participate in training programmes which will equip them to secure a second source of regular income.



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SPAIN

Ana Roman Rodriguez

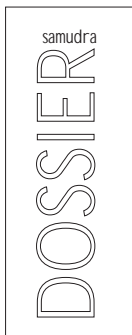
Chair. Aminata Wade

The report on Spain highlighted the crisis facing Spanish fishworkers. Since 1987, 30,000 workplaces in the fishery sector and 120,000 jobs in fishery-related employment have been lost. The crisis has been precipitated by several factors, important among which are the depletion of local fish resources, excess fishing capacity, excessive capitalization and indebtedness. The inability of small boatowners to meet strict requirements of health, product quality and work security have also forced them out of the sector.

The crisis has been exacerbated by international conflicts, such as the 'turbot war' between Spain and Canada. The opinion of Spanish fishworkers is that the latter issue was blown out of proportion by the Canadian Government in order to divert attention from the problems of mismanagement within their own fisheries.

At present, the Spanish high-seas fishing fleet depends for its survival on European Union accords with Third World countries. Under joint ventures, workers are covered only by the social security norms of the countries they are operating in. Working conditions are usually poor and social security benefits inadequate, despite the fact that boatowners receive subsidies from the European Commission. The Spanish high-seas fleet is also vulnerable in other ways. During the recent fishery agreement negotiations of the EU with Morocco, more than 700 families in Galicia alone were affected, and fishworkers were forced into temporary unemployment, with only minimal assistance from the government. Local opinion condemned the weakness of the Spanish Government to represent its interests within the EU.

Rosa dos Ventos (RdV), an association of fishermen's wives, formed in Vigo, Galicia, in 1989, plays an active role in lobbying for better working conditions for fishworkers, and in supporting their cause, as during the recent conflicts with Canada and Morocco. RdV's members comprise wives of fishworkers from the artisanal and industrial sectors, primarily from Galicia, and the association supports fishworkers belonging to all sectors. While RdV does not have the right to directly negotiate with the government, it is respected by the authorities and by trade unions of workers on industrial fleets. The latter take into account the views of RdV in negotiations with the government. RdV holds meetings and demonstrations to lobby for the rights of fishworkers. It is in favour of joint ventures, if working conditions aboard distant-water fishing vessels are good for all workers, and opposes them only if they are accompanied by a deterioration in working conditions.



RdV also promotes co-ordination with wives of fishermen's associations in other neighbouring European countries, such as France and Portugal.

GHANA

David Eli and Esther Yeyo

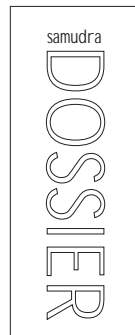
Chair: Aleyamma Vijayan

The presentation on Ghana provided information about the country's coastal areas and resources. One-sixth of Ghana's population of 18 million is directly or indirectly involved in inland and maritime fisheries. However, Ghana's fishery resources have been depleted in recent years, primarily due to the use of modern fishing technology, such as trawling. Industrial fishing vessels either belong to other countries fishing in Ghanaian waters under bilateral agreements (such as Korean vessels), or to influential and rich officials of the government. Trawlers have also been responsible for the destruction of fragile marine habitats, especially since Ghana's continental shelf is not rocky and it is easier for trawlers to 'sweep' the seabed.

Of Ghana's total fish catch, 60 per cent comes from the artisanal sector. However, due to the depletion of fish resources and the rising cost of inputs like fishing gear, nets and boats, the artisanal sector is currently under threat. A large number of small fishers are forced to migrate in search of richer fishing grounds. The only large fishworker organization in Ghana is controlled by the government. Its activities relate mainly to providing fishing gear to fishers at subsidized rates. However, most such benefits are cornered by fisherfolk aligned with political parties.

Artisanal fishing communities in Ghana are, therefore, among the most marginalized. Living and working conditions are poor, and communities usually do not have access to health and sanitation facilities, education and adequate housing. Few alternative employment opportunities are possible.

The impact of these trends has been negative on women in the fisheries sector. Women have traditionally played an important role, especially in post-harvest work, and in marketing and processing fish. The lack of adequate storage facilities for processed fish and a scarcity of fuelwood are serious problems facing women processors. In addition, the decline in fish catches, along with the fact that fish catch is being increasingly processed outside the country by multinational corporations, have affected women's livelihood and income. Women also play an important role in providing finance for fishing expeditions — an area considered to be a woman's domain.



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Even here, local women have to compete with wealthy middlewomen from outside the region.

TESCOD, a local NGO, started a process of dialogue with the women of several fishing communities in 1994. Along with the documentation of women's roles in fisheries, local discussion groups were initiated. Issues identified for attention included the need for rehabilitating fish stocks, improving the design of stoves for smoking fish, provision of education, housing, health and sanitation facilities, as well as alternative employment opportunities for fishing communities.

NORWAY

Mariette Korsrud

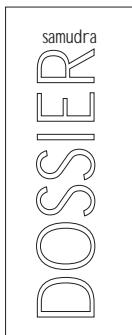
Chair: Aleyamma Vijayan

The report on Norway focused on how fisheries in Norway underwent a crisis with the collapse of the cod stocks in the late 1980s. The sector, especially the small-scale sector, is still trying to cope with the problems which arose from this crisis. Fisherfolk continue to be indebted to banks for loans for boats and houses. Due to the introduction of cod quotas, the number of crew members on board fishing vessels was reduced, leading to unemployment. Women working in the sector were squeezed out and had to look for other employment opportunities. For instance, in the village to which Mariette Korsrud belongs, most of the women are at present working outside the family and the fisheries, while, in 1980, only one woman was employed outside.

The State provided some support to the fisherpeople during the crisis. It paid the interest on the loans taken by the fishers for two years, but only for houses financed by the State bank. An unemployment allowance for fishermen was also provided for the first time.

The State supports the fishery sector in other ways. Fishermen have access to a guaranteed income. If a fisher does not make enough income during the fishing season, a supplement can be obtained from the State. However, social security benefits for fishers are minimum. Even these were reduced last year. To obtain social security benefits, fishers have to pay tax on the sale of fish, equivalent to 3.5 per cent of the value of fish sold.

Despite these measures, the fishery sector continues to face several problems. Buyers are often unwilling to pay a reasonable price for fish. In Norway, the Raw Fish Law stipulates that fisherpeople have the right to sell fish firsthand to buyers. However, if buyers do not agree to the price quoted, the fishermen's sales organization sets the price.



The coastal fleet is also under pressure from the high-seas fishery fleet, which wants to corner most of the quotas. A discernible change can be observed in State fishery policies, with the State openly supporting and funding the biggest players in the industry.

Fishermen's wives' associations have been campaigning against these policies. They demand giving back to coastal people their right to fish freely in coastal waters, and State recognition of the value of small societies and of small fisheries. They are working for the social and economic rights of fisher families and fishermen's wives, as well as to preserve coastal culture and traditions.

The fishermen's wives' association was initiated by a member of the fishermen's organization about 50 years ago. These organizations are closely connected. Women participate in discussions at board meetings of the fishermen's union, but do not have the right to vote. The wives' association also does not have the right to participate in negotiations with the government, even though it is recognized by it.

The fishermen's wives association of Nordland County also liaises with some environmental groups. It, however, does not agree with radical environmental groups which condemn whaling. The wives' association supports whaling on the grounds that people have a right to harvest from the sea in a sustainable manner. Also, the coastal fleet, where the size of boats varies from 45 feet to 80 feet, harvests only the mink whale, a species not regarded as endangered.

FIJI

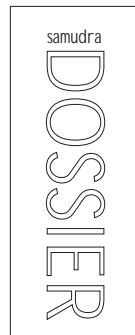
Aliti Vunisea

Chair: Aleyamma Vijayan

The presentation on Fiji pointed out that the Pacific has three main regions—Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia. After the declaration of the EEZ, the Pacific group of countries have come to control one of the largest fishing areas in the world. The Fiji group includes about 300 islands and an EEZ area of 1,293,100 sq km. Most countries in this region lack the technology for exploiting fish resources. Waters in their seas are fished by France, Taiwan, US and Korea, under bilateral agreements.

Traditional systems of management of fish resources continue to survive in Fiji. A traditional system, *qoli qoli*, has been legally adopted and is presently operational. This system fixes boundaries within which fisher people from a particular region can fish. Fishing outside these boundaries requires special permission.

The organization of Fiji society also facilitates conservation of marine resources. Fiji society is organized as follows. A chief presides over



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a *vanua*, a collective organization including several villages. Each village is further divided into several clans and each clan includes several households. This organization of society facilitates resource management in several ways. Several customs and traditions help in restrained exploitation of fish. These include:

Seasonal closures/area closures

There are often bans on fishing outside a particular region or in particular regions. Some fish species can only be fished during a particular season. Similarly, if a chief dies, there can be a ban on fishing for a period ranging from three months to three years. However, only the area of the clan to which the chief belongs is closed. Members of the clan can fish in the other areas belonging to the village and *vanua*. In special cases, they may be given permission to fish outside the area assigned for them.

Restrictions on gear

Some chiefs, on the basis of advice from the fishery department and with community consensus, have banned drift-net fishing in their areas.

Protected species

Each clan has a totem species, adopted as an emblem of the clan, which will not be consumed by members of that clan.

Reserved zones

Women have an area reserved for them, where they can only fish for subsistence or direct exchange, not for sale.

Some of these norms persist and are adhered to because of the strong belief in the supernatural in traditional Fiji society. There is a fear that violation of norms or breaking of bans will invite punishment.

However, with changes in the traditional structure of society, some of these systems are under stress. In cases where the chief moves out of the village, for instance, and leaves behind a representative, the authority of the latter is often challenged. Poaching and violation of norms is more common.

Women play an important role in fisheries. The industrial processing sector employs primarily women. In the artisanal sector, women are involved in the harvesting and marketing of commercial non-fin fish species such as shellfish, mussels and octopus. Freshwater mussels, comprising 48 per cent of the total volume of non-fin fish sales, are exclusively harvested and marketed by women. However, since most women fish without licences, they are largely categorized into the subsistence sector. Women are also involved in preservation, processing and marketing of fish species caught by men in the artisanal sector. Women use traditional preserving and processing methods, such as smoking, drying and salting. Subsistence fishing,

vital for meeting the nutritional needs of the substantial rural coastal population and for communities situated along inland waters, is dominated by women. Simple, traditional fishing methods and technologies such as traps, nets and hand-lines are used.

A Women and Fisheries Network was established in Fiji in 1992. The network has concentrated primarily on researching the role of women in the fishery sector of Fiji and in creating greater awareness about it. It has organized several workshops on the subject, to which representatives from traditional women's organizations have also been invited.

BRAZIL

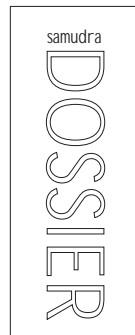
Cristina Manesch, Aladim Gomes and Sônia Pereira

Chair: Nenita Cura

The general overview of the presentation on Brazil talked about broad characteristics of Brazilian fisheries. The artisanal fisheries cater primarily to the domestic market, while the industrial fisheries are geared towards exports. There is no fisheries policy, nor is there a fisheries ministry. Fisheries was earlier under the Ministry of Agriculture and is now under the Ministry of Environment. Modernization is mainly confined to the industrial fisheries. Trawlers are allowed to operate only beyond the 10-mile limit. Enforcement of this legislation is, however, poor.

Focusing on Pará State in the north of Brazil, which has a population of 200,000 fishers, and where riverine, lacustrine and estuarine fishing are practised, the presentation highlighted the main developments since the 1960s that led to an increase in fishing activities. There were improvements in infrastructure that facilitated growth in fish trade. In response to this, from the 1960s to the 1990s, there was expansion in fishing activities. Simultaneously, there was a decline in farming operations. Many people who were dependent on farming shifted to fishing for their livelihood and often migrated with their families to towns where there were better opportunities to market their fish. Women migrants were deprived of income from farming and fishing, and were forced to turn to low-paid work as domestic help or in processing plants.

In response to greater demand, there has been an intensification of fishing effort in the industrial and artisanal sectors, both in the Amazon river and in the littoral waters. There is greater use of larger units of fishing nets. There is also an increase in motorization. The coexistence of artisanal and industrial fisheries in the same fishing grounds is to the disadvantage of the artisanal sector, which already suffers from poor access to credit and lack of storage and landing facilities. Although there is a fund set up by the national bank to provide credit to remote rural areas, fishers have difficulty in



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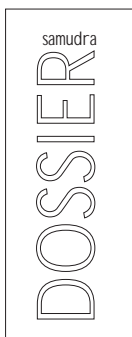
accessing it. They are also exploited by middlemen who are the main source of credit.

The role of women in fisheries is largely invisible in Pará, since they do not participate in production. Their main participation is in net making and fish processing. Traditionally, nets were made for family fishing operations, but now nets are also made for the small-scale and industrial sectors. Net making is home-based work remunerated on a piece-rate basis by subcontractors. The net-making activity for the industrial sector is being threatened by increasing dependence on imported Japanese nets of greater efficiency. Women also participate in the fish processing sector. Payment is often on a piece-rate basis through middlemen. Women workers in fish processing plants rarely get access to employment conditions and benefits stipulated by law, except in the larger towns.

Although fishworkers, the women in net making and fish processing are not made members of Colonias, organizations set up in fishing villages by the government in the early 20th Century. Net making is not recognized as a profession by the Colonias, nor do Colonias discuss the issue of displacement of women's labour by imported units of nets.

Serious attempts at organizing fishers autonomously at the national level were first made by the Catholic church in 1977. A national fishworkers' organization called MONAPE was founded in 1988. In 1993, MONAPE conducted a survey on the role of women in fisheries. After attending the Cebu Conference of ICSF, MONAPE decided to involve women in their organization as members. MONAPE now has common projects in which both men and women participate.

While MONAPE works at the national level, it has its regional components in different States. MOPEPA works at the State level in Pará. It has organized several discussions on the situation of women in fisheries at the level of the Colonias. In the Amazon region, one of the main concerns of women is environmental degradation and fisheries management. They are also for a stronger fishworkers' organization. The women in fishing communities in Para are also involved in fighting to preserve riverine ecosystems. In the realms of Santarém municipality, the fishing councils discuss the management of lake resources with the participation of women. Women constitute 20 per cent of the membership of these fishing councils.



CANADA

Barbara Neis, Chantal Abord-Hugon and Maureen Larkin

Chair: Aminata Wade

The report on Canada focused on the fisheries in Atlantic Canada. Fisheries, comprising the inshore, midshore and the offshore sectors, contribute significantly to the economy of this region. In 1992, the total landed value of the Atlantic fishery was \$1 billion and there were 58,900 officially registered fishers.

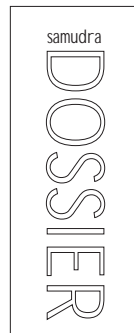
Some of the fisheries in Atlantic Canada are now facing severe resource depletion due to overfishing, overcapacity of harvesting and processing technology and the use of destructive technology. The collapse of the groundfish stocks off the East Coast of Canada, particularly off Newfoundland and parts of Nova Scotia, is a recent example of resource depletion.

The collapse and closure of the cod fishery has affected thousands of fishworkers and coastal communities. The government implemented adjustment and compensation programmes. However, women fishers and fishplant workers could often not meet the criteria for these programmes and, therefore, were able to derive fewer benefits in comparison with their male colleagues.

There has been a change in government policy in recent years, based on the ideological context of privatization and a reduction in the role of the State. As part of this, new management systems based on private property regimes, new licensing policies, increased user fees and cuts in unemployment insurance have been introduced. Fishworkers, including a significant number of women fishworkers and wives of fishermen, have organized to protest these changes.

Women are involved in fish harvesting to some extent. They also play an important role in inshore family enterprises, maintaining accounts and, in some cases, subsidizing fishing activities through their earnings on land. Family enterprises refer to fisher families fishing in inshore waters with boats less than 45 feet in length. Women are also significantly represented in the fish processing sector, forming 60 per cent of the workforce. They are not all unionized and continue to provide low-cost labour and to be exposed to significant occupational health risks.

However, women are practically invisible in mainstream fishers' organizations, since most of these require that, to be a member, a person must be a boatowner and a bona fide licence holder. Since most women are classified as crew members, they are not considered eligible for membership. There is also some resistance in fishers' organizations to the issue of women's membership and their participation in union activities. In these organizations, there is more openness on women's issues at the personal level. However, this is not reflected in organizational structures.



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A few organizations of women fishworkers and women from fishing households or communities have emerged over the last decade. Most of these operate at the local level, and lack a defined structure. These have been very active in fighting changes in government policy, and in articulating concerns about the sustainability of coastal fisheries and the survival of coastal communities. Several organizations supporting women in the fisheries sector, such as Fishnet, have also emerged in recent years. Women from fishing households have been periodically organizing workshops to share experiences and take action on specific issues. A regional conference of women in the fishery has also been organized.

Being informal, most women's organizations are, however, often vulnerable to co-option. There is a need to strengthen these women's groups. Several strands are visible. Wives of fishermen are organizing as autonomous groups, joining with fishermen's unions, and organizing at the community level to protect the interests of coastal communities. A process of reflection and debate to decide on the most appropriate strategy is required, as is the need for building alliances with other groups, such as those within the women's movement.

THAILAND

Jawanit Kittitornkool

Chair: Nenita Cura

The presentation on Thailand focused on developments in fisheries in southern Thailand. Fisheries in Thailand underwent a dramatic change in the 1960s, due to the import of trawling technology from Germany. Thai fishery production has since rapidly expanded, as a result of the aggressive exploitation of fish stocks in national and international waters. Today, fisheries in Thailand are in crisis due to the near depletion of local fish stocks. The declaration of the EEZs has also denied the Thai fishing fleet free access to fishing grounds of other States. The scarcity of resources has fuelled frequent conflicts between small-scale fishers and industrial fishing vessels, which illegally invade the 3-km inshore area reserved for the artisanal sector.

The fishery crisis has had a significant impact on the fisheries sector, especially on the thousands of small-scale fisher families dependent on inshore fisheries. As the market economy is promoted and resources become scarce, fishers have had to take loans to invest in fishing boats and technology to boost production. Indebtedness is, consequently, common, as is the compulsion to overfish to cover costs and repay loans. This has resulted in a further depletion of coastal resources. Some artisanal fishworkers have few options besides migrating to work as labourers. The destruction of mangrove tracts for the expansion of aquaculture has also destroyed valuable breeding grounds for several fish species.

As fish stocks have declined, women's participation in fish harvesting has increased to maintain production and family income and to cover costs. Women also play important roles in the pre-harvesting and post-harvesting of fish, in addition to their domestic responsibilities. Young women in some fishing villages work as wage earners in canneries or cold storage factories.

Community organizations of both men and women in southern Thailand have been fighting to maintain their rights of access to coastal fishery resources. They are also involved with the rehabilitation and conservation of degraded coastal resources, and in improving the quality of life within the community. These community organizations are now connected into networks of small-scale fishing organizations at district and provincial levels. A Federation of Southern Small-scale Fisherfolk was formed in 1994, with members from ten provinces. Only two of the 30 members in the executive committee of this federation are women, even though women played crucial roles during the process of consolidating these organizations. Efforts to study women's roles in fishing communities and to strengthen women's groups were made by the Support Network for Women in Fisheries (SNWIF), in collaboration with local NGOs, over the last couple of years.

While women's issues have become more prominent in Thailand in the last decade, the focus is primarily on urban areas. The women's movement has, of late, established some contact with women in fisheries even in non-urban areas.

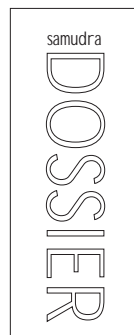
PHILIPPINES

Nilo Brucal, Nenita Cura, Betty Soleza and Winifreda Noscol

Chair: Mariette Korsrud

According to the presentation on the Philippines, the country is in the process of globalizing its economy and is undertaking structural adjustment programmes for this purpose. There is a thrust on industrialization, development of international ports, development of tourism as well as on the development of export-oriented aquaculture. As a direct consequence of these 'development' policies, thousands of people are being displaced and evicted, prime agricultural lands are being converted for industrial, residential and other usage, mangrove tracts are being destroyed for aquacultural expansion, and pollution on land and sea is increasing.

All these changes have had a very negative impact on the livelihood of fisher families and have led to a further depletion and degradation of marine resources. Women from fisher families have been forced to seek employment locally and abroad, as migrant workers, or engage in income-generating activities. In response to the fisheries crisis, the government launched the fishery sector programme in 1990, with coastal resource management as its centrepiece. The programme, however, has been perceived as unresponsive,



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primarily because fishermen's involvement was limited to mere participation in the implementation process. In addition, there was a complete lack of co-ordination between the government agencies who were part of the process.

The Women in Fisheries programme of the Family Centre, Asian Social Institute, has been focusing on issues related to coastal resource management (CRM) in several areas of the Philippines. After an assessment of resources, a strategy for resource and habitat rehabilitation was finalized. Strategies include an emphasis on the formation of leaders, advocacy and lobbying for CRM issues, and mass action and mobilization. A law enforcement component, as well as a component on alternative income-generating projects with the co-operation of fisher people, have been developed.

Fisherpeople's organizations have made efforts to check illegal fishing and poaching activities in municipal waters, to regulate fishing activities and gear used, to conserve and rehabilitate coastal resources, and to lobby for the designation of certain fragile areas as marine reserves.

Women have also organized to protect their fisheries and their source of livelihood. The participation of women in traditionally male-dominated fishworker organizations has been increasing, and a relationship of partnership is evolving. However, women are acceptable within fishworkers' movements only to the extent that they raise issues related to fisheries. Other women's issues are not raised or addressed in mainstream fishworker organizations.

Several demands have been made by fishworker organizations. Demands made at the local level include the strict implementation of municipal fishery laws and the total banning of commercial fishing. Demands at the national level include the abolition of certain national fisheries laws (as distinct from municipal laws, enforceable only at the municipal level), the abolition of fishery agreements with Japan and Taiwan, and the passing of the Fishery Code. The Code has been prepared by fishworkers' organizations and contains demands such as (a) a recognition of fishworkers as a legitimate section; (b) a recognition of the role of women in fisheries; (c) a preferential treatment to Filipino subsistence fishers in the usage of fishery resources; (d) access to storage facilities; (e) construction of smaller ports; and, (f) involvement of fishworkers at all stages of decision making.

Fisherpeople and their organizations have been lobbying for the legislation, at the national level, of the Fisheries Code. Fisherfolk have initiated and/or formed alliances at the provincial and regional levels for the purpose. The Code is now a priority bill for the Ramos administration. The lobbying efforts have been influential, as evident from a recent Executive Order (EO) passed by the government

establishing Fisheries and Aquatic Resource Management Councils (FARMC) in coastal areas. The EO recognizes the participation of fishworkers in decision making pertaining to coastal management at the local level.

INDIA

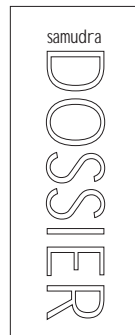
Nalini Nayak and Aleyamma Vijayan

Chair: Nenita Cura

Over the last decade, depletion of fish resources in Indian waters as well as the marginalization of coastal communities, has been on the increase, largely as a consequence of national economic policies. Licences for joint ventures with companies in Canada, Taiwan, Korea, Japan and Denmark have been issued. A greater volume and variety of fish species are being exported, primarily to Japan, the US, Europe, Hong Kong and Singapore. Aquaculture, more specifically export-oriented shrimp monoculture, financed by large corporate houses, has been on the rise. These, and several other developments, have led to the overexploitation of coastal waters and the displacement of coastal and fisher communities. Small-scale and artisanal fisher people have been the worst hit. Their struggles over the last few years, under the auspices of the National Fishworkers' Forum (NFF), have been successful in putting a check on expansion of joint venture agreements and on aquacultural development.

The struggle against joint ventures was sustained over a period of three years. As a first step, a massive one-day strike at the national level was undertaken, which completely paralysed the fishing industry in the country. There was no sale, purchase or consumption of fish. This was accompanied by a series of local actions all along the coast, all on the same day. The strike received media coverage and was instrumental in raising public awareness. At another level, parliamentarians were lobbied to garner support against joint ventures. The government has been forced to freeze the issuing of new licences. The cancellation of all licences issued, as recommended by the committee appointed by the government to look into the matter, is under consideration.

Women fishworkers have been at the forefront of all these struggles. However, even though women play a vital role in pre-harvesting and post-harvesting operations, they are not given due recognition and importance in fishworker organizations, such as the NFF, except in a few States. Few are presently at decision-making levels within the NFF, at the national or State level. This is primarily because women do not usually participate in fish harvesting and are, therefore, not considered workers in their own right. At the same time, women are overburdened with housework and child care, and their mobility is



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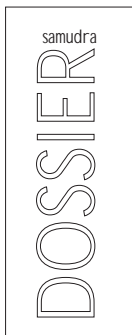
restricted by cultural and safety factors. The opportunities and spaces available to them to participate in fishworker organizations are, therefore, limited. Government statistics also do not throw light on women's roles in fisheries.

The Women in Fisheries (WIF) programme, initiated in 1993, aimed at making visible women's roles in fisheries, creating gender awareness within the NFF, developing a 'core group' of women, and through local experimentation, helping safeguard women's spaces in the fishery. Several initiatives have been undertaken in pursuit of these objectives. These include: facilitating a public hearing on women's struggles in fisheries and on the condition of women migrant workers in fish processing plants; organizing training sessions to create gender awareness; creating groups of trained women at different levels within NFF; organizing women's groups at the local level and helping them deal with their problems as fishworkers, as women and as members of communities. There has been a greater discussion on gender issues within NFF. However, the struggle continues.

In order to make women's roles in fisheries visible, a year-long survey on the subject was undertaken and is to be published as a SAMUDRA Dossier. Information was collected through discussions with women involved in the fishery sector from different States, as well as through surveys conducted at the village level with the help of NFF State units. In areas or States where NFF has a limited presence, information was collected personally by the coordinators of the WIF programmes.

Efforts to strengthen the gender focus within NFF will continue despite the official termination of the WIF programme in India. There are plans to take up the issue of women fish vendors and women migrant workers at the national level.

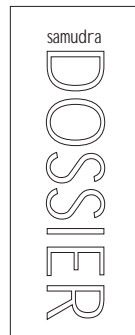
In Kerala State, sustained efforts towards organizing women fishworkers have met with some success. Women's participation in the fishworkers' movement has been quite significant. The first efforts towards organizing women at the community level were made by NGOs. These women later came together as a district-level organization to demand for transport facilities from the State to carry fish to the fish markets. They were successful after a three-year struggle. Women were also instrumental in initiating the struggle against overfishing by trawlers. Abundant supply of fish by trawlers depressed prices of fish in the market, as a consequence of which women fish vendors were able to make little profit. This issue was raised by the women and later taken up by the fishermen's movement. A trade union of fishworkers, independent of any political party, was formed. The union also addressed the issue of the invasion of trawlers into inshore waters traditionally fished by the artisanal sector. Women decided to join this organization. However,



demands that were specific to women, such as their demand for better market facilities, were relegated to the background.

In the initial years, issues raised by women related to women as workers. The issue of women's membership was discussed in union meetings. It was emphasized that even if women were not directly involved in fish-related activities, they should be eligible for membership to the union by virtue of the fact that they were married to fishermen and that it was their labour within the household that was responsible for reproducing and sustaining the household. The idea was not well accepted in some areas. Though women have been participating actively in struggles, few have reached leadership levels. Women also face many problems in participating in union activities. Their heavy workload, problems of mobility, and lack of self-confidence have made it more difficult for them to press for their demands.

Even though women have been raising issues specific to them, such as violence and rape, the union has often avoided or ignored these issues. Women have had to form their own organization to address such issues. For the men, this has often been threatening, especially as women have evolved as leaders. Problems have surfaced within families due to this, and women members and leaders have often been accused of neglecting their families, children, etc. There have, however, been men who have supported and encouraged the women. There have also been strong women leaders who have borne the brunt of this animosity and have continued to carry on.



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SENEGAL

Aminata Wade and Aissotou Faye

Chair: Mariette Korsrud

From the presentation on Senegal, it became clear that the artisanal fishery sector plays a crucial role in Senegal, contributing more than 75 per cent of total fish catch and providing almost all the locally consumed fish. An estimated 240,000 people are employed, directly and indirectly, by this sector. However, the artisanal sector is being threatened by various developments. Senegalese fish stocks are being fast depleted by European fleets operating under fisheries agreements. These fleets are also often responsible for the destruction of gear, craft and even the lives of artisanal fishers.

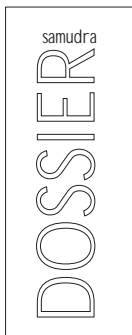
At the same time, the devaluation of the CFA franc has hiked up the price of inputs. The depletion of fish stocks and the rising cost of inputs has corroded the profits of artisanal fishers. Women involved in the marketing and processing of fish have also been affected by the decline in fish catches.

CNPS, the first independent and autonomous organization of fishworkers, was established in 1987 to protect the interests of the artisanal sector. Women fishworkers joined this organization in 1991. At present, there is a separate women's wing within CNPS. Its total women's membership of 1,500 comprises members from 14 women's committees, formed in different landing centre across coastal Senegal. The first few committees were set up in St. Louis, Dakar and Kayar.

Membership in CNPS has helped women address some of the problems they face in their post-harvesting work. Problems faced include a lack of access to institutional credit, lack of infrastructure for preservation, storage and transfer of produce, the obligation to pay various taxes and the administrative difficulties in obtaining licences to trade.

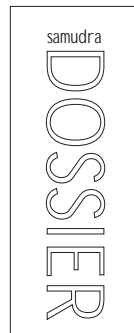
Women fish vendors in Senegal are required to obtain a licence from the Ministry of Fisheries. Without a licence, they are unable to go to another village to purchase and trade in fish. Even within their own village, they can purchase only a small amount. Given the wide fluctuation in fish landings, women vendors are often forced to go to other villages and landing centres to purchase and trade. A licence is, therefore, essential.

CNPS has set up some special programmes for women, such as the savings and credit programme initiated two years ago. Credit has been provided to more than 700 women fish vendors and processors. Only regular members of the committee have access to credit. The credit is used as a revolving fund by the women. Money is handled



by a treasurer appointed in each group. As a consequence of the credit programme, incomes as well as savings of women have increased. Efforts to develop a local and regional market for marketing fresh and processed products is also under way.

Both male and female members of CNPS have been involved with lobbying efforts to draw attention to inequitable fishery agreements between the EU and Senegal. Men also extend support to women in some other matters. In Mbour, for instance, when women were displaced from the processing area, the men lobbied on their behalf, so that women were able to retain their space. However, it appears that men support women's activities to the extent their own situation or personal interests are not threatened. Women also continue to be peripheral at decision-making levels within CNPS. A long-standing demand of the women has been to be represented in the executive committee of CNPS.



Part II

Interactions with Resource Persons

GLOBAL FISHERIES DEVELOPMENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE TO COASTAL FISHING COMMUNITIES

Brian O’Riordan

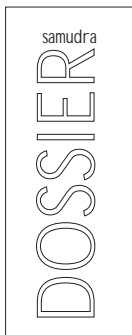
Chair: Jawanit Kittitornkool

This presentation focused on the interlinkages between international and global developments in fisheries, and local developments and changes within coastal fishing communities. Global developments in relation to industrialization, commercialization, appropriation and liberalization have contributed to the overexploitation of fish resources, as increasingly efficient and aggressive technology is employed to cater to market-and demand-led forces of commercialization.

In the first part of this session, the participants broke up into small groups to reflect on what globalization meant in their individual contexts. The main themes that emerged included:

- modernization associated with the use of overefficient fishing technology and modern science;
- market pressures arising from the export market driving the economy, while simultaneously threatening local food security;
- environmental consequences—loss of biodiversity in the environment, but also a greater awareness on environmental issues;
- inherent contradictions between global markets and the interests of the local population;
- new dynamics of centralization at one level and de-centralization at other levels.

Group discussions reflected on the term globalization and some of the developments associated with globalization in the context of coastal fishing communities. There was a broad consensus that globalization and related processes have been associated with the increase in overefficient fishing technology; the privatization of fish resources and concentration of ownership in the hands of a few; loss of local food security, as production is increasingly geared towards export, the appropriation of fish resources, especially of the South, under the guise of fishery agreements; loss of biodiversity due to



overfishing and the practice of single species, intensive aquaculture, and the marginalization of large groups of poor and women.

Resources have become scarce due to overfishing, and income from fishing has declined. The struggle to maintain the family is increasingly falling on women in fishing communities. At the same time, however, the role of women in processing and marketing is declining with the entry of large commercial interests and industrial houses. Women are employed, instead, as low-paid wage labour in processing plants and factories. There is little security of employment and conditions of work leave much to be desired. As businesses strive to become more competitive and to cut costs, women workers are often made redundant. For women and their families, this, in addition to the fact that governments are withdrawing from social sectors under structural adjustment programmes, has considerably increased the struggle for survival. Coastal fishing communities are also being marginalized as competition over scarce resources increases, as resources are privatized, and as they lose control over the very basis of their livelihood.

In the second part of the session, global developments were addressed under six main headings: industrialization, commercialization, appropriation, liberalization, marginalization and environmentalism (see Appendix).

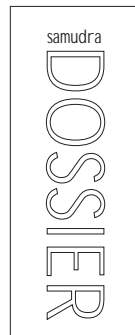
GLOBALIZATION AND GENDER RELATIONS

Barbara Neis

Chair: Nalini Nayak

In her presentation, Barbara Neis emphasized the need to analyze the manner in which globalization affects the consumption and distribution of fish. There is an apparent shortage of fish at the global level, a crisis which is also a consequence of the conversion of a significant proportion of the fish caught into pet food and fishmeal. Current trends indicate an impending 'ecological revolution' at the global level and a shift from wild fishery to aquaculture. There is a 'corporate space' for the development of aquaculture. There is uncertainty over the future of fisheries.

The processes of globalization and industrialization have exacerbated the degradation of fishery resources. This, however, does not mean that we should, in any way, romanticize the past. Resource degradation has its roots in the past. For instance, there is evidence of overfishing in Newfoundland, Canada, even in the 19th century. Also, in the past, women did not have the opportunity to creatively transform fish into a variety of products. At the same time, even though trade existed, markets were limited. The only option left to create more wealth was to fish more, and fish farther out.



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Women fishworkers have been affected by resource degradation and the processes of globalization, liberalization and commercialization. The cost of inputs, and, consequently, of fishing activities and operations has increased. There is a greater flow of wealth from land to sea to support fishing operations. Various mechanisms have been adopted to cope with the situation. Women have often stepped in to prop up household incomes. In Senegal, for instance, women of fishing households have had to extend their working day and intensify their activities. In countries such as Norway and Canada, women often join their husbands on the boats, displacing other male crew members in the process, in order to retain the income from fishing within the family. This has increased the financial dependence of women on their husbands, and, in some cases, increased their vulnerability, as they have lost access to their own source of income.

In other Northern countries, such as Spain, women from fishing communities have to cope with longer absences of their men at sea aboard distant-water fishing vessels. In the Philippines, the export-oriented policies pursued by the government have facilitated the growth of aquaculture. Women crab collectors have been displaced as a result. Displacement of women fishworkers has also been a result of changes in property relations and a shift from common ownership of resources to private control and ownership.

Women fishworkers of the North and South have, in a sense, been pitted against each other. In the South, women are concerned about whether they will be able to get access to fish to process and sell, given a scenario where a significant proportion of fish caught is cornered and exported by big industry. In the North, women workers in processing plants fear the influx of cheaper products from the South and an erosion of their incomes as a result of efforts towards cost reduction.

The impact of globalization processes on women fishworkers has largely been negative. While some women may be benefitting, for instance, as larger markets are opened up for their fish products, at the global level, more women are losing their right to fish and access to resources. Though it has been argued that advancements in technology have made it easier for women to go fishing, it was never really a lack of physical strength alone that prevented women from engaging in fish harvesting in the first place. A combination of factors, including household and childcare responsibilities, as well as social factors, played a role in keeping women away from fishing.

In order to analyze the gender impact of globalization, it is important to analyze the ways in which globalization is interacting with other processes to affect the sources of fisheries wealth in a particular region and access to that wealth. We need to understand how globalization is linked to resource abundance, ecosystem change,

rights of access, technology and markets. In the case of Atlantic Canada, for example, access to cod fisheries was relatively open in the past in most regions. Men and women gained access to this wealth in their role as fishers, fish processors and members of fishery communities engaged as childcare workers, retail workers, etc. Significant class, gender and regional differences existed, but these are changing in the context of the current crisis.

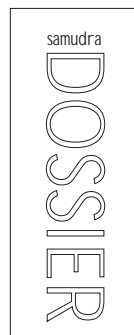
Overfishing of the cod and other groundfish species (linked to stock assessment techniques and management initiatives that are globally linked and spreading to new parts of the world) appears to have produced an increase in the abundance of such invertebrates as snow crab and shrimp (an ecosystem change). These species are not widely consumed locally, so this ecosystem change has implications for food self-sufficiency.

In addition, access to the right to fish and process these species is much more tightly controlled than was the case with cod. Relatively few men and far fewer women have the right to fish and sell these relatively high-value species. Corporate control is much higher in this fishery than it was in the cod fishery, and processing is concentrated in far fewer communities, resulting in increasing class and regional polarization. In the crab and shrimp industries, women's jobs are concentrated in the processing sector, where, due to changes in international markets and technology transfer, employment has been static or declining, despite increased landings and increased landed value for crab and shrimp. Unemployment, associated with the closure of the groundfish fisheries, has increased the competition for crab and shrimp processing jobs, making it difficult for employed workers to defend wages and working conditions. With fishing and processing concentrated in far fewer hands and far fewer communities, less employment will be generated for women and men in the service sector and the future of entire communities is in jeopardy.

It was pointed out that in some areas, as in Spain, the global fisheries crisis has also had a positive impact, in that women are now being pressured to play a more active part in fisheries issues. However, an inappropriate definition of the problem as concerned with fishermen, and not with fisheries, technology and food security, has kept women out of most discussions.

Group Discussion

The impact of processes of globalization, liberalization and industrialization on women fishworkers from the countries present was discussed in small groups. Groups focused on the following specific issues: How are processes of globalization affecting women in fisheries within their countries? Are the effects positive or negative? Are there women within the community who fish? How have they been affected? How have these changes affected gender



relations within the fishing community? How have women vendors and processors been affected? How have women consumers been affected? What is affecting the availability of the kind of fish they want? Are domestic consumers refusing to consume domestically caught and processed fish in favour of imported fish? Is fisheries management increasingly controlled by experts? Are there any women who are experts and, if so, are they from fishing communities? Are women losing access to markets because of new sanitation standards?

Discussions revealed that, in different countries, women from fishing communities have been involved in fishing operations, in the pre-harvesting, harvesting or post-harvesting stages. However, their spaces within fishing are either changing or being lost, due to larger processes of globalization.

Women in the processing sector, as in Fiji, Philippines, Senegal, Brazil and India, are increasingly being absorbed as casual labour in processing plants owned by big industry, with little or no access to social security benefits. At the same time, the introduction of ice and sophisticated storage technology has had an impact on traditional processing technology. In Ghana, for instance, fish was preserved and processed locally in a variety of ways by women. A smaller variety of processed fish is now available for the local market.

In Brazil, women work in processing plants supplied by trawlers and industrial vessels and owned by big industrial houses. In some ways, the interests of women processing plant workers run counter to the interests of their male fisherfolk belonging to the artisanal sector. Women workers are difficult to mobilize on issues of relevance to the artisanal sector, because they fear that they might lose their jobs if they participate in meetings and demonstrations.

Women involved in marketing and trading of fish have also been affected. With the building of harbours, centralized fish landing centres are becoming the norm. Local women are often disadvantaged due to this, since they have to travel farther to purchase fish. Women traders are also being marginalized, as in Senegal, India and France, since better quality fish suitable for export is often cornered by large traders with access to capital and technology. In Senegal, women also find it difficult to engage in export trade because of government restrictions, an inadequate public transport system, and harassment by police and customs officials. Similarly, women exporters in France, with limited access to technology and capital, are facing difficulties due to the introduction of stringent quality control measures for export.

The privatization of resources, access to which was earlier open to all, has also affected women fishers. Many women shell fishers in Spain, for instance, have been displaced after the introduction of the

licensing system. in Kerala, India, women in inland fishing have been denied access to inland water bodies with the introduction of the Inland Fisheries Act of Kerala.

In countries of the North, like Canada, Spain, France and Norway, where fisherpeople have had access to social security benefits from the State, recent shifts in economic thinking to control government expenditure have had a negative impact on men, women and children of artisanal fishing communities.

STRATEGIES FOR STRUGGLE

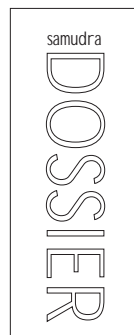
Gabriele Dietrich

Chair: Nalini Nayak

Gabriele Dietrich focused on strategies for struggle for people's movements and the need for forming alliances. The building of alliances is facilitated by an analysis of the structural similarities among different situations. For example, the struggle against joint ventures for deep-sea fishing in India, spearheaded by the National Fishworkers' Forum (NFF), was supported by organizations and groups outside the fishery sector. In Madurai, the strike was supported by women slum dwellers working in the informal sector, because it is not only the employment of women in the fishery sector which is threatened by larger processes of liberalization, but also the employment of women in the informal sector. The Coastal March undertaken by the NFF and its supporters in 1989 with the theme 'Protect Waters, Protect Life' highlighted the strong interconnections between environmental issues and problems in the fishery sector and other sectors, as well as the need to question and take a common stand on the model of development being pursued.

Similarly, the National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM), an alliance of people's movements that has been forged at the national level in India, has members from different sectors. The NAPM has a 10-point programme against the current paradigm of 'development' and against the New Economic Policies being pursued by the Indian Government.

Existing organizations for workers, such as trade unions, are largely ineffective in raising issues questioning the current paradigm of development, since they are themselves a product of the same 'developmental' process. They tend to remain confined to welfare issues such as pay, hours of work, etc., to the exclusion of even other basic issues such as occupational health and safety, women's rights, environmental sustainability and the problems of the unorganized sector. There may be exceptions. In India, for instance, there have been enlightened trade union leaders, who have taken up issues of contracting and subcontracting and explored the linkages between



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the organized sector and the unorganized sector. Such instances are not, however, common.

Given this situation, it is unlikely that women in the unorganized sector, such as women fishworkers, can make their voices heard within these unions. It is also unlikely that such unions will be able to address issues such as domestic violence and rape, and make a connection between such violence and the use of violent technology. Trade unions have also not been able to address the issue of unemployment or to analyze the links between the employed and the unemployed. Unemployed workers in the North get 'pushed' out and are no longer supported by trade unions. In the Southern context, almost everybody is either unemployed, semi-employed or underemployed. Under these circumstances, there is a need to consider alternatives whereby workers take responsibility for, and support, one another.

The country report on Canada suggested various organizational options for women in the fishing community, including a community organization approach. It is possibly more appropriate to refer to the latter as social movement unions, as in India, since such unions address labour-related issues as well as issues related to living conditions within communities, social and cultural issues.

Group Discussions

Groups reflected on the sort of alliances that they could build in their respective countries as well as on the sort of organizations that they could work with. The following reports were presented by the groups:

Philippines

There has been networking with other sectors on common issues. Efforts to forge alliances with the following groups need to be made:

- **Women migrant workers**

Women have migrated from the Philippines as domestic and other workers to many countries such as Canada, France, Spain and Norway. Often, these women are the wives and children of fishermen, and work under exploitative conditions in other countries. There is a need to link with other groups working on this issue at an international level.

- **Agricultural workers**

Most fishers are also part-time farmers. An alliance with agricultural workers is required at the national level to address some of the issues faced in this sector.

- Women fish vendors

There is a need to organize and link with women fish vendors, so that they are able to challenge middlemen who are presently purchasing and selling most of the fish at considerable profit.

Norway

In Norway, there has been an organized struggle against the proposal for membership of Norway in the European Union (EU). Strong alliances were formed during this struggle with farmer's organizations, parts of the fish workers' and fish traders' associations, student organizations at universities, university teachers, youth in political parties, environmental organizations, and some political parties. The alliance was informal, in that all of these participated in the struggle as individuals and not as representatives of their organizations, as it was feared that the movement would otherwise be appropriated by the bigger organizations. Since all members of this alliance believe in maintaining the viability of small communities, efforts to continue the alliance are being made. Moves towards exploring more formal linkages in the future are under way.

Organizations working with women in fishing communities in Norway would also like to network with other wives of fishermen's organizations at the European level.

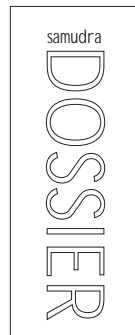
Senegal

Senegal's women would like to work towards forming alliances with other organizations in the fishery sector for various reasons. Alliances within the West African region will facilitate trade of fish, as well as struggles on common issues. Alliances with international organizations, such as ICSE, will enable them to raise their voices at the international level. Partnerships with fishworker organizations in other countries, both in the North and South, will facilitate trade, as well as exchange and training programmes, which can be mutually beneficial. The recent exchange programme with France, in which women members of CNPS visited French fishing villages, was useful.

France

During the fisheries crisis in 1993, an alliance with the small-scale farmer's association had been formed. This also included fish farmers farming mussels and oysters. As the farming sector had been through a similar crisis earlier, there was a lot that the fishery sector could learn. After considerable struggle, fishworkers were able to access programs that were available to the agricultural sector. There is now a fishery crisis cell that ensures that fishermen do not lose their houses and boats during crisis periods.

An alliance within Europe among wives of fishermen's organizations, based on informal co-operation, has also been initiated. They would like to strengthen and expand this network.



This will give them a better overview of the fisheries situation at the European level, despite their exclusion from fishermen's organizations within France. Exchange programmes, such as the visit by women from CNPS to French fishing villages, are also very useful.

Brazil

Since 1990, fisherpeople's organizations have made alliances with marginalized groups in other sectors. The alliances include fishers, farmers, landless peasants, displaced farmers and indigenous people. The campaign undertaken, 'Cry for Land', has been very successful. This group meets annually at the State and national levels to highlight the common problems of fisherpeople and farmers. Demands made by them include giving land to the tiller, access to credit, and the recognition of the rights of indigenous people and traditional groups to land and other resources. The campaign also demands the espousal of an indigenous lifestyle in contrast to a capitalist way of life. A few months ago, in response to the lobbying efforts of this alliance, a Ministry of Agrarian Reforms was created.

Women's organizations in the fishery sector would like to link with fishworker organizations in other countries, as well as with organizations promoting education and appropriate technology programmes.

Spain

Rosa dos Ventos (RdV) has a close alliance with other fishworker organizations, groups of captains and the shellfish workers' organization. They also work closely with a fishworker union called the CIGN. RdV has also made alliances with other wives of fishermen's associations in other parts of Spain, in the Basque region of France and in Portugal. They would like to strengthen and expand this network at the European level.

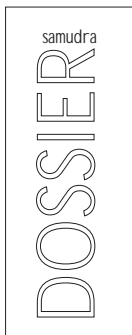
RdV would like to work more closely with the fishermen's organizations, especially at the national level. They would also like to work with the industrial business sector to find work for unemployed fishers in land-based private enterprises.

Ghana

There have been no mass people's movements in Ghana. Most organizations have been co-opted by political parties. Organizations from the artisanal fisheries sector need to form alliances with chieftains of traditional groups, with social and cultural groups working for social welfare, with student movements and with women vendors and processors in fishery and other sectors.

Canada

Several coalitions in support of the artisanal sector have emerged in Canada. The Action Canada Network, which emerged to lobby against the free trade agreement, includes social groups, trade unions



anti-poverty groups and members from the women's movement. The network remains very active and has linked up with other international groups. At the regional level, alliances between members from the women's movement and women in fishworker unions, focusing on women and poverty, have emerged. At the local level, alliances between trade unions and NGOs have been formed around themes of equality and social justice. They have challenged the erosion of social programmes.

Fishnet is another organization that has emerged recently. This is a network of individuals with members from the women's movement, trade unions, academia and women from fishing communities. It started as a network in Newfoundland and has now expanded to Nova Scotia. It works with community groups in this region. A Movement of Seasonal Workers has also been formed. Seasonal workers from the agricultural, fishery and forestry sector have organized to struggle for their rights.

In the discussion that followed, Gabriele Dietrich drew a distinction between working together and forming alliances with other organizations and movements on specific issues, and working together on a long-term programme ('programme politique') with a common perspective. Moving from an issue to a programme is a political process.

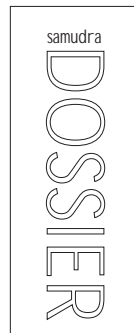
PATRIARCHY AND DEVELOPMENT

Gabriele Dietrich

Chair: Aleyamma Vijayan

The survival of artisanal fisheries and of the artisanal way of life is presently under threat, as marine resources are rapidly depleted and destroyed. There is a need to question the existing paradigm of development which has been responsible for this situation. This paradigm, which has been imposed from outside and by our own ruling class, is based on the assumption of unlimited growth, an assumption that is justified and supported by 'modern' science and technology. However, 'growth' is at the expense of natural resources. The relentless quest for growth and for profits leads to resource depletion.

While profit can be measured in monetary terms, natural resources, which are unpriced, can not be measured. Economists can calculate the depreciation of machines. They can not, however, estimate the depreciation of a natural resource, or the depreciation of social life due to violence, unless there is an expenditure on it. Women's household labour is not paid for and is, therefore, not accounted for in national economic statistics. There is, thus, an assumption in many



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cultures that women are not working, since they are not earning a wage.

Modern science and development also de-legitimizes traditional, indigenous science and knowledge systems. Thus, women's knowledge of traditional medicine is de-legitimized in favour of 'modern' health care available in hospitals. On the other hand, profit seekers are today exploiting traditional knowledge systems. For instance, while the seeds, leaves and other parts of the *neem* tree have traditionally been used in India and in other countries in the preparation of insecticides, medicines and pesticides, these products are now being patented by multinational companies for profit.

Modern development is a patriarchal, colonial project. It is colonial because it presupposes the existence of colonies from which resources can be exploited, and in which wastes can be dumped. Colonisation continues to exist through globalization processes which allow, for instance, multinational companies to exploit the raw material and cheap labour, especially of women, in Southern countries. Polarizations between classes and between nations are increasing.

Patriarchy refers to the control and domination of men over women. It works by controlling a woman's body, her sexuality, her labour and her mind. Stereotypes of a 'good woman' and a 'bad woman' are created and subtle ways are adopted to control women. Patriarchy is supported by, and works through, religion, markets, the media, family and ideology.

In 'patriarchal' development, production is seen as an industrial project. Production of human life is not taken into account. Since it is women who are responsible for the production of life and livelihood, it is necessary that the perspective of women be brought to the forefront. The existing sexual division of labour between men and women makes it more difficult for men to think of the production of life.

The production of life and livelihood, rather than the creation of wealth and profit, should be the centre of our concerns. Production should be oriented towards making available the basic necessities of life, such as health care, education and a basic source of income. It must be under people's control, to avoid the spectre of a situation where people die for lack of basic necessities, since 'development' has taken the base of subsistence away from them.

Movements questioning the current paradigm of development have emerged both in the South and the North. There is a need to develop alliances and strengthen such efforts. To depend on the State for the provision of basic needs is problematic. The 'welfare State' is itself a product of industrialization and modern development, and of the

struggles of the working class. However, an accelerated pace of development is required for the accumulation of wealth needed by the State for the provision of welfare measures. Given the limited resources available with the State, and its priorities, subsidies are often provided to industrial projects and not for the provision of subsistence needs. We need to explore the relationship between 'welfare' and 'equity'. Do we need welfare or equity? Why do we ask for dole and not for a right to work? We need to rethink the role of the State.

Group Discussions

The groups responded to two questions put before them: How can we sustain artisanal fisheries and an artisanal way of life? What is our 'programme politique'?

Group Report: India, Thailand, Philippines, Ghana

A 'nurture' approach is needed, if artisanal fisheries have to be sustained, with a focus on conservation, protection and regeneration of fishery resources. This is in contrast to the present mode of resource use, where the focus is on hunting and extraction, and not on putting anything back into the sea. It is necessary that we fish only to the extent that there is enough stock left to regenerate.

Several management and policy measures are required to achieve a sustainable fishery. Enforcement of these measures should be the responsibility of both the State and of fishers themselves. Fishworker movements need to raise the awareness of fishers on the need for measures such as the following:

- control fishing methods and gears (as in some countries where there is a seasonal ban on trawling and on the use of fixed bag-nets in estuaries);
- regulate the horsepower of engines;
- impose seasonal bans on fishing during spawning periods;
- reserve special zones for artisanal fisheries;
- protect fragile ecosystems such as estuaries, mangroves and coral reefs;
- discourage unsustainable resource use and environmentally degrading practices, such as the excessive use of pesticides in agriculture, a practice which affects coastal waters and fish resources, or the excessive use of plastics, again a practice which interferes with fishing operations;
- protect traditional skills and methods;

- introduce 'aqua' reform, i.e. fishing implements should be owned by those who actually fish;
- ensure that the right of selling fish should rest with fishermen, and that women have the first right to purchase that fish;
- impose a total ban on indiscriminate logging of trees, especially the logging of coconut trees on beaches, which increases erosion.

To promote food security and family sustenance it is important that:

- some locally consumed species of fish should not be exported;
- fish resources should not be diverted for the production of animal feed and fertilizers;
- privatization of interior water bodies should be resisted;
- communities which depend on fish resources for survival should have the right to these resources;
- tourism policies which result in the displacement of people should be resisted.

The very basis of a 'programme politique' for the development of sustainable artisanal fisheries and an artisanal way of life should focus on the need for:

- satisfying the needs of the majority rather than the demands of a few;
- people's movements and communities resisting the dominant development paradigm;
- developing alternative systems of health care, education, etc. and reviving indigenous health practices;
- patronizing locally made products rather than those made by multinational companies;
- encouraging sustainable farming practices (agricultural production should be geared towards food security and conservation of water resources.);
- banning advertisements promoting consumerism on television, as Norway has partially succeeded in doing;
- controlling use of, or boycotting, technology which uses non-renewable energy;

- reorganizing markets as a place for exchange of goods, not as a place for profit and exploitation;
- making basic the right to work;
- transferring control of resources to stakeholders.

Group Report: Senegal

There is a need to conserve resources to maintain the sustainability of artisanal fisheries. There are several problems in coastal areas, some of which are caused by factories and processing plants in landing areas, which discharge effluents into the sea. Artisanal fishers have to fight against these factories or lobby for strict pollution control measures.

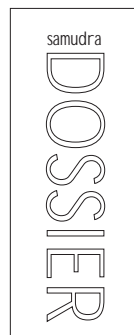
Some suggestions on promoting a sustainable artisanal fishery revolve around the need to:

- use fishing technology and practices that are adapted to the environment, and a balance between modern and traditional technology. For example, the traditional practice of preserving fish by soaking in salt water is appropriate even in the present context;
- educate the government and fisherpeople in the use of selective gear;
- enforce the 12-mile limit reserved for artisanal fisheries, to prevent accidents resulting from encroachments by larger vessels into this zone;
- fight against the displacement of people from coastal areas due to, among other things, tourism projects (remembering that the privatization of beaches also takes away the space of fisherpeople to access, process and market fish); and
- develop low-cost inputs for small-scale fishers (as alternatives for Japanese outboard motors, for example, which are too expensive).

Some of the problems in the artisanal sector can be solved by the fishers themselves. The creation of supply co-operatives and credit groups, for instance, can help fishers get access to these supplies at reasonable rates.

An effective 'programme politique' should focus on:

- rethinking the technology used, so that it is appropriate to local conditions. The traditional craft, *pirogue*, for instance, needs to be retained, since it is best suited to local conditions. On the other



hand, the outboard motor engines used in Senegal are inappropriate to local conditions in that they frequently break down and need constant repair.

- the need to develop and implement a plan of action for the conservation and sustainable use of fishery resources. For this, there is a need to raise awareness within the fishery sector itself. The artisanal sector will need to collaborate with the industrial fishery sector, as well as with the processing sector, scientists and interested NGOs.

Group report: Canada, Spain, France, Norway, Brazil

Artisanal fisheries in the Northern context can be defined as the inshore fishery using boats up to 70 feet in length. In Brazil, artisanal boats are much smaller in size. Artisanal fisheries is also seen to be more seasonal, or at least more responsive to seasonal change. An artisanal way of life is characterized by change, where one does not do the same thing all year round.

There should be a focus on the need to:

- control fishing, through controls imposed either by fishers, the fishing community or the fishery sector; and
- manage initiatives (similar to the ones suggested by the first two groups), such as the closed season for cod in Norway, and the practice of returning female lobsters to the sea.

While the relationship between artisanal and industrial fishery was supposed to be complementary, at least in the North, this is not often the case. The artisanal sector should attempt to lobby and influence governments actively to protect its interests. There is also a need for the participation of artisanal fishers and women from fishing communities in decision making and in the management of fishery resources. The Brazilians felt it was impossible to visualize a movement towards sustainable fishery without the involvement of women, since women are more creative organizers. Mariette Korsrud from Norway felt that women are more concerned with the long-term survival of their communities, since they are concerned that fish resources remain accessible and available even for their children.

In terms of a 'programme politique', there is a need for the North to reduce its fishing effort, if fish stocks of these countries have to recover. There is also a need to explore the options for fisherpeople displaced as a result of this. Options could include retirement packets, training programmes for skill improvement, or social security programmes. Governments need be pressured to prevent them from withdrawing programmes that support displaced artisanal fishers. At the same time, if less is withdrawn from the sea,

it will be necessary to diversify processing and marketing activities to create more wealth.

There is also a need to work with groups outside the artisanal fishery sector similarly affected, for instance, with seasonal workers from other sectors affected by government policies and withdrawal of social programmes, and with native people affected by colonization and industrialization, both in the North and in the South.

Responses

Gabriele Dietrich:

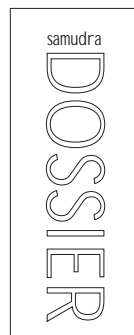
Reports from different areas reflected many areas of convergence. However, the characteristics and definition of artisanal fisheries and of an artisanal lifestyle differ in the context of the North and the South. Artisanal fisherpeople in the North are more isolated and threatened with extinction of a lifestyle. In the South, however, it appears that the pattern of development can still be resisted, partly because fisher people have no other employment options or government social programmes to fall back on. To safeguard their interests, they have to defend their resources and their access to them. Even in the North, as unemployment increases and there are fewer options, there is now a struggle to protect artisanal fisheries and the artisanal way of life.

Artisanal skills and traditional knowledge systems have been destroyed almost completely in the North, entailing the destruction of a lifestyle. The process of social change that has accompanied these changes has affected the social basis of communities and has left people and families in the lurch. This has affected people's intervention in policies. In the South, however, where artisanal skills and the social basis of communities remain relatively intact, it is easier to build movements, working with communities, on the one hand, and pressuring the State, on the other.

In the context of a highly industrialized society, there is a need to analyze what is meant by an 'intermediate technology'. There is also a need to rethink the relationships with time and space. The industrial model assumes that the best way to do things is to do them as fast and large as possible, to cover as much space as possible. In doing so, the 'spaces' of others are taken over, and people pushed out of jobs suddenly find themselves with a lot of time, but no skills to fill it with. The process is violent. It is important to rethink relationships with time, space and scale, and to understand that life processes and the production of life need time. There is also a need to analyze the issue of consumerism and overconsumption, especially in the Northern context.

Barbara Neis:

The strengths of artisanal fisheries are many. This comes, in part, from the fact that these are rooted in families and communities, and



are very diverse and flexible. The artisanal sector has evolved complex strategies and technologies to deal with uncertainties emanating from economic and environmental factors. There is a lot to be learnt from the capacity of this sector to respond to uncertainties, especially when the dominant view in society is that nature and its vagaries can be controlled.

The resilience of artisanal fisheries stems, in part, from the women and children in these communities, and their ability to find wealth elsewhere on land. They make it possible for the men to survive in the fishery. Fishworker movements must, therefore, protect access of women and children to wealth. However, the response of men in the sector to a crisis is often to reduce the support given to women and children. This is a serious problem and will ultimately reduce the resilience of artisanal fisheries.

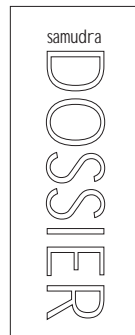
There is a sexual division of labour and knowledge in fisheries. Women will have to learn from the men about harvesting of fish. Men, on the other hand, need to learn more about the kind and size of fish women need and prefer for processing. They need to understand the impact of the disappearance of certain fish species on women. In the present context of change, there is a need to share knowledge.

The access of women in fishing communities to fisheries resources appears to be mediated through the males of the families. Women, in general, do not control resources and are excluded from decision-making structures for the management of fish resources. Women are now increasingly identifying the need to develop sustainable fisheries. They are joining forces with men's organizations for resource conservation.

In most parts of the world, fisheries have not been managed sustainably. For better management, there is a need for men and women to closely monitor certain vital indicators revealing resource degradation. These indicators could include:

- predominance of smaller fish in catches;
- increase in competition for a particular kind of fish;
- increased competition for space at sea;
- disappearance of certain species (in non-selective fisheries, rare species are the first to disappear);
- flow of wealth from land to sea to finance fishing operations; and
- disappearance of social groups as well as of certain customs, such as those related to sharing and giving.

Women and men need to document the biodiversity of their habitats, and to act to save it. Elderly people can provide valuable information about the changes that have taken place. Documentation of biodiversity is also a way to control knowledge.



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Part III

Concluding Session

DIRECTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Maureen Larkin, Jawanit Kittitornkool and Aissatou Faye

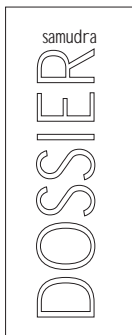
Chair: Chantal Abord-Hugon

This group synthesized and highlighted some issues, insights as well as directions for the future that emerged during the course of the workshop. In the context of the processes of globalization, there is a need to analyze in greater detail the effect of globalization on women in the fisheries sector and in other sectors.

The appropriate organizational form for women's participation differs according to the context and situation. There is no 'one' right way. In countries of the North, women have organized primarily as wives of fishermen. In the South, there is a tendency for women to be part of fishworker organizations and to be considered as fishworkers. This is also because in Southern countries it is easier for both men and women to be considered as fishworkers, since the licence system is not present, as in the North.

In general, however, the involvement of women in fishworker organizations remains limited. The space for participation of women is often created during a crisis situation. The challenge is to maintain that space even after the crisis is over. However, within such organizations, it is usually not acceptable for women to raise issues other than those related to fisheries. There is conflict and resistance to gender-related issues.

Some clarity on the directions that can be taken by women's organizations from fishing communities in Canada emerged during the workshop. At present, in Canada, men in fishworker organizations often take the lead in demonstrations on fishery-related issues. On social issues, however, the lead is taken by women. These differences are significant and are responsible for changing the focus of the Women in Fisheries programme to women in coastal communities. It appears preferable that women strengthen their organizations and continue their struggles on broader social issues. They can then build alliances with male-dominated fisher organizations. Most movements among the fisher community in Canada tend to be reactive, in response to specific problems. There is a need to have a positive programme focusing not only on fisheries but also on issues such as education and other social issues, and to propose alternatives for the better use and management of existing resources.



CONCLUDING PLENARY

Chair: Maureen Larkin

Some issues were highlighted by Nalini Nayak at the conclusion of the workshop.

Future Directions

There is a need to build an understanding of gender relations into the movements in our own countries. At certain levels, the workshop has not been fully successful in developing an understanding on the manner in which a gender perspective can be built into our demands for a sustainable fishery. While there has been an exchange of ideas, translating these into action is a difficult process. Some of the participants still perceive women's issues as gender issues, but do not see fishery issues as gender issues. This is evident in the lack of active participation of male members of fisher unions, and of ICSF, in the workshop. There is a need for serious reflection on this aspect.

North-South Component

There have been attempts to build a North-South component into the Women in Fisheries programme. However, funds have not been readily available for working in Northern countries. There was also an effort, not very successful, to address the issue during the workshop. It remains difficult for the North to understand and support the need for a different development paradigm, as well as for the South to understand the paradigm of the North. It would be important to develop a paradigm which incorporates both the Northern and Southern perspectives.

Future of the WIF Programme

While the WIF programme has 'officially' come to an end in most countries, work within respective country organizations to develop a gender perspective will continue.

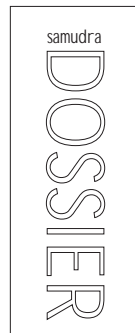
Concluding comments made by several participants are summarized below:

Role of ICSF vis-à-vis the WIF Programme

There should have been a greater participation of ICSF male members and decision makers in the workshop. It is necessary that despite the 'official' end of the WIF programme, it be continued. ICSF should promote international exchanges and workshops on WIF issues. Efforts to expand work in, and to link with, other countries need to be made. It may be better to form a caucus within ICSF to continue this work.

About the Workshop

Several participants felt that the workshop had provided food for thought, as well as the opportunity to reflect and find direction on



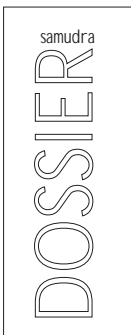
several issues. A clearer understanding of gender issues was developed. Dynamics between the North and the South were explored. At the same time, faith in artisanal fisheries and in its resilience, as well as in the need to continue the struggle to protect it, had been reaffirmed.

Conclusion

In essence, then, the workshop saw participants from different countries with different political, economic, social and cultural contexts, sharing the strategies they had evolved to find and retain spaces within fishworker organizations. Women, by and large, continue to be marginalized from decision-making positions within such organizations. At the same time, issues that relate to women as workers and as members of communities and societies are rarely addressed by mainstream fishworker organizations. Women are concerned with problems within fisheries, as well as with larger issues related to maintaining the viability of artisanal fishing communities. The demonstrated resilience of artisanal fisheries in the face of larger forces of globalization and liberalization is largely a consequence of the supportive role played by women and children of fishing communities.

Though the journey from Cebu to Dakar has been full of struggle and there is still a long way to go, women fishworker organizations have succeeded in making huge strides. In order to consolidate this gain, it is important to increase women's role in decision making, to incorporate a gender perspective in fisheries and fisheries management, and to preserve and maintain artisanal fisheries and the artisanal way of life. There is a need to build cross-sectoral alliances with other people's movements and to evolve a long-term 'programme politique.'

There will be fish in the sea only when women have their rightful place in the fishery and when the artisanal way of life is upheld.



Appendix

Global Fisheries Developments of Significance to Coastal Fishing Communities

Presentation by Brian O’Riordan

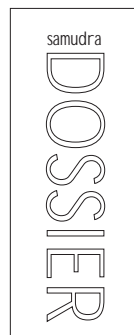
Introduction

Through this presentation, I would like to stimulate a discussion on the linkages between international and global developments in fisheries, and the local developments and changes that are taking place in your communities.

It is important to clarify what is meant by global developments, globalization and the global situation. In the context of this paper, they are used in the following ways:

- Globalization is the mechanism through which local processes, their dynamic, and the rationale for social and economic behaviour become controlled and regulated by worldwide developments. Thus, globalization of the market exerts pressures on local resources and determines the way they are used. Globalization of the economy subsumes local economies. Other globalization processes include the globalization of information and communication through the world’s media and the Internet.
- Global developments/processes are happening worldwide. There are at least two kinds of global processes: those which are determined by the process of globalization, and those which are occurring as part of a process of parallel, but independent, evolution. An example of the former is the privatization and appropriation of marine resources through the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) process. An example of the latter is the degradation of the marine environment in many parts of the world due to pollution and use of destructive fishing practices.
- The global situation is determined by a number of causes, which include both anthropogenic as well as natural factors.
- International developments are developments that are occurring at the international level. For example, the UNCLOS is an international convention with far-reaching global consequences.

These definitions are by no means absolute, but are described here to assist an understanding of the global developments delineated in this paper. Also, rather than a definitive technical paper on global



fisheries developments, I envisage this as a discussion paper, to be refined as our understanding of global developments evolves. Also, given the time available and the vast scope of the subject, this paper can only really provide a brief overview of a highly complex scenario.

This paper addresses global developments under six main headings:

- Industrialization
- Commercialization
- Appropriation
- Liberalization
- Marginalization
- Environmentalization

1. Industrialization

The past five decades have witnessed an industrial and technological revolution in the world's fisheries, leading to a dramatic fivefold increase in fish catches, from some 20 million tonnes per annum in 1950 to about 100 million tonnes per annum today. However, it is apparent that this development process is far from sustainable economically, environmentally or socially.

Today, as in no previous time in the history of the world, overfishing and stock depletion are threatening the very survival of fish stocks and fishing communities worldwide. That is not to say that overfishing is a new phenomenon, or that the past was a glorious time for fishing communities. There have always been hardships, and a scarcity of fish in coastal waters has often driven fishermen farther from home for longer periods of time, to face greater danger in greater discomfort. Fishing communities have suffered from supply shortages and have been displaced in the past, but never before has the very survival of so many fisheries and fishing communities been threatened.

The effect of industrialization has been to greatly accelerate the process of overfishing, and to deplete resources to well below sustainable levels. The development and use of industrial technologies for extraction has also led to a degradation of the marine environment and the impoverishment of biodiversity such that the productive and regenerative potential of the marine environment is greatly impaired. This is both a local as well as a global phenomenon.

Industrialization would not have been possible without the accumulation of considerable amounts of economic capital and the development of industrial technologies, like the development of ice

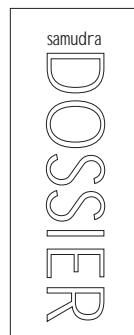
making and freezing technologies, navigational and other electronic fish-finding equipment, and more powerful and efficient engines and other fishing equipment. Such equipment is very costly to buy and use, and requires sufficient capital investment in the first place. It also calls for sufficient returns from the fishing operation to pay off the capital investment as well as the running costs. The implications of meeting such economic demands is to increase fishing pressure even further.

The Logic of Industrialization

The logic of industrialization can be divided into three main parts: mass production, wealth creation and economic growth. The effects and impacts of industrialization according to logic are summarized below:

Mass production has resulted in a production process that, by its very logic, causes overfishing. A naturally renewable resource is treated as mineral, to be mined in the most economical way possible. The logic of mass production treats production as an end in itself, and does not consider the need for a sustainable production process within the constraints of a finite but renewable resource. As a direct result of this logic, all of the world's fishing grounds are being fished at, or above, their maximum sustainable levels. Seventy per cent of fish stocks are regarded as fully exploited, over exploited (16 per cent), fully or heavily exploited (69 per cent), depleted (six per cent), or slowly recovering (three per cent).

Wealth creation has resulted in fishery booms in many areas, which have nearly always been followed by fishery 'busts', as the resource collapses. Thus, in Europe, in the 1950s and 1960s, many fishing towns experienced significant increases in wealth. However, today, many of these once prosperous towns are struggling to survive. It has also led to the accumulation of considerable wealth by a relatively few large companies. Many of these have been incorporated into large multinational corporations like UNILEVER, Kraft Foods, and Nestlé. Some now control significant proportions of the global fish stocks. Thus, Starkist, a large US tuna fishing company, controls a significant part of the global tuna production. PESCANOVA, a Spanish fishing company, and one of the five largest fishing companies in the world, which deploys a fleet of more than 140 distant-water fishing boats, controls half the market for frozen fish in Spain, and through its seven factories worldwide, processes 20 per cent of the world's hake production. Kjell Inge Rokke of Norway controls about ten per cent of the world's whitefish production. This company also managed to obtain a grant from the Norwegian Government in 1995-96, to build 16 new factory freezer-trawlers for Russia, exceeding all the monies granted to the entire Norwegian coastal fishery put together.



Economic growth has resulted in significant quantities of capital being reinvested in the fishery, the inevitable result of which has been a global fishing fleet with a capacity far in excess of the resources available. Thus, according to a study in 1992, the EU has a fishing fleet with a capacity 40 per cent in excess of the resources available. To compensate for this, the EU Common Fisheries Policy is placing greater emphasis on securing supplies for its processing companies through imports, or through fisheries agreements. Worldwide, there is considerable overinvestment in the fishing fleet, which has grown rapidly from around 20 million GRT in 1980 to 27 million GRT in 1992 (3.5 million fishing vessels, an increase of 136,000 since 1989).

The EU's policy in its own waters is to reduce the numbers of older, less efficient fishing boats, and to replace these with fewer, but more efficient fishing boats. The impact of this policy on fishing communities has been to remove independent, smaller units, run by owner-operators and to transform the fishery into a large-scale, vertically integrated industry, dominated by a few large companies. The survival of fishworkers now depends on their becoming workers in an industrial sector, with few possibilities for determining their own destinies.

Logic	Effect	Impact
Mass Production	In 50 years, a fivefold increase in production	Overfishing/Stock depletion
Wealth Creation	Fishery booms in many areas. Accumulation of considerable wealth	Fishery busts. Dominance of a few large companies
Economic Growth	Transformation of natural capital to financial capital	Overcapacity/ Overcapitalization

2. Commercialization

Industrialization is only possible if mass production is profitable. In a market economy, this means generating surpluses through exchange. Thus, huge production increases have only been possible by fish becoming an internationally traded commodity. Mass production locally can overwhelm domestic markets. Large outlets are needed for mass production to be viable. For example, the Canadian fishery in Newfoundland has always been predominantly export-orientated, supplying markets in Europe, the Caribbean, South America and Africa.

Thus, with the huge increases in fish catches, the importance of fish products as commodities for international trade is increasing. Today, around 40 per cent of the fish catch enters the international trade, and

over the last five years, the value of fish commodities traded internationally has increased by over 75 per cent (from US\$2.3 billion in 1986 to US\$4.0 billion in 1992). Market forces are now exerting huge pressures on fisheries resources.

Making a meal out of fish

Most of the increases in fish production in recent decades have been due to increased landings of relatively few low-value species. These, along with other relatively abundant, but low-value, species which represent around 35-40 per cent of the global fish catch, are mainly reduced to fishmeal for animal feed (including aquaculture feeds) and fertilizer.

The laps of luxury

Almost half the value of the global catch comprises relatively few species of high value. In 1989, the global pilchard catch, valued at US\$378 million, weighed in at four million tonnes. By contrast, the meagre 1.8 million tonne shrimp catch was valued at US\$7.3 billion. These are mainly demersal species, most of which are overexploited, as demand for high-value species in the North exceeds supply.

The market destroys the habitat

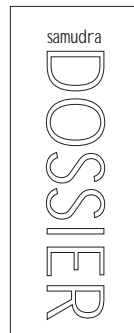
The kinds of pressures exerted by the market also influence fishing practices and how technology is used. To maximize profits, fishing operations use environmentally destructive and non-selective fishing practices. The practice of high-grading and the destruction of millions of tonnes of fish through by-catch and discards are a direct result of the treatment of fish as a commodity.

Fishing down the food chain

As species of high value are increasingly fished out, fish processing companies will seek to use fish of lower value and to develop fish products that can be used as substitutes. Thus, increasingly greater pressures will be exerted on lower-value species for processing into processed, value-added fish products like fish fingers, fish burgers, kamaboko, surimi and other 'innovative' products like crab sticks.

Consumer demand and nutritional needs

The world's supplies of animal protein are heavily dependent on fisheries. In 1988, around 253 million tonnes of animal protein contributed directly to human nutrition. Of this, marine fisheries contributed most, with 65 million tonnes, followed by cattle, with 50 million tonnes. The FAO has estimated that, in order to maintain the current levels of fish availability (at 13 kg per person per year) in the year 2010 (when the world's population is forecast to become 7,032 million), 91 million tonnes of food fish would be required. This compares to 72.3 million tonnes produced in 1993. Thus, along with purely trade pressures on fisheries as valuable international commodities, demand for fish as food is likely to increase.



However, demand for fish as a commodity competes with the need for fish as food. As increasing demand is exerted on species of low economic value, fish prices will increase, making even the lowest value fish unaffordable for low-income people.

Rebuilding overfished stocks

If future generations are to have access to supplies of food from fish, fish stocks need to be given the chance to rebuild themselves. Such measures require a reduction in fishing effort for periods of over a decade (particularly for longer-lived species). This implies that there will have to be wide-ranging 'fishery closures', as has been the case in Canada, where moratoria have been declared on over 20 fish stocks on the Grand banks. Apart from having the effect of reducing landings, there are implications for workers in the sector (as in Canada), and for increasing prices, as supply reduces relative to demand. In the short to intermediate term, nations will need to constrain production in order to facilitate stock rebuilding. In the case of longer-lived species, this may take up to (or even exceed) 10 years.

Aquaculture—to intensify or not to intensify

As production growth from capture fisheries declines, greater emphasis is being put on the development of aquaculture. From 1989 to 1991, the average rate of annual increase of aquaculture production was 600,000 tonnes per year. In 1992, it was one million tonnes per year, and in 1993, two million tonnes year. Fresh-water aquaculture now exceeds fresh-water fish production. Salmon aquaculture production is nearly equal to wild production. Shrimp culture produces half the quantity of wild caught shrimp.

There are two development trends in aquaculture: towards intensive, high-input systems for producing a cash crop for export earnings, and for rural-based, semi-intensive and extensive systems for local food production.

Both systems have constraints, but if aquaculture is to play a major role in the food security of low-income developing countries, as a much-needed and affordable source of high-quality animal protein, then attention needs to be focused on decentralized production, using diverse, environmentally compatible, low-cost, sustainable farming methods.

China and India are the two main aquaculture producers in the world. Between them, they produce over 65 per cent of the world's aquaculture production. It is also important to note that in 1993, over 80 per cent of the world aquaculture production came from the developing countries, including more than 85 per cent of all farmed fin fish.

Given the strong influence of the international fish trade on fisheries production, there is likely to be a market-led (rather than a 'needs'-led) development of aquaculture. This means development of intensive forms of aquaculture to produce high-value fish commodities for the international market.

However, intensive aquaculture has been the cause of extensive environmental degradation in coastal areas, and the destruction of vast tracts of productive and scarce agricultural land in many countries. Intensive aquaculture is also highly dependent on high-cost inputs, and particularly dependent on supplies of high-quality fishmeal. Currently, around 10-15 per cent of global fishmeal production is used by aquaculture. Given that most natural populations of fish are already being exploited at or above maximum sustainable levels, such reliance on fishmeal inputs is clearly not viable.

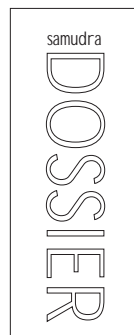
The rush to develop intensive shrimp farms in response to a strong market demand and speculation for large profits has converted many previously rich coastal ecosystems into barren and polluted wastelands. The impact on local communities has also been significant. In some cases, whole villages have been literally bulldozed out of existence by the organized strong men of the investors. In other cases, traditional ways of life have been destroyed by the collapse of environmental amenities on which they depend. Salinization of groundwater has rendered fields infertile and contaminated drinking water. The destruction of mangroves and associated fish breeding and nursery areas has affected fish catches, and organic pollution and use of pesticides has brought disease.

The great fish rush

As depletion of resources continues, the balance between supply and demand is upset. This is leading to increasing competition between markets for increasingly scarce fish products, and resulting in increases in prices. While such increases in prices may bring some short-term benefits (as fishworkers receive a higher price for their fish), in the same way that 'gold rushes' lead to intense competition and conflict, it is also leading to increased entry into the fisheries sector by commercial interests, increasing competition between commercial and subsistence interests, and increasing competition between small-scale and large-scale fisheries. Increased prices are also pricing fish out of the reach of many poor coastal consumers and fish processing workers.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organization (WTO)

The establishment of the World Trade Organization and the implementation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is likely to bring further pressures to bear on fisheries resources. The Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations came to an end



in December 1993. The final act was the signing of an agreement in Marrakech, which established the WTO, which officially came into being on 1 January 1995. The agreement signed in Marrakech (the Marrakesh Protocol to the GATT 1994) aims to increase market access by reducing or eliminating trade barriers, and provides legal security for market access through tariff bindings. There are also provisions governing non-tariff barriers. It is also significant that during the GATT negotiations, fish and fishery products were moved from the Natural Resources Based Negotiation Group to be dealt within the Market Access Negotiation Group among Industrial Products.

3. Appropriation

A process running parallel to this techno-industrial revolution has been a sea change in marine law. Fisheries, once regarded as common property resources for all humankind, have now become the exclusive property of coastal nations. Freedom of the seas has been replaced by exclusive rights in 35 per cent of the world's oceans where 95 per cent of the fish stocks are located.

The UNCLOS states that "every State has the right to establish the breadth of its territorial sea up to a limit not exceeding 12 nautical miles, measured from baselines determined in accordance with this Convention." It goes on to define the Exclusive Economic Zone as "not extending beyond 200 nautical miles from the baselines from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured."

Although agreed in 1982, and only ratified in November 1994, by 1976, more than 60 countries had laid claim to fishery resources in the waters 200 miles from their shore, in their EEZs. Today, more than 122 nations have established EEZs. However, over half the total EEZ area (i.e. around 17 per cent of the world's oceans) are controlled by 10 countries, and 30 per cent by four countries—US (10 per cent), France (seven per cent), Australia (six per cent) and New Zealand (six per cent).

There are serious implications of this new ownership regime on coastal communities whose traditional rights of access have been subsumed by international law which allocates ownership and responsibility to national and regional entities.

Thus, while UNCLOS has provided the means for defining ownership of marine resources, it has opened up the extraction of marine resources to the forces of the market. Fish stocks and areas of the sea can now, in theory, be bought and sold as commodities. Although UNCLOS does make provision for traditional use and access rights, and acknowledges the importance of traditional management practices, responsibility for managing and conserving fisheries is conferred on the State. Community ownership and management has been subsumed by Statal and Regional Management.

Of particular relevance in UNCLOS are Articles 61 and 62, which stipulate that the access to be granted third countries should be based on an assessment by the government of the coastal country, of the fisheries resources available within its waters. They should also assess the maximum sustainable fish yield of available stocks, and take into account the various environmental and economic factors, before granting access to third country fishing industries. The provisions of UNCLOS further state that the land-locked countries and the world's poorer nations should have priority access to these waters. In the absence of any international arbitration body, the 'surplus' resources are, in fact, being sold off to the highest bidder. What is also apparent is that the basis of scientific stock assessments earned out by many countries is challenged by those interests that want to gain access to their waters. Thus, in the case of the fisheries agreements negotiated by the European Union (EU), stock assessments carried out by the Senegalese Oceanographic Research Institute in 1992, and by Morocco in 1995, were disputed by the EU negotiators.

The involvement of multinational and transnational companies in the fishing industry influences international decision making in their favour. The economic and political power of many multinationals exceeds that of many countries, so their influence is considerable. Through licensing systems and joint venture agreements, commercial interests are able to buy up access rights to marine resources. This has grave implications for traditional livelihoods and food production systems which are sustained by marine resources. As well as controlling fishing interests, many also control other commercial interests. Thus, within international trade agreements (e.g. EU assistance to establishing free trade areas in Southern Africa, and the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA), undertaking certain provisions may be made conditional on access to fishing zones.

4. Liberalization

The new emerging world order is placing greater emphasis on the liberalization of economies, and the greater involvement of civil society in governance (governance is the involvement of civil society in government decision-making processes, i. e. it is part of a process of democratization). The Structural Adjustment Policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are putting increasing pressure on governments to devolve many of their functions to civil society organizations.

However, what is also apparent is that the term 'civil society organizations' is being interpreted by governments to suit their own ends. Thus, NGOs, community organizations, commercial enterprises, and even multinational corporations are being grouped together as 'civil society organizations.' This has enabled multinational and other commercial interests to penetrate the service

sector in many countries. Thus, for example, in Senegal, water provision is now controlled by French commercial interests.

While retaining overall responsibility for fisheries management, governments are reducing their capacity to actually implement management. This means that civil society organizations are increasingly having to fill the vacuum left by government. In the absence of strong civil organisations, the way is open for the penetration of commercial interests.

Thus, in India, the government's Deep Sea Policy for Joint Venture Agreements is a direct result of the liberalization of the economy, where India is selling off rights of access to fisheries resources to foreign interests. The entire local fishing community, including both artisanal and industrial interests, have united to campaign against this policy, which will open up Indian waters to international commercial interests, and undermine the local capacity to sustain resources for their own use.

Privatizing the fishery—Individual Transferable Quotas

Another aspect is the 'privatization' of fisheries through the Individual Transferable Quota (ITQ) system, where fishing licences are tied to quotas, which are tradeable commodities, i. e. can be bought and sold. While the concept of establishing ownership rights of fishing quotas might have its advantages in theory, the practice of the ITQ system to date, particularly in New Zealand and Australia, shows that it can lead to the disenfranchisement of fishing communities. Commercial interests, which have no interest in sustaining the fishery, can literally buy out fishworkers whose families and communities have fished areas traditionally for centuries. In the words of Leith Duncan, a New Zealand fisheries policy specialist, "At root, ITQs are more than just a component of management: they are part of the capitalization of nature and society in the interests of global investors and large corporations. ITQs may reduce the number of competitors, but not the competition..."

However, where strong organizations exist, liberalization is opening up greater possibilities for fishworker organizations to have a greater say in the decision-making process. Thus, through ICSF, fishworker organizations in Chile, Philippines, India, Senegal, Canada and France have been able to participate in the formulation of a number of international fisheries instruments. Of particular note has been the process to develop the FAO's Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries, which now contains a provision for implementing a project for the Code to be implemented in developing countries. However, the implementation of such a project without the Code first of all being taken up by national governments, will only serve to put fishing communities at a disadvantage.

5. Marginalization

Increasingly, fisheries are having to compete with other aquatic resource users. In many cases, fisheries are losing out and becoming marginalized in the contest for use rights of aquatic resources.

Rates of population and industrial growth in coastal areas and in areas around rivers and inland water bodies are much higher than in other areas. Nine of the 10 largest cities in the world are situated near tidal estuaries. In the next 20 or 30 years, the world's coastal population is expected to double, and will equal or exceed the current global population of 5.5 billion.

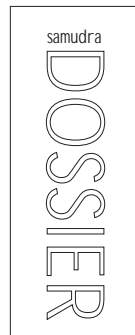
Competition for aquatic resource use between different users is, therefore, rising, and, increasingly, other resource users are gaining priority over fisheries. In particular, industrial and domestic pollution is degrading the fishery habitat, and there is increasing competition for space with tourism projects, offshore mineral extraction and land reclamation projects. Intensive aquaculture projects which degrade the environment, destroy shoreline ecosystems (like mangroves) and place cages offshore also have an impact on coastal fisheries.

6. Environmentalization

Increasing public awareness on environmental issues, particularly in countries of the North, provides both threats and promises for sustaining fisheries. At the international level, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992 (which produced Agenda 21), the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Rio Declaration establish a framework for sustainable development of fisheries resources. The significance of such a development can not be undervalued. The provisions of Agenda 21 provide an important check to the mandate of the WTO, which seeks to link fisheries resources as industrial products to the world market, and reduce all trade barriers.

A significant threat to fishing communities comes in the form of the 'environmental' backlash against fishworkers for overfishing and using destructive fishing technologies. Often, fishermen are portrayed as destroyers of the natural environment, responsible for using destructive fishing practices and harming endangered animals like seals, dolphins and birds. Media headlines over the last two years have proclaimed that there are "Too Many Fishermen Chasing Too Few Fish," without analyzing the deeper causes of too much technology and too many commercial interests destroying too many marine ecosystems.

There is a further facet to the 'environmentalization' process, which is commercialization. The environment has now become an important selling point for commercial products. Consumers, particularly in the North, represent very powerful forces.



Environmental concerns are increasingly being used by commercial and political interests to manipulate the behaviour of powerful consumer groups. For example, environmental organizations use images of harmful fishing techniques to raise money. Commercial interests use labelling to promote their fish products as being environmentally friendly. Examples of recent campaigns in the North include 'dolphin-friendly tuna', which discriminated against the import of Mexican and Italian tuna to the US. There is an ongoing campaign to restrict the import to US of trawl-caught shrimp and prawns unless Turtle Excluder Devices (TEDs) are used. Such campaigns could also become important commercial tools for establishing non-tariff trade barriers.

In Spain, the actions initiated against Spanish vessels fishing on the Grand Banks are seen as being entirely politically motivated. On the positive side, consumer campaigns in the North can support fishworkers in the South, if properly organized and co-ordinated, and if they involve a genuine dialogue. The danger of such campaigns is that, by developing their own logic, they can actually undermine the achievement of positive reforms.

Also, increasingly, environmental concerns are being noticed by policymakers, as environmental lobby groups take up issues of local communities. Of particular note is the acceptance in many countries of the need to establish exclusive artisanal fishing zones as a way to protect both the artisanal fishing community and the resources on which it depends.

Global climate changes associated with a growing world population and unfettered industrial development are having an impact on the world's weather patterns and oceanic systems. Thus, depletion of the ozone layer, increasing levels of greenhouse gases and other aspects of pollution are leading to a process of global warming, which is melting the ice caps and raising sea levels. Such sea level rises are a major concern to small island States, and low-lying coastal areas.

Natural fluctuations in global weather patterns also play a major role in the abundance of fishery resources. Thus, decadal changes in oceanic systems, such as the Peru Current and the Benguela Current (the El Niño system), can have dramatic effects on levels of fish stocks (e.g. the Peruvian anchovy, Chilean sardine, Namibian pilchard, etc.).

7. Unification or Disintegration

For coastal communities, these trends imply that they will continue to be marginalized, unless they can form effective organizations capable of lobbying and negotiating for rights of access to resources. They also need to fight for aquarian reforms which allocate greater priority to fisheries as a source of food and livelihoods, and to counteract the impacts of international trade.

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Women in Fisheries

The Women in Fisheries (WIF) programme of the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF) was initiated in 1993. Broadly, it aims to strengthen the participation of women in fishworkers' organizations and in decision-making processes at various levels.

Among the programme's specific objectives are attempts to study the history of women's roles in fisheries (the sexual division of labour and the role of patriarchy), and to record accounts of their struggles against social, political and economic marginalization.

As a part of this documentation process, ICSF is in the process of publishing a SAMUDRA Dossier series on Women in Fisheries. This, the fourth in the series, contains the report of the concluding workshop of the first phase of the Women in Fisheries programme of ICSF. Held in Rufisque, Senegal, in June 1996, the Workshop attracted 33 participants from 12 countries.

ICSF is an international NGO working on issues that concern fishworkers the world over. It is in status with the Economic and Social Council of the UN and is on ILO's Special List of Non-Governmental International Organizations. It also has Liaison Status with FAO. Registered in Geneva, ICSF has offices in Chennai, India and Brussels, Belgium. As a global network of community organizers, teachers, technicians, researchers and scientists, ICSF'S activities encompass monitoring and research, exchange and training, campaigns and action, as well as communications.