

Artisanal fisheries

A skewed kind of development

The results of top-down development policies for fisheries are not always satisfactory, as the case of Tanzania exemplifies

Along the Tanzanian coast fishing is primarily carried out by village based artisanal fisherfolk who use traditional technology and small-sized boats. Their knowledge of marine ecology and fishing techniques is based on generations of experience. Their methods are essentially sustainable and non-destructive, and their management practices are sophisticated enough to maintain a sound resource base.

However, during the past century, colonialism and the subsequent post-independence interventions have introduced new factors into Tanzanian fisheries. These have affected not only traditional fisherfolk but also the ecology of coastal waters.

While some technologies have increased effectiveness in certain cases, others have non-sustainable and destructive properties. They threaten the livelihood of traditional fisherfolk, the ecological balance and judicious resource utilisation.

Tanzania's coastal fish populations and catches display great diversity. However, there are no reliable statistics of the country's marine fish catches.

Based on acoustic and trawling surveys by large sophisticated research vessels, foreign 'experts' have estimated the biomass and potential yield of Tanzania's marine fisheries resources.

But their estimates, which are based on very selective and scanty data, vary widely. They are not good enough for estimating the populations of inshore tropical multi-species fish. A more useful and realistic result can be achieved in collaboration with local fisherfolk themselves.

These fisherfolk have been exchanging ideas and designs with their counterparts from Arabia, Persia, South Asia and Polynesia. These can be seen in the similarities in boats and gear across the Indian and western Pacific oceans.

In Tanzania, intertidal resources can be reached by walking and wading at low tide. A great variety of fish, crabs, bivalves, gastropods and various bait organisms are collected by hand, with sharp sticks or *nyavu* (hand nets). This calls for a thorough knowledge of tidal cycles as well as the distribution and habits of the organisms.

Uzio (long rows of stakes) stretch across the sandy or muddy tidal flats and fish are collected in an enclosure during low tide. *Wando* rows of stakes function similarly in a zigzag pattern off mangrove estuaries to capture fish and prawns.

In shallow waters, *kaniki* (cloth) is used to catch *uduvi* (small shrimps) which can be dried, while *kimia* (cast net) is used to ensnare small fish.

To capture fish and lobsters, fishermen swim and dive over the coral reefs. *Madema* and *towe* (hexagonal basket fish traps) use a variety of bait for different purposes and conditions. Fish (and, rarely, lobsters) swim into the traps and cannot escape.

Local techniques

Juya (seine nets) are hauled in by teams of fisherfolk into shallow water over seagrass beds, while swimmers splash and imitate seagull calls to try to prevent the fish from escaping.

In another technique, *jarife* (drag nets) are similarly used along the beach as well as in tidal channels.

Fishing offshore from boats, *mishipi* (hand lines) with baited hooks are dangled at suitable locations or trolled behind a moving boat.

Wavu (gill nets) are set near the bottom of the surface to ensnare fish swimming into them. Large nets are used further offshore on moonless nights.

Many different traditional boat designs are used in Tanzania. The most common is *ngalawa*, a slim dug-out boat with two outriggers and a mast and sail, 3-9m long. *Mtumbwi* is a simpler dug-out canoe used mainly in more sheltered waters.

Hori is a larger dug-out, with a more flattened cross-section, and able to venture further offshore.

Dau is a planked boat with a pointed shape at both ends, usually 5-7 m long. *Mashua* is a large planked boat with a flat transom, 6-12 m long.

The traditional coastal fishing village communities of Tanzania are similar in many ways to peasant farming communities. They share economic, social, political and cultural patterns.

Communalistic modes of production persist, and extended-family relations are strong. Hospitality and friendliness to strangers are customary.

The influence of contact with Indian Ocean travellers and traders is generally stronger in fishing communities than in farming communities. The Islamic religion is relatively widespread.

Social relations are often quite hierarchical, with differences existing between *tajiri* (a rich owner) and *mvuvi* (a fisherman), between *nahodha* (captain) and *baharia* (sailor) and between men and women.

These traditional fishing communities manage resources carefully. Fishing village are generally located around particular coral reefs, mangrove creeks, river estuaries, and so on.

The village community exercises customary jurisdiction over the resources. It uses its knowledge of the ecology and sustainability of resources to manage fishing access, practices and intensity.

Code of conduct

Strict codes of conduct apply, and infringements are punished. Outsiders and migrant fishermen must seek permission to fish in zones controlled by particular communities.

For example, fishermen from Zanzibar are granted permission to fish offshore from Kunduchi and Msasani during the *nguru* peak season each year so that they may

have access to the larger markets of Dares Salaam, and they may also fish reefs round adjacent islands such as Mbudya. Some Junduchi and Msasani fishermen also fish off the island of Pungume, south of Zanzibar.

Conflicts arise of customary laws are not respected. In 1993 fisherfolk of Pongwe village, on the east coast of Zanzibar, had overexploited the pweza (octopus) on the stretch of reef which they customarily use. They had to request for premission from the neighbouring village of Uroa to share octopus resources. The Pongwe fishermen then had to bear the brunt of great teasing by the Uroa fisherfolk because they had not managed their own resources wisely.

Life in the fishing communities along the coast of Tanzania was drastically disrupted when the German imperialists imposed their rule by force from 1885. Resistance to colonisation was considerable and fierce battles were fought along the coast. These were finally brutally suppressed by 1905.

British colonialism took control of Tanganyika in 1919. The general domination and subjugation of the people affected fishing communities, but the British were not especially interested in the exploitation of fisherfolk or fishery resources because they did not have the technology to export such products to Europe. A small fisheries department and a research facility was established in Zanzibar, but the British were primarily concerned with sport fishing.

The struggle for Tanzania's independence was supported by the most of the fisherfolk. Only a small number of mwiny and sheikh felt insecure about

their privileged status in the face of the nationalist struggle as a broad democratic movement.

The attainment of independence for Tanganyika in 1961, and the revolution in Zanzibar in 1964, was followed by the formation of the United Republic of Tanzania.

Important progressive changes were made, but the structure of the civil service imitated the colonial government. The Fisheries Division reflected this trend. The ranks were rapidly expanded and

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attempts made to improve extension services and statistical records.

Few of the officials themselves came from coastal fishing communities or had any experience with such fisheries. This is the case even today. Fisheries officials received training primarily in modern industrial-type fishing technology in Europe, North America and Japan.

International thinking amongst fisheries authorities and multilateral agencies tended to equate 'modernisation' with 'development'. This influenced Tanzanian fisheries officials too.

Post-independence development plans emphasised a modern industrial-scale fishery export sector. A joint venture for prawn fishing with modern trawlers was entered into with the Taiyo company of Japan in 1969. But the terms were unfair to Tanzania and the licence was revoked in 1971.

Public corporation

In 1974, the Tanzanian Fisheries Corporation (TAFICO) was formed as a public company. It has engaged in trawling for prawns for export. In terms of catches of fish and prawns, the enormous

investments in TAFICO have not been justified for Tanzania.

Most of the boats and equipment have been donated as 'aid' and the present Japanese-controlled operations export prawns to Japan. Plans are presently under way to 'privatise' TAFICO by selling it to foreign capital, in accordance with World Bank structural adjustment directives.

The Fisheries Division has also attempted to promote development at the village level through extension services and supply of equipment and infrastructure, particularly after the ujamaa-village policies since 1967. These have been met with mixed success.

A 'top-down' approach was often adopted. The officials are usually sceptical of the coastal fishing communities who, in turn, are sceptical of official impositions and interventions. Though taxation and registration of ownership of boats began in 1975, the relationship between officialdom and fisherfolk did not improve.

Fisheries training centres were established at Kunduchi and Mbegani. But the trainers were European 'experts' and Tanzanians trained in Europe. The curricula emphasised theoretical training and 'advanced' foreign technology. The ample facilities were under utilised and largely inappropriate.

Though the graduate diploma holders became fisheries officials, they soon found that the theories and technologies they had learned had little in common with daily fishing in the coastal villages.

In response to criticisms about the lack of relevance, fisherfolk were identified as a 'target group' and training programmes instituted to teach selected fishermen how to mend nets and maintain outboard engines. Few recognized the traditional fisherfolk as being the real 'experts' nor were they made to participate in planning and decision-making. Research in fisheries and marine ecology has been carried out at the University of Dar es Salaam, which includes a research station at Kunduchi (now inactive), and the Institute of Marine Sciences at Zanzibar,

and also at the Tanzania Fisheries Research Institute at Kunduchi.

Some of the basic and applied research can be considered relevant but much is of no interest to the majority of fisherfolk in Tanzania. The most inappropriate purchase was that of a large and useless research vessel 'Kaskazi' which is still anchored and rusting off Zanzibar.

In contrast, the Botany Department co-ordinated important research on the mapping of mangroves along the entire Tanzanian coast and investigated socioeconomics issues from the point of view of the fisherfolk.

The Institute of Marine Sciences has been particularly active recently in addressing problems relevant to the traditional fisherfolk, organizing workshops with them, and influencing government policy on coastal zone management.

One interesting example of the introduction of new technology is the case of the Greek fisherman who came to Tanzania in 1961. He used lamps on moonless nights to attract zooplankton and subsequently fish (primarily dagaa) and then scooped them up.

Local fisherfolk were impressed with the results and soon imitated the techniques, including some of their own adaptations using senga (scoop nets). The fishing of dagaa in this way does not negatively influence other habitats or resources. This example confirms that local fisherfolk are not opposed to new ideas and technology per se, even if they are reluctant to accept certain imposed changes about which they are not convinced.

Some types of new technology are very destructive. Dynamite explosives are used mainly by urban-based fishing units to blast the coral reefs. This kills and stuns fish in the vicinity. They are scooped up easily with hand nets. A dynamite - fisher—man 'gets rich quick' but the explosions smash the corals and destroy the habitat of fish and other reef-dwelling organisms.

Extensive destruction

After repeated dynamite blasting, increasingly extensive areas of reefs are

destroyed and the productivity declines drastically. As the productivity of reefs near to towns declines, the dynamite fishermen venture further and further from the urban centres to blast productive reefs up and down the coast.

Trawlers disrupt the conditions of the ocean bottom, especially seagrass. Large quantities of fish are dumped as 'by-catch' or 'trash fish' to make space in the freezers for export bound prawns. Trawlers may also destroy nets and traps, with little thought about compensation.

Very serious conflicts have broken out between fishermen perpetrating the use of dynamite and local traditional fisherfolk. Those of the coastal villages have organized themselves to protect their coral reefs from the dynamite users.

This has been quite effective in many areas, but in several serious cases, people have been killed in fierce clashes during the past two decades.

In some cases, granting of land for the building of luxury tourist hotels has infringed upon the fisherfolk's rights of passage and customary access to resources.

Foreign tourist interests have taken over coral islands and fishworkers are even forbidden to take refuge there from storms.

Proposals for setting aside areas of coral reefs as marine parks mean well for conservation. Some conservationists even wish to prevent non-destructive traditional fishing practices in these parks.

In planning and implementing measures for the conservations of the reefs, it would seem much more sensible to co-operate with the local fisherfolk.

Such steps are being discussed on Mafia island between the fisherfolk, Fisheries Division officials and researchers from the Institute of Marine Sciences.

The experience of Tanzanian fisherfolk has shown that some forms of 'development' are genuinely positive.

However, many interventions actually engender neo-colonial relations of inequality. This ultimately acts to the detriment of the interests of the traditional fisherfolk.

This article is written and illustrated by Ian Bryceson, a Tanzanian marine biologist now living in Norway

Shrimp aquaculture

Mangroves make way

The Tanzanian government has given the nod to the Rufiji Delta shrimp project

The Tanzanian government has decided to give the green signal to the proposed large-scale shrimp farm venture in the Rufiji Delta. According to information reaching the Mangrove Action Project (MAP) from a correspondent in Tanzania some time ago, "The government here is in favour of the Rufiji Delta prawn project though most of the NGOs and some government conservation organizations and even the Fisheries Department are against it. This is in addition to several villagers in Rufiji Delta who do not want this project. In any case, the whole project has moved beyond scientific facts to politics. Official approval may be announced any time."

That approval was finally announced recently and many industry spokespersons from near and far seem to be speaking of this event as if it were a major victory for the aquaculture industry. Yoshi Hirono, a shrimp farming consultant and general manager of the African Fishing Company's shrimp farming project in Tanzania, reported, "On 19 November, the cabinet of the Tanzanian government met and unanimously voted to support the Integrated Prawn Project without any conditions except the monitoring program organized by the environmental gurus. The Integrated Prawn Project was approved to develop 6,000 hectares of ponds and a hatchery on Bwejuu Island, as described in the Environmental Impact Assessment."

"We did what it took to convey to the relevant ministries that sustainable prawn aquaculture could be undertaken in Tanzania," he continued. "The Government of Tanzania was set back by malicious critics from environmental organizations and some NGOs. In spite of strong opposition from the donor

countries against our project, the government made a historical but wise and gutsy decision."

Supposedly, all that remains flow for final approval is an 'official' letter of the decision to approve the project by the cabinet from the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism before proceeding with further surveys and investigations.

Those opposed to this project are by no means resigned to just let things happen as industry wants. According to Paul Nnyiti of the Wildlife and Conservation Society of Tanzania, there is still much more that can be done: "The way I see it, we may end up appealing to the world to help put out facts on the destructiveness of the project in order for the government to change its present stand on this huge project. Alternatively, we have to work with the Director of Forests, who is in charge of mangroves, to prohibit the project."

Networking tour

One of the regions that a team from MAP plans to visit during a proposed networking tour of East Africa next February is the Rufiji Delta. MAP will then be able to report in more detail about these developments and the counter-strategies that are being proposed by the local NGOs and communities living in the region. 📍

This piece is based on the website of the Mangrove Action Project

Women in fisheries

Partners in mutual trust

Globalization has opened up new opportunities, but it has also undermined many women's economic independence

The process of globalization in fisheries is transforming the structure of markets and gender relationships. Social, political and economic processes now operate locally and globally. Women in the Kagera Region of Lake Victoria, in northwestern Tanzania, face major challenges in the fishery, due to the growing demand for Nile perch in the export market.

This article looks at the relationship between globalized markets for Nile perch and gender relations in the Lake Victoria fisheries of Tanzania. It explores the challenges women have faced and describes some of their responses to them. Particular attention will be paid to the Tweyambe Fishing Enterprise (referred to as the Tweyambe Group), a well-known women's group based in Kasheno village in Ruhanga subvillage (a *kitongoji* comprising 150-200 families) on the shores of Lake Victoria in the Muleba District of the Kagera Region.

The Tweyambe women, like those in other districts, at present face great challenges within the fishery. These include limited access to capital, interference by men in their activities, theft of fishing gear, and sociocultural problems. This article will explore their responses to these challenges, discuss the potential for new gender-based relationships linked to initiatives like the formation of the Tweyambe Fishing group, and explore the relevance of this case study for future initiatives intended to promote greater gender equality.

Lake Victoria is the second largest freshwater lake in the world, with a surface area of 68,800 sq km. It is shared between three countries: Tanzania (51 per cent), Uganda (43 per cent) and Kenya (6 per cent). Lake Victoria has a catchment

area of 258,700 sq km and a mean depth of 40 m. The shoreline is approximately 3,450 km long, of which 50 per cent (1,750 km) is in Tanzania. The lake accounts for an estimated 60 per cent of Tanzanian inland fish production. Fish and fisheries products from Lake Victoria are a significant source of food for the country, yielding 122,000 tonnes in 1995. They also contribute to the country's foreign exchange coffers, generating about US\$60 mn in 1997. These fisheries provide income and employment for over 32,000 fulltime fishers. An estimated 500,000 people are employed, formally and informally, in fisheries-related activities.

The Kagera Region is located northwest of Tanzania and shares borders with Uganda in the north, Rwanda and Burundi in the west, and the administrative regions of Kigoma, Shinyanga and Mwanza in the southwest. The region is isolated from the rest of the country by poor transportation and communication networks. Kagera is subdivided into six administrative districts: Bukoba Rural, Bukoba Urban, Muleba, Biharamulo, Karagwe and Ngara. The total population of the region is estimated to be 1.6 mn. The livelihood of over 90 per cent of Kagera's population is derived from agriculture and fishing. Inhabitants from the Haya ethnic group make up 95 per cent of the population of the Kagera Region.

Poor recognition

Women comprise 51 per cent of Kagera's population, but contribute 70 per cent of all the labour input to farming, the region's dominant economic activity. Despite this, women's contributions are poorly recognized and greatly undervalued. Women assume an inferior position within certain customs, taboos and within the sexual division of labour. Research on Lake Victoria suggests that

women dominate the fish trade . If true, this would mean that the fishermen are dependent on women to convert the fish into money and to buy other food. However, recent work on the Tanzanian sector of Lake Victoria suggests that women no longer dominate: out of 198 fish traders and respondents interviewed in 1998, 78 per cent were male .

Historically, fish was primarily consumed fresh, except for some sales to distant markets of sun-dried or smoked fish. The sexual division of labour varied from place to place, depending on the ethnic origin of the group. Women were more likely to participate in fish trading in the eastern portion of Lake Victoria, than in the central and western portions. Traditionally, the Sukuma from the central portion were mainly farmers, and the Haya from the western portion did not value fish-related activities. Local culture generally prohibited women from being away from their homes, limiting their ability to trade fish. The dominant means of transport were travel on foot and by bicycle, which tended to limit fish traders to local markets.

Since the 1980s, the Nile perch fishery has attracted tremendous investment. It has become one of the most important economic activities in the area. Industrial fish processing factories and fishing camps generate revenue for communities

in the regions surrounding Lake Victoria. Recent research on the Tanzanian sector of Lake Victoria indicates some of the problems that small-scale fish traders and processors have faced in attempting to benefit from the export-oriented Nile perch fishery that developed in the 1980s. Irrespective of gender, the two dominant problems are transport and the availability of funds. However, both quantitative and qualitative data indicate that most fish suppliers in the Nile perch fishing industry are men. In 2000, male suppliers made up 84 per cent of those providing raw material to the processing sector, compared to 16 per cent women suppliers. In addition, men largely control the new technologies associated with the Nile perch fishery. Fish factory owners attribute the dominance of male fish suppliers to the access men have to the capital needed to buy boats, provide seed money and hire labourers. Other advantages for men are their ability to travel frequently, having better access to business collateral, and being more aggressive than women in persuading owners to grant them loans and advances for fish procurement.

Other work

There are important differences between men and women in the way they engage in the Tanzanian Lake Victoria fish trade. Women, more than men, combine fish trade with other types of work. A majority of women (57 per cent) participate only in

fish trading, but 43 per cent combine fish trading with other business activities. In contrast, on the Tanzanian side, 74 per cent of men participate only in fish trading, while 24 per cent combine fish trading and other business. The high percentage of women who combine fish trading with other business may indicate women's greater vulnerability and greater income insecurity within fisheries-related activities.

In contrast to the fish-supply sector, women made up a majority of those purchasing and processing the waste from the fish plants in the first three years of factory development in Tanzania. Nile perch fish frames (skeletons), locally known as *punk*, were considered waste and factories had to pay to dispose them. To eliminate this cost, factories began selling them to local processors. Women were the first to look for Nile perch byproducts in factory doorways. This business started in 1993, one year after fish processing firms invested in Tanzania.

A study carried out in *punk* processing camps indicated that 70 per cent of *punk* dealers were women. In six operational Nile perch processing industries on the Tanzanian side of the lake, about 67 per cent of those buying and utilizing byproducts from the fish-processing industries were women. The women collected fish frames in troughs, baskets,

hand-drawn carts and wheelbarrows, and took them to the processing camps.

By 1997, 4–7 tonnes of fresh fish frames cost Tshs60,000–90,000 (US\$75–112.50) wholesale. After processing (smoking and sun-drying), the processed *punk* could be sold for Tshs100,000–120,000 (US\$125–150). Women used the revenue from this activity to build houses, feed their families, buy clothing, and pay for school fees and medical care. Over time, however, the Nile perch processing factories improved their filleting process so that no meat content was left on the frames. This meant the *punk* community could not get enough fish frames for human consumption. In response, some women started to grind *punks* in locally made mortars to feed their chickens.

More recent changes in this sector have further eroded the capacity of women to generate livelihoods from fish frames. In 1996–97, processing *punk* for animal feed got commercialized, resulting in new investments in local fishmeal factories.

Fishmeal products

The major markets for processed fish frames were Shinyanga, Tabora, Dodoma, Morogoro, Singida, Mwanza, Mara and in some parts of Kagera Region. The main markets for fishmeal products were Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Mwanza, Morogoro, Dodoma and neighbouring countries such as Zambia and Kenya. In 1998, the

higher standards of hygiene required by the European Union (EU) encouraged Nile perch factory owners to seek wholesale buyers for their byproducts.

This ensured that the factory doorways were quickly cleared, reducing congestion by both humans and byproduct waste. When the factory owners started selling their fish frames to wholesalers, many women were forced out of the trade. Most could not compete with the men buying these products for animal feed as well as human consumption.

The strong export orientation of the Nile perch industry and limited opportunities for women to derive employment and incomes from the sector have encouraged some to focus on purchasing juvenile Nile perch harvested with illegal gear. The minimum weight for legally harvested Nile perch is half a kilogram. Purchasing this fish requires access to capital to compete with the factory agents, who are the main buyers. These agents are not allowed to purchase juvenile Nile perch of less than half a kilogram. Since legally harvested fish has become more expensive for the small traders who serve the local markets, and because falling incomes among local consumers limit the price they can pay for fish, the women traders have resorted to buying fish harvested with illegal, small-mesh gear.

Studies at Ihale beach in Tanzania indicate a preference for illegal beach-seines and nets with a mesh size below the recommended minimum mesh size of 5 in (127mm). The fishermen claim that smaller mesh sizes earned them higher incomes from their fish sales to industrial fish collectors. However, marketing this fish provides a precarious source of income for small traders. Fish less than half a kilogram caught in beach seines and undersized gillnets may be sold to industrial agents who can offer higher prices.

Some women fish traders have resorted to staying in the beach-seine fishing camps overnight so that they can get priority access to the available catch. Others have dropped out of the fish trade and moved to trading in other goods. If illegal gear is eliminated, the surviving women traders

and processors could lose their access to fish.

Women also work in the Nile perch processing factories. Women processing workers tend to be segregated into the low-status, poorly paid types of work commonly associated with 'caring' professions such as laundry work, fillet trimming, packing, sweeping and cleaning. Men dominate the highly paid jobs, including those involving fish procurement, quality control, environmental engineering, accounting, production supervision, ice machine operation, administration, and fish filleting and skinning (Table 1).

Women workers were poorly represented among support staff and in actual production, compared to men. The most valuable Nile perch byproduct is processed and dried swim bladders. Swim bladders receive a high price in export markets. Of those who process and dry these bladders, 81.4 per cent were women, while 18.5 per cent were men. Only one factory employs 10 women on a permanent basis.

An interview with one of the factory owners, however, suggested that filleting and skinning are regarded as rough jobs that men manage better than women. In contrast, women are considered to be better than men at trimming and packaging. The employer considered this work required greater attention because mistakes could result in the rejection of an entire shipment in the foreign markets.

Kagera's women have sought to solve their multiple burdens by organizing into groups. However, their socioeconomic situation makes it difficult for them to do so. They face multiple household roles with heavy workloads, capital shortages and minimal access to credit. They are also ill-educated, often lack confidence and have to confront socially accepted 'bad' beliefs concerning women.

Shared trust

On the positive side, women have identified several factors that have contributed to their successful organization. Central to their success have been the trust they share, a characteristic that is lacking in men's groups.

Women from Ruhanga put forth several reasons for being unsuccessful in obtaining loans and credit from the revolving credit funds. These include the fact that women typically lack collateral; that men often interfere in their wives' attempts to apply for these funds; and that men are better able to more aggressively pursue loans. In addition, women often do not know how to apply for the loans, while men bribe loan officials. Also, the new men entering the fish business tend to lower women's chances of getting loans. Among those women whose loan applications were successful, some quarreled with their husbands over the loans, ending up divorced for their refusal to surrender the loans to their husbands. Other women found themselves unable to fully repay their loans because the funds were mismanaged or misused by their husbands

The Tweyambe Fishing Group started as a self-help group for women in Ruhanga, Kagera. The living conditions are tough in Ruhanga village, which has no primary school, hospital or reliable shops. Women's workloads are heavy and comprise responsibilities for work in the household, agriculture and in the fisheries. The women spend much of their time on farms located on the slope behind the village. The fishermen's work routine determines the daily pattern of household activities in many fishing

communities. Fishermen leave at night or in the evening, while their wives work during the day. Men have little or no opportunity for family life and this adds to women's responsibilities and work. The women sell fish to supplement their incomes. They are forced to accept the prices offered by buyers on the beaches and want to change this. One woman said: "We can't afford to sell the fish in the distant markets. Transport is a big problem, accompanied by the lack of a well-established market in our village." Ruhanga's women thought that if they could acquire some kind of transportation, like a mini-bus, they could get a better price for their fish. In order to do this, however, they needed a way to raise the capital to buy the vehicle.

In 1992, a group of 14 women came together to form the Tweyambe Fishing Group. They agreed on the following objectives: to co-ordinate women's economic and day-to-day activities; to improve the household dietary status and socioeconomic condition of communities in Ruhanga by investing in fishing activities; to protect all women's rights; to help each other and to solve the road transportation problem in their community.

Maximum membership

They also agreed that 14 would be the maximum membership for their group and that all of these members had to be

married women, settled in Ruhanga. This requirement was intended to avoid the potential negative effects migration could have on the group's success. Finally, all members had to be mature and trustworthy.

In February 1993, the group collected US\$82 from the revolving credit scheme and supplemented this with weekly membership fees of approximately 40 cents per woman. Members sold bananas, groundnuts, handicrafts and grass for roofing and home 'carpeting'. (The Haya communities cover their floor with grass, which they will normally change every two weeks.) They used the money raised to invest in smoked and fried-fish processing, bought six nets and hired a boat.

Towards the end of 1997, the group applied for a loan from the Kagera Fisheries Project to buy a vehicle to solve the transport problem. The application was rejected by the Fisheries Department on the grounds that running and maintenance costs for the vehicle would be high in view of the bad roads in the area. The Department suggested the group consider developing alternative transport solutions, in particular, water transport. The women agreed, and obtained a loan of Tshs3,580,000 (US\$4,475), with which they were able to buy a 25-horsepower outboard engine and a transport boat. This investment has since yielded dividends. Income from fish sales between 9 June 1998 and 29 September 1999 was Tshs2,309,600 (US\$2,887), while expenditures amounted to Tshs1,559,600 (US\$1,950), leaving the group with a clear profit.

Women generally confront many challenges in their trade and household work. In order to sell their fish, they have to make prior arrangements with male buyers to assure a guaranteed market. This is particularly the case during the farming season, when many buyers return to their farms. In the fish trade, women's main competitors are men. Most of these male buyers are fishermen, and there is an understanding between them and the other fishermen that the male buyers would help them out if they ran into trouble with their boats while on the lake. These male buyers control the fish

auctions at the landing site and have come to dominate fish trading activities at the site. The Tweyambe women acknowledge that they cannot easily compete with the men, and could possibly get destroyed.

Another challenge occurs when the EU closes the markets for Nile perch, for whatever reason, causing prices to drop so low that they barely cover production costs. Women understand the extent to which they rely on export markets and so want reliable alternative markets for their Nile perch. Export bans and intense competition can destroy their savings. Tweyambe Group members also complain of lack of funds to expand their businesses.

The Group's water transport business has faltered and their income from this source has been halved because of competition from men who have also invested in water transport. The Tweyambe Group has also had to cope with gear theft. Competition and theft have forced some women to drop out of fishing or to shift to less competitive and less remunerative parts of the fishery.

Absentee owners are particularly likely to be cheated of their catch and gear. Since most women hire out their fishing gear to fishermen and do not take part in fishing activities away from the shore, they are most at risk of gear theft. This risk limits the number of units each woman investor is willing to operate. Women often employ men who are related to them or their own sons, in order to avoid theft of nets and catch. In Ruhanga, for example, the women employed their sons as crew. Despite such precautions, in 1997, profits dwindled when 45 of the group's gill-nets, valued at Tshs1,350,000 (US\$1,688), were stolen. These nets had targeted Nile perch, the group's most profitable fish. In some cases, women fishers have arranged for night patrols on Lake Victoria, and have selected times for fishing and landing that make it easier for them to monitor their catch and gear.

Poor training

A fish marketing study conducted along the Tanzanian part of Lake Victoria in 1998 indicates that the extent of training amongst fish traders and processors was low. Out of 198 fish traders and processors

interviewed in this area, only 6 per cent were trained in bookkeeping and only 2 per cent in fish processing. Of those with training, only three (2 per cent) were women. These women, like others, believe that education plays an important role in directing their lives and limiting their opportunities.

However, any information received by the leaders was conveyed to the members of the group in both Kiswahili (the language spoken all over Tanzania) and Haya, thereby diffusing, to some extent, the knowledge that they had acquired. They believed that mutual trust and teaching one another have helped the group survive in a competitive environment.

Members of the Tweyambe Group perceive themselves as primarily responsible for the economic well-being of their families. Their domestic and work responsibilities made it hard for them to find time for their group activities. In response, the women looked for ways to create some free time for themselves, for example, by establishing a nursery school. The Tweyambe Group has a schedule of activities that ensures each member allocates time for group activities as well as for her farming or domestic activities.

In contrast, the women who work in the fish-processing factories have had little

opportunity to budget their own time. In all the six factories we studied, women worked both day and night shifts. They were hired as casual labourers, and thus denied access to holidays, maternity and emergency leave. Some women factory workers are reported to have quarrelled with, and even divorced, their partners in order to comply with the factory rules, while others found it difficult to marry because men would not accept them working night shifts or taking time away from their household duties.

Tweyambe Group members have adopted a strategy of income diversification, so as to protect their households from hunger. When income from the fishing business is down, the women independently sell *matoke*, groundnuts, cassava, yams, second-hand clothes, tea and burns (candies), fresh beans and sweet potatoes at the village market.

Non-fish products

Women also travel long distances to the beaches in the early morning. Once there, they sit under the trees with their commodities for exchange, while waiting for fishermen to come out of the lake. Intense competition for fish has encouraged the women to resort to bartering for other, non-fish products along the beaches. Firewood, fruits, tomatoes, maize and cassava flour are commonly exchanged for fish. Bargaining

is common. These independent activities, the women argue, have helped their husbands and children understand that the Tweyambe Fishing Group is not an extension of their households, which they can exploit, but a separate entity.

Economic hardship and the important roles played by these women in supporting their households have changed men's attitudes. Group members say that men have realized that they can no longer provide for their families by themselves, and that the prevailing economic conditions are forcing both men and women to devise strategies for their mutual survival. However, problems persist. In the words of one woman, "When we buy and prepare the meals, pay school fees, buy clothes for the children and sometimes buy small gifts as a surprise, men see and realize our potential, although they don't appreciate it. Quietly, they feel offended by our initiative."

Tweyambe Group members continue to depend on men for many things, including advice and access to fish. Although the group has gained local respect through their association with donor agencies and the government, this association and their financial success and investments have also caused some members of the community to be very jealous of them. Women from polygamous households sometimes complained that it was difficult for their husbands to care for all their wives and children and some wives were neglected. Such women work extra hard to bring up their children. Some of the men in Ruhanga have demanded full involvement in their women's Nile perch fishing activities, defining it as a project for the entire community, including both members and non-members. Men have also tried to participate in the selection of crew members and engine operators. Members' husbands have demanded to know the exact income of the women's group and have interfered with planning and operations related to their investments. One woman explained: "I almost broke my marriage because of group funds. My husband forced me to give him TShs100,000.00 (US\$124) for his court case, but we eventually resolved the

dispute." In Vihiga District of Kenya, according to one study, many of the men who belonged to, or were associated with, women's groups as 'advisors' were considered to be 'crafty' and 'sly'.

Further research is needed to investigate the various issues that concern women's groups. Research topics should include ways to increase women's economic productivity and reduce the burden of their traditional household responsibilities; and ways to increase the participation of women in decisionmaking, as well as in access to, and control over, various resources. Women's time constraints will need to be taken into account too.

Changes in Lake Victoria's fisheries and fishing communities from primary reliance on local markets, equipment and sources of capital to reliance on export markets, external equipment suppliers and external sources of funding have affected, and have been mediated by, gender relations. Globalization has opened up new opportunities for some women but it has also undermined many women's economic independence and increased the challenges they face in supporting themselves and their families. It has done this by contributing to environmental change, undermining their access to fish for processing and trading, enhancing competition and theft within fishing and trading, and ghettoizing women in poorer paid occupations within industrial fish processing as contingent, vulnerable workers. As elsewhere, gender divisions of labour in households and communities within Ruhanga have persisted.

Post-harvest activities

Most development efforts in Tanzania, as in other parts of the world, have tended to discount the potential contributions of women to economy and society, and have thus failed to mobilize this vital human resource. The idea that those who fish are fishermen and that fishing predominantly involves men going fishing in boats has generally not been challenged by the institutions extensively involved in Tanzania's fisheries. Women are thought to engage only in post-harvest activities (smoking, drying and marketing), where they earn less profits than those earned by

fishermen, particularly the owners of fishing equipment and gear. The case study of the Tweyambe Group shows the importance of integrating women into fishery programmes and development projects. This should be done in ways that address women's dual responsibility for income generation and family care.

Women's interests should be built into the design of programmes aimed at obtaining sustainable resource management. Several indicators confirm the value of the Tweyambe Fishing Group for its members and the larger community. Group members report that face-to-face interaction allowed them to get to know one another, build a reputation and develop trust. Openness on the part of the members helped them to resolve small conflicts within the group. In many cases, they have managed to separate project from individual activities and thereby helped to insulate the group from wider household pressures.

These features of the group point to its relevance for community organization initiatives, such as the development of co-management regimes designed to respond to the often larger-scale economic and social dilemmas affecting fishing communities affected by globalization.

When people consider themselves to be a member of a group, they are able to collectively achieve more. The benefits that accrued to the community as a whole support women's groups in their attempts to break through some of the constraints they face, particularly within an industry that is dependent on export markets and global processes. This means providing women with support not just for income-earning opportunities, but also for advocacy, mobilization in the public sphere and empowerment. It means ensuring that women's voices are heard in all the main decision-making processes, and not just in a small, isolated, women's office. Available evidence suggests that by working with more women's groups, the reach of extension services can be doubled and costs reduced. The result would be greater food security for rural

families. Women's needs and interests are more likely to be satisfied if they are made the primary beneficiaries of certain welfare programmes. Examples like the Tweyambe Group remind us that donor organizations and governments must understand that people, especially poor women, are capable of promoting their own development if their efforts and initiatives are recognized and supported.

A gender-sensitive approach to development that assesses and monitors the impact of rules and regulations at all levels on women, men and gender relations is more than a political imperative. It is, in fact, a basic condition for sustainable economic and social progress. It requires radical changes, particularly in areas where the belief that women are inferior to men continues to prevail. It would be advantageous for men and women to collaborate in the development of a gender-sensitive approach in order to avoid problems and conflicts. However, in order for this to happen, men would need to learn how to work in partnership with women. ♀

This article, which summarizes some of the findings of an M. Phil. study, is by Modesta Medard (modentara@hotmail.com), Researcher, The Tanzania Fisheries Research Institute (TAFIRI), Tanzania

ESA workshop

Empowering co-management

The issue of co-management came up for detailed discussion at the ESA Fish Workshop organized by ICSF at Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

The workshop on “Fishing Communities and Sustainable Development in Eastern and Southern Africa (ESA): The Role of Small-scale Fisheries” was organized by the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF) in collaboration with the Western Indian Ocean Marine Science Association (WIOMSA), the Masifundise Development Trust and the Coalition for Fair Fisheries Arrangements (CFFA). It was held at Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, from 14 to 17 March 2006.

Among the various issues discussed, considerable interest focused on co-management in fisheries. Simeao Lopes of the Institute for the Development of Small-scale Fisheries (IDPPE), Mozambique, said fishing contributes to the country’s employment, food security and foreign exchange. The sector is organized into the industrial, semi-industrial and artisanal fisheries. Private and joint-venture companies engage in industrial fisheries, especially for shrimp resources in the Sofala bank. The semi-industrial fishing vessels are mainly Mozambique-based trawlers that target shrimp. They also include handlines as well as freshwater fishing platforms for *kapenta*. The artisanal fisheries are spread along the seaboard and the inland waters, employing about 130,000 in canoe fishing and fish processing. There are about 11,000 artisanal fishing vessels, only 3 per cent of which are motorized. Beach-seines, gillnets and handlines are the popular artisanal fishing gear.

The development of co-management in Mozambique began, Lopes said, with the structural adjustment programme (SAP) in the post-Second World War era, as demands increased on Africa to democratize and implement SAPs, from

its traditional Western donors, led by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), who stressed resource management based upon participatory approaches, devolution of authority and decentralization of powers. Thus, by the early 1990s, user participation had become almost a *given* requirement for donor-funded development projects in Mozambique.

Within the fisheries sector, studies were conducted to evaluate fisheries programmes and projects implemented during the previous two decades so as to draw lessons and propose appropriate future interventions. A Fisheries Master Plan (FMP) was developed and approved by the Mozambican government in 1994. The process of elaboration of the FMP involved many central fisheries institutions, fishing communities and other stakeholders, Lopes said.

The FMP laid out the priorities and strategies for development to be pursued in the subsequent years. With regard to the management of small-scale fisheries, the FMP emphasized the involvement of fishermen in setting and enforcing management regimes. It was from the FMP that co-management approaches were formally declared as part of the general new strategic interventions for fisheries management and development.

Better analyses

A subsequent evaluation underscored the importance of more careful and comprehensive analyses and discussions, and the development of more active participation of beneficiaries. Pilot measures for user-sensitization began in the late-1990s. Several co-management committees were since set up in the marine coastal areas of the country to improve the efficacy of fisheries

management through developing a sense of ownership of management programmes amongst active fishers.

However, Lopes identified several constraints to realizing co-management goals in Mozambique. Firstly, the State acts as the custodian of all natural resources, including marine resources. Through the Ministry of Fisheries' directorates and autonomous institutes, the State has the right to manage marine resources for the benefit of the people. In artisanal fisheries, the users (coastal communities) have the right to use fisheries resources; however, they do not have the right to participate in planning for the use nor the right to legally act, individually or collectively, in respect of management of the fishery resource. This is a serious constraint to the goal of better resource management.

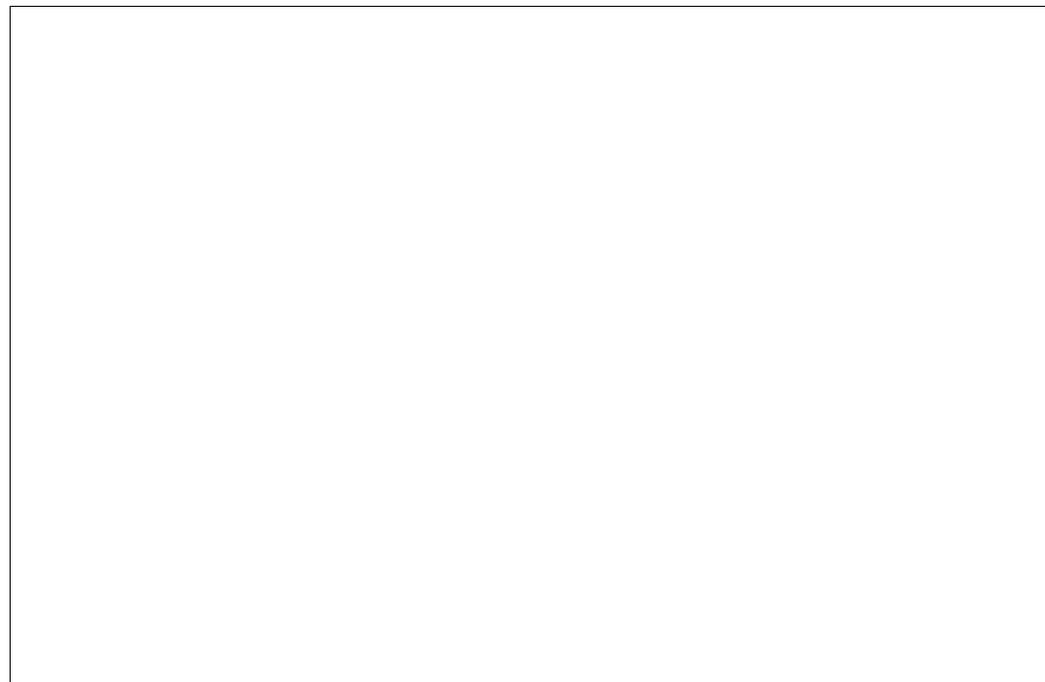
Secondly, there are restrictive meanings associated with the concept of participation. Thus, for example, as far as fishing communities and their traditional leadership are concerned, participation does not apply to the crew on board fishing vessels. It applies only to those who have the political and economic power to take strategic decisions, to the local elite, the traditional and religious leaders and other individuals who are willing to offer their services on behalf of others. These people may not be the most

appropriate to deal with issues related to fisheries co-management. There could thus be conflicts between participatory democracy as demanded by the main donors, and effective fisheries management. However, to guarantee the success of co-management, the government should understand these sociocultural aspects (as traditional leaders are still respected by the majority of rural people), and ensure that all relevant institutions, individuals or interest groups, which are considered legitimate by different members of fishing communities, are engaged in the process, Lopes added.

Thirdly, the government has not been able to empower fishing communities (legally, through economic incentives or through capacity building) to cope with resource management responsibilities. Neither has there been an effort to use local knowledge in decision-making processes or to explain the criteria used to make some management decisions. As long as there is poor understanding of fisheries management amongst the fishermen, there might be unwillingness to comply with fisheries regulations.

Local knowledge

It is important to integrate traditional/local authorities, as well as local knowledge, into co-management as a means to connect political and scientific objectives of the government to the



community. For the fishing community, it could be a way to reach full control of their marine resources through the devolution of power and responsibilities from government, Lopes observed.

The pressures on the coastal fishing resources in Mozambique result, among other things, from the overall unhealthy economic situation in the country, he added. To raise enough income for subsistence, fishing communities are putting pressure on the resource by increasing fishing effort through the use of inappropriate fishing gear like fine-meshed nets in beach-seines that target small pelagic fish. Open access to fisheries resources further complicates the matter, resulting in serious threats both to the resource and to the economic development of fishing communities.

The fishermen themselves say that the catch rates from the nearshore waters have declined, and the average size of commercial fish species have decreased. The falling productivity of fishing units indicates the need to manage the fishery and exercise caution in promoting any increase in fishing effort. Co-management arrangements should be able to reconcile conservation with the subsistence or livelihood interests of fishing communities.

The competition for the marine coastal resources of Mozambique is becoming increasingly evident, with both artisanal fishing communities and tourism relying on the resources for livelihoods and development. At present, the Government of Mozambique (GoM) is encouraging tourism as a way to rapidly develop the economy, Lopes said. As part of this process, the GoM has delegated the management responsibility of some areas of the coastal zone to private tourism developers.

Artisanal fishing communities are concerned about the use of, and access to, the same coastal resources, leading to conflicts where fishing communities have been displaced from their traditional living and fishing grounds. These are more evident where tourism interests are promoting the preservation of marine coastal resources as their primary asset, which contrasts with the extractive value

of the coastal fishery resource, as perceived by the fishing communities.

On the one hand, the GoM is supporting the development of co-management in the artisanal fisheries sector without the legislative framework that can delegate resource management responsibilities to the communities. On the other, it is providing the legislative framework for delegating resource management concessions to private tourism developers without the co-management institutional framework that would consider the needs of all resource users. In both instances, the result of partial regulation and control over each resource user group risks overexploitation of marine coastal resources.

Co-management is seen by the GoM as a means to better control fisheries activities (especially the fishing effort and conflicts of interest) through sharing or decentralization of some responsibilities to the local institutions. But the communities view the arrangement as a step to achieve full control over the fishery resources through the devolution of power and authority to the local institutions.

However, the GoM may not be able, or even willing, to devolve the authority, as that would require some changes to the country's constitution. Sufficient financial capacity would also be needed to ensure appropriate collective organizations among the communities.

Lopes raised the following questions in the light of the experience of Mozambique with co-management: (i) What are the different approaches of different players in co-management and what is their understanding of 'sustainable development'? (ii) How could balance between conservation objectives of governments and the livelihood needs of fishing communities be established while implementing co-management programmes? (iii) Could co-management achieve the objectives of all players, given that the outcome might not always be exactly the same and may often be contradictory in nature? (iv) How could participatory and traditional elements work together? (v) Are co-management institutions willing, or able, to use

multiple sources of knowledge in management decisionmaking? (vi) What could be the implications of the two models—decentralization and devolution—for fisheries co-management arrangements? (vii) What are the impacts of participatory development approaches on the traditional and (new) economic power structures in a co-managed resource environment?

In the discussion that followed Lopes' presentation, it was observed that co-management basically referred to shared management responsibility between the government and the community. It was noted that it is important to have an understanding of what definition to use in the ESA context. It was further observed that the participation of women in co-management initiatives is poor.

Friday Njaya of the Fisheries Department of Malawi spoke about the status of participatory fishery management (PFM) in Malawi lakes. PFM was introduced in Lake Malawi at the behest of international agencies in the 1990s in response to declining lake fishery resources and intensifying conflicts between small-scale and commercial fisheries. Historically, there were traditional controls over fisheries resources in some parts of Lake Malawi and Lake Chiuta, and user committees and associations called beach village committees (BVCS) were formed to establish PFM in all the lakes.

The composition of the BVCS varied from lake to lake. While some were associations of chiefs, others had mixed composition. The issue of devolution of fisheries responsibilities to local district assemblies is still an outstanding one. BVCS have to be redefined to allow for the participation of all representatives of different fishing activities. Formal bye-laws are yet to be developed for effective devolution of fishery management powers.

There are doubts whether or not PFM could work in Lake Malawi, which is a large water body supporting small-scale, semi-industrial and commercial fisheries, including trawling. The fishing communities along Lake Malawi are multi-ethnic. There are problems in successfully imposing access regulation

on fishing, in demarcating boundaries and in enforcing fishery regulations, Njaya said.

Yet, despite difficulties, it is possible to set up "broad-based co-management" in Lake Malawi, with the participation of stakeholders such as the police, magistrates, chiefs, natural resources-based government departments and the district assembly. There is a move now to introduce a closed season for trawlers. In smaller lakes such as Lake Chiuta, PFM structures are useful mechanisms to resolve transboundary conflicts between Malawi and Mozambique. Njaya said co-management should be based on local conditions, and defined and developed in a contextual manner. It is important to make a policy distinction between the rural poor and the village elite in co-management programmes. There should be clarity on the introduction of property rights or access regulation regimes. Sufficient caution should be exercised while applying theories in practice. Implementation of a co-management initiative is a learning process and it evolves with time, Njaya concluded.

Mafaniso Hara of the University of Western Cape, South Africa, gave a presentation on the implications for coastal communities of co-management perspectives and experiences in the ESA region. The objectives of fisheries management mainly involve three aspects: setting management objectives; defining and providing the knowledge base for management decisions; and implementation of management decisions. Historically, fishery management decisions have been top-down. The fisheries resources have been treated as State property, and the objectives of fisheries management have mainly been confined to conservation of fishery resources, relying on biological sciences. The implementation of fishery management was through policing measures.

Conventional regimes

Co-management of fishery resources was proposed in light of the failure of conventional fishery management regimes to prevent overexploitation of fishery resources. It is also proposed as an

effective mechanism to break the barriers between fishery administrators and user communities a legacy of the top-down approach through democratic decentralization, Hara said.

Co-management of fishery resources mostly as short-term, externally funded projects—was led by government line agencies through the creation of ‘user’ representative organizations (‘democratically’ elected committees). The process has sometimes lacked flexibility because of specific donor requirements.

The experiences with co-management in the ESA region have so far been mixed. The most common types of co-management have been ‘instructive’ or ‘consultative’. Hara discussed several critical aspects of co-management as it is currently practised in the region. Firstly, there are conflicting objectives between conservation of fishery resources and socioeconomic development of fishing communities. The government approach has usually been instrumental; it co-opts users into the management process to achieve the same old conservation objectives without really accepting alternative knowledge, ideas and views from them.

By and large, governments do not perceive co-management as a means of introducing more democratic principles

of fisheries management, but as a means to better achieve the government’s original conservation objectives.

Secondly, co-management has been proposed as a way to deal with open-access problems. The introduction of access rights has been with the idea of enabling effort control. However, such measures often clash with historical fishing practices. Enforcing access control was particularly problematic in areas lacking alternative economic opportunities.

Thirdly, centralized co-management systems are favoured that rely on the government’s natural scientists. Very few inputs from users are incorporated into such systems. Usually, only tasks that the governments have failed to implement, or are costly, are left to the user groups. The local communities are usually not legally empowered. Their negotiating position in relation to the government is still weak. The governments are also reluctant to devolve real power and genuine authority to user groups.

Customary power

Fourthly, co-management usually requires customary sources of power held by traditional leaders for effective application of sanctions. There is thus a need to involve traditional authority. The traditional authorities or local elites often capture power to offset any challenge to

their authority that could crop up from co-management programmes.

Fifthly, while the governments may lack appropriate skills and capacity to undertake co-management, communities might not have the economic, social and political incentives or capacity to undertake some responsibilities required under co-management.

Finally, the definition of 'user community' and 'stakeholders' can be evolving and dynamic in a temporal and spatial sense. Existing mechanisms cannot define the users and decide on how to represent them in co-management structures. There is also the problem of lack, or low degree, of downward accountability of representative organizations. However, tacit threats of governments to revoke powers and authority force upward accountability.

Hara had the following recommendations for "efficient, equitable and sustainable fisheries management" in the ESA region. Firstly, co-management models should acknowledge and integrate the role of poverty in community/individual decisions, and occupational and geographic mobility in community/individual livelihoods. The role of fishing in the community's livelihood interests should be better understood. The community should know the status of fishery resources and be better informed about alternative sources of livelihoods that could possibly combine with fishing. In this context, how far occupational and geographic mobility could help improve socioeconomic status is important, Hara added.

Secondly, there is a need for "empowering co-management" by fully involving users in setting up management objectives, in integrating 'user knowledge' into formal science and in the implementation of management decisions.

And finally, it is important to improve the ability of communities to agitate. They should challenge formal science (including international conventions) using their local knowledge to balance conservation with local socioeconomic concerns. They should agitate for enabling

legislation and improvement in the attitude of governments to their concerns. They should agitate for better information and better organization of co-management structures with improved human and financial resources, Hara concluded.

This report has been filed by Sebastian Mathew (icsf@icsf.net), Programme Adviser, ICSF. A complete account of the ESA workshop can be found at <http://www.icsf.net/jsp/conference/eastAfrica/report.jsp>

Flagging Rights, Realizing Responsibilities

The recent Zanzibar Workshop on coastal and fisheries management in eastern and southern Africa sought to flag the concerns of small-scale fishers

Between 24 and 27 June 2008 a workshop titled “Asserting Rights, Defining Responsibilities: Perspectives from Small-scale Fishing Communities on Coastal and Fisheries Management in Eastern and Southern Africa” (ESA Fisheries Workshop II or the Zanzibar Workshop) was jointly organized by the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF), Masifundise Development Trust (MDT), South Africa, and the Western Indian Ocean Marine Science Association (WIOMSA), Tanzania, in collaboration with the World Forum of Fisher Peoples (WFFP), in Zanzibar, Tanzania.

One key objective of the four-day workshop was to discuss how access

and comprised representatives of fishing communities, fishworker organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), governments and the FAO.

Introducing the Zanzibar Workshop, Jackie Sunde, Member, ICSF, said fishing communities and their supporters should discuss and develop strategies on how to ensure that the small-scale fishing communities in the region could access fisheries resources, and enhance their access and user rights to fishing grounds and fishery resources. Sunde recalled that the idea behind bringing together communities and countries that share common borders and common water sources originated in the Indian Ocean Conference, 2001, organized for Indian Ocean partners jointly by ICSF and the Indian Ocean Institute (IOI). In 2004, the Masifundise Development Trust (MDT) had organized a small-scale fisheries conference in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region.

These workshops led up to the ICSF workshop titled “Fishing Communities and Sustainable Development in Eastern and Southern Africa: The Role of Small-scale Fisheries” (ESA Fisheries Workshop I), held from 14 to 17 March 2006 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. While identifying pertinent issues, ESA I had also called for a follow-up meeting for the region, which resulted in ESA II, the Zanzibar Workshop.

Ian Bryceson, Professor, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås, Norway, added that the workshop was also meant to help fishers generate more ideas to make their work and struggles more effective.

One key objective of the four-day workshop was to discuss how access to resources could be maintained or enhanced by securing access and user rights at various levels.

to resources could be maintained or enhanced by securing access and user rights at various levels. The workshop was also aimed to enable participating organizations to arrive at common positions on this issue at the forthcoming Global Conference on Small-scale Fisheries, titled “Securing Sustainable Small-scale Fisheries”, to be organized by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in Bangkok, Thailand, from 13 to 17 October 2008. The participants of the ESA Fisheries Workshop II were drawn from Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia,

*This report has been prepared by **Sebastian Mathew** (icsf@icsf.net), Programme Adviser, ICSF, and **Neena Koshy** (icsf@icsf.net), Programme Associate, ICSF*

In the country presentations that followed, Letisia Chakumba, a fisherwoman from Tanzania, said the most important consideration was recognizing the right of fishers to participate in decision-making processes. She complained of lack of consultation with fishing communities in, say, establishing marine protected areas (MPAs). The government, she said, had the duty to protect the rights of fishing communities.

Solene Smith, a fisherwoman from South Africa, said traditional fishers are totally excluded from decisionmaking on what happens at sea or how their spaces are used in South Africa. For example, she said, during Hobie Cat (a type of catamaran) competitions, usually organized for rich South Africans, fishers cannot venture out to sea to make their daily living. This clearly shows how they are excluded from the process that decides about their living/working spaces. Lack of access to resources led to larger problems like increased poverty, which, in turn, resulted in gender-based violence, domestic violence and lack of self-esteem, she said. This has caused fishing communities to insist that they be involved in decisions and management plans that affect their lives and livelihoods, which will then help them decide how, where, when and what to fish.

Florence Okoth Nyalulu, an NGO activist from Uganda, pointed to the cultural belief among the country's fishing communities that a woman touching a fishing boat would bring bad luck. Such beliefs deny women access rights to resources. Most talk about women's rights is mere tokenism, she added, and women are still denied equality in inheritance of property. Women should be trained to manage economic enterprises so that they have alternative sources of income.

Tenure laws

Christiana Saiti Louwa, a member of the Elmolo tribe of Lake Turkana, Kenya, said the country's current land tenure laws are not in favour of fishing communities and other indigenous peoples owning resources. Fishing communities are not aware enough of their human rights. They are

marginalized from decision-making structures. Women are not allowed to own fishing equipment and cannot venture along the shores for fear of harassment, she said.

Farouk Bagambe, an NGO activist, from Uganda, pointed out that in the country's beach management units (BMUs), often considered vehicles for co-management, fishers are held accountable for the state of fishery resources; yet they have no rights to the resources. Bagambe said it is important to strengthen community fishing rights. The promotion of human rights was critical for the social development of fishing communities, he added. These rights included legally mandated rights to decent working conditions, gender equality, children's rights and the rights of other potentially vulnerable groups.

Mainza K Kalonga, representing the government of Zambia, said that the country's fisheries have long been open-access. With the collapse of many hinterland businesses and companies, fisheries activities provide a social safety net. Although women were once not allowed to fish due to traditional beliefs, both men and women now have equal access to fishery resources, he said.

Friday Njaya, representing the government of Malawi, said that the country's small-scale fisheries operate under a common-property regime, with rights and responsibilities assigned to



The participants of the Zanzibar Workshop were drawn from Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia

specific groups of fishers. Although some informal traditional customary laws exist and are still practised in Malawi, they are not legally recognized by the government, he said. Gender discrimination results from socio-cultural influences. Women are prohibited from coming near newly built canoes. Women are involved mostly in traditional fish processing and marketing.

Sebastian Mathew, Programme Adviser, ICSF, said a whole gamut of fisheries scenarios, ranging from an open-access fisheries regime to a highly regulated quota-based fisheries regime, can be observed in the ESA region. He flagged the following as relevant issues: how to protect the access of artisanal fishers to fishing grounds and thereby to fishery resources; how to eliminate destructive fishing gear and practices; how to manage fisheries in inland

In the final analysis, in countries with poor capacity to invest in fisheries management, the success of fisheries management lies perhaps in the moral realm and not in the legal domain.

and marine waters, especially in the exclusive economic zones (EEZs), by ensuring an appropriate management regime; how to ensure the participation of communities in decision-making processes; and how to integrate elements of local/traditional knowledge into fisheries management regimes. There is also a need to ensure a bottom-up perspective on conservation and allocation of fishery resources.

The forthcoming FAO Global Conference on Small-scale Fisheries will focus on securing user and access rights, Mathew said. A rights-based framework would involve a proper realization of both rights and duties. In an open-access system, where fishing spaces and resources are limited, a community may have to develop rules to govern access to the limited fishery resources through a rotational access system. Developing such rules was part of many traditional community management systems. The crux of the rights-based approach to fisheries management should be how to negotiate how much of ones' own rights has to

be given up to accommodate the rights of others.

Exploring the space for coherence is the essence of adopting the rights-based approach to fisheries, Mathew said. It was time to recognize fishers and their fishing practices and to come to an understanding about developing the fishers' own system of a rights-based framework. A rights-based regime for fisheries management could essentially mean that one is aware of one's obligations and duties as a fisher, he said. The rights-based approach should be appropriate for the fishery and the community in question. The challenge would be to develop the elements of such a framework based on already existing structures.

Christiana Saiti Louwa of Kenya commented that effective solutions should be found for the immediate problems of fishers, and that they should not unnecessarily wait for longer periods to gain recognition for their rights. Momade Bacar, a fisherman from Mozambique, agreed with Christiana, and added that there were severe conflicts between resident and migrant fishers who move across zones in Mozambican waters without actually respecting, or even being aware of, the rules and regulations. He said an immediate solution needed to be found for such transgressions.

Issa Ameir, a fisherman from Tanzania, observed that all countries that were represented at the workshop had some kind of management regime in their fisheries. Still, destructive or illegal fishing continued. Fishers were quite unaware of their rights or responsibilities and would also be unaware of the status of their fishery resources. Livelihood and food-security issues often come before conservation issues, he said. These, together with weak enforcement of management measures, breed illegal fishing.

Socially responsible

It was pointed out that although effective enforcement is crucial to fisheries management, a socially responsible approach can help improve management. Referring to a study done by Ian Bryceson, Kassim Kulindwa, Albogast Kamakuru, Rose Mwaipopo

and Narriman Jiddawi from Mafia Island, Tanzania, it was pointed out that the spurt in illegal fishing in the island coincided with the reopening of village schools. There was thus a clear link between illegal fishing and the need to meet the costs of school education, a human rights issue. If the government can provide financial assistance for children of fishing communities to buy schoolbooks and pay for school fees, a possible reduction in illegal fishing could be achieved, it was observed.

In the final analysis, in countries with poor capacity to invest in fisheries management, it was observed, the success of fisheries management lies perhaps in the moral realm (for example, peer pressure) and not in the legal domain. It was difficult to implement fisheries management only through command-and-control structures, and they would not succeed if communities did not take any responsibility for their implementation. If the needs of the poor in the community are addressed, there is a greater chance of them taking responsibility to conserve fishery resources.

Issa Ameir, a fisherman from Tanzania, said that it is easier to earn a living from fishing than from agriculture since a farmer has to wait long to harvest and sell his produce. If fishers are still poor, it is because they do not manage their finances well and often squander their money on alcohol and other vices. It is the responsibility of fishers to use less destructive gear and sustainable methods of fishing for the benefit of future generations. Fishers all over the world should have one common goal to help future generations earn respectable livelihoods, he concluded.

Hahn Goliath, a fisherman from South Africa, said it was difficult in his country to talk to fishers about their responsibility to protect and conserve resources for sustainable use, when the rights of fishers were not recognized. The small-scale fishers cannot be asked to practise sustainable fishing, he said, when the big companies are taking what they want. The argument of the small-scale fishers is that they are taking what rightfully belongs to them to put the days' food on the table.

A rights-based approach should legally and formally recognize the rights of small-scale fishing communities to practise their livelihood, he said. It is common for the tourism industry in South Africa to use pictures of traditional fishers carrying baskets of catch for sale at tourist cottages. While this may promote the tourism business, in reality, traditional fishers do not even have the right to put fish in their baskets.

One needs to be careful in criticizing fishers for spending their money on alcohol, he said. Fishers' dignity is violated when they go back to their respective homes empty-handed. They feel helpless for being unable to put food on the table for their children. The value of their livelihood and tradition is not recognized.

Responsibilities

Chief Chipepo, a traditional tribal chief of Zambia, said that though the meeting was focusing on the rights of fishers and fishing communities, their responsibilities were not discussed. It is important for governments to demarcate areas where fishers can fish, and areas on land that could be used for drying and processing fish. Once these rights are in place, fishers should accept the responsibility for managing the resources.

NEENA KOSHY/ICSF



Florence Okoth Nyalulu of Uganda, Friday Njaya of Malawi, Jackie Sunde of South Africa and Narriman Jiddawi of Tanzania at the Zanzibar Workshop

The chief gave an example from Zambia of hunters informing him beforehand about the animals they would hunt. The hunted animal is brought back to be shown to the chief, an act that would be recorded. Chief Chipepo added that resources should be used and not abused. Almost all the lakes in Zambia have been overfished. So it is the responsibility of fishers to look after the fish in the river and avoid destructive gear like mosquito nets.

Commenting on the intervention made by the chief, Sebastian Mathew of ICSF said that responsibility is indeed an important issue but one should be cautious to avoid putting the onus or responsibility only on fishing communities. It is equally important, while discussing rights and responsibilities, to keep in mind the responsibilities of others in society—including the government—towards fishers.

When a fisher is asked not to use a particular fishing gear or to fish in a particular fishing ground or not to catch a particular fish, it is the responsibility of the larger society to offer an alternative so that the children of the fishing community can go to school and be fed. Were the fishers to comply with all regulations and manage a catch after a huge effort, the returns they receive from marketing the catch

may be meagre. In such a situation, it is the responsibility of the government to make sure that fishers' get good prices for their catches.

The tourism industry, which makes huge profits, should be taxed, and the revenue thus earned should be redistributed for the benefit of the community. This money can be pooled together as a community fund and used to establish schools, hospitals and other public amenities for the community.

It is not right, or practicable, to see everything as fishers' responsibility. The fishers and their communities are sometimes made victims of conservation efforts. If the larger society opts for conservation, it should make sure that it pays for the consequent loss of livelihood of the fishing community. There should be some mechanism for redistribution of profits. Facilities could be created in coastal areas so that the community feels their needs are looked after by the larger society in response to conservation measures that disrupt their fisheries. It is important to deal with responsibility within this framework, Mathew concluded.

Jackie Sunde of South Africa said that conventional definitions of small-scale fishers took into consideration only the harvesting aspect of fisheries, and not the pre- and post-harvest activities; hence, by default, it is quite a male-dominated definition, which fails to value the activities of women prior to the fishing, which include nurturing, producing and reproducing their families and households, and also engaging in a range of post-harvest activities in the fisheries.

Empowering women

The perceptions about empowering women in the region through a rights-based approach must be stated very clearly, Sunde continued. It is important to focus on the need to recognize women's rights within the sector, especially their right to participate in the fisheries decision-making processes, which, in general, is reserved for men. For a rights-based approach to be effective in management regimes, it should be a community-based rights approach, she added.

NEENA KOSHY/ICSF



Christiana Saiti Louwa of the El Molo tribe, Lake Turkana, Kenya, at a session on community organization at the Zanzibar Workshop

An individualized, privatized sort of fisheries needs to be strongly opposed. Even within the community-based approach, women's voices should be heard. There is need for specific measures to ensure that within a community-based, rights-based approach, women are protected.

A code of conduct or set of technical guidelines needs to be developed for those community entities (whether it is a BMU or any co-management institution) to ensure that women enjoy equal benefits as men. Equal benefits do not necessarily mean exactly the same thing but the ability to avail of similar and matching benefits all along the entire fish supply chain, Sunde said.

A range of issues related to implementing supportive measures to promote value addition, income generation and redistribution of benefits through processing, marketing and trade needs to be looked at because women are located at specific points in these sectors. Therefore, in a rights-based approach, it is important for government to provide incentives that promote labour-intensive local trade that supports women. Governments should be asked to put more money into research to deepen understanding of the roles of women and what would empower them and enable them to become more economically independent. This could change the material basis of their oppression, Sunde added.

It was important to call on FAO and governments to dedicate resources for capacity building to make women aware of their rights and thereby realize, their rights. It is also necessary to develop indicators that will track some of the tangible facts of discrimination that women experience so that when the rights-based approach is evaluated, it would be possible to measure to what extent women in small-scale fisheries are benefiting from more egalitarian imperatives.

'Gender equity', 'gender mainstreaming' and so on are terms generally used in an instrumental fashion in technical, donor-driven programmes merely to add some gender spice into the pot of development and stir up a bit of interest and appetite. What is more pertinent is to really work towards

gender-just fisheries and recognize that women have rights and also the right to realize these rights. A rights-based approach needs particular focus and thought on how women will benefit from it in practice and not just on paper, Sunde concluded.

Hahn Goliath, the fisherman from South Africa, raised some serious concerns on gender equality, based on the South African experience. In South Africa, women never went to sea. The new fisheries policy, which gives fishing rights to women, insists that to obtain fishing rights, women need to go out to sea. As a result of this forced entry, some other traditional fisher will be denied a traditional right of access to the sea. In such a context, what would the term 'equal' mean, he asked.

It is important to focus on the need to recognize women's rights within the sector, especially their right to participate in the fisheries decision-making processes, which, in general, is reserved for men.

Most of the small-scale boats in South Africa are small undecked vessels. Women on these vessels could face problems like the lack of toilet facilities. What are the implications for their families and households if women were to go out to sea to fish, he asked. What would it mean for a mother who cares for her children and their security? Particularly if the children are girls, what are the implications in a country like South Africa, which reports one of the highest rates of rape in the world? What would it mean, in terms of potential sexual abuse, for both parents to go to sea? In such circumstances, the implication of any policy on equality needs to be thought through, Goliath said.

New positions

Solene Smith, the fisherwoman from South Africa, said that women are indeed moving into new positions. For example, Sea Harvest, one of the largest seafood companies in South Africa, employs 64 women in important positions as captains, skippers and other workers on board larger vessels. There are other women whose men drowned

The Zanzibar Statement

Preamble

We, 45 participants from Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia, representing small-scale, artisanal and indigenous fishing communities engaged in inland and marine fisheries; fishworker organizations and non-governmental organizations; researchers; activists; as well as some representatives of government institutions from the Eastern and Southern African (ESA) region;

Having convened at a Workshop 'Asserting Rights, Defining Responsibilities: Perspectives from Small-scale Fishing Communities on Coastal and Fisheries Management', in Zanzibar from 24 to 27 June 2008, to develop a shared perspective on the rights-based approach to fisheries in the context of the FAO Global Conference on Small-scale Fisheries, Bangkok, from 13 to 17 October 2008;

Being concerned about the negative impacts of globalization such as threats arising from indiscriminate industrial shrimp-trawling and distant-water tuna-fishing, tourism development, and industrial aquaculture; safety of fishers and fishing operations in marine and inland waters; the creation of non-participatory and exclusive marine protected areas, inland and coastal pollution, discrimination against women and high incidence of HIV/AIDS in fishing communities; and lack of respect for customary land rights of fishing communities;

Being aware of responsible fishing practices and customary rights of coastal and inland fishing communities as well as local and traditional knowledge of fishers in the region;

Affirming that fishing is a way of life for coastal and inland fishing communities who are the custodians and responsible users of marine and inland fishery resources; and

Believing that dependence of fishing communities on fishery resources and associated and dependent ecosystems is shaped by the need to meet livelihood requirements and food security in the struggle to eradicate poverty, as well as the need to recognize cultural and spiritual values;

Hereby, adopt the following Statement addressed to our governments and the FAO:

Rights of Fishing Communities

1. The fishing communities should have the full enjoyment of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international human rights law. The indigenous fishing communities should have the full enjoyment of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007).
2. The rights of fishing communities to safe drinking water, sanitation, health and HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment services, and education and training, should be recognized.
3. A rights-based approach to fisheries should recognize the customary rights, local knowledge, traditional systems and practices, and the rights to access marine and inland resources of small-scale, artisanal and indigenous fishing communities, as well as the right to land for homestead, fishery-related, and other livelihood-related activities. Furthermore, such an approach should enhance collective, community-based access and management regimes.
4. All the rights and freedoms that are agreed to as relevant for rights-based approach to fisheries, should apply equally to all men and women of fishing communities.

Fishing Rights

5. The fishing rights should not be treated as a tradable commodity and they should be seen as an integral part of human rights. A rights-based approach to fisheries should not lead to the privatization of fisheries resources.
6. Efforts should be made to improve the safety of small-scale and artisanal fishing operations and to ensure safety of fishers in marine and inland waters. Labour rights and safe working and living conditions of fishers should be guaranteed by the ratification and implementation of the ILO Work in Fishing Convention, 2007, and by extending its relevant provisions to inland and shore-based fishers and fishing operations.
7. Mechanisms for the monitoring and review of the legislative framework

for the effective implementation of this rights-based approach should be developed and implemented.

8. Financial and capacity-building support should be made available to recognized fishworker organizations, community-based, non-governmental organizations and research institutions to implement programmes to promote fishing communities' awareness of rights and to strengthen capacity to lobby and advocate for their rights.
9. Specific measures to address, strengthen and protect women's right to enable them to participate fully in the fishery should be developed. These measures should work towards the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and should secure their safety against sexual abuse.
10. Conservation initiatives, including MPAs, coastal area management programmes, tourism interventions and industrial aquaculture should respect the rights of coastal communities to unhindered access to beaches, landing sites and fishing grounds.

Fisheries governance

11. The management of inland and marine fishery resources should be devolved to the local level in the region. Programmes for devolution of fisheries management should be preceded, and accompanied, by capacity-building programmes for fishers' and fishing community organizations to enhance negotiating power as well as to build up capacity for responsible fisheries management.
12. The decisions affecting the access and use of land or water bodies currently enjoyed by, or of benefit to, fishing communities, should be made with the full and effective consultation and involvement of the fisher people and should proceed only with their full, prior and informed consent.

Conflict resolution

13. Mechanisms should be developed to resolve and mitigate conflicts between industrial and small-scale, artisanal fishing, as well as between different fishing groups and interests. Particular attention should be given to mitigating conflicts between industrial bottom trawling and small-scale non-trawl fishing.

IUU and industrial fishing

14. Effective and timely initiatives should be undertaken to combat the incidence of illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing in the lakes as well as in the South and East African exclusive economic zones, which impacts the viability of the small-scale fisheries.

Post-harvest issues

15. Measures should be developed to provide access to infrastructure and access to credit to local processing, trade and marketing initiatives. In this context, greater emphasis should be placed on local, national and regional markets within Africa. Further, measures should be put in place to ensure that the benefits of value addition along the fish supply chain are enjoyed by local fishing communities and that vulnerability to middlemen, transporters and global trade processes is minimized.

Coastal and inland pollution

16. Measures should be developed to address all forms of pollution that are degrading the marine and inland aquatic environment and thus progressively destroying the livelihoods of marine and inland fishing communities.

In conclusion

17. For the effectiveness of a rights-based fisheries approach we recognize the indivisibility of: (i) fishery access and user rights, (ii) post-harvest rights and (iii) human rights, and we believe that the development of responsible and sustainable small-scale artisanal and indigenous fisheries is possible only if they are addressed in an integrated manner.
18. We call upon governments and FAO to ensure that the principles, mechanisms, and measures proposed in this Statement are recognized in the development of a rights-based approach to small-scale, artisanal and indigenous, inland and marine fisheries in the ESA region.

—*This Statement is from the workshop, "Asserting Rights, Defining Responsibilities: Perspectives from Small-scale Fishing Communities on Coastal and Fisheries Management in Eastern and Southern Africa" 24 to 27 June 2008 (Zanzibar Workshop)*

NEENA KOSHY/ICSF



The Zanzibar Workshop called for international alliances to synthesize the voices of fishers around the globe into one single clarion call

at sea and who have inherited their boats and gear and now want to go out to sea. Such women cannot be stopped; rather, they need to be empowered to go fish. Meanwhile, the cultural and personal preferences of those women who do not wish to go to sea should be respected, even as those who want to go out, encouraged, said Smith.

Goliath said it was important to see what fishers would like to assert in a rights-based approach in terms of coastal development, alternative livelihood options, land issues and conservation initiatives like MPAs. Drawing on the earlier suggestion to tax the tourism industry to plough back part of its profits to the larger community, similar arrangements should be worked out for conservation and related endeavours, he said. The community's right to participate in the planning of some of these development efforts should also be ensured, Goliath added.

Jackie Sunde of South Africa summed up the issues that were beginning to emerge for securing the access rights of small-scale fishers in the ESA region:

- greater definition and articulation of small-scale fishers' rights in legal and policy frameworks;
- the need to define the right to preferential access to resources (with associated restrictions on industrial/commercial vessels);
- introduction of zonation and vessel/gear/effort controls as mechanism to secure these rights;
- recognition, and integration, of indigenous and traditional knowledge with scientific knowledge systems;
- improvement of research on the status of fish stocks and developing a joint decision-making mechanism on sustainable levels of fish harvesting;
- introduction of a consultative process to initiate restrictions on fishing craft and gear, also based on indigenous knowledge; and enforcement of regulations related to destructive gear and fishing practices;
- ensuring the right to participate in decisionmaking through structures such as co-management committees or BMUs, to move towards a greater balance between conservation goals

and livelihood rights, and to ensure sustainable rights to access and use in the context of resource management tools like MPAs;

- ensuring access to adequate credit and financial support; and
- introducing and protecting measures to promote and protect women's access to resources and assets.

Christiana Saiti Louwa of Kenya said that the way forward was to create awareness of the plight of fishing communities, in the context of the denial of their rights. Talking about rights was the first step towards internalizing these issues, she said. It is important to formulate a vision, as fisherfolk, about what to achieve, and a commitment to attain the goals and rights. Another crucial step was to educate governments on these issues from the perspective of fishing communities, through meetings and interactions, she said. It was also important to network and communicate with other fishing communities and organizations working on coastal, inland and fisheries issues.

It was clear from the Zanzibar Workshop that international alliances need to be formed to synthesize the voices of fishers around the globe into one single clarion call that will potently flag the concerns of small-scale fishers to the world. **3**

For more



icsf.net/icsf2006/jspFiles/eastAfrica/index.jsp

ICSF website on ESA Workshop

4ssf.org

FAO Global Conference on Small-scale Fisheries

www.masifundise.org.za/

Masifundise Development Trust

www.sadc.int/fanr/naturalresources/fisheries/index.php

Fisheries page of the Southern African Development Community

www.swiofp.net

South West Indian Ocean Fisheries Project

Learning, Sharing, Acting

A workshop held at the coastal town of Bagamoyo during 17—18 August 2015 addressed the role of the SSF Guidelines in meeting the challenges of coastal communities in Tanzania

The adoption of the Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication (SSF Guidelines) by the Committee on Fisheries (COFI) of FAO in June 2014 has established a firm foundation for organizing and facilitating activities that will enhance the profile of small-scale fisheries around the world and promote their role as diligent actors in the fight against global poverty. These Guidelines resonate with the situations that coastal fisheries in Tanzania face. Coastal Tanzanian communities have to confront a number of challenges in improving their livelihoods from fisheries, not the least of which is the increase in destructive fishing methods, including the common use of explosives. Additionally, the role of women in the small-scale fisheries value chain is largely unrecognized, in terms of their role in gleaning and fish processing and selling.

In response to the move to disseminate the SSF Guidelines, Tanzanian member of the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF), in collaboration with MWAMBAAO Coastal Community Network of Tanzania, conducted a workshop with policy-makers and representatives from marine fishing communities during 17—18 August 2015 at Bagamoyo.

MWAMBAAO is an evolving network of coastal communities in Tanzania that is working to build the capacity of communities and bring them together while also linking up with scientists, government institutions, practitioners and experts to facilitate cross-learning, information sharing and joint action.

The workshop paid tribute to the memory of Chandrika Sharma, the former Executive Secretary of ICSF, who was very closely involved in the process leading up to the adoption of the SSF Guidelines, but who was sadly lost when the Malaysian Airlines flight MH370 disappeared on 8 March 2014.

The total number of participants at the Bagamoyo workshop was 36, of whom 10 were female and 26 male. The main objectives of the workshop were to:

- i. continue the participatory process of creating awareness of the SSF

The workshop paid tribute to the memory of Chandrika Sharma, the former Executive Secretary of ICSF, who was very closely involved in the process leading up to the adoption of the SSF Guidelines...

Guidelines and their applicability in the local context of Tanzania;

- ii. explore how current legislation reflects the SSF Guidelines and where there might be room for improvement;
- iii. stimulate local awareness amongst members of the marine fishing community in Tanzania of the breadth of their rights both in the national and international context; and
- iv. identify ways in which fishing communities can begin to implement the SSF Guidelines on the ground.

The workshop was conducted in the coastal town of Bagamoyo and involved participants from different locations and at different levels of governance, from policymakers to fishers themselves. Zanzibar fisheries were not included in the workshop

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largely for logistical reasons but also because Zanzibar fisheries legislation differs from that of the mainland. In order to facilitate easier communication with participants, a Kiswahili translation of the SSF Guidelines was prepared.

A brief introduction was given on the development of the SSF Guidelines until their adoption on 1 June 2014 so that the members would appreciate the participatory efforts taken to involve and consult stakeholders from different levels of the fisheries community. These included representatives of governments, small-scale fishers, fishworkers and their organizations, researchers, development partners and other relevant stakeholders from over 120 countries in six regions and over 20 civil society organizations.

The methodology for the workshop involved:

- appreciative inquiry;
- giving priority to the rights and responsibilities in small-scale fisheries;
- sharing of related experiences of small-scale fisheries in other countries using a community film;
- presentation on key issues; and
- group discussions and deliberations.

Highlights of the workshop

(i) Sharing of experiences using a community film

Two videos were shown from two different parts of the world to illustrate the rights of small-scale fishers and the issues which they are currently facing.

- a. *Voice of Fishers, Panama*, which was produced under the 'Voices of Fishers' project conducted in relation to the development of the Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security. The documentary production involves testimonies from members of the fishing community of Kuna Yala, Comarca, who talk about their vision and the reality of issues relating to tenure and rights over traditional fisheries, and the need

for the government to recognize their traditional governance system.

- b. *A Cry for Rights*, is a participatory video facilitated by MWAMBAO with the fisher communities in Lamu, Kenya, regarding the need for community consultation with regard to a major local port development which will significantly impact their fishing grounds, livelihoods and culture.

(ii) Clarification of small-scale fisheries governance issues from a central government perspective

At the workshop, it was elaborated that the fisheries sector, being an important livelihood sector for the people and economy of Tanzania, is a multi-sectoral and multi-stakeholder sector, within which a number of rights and responsibilities have been developed in order to ensure the desired functioning of the sector. Governance responsibilities are outlined by the national policy, legal and institutional framework. Key instruments include the National Fisheries Sector Policy and Strategies Statement (NFSPSS) of 1997; the Fisheries Act No. 22 of 2003 and the Principal Regulations of 2009 and 2012, usually reviewed from time to time.

Local participation through decentralized management of the fisheries sector is enshrined in these instruments through which the government recognizes the central and significant role of small-scale fisheries and fishing communities in the country. In addition to fishers having the right to make demands on the government for information, facilitation and other services to enable them to benefit from fisheries resources, small-scale fishers also bear responsibility for protecting resources, and ensuring sustainable use and compliance to sensitive management practices on the marine environment guided by their own bylaws.

(iii) Group discussions and deliberations by participants

Five groups were formed, each assigned under one of the major

themes of the SSF Guidelines, namely, (a) Governance of tenure; (b) Social development, employment and decent work; (c) Value chain (including post-harvest and trade activities); (d) Gender equity; and (d) Climate change and disaster risk.

From the ensuing discussions, some of the experiences regarding fishers' rights noted that overall, there was a lack of a clear mechanism or platform for voicing the rights of small-scale fishers. It was noted that some organizations have been formed, such as Muungano wa Wavuvi

wa Mwambao Tanzania, but these are area-specific and do not have a coordinated outreach for the coastal fishers in the country. In addition, community-based systems such as Beach Management Units (BMUs) or Village Liaison Committees (VLCs) have been formed, but the effectiveness of these structures is also area-specific, and their operations are sometimes challenged by lack of capacity, non-compliance or inability to stand for small-scale fishers' rights.

- Specifically, the following issues were mentioned:

| Issues | Issues |
|--|--|
| <p>Policy and legal issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fishers do not have the absolute right of ownership of fishing grounds • Conversion of land areas to other uses such as tourist hotels is limiting the right of access of fishers to fishing grounds • Lack of participation of small-scale fishers in the coastal land-use planning processes is affecting small-scale fishers' rights • Fisheries laws and policies are not commensurate with small-scale fisheries situations, and hence need to be reviewed • There is need to endorse BMU regulations | <p>Interlinkages for management</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor linkages with the Meteorological Department deny fishers adequate information on the weather situation, making it difficult for them to prepare for disasters • Inadequate savings and credit facilities to satisfy and motivate fishers. These need to be upscaled • Low entrepreneurship skills for small-scale fishers • Poor dissemination or coordination of market information |
| <p>Ecological, environmental issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inadequate knowledge makes it challenging for communities to engage in sustainable management of resources (like mangroves, beaches and coral reefs) • Degradation of marine ecology from both climate change and anthropogenic factors • Rise in sea level and destruction of beaches related to climate change • Climate-change-related decline in seaweed production | <p>Health issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited health services available for small-scale fishing communities (especially healthcare for women and children) • Inadequate knowledge of HIV/AIDS among small-scale fishers |
| <p>Gender-related concerns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's involvement in decision-making is low (only 30 per cent) • Women do not have adequate knowledge of the fisheries • Women in small-scale fishing communities are less educated (low schooling levels) compared to men • Tough competition for women from more able fishers and buyers • Women's low engagement in the value chain is due to inadequate support and lack of capital • Gender-based violence is experienced throughout the value chain (in employment, business, etc.) | <p>Small-scale fisheries management concerns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Few developed and equipped landing sites • Inadequate access to appropriate fishing tools or technologies, which affects more women and the youth • Permission for non-government actors to manage marine resources (for example, in creation of artificial reef structures) • Poor or lack of efficient tools, low-standard tools, gear and equipment, and lack of capital to invest in fishing and related activities |

Prioritisation of issues

Each working group prioritized two actions as priority outcomes from the workshop and these were summarized under the major themes as follows:

- i. Forming an umbrella national fishers' organization starting at the village level

The responsibility of this national small-scale fishers' organization will be to (a) mobilize and collect people's views and increase their awareness and sensitization on key issues confronting small-scale fisheries; (b) unite groups that already exist; (c) provide advice and guidance; and (d) collaborate with the government and the village to develop a common goal. The organization will also have to develop a constitution.

- ii. Encourage further formation of savings and credit groups

Forming savings and credit groups to promote the sensitization, mobilization and formation of a sound savings and credit system with reasonable reach among the small-scale fishing community, which will also be accessible and affordable. This will be done in cooperation with current leaders and advisers of VICOBA (Village Community Banks).

- iii. Improve collaboration among, and between, fishing communities in the protection of landing sites

This proposal will include the formulation of a decision-making protocol for landing-site management. This protocol will involve the following:

- a. preparation of bylaws and guidelines for (coastal) investors (in particular, tourism developers). These bylaws will be formulated through the sensitization of the small-scale fishing community at the village level;
- b. allocation of roles and responsibilities;
- c. consideration of gender equity;
- d. encouraging increased hygiene at the landing sites by BMU and other stakeholders;
- e. follow-up on security issues at landing sites;
- f. follow-up on bylaw enforcement; and

- g. improving women's access to fish markets.

- iv. Prepare a Social and Environmental Management Plan for small-scale fisheries. This plan will outline small-scale fisheries management aspects, disaster mitigation aspects, and information sharing and coordination among the different stakeholders—village-local government (district) and the central government. The plan will also outline mechanisms for improved communication and for technical/expert support on fisheries and the environment to small-scale fishing communities.

- v. Prepare and enforce bylaws to help in the prevention of gender-based violence among small-scale fishing communities and across the value chain. The programme should include strategies to control HIV/AIDS transmission, as well as liaison with the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare to obtain appropriate guidelines.

In order to jump-start the process and to ensure its sustainability, the workshop facilitators agreed to proceed with the following steps:

- forming a task force involving ICSF, MWAMBAO and the government
- formulating an action plan as the Tanzanian chapter for the implementation of the SSF Guidelines, and
- developing a monitoring plan with established indicators.

For more

igsf.icsf.net/en/page/1070-Tanzania.html

Report of the Workshop to Introduce the FAO Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication (VG-SSF) in Tanzania

Lake Appeal

A workshop in Tanzania focused on building capacity to improve small-scale fisheries in the context of food security and poverty eradication

The Tanzania national capacity-building workshop towards implementation of the Voluntary Guidelines for Sustainable Small-scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication (SSF Guidelines) took place at Monarch Hotel, Mwanza, on 31 August and 1 September 2016. It was attended by 52 participants (45 per cent, women), representing a wide spectrum of small-scale fisheries stakeholders, including civil society organizations (CSOs), academia, research institutions, the government, fisheries training institution, private sector organizations and the women fish processors and traders from the major great lakes of Tanzania, namely; Victoria, Nyasa and Tanganyika. This was the first workshop conducted in the country since the adoption of the SSF Guidelines by the FAO Committee on Fisheries (COFI) at its 31st Session in Rome in June 2014.

The workshop aimed to set a stage for implementing the SSF Guidelines in Tanzania. More than a half of the participants were hearing about the guidelines for the very first time; hence there was a need to first raise awareness to improve understanding of the SSF Guidelines and their guiding principles; and their relevance for resolving some of the issues confronting fishing communities at the intra- and inter-sectoral levels in the inland fisheries in Tanzania as well as to identify strategies to be put in place in order to implement the SSF Guidelines.

The workshop was organized around plenary presentations and discussions, and working group sessions. There were ten plenary presentations. The first was an overview on the small-scale fisheries

guidelines described in the SSF Guidelines, drawing on the 2008 Bangkok Global Conference on Small-scale Fisheries towards securing Sustainable Small-scale Fisheries, during which the idea for putting a specific focus on small-scale fisheries was conceived, and going forward to June 2014 when the 31st session of COFI endorsed the SSF Guidelines.

The two presentations that followed were meant to give a background to the workshop. They included a feedback on the East Africa Consultation Workshop on improving small-scale fisheries in the context of food security and poverty eradication that was hosted by the FAO

This was the first workshop conducted in the country since the adoption of the SSF Guidelines by the FAO Committee on Fisheries (COFI) at its 31st Session in Rome in June 2014.

Sub-Regional Office for Eastern Africa in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, during 15-18 September 2015. The workshop facilitated an understanding of the principles of the SSF Guidelines and their application in order to support their implementation for sustainable small-scale fisheries at regional and national levels. The third presentation highlighted the important and significant role played by CSOs in the SSF Guidelines development process.

Thematic areas

Of particular interest were the plenary presentations that unpacked the contents of the key thematic areas of the SSF Guidelines, namely, governance of tenure in small-scale fisheries and resource management;

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social development, employment and decent work; value chains, post-harvest and trade; gender equality; and disaster risks and climate change. The role of research in the implementation of the guidelines was also explored.

Resource materials for capacity-building programmes were developed prior to, and during, the workshop to be used as training tools for future training programmes.

Videos developed with the support of the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF) were played to aide in raising awareness on (i) the role and place of women in the fisheries value chain, (ii) the challenges that women face and (iii) the efforts in place to improve the situation. The video clips raised a dialogue among workshop participants who acknowledged that they have been powerful tools for training and capacity building towards implementation of the SSF Guidelines. Issues that were aired through the videos are real and reflect the actual situation the women face and therefore efforts are needed to ensure that women in the small-scale fisheries sector get proper recognition and due attention in terms of favourable policies and development that is economically, socially and environmentally sustainable, through a human-rights-based approach.

A summarized Swahili version of the SSF Guidelines was also very helpful. Most of the Swahili-speaking participants expressed their appreciation for having the draft Swahili version that would help them give feedback to their organizations.

The the key proceedings of the workshop were filmed, and video clips of interviews highlighting key issues on inland fisheries in Tanzania have been produced to be used to promote awareness as training material for future workshops.

In order to further unpack and contextualize the SSF Guidelines' thematic areas, the participants were divided into six working groups to identify issues, decide what needs to be done, identify responsibilities, and discuss how

the SSF Guidelines can be used to improve the situation of small-scale fisheries.

- Working Group 1: Social development, employment and decent work

(a) What needs to be done to promote the social development of small-scale fishing communities (for example, the coherence amongst agencies/departments, policy development, implementation measures and schemes, and capacity development).

(b) Employment and decent work

What needs to be done to promote decent work across the value chain for all small-scale fishworkers (men and women) in the formal and informal fishery sectors.

- Working Group 2: Secure tenure rights to land and fisheries (Governance of tenure in small-scale fisheries and resource management)

What needs to be done to strengthen tenure rights of inland and marine small-scale fishing communities to land and water bodies.

- Working Group 3: Value chain, post-harvest and trade

What needs to be done to enhance women's role, status and contribution in fisheries and in the fishing/domestic spheres.

- Working Group 4: Disaster risks and climate change

What needs to be done to strengthen the resilience of SSF communities to climate events and natural disasters.

- Working Group 5: Gender equality

What needs to be done to improve gender equality in the entire fisheries value chain, and to promote equal participation of women and men in decision-making processes and organizations, as well as in appropriate technologies, and supportive policies and legislations.

How can the SSF Guidelines be used to improve gender equity of small-scale fishers and fishworkers?

- Working Group 6: Ensuring an enabling environment and supporting implementation

How can the SSF Guidelines be promoted in Tanzania? Can the Union/state government provide a



The Tanzanian workshop, attended by 52 participants, set the stage for the implementation of the SSF Guidelines. More than half of the participants, representing a wide spectrum of small-scale fisheries stakeholders, were hearing about the Guidelines for the very first time

national-level platform with cross-sectoral representation to oversee implementation of the Guidelines? How can these Guidelines be mainstreamed into national and state policies and legislation put in place in relation to food security, poverty elimination and sustainable fisheries management of small-scale fishing communities?

- Based on the SSF Guidelines, what are the national, specific water-body-level priorities for implementation over the next 10 years that can help eliminate poverty, ensure food security and improve the lives and livelihoods especially of the vulnerable and marginalized groups and women in small-scale fishing communities?
- What sort of monitoring systems are needed to assess progress towards implementation of the objectives and recommendations in the SSF Guidelines?

All the thematic groups were asked to suggest specific actions for the government (at the national, state and local levels), the CSOs, other institutions, and the communities themselves. They were also asked to identify government departments/agencies that could be involved in using the SSF Guidelines to improve the socioeconomic situation of small-scale fishers and fishworkers.

The discussions revealed a clear appreciation of the significant role played by women in the small-scale fisheries sector, which has not, however, been sufficiently recognized and appreciated. The workshop,

therefore, recommended the following measures to implement the SSF Guidelines:

- Enhance capacity-building on fisheries governance to fisheries sector stakeholders, including policy-makers, implementers and managers, and integrate them into a sector plan.
- Improve knowledge and support services to implement sound policies and legislation through stakeholders' participation.
- Enhance the capacity of fisheries stakeholders to understand the implications of climate change and help them undertake mitigation measures in order to reduce the envisaged impact.
- Establish village community banks and link them with financial institutions.
- Invest in technology that improves the quality of fish and reduces post-harvest losses.
- Allocate adequate funds to support the implementations.
- Support women to get more organized through establishment of women fisherfolk associations.
- An appeal needs to be made by the Director, Fisheries Development Division, to the FAO for support.
- There is need to hold similar workshops to focus on other water bodies, in the light of implementing the SSF Guidelines. †

For more



sites.google.com/site/ssfguidelines/tanzania

**Tanzania Workshop:
Implementation of the
SSF Guidelines**

Tackling a Dilemma

Follow-up activities, led by fisheries officials and fisher representatives, have begun in Tanzania on how to carry forward the process of implementing the FAO SSF Guidelines

From September 2016, a team of the Mwambao Coastal Community Network, Tanzania, in collaboration with the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF), carried out a series of follow-up activities in the wake of the introductory awareness-raising workshop on the FAO SSF Guidelines. The follow-on activities include two main events plus an initial Mwambao/ICSF facilitators' planning meeting. The main activities included a district facilitators planning workshop, conducted in Bagamoyo, Tanzania, where 20 participants were invited, including districts and HQ fisheries officers, and two fisher representatives from selected pilot villages as the facilitators in the respective villages. The workshop was followed up by a visit by Mwambao facilitators to assess the progress of the prepared plans in three district villages.

The planning workshop came up with the action plan based on the activities of selected priorities from the SSF Guidelines. The planned follow-on activities include a series of specific actions to establish a fishers' umbrella association, promoted for the establishment and strengthen of village savings and loans (VSL) groups and preparation of a communication strategy for disaster management.

A second activity was a follow-up visit by Mwambao facilitators, at the end of September, to assess the progress of the implementation of the action plan within the selected pilot villages.

The following are the results of the implementation of the SSF Guidelines action plan for the pilot areas:

- Establishment of an umbrella fishers association in MOA—

Ndumbani Tanga, to which office bearers were selected, including a chairperson, a secretary, an accountant and a committee of 15 for disaster management.

- A series of successful individual fishermen's group meetings were conducted in three individual villages in Somanga in Kilwa, where it was agreed to set up the umbrella fishers association three days after the follow-up visit. It was reported that the association has already been established, incorporating all the office bearers.

The planning workshop came up with the action plan based on the selected priorities activities from the SSF Guidelines.

- In Kigamboni feedback meetings and awareness raising was carried out in three sub-villages of Kimbiji. Other joint sub-village meetings will be conducted later to help form the umbrella fishermen's association.

Resources needed

A major challenge is on the way forward for the implementation of the SSF Guidelines. Although ICSF has supported awareness-raising of the SSF Guidelines among fishers in Tanzania, a dilemma exists among the facilitators, specifically the implementation point of view. Great resources are needed in connection with broad planning at the national level and multi-stakeholder involvement in order to ensure effective implementation.

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MWAMBAO



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Participants at the Bagamoyo workshop. Mwambao and its partners aim to place these lessons and challenges on the table and discuss with their partners strategies and potential solutions for future implementation of the SSF Guidelines

There is reluctance among some fishers—especially illegal fishers—to join the association as they consider this initiative will prevent them from continuing with illegal fishing. A national-level strategy is required to be formulated, in collaboration with local management institutions (beach management units), to address this issue.

Mwambao and its partners aim to place these lessons and challenges on the table and discuss with its partners strategies and potential solutions for future implementation of the SSF Guidelines. †

For more



igssf.icsf.net

SSF Guidelines

Fraught with Danger

The sociocultural, economic and policy contexts in Tanzania have made fishers vulnerable to environmental, social and work-related problems

Tanzania is one of the top ten countries with a significant fisheries sector in Africa in terms of total capture-fisheries production. The fishery is categorized into artisanal/small-scale and commercial fisheries. The small-scale fishery comprises inland and coastal marine fisheries in the territorial waters of the Indian Ocean. The commercial fishery is composed of Nile perch fishing in Lake Victoria, prawn fishing in the territorial sea and fishing in the exclusive economic zone (EEZ). Aquaculture is a growing industry and has become more commercial with a significant involvement of the private industry.

worth TShs 1.49 tn (approx. US\$700 mn) in 2014.

Agriculture and fisheries are the main sources of employment in the country, accounting for about half of the employed workforce and a quarter of GDP. Although there has been a slight decline in the percentage of people employed in the agricultural, forestry and fisheries sector—from 76.5 per cent in 2006 to 66.9 per cent in 2014—in reality, operators in the small-scale fisheries have increased in number. The number of fishers in the small-scale capture fisheries increased from 78,672 in 1998 to 183,800 in 2014, with a large, but unknown, number also engaged in fish trading and processing. By 2014, it was estimated that about 4 mn people earn their living from fisheries-related activities. The number of fish farmers in aquaculture also doubled, from 9,500 in 1998 to 18,286 in 2014. A number of fishers are also employed in the industrial fisheries sector, such as the recently licenced shrimp trawlers.

Agriculture and fisheries are the main sources of employment in the country...

Although the fisheries sector is not among the major employers in the country, having only 0.7 per cent of the total work force in 2014, its significance is growing both socially and economically. In 2014, it was estimated that the fisheries sector had been growing at a rate of 5.5 per cent but its contribution to the gross domestic product (GDP) was still low, being only 2.4 per cent of the GDP. Inland water bodies contribute about 85 per cent of the total annual fish landings, while coastal marine fisheries contribute about 15 per cent. Between 1998 and 2014, fish production from the capture fisheries increased from 348,000 tonnes worth TShs 76.76 bn (approx. US\$3.6 mn) in 1998 to 365,974 tonnes

Work security

Given the open-access environment, the capture fisheries—both the inland and coastal marine fisheries—have grown exponentially. Coastal marine fisheries are fully, if not over-, exploited, and the increasing number of vessels and fishers is compelling the government to put in place mechanisms of control that would not only sustain the fisheries resource and environments, but also support gainful employment, security of work and socioeconomic mobility. Employment opportunities exist within the underexploited fish stocks in both fresh and marine waters, and in the underexploited deep sea and

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EEZ fisheries resources. Despite its growing significance, the employment environment within small-scale fisheries is engulfed by a number of issues that arise from its traditional system of engagement, uneconomical technologies and the natural conditions impacting on water bodies in the context of climate changes.

The mode of employment in the small-scale fisheries of Tanzania grants fishers some job security and, equally, some insecurity. Firstly, the pattern of fishing is largely dependent on the fishing technique and type of fishing gear or technology used. Most fishers are self-employed, operating singly or in pairs using the hook-and-line or traditional fishing traps/nets; fishers include octopus catchers (mostly women) and collectors of shellfish. Other fishers are engaged as crew to a vessel and for a certain period. (These periods are not fixed, neither is the engagement of these fishers to the vessel). Such fishing uses mostly manually handled nets or longlines. Fishing crew on a particular vessel are normally engaged through an oral agreement with the 'nahodha' (pilot) who navigates the

vessel to the desired fishing grounds. The *nahodha* normally enters into a more secure, though oral, agreement based on trust with the owner of the vessel (*tajiri*), if he himself is not the owner. The *nahodha* is then entrusted in enlisting crew on a casual basis. Crews may sustain a fishing season, and may even move across fishing sites with the same *nahodha* for a longer period, setting camp (*dago*) where fishing grounds are more lucrative. Fishing trips usually last for half a day, although the length can extend, depending on seasons. Some fishing teams may spend up to three weeks away from home, especially when they establish *dago* in distant fishing places, or islands. Increasingly, fishers are camping within, or next to, established villages where they can get basic needs such as food, water and, sometimes, shelter.

This system has reduced the arduous conditions associated with setting camp in the wild. Fishers are normally engaged according to the traditional system of remuneration, the share system, where they are paid a share of the fish catches or

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Women sardine traders awaiting for fishing vessels to dock, Tanga, Tanzania. Tanzanian fishers employed by industrial fishing vessels are comparatively better organized and better-off since they fall under the formalized employment regulations

proceeds/income from fish catches. A common arrangement involves a 50:50 distribution between the *tajiri* and the fishing crew (plus the *nahodha*), which is made after the deduction of operational costs. The *nahodha* is then given a small share by the *tajiri* since he is not only

...fishers remain highly mobile and they normally do not stick for long with one owner.

entrusted with the fishing operations, but also the safety of the vessel. Due to this share system, fishers' incomes vary according to seasons, according to spring tides (*bamvua*), which are biweekly, and according to the conditions of the water, which determine fishing successes. Hence their income is irregular and they may sometimes go without an income during low fishing periods if they do not have alternative livelihood activities. In practice, however, the lack of formal engagements does not limit fishers in making claims concerning their employer or *nahodha*, since these are dealt with by traditional sanctions. But these claims may not be recognized by formal legal instruments if they become unmanageable. On the other hand, the lack of permanent engagement has allowed the Tanzanian small-scale fisheries sector to maintain flexible employment conditions. Thus, fishers remain highly mobile and they normally do not stick for long with one owner. This mobility makes it difficult to attach fishers to a particular place of domicile or residence, with implications on monitoring of their employment.

Vessel owners, in turn, are also wary of such mobile fishers, particularly because of occasional breaches of trust. "Sometimes the owner of a vessel and fishing nets may give fishing crew equipment on the agreement that they sell all catch to him or her on return, but some fishers

breach this agreement and sell the catch to whoever pays higher", says one owner. This practice is termed locally as *kupigapanga*. Such cheating distorts employment arrangements and often pushes the fishers out of work. Yet, as is the case with fishers, vessel owners cannot lay formal charges but choose instead to seek traditional arbitration systems, which may not be always reliable.

Remuneration from direct fishing is further limited by the schemes of middle-persons and other post-harvest operators in the fisheries value chain. Being at the lowest end of this chain, fishers often do not get a fair value for their labour, and they are the ones subjected to the harshest conditions in the sector. Women, who are mostly engaged in daily paid tasks such as offloading fish (*Kiswahili: wapakuaji* or *wabebaji*) also earn quite low prices, depending on the nature of catches. The government also cannot maintain indicative prices for finfish, except where it is export-related and subjected to international standards as it is for the Nile perch, shrimp and other shellfish. Inadequate storage capacities push the fishers to sell immediately, and they usually negotiate prices according to the market of the day.

Useful platforms

The government and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have had considerable gain in mobilizing small-scale fishers to form their own organizations, which is seen in the several community-based organizations (CBOs) and NGOs that have been established. Some of these organizations claim to be representative of fishers across the country, while others are more location- or fishing-ground-based, such as the Fishers Union Organization (FUO); Umojawa Wavuvi Wadogowadogo Dar es Salaam (UWAWADA) and Chama cha Wavuviwadogo MinaziMikinda (CHAWAWAMI). One of the objectives of establishing fishers' CBOs and NGOs was to facilitate platforms on which fishers could make demands and improve their situations. Beach

management units (BMUs) are currently the single most broad-based community of fishers and fishworkers surrounding a fish landing site. In most cases, the landing site also represents a village community. BMUs are a government-established CBO whose mandates include monitoring the fisheries; management of landing sites, and, confronting illegal fishing; they have been quite effective in inland fisheries, especially around Lake Victoria. It is important to note, however, that the concerns these organizations mostly deal with are not usually related to employment conditions of fishers, but to other livelihood basics such as access to healthcare, HIV and AIDS, taxation, prices and market conditions.

Tanzanian fishers employed by industrial fishing vessels are comparatively better organized and better-off since they fall under the formalized employment regulations. Fishers in this sub-sector have formed a trade union, the Tanzania Fishermen and Maritime Workers Union (TAFIMU), formerly known by its Kiswahili acronym, WAMEUTA—WafanyakaziwaMelizaUvuvi Tanzania. This organization has been registered by the Registrar of Organizations Tanzania, and hence is a formalized platform for claim making and seeking for better labour rewards and recognition than is generally the case for small-scale fishers in Tanzania.

Although the Government of Tanzania has long emphasized the importance of decent work in the fisheries, it still recognizes that the fisheries are one of those sectors with significant issues regarding decent work. Incidences of abuses against women and children have been reported frequently but are not effectively documented or recorded. Both inland and marine fisheries have high incidences of child labour—in actual fishing, processing and vessel cleaning—which is also seen in the aquaculture sub-sector. Several efforts to discourage and prohibit such labour have been made; yet, weak enforcement of child labour and related legislation, particularly in rural Tanzania, has permitted the

practice to persist. Other challenges arise out of low economic situations of many households, including the traditional perception on the age where a child needs to support a household. Tanzania has ratified to the universalised standard age of a child, as a person of 18 years and below, but studies have shown that children, particularly after primary school (Standard 7) are regarded as grownups and should engage in work, even though they may be below 15 years of age. The Integrated Labour Force Survey of 2014 estimated that the agriculture and fishery sector employs about 89.3 per cent of the working children in Tanzania. Findings of a 2012 study indicated that the fisheries sector contains some of the worst forms of child labour in Tanzania, exposing children to health problems, including sexual abuse.

Fishers' safety during work is another important labour issue in the fisheries of Tanzania. Although most fishing is conducted within the intertidal area (ocean) and near shore in the lakes, increasingly, fishers are venturing farther as many of them have become motorised, and the use

...the agriculture and fishery sector employs about 89.3 per cent of the working children in Tanzania.

of global positioning system (GPS) to negotiate to fishing grounds is becoming more common. Although accurate data on fatalities is missing, fishers usually recount their struggles with rough seas, and frequent and unexpected storms.

Safety at sea

Yet, most of the vessels used are not sturdy enough to withstand storms or accidents at sea, which are often experienced when the southerly monsoons pick up. It is also not very common for these vessels to carry safety gear on fishing trips. Fisheries Regulation 12- (1) (a) (b) and (c) of 2009 spells out that

a licensed fishing vessel shall not proceed on a fishing voyage unless it has fulfilled certain obligations, including carrying sufficient quantity of food and number of utensils for holding water and food; having a serviceable horn or trumpet, and at least two life rings, one life jacket or

Regular monitoring may, however, be challenging, considering that fishing trips are usually arbitrarily decided, depending on seasons and conditions of the sea/waters.

any other approved life-saving equipment for each crew, and fire-extinguishing devices. Vessel owners, however, hardly ever subscribe to, or provide, insurance packages to cater for fishing-related accidents.

The Fisheries Department and the Surface and Marine Transport Registration Agency (SUMATRA) are both entitled to monitor the safety of fishers as they go for work by enforcing safety-at-sea procedures. The Fisheries Department/local government authorities claim that they issue a vessel licence only after SUMATRA certifies/approves the safety conditions of the fishing vessels. But inspection to ensure compliance of safety regulations is not yet a regular practice. Regular monitoring may, however, be challenging, considering that fishing trips are usually arbitrarily decided, depending on seasons and conditions of the sea/waters. Occasional exercises by SUMATRA to promote safety procedures for water travel are conducted for small-scale fishers but are still inadequate. For example, fishers at the Sahare landing site (Tanga Municipality) recalled one of SUMATRA's attempts to distribute life jackets to fishers but lack of proper co-ordination with local fishing groups resulted in many of the jackets being taken by non-fishers.

Social-security institutions in Tanzania are gradually embracing more liberal insurance schemes in addition to the conventional employer-employee systems, where

each is obliged to make periodic contributions to insurance schemes. Such changes could be taken as innovations in insurance marketing strategies, responding to the needs of the times, but they allow individual commitments to insurance schemes. A number of institutions have, therefore, established insurance schemes that target persons operating in the informal sector such as small-scale fishers, petty business people and small-scale miners.

Other insurance systems that touch on informal operators include the Community Health Fund (CHF), which, through concerted mobilization, is becoming increasingly adopted by grass-roots communities, including fishing communities. Another mechanism is promoting a savings culture through the VICOBA (Village Community Banks) scheme, which also allows fishers and fishing communities to set aside periodic savings and gradually realize benefits. A couple of key challenges, however, still prevail: one, the inadequate mobilization and awareness raising on the benefits of such schemes; and two, the uncertainty or irregularity of incomes, which sometimes compromises people's commitments to such schemes.

The small-scale fisheries sector, in particular, has benefitted from the recently established 'Wote Fund', run by the Tanzania Parastatal Pension Fund (PPF), which targets all informal sector operators, including fishers. The WAVUVI Scheme, established by the Tanzania National Social Security Fund (NSSF), is, to date, one of the most innovative social-security schemes directly targeting fishers. This scheme is one among several other schemes that are 'occupation-based' and target the informal sector. Other schemes established by NSSF with similar conditions include the Wakulima (Farmers) Scheme and the Madini (Miners) Scheme.

Attractive conditions

Conditions for subscribing to the Wavuvi scheme are, thus, quite attractive to small-scale fishers, but would be accessible only if they are

able to maintain gainful employment and concerted advocacy.

The 'informality' in work and employment conditions within small-scale fisheries in Tanzania has permitted operators in the sector to seek arbitration through multiple forums. One is the traditional dispute-resolution systems in cases between fishers themselves, such as when fishers need resolution for pay-related issues.

The other is through appealing to government authorities in the case of disgruntlement with regulations, inadequate state support to enhance fishing capacity or when they are violated by other users who operate in the fishing sector. Many fishers complain about the hassle of annual fishing licences, claiming that it is not only too high, but also cumbersome in the nature of its enforcement.

There is an evident discord between fishers' accountability and enforcement mechanisms in licensing of small-scale fishers in Tanzania which creates significant conflicts. Other common incidences of conflict are between small-scale and industrial fishers. In both the lake fisheries and marine fisheries, industrial trawlers are often caught in the wrong because they destroy the fishing nets/traps of small-scale fishers. At this level, the immediate local government office serves as the point of appeal through which frequent arbitration is performed. This has demanded concerted follow-up that is costly in terms of time and financial expenses to small-scale fishers.

There are both formal and informal rules that inform work-related issues in the small-scale fisheries of Tanzania. National Fisheries Policies, Acts and Regulations and related instruments provide the major formal framework informing employment and labour issues for small-scale fisheries, and are applicable for both the inland and coastal fisheries of Tanzania, and they basically address issues regarding sustainable fisheries development and management; enforcement and compliance, technologies and innovation. Key instruments guiding this sector include: (i) Fisheries Act No. 22 of



Fishing crew leaving for the job, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The WAVUVI Scheme is one of the most innovative social-security schemes directly targeting fishers

2003 that repealed the Fisheries Act No 6 of 1970; (ii) Principal Fisheries Regulations (2009) (iii) Territorial Sea and Exclusive Economic Zone Act of 1989; and, (iv) Marine Parks and Reserves Act (Act No. 29 of 1994). These fisheries legislations provide for compulsory fishing licences of two types: (a) Fishers (Individual) Licence, which costs TShs20,000 per annum, and serves as an identity document for a fisher, and (b) the Small-scale Fishing Vessel Licence (Tshs20,000). The vessel licence serves as a property ownership document and can be used to access credit. Fish products are also taxed 5 per cent of the fish sales landed. Informal rules and norms operate in conjunction with these formal rules and are equally binding to fishers and fishworkers, as mentioned above, and are evident in the daily work arrangements and dispute resolution.

Lack of compliance

Fisheries legislations also emphasize responsible fishing, which is monitored through enforcement mechanisms, compliance and education. Sometimes, the lack of compliance through the use of unsustainable technologies has resulted in serious disputes or conflicts with authorities. One of the most pervasive conflict is related to the use of dynamite in killing fish, and the use of illegal fishing methods which have not only been destructive

to the natural environment, but also destructive to the fishers' own livelihoods. Willing compliance with sustainable fishing practices, therefore, affects the employment environment in the fisheries. There is a small level of traditional fisheries management in pockets of the country, one of the most significant being the community-based octopus closures in locations of Pemba island. This indicates that participatory development of regulations may be more appropriate to secure both fishers' labour rights and the health of the fishing environment. Labour concerns for the small-scale fisheries sector, therefore, cannot avoid questions about enforcement and compliance, and must address both rights and responsibilities of the fishers themselves for gainful employment in the sector.

The sociocultural, economic and policy contexts in Tanzania have created certain conditions of work in the Tanzania fisheries that have made fishers differentially vulnerable to environmental, social and work-related problems, compared to other sectors. The context also shows that there are different levels of rules that inform the fisheries, each of which influences employment conditions and benefits of fishers and fishworkers to enable them to engage in gainful employment. Informal employment engagements and inadequate mobilization have made many of the fishers encounter low rates of remuneration, low job security and inadequate access to social-security and social-protection systems. Specifically, the following key issues summarize the conditions of labour in the small-scale fisheries of Tanzania:

- Employment conditions are based on oral, informal agreements which, although are binding according to traditional sanctions, do not permit formal recognition by current legislation unless they are sanctioned by the government. Such situations allow for avoidance of the law and fishers' rights.
- Small-scale fishing is a precarious occupation, sometimes subjecting fishers to natural disasters during work. Opportunities to subscribe to insurance schemes exist but they are still too minimal and not widely advocated.
- Employment agreements on traditional systems do not entail binding insurance benefits, including accident or off-season benefits; and there is still inadequate mobilization of social-security schemes and benefits among fishers and fishing communities to cater for the needs of the occupation.
- There are limitations in small-scale fishers' organizations to mobilize for favourable employment conditions.
- The working environment remains precarious for fishers because of poor technologies, especially for local vessels to maintain sea/water-worthy safety standards.
- Informality has sometimes limited effective monitoring of small-scale operators, despite sound regulations. This has had implications on fishers' abilities to engage in gainful employment from the fisheries.

For more

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Towards the Implementation of Small Scale Fisheries (SSF) Guidelines in Tanzania

Buying into a Noble Idea

An early champion of the interests of small-scale fishers, the East African nation of Tanzania is among the trailblazers in plans to implement the SSF Guidelines

The United Republic of Tanzania is endowed with about 349,000 sq km of marine and freshwater bodies, comprising substantial fishery resources. This has made the fishing industry one of the major sectors of the country's economy. For the past six decades, the government has been struggling to develop the industry to secure benefits from the resource, especially in terms of increased employment, income, fish supply and generation of foreign currency from exports. There exists a large gap between the potential yield and actual harvest. The maximum sustainable yield (MSY) for both inland and inshore

For the past six decades, the government has been trying to find the root cause behind the low level of production. This generated multiple prescriptions, confusing the means that needs to be pursued. The list of suggestions has included the following issues: open access, poverty and profit motive, the tragedy of the commons, overcapacity, overfishing, illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing, environmental degradation, lack of capital, lack of credit facilities, low level of technology, marketing barriers, high cost of transport, numerous dispersed fishing grounds and landing sites, high post-harvest losses, women's exclusiveness, flaws in government policies and the lack of a culture of savings.

Dealing with these diverse prescriptions has been difficult, especially in optimizing the effective use of limited physical and financial resources. The search for effective SSF management was why Tanzania was among the first countries to buy the idea of developing an international instrument for providing guidelines on how to go about dealing with multiple SSF challenges. It participated in almost all consultative platforms that deliberated the development of the SSF Guidelines. This includes the global SSF Conference held in Bangkok, Thailand, the regional consultative workshop in Zanzibar as well as the technical workshops in Rome.

Implementation plan

Following the endorsement of the SSF Guidelines by the Committee on Fisheries (COFI) during its 31st session, the country began to plan for its implementation. With financial and technical support from the Food and

Over 6,500 persons were effectively engaged in the consultative process on how best the country can implement the SSF Guidelines.

marine waters stands at about 2.14 mn tonnes per annum; the actual yearly production ranges between 370,000 tonnes and 470,000 tonnes.

Since becoming independent 60 years ago, the government of Tanzania, in collaboration with the private sector, and local as well as international organizations and development partners, has executed several fisheries development programmes and projects aimed at developing small-scale fisheries (SSF) in the country. Although some progress has been made, a lot remains to be done, especially in devising a workable strategy for increasing production and engaging increased numbers of youth and women in gainful employment in fisheries.

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Processing of small pelagic fish in Bagamoyo, Tanzania. The maximum sustainable yield (MSY) for both inland and inshore marine waters stands at about 2.14 mn tonnes per annum; the actual yearly production ranges between 370,000 tonnes and 470,000 tonnes

Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), plans were put in motion to ensure the noble objectives in SSF Guidelines were put into practical effect.

The process began with the national awareness-raising workshops that deepened the relevant SSF actors' knowledge and understanding of the thematic areas and guiding principles of the SSF Guidelines. This was followed by the formation of a National Task Team (NTT) consisting

of personnel from the central government, the local government authorities (LGAs), academia, research institutions, women's groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), beach management units (fishers' organizations), and the private sector represented by the National Association of Fish Processing Companies. The overarching Terms of Reference (ToR) for NTT were to engage stakeholders across the country—from marine and inland fisheries—in consultative

planning and development of a National Plan of Action (NPOA) for implementation of the SSF Guidelines.

Over 6,500 persons were effectively engaged in the consultative process of situation analysis, issues identification and in planning on how best the country can implement the SSF Guidelines. It is worth noting all the steps involved in developing the NPOA. The NTT strived towards ensuring the process was participatory and inclusive to ensure ownership, which is an important element of sustainable approaches.

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team repackaged the message around an institutional framework and the issue of proportional representation, legitimacy of fisheries regulations, and macro issues such as the negative impact of coastal urbanization, coupled with the development of beach-front tourist hotels and commercial port development activities. Likewise, the vivid side effects of unco-ordinated cage farming, which denies access rights to capture fishers, was highlighted to illustrate an urgent need for addressing human-rights issues in SSF.

Human rights

Furthermore, it was explained to the stakeholders that by preventing illegal fishing, a great majority of people can continue accessing food fish, and that this is not violation of human rights but rather a requirement for upholding human rights, provided the rules are legitimate. The approach proved to be a useful tool in building constituencies among stakeholders. Copies of the National Plan of Action-SSF Guidelines will soon be available online. 

The NTT managed to collect adequate data and information with regard to salient issues in SSF that need to be addressed. The data and information were collected based on the Participatory Research Assessment (PRA) approach used across the country. It included review of historical data and Semi-Structured Interviews (SSIs) in fishing communities and districts. Also, consultative platforms at community, district and national levels were organized for verification and validation of findings in the course of developing the draft NPoA.

Finally, the draft was endorsed by the Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries. The NPoA-SSF Guidelines present major issues identified; they outline challenges and mitigation measures based on the thematic areas of the SSF Guidelines, namely, human rights; responsible fisheries; sustainable development; and ensuring an enabling environment and supporting implementation.

The human-rights dimension was initially misunderstood, since a great majority of stakeholders thought it was geared at protecting illegal fishers from being arrested, prosecuted and punished. However, the NTT managed to create awareness with regard to broader human-rights issues. The

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Fraught with Danger

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Tackling a Dilemma

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Lake Appeal

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National Task Team (NTT)

<https://www.nationallgbtaskteam.co.za/>