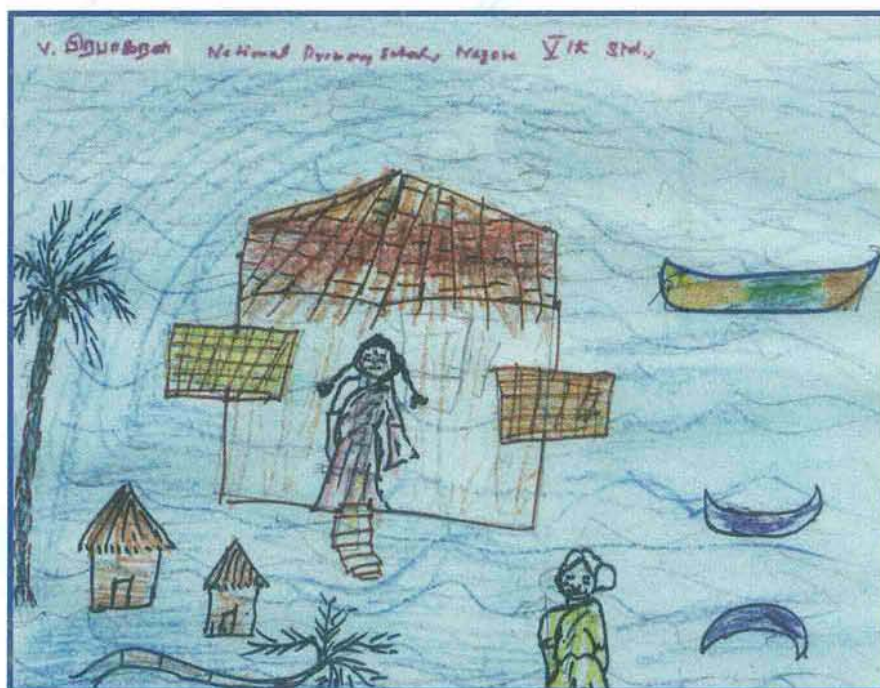


# SAMUDRA

REPORT

INTERNATIONAL COLLECTIVE IN SUPPORT OF FISHWORKERS



MARINE PROTECTED AREAS  
CO-MANAGEMENT  
FISHERIES REFORM IN SOUTH AFRICA  
FISHWORKER ORGANIZATIONS IN PERU  
Tsunami REHABILITATION  
GENDER RELATIONS IN FISHERIES  
NEWS ROUND-UP

# Contents

SAMUDRA Report No. 42 November 2005 TRIANNUAL REPORT OF ICSF

<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>COMMENT</b>	<b>1</b>
<hr/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>NORWAY</b> Important yet marginalized	<b>3</b>
<hr/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>ANALYSIS</b> Go for it	<b>8</b>
<hr/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>GUINEA</b> Stealing fish, stealing lives	<b>12</b>
<hr/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>BRAZIL</b> Dreams vs painful realities	<b>15</b>
<hr/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>SOUTH AFRICA</b> Shifting gear?	<b>21</b>
<hr/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>PERU</b> A change of guard	<b>32</b>
<hr/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>SOUTH AFRICA</b> Making local communities visible	<b>36</b>
<hr/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>IMPRESSIONS</b> Speaking for ourselves	<b>41</b>
<hr/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>ANALYSIS</b> Good intentions alone won't help	<b>43</b>
<hr/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>REVIEW</b> Reflective, dense, integrative	<b>47</b>
<hr/>		
<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>NEWS ROUND-UP</b> Tsunami anniversary: Thailand, Australia Scandinavia, Indonesia, Malaysia, India	<b>50</b>
<hr/>		

## Comment

# The power of co-management

Co-management, intended as a collaborative and participatory arrangement between governments and resource users to share the responsibility for resource management, is increasingly being put forward as a framework for the management of fisheries resources, partly also due to the perceived failure, or inability, of centralized fisheries management regimes.

Co-management arrangements may be more effective in a context where property rights are well defined. As pointed out by Svein Jentoft (see pg 8), co-management arrangements in situations where community property rights are established and recognized, are likely to be more effective, as they enable communities to control access, to sanction, and to exclude others. However, the co-management framework also has relevance in fisheries where property rights are not defined, undoubtedly a more common situation in fisheries across the world where governance structures are still poor. The advantage of co-management is that it enables governments and fishery gear groups to adopt and develop meaningful fisheries management measures that can minimize costs and that can also expect realization of management goals in a reasonable time frame. At least, it is one way to develop appropriate fisheries management measures that can engender ownership among all user groups even in the absence of property rights.

To the extent that co-management recognizes the significance of the participation of resource users at all stages of resource management, it is important. However, experience from various parts of the world indicates that often the government commitment to participation of actual users remains on paper. The article from South Africa (see pg 36), for example, points out that all too often, brief consultation takes the place of genuine local involvement in decisionmaking in the co-management of resources, in this case in the management of marine protected areas (MPAS).

Co-management of fisheries resources needs to ensure genuine involvement of gear groups, and consultation with their representatives. Particularly where traditional institutions for management and conflict-resolution exist, it would be essential to recognize them and ensure their integration within co-management arrangements.

Co-management efforts will also need to recognize the fact of large power differentials between various stakeholders in the co-management process, and, in the interests of equity, will need to take steps to prioritize the concerns and participation of those lower down in the power hierarchy—small-scale fishing communities, and, particularly, the women in these communities. Conversely, it would be imperative to work towards developing the capacity of communities to engage with co-management.

Co-management should not mean pushing all costs on to local communities, as is happening in certain situations. Some costs, such as, for example, the costs of effective enforcement and keeping in check encroachments by the industrial/large-scale/mechanized fleet, should be borne by the State. The need is not for 'less' State, but for a more effective, accountable and responsive State.

And finally, in the context of so many donor-supported co-management projects working in specific locations with communities, there is a risk of a fragmented approach to resource management. It makes little sense if communities and local governments were to manage adjacent areas, while rampant fishing by the large-scale/industrial/mechanized fleet continues unchecked just outside the managed areas. Co-management arrangements must be developed at the larger level, taking into account the natural management unit, with both small-scale and large-scale fisheries being viewed through the same lens, as it were.



## Important yet marginalized

### Why there are so few registered women fishers in Norway and what the consequences might be

**F**ishing in Norway is—and has been—a highly gendered activity, with only a few women working on fishing boats. The total number of Norwegian fisherwomen—and men—has decreased enormously after the cod moratorium in 1989 and the introduction of the quota system in 1990. The table overleaf illustrates this decline.

According to the table, women fishers in Norway registered as full-time fishers have decreased by almost 50 per cent in the last five years, while the number of female part-time fishers seems to be more stable, though with certain variations. The table also shows that between 1988 and 1998, the number of female fishers was relatively stable, while the number of men fishers decreased throughout the whole period, but at a greater rate after 1990. Such a marked decrease says something about the changing fishing industry. In the following sections of this article, I shall go further into why there are so few women in fishing and relate the phenomenon to the regulation of the Norwegian fisheries. Finally, I shall also try to comment on men's changing situation, and point to some social and cultural changes that fishing communities might face.

Following the moratorium and the first years of the quota system, Norway had the largest number of registered female fishers since the gendered registration started. The registered female fishers work on big factory ships filleting fish as well as on boats that are considered 'small' in a Norwegian fishery context. In Finnmark, one of the most fishing-dependent areas of Norway, I know of only one woman, who is skipper on her own boat of 14.98 m length and has her own crew. It should, however, be mentioned that throughout Norwegian

history, women have been engaged in shore-based activities as wives, daughters, relatives and neighbours, without having been officially registered as fishers. Even today, women function as such shore or ground crew, carrying out work that has helped develop an efficient fishery.

It should also be mentioned that only a small number of women have formal ownership in boats. As of August 2004, only 181 women had more than 50 per cent of ownership shares in fishing boats, while 296 women had less than 50 per cent. In the municipality of Nordkapp, close to very good cod grounds, only one woman has been registered as sole proprietor of a boat (5.1 m long), while some are registered as shareholders and part-owners in the companies that own fishing boats. Considering that there are 8,184 registered fishing boats of various sizes in the whole of Norway, the number of female owners seems very small indeed.

Norwegian fisheries are heavily governed by different laws and regulations like the Raw Fish Act, the Participation Act and the Act of Fishing in Salt Water, to mention a few. In order to be registered as a fisher, one has to send in an application to the Directorate of Fishery. To be accepted as a registered full-time fisher, one has to earn 60 per cent of one's income from fisheries, and spend at least 20 weeks in a year fishing.

#### **Different criteria**

The criteria for the part-time fishers are different. They can show earnings from shore-based work and spend less time at sea. In order to buy a fishing boat with a quota, one has to have been an active registered fisher for at least a year. In addition to these regulations, there are

Table  
Full- and Part-time Women and Men Fishers in Norway, 1983–2004

Year	Full-time				Part-time				Total
	Women	%	Men	%	Women	%	Men	%	
1983	182	0.64	22,273	78.69	106	0.37	5,743	20.29	28,304
1988	575	1.96	21,473	73.14	102	0.35	7,200	24.52	29,539
1990	554	2.01	19,921	72.39	112	0.41	6,931	25.19	27,518
1993	572	2.26	18,500	73.21	105	0.42	6,219	24.61	25,269
1998	530	2.49	14,611	68.60	166	0.78	5,991	28.13	21,298
2003	283	1.64	12,957	75.31	130	0.76	2,835	22.29	17,205
2004	281	1.81	12,396	79.53	114	0.73	2,795	17.93	15,586

also specific rules for buying and selling boats with a quota, depending on the region where one lives.

Eva Munk-Madsen argued some years ago that a resource that was common property and open to ‘everybody’, has, with the quota system, become closed for most women—in her view, about half of the fishery population. In view of the low numbers of registered women fishers and boatowners, and the fact that women in 1994 owned 192 of 16,216 units of quotas, Munk-Madsen concluded that quotas have become “men’s formal property right”. Since Munk-Madsen presented her work, even fewer women have been registered, and, consequently, fewer women have formal rights to the quotas. There are several examples of widows who have had to sell their boats with the quota even when they wanted to keep them and start fishing—because they were not entitled as ‘fishers’, according to the Norwegian laws that regulate fishing. This has been the case even if the woman had performed substantial unpaid work related to fishing and to the upkeep of the boat. Instances of divorces also illustrate the imbalance between women and men as far as quotas and other type of capital investments are concerned. As few women have the right to quotas in Norway, they are effectively a marginalized group in Norwegian fisheries, with little access to the wealth that the resources in the fisheries might represent.

Why are there so few registered women in Norwegian fisheries? This is a question I have often asked since Norway is a country famous for its policies of gender equality. I will explore some possible explanations. First of all, it is important to remember that the majority of women in fisher families have, for ages, performed work on shore, connected to, and important for, the fishing boats. However, this work has, in most cases, not been registered or officially recognized, neither by fisheries officials nor by employment authorities. It has not been considered as a type of work that qualifies for membership in fishermen’s unions or resource policy-making institutions. Fishery institutions beyond the community level, and fisheries policymaking have, in this way, remained the domain of men.

Recent years have seen more examples of women who are active in fish harvesting and working together with their husbands. Some of them are registered fishers and enjoy a formal status. Some are also active members of the Norwegian Fishermen’s Union. However, neither do the policies of unions and associations focus on questions relevant for women, nor do they recognize that women have contributed to the production in fisheries.

#### White papers

This neglect is also mirrored in public white papers on fisheries. Fishery questions are also left out in most

Norwegian white papers on gender equality. A contrasting example is a 2004 white paper from the Sami Parliament, where women's participation in fishery and fishery politics is heavily emphasized.

**T**he quota system has not made it easy for the majority of women and men in Norwegian fisheries. Even though only a few women were fishing before the quota system was launched, they could, under certain conditions, continue to own their boat or rent it out if their husbands passed away. This is almost impossible today since a widow seldom has the right to the quota. And, obviously, a boat without fishing rights has a low value. Today even a very old boat with a quota can be sold at a very good price.

Thus, it is not only fish in the market that is a commodity, but fish rights through the quota system are also now a part of the market. If we examine the quota system—at least, the way it is applied in Norway—we will find it consists of a complicated arrangement of decisions, practices, rules and regulations at so many levels as to make it difficult to get a comprehensive overview. For most people, the quota system appears to result from a rather complicated and faceless power process.

Fishery politics and quota questions are still the men's domain since there are few women in the institutions that make the most important decisions. The Norwegian Russian Fishery Commission that decides upon the total allowable catch (TAC) of cod in the Barents Sea is an example where the gender balance is very uneven. In 2004, four women and 24 men from Norway and the same number of women and men from Russia met to negotiate the TAC for the cod stock in the Barents Sea. A national-level example is the committee that advises on the size of the quotas. This committee has always had a heavy deficit of women.

Both these important committees have applied for exemptions from the gender equality Act that mandates 40 per cent women's participation in public committees. They argue that the fishery organizations have few women as members. Representatives from the

Ministry of Fisheries also claim that few women are interested in, and seen as eligible for, such posts.

Such a view reflects the Ministry's attitudes on who ought to be considered as experts in fishing and who should hold special offices. The net result is that women have little influence when quota questions are discussed at the political level. Some have tried to influence the policy, for example, in the committee that advises the Ministry regarding fish stocks. Fisheries and resource management policies are arenas where some men still have the power to define the agenda. The quota system and the debate about this system can, therefore, be looked upon as a strong symbol of men's maintenance of the power in fishery policy and the hegemony of some men. Some say that women's position in fishery policymaking only reflects their position in society at large. This might have been the case if only the number of registered women is taken into consideration. However, if we also consider the number of women who work alongside men, often their spouses, I would rather say that Norwegian fishery policy is facing a democratic deficit.

It should, however, be mentioned that even though little attention has been given to women in relation to resource questions, women's positions have, once in a while, been put on the fishery policy agenda. In the 1970s and 1980s, students and researchers, along with members of the Fisherwomen's Association, raised questions about women in fisheries, in fishing communities and women's influence on fishery politics. The Fisherwomen's Association also emphasized local welfare and cultural questions. The association was among those that put safety at sea on the political agenda. Coastal women from Srya in Finnmark went on the barricades in 1989 after the moratorium was declared and tried to influence policymaking. Women from the environmental association and the Sami Parliament have been among those who have tried to influence the national committee discussing quotas.

#### **Women's projects**

Some of the 1980s' activities resulted in the fishing industry's Committee for Women. This Committee put women in coastal

communities and women in the different sectors of fisheries on the fisheries agenda and tried to support women and women's projects in different ways. However, it was not considered a policymaking institution and had little influence on the resource management policy. The committee lasted until 2000, when the Minister of Fisheries cut off financial support.

**I**n recent years, women in the Lofoten area have tried to give more attention to the importance of coastal fisheries, through the mass media and by circulating petitions. Women parliament members drew attention to resource policy matters, just as their counterparts in the Sami Parliament had done. The gender-oriented white paper mentioned earlier was a result of their work. In spite of such efforts, the women's situation, the challenges in fisheries and fishing communities and the lack of recruitment in many of the fishery districts are topics that seem to be very difficult to get on to the political agenda in the new millennium.

To be sure, there have been several changes in the men's situation as well. In one community in Finnmark, there are about 20 boats, 20 local and some non-local registered fishers, of whom three are women. All the fishers are over 30 years old. The majority are more than 40. Four owners or enterprises own half

the boats and quotas. The number of quotas exceeds the number of boats used in the daily fishery. This is possible due to the new arrangements that have been adopted which states that one can transfer for a limited period one quota from one boat to another boat within the same length class (for example, within the group of boats of length 10 to 15 m). Two of the owners have organized themselves into private limited companies, while two others have individual or sole enterprises, the traditional ownership model in this area. We can see a concentration of ownership of boats and quotas and a change in the ownership pattern: Some fishers are trying to succeed in the fishery by getting more quotas, others manage with one boat and one quota, and yet others are leaving the fishery. The 'deficit' of youngsters entering the fishery is quite obvious and the number going into the fishery from this area is smaller than ever before. For the young ones, the fishery industry seems to be a closed industry.

#### **Loose connections**

Today, more and more women in the coastal areas of Norway seem to have only a loose connection with fishing, fisher's work and processing in general, compared to the situation years ago when women contributed with an enormous amount of work. Today, they can be their husbands' consultants and share the financial burdens of the household. The majority of women are employed outside

the fishing sector, for example, in teaching, or in other public- and private-sector jobs, since fishery work has been so heavily downscaled in Norway.

**Y**oung women and men are moving away from fishing villages. Youngsters and women in fishing and fishery-related activities seem to be the main losers in the fishing industry.

But there are also other considerations to be taken into account. When women leave fisheries, fishing-related households seem to weaken or disappear. When fishing-related households weaken or disappear, fishery as a way of life for women, men and children seems to weaken. When this happens, the population in the fishing villages decreases. These tendencies also have consequences for men—especially for those who are not willing to compete for more and more quotas—and for the young women and men who, in future, would like to go into fishing and fisheries and live in fishing communities.

Unless we all succeed in changing the market-oriented resource policies and the male hegemony in the majority of fishery institutions, the entire fishery-dependent population—women, the majority of men and the future generations—will all be losers. ¶

This article, by Siri Gerrard (sirig@sv.uit.no) of the University of Tromsø, is based on information collected for the project *Sustainable Coastal Culture*, financed by the Norwegian Research Council and the University of Tromsø



## Co-management

# Go for it

## Property rights and co-management could connect to improve the management of artisanal fisheries

This article attempts to bridge two separate but potentially overlapping discourses in fisheries management—that on property rights and the other on co-management. The property rights discourse is concerned with access rules, economic efficiency and rent production. The co-management discourse is predominantly focused on decision-making, stakeholder involvement and participatory democracy.

However, the two discourses tend to converge on one important issue—power. In the first instance, property rights entail the power to exclude someone from access to fisheries resources. In the latter instance, co-management is about the power to define the rules of access: who should decide on fisheries management regulations, among other things. Usually, a property right also involves the power to make the rules. Thus we would assume that one is a precondition for the other; that, for instance, a co-management regime would have to rely on, and preside over, a property right. Or conversely, that co-management comes with a particular property right. In this article, I argue that neither has to be the case. First, I shall say something on property rights. Then, I shall define what co-management is. Finally, I shall discuss how they might possibly connect in improving fisheries management for the benefit of artisanal fisheries.

The important thing to stress about a property right is that it is essentially a social relation. It establishes the position of the holder of some good vis-à-vis the position of other contenders of the same good. A property holder can lawfully deny others the possibility to enjoy the

good or the benefits that stream from it. In other words, the key relation of property is not between the rights holder and the thing itself, but between people: the owner and the non-owner.

Provided that the rights holder can effectively deny the access and use of others, he or she is also the holder of power. No wonder that Karl Marx saw property rights as structuring the relations among social classes, and turning class into an instrument of power and exploitation, and as a source of inequity. Similarly, Pierre Proudhon, the 19th century French anarchist, famously claimed: “Property is theft.” This is also why the property rights issue makes fisheries management systems so controversial and why artisanal fishers protest against privatization.

Undoubtedly, property rights do serve a purpose in fisheries management. The absence of property rights poses some risks on the resources. But property comes in many forms. A private individual may possess a property right, and so may States and communities. The question is what different property rights are able to deliver to fisheries management. The State is said to have only thumbs and no fingers. Therefore, it is not able to sufficiently use the power that property vests in it, to manage diversity and complexity and situations that require a lot of detailed local knowledge and fine-tuned management mechanisms.

### Transferable quotas

Private property, on the other hand, leaves communities at risk as it induces individuals to care more about themselves than their fellow community members and the places they come from. Thus, in many parts of the world, individual transferable quota (ITQ) systems have

proven to concentrate fishing rights, and hence fishing capacity, in the hands of the few, while communities and artisanal fishers have been stripped of their access to fisheries resources.

**P**roperty rights vested in communities are an alternative that has been largely neglected in modern fisheries management theory and practice. Instead, fisheries management has been arranged as a relationship between the State and the individual, with no institutional mediating link in between, such as the community. In this system, the individual is placed passively at the receiving end of the management chain, giving the State the role of patron. This system also has its ideological underpinnings, emphasizing the supremacy of the market and the inferiority of the community.

It is important to stress that there exists a range of property rights types and that State or private property are not the only remedy to the problems involved with open access. Let me also emphasize, because it is relevant to co-management, that open-access systems come in many forms, and that they do not have to imply a rule-less fishery. Furthermore, managers rarely find themselves in a situation where they can simply make a choice between one property rights system or another as if they are displayed on a shelf when entering a store. In real life, property

rights reform implies that you move from one form to another. You always carry baggage, and you never start with a clean slate; getting rid of an old system can be as difficult as implementing a new one.

We can think of a number of reasons for this; one is that after a while property rights, as institutions in general, acquire a status of objective reality—they become like nature. We take them for granted and cannot imagine how life and society would have been without them. Another reason is that property rights, as Proudhon hinted at, always produce winners and losers. It is in the interest of winners and generally also in their power to keep the system as it is. Thus, property rights reforms are constantly imbued with social conflict, as history has shown time and again.

I believe that we need more research into the issue of property rights reform. We know fairly well how property rights systems work in fisheries: what their problems and benefits are, what they do and do not do. Much less attention has been paid to how one moves from one system to another, and under what conditions system changes occur.

#### **Community property**

Let me suggest, for instance, that it is much easier to move from State and common property to private property, than the other way around. It is not for

nothing that private property is written into the constitution of many countries while community property is not. It is also for this reason that it seems like privatization of fish resources—as within an ITQ system—is an irreversible process. Once quota rights are privatized, there is no way back. They produce what social scientists call ‘path dependency’.

**T**he moral is that property rights reform should not come easily and as a quick fix. They do change social relations drastically, and thus have an impact on how society—in our case, the fishery—works. They have implications that are not always easy to foresee: for instance, on power structures, settlement patterns and social values. You risk empowering distinguished social groups that are already enjoying power. So don’t do something that you may later regret.

Co-management can be defined as a collaborative and participatory process of regulatory decision-making between representatives of user-groups, government agencies, research institutions and other stakeholders. Power sharing and partnership are essential elements. Co-management vests authority over, and responsibility for, regulatory functions outside the realms of government, for instance, in user-organizations or fisheries co-operatives at the national, regional,

and/or community level. Co-management does not leave decisionmaking to the vagaries of the market, but draws heavily, but not entirely, on the forces and capacities of civil society. If we think of the relationships of fisheries management as a triangle, with the State at the top, the market at bottom left, and civil society at bottom right, co-management would be placed right in the middle.

I believe community- (or common-property) rights is particularly effective as a co-management tool. Communal or “collective” property rights vested in the co-management institution provide the authority with an extra stick. It allows the co-management system to control access; it gives the right to sanction and, ultimately, to exclude. A system that enjoys this power would *ceteris paribus* be more effective than one that does not have this leverage. A co-management system operating within a State property, private property or open-access system would normally have no right to sanction by exclusion. It can only rely on persuasion and moral condemnation.

#### **Exit alternative**

Thus, a co-management system that is underpinned by one of these three property rights types is vulnerable to free riding, as members would always have an exit alternative. If members do not like the collective decision, they can simply opt

out, go solo. In a co-management system residing over a communal property right, however, people would have to use their voice to express their dissatisfaction. If they should then choose not to abide with the rules set by the co-management authority, they risk being penalized, not only through moral condemnation, but also by losing access.

**I**t should be noted that this does not mean that co-management cannot work in less than ideal circumstances. In many countries, we see co-management systems operate well on property rights other than communal ones. If co-management could not function in less-than-ideal circumstances, it would hardly be much to strive for. It would then only work in exceptional cases.

Since co-management can function regardless of the form of property right, there is no reason to wait for a property rights restructuring to launch a management reform. The former is usually a more difficult undertaking than the latter, as it tends to provoke power. Comparatively speaking, co-management takes an administrative reform that, in many instances, does not need more than marginal reorganization of administrative boundaries, redistribution of management functions, and readjustments of procedural routines. Property rights reform is more consequential since it changes basic social relations in lasting ways, as mentioned above. Hence, it tends to be more controversial and conflictive.

Co-management reforms and property rights reforms could certainly be mutually reinforcing, and should, if possible, be integrated as part of the same process. Yet, they do not have to happen in concert. One reform could run independent of the other. Co-management could be initiated and implemented in the short run, while the property rights transformation could be a project for the longer term. If you should meet obstacles in implementing the latter, it does not mean that you cannot succeed in the former. So here is my advice for artisanal fisheries: if you want co-management, go for it. You don't have to wait for the revolution. 🐟

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## Illegal fishing

# Stealing fish, stealing lives

## Illegal fishing in Guinea results not only in stolen fish, but also in lost lives

**I**n July 2005, Baillo Secko, a fisheries inspector in Guinea, died during a night encounter with a trawler fishing illegally. A few months earlier, it was the whole crew of an artisanal pirogue that went down in a similar encounter. Of the crew of four, only one fisherman survived. Almamy Camara was picked up after three days at sea, clutching on to just a few buoys, waiting for help. Illegal fishing in Guinea results not only in stolen fish, but also in lost lives.

Guinea has extensive and valuable shrimp and octopus resources, and rich demersal and pelagic fisheries. Like the proverbial bees to the honey pot, this attracts all kinds of fishing vessels, including the ones involved in illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing. In 2001, a Greenpeace report of at-sea observations in Guinea's exclusive economic zone (EEZ) highlighted that 34 of the 92 vessels observed (37 per cent) were fishing in a prohibited zone, largely taking catch from the area designated for artisanal fisheries, and were, therefore, fishing illegally.

These illegal activities, in particular by Korean trawlers fishing for *otholites* (a type of croaker/grunter), have been denounced for many years, particularly by Guinean artisanal fishermen. Issiaga Daffe, President of the artisanal fishermen's organization, Union Nationale des Pêcheurs Artisans de Guinée (UNPAG), explains: "Illegal incursions of trawlers into the Guinean coastal zone are most damaging for the fishing resources as well as for our coastal communities. These incursions result not only in degradation of our coasts, but also, particularly as they happen mainly at night, in collisions with small-scale fishing vessels, lead to loss of gear and

casualties. Some of our fishermen who tried to discuss with these illegal boat crew were often welcomed with gunfire or boiling water thrown on to the pirogues."

In May 2005, a joint field visit was organized by two European non-governmental organizations (NGOs), Environmental Justice Foundation (EJF) and the Coalition for Fair Fisheries Arrangements (CFFA), with the collaboration of the Association pour le Développement de la Pêche en Guinée (ADEPEG). Several ports and bases along the coast of Guinea were visited, where the extent of illegal fishing and the need to support surveillance programmes were glaringly apparent.

Despite this lack of means, a total of 19 vessels had been arrested during the first six months of 2005 by the Guinean authorities. Eight of them had been charged with fishing without licences, four for fishing within the 12-nautical mile zone reserved for artisanal fishermen, and six for using the wrong size mesh in their trawl.

A close examination of the ownership and registration of these vessels showed that many have a history of illegal fishing in Guinean waters and are well known to surveillance authorities. Multiple name and flag changes are common, and some vessels even have dual identities—using one name or flag while fishing in Guinea and a different one when using port facilities.

### Illegal fishing

A recent (July 2005) report by MRAG Ltd, a London-based consulting company with broad international experience in fishery science and management, estimates that the value of the fish stolen by illegal fishing in the Guinean EEZ, for the

12-month period 2003–2004 was around US\$110 mn. If illegal fishing activities at sea are the ones that have the most immediate damaging impacts, they are not the only ones.

Until recently, fraud too was rife, notably concerning the obligatory landings. Mamayawa Sandouno, the Guinean Fisheries Ministry’s Chief Inspector, recently explained: “Boats fishing in the Guinean zone must land part of their catches according to the pro rata of their total catch and the vessel tonnage (expressed in gross registered tonnage, GRT). But, until very recently, the vessel tonnage references used were called ‘consensual GRT’. These consensual GRT didn’t reflect the real tonnage of the boat. To address that problem, the Guinean administration obtained information from the Lloyds Register for boats fishing in Guinea with their true tonnage, and is now using the Lloyds GRT to calculate the obligatory landings. Since these changes have been introduced, and as a direct consequence, landings have risen in volume by 30-40 per cent.”

However, it needs to be highlighted that many vessels fishing illegally in Guinean and other waters are not on the Lloyds Register.

Another aspect of fishing activities in Guinea that results in non-declared and under-declared catches are the activities

of three ‘collector boats’. These boats collect the by-catch from industrial vessels and bring them to areas near the coast where pirogues can collect them and bring them ashore. The origin of this by-catch is unknown and there are suspicions that these collector boats are a means to launder the catches made by boats fishing illegally.

Given the scale of illegal industrial fishing activities occurring in the zone that is normally reserved for artisanal fishermen (12 miles or 20-m depth), the Guinean authorities, with the support of the Sustainable Fisheries Livelihoods Programme (SFLP) initiated, in 2000, a two-year pilot project of participative surveillance. Through this pilot project, artisanal fishermen reported real-time information from their observations at sea, directly to inspectors of the Centre National de Surveillance des Pêches (CNSP).

#### **Surveillance infrastructure**

According to local reports, at the end of the pilot project, incursions of trawlers diminished by 60 per cent in the artisanal fishing zone. The system could only be implemented in areas where there were classical surveillance bases, as patrol boats were necessary for the actual arrests, and a certain infrastructure was essential for training and supplying the fishermen, but it exploits the fact that illegally-operating fishing vessels are not as suspicious of

canoes as they are of official surveillance boats.

Despite the success of the project, funding support by foreign donors stopped in 2003. The impacts did not take long to arrive: decreased activities and deterioration of equipment. The findings of the EJF/CFFA field visit show that, for example in Kamsar, north of Guinea and close to the border with Guinea-Bissau, the surveillance base is located a few kilometres from the sea. It takes a couple of hours to get the surveillance boat out to sea, which is problematic when urgent intervention is needed. At the time, there were no means of communication or radar on board, and no means for information from land to be transmitted to those at sea, or vice versa. Fishermen do not have radios to inform the patrol boat or base station of infractions they witness.

In the other surveillance base in Bongolon, there is a surveillance boat, but it is in a very degraded state, with its engines broken. Spare parts for the engines are not easy to find, and it is difficult to get fuel: the nearest petrol station is 20 km away. Communication equipment has been damaged by seawater and the base has no functioning radar, so it cannot react quickly to information received.

Like many other so-called development projects in developing countries, in case of the Guinean surveillance project, emphasis has been placed on providing equipment while maintenance, repairs and training have been neglected.

For surveillance programmes, in general, most of the donor and government support has been invested in establishing expensive monitoring, control and surveillance (MCS) systems. Despite these investments, in many developing countries the situation has not noticeably improved; in many cases, it has deteriorated even further.

While acknowledging the importance of such systems, it needs to be remembered that the efficiency of these MCS technical tools relies entirely upon human competencies. So the whole system will

be inefficient if people in charge of its implementation are not sufficiently trained. Remunerations of people in charge of the MCS should also be proportional to the difficulty of the task, in order to make them less vulnerable to the rampant corruption prevalent in administrations, particularly in a sector where the economic issues at stake are enormous.

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## Dreams vs painful realities

**There are contradictions aplenty on both land and sea in the Corumbau Marine Extractive Reserve**

This article describes some of the social and environmental aspects of the Ponta do Corumbau Marine Extractive Reserve, located on Costa do Descobrimento, 800 km south of Salvador, the capital city of the State of Bahia, Brazil. The region is home to part of what remains of the Mata Atlântica, areas of mangroves and coral reefs, recognized in 1999 as a World Historical Site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Marine extractive reserves are a form of marine protected areas with defined user rights that are contracted out to the communities of resource users that live in the surrounding area. They are an adaptation of the *reservas extractivistas* or RESEX, a novel and unique partnership in natural resource extraction and conservation that Brazil has been experimenting with since 1989.

On the one hand, the move reflects growing official recognition in Brazil of the role of traditional resource users and their management systems in environmental conservation. On the other, it is the product of the struggles of the rubber tapper unions, under the leadership of Chico Mendez. It is thanks to these struggles that legislation was passed in 1989, allowing for the establishment of extractive reserves. Extractive reserves comprise a collaborative management regime where government works in partnership with local communities for the sustainable use of resources

Originally, RESEX focused on protecting terrestrial and other inland ecological systems and populations, but now they can cover land, sea or both. The original decree that created RESEX states that “extractive reserves are territorial spaces

designated for the self-sustaining use and conservation of renewable natural resources by extractive populations”.

In the case of the marine extractive reserves, a marine area is assigned for the exclusive use of a number of people (small-scale fishermen, traditional communities, etc.) who live around it.

Although it is a partnership between the people and the government, the initiative has to come from the local population, and the participation of the people is a must. Communities that live adjacent to RESEX, and the organizations that represent them (associations, co-operatives, syndicates, unions, etc.) may apply for the rights to extract resources from the RESEX.

A central plank in all RESEX is the development of a utilization plan (*plano de utilização*) that determines who can use the resources in question and how. In essence, this is a social contract, binding the resource users to a mutually agreed set of operating rules. Such rules could govern measures such as minimum catch size, technology used, or restricted access to important breeding grounds.

### Public forum

Decisions over what the rules should be are defined by the resource users themselves at a public forum where they have the right to vote on decisions made. It is essential that resource users participate at this stage since the adherence to rules depends, to a large degree, on their widespread understanding and prior approval. The utilization plan, along with the process leading to its creation, is also important for resolving (or at least revealing) conflicts amongst resource users as well as conflicts between resource users and the larger community.



**A** further essential element is the concession contract that legalizes the user rights of the communities. This agreement is prepared by IBAMA, the Brazilian Institute for the Environment, and signed by both parties. Individual resource users are then issued with Authorization of Use certificates. These entitle them to open-ended user rights, which, in practice, extend for 10-20 years, but may be extended for as long as the RESEX fulfills its purpose.

According to Antonio Carlos Diegues, the framework of restricted access to, and economic use of, the coastal sea space of the RESEX offers Brazil a way to begin controlling the highly destructive and unmanaged development of its extensive coastal zone (harbouring a wide range of habitats of high conservation value, not only coral reefs), while, at the same time, reinforcing the resource-use rights and territorial claims of local communities to the micro-environments of small-scale fishing.

Such controls are clearly needed in southern coastal zones of Bahia State, which have been subject to significant environmental and social changes in the last 10 years. Intense industrial fishing was initiated to exploit the local marine stocks, with no respect for biological processes or biodiversity. Tourism development has given rise to demands that have led to a disordered occupation

of the land, while the urban infrastructure has been unable to keep pace with the increase in domestic effluents and litter, affecting the mangrove forests and the margins of the rivers.

As this article shows, there are many problems that need to be addressed if RESEX are to function effectively. One such issue, highlighted by the work of Alpina Begossi, is that, although a great variety of extractive reserves now exist in Brazil, few can be said to be the result of a legitimate process of local organization in the face of the threat of depletion of their resources.

This is not the case with the Ponta do Corumbau Marine Extractive Reserve (Corumbau RESEX). In 1998, a group of artisanal fishermen from nine communities in the municipalities of Prado and Porto Seguro came together to create a conservation unit that would protect the region from the unsustainable prawn trawling being carried out by the industrial fishing fleet.

#### **Sustainable exploitation**

The Corumbau RESEX was then established in September 2000, thanks to the initiatives of artisanal fishermen from nine different communities, with its use conceded to the traditional extractive populations, in accordance with the National System of Conservation Units. According its founding decree, the Corumbau RESEX “aims at ensuring the

sustainable exploitation and the conservation of renewable natural resources, traditionally used by the local extractive population”.

**T**he extractive population of the RESEX comprises 484 registered members, traditional users of the resources resident in nine communities: Curuípe, Caraíva, Aldeia Indígena Pataxó de Barra Velha, Corumbau, Veleiro, Barra do Cahy, Imbassuaba, Cumuruxatiba and Japara. When the families of these fishermen are included, the RESEX resources will directly benefit some 1,750 people.

The Corumbau RESEX includes part sea, and part land, with areas of foreshore, dunes and mangroves. The marine part of the Corumbau RESEX covers 90,000 ha, with its landside boundary demarcated by the high-water level. The land areas, where the extractive communities live, make up the ‘surrounding area’ or ‘buffer zone’.

The property rights and user rights regimes that govern conservation, ownership and resource extraction differ in the two areas, giving rise to contradictions in the conservation and resource extraction policy objectives of the RESEX and complicating life and livelihoods in the communities.

In the publicly owned marine area, only the extractive communities have resource extraction rights. However, the land area is under private ownership and the extractive communities have no resource extraction rights there. Furthermore, there are no guarantees or conditions provided for the permanent settlement of the extractive populations in the surrounding land area, a key condition for establishing economic activities and for providing sociocultural stability in communities.

This contradiction between the land and sea components of the Corumbau RESEX, arising from the way that the property and use rights regimes have been set up, is the root cause of many of the social conflicts, and represents a major problem for the effective functioning of the RESEX. Alpina Begossi’s work in the Amazon concluded that extractive reserves do offer significant potential for political organization, and

improving environmental and social resilience, compared to other conservation approaches. Such a satisfactory level of institutional development has still to be attained in Corumbau.

One major stumbling block for achieving satisfactory levels of institutional development is that the ‘surrounding areas’ where the communities live are isolated. Roads are unpaved, the bridges precarious and there is no regular transport by boat.

There is no electricity supply in the villages, with the exception of Cumuruxatiba and some hotels that possess generators. This is a constraint for fish storage and increases the dependence on intermediaries to market products. These factors also work against the active participation of the local extractive population in the establishment and development of a utilization plan and their participation in the wider management decisionmaking processes of the RESEX.

A further stumbling block, and source of social conflicts, is the presence of more powerful economic interests such as hotels and tourism businesses. These interests are fueling a growing speculation in real estate. RESEX community residents are being forced to sell their houses at very low prices and move far away where there is no infrastructure or government assistance of any kind.

Also, due to the increasing privatization of access to, and use of, the coastal strip, access to the sea is becoming more difficult for the communities. This is leading to a gradual cultural erosion and the complete exclusion of the fishermen from areas near the seashore.

#### **Private interests**

The variety of private economic interests also makes it difficult for the local population to support conservation policies and participative processes that are capable of offering alternative solutions to the conflicts existing in local society. Tourism is expanding in the Corumbau RESEX. Visitors are attracted by the tranquility, freedom and the beauty of

the countryside, particularly in the littoral zones, and by the hospitality of its people.

**H**owever, the capacity of the villages to support tourist activity is quite limited. This is mainly due to a lack of basic infrastructure, such as energy, piped water, the treatment and disposal of solid and liquid waste, and health and education facilities.

The National System of Conservation Units assures the participation of the local populations through co-management, where power is decentralized, in ways appropriate to the daily reality of the local context. The RESEX utilization plan was drawn up and approved in 2002, and should lead on to the management plan.

Meanwhile, the fishermen do not appear to be familiar with the objectives of the planning exercise. Recent research shows that just 14 per cent of the residents of Cumuruxatiba, 25 per cent of Corumbau and 45 per cent of Caraíva knew about the utilization plan in force and the rules that regulate the reserve.

The factors indicated as obstacles to the participative process were the large distances between the venues of meetings, the incompatibility of the timing of meetings with daily routine activities (principally for the women),

and the shortage of information about the process of foundation and administration. A Participatory Appraisal from a Gender Perspective (PAGP) exercise was carried out with the aim of promoting the active participation of the various interest groups of the RESEX communities, especially women, in the management of the area, faced as they are with changes imposed by tourism. The PAGP techniques and tools used were those recommended by IUCN—the World Conservation Union. In order to provide an analysis with a gender perspective, information gathering and data presentation were disaggregated by gender. This enabled an examination of the needs and demands of men and women separately.

Through a systematic process, PAGP helps to identify particular problems and their origins, where knowledge is built up with the participation and collaboration of the people affected. Rather than observing the group as a homogenous unit, PAGP recognizes that women and men have different needs, perceptions and realities in accordance with their age and sex.

#### **Equity goals**

Through the use of appropriate tools, it seeks to expose the power relations in the community. It is designed to assist the introduction of the changes necessary in the delivery of policies that seek to achieve equity. The aim of PAGP is to promote collective responsibility, environmental

justice and quality of life for the populations involved, so as to decrease impoverishment and consequent social exclusion.

**I**t has been demonstrated that the introduction of the variable 'gender' adds another dimension to the analysis of natural environments, given that there are unequal power relations between men and women in many societies, power relations that are subject to change. Within the gender dimension, there can be complementarity and space for negotiation. The possibility for negotiation has important implications for planning and management, since it puts the planners and the communities at a level where it is possible to promote greater equity in the distribution of the benefits, and user and management rights.

The PAGP carried out in the Corumbau RESEX had aimed to understand the obstacles to the participation of the traditional population in the management plan, as well as to obtain information on the local infrastructure available to the residents and visitors. It aimed at providing information to improve the participative process, which would safeguard the success of environmental policies in the face of the reality of the expansion of tourism in the region, with economic and cultural consequences for its inhabitants.

The application of PAGP achieved its objective of identifying the needs, expectations, wants and problems of the communities visited. The main needs are related to access to electricity, quality education and better health conditions.

Beyond that, the wants most highlighted were roads and bridges and piped potable water. While, on the one hand, electricity is a dream for both male and female residents, on the other, there are those living by hotels and tourist resorts who prefer to preserve the bucolic and rustic aspects that attract tourists, leading to profitable business during the seasons. Thus, the lack of surfacing on the sand roads of Caraíva, for example, makes daily life very difficult for the women, but is seen by others as giving a picturesque air to the place.

The onus of maintaining this rusticity falls, in the end, on the local population, particularly on the women who, in their day-to-day lives throughout the whole year, have to cope with extremely tiresome conditions. Roads are also the subject of debates and conflicts, both among the population and between conservation bodies, who see in them the threat of mass tourism and a consequent loss of cultural and environmental character, which represents a great contradiction for the administration of the Conservation Unit.

The possibility of seeing the community uniting around its objectives, and fighting for the collective welfare, is an important 'dream' for the women, even transcending their individual objectives.

It is hoped that participative management can result in measures favouring political strengthening and income generation, preserving local knowledge and the permanence of the native population in the area. The preparation of a socio-environmental participatory appraisal can contribute to the involvement of the population in public policies for improved living conditions, the systematic inspection of tourism enterprises that affect the life of the communities, and the sharing of benefits with the residents.

Another benefit to be sought is environmental education aimed at tourists and the community, based on information and output of the appraisal carried out. If the objective were sustainable tourism, then the communities should benefit with improved basic infrastructure in the villages.

Reconciling such a diversified and contradictory set of interests is a challenge that will have to be faced by those in charge of the development and implementation of the new management plan.

#### **Rules needed**

Most importantly, in order to guarantee sustainability, rules must be set not only to control tourism activities and the distribution of its benefits, but also to restrict the way economic interests are



causing real estate speculation in the area. At the same time, the regular participation of the population in the RESEX administration must be assured, while maintaining gender equity. This could help to empower the community through participatory management, to raise the quality of life of the residents and to ensure their contribution to the conservation of ecosystem biodiversity. 3

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## Shifting gear?

**Not enough progress has been made in reallocating quotas to previously disadvantaged groups in the South African fishery industry**

The African National Congress (ANC) contested the April 1994 elections in South Africa on the basis of a vision of 'a better life for all', to be achieved through its people-centred Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) policy framework. This created expectations that many in the 'marginalized' fishing communities would secure their own fishing rights and small businesses. It was hoped that the revised fisheries policy would deliver on these expectations, while, at the same time, maintain an internationally competitive fishing industry.

Due to pressure from established economic interests, in 1996 the new government shifted its macroeconomic policy to a 'homegrown' structural adjustment programme called the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear). The new framework abandoned the key principles and policies of the RDP, and instead adopted neoliberal economic principles, including privatization, subsidy removal and downsizing of the public sector; and encouragement of small black entrepreneurs.

Gear was aimed at achieving equity and redistribution through economic growth and job creation. The authors of Gear imagined poverty alleviation would be achieved through the 'trickle-down' effect of a new group of entrepreneurs who would establish labour-intensive small, medium and micro-enterprises (SMMES).

This was in direct contrast to the RDP's approach of redistributing wealth through interventionist State policies based on socialist ideology. The shift to Gear resulted in large numbers of bona fide fishers being excluded from the formal allocation process because they could not demonstrate their

entrepreneurship through being able to complete application forms and engage in related bureaucratic procedures without help.

In order to understand how the transformation process was supposed to contribute to poverty alleviation, one needs to understand the capital-accumulation/wealth-generation and safety-net functions of enterprise development and job creation. In this article, we will use the concepts of poverty, vulnerability and entrepreneurship to look at the contribution (or failure) of fisheries to the improvement of the livelihoods of coastal communities, including the proposed mechanism of co-management.

The shift in macroeconomic policy was an important factor in relation to 'transformation' of the fisheries sector in that the focus for transforming the sector moved from re-allocation of access rights to one of promoting black economic empowerment (BEE). BEE was focused mainly on addressing racial and gender imbalances within the industry.

It took the form of offering ownership of shares in established enterprises to historically disadvantaged individuals (HDIs) organized in empowerment groups and/or labour unions, transferring technical and management skills to HDIs, and promoting HDI employees to positions of management decisionmaking.

### **New fishing rights**

The focus was not on the vulnerability of the workers within the existing established companies under BEE schemes, and new rights holders and the SMMES that were established after achieving access to fishing rights.

‘Transformation’ is not defined in the Marine Living Resources Act (MLRA) of 1998 or in any other legislative or policy document. The vision of the government’s new policy is probably what was meant by ‘transformation’ in the Act:

*the marine resources are a national asset and part of the heritage of the people of South Africa, present and future, and should be managed and developed for the benefit of the country as a whole, especially those communities whose livelihoods depended on these resources; and that the allocation of the resources would be made on an equitable basis, with a view to ensuring the long-term sustainability of the resources and their healthy condition for present and future generations.*

Two approaches to transformation were being used: the broadening of access rights to new rights holders (individuals and companies) through State intervention (external transformation); and market-led change within State BEE policy (internal transformation). The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), a branch of Marine and Coastal Management (MCM), was given the responsibility for external transformation.

The new Constitution with its ‘Bill of Rights’ and the new fisheries policy paved the way for new entrants to the sector, but MCM struggled with managing and administering the process. A complicating factor was that the sector was already oversubscribed—making space for new entrants would have required cutting existing allocations. Internal transformation was to take place through market-based reforms within companies through change in ownership, giving workers more benefits and share schemes, assisting in the empowerment of new rights holders, and so on.

This market-based intervention had an impact on the extent of State intervention from the start, leaving little room for a more community-based empowerment option for transformation in the industry. The responsibility of the State through MCM is to ensure that equity and redistribution are achieved without endangering the economic stability of the

industry and sustainability of the resource.

From the very beginning, it was clear that the goals of transformation would be in conflict with the principles of resource management since meeting the expectations of the many potential new entrants would not be in line with the limited room for expansion that sustainable resource management entailed. Adding to this was the fear among the established companies that allowing too many new entrants could create chaos and result in economic instability in the industry. Several factors impeded—or were used to block or slow—transformation, especially by those already in the industry.

The following were the constraints to transformation in the early years:

**Unwilling sellers, unwilling buyers:** As a matter of principle, HDIs and HDI groups were unwilling to ‘buy’ fishing rights that they felt they had been dispossessed of under apartheid. There were expectations that government would put this travesty right by simply taking these rights back from established companies and redistributing them to HDIs after the advent of democracy. The established companies were equally unwilling to share, sell or give up their fishing rights, arguing that they had spent decades building up their companies.

**Foot-dragging tactics:** Established companies used foot-dragging tactics to delay redistribution by employing leading lawyers to find loopholes in the new fisheries policy and to litigate on all large-scale cuts in their quota allocations. Many courts ruled in favour of the established industry, hindering government from taking large portions of their quota allocations to accommodate new entrants to the industry.

**Court challenges on administrative grounds:** Numerous allocations by the former Quota Board under the old Sea Fisheries Act were successfully challenged in court on administrative grounds from 1993, following the promulgation of the 1993 Quota Board guidelines. The constitutional entrenchment of the right to just

administrative action reinforced the strength of administrative remedies, as evidenced by the number of court cases after 1996. For example, the first quota allocations made under the MLRA were successfully challenged and set aside for reconsideration on various administrative grounds.

**Alliances between large companies and labour unions to oppose transformation:** Established companies were able to secure the support of their largely black labour unions to oppose transformation using the slogan “A cut in our quota allocations will result in a cut in jobs”. The unions (especially the Food and Allied Workers’ Union—FAWU) traded their support for maintaining existing quota allocations for better working conditions and improved benefits for their members (pension funds, shareholding schemes, medical aid, and improved health and safety).

The irony was that FAWU is an affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), one of three partners in the ruling ANC Alliance. The alliance between unions and employers against redistribution of fishing rights further marginalized poor bona fide fishers who had expected fishing rights after apartheid.

**Constitutional protection of property rights:** The Constitution provides that

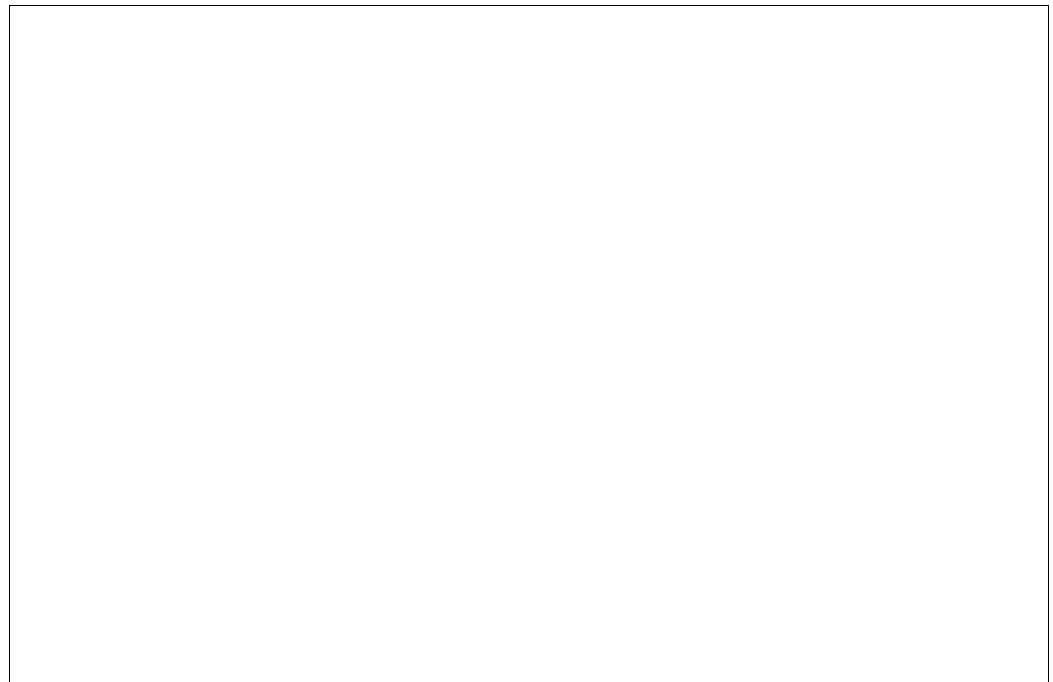
nobody may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application (the ‘property clause’). This, together with the government’s commitment to support market forces, effectively gave established companies a veto against the reform of the fishing industry.

Most established companies claim to have implemented internal changes that meet the requirements provided by DEAT guidelines. The established industry quickly responded to internal transformation requirements.

For example, Oceana Fishing Group sold half of its equity to a black empowerment consortium, while Premier Fishing shares ownership with Sekunjalo and Pamodzi/Foodcorp owns Marine Products.

Allowing a larger degree of black ownership strategically put such companies in positions of strength for maintaining or even increasing their quota holdings, since most of these empowerment groups had good political connections.

Companies like Sea Harvest and Irvin & Johnson started on a fairly small scale, offering limited shareholding ownership for employees at favourable prices. Although employee shareholding





constituted a small percentage of the total stock, the symbolic effect was considered important. The established companies wasted no time in bringing in HDI leaders in an attempt to transform the leadership structures of their companies.

**W**ithin the labour unions, this was regarded as a window-dressing exercise, since some of these individuals were given the privileges of power but not the right to make crucial decisions.

The major dilemma that faced many new entrants was the lack of infrastructure (vessels, processing facilities and marketing networks) and business knowhow. A possible, seemingly obvious, solution to this dilemma was the formation of joint ventures and business partnerships as promoted by the new fisheries law (the MLRA).

In spite of all this, most new entrants complain that there has been no change in the power dynamics in the industry as a whole or within individual companies. Since established companies own most of the infrastructure, they retain control of fishing, processing and marketing operations, even where new entrants have entered into joint ventures with them.

The prices charged for these services make it very difficult for new entrants to

succeed. Established companies recoup their transaction costs through reduced prices for fish from new entrants or inflated costs for their services. The top management of most companies remains largely white.

Where blacks have been given top positions, their ability to make management decisions is frequently constrained or absent. Most 'internal transformation' appears to be window dressing.

The lack of infrastructure and business knowhow among new entrants and the lack of real black ownership and power within established companies leaves black workers and entrepreneurs vulnerable to manipulation and exploitation. Eventually, everyone, including the established companies, had to accept that some re-allocation of rights was unavoidable. MCM's major indicator of transformation has been quantitative—that is, the number of new individuals (mostly HDIs) or HDI fishing companies that have been granted access rights. MCM's stated achievements after 10 years of 'transformation' are, for example, in the abalone, West Coast rock lobster, small pelagic and deep-sea hake fisheries.

#### **Commercial allocation**

In the abalone fishery, the number of rights holders increased from five in 1992 to 271 in 2002. The five original

quota-holding companies retained 49.5 per cent of the total commercial allocation, while original abalone divers received 17.5 per cent. The 228 new entrants under the limited commercial category got the remaining 33 per cent in allocations of 202 quotas of 430 kg and 26 quotas of 200 kg. Individuals held 95 per cent of the limited commercial allocations.

**A** total of 87.5 per cent of the companies holding commercial abalone quotas were classified as SMMES. According to DEAT, 90 per cent of the global abalone total allowable catch (TAC) was allocated to SMMES in 2002.

In the West Coast rock lobster fishery the number of rights holders increased from 39 in 1992 to 745 in 2002. While the top 10 companies held 57 per cent of the quota in 1992, this had been reduced to 36 per cent in 2002.

Ninety per cent of right holders were classified as SMMES and 66 per cent of these companies were HDI-owned. In 2003, a further 274 individuals were awarded limited commercial fishing rights in the east of Cape Hangklip area. In the limited commercial sector, the allocations ranged from 200 kg to 1.5 tonnes (average: 712 kg).

A total of 91.5 per cent of the limited commercial quota was awarded to HDI or HDI-owned micro-enterprises. Thus, 70 per cent of the global TAC was HDI-controlled. Whereas there were only 12 rights holders in the small pelagics sector in 1990, by 2002, the number had grown to 91 sardine and 70 anchovy rights holders. About 85 per cent of these were considered to be SMMES. Furthermore, 73 per cent of the rights holders were HDIs and these held 75 per cent of the pelagic TAC. Most of these got 0.3 per cent of the TAC as their annual quota for the duration of the medium-term rights.

This means the access of HDI rights holders to the pelagic sector had increased tenfold (from 7 per cent to 70 per cent) over the 10 years 1992–2002. Despite this, the established companies have maintained their allocation (in terms of volume) of anchovy and sardine due to the increase in TAC. While only 21 predominantly white-owned companies had rights to exploit deep-sea hake in 1992, the number

of rights holders had increased to 56 by 2000. The top five companies held 92 per cent of the TAC in 1992.

This had been reduced to less than 74 per cent by 2002. Furthermore, government claims that the large companies had been compelled to transform in terms of their ownership and management structures. In addition, 42 per cent of companies in the sector were classified as SMMES, and 74 per cent of rights holders were deemed to be majority HDI-owned and managed by 2002. According to DEAT, HDI shareholding in the sector had increased from 0.5 per cent in 1992 to 25 per cent in 2002.

These reported results need to be compared to the extent of internal transformation that took place within the established companies, that is, the link between HDI ownership and quota allocation. External transformation is directly linked to internal transformation and it is situated in the need to maintain stability and efficiency within the fishing industry.

A consequence of the direct link between internal and external transformation means that there was very little TAC left for MCM to allocate to the new entrants. The industry's long-term economic viability could have been compromised by the short-term political goal of MCM—that is, to show the extent to which it has allocated rights to new entrants.

Impressive as these figures would appear, they do not describe the realities on the ground. The guidelines for award of medium-term rights outlined the objectives and assessment principles for re-allocation of fishing rights as being: “ability of applicants to invest in the industry and to demonstrate that they would be actively involved and committed to the industry”; “past performance and capacity to harvest and process the resource”; “potential for significant impact on local community economies and development”; and “the degree of risk of new entrants becoming paper quota holders”.

#### **Categoric commitment**

DEAT categorically stated that while the department was committed to bringing in

new entrants into the industry, the potential of such new entrants to enter, participate in and share the risks of the industry had to be examined in the light of the degree of their knowledge, experience, their fishing plans and business acumen.

**I**t was further stated that where joint ventures had been entered into, these had to be capable of validly empowering the rights holders.

In reality, most new entrants are finding it very difficult to establish themselves in the industry. A number of reasons have been put forward for the problems they are encountering:

- the quotas that they receive are too small to set up, establish and operate economically viable fishing businesses;
- banks do not accept fishing quotas as collateral for loans, making it difficult to raise investment capital;
- new entrants lack the technical and managerial skills to survive in the industry and no assistance is being provided in this regard; and
- it is very difficult for new fishing companies to compete with or break into the monopolistic

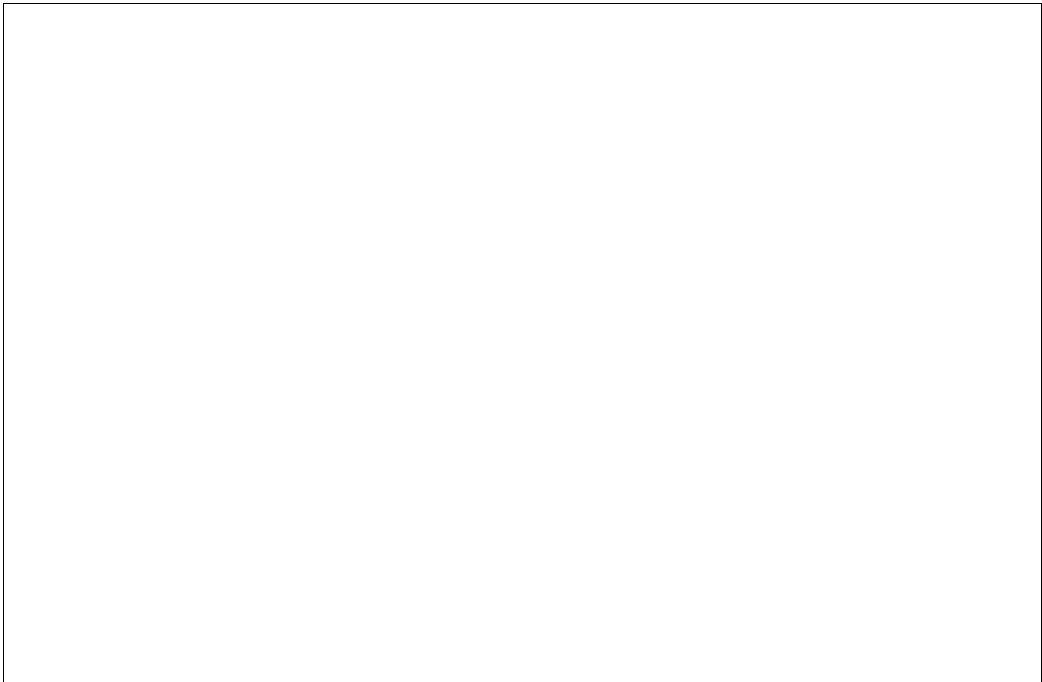
business systems and structures that established large companies have created and fiercely guard in order to maintain their competitive advantage.

In view of the foregoing, the new entrants have adopted four main survival strategies:

- entering into joint venture agreements involving catching or processing or marketing with established companies;
- pooling their quotas with other right holders and jointly obtaining a vessel to exploit the pooled quota;
- selling their fishing rights outright to someone (usually an established company) with the ability to make use of the quota as their own (such rights holders are referred to as 'paper quota holders'); and
- acquiring fishing rights for several species (if they own a vessel) in order to create an economically viable quota 'package'.

**Active participation**

Because the first three strategies are the most common, the number of rights holders actively taking part in fishing



operations is actually at least 50 per cent lower than the official number of rights holders. One analysis suggests that approximately 25 of the 51 new anchovy fishing rights holders sold their quota to vessel owners or processing companies. This accounted for about 25 per cent of the TAC.

**I**n deep-sea hake trawling the 53 rights holders have been consolidated into less than 20 operational clusters through joint venture agreements. Joint-venture arrangements were being used by both sides for their own benefit.

For new entrants, this would demonstrate that they were actively involved in the industry, while, for the established companies, joint ventures provide increased raw material for processing. If the motivation for joint ventures was the transfer of skills in management and operations, it has rarely been successful—most new entrants are not gaining any skills that would enable them to stand on their own as independent and thriving companies.

As pointed out earlier, government's policy goal was to award rights to new (mainly black) entrepreneurs. In turn, these could form viable fishing businesses in rural coastal areas and so contribute towards poverty alleviation by creating jobs. Little progress has been made so far.

Apart from the lack of skills transfer, another major stumbling block has been that the sizes of quotas that have been awarded to most new entrants do not meet the criteria of being minimum viable quotas (MVQ). For example, most new entrants in the abalone and West Coast rock lobster fisheries were awarded quotas under the 'limited commercial' category.

Under this category, the maximum size of individual quotas is 430 kg (minimum 200 kg) for abalone and 1.5 tonnes (minimum 200 kg) for West Coast rock lobster.

The rights holders point out that these quotas are fished up within a month or two. Since one fisher could not apply to fish for more than one species, there was no other source of livelihood as soon as the annual quota had been exhausted.

In the small pelagics, most new entrants got quotas equivalent to 0.3 per cent of the TAC. In an industry based on high-volume, low-profit economics, such quota sizes are hardly big enough as basis for investment and future planning.

MVQs were seen as being necessary if government intended to eliminate 'paper quotas'. The pooling of quotas by some new entrants could be seen as an attempt to create MVQs. But most new entrants were very unwilling to pool quotas.

As entrepreneurs, they would prefer to go it alone, but they face enormous constraints such as lack of capital, infrastructure, support systems and skills. An economic sectoral study of the industry concluded that pooling of resources (as most new entrants were forced to do) went against that grain of entrepreneurship that is usually based on taking business risks.

By allowing too many rights holders into the industry and spreading the cake too thin without any support systems, the government had set up the new entrants for failure. As a result, the majority of new entrants have been forced, *de facto*, to become paper quota holders or have been forced to make investments that were not based on firm business calculations, but rather to demonstrate activity with their quotas in order to qualify for the next round of quota allocation. The non-viable quotas made new entrants vulnerable and easy targets for exploitation by those in more powerful positions.

External transformation primarily focused on allocating fishing rights to established industries and to SMMES. In the process, a large number of bona fide fishers had fallen by the side, as they could not get into either of these groups.

#### **Interim relief**

In the 1990s, the government had attempted to include this group through various interim relief measures, such as the community quotas of 1993, subsistence permits to fishers in the Western Cape in 2001, the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, and linefish interim relief measures in 2003. The abolishment of the subsistence sector for abalone and West Coast rock lobster and



institutionalization of the 'limited commercial' category in the Western Cape resulted in most members of this group being excluded.

**I**n a province where livelihoods from the sea has been extremely important historically and culturally, this is proving absolutely debilitating for such coastal communities. It is this category of bona fide fishers (who had been excluded through the formal processes) that are currently in litigation with government over their rights to a livelihood from fishing.

The basis of the litigation is that government should recognize and protect their historical and cultural rights (and entitlement) to a livelihood from fishing (with an option to sell their catch) as provided for under the Constitution.

Additionally, they argue that the transformation process that favoured commercial enterprises has so far been unsuccessful in job creation in their communities. They propose that a two-mile zone should be allocated exclusively for coastal communities for livelihood purposes. Most of those who are supposedly benefiting from internal transformation efforts in established companies describe the changes that have taken place as 'cosmetic' and mere 'window dressing'. The external transformation efforts of the State aimed

at increasing the numbers of new entrants to the fishing industry. However, since most of the beneficiaries have been allocated economically unviable quotas, the result has been a multiplicity of 'paper quota holders' who usually sell their rights to the established companies. Both internal and external transformation can thus largely be labelled as cosmetic.

The lack of clear transformation objectives in government and its inability to provide direction for transformation for the established companies gave the companies *carte blanche* to restructure their enterprises the way they chose to. Many have, therefore, merely tinkered with their existing profiles in order to create the impression that they have changed.

The lack of real change within established companies can be attributed to the lack of political will on the part of the State to force through real changes using quotas as leverage. The introduction of neoliberal macroeconomic policy enhanced the position of established companies by providing them with the argument that their ability to change the way they do business was limited because stability is vital for them to remain internationally competitive in the age of globalization.

**Assessment needed**

A future direction for fisheries in South Africa must be based on an assessment of how effectively internal and external

transformation processes have addressed poverty, job creation and entrepreneurship. Government's policy for poverty alleviation has been through promotion of SMMEs that could new create jobs. This has not been much of a success.

**W**ith regard to the workers within the established companies, the process of negotiation between labour unions and established companies, which started in 1995 to improve working conditions and secure jobs for workers, seems to have run its course.

According to FAWU, many permanent jobs are being lost in the fishing industry. Established companies have followed the trend towards casual, temporary and contract employment. Women engaged in processing fish have been most affected by 'casualization' in the industry.

A number of interventions are necessary in order for genuine transformation to occur and the fishing industry to contribute towards poverty alleviation. Many of the new operators in the industry did not have any access to credit (other than the value of the quota when sold). Government intervention is necessary to support new entrants in becoming more competitive and visible in the industry through providing access to affordable sources of capital.

There is an urgent need to establish training, especially in entrepreneurial skills. If the aim is to level the playing field, MCM has a responsibility to provide training, in co-operation with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other interested parties. Training should be a requirement for all successful new applicants. The established industry should be made to share in this responsibility.

One way of addressing the training needs of the new entrants is the introduction of a resource fee for leasing a fishing right, which can be used for capacity-building programmes for new entrants. A resource fee is a means by which society can benefit from giving the fishing industry the privilege of using a limited national resource. Since most of the marine resources in South Africa have been utilized to the maximum capacity, only a

few can be given commercial fishing rights.

Such a tax could be used for general development projects like education, health and housing, and the provision of welfare, especially in fishing communities that unsuccessfully applied for fishing rights.

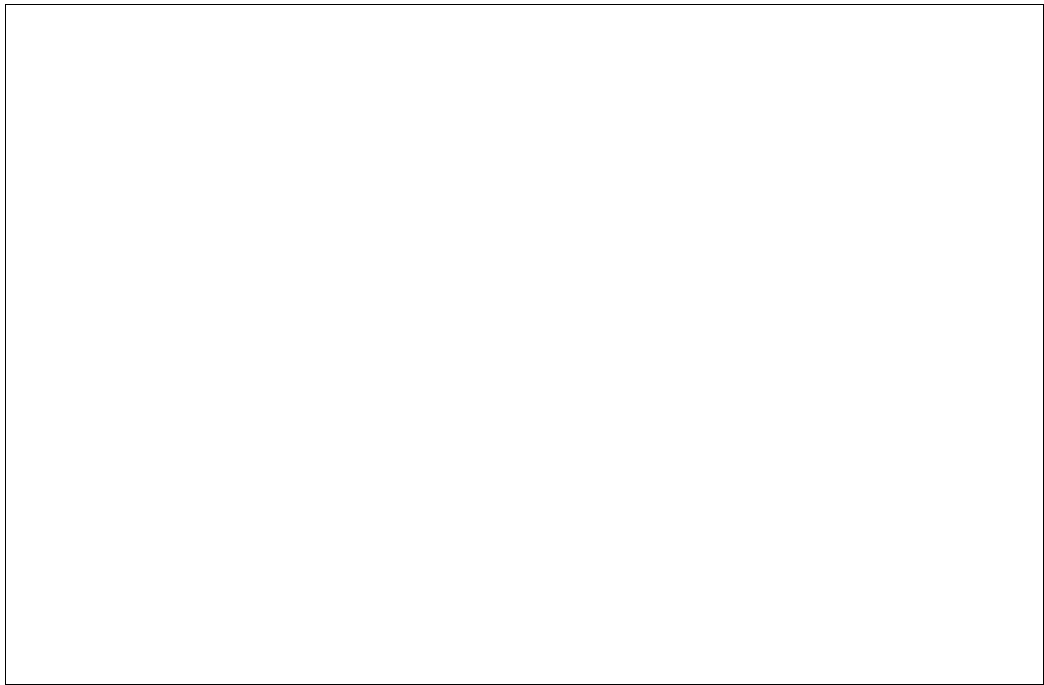
It is clear from the experience of the last 10 years that there is a definite need for institutional support to new entrants. Interestingly, such an approach was used in the 1940s by the government of the time. The Fishing Industry Development Corporation (FIDC) was established to, among other things, establish rivals to Irvin & Johnson in the deep-sea hake trawl fishery by granting fishing rights to a limited number of rights holders in order to enable them to develop vertically integrated, economically viable companies. What later became Sea Harvest only materialized because the FIDC was able to support skills development and provide capital. Similar human and financial support is needed for emerging companies to be able to ably compete with established companies.

Although a verification unit was established for the technical vetting and verification of applications for medium-term rights, it appears that no unit has been in place thereafter to audit progress in internal transformation in established companies and ensure new entrants are genuinely engaging in the industry. Such a unit is supposed to have been vital for vetting this progress as part of the process for awarding the proposed long-term rights from 2006.

In order to avoid having the kind of 'fox in the henhouse' situation that led to the Enron scandal in the United States, it is important that the verification unit is completely independent. An independent verification unit must have the ability to audit internal transformation within companies, joint ventures, as well as 'paper quota holders' in a credible and transparent manner.

#### **Bona fide fishers**

The inshore resources could have largely been left aside for bona fide fishers. Government could have used this as a



bargaining chip against the arguments of the established companies for maintaining their rights in the commercial sector.

**T**his would have gone a long way in providing a source of livelihoods and so contribute towards poverty alleviation for these fishers and their communities.

Regarding capital-intensive fisheries, government could have followed the advice from the Access Rights Technical Committee and acknowledged that it would be very difficult to transform these fisheries.

Instead, these fisheries could have been seen as a generator of funds for the development of coastal communities or society at large by imposing a special levy on fishing rights, like the resource tax charged in Namibia.

Established companies would most likely have argued that they already pay tax on profit and a levy on fishing rights would thus be unfair. It is clear, though, that, under the medium-term rights, established companies were willing to buy and pay for fishing rights under many different arrangements. By institutionalizing transformation through, for example, a Trust Development Fund, the transaction costs for the established industry to acquire

access rights would have been substantially lower.

In South Africa, as elsewhere in the world, fisheries co-management has become a frequently used term to refer to involvement of fishers and fishing communities in order to improve their livelihoods in a consultative/ collaborative manner. However, as with the concept of transformation, there is no clear definition of co-management in a South African context, even though it appears to be seen as a panacea by government and academia for the sustainable utilization of fisheries resources and the economic development of fishing communities.

Experiences so far with fisheries co-management in South Africa indicate that the existing co-management arrangements have primarily focused on management of the fish resources rather than being a mechanism for facilitating economic development within fishing communities.

#### **Livelihoods issue**

Except for KwaZulu-Natal, the government has generally not taken its responsibility for collaborative management seriously. In addition, one cannot expect poor communities and individuals to buy into the concept if they cannot see that it would improve their livelihoods. Thus, it will be important that

poverty reduction strategies are embedded in co-management arrangements.

**T**he government's intention for the redistribution of fishing rights was for fish resources to contribute towards poverty alleviation in coastal communities. Allocating fishing rights to new entrants was a necessary step to start addressing the legacy of apartheid's economic and social deprivation of black communities.

The shift to Gear meant that government's poverty alleviation approach focused on poverty prevention (through SMMES) and poverty reduction (through job creation). It envisaged giving fishing rights to entrepreneurs within fishing communities who could start businesses using their rights, thereby creating jobs within these communities. While rights would act to reduce poverty for the rights holders and entrepreneurs, the creation of jobs would prevent poverty for a few. It is clear, though, that the market solution (Gear) has been insufficient in effective transformation and contributing towards poverty alleviation in coastal communities. It is imperative, at least for the time being, that government should still play an interventionist role in order to ensure that transformation genuinely contributes to poverty alleviation. ❧

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## Fishworker organizations

## A change of guard

**The new leadership of Peru's main fishers' organization aims to improve the productive and commercial capacity of the artisanal sector**

**V**iva FIUPAP! Long Live FIUPAP" shouts Victor Solis, Chairman of the Electoral Committee. "VIVAAA!"

The shouts echo off the shiny walls of the auditorium. Tired faces, after an almost sleepless night, light up to cheer their organization, the Federación de Unificación e Integración de los Pescadores Artesanales del Perú (FIUPAP), which has just completed its Sixth Congress in Huampani, a holiday resort some 30 km from Lima.

"Viva FIUPAP!" repeats Ramón Agama, the new Secretary General. And the cry is taken up by Pedro Cornejo, his electoral adversary, Claudio Nizama, the outgoing Secretary, the 109 delegates and dozens of observers from the *caletas*.

With the federation's programme already unanimously approved, it only remained to decide who is to occupy the driving seat during this new phase of the organization. In a highly civilized atmosphere of mutual respect, the fishermen placed their votes for the final decision of the day.

Without any doubt, the demand in which everyone is united is the defence of the five-mile zone as a reserve for the protection of flora and fauna and for the exclusive use of artisanal fishing.

The delegates present at the FIUPAP Congress rejected, without any hesitation, the entire set of rules that had recently attempted to alter this legally consecrated right, and did not hold back in condemning a small group of organizations from the south of the country, who had agreed to the industrial fleet accessing a 37-km corridor bordering the frontier with Chile. Some of

them had already sanctioned the leaders who signed up to this agreement.

In Peru, there seems to be a general consensus on respecting the five-mile zone. At least by word of mouth, government and industry representatives agree on the exclusive rights for artisanal fishing in this zone. The debate has centred on Peru's southern coastal strip, where the bathymetry shows a much steeper falloff than in the north, and, most importantly, the anchovy, the target species of the fishmeal fleet, is found much closer to the coast in the south in winter.

The anchovy—a pelagic species that is very abundant in Peru's rich waters—can support annual catches of more than six million tonnes, except when the El Niño phenomenon dilutes the cold Peruvian Current (also known as the Humboldt Current) and nutrient upwellings are reduced to a minimum. Scientists recognize the presence of two stocks, one north and the other south of parallel 12 degree (more or less level with the capital, Lima). The latter is a stock shared with Chile, and accounts for about 15 per cent of Peru's annual anchovy catches. However, it is the cause of passionate disputes.

The problem is that the industry's processing schedules are established on the basis of catches made during short trips to areas off the coast near to the fish plants. In the south, during autumn, the anchovy occurs in large volumes far from the coast during its northward migration from Chilean waters.

### Industrial sector

But in winter, when it moves in the opposite direction, it comes very close to the coast. Thus, the industrial sector, prevented from accessing the resource

due to the pressure of the artisanal sector, accuses its leaders of “working for the Chileans”.

**G**overnment representatives argue that the five-mile zone should be strictly respected, but for “geopolitical reasons”, the industrial fleet should be allowed to catch anchovy in this zone in winter. “It is only 37 km long and there are hardly any artisanal fishermen,” they insist.

But the artisanal fishermen fear that if they accept this exception, the “windows of penetration” will be transformed into a heaven for the industry and a hell for them, with growing pressure to extend the “exception”.

The artisanal fleet (some 6,000 vessels) is not allowed to catch fish for fishmeal, although many vessels in the sector—the so-called ‘Vikings’—do it illegally. They are *bolichitos* (wooden purse-seiners) that are on the more capital-intensive extreme of what qualifies as artisanal fishing.

Most of the vessels in the Viking fleet, which number more than 600, are already over 30 gross registered tonnes (GRT), the demarcation limit between the artisanal and industrial sectors. It is a highly dynamic and mobile sector, and most of all, difficult to manage. Frequently avoiding the use of satellite monitoring systems and catching fish that ends up in

the fishmeal plants, it provides yet another battlefield for the artisanal fishermen.

The greater part of the 700,000 tonnes of fish that is caught in Peru for human consumption is provided by the artisanal fishermen. Jack mackerel (*jurel*) forms part of the average diet for coastal Peruvian families.

However, for several years, the star product of the Peruvian artisanal fishery has been the giant squid, or *pota* (*Dosidicus gigas*), which, in size and weight, is larger than a man, reaching such sizes in 14 to 18 months, and dying after spawning. Fishermen catch it mainly by hand jigging, gutting it on board their small boats, and selling it as tubes with skin on at the quayside. Catches are large, amounting to 75,000 tonnes a year, but the prices obtained are miserable.

#### Export business

“The quayside prices they pay us are 12 *centimes* (around US\$0.04) per kilo,” said a fishermen’s representative from the north during the FIUPAP Congress. But semi-processed squid products, like frozen open, skin-on, squid mantles, fetch around US\$ 0.60 per kilo on the international market. This is a business that is mainly undertaken by fish buyers and exporters. Artisanal fishermen’s organizations have not yet managed to develop the negotiating capacity to get a

fairer price for their semi-processed landings.

**T**he vast diversity of demersal and pelagic resources caught by artisanal fishermen (some 200-odd species) means that there are several issues that face the sector. However, as in the case of the squid, the problems of income distribution, related mainly to the scarcity of some resources and the low price of others, are common to nearly every *caleta* and inland fishery. Despite the fact that the Peruvian State invests relatively large sums in aiding the sector, with support from international development bodies such as AECI (the Spanish Agency for International Co-operation), these investments still follow the logic of the buyers more than the sellers, assuring a concentration of supply and quality standards, but not distributional equity.

These are not the only problems of a commercial nature. At the FIUPAP Congress concerns were also raised about products coming into Peru from Chile to replace the reduced landings from the artisanal sector in the domestic market.

For Peru's artisanal fishermen, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas (UNCLOS) is almost a swear word. They are firmly convinced that if Peru adheres to this international convention, it will lose sovereignty over its 200 miles

and an "UNCLOS Committee" (which does not really exist) could decide to let foreign fleets enter this zone, thereby affecting their resources.

What is certain is that the Peruvian Constitution has established 200 miles as the country's territorial sea (or *mar de grau*), and that if the country ratifies UNCLOS, they will have to accept that the territorial sea will be reduced to 12 miles, and the remainder will become part of the exclusive economic zone (EEZ). For Peruvian artisanal fishermen, "the defence of the 200 miles for Peru" is as non-negotiable as the defence of the five miles for their sector. And up to now, all reasoned arguments put forward to convince them that there is no danger of foreign fleets freely entering if Peru were to sign up to UNCLOS have proved ineffective.

The FIUPAP Congress ratified this position, recent demonstrations in the south of the country supported this decision, and the new Secretary Ramón Agama, firmly maintains this traditional attitude of the sector.

#### **Emotional goodbye**

The emotional and respectful goodbye to the veteran leader Claudio Nizama opened the way to a new generation of leadership. Ramón Agama, representing Sechura fishermen, is a man in his 40s, of a serene aspect, who showed surprise

when his colleagues elected him General Secretary.

**H**e seems like a man with no personal ambitions, and thanked his supporters in simple words. “Artisanal fishing is undergoing definite changes,” he affirmed, “Technological progress is absolutely vital, because fishery resources are becoming scarcer due to overfishing by the industrial fleet and the catch of juveniles, which is hardly controlled.”

Ramón Agama’s main worries include the need for permanent communication with the mass base of his organization, through regional visits and increasing use of email. The new General Secretary believes in working to improve the productive and commercial capacity of the artisanal fishing sector. But he is not abandoning the mother of all battles: the closing of the “windows of penetration” or the “perforations” in the exclusive artisanal zone. That will continue to be one of the main lines of work for FIUPAP. “The windows of penetration are now on standby, and that is a big worry for all of us,” says Agama. “The windows of penetration could serve as a legal instrument that might be used to open up other parts of the coast, using the same arguments as applied in the south. Meanwhile, our bases are alert to any ingress of industrial vessels inside the five miles, and we, as a federation, are also on the alert to ensure that this is not repeated in other parts of the country.”

FIUPAP’s new General Secretary is explicit: “That law should be eliminated, keeping it in suspense is a hidden danger for Peruvian artisanal fishing activities.” 🐟

This report, by Ernesto Godelman (godelman@cedepesca.org.ar), President of CeDePesca, who attended the FIUPAP Congress, was translated by Brian O’Riordan (briano@tiscali.be)

## Marine protected areas

## Making local communities visible

**There are issues surrounding marine protected areas and the livelihoods of coastal communities within them**

**M**arine protected areas (MPAs) or marine parks are increasingly being used as a way of protecting coastal and marine resources, based on scientific principles of safeguarding the ecological resource, in the context of widespread marine resource depletion. As such, they are a potentially positive intervention, as they seek to achieve the conservation of coastal resources as a whole for current and future generations of people. Claims are made about the benefits of MPAs for the environment and for local people, including that they can provide an increase in stocks in less restricted fishing areas adjacent to the protected areas, as well as indirect benefits through tourism. However, such benefits only occur if MPAs are properly managed—yet figures from the World Wide Fund for Nature—or, as it is known in North America, the World Wildlife Fund (WWF)—estimate that 80 per cent of MPAs worldwide are protected in name only and are not being managed actively or effectively.

In some cases, protected areas in general (including land-based ones) have failed to sustain the wildlife populations they were designed to protect, while, at the same time, having a negative impact on the food security and livelihoods of local people. They have, in practice, been associated with forced displacement and loss of access to natural resources of those living in and around them, with inadequate or no compensation.

Numerous studies have found that it is often the poorest households that are most dependent on natural resources. Protected areas have, therefore, often led to further impoverishment of those living in poverty. This inattention paid to the livelihoods and socioeconomic situation

of local communities reflects a general trend in environmental conservation, despite a growing consensus that poverty and weak governance are two of the most significant underlying threats to conservation.

This article examines the issues around marine protected areas and livelihoods of coastal communities within MPAs, with reference to examples in South Africa. Findings were drawn from across the three coastal provinces of the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, using a range of key informants and available literature.

International and national guidelines for the setting-up and management of MPAs include a strong emphasis on stakeholder involvement. However, in practice, provisions are weak, and local coastal communities are often effectively invisible in the MPA process, despite having traditionally fished in the protected areas for centuries or more, and despite the fact that many rely on fishing for their livelihoods and food security.

In the context of concerns over equity in marine resource allocation, the increased regulation of fishing that accompanies the creation of marine parks often disproportionately affects under-resourced local fishing communities, compared with other stakeholders.

### Local communities

Furthermore, in South Africa, little effort has been made to find out the impact of MPAs on local communities. The lack of data on the impact on livelihoods is problematic, considering the obvious connection between the socioeconomic characteristics and attitudes of local communities, and the type of

management and enforcement of marine resources required within protected areas.

**T**hose living adjacent to MPAs in South Africa have been adversely affected in many cases by a rollover of spatial patterns resulting from land dispossession and the setting up of protected areas during the apartheid era. Local communities' access to coastal resources has been affected by removals as part of apartheid and colonial spatial legislation, and, more recently, by the growth of the tourism industry and the real estate/property boom. In many cases, MPAs have retained some protected area boundaries set up during apartheid, reinforcing discriminatory land ownership and access. Although this may be for sound environmental reasons, it has led to resentment in local communities, especially where there has been limited participation in decisionmaking.

Current management of MPAs, in general, is inadequate, both internationally and nationally. A joint WWF-Marine and Coastal Management (MCM) report found that only seven out of 19 MPAs in South Africa had formal management agreements in 2003—those without formal agreements appear to be faring worse. Many MPA authorities lack the capacity for effective enforcement and management funding for MPAs has not been a government priority and budgets have been cut. In many cases, staff

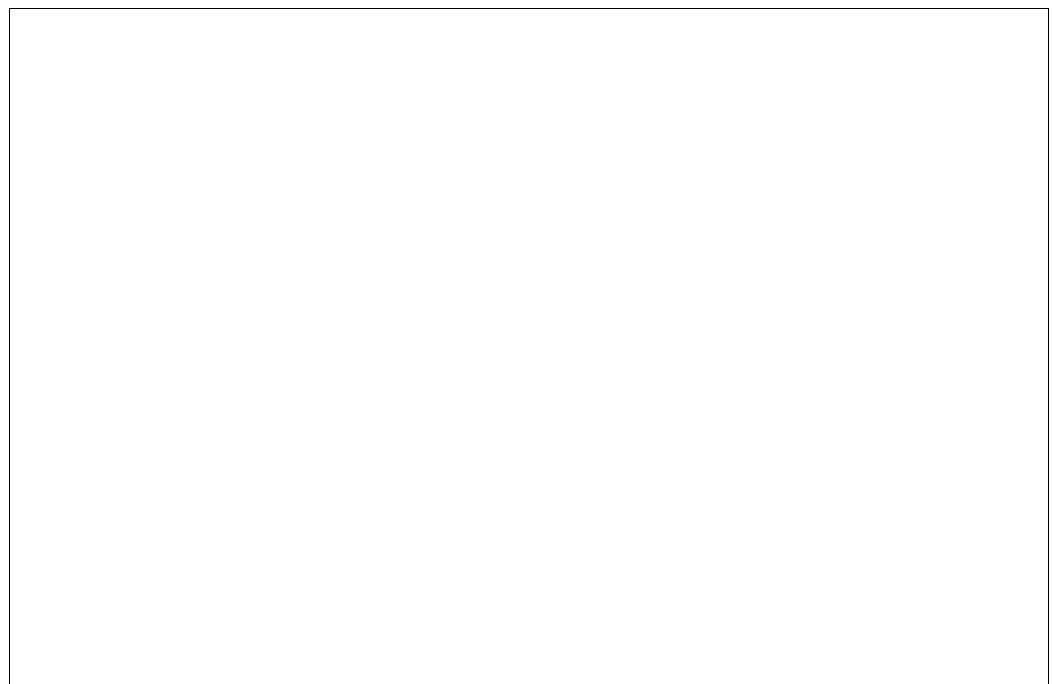
capacity is insufficient for effective management. Performance and monitoring requirements in the national legislation are also weak. Furthermore, existing management agreements between national parks/MPA authorities and MCM are predominantly concerned with enforcement against illegal fishing, not other aspects of management. Nevertheless, illegal fishing or poaching was stated to be a problem in all the MPAs investigated, in many cases jeopardizing the state of the resources. This included small-scale to large-scale poaching.

The evidence points to the fact that genuine increased community involvement has a beneficial effect on conservation aims in MPAs, with increased community buy-in and respect for regulations. National and international legislation now requires the consultation or public participation of stakeholders in the setting up and management of MPAs.

However, the mechanisms by which participation is to be carried out are not specified, and, therefore, real involvement has been limited, especially where the MPAs continue protection of an area that was set up when local participation was not required. This has caused conflict or protest action in many MPAs.

**Recent MPAs**

For some MPAs declared more recently, such as the Table Mountain National Park



(TMNP), the level of consultation has been higher. The TMNP has sought to impinge as little as possible on major fishing areas for permit holders, albeit imperfectly for small-scale fishers. In several other MPAs, multi-use zoning—which allows fishing in certain areas—has not been embraced, and buy-in to this principle from MCM has been inadequate.

**A**lthough the current discourse emphasizing involvement of local communities in the management of protected areas does bring benefits to those communities, in many cases, the limits placed on the level at which participation takes place means that it is unlikely to adequately compensate them for their exclusion from access to the natural resources in those protected areas. This includes the vast majority of government livelihoods and poverty alleviation initiatives, which lack sustainability.

In most cases, only brief consultation of specific stakeholders has been implemented rather than genuine local involvement in decisionmaking, with the result that such consultation can be used to legitimate top-down decisionmaking. This extends to what is termed 'co-management' of natural resources in South Africa—this has generally meant very little involvement in decisionmaking regarding resource utilization. For example, in

Dwesa-Cwebe MPA, where local people are supposedly co-managing marine resources, no fishing at all is permitted. Furthermore, where fishing is allowed in the protected areas, in most cases, the subsistence level and low-value resource use allowed by marine park authorities do not satisfy basic needs or livelihood requirements, including rent, school fees and basic services, where available. Even subsistence fishers operate in a monetized economy, and, therefore, if insufficient alternative livelihood opportunities are available, illegal fishing is likely to occur when subsistence fishing does not cover basic needs.

In practice, public participation can be fraught with problems, and requires a genuine, long-term commitment on the part of the relevant authorities. Capacity constraints and communication gaps have meant that communication among government departments and agencies, and between government and communities, has generally been inadequate, leading to the conflation of issues of land, marine resource and general service provision by communities, and a resulting lack of co-operation with government.

#### **Access denied**

In the context of a denial of access, people in local traditional fishing communities still have a very strong social and cultural connection with the sea and with fishing.

Changes that have been enforced relatively recently, and visibly extended within the last decade of democracy, have brought to the fore a fundamental clash of cultures—between predominantly ‘traditional’, communal ways of managing and harvesting natural resources, and ‘modern’ (industrial), individual, private property-based quotas. MPAs are one manifestation of the enforcement of the State as the effective owner of all natural resources, an idea that many people in local coastal communities would contest.

Furthermore, fishermen feel that their indigenous knowledge and traditional methods, including rotation of areas and resources, are not being recognized by scientific measures or government regulations.

Recreational fishers and industrial companies, with their better resources and greater political influence, can much better lobby government on access and policies than small-scale fishers and poverty-stricken communities, leading to greater resentment among the communities in the MPAs researched. Government authorities are reluctant to jeopardize access for recreational fishers since they are a major source of revenue in the form of tourism in MPAs. Furthermore, recreational fishers have escaped regulation and enforcement to a large extent in the past.

Levels of poverty in coastal areas in South Africa are significant in most areas where MPAs are situated—with the highest average levels in the Eastern Cape province (48 per cent), followed by KwaZulu-Natal (26) and the Western Cape (12), representing the percentage of people whose household expenditure was R800 (approx. US\$119) or less per month. The Wild Coast in the Eastern Cape has one of the highest levels of poverty in the country—between 60 per cent and 80 per cent.

However, such figures hide huge disparities between rich and poor—in most provinces, inequality is increasing, particularly in the Western Cape, where many people in coastal areas are unable to enjoy the benefits of the burgeoning, but highly capital-intensive, tourism

industry. In towns surrounding the West Coast National Park, over 40 per cent of people were recorded as having no income, according to the 2001 census. The Eastern Cape province, where five MPAs are situated, has suffered particularly from racially defined apartheid spatial policies, although other provinces have also been considerably affected. Severe lack of investment in certain areas, combined with restrictions on movement and land ownership elsewhere, meant that specific areas such as the Wild Coast became overcrowded and were systematically denied access to resources and services, resulting in high levels of poverty and reliance on marine resources. Therefore, the pressures of high population and poverty, as well as poor land and coastal management outside the reserves, are detrimental to the state of the natural resources, and has direct impacts on MPAs.

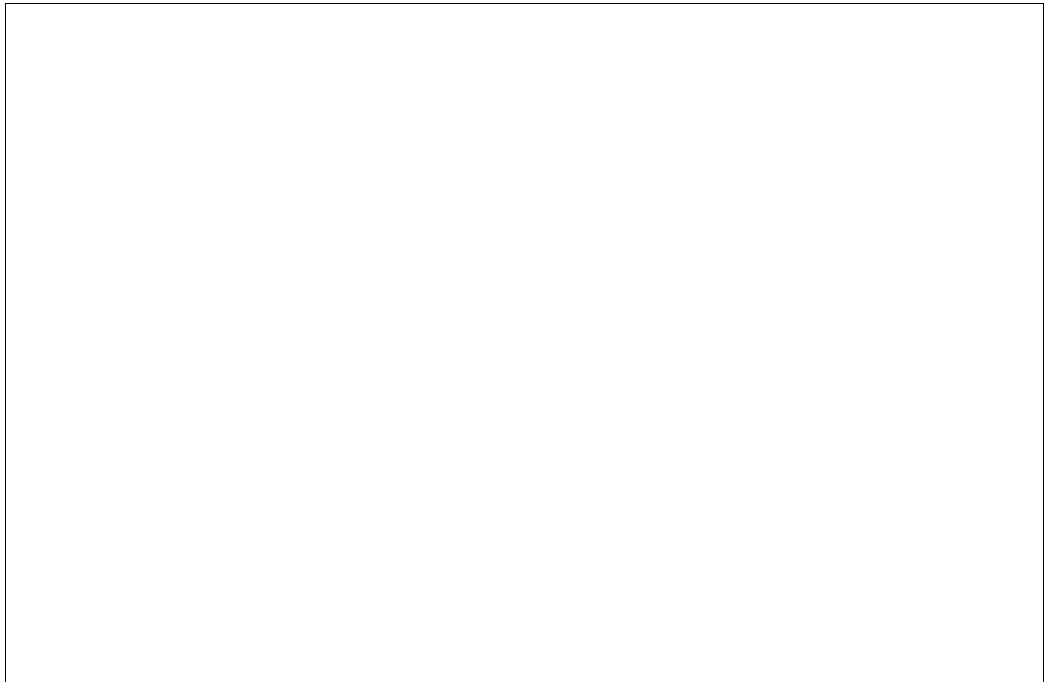
Without improved management of restricted areas, policy developments in South Africa are likely to further endanger the livelihoods of fishers living adjacent to marine parks, since the department responsible for fisheries has expressed its intention to substantially increase the no-take zones within marine park areas from 1 per cent to 20 per cent of protected areas.

The emphasis on environmental concerns in MPA management hides a predominance of considerations of growth and profit at the macroeconomic level (including foreign currency revenue for the State), over the socioeconomic concerns of livelihoods and poverty alleviation for local people.

#### **Legitimacy issue**

MPAs cannot be considered in isolation from the areas and communities surrounding them—the marginalization of local communities puts the legitimacy of MPAs at stake, and has serious consequences both for the management of protected areas and for the ecological resource itself due to increased incidences of poaching. Issues around management of MPAs, in general, exacerbate this problem. While MPAs have an important contribution to make, their strategy alone is unlikely to provide the solution to all management and resource access





problems MPAs are only one of a range of suitable management tools.

We, therefore, propose a more equitable sharing of the costs and benefits for stakeholders involved in MPAs, so that local communities and the socioeconomic impacts of MPAs are made visible, and local people are genuinely involved in management decisionmaking. If managed effectively to include local communities in genuine partnership with managing authorities—and if alternative livelihood opportunities are provided—MPAs could address both socioeconomic and environmental conservation concerns. 3

This article, by Carolyn Petersen (C.J.Petersen@sms.ed.ac.uk), Naseegh Jaffer (naseegh@masifundise.org.za) and Jackie Sunde (jackie@masifundise.org.za), Masifundise Development Trust, Cape Town, South Africa, forms part of a longer paper presented at the first International Marine Protected Area Conference (IMPAC1) held in Australia in October 2005

# Speaking for ourselves

## Some reflections on the first International Marine Protected Area Congress, and the need for a human perspective

The participants of the first International Marine Protected Area Congress (IMPAC 1), held in Geelong, Australia from 23 to 28 October 2005, came from every corner of our earth. All engaged in a wide range of issues affecting the protection of marine protected areas (MPAs). All were committed, and willing, to face the daunting challenges of making sure that all forms of marine life will continue to exist in its purest and most natural forms for future years.

Administratively, the organizers were determined to produce a successful and productive conference, the outcomes of which are to be used for international advocacy work and give direction to ongoing research and development endeavours. The Congress was a genuine effort to intelligently engage with the challenges of making MPAs successful, given current global challenges.

The five focus themes of the Congress enabled participants to choose their particular area of interest. The themes were Shared Stewardship; Sustainability–Resilience; Ecosystems; Developing MPA Networks; and Effective Management. To ensure integration of these themes, the organizers also arranged sessions where crosscutting issues could be explored and analyzed. This was a constructive effort to ensure that major challenges were not engaged without the broader context and that ‘people’, correctly, were seen to be part of the context.

But where were the voices of the actual local communities whose livelihoods depend on the very marine parks that are intended for conservation? Are we conserving marine life for researchers, scientists, onlookers and tourists to come and marvel at? No. We must take care that

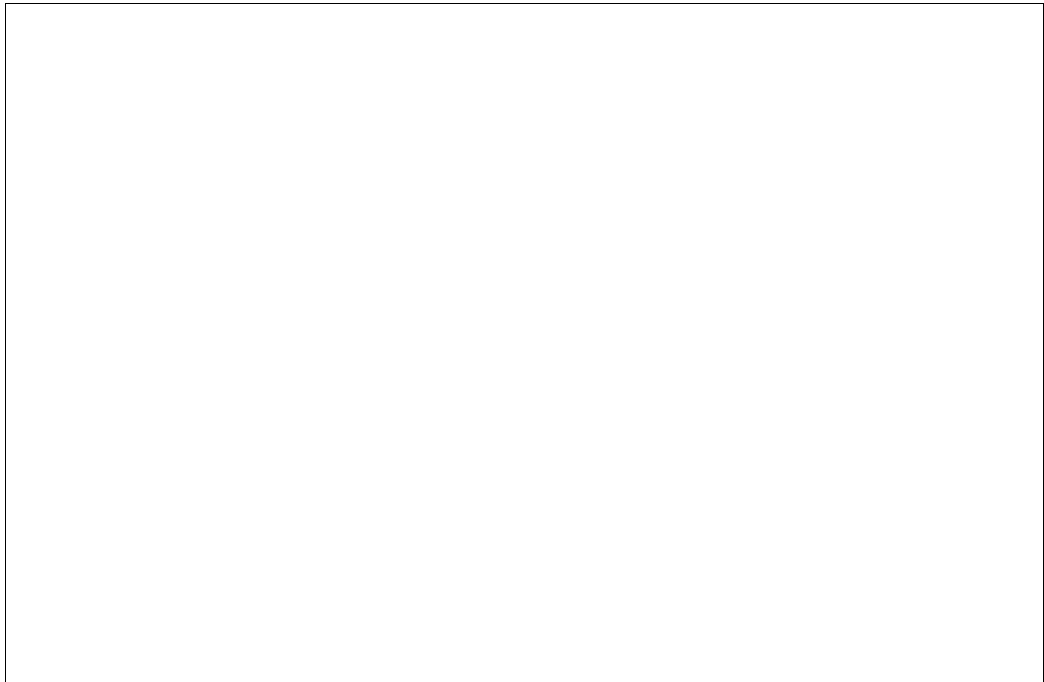
coastal areas are maintained so that all living forms can continue to live interactively with them in the future. People in communities that live interdependently with marine life can best speak about conserving coastal and marine life and their own livelihoods. We must recognize, too, that local communities can informatively reflect on the real human value of the protection of marine living resources, and the challenges that come with this task. That some champion their cause, albeit welcomed, does not replace the call: “We can speak for ourselves”!

It was evident that the Congress participants looked at marine parks through the eyes of researchers and scientists who have environmental protection as their first priority. Progressive social scientists, in contrast, look at life from a human perspective first. Yet both have the interest of improving and protecting life forms with dignity and respect, for their sustainable future existence. While IMPAC1 made a significant contribution toward the involvement of local and indigenous communities in the marine parks process, it did so primarily from a marine science and environmental perspective.


The time has long arrived for science and all knowledge systems to be integrated—not as separate entities brought together, but as different living forms that interactively share the same living environment.

### Integration needed

If we are to meet the Millennium Development Goals, then such an integration is becoming all the more urgent. In communities, we confront the degradation of peoples’ rights and human dignity. We fight poverty and economic



exploitation. We challenge the greedy, who exploit human and natural 'life'. The complexities of human and political conflicts, economic greed and environmental/marine degradation must be engaged with simultaneously, so that a universal programme can be developed to ensure that all forms of natural life (humans, plants and animals) can co-exist sustainably in future. Surely democratic practice calls for this!

We look forward to IMPAC2 to make this important shift. 

This piece is by Naseegh Jaffer (naseegh@masifundise.org.za) of the Masifundise Development Trust, Cape Town, South Africa

## Good intentions alone won't help

**The distribution of fishing assets in the post-tsunami rehabilitation phase in India exposes several flaws**

The custom prevalent in south Indian fishing villages prevents civil society organizations (CSOs) from directly supplying fishing gear and other relief material to the beneficiaries of tsunami rehabilitation schemes. It is the *panchayat* (local village council) that decides on the distribution of aid. Thus, almost all CSOs hand over the assets to the *panchayats*, which, in turn, redistribute them to the fishermen. In most cases, the *panchayats* try to share the benefits among all the fishermen, without undue consideration to the issue of damage or ownership.

Fishermen are entitled to get their boats repaired if they were partly damaged or get new ones if they were fully damaged. To do so, they had to surrender the compensation amount they received from the government to the *panchayat*. The *panchayats* try to get as many new boats as possible for their hamlets. After compensating for the losses, the surplus boats are distributed among the crew on the basis of group ownership. Accordingly, a group of four or five receives a fibre-reinforced boat (FRP). The owners of *kattamarams* (traditional craft of logs) were also treated equally and a group of four *kattamaram* owners was given one FRP boat, besides their compensation amount. In Tharangambadi, Tamil Nadu, those who did not get boats were given Rs15,000 (about US\$333) each as compensation from the common fund of the *panchayat*. This amount was derived from the cost of a boat, which is around Rs75, 000. For a group of five, each share thus amounts to Rs15,000. Even trawler owners received FRP boats besides the compensation amounts. In one instance, an organization supplied nets to the fishermen as loans. However, the fishermen refused to repay the loan amounts and, finally, the

organization had to approach the *panchayat* to settle the issue.

The power structure in fishing hamlets dictates the key role of the *panchayats*. The December 2004 tsunami was a test case for the *panchayats* to prove their power over their communities. Simultaneously, it also revealed the real strength of the people over their *panchayats* as they could exercise their power to call back their representatives. The day after the tsunami, the people of Tharangambadi, for instance, asked the *panchayat* to step down for a new *panchayat* that would incorporate more eligible persons. Accordingly, a new *panchayat* comprising six members from each four wards of Tharangambadi came into power. In Arcottuthurai, another fishing hamlet, a split four years ago had resulted in two *panchayats* ruling two portions of the hamlet. After the tsunami, both *panchayat* heads tried to work together, but failed for political reasons. Both the *panchayats* are trying their best to get aid and are blaming CSOs for not distributing benefits in their area.

In Akkarapettai and Nambiar Nagar, tsunami-hit fishing villages in Nagapattinam, Tamil Nadu, the CSO intervention has had a profound impact on the traditional power structure. The distribution of FRP boats by the CSOs led to a near-revolt by crew against their owners and *panchayats*. Hearing stories of the distribution of FRP boats in other fishing hamlets, these members believed that the *panchayat*, represented by the owners, had conspired to prevent the CSOs from distributing boats to all the crew.

### New assets

They thought it unfair that while the owners could get new assets from the compensations they received for their old



boats, the crew themselves, who had worked for several years on these boats, did not get anything. Moreover, the owners were preventing boat distribution, fearing they would not get enough crew to run their own boats if all the crew received boats as well.

**S**uch double-dealing was seen as quite unjustifiable, and made the crew members get together to form their own trade unions to fight for what they believed were their rights. So strong was their power of bargaining that the *panchayats* were forced to underplay their own power in order to avoid a division in the hamlets. Under a compromise formula, the old *panchayats* were dissolved, and foundations laid for new *panchayats* comprising equal representation from the two conflicting groups.

To pacify the crew workers, the new Akkarapettai *panchayat* also purchased and distributed 10 new FRP boats among the fishermen. Although the union constituted in Akkarapettai had dissolved as per the request of the new *panchayat*, the Nambiar Nagar workers union stood firm and refused to be dissolved. It registered itself with the help of the Construction Workers Union and opened an office in the village. Their members demanded that unless the boatowners shared with their crew a portion of the benefits they got as

compensation, they would refuse to go fishing on their boats. Through some NGOs, they also got some boats for the crew fishermen in the village.

Thus, while asset distribution has, on the one hand, helped in re-constituting the traditional *panchayats* through the incorporation of representatives from the fishing community rather than exclusively from the wealthy and traditional power holders, on the other hand, it has divided the community more than ever before.

While the CSOs were competing with one another to supply boats, they ignored the needs of the other sections of people in the fisheries sector, like the women fish vendors, fish merchants, ice-plant owners, and so on. The *panchayat*, which was more concerned with fishermen, also remained aloof from these sections. In short, the entire post-harvest area in the fisheries sector has been kept in the dark during the relief and rehabilitation phase.

#### **Poor communities**

The losses of the fish-vending women were far less than those incurred by the fishermen. Yet this does not imply that they need lesser attention. A sizeable number of fish vendor women are either widows or from the poorest families in the fishing community. During the tsunami, most of them lost the implements of their trade—aluminium baskets, scales and

knives—while some others lost the fish they had procured and the thatched sheds used to store the fish.

**S**uch losses may seem insignificant to an outsider, but they are important since they deprive the women of their means of livelihood. Though they started vending once fishing had resumed in the village, they were forced to buy new tools of the trade, for which most had to borrow money from private financiers and moneylenders, also for working capital needs, at a monthly interest rate of five per cent. Some women could get credit for a day. The average loss of a women fish vendor was Rs1, 500 (US\$33). Thus, the cost of one FRP boat could have assisted a hundred women. Only after they had bought new tools did some NGOs come forward to distribute aluminium baskets, raincoats, scales, knives and tiffin boxes. Since these were not given to all the affected women fish vendors, they at first refused to accept the aid. However, they changed their minds later, perhaps realizing it was better to accept whatever little was given.

The reduction in fishing trips post-tsunami and the poor fishing season have also negatively affected the fish vending occupation. The number of working days for the fish vendor women has drastically decreased from a monthly average of 20 to eight. The income from vending also has gone down accordingly, from a monthly average of Rs1,000 (US\$22) to Rs400 (US\$9). This has affected their living standards. Moneylenders are reluctant to give credit to the new entrants to the vending trade (usually newly widowed women and others who need the money to maintain their families), preferring old clients from whom they are fairly confident of getting repayments. Thus several women are forced to pawn their jewellery for credit.

Clearly, there is enough space for meaningful interventions in the fish-vending segment, like ensuring quality, improving processing and marketing, and so on. These are areas where the CSOs can do a lot. Although the women fish vendors have demanded equipment like insulated fibreglass display trays and storage boxes, which will improve their marketing capacity and

ensure better prices, no one has been willing to give them such equipment.

Merchants and commission agents, who used to procure around 60-70 per cent of the total fish landings, are another major group that has suffered financially due to the tsunami. They lost ice-crushing machines, storage crates, generators, sheds and fish stocks. The amounts they had advanced the fishermen for their catches have also remained unproductive throughout the enforced fishing holiday. The money was locked up for an average of three to five months, in the case of the traditional fishing units, and seven to nine months, in the case of mechanized fishing units. Some amounts also remained stuck with other wholesale merchants, who are in no position to return them as regular transactions were affected for a long period. These merchants have lost around Rs50,000 (US\$ 1,096) to Rs500,000 (US\$10,965).

Such losses have not been taken into consideration by the government or the CSOs. They have been forced to depend on moneylenders, who charge 60 per cent annual interest. Another source for borrowing is the people who got government compensations for the deaths of their family members. Normally, the rate of interest of these borrowings is 24-36 per cent per annum. The merchants are not procuring fish at former levels, which implies that their business capacities have diminished after the tsunami. There are only a few new entrants into this business, mainly from those who received death compensations. However, their lack of professional skills prevents them from doing well in the business.

There are other people as well who had invested in the fishery and suffered financial losses consequent to the tsunami, including owners of ice plants and units dealing in fishing equipment. They too have borrowed from moneylenders and those who got compensation. Some have abandoned their occupations.

#### **New homes**

As part of the rehabilitation phase, a sizeable proportion of the fishermen from Tharangambadi, Nambiar Nagar, Arcottuthurai and Akkarapettai villages will be shifted to new places that are 750

m to 1.5 km from their original habitations. The fishermen feel that would certainly have a negative impact on their livelihoods in terms of increased effort and time needed to venture into the sea, a growing detachment towards the sea and the fishing way of life and the gradual alienation of the coming generations from the traditional fishing occupation. It is very important that fishermen be at sea at a particular time, if they wish to get good catches. Only if they are by the seashore can they decide whether to go fishing on a particular day, after observing the wind and current directions. Besides, they have to repair their nets and keep their boats safe throughout the day. The fishermen cannot frequent the beach as easily if they are relocated to places that are, on average, 1 km from the shore. The women fish vendors also feel that their misery will increase after their relocation as they will have to toil more.

From these experiences, we can conclude that the post-tsunami asset distribution strategy was not derived from any proper planning, which has, to a certain extent, defeated the good intentions of CSOs. Clearly, rehabilitation interventions should not be driven by donors or CSOs that are totally unfamiliar with the local situation. A proper understanding of the field reality is essential for any meaningful intervention. Any intervention should be guided by the principle of ensuring sustainability and diversity, rather than by charity.

Media publicity should not be the sole criterion for formulating rehabilitation plans. Proper care should be taken to ensure that there is no unevenness in the attention given to various groups in the areas of intervention. Instead of enhancing vulnerability, an intervention should strengthen the cohesiveness of the beneficiary community.

The delivery of rehabilitation services should not create divisions within the recipient communities. The principles followed by some CSOs—like abstaining from creating assets in the mechanized sector—contain enough value to be highlighted. Instead of individual organizational attention, joint efforts of CSOs are better, considering the different

complex dimensions of the rehabilitation issue.

The approach of CSOs should be centred around *people*, rather than their *wishes*, which are often driven by sheer desire and could prove non-sustainable in the long run. The principles of justice and equity may carry different meanings in different contexts, and understanding this is very important for a CSO.

In sum, the distribution of fishing assets in the post-tsunami phase, while demonstrating the increasing concern of CSOs and donors, exposes the flaws in deriving a consensus among them for a more sustainable approach. Undoubtedly, indiscriminate asset creation in the fishery will not help the target community, but will do more harm to their livelihoods, tradition and culture. This should be an eye-opener for all those who wish to be involved in the rehabilitation of fishing communities, especially when the community has an organic link with its sources of livelihood, and practices that go along with such links. It is not just good intentions, but a close understanding of the situation that makes any intervention meaningful. ❧

This piece is excerpted from a study by S. Thaddeus (tkp2000@gmail.com) of the NGO Co-ordination and Resource Centre ([www.ncrc.in](http://www.ncrc.in)), Nagapattinam, Tamil Nadu, India

CHANGING TIDES: GENDER, FISHERIES AND GLOBALIZATION. Edited by Barbara Neis, Marian Brinkley, Siri Gerrard and Maria Cristina Manesch, Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2005, 307 pp

## Reflective, dense, integrative

**A unique, ongoing research tackles how globalization is affecting women's lives and gender relations within fisheries**

**C**hanging Tides: Gender, Fisheries and Globalization is an exceptional collection of research articles, case studies, reports and brief commentaries spanning 18 countries and including women fishworkers, community activists, researchers and academics from the South and the North. This book captures the work of a unique, ongoing research and development process, originating in Canada, that explores the way in which globalization is affecting women's lives and gender relations within fisheries. The perspective of the book is clearly stated—it adopts “a feminist approach that seeks to be global, critical, holistic and integrative”. The editors must be highly commended for bringing together a very vast sea of literature on each of the aspects—gender, globalization and fisheries—and for challenging the boundaries of conventional methodologies by documenting and collating such diverse contributions in a most useful and creative way.

The book itself reflects the very nature of this project—reflective, dense, integrative, detailed and diverse. Continually challenging the reader to move from women's grounded experiences to theory and back to locality, it does take considerable time to read and digest. In thinking about the readership, I was struck by the possibility that this book will not be easily accessible to some of the participants in this project—and yet, it is an important part of the process in and of

itself. Several of the articles draw rather heavily on the language of taken-for-granted conceptual frameworks of feminism, poststructuralism and deconstruction in their understandings of globalization, race and gendered identities, while others, most notably the authors of the article on *Changes in Icelandic Fisheries*, are particularly good at weaving explanations of these theoretical tools throughout their discussion, thereby extending the reader's own understanding of how we can make linkages as we move through information of this kind.

The editors have tried to assist the reader by structuring the book in such a way that the reader is able to assimilate the depth and complexity of the task of linking these broad topics. The introduction by Barbara Neis maps out the rationale for the structure of the book, providing an overview of the development of knowledge in the fields of gender, globalization and fisheries, and locating the book within the broader frame of the research initiatives that have shaped the contributions. The book is divided into six sections. The first two chapters provide an overview of the key issues. Most helpful is Martha MacDonald's chapter on *Building a Framework for Analyzing the Relationships Between Gender, Globalization and Fisheries*, which begins to “map linkages”, and guides the reader to some of the questions that might be asked “from trawl” right through the production and consumption line to “the table”.

### Mapping linkages

The book is simultaneously a journey of mapping the linkages for the reader as



well as stretching conventional understandings and conceptual maps for understanding gender and globalization.

**A**s MacDonald notes, fisheries provides “an excellent vantage point for exploring the processes of capital accumulation and relations of class and gender.” It is as if the addition of ‘fisheries’ to globalization takes one on a deeper voyage, enabling an extension of the depth and range of our knowledge of women’s lived experiences, and letting us hear previously unheard voices.

In the second and third sections, the interweaving of regional and local case studies with theoretical reflections on issues of women’s identities, roles, rights, race and class has the effect of successfully keeping the book grounded in women’s lived experiences of fisheries, while mapping the geography of household and community at the centre of a global frame.

The result is that as one reads these local stories, and then re-reads them through a conceptual lens in a following section, one sees the linkages between the lives of women living on the east coast of Canada with those of women dependent on fisheries in villages on the south coast of India.

Section Four comprises a wide range of reflections on the ways in which the

impact of globalization on fisheries management issues is mediated by gender, class, cultural and national identities. The contributions highlight the way in which globalization and gender discrimination combine to shape women’s access to marine resources within marine conservation systems in Mexico, and threaten women’s occupational health in Chile as well as limit their participation in specific approaches to management systems such as quality control systems introduced in Norway. The destructive impact of greedy, accumulative, gender-blind fisheries management systems is highlighted by the article on the impact of the individual quota system on communities in Iceland. The fact that women are not passive victims of these impacts is illuminated by the article on the use of trawler bycatch in Ghana, where class status enables certain women to enhance their entrepreneurial power in a globalizing fisheries context.

In Section Five, the authors pose critical questions regarding the nature of information-gathering, and warn against the dangers of “intellectual imperialism” mirroring the exploitative nature of globalization through one-sided research processes.

#### **Feminist approach**

Siri Gerrard’s article suggests that feminist approaches to research provide a

range of methodologies that can mitigate against unequal relations in a context in which access to information shapes power relations.

**T**he need for researchers in the North to learn from the insights of frameworks developed in the South as well as for inter-sectoral, multidisciplinary approaches is motivated by two Canadian academics who have transferred a conceptual framework developed by Indian feminist Bina Agarwal for understanding the materialist basis of gendered aspects of resource degradation in India, to a fisheries context in Newfoundland, Canada.

In the final section, the impact of the intersections of a neoliberal, capitalist global system with unequal relations of power along gender, race, class, cultural and geographical lines is underscored both through the statement from the Gender, Globalization and Fisheries Network Workshop from which the initiative for this book arose as well as in the 'last words' presented by Barbara Neis and Maria Christina Manesch. The authors of this section provide a very useful overview of the key themes that emerge in the book as well as identify a research agenda for the future.

The fact that globalization processes are "fundamentally gendered" is strongly illuminated through the 'fisheries' and 'gender' lenses used in this book. The work presented here deepens our understanding of the very destructive impacts of these processes by mapping the interstices of these systems of power relations at all levels of our lives.

However, while mapping these destructive forces, it simultaneously highlights the strength of women's resistance and the way in which feminist perspectives point to alternative ways of living and interacting with our fisheries and other natural resources.

Early on in the book, Indian feminist activist Nalini Nayak reminds us that feminist approaches to working within the fisheries sector have long emphasized the need for an alternative development paradigm and a more sustainable way of

living that is based on "fisheries for need not greed".

This collection suggests that creative research and development projects such as that of the one through which this book was produced, which draw on the critical insights of gendered analyses while also strengthening networks for transformation across the globe, might enable us to begin to "imagine and fight for alternatives...more likely to sustain life and enhance justice".

This review is by Jackie Sunde (jackie@masifundise.org.za), a researcher for the Masifundise Development Trust, Cape Town, South Africa

# News Round-up

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## Tsunamiiversary...

It's almost a year since that deadly tragedy struck the coastal communities around the Indian Ocean, the 26 December 2004 tsunami, triggered by a gigantic underwater earthquake off north Sumatra, claiming more than 224,000 lives and displacing more than 1.6 mn people in countries ranging from Indonesia to Somalia.

Few would wish to remember the disaster, but, equally, few can forget it. And several people and groups are set to commemorate the event with first-anniversary memorial services.

**Thailand**, whose official death toll from the tsunami is 5,395, seems to have taken the lead, offering to fund flights and hotel rooms for relatives of the 2,000 foreign tourists killed in the disaster.

The Thai government said it will also throw in two nights of hotel accommodation in southwest Thailand.

Already, nearly 3,000 foreign tsunami survivors and relatives of tsunami victims have told the Thai government they will attend the

planned beachside memorials.

Over 14,000 guests are expected to attend the remembrance ceremonies, to be held during 25-27 December in the Andaman coastal provinces of Thailand.

Five different locations are being offered to attend the memorial services, which will be held between 9.30 and 10.30 am at Patong Beach and Kamala Beach in Phuket province, Bang Niang and Nam Khem villages in Phang Nga province, and Phi Phi Island in Krabi.

Apart from survivors and immediate relatives of tsunami victims, 60 heads of State and other VIP guests are expected to show up for the ceremonies. Around 4,000 hotel rooms,

mostly in Phuket and Phang Nga provinces have been reserved for the guests. Additionally, some local Thai residents' houses have been prepared as alternative accommodation for those who prefer 'home stay'.

## Arty offerings

Twelve Nordic entries have been sent in for the official Thai tsunami memorial design competition. **Finland** has submitted seven entries, leading the Nordic entries. **Sweden** comes second with three entries, followed by **Denmark**, with two. Norway has not entered the competition.

The overall leader in terms of proposals is the US with 104 entries, followed by Thailand with 70 and

the UK with 25. So far artists from 42 countries have submitted design ideas for the memorial, which will be erected in Khao Lak.

## Down under too

The Government of **Australia** is pitching in as well. It has offered to assist the immediate family members of Australians who died as a result of the Indian Ocean tsunami.

It will help with reasonable travel and accommodation costs incurred in travelling to formally tsunami-affected areas to commemorate the first anniversary.

## One year later...

Nearly one year after last December's deadly tsunami, the people of Indonesia's Aceh province are beginning to rebuild and recreate lives and livelihoods—with an emphasis on building for a better future, reports global humanitarian agency Church World Service.

With so many fishing boats lost to the tsunami, a return to productive fishing is fundamental to Aceh's recovery. And that is happening, says the Church World Service.

Like others still displaced and living in tents or settlement barracks, Aceh fishermen who lost

homes and boats in the tsunami have been longing to return and to have their own homes again.

### ***Orphan hopes***

**Malaysia** has launched a project to bring hope to 800 children orphaned by the December 2004 tsunami.

The Pesantren Terpadu Al Fauzul Kabir Religious School in Kota Jantho, the capital of the Aceh Besar hilly region, in Sumatra, Indonesia, will be rebuilt soon to accommodate orphans caused by the tsunami last year.

The reconstruction of the school will be funded by Malaysia and is expected to benefit about 800 children who became orphans following the tsunami. The integrated religious school's headmaster, Zahari Yusuf, 32, said the contribution from Malaysia would comprise three hostel blocks for boys and girls, a dining hall, a multipurpose hall and buildings for classrooms and laboratories.

### ***Recovery news***

Meanwhile, as the first anniversary approaches, the development, advocacy and relief agency Oxfam International is inviting reporters to view progress at its key recovery programmes.

Oxfam is offering journalists an opportunity to view the progress being made in some of the hardest-hit areas where the group is working.

Much of Oxfam's work is now focused on the long-term recovery of devastated communities in Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and southern India.

Following are some of the areas of focus

Oxfam has developed over the past year, which journalists are invited to visit:

**Cash-for-Work Recovery Programmes:** Oxfam is helping people rebuild communities by developing cash-for-work programmes that will restore livelihoods like fishing, agriculture and salt production.

**Shelter:** Oxfam continues to build shelters in the hardest-hit areas. In **Sri Lanka** alone, more than 3,700

shelters have been built.

**Marginalized Communities:** Oxfam is committed to delivering aid to the most vulnerable populations affected by the tsunami, such as women or low-caste manual labourers, and has created financing tools and other recovery programmes to support the infrastructure for long-term growth.

### ***Simulation project***

Researchers in **India** will start a project next year, hoping to estimate, using computer simulation, the impact of a possible tsunami within minutes of an earthquake.

Such simulations will help India put together a national survival plan in the event of a tsunami, minimizing loss of life and property.

"Tsunamis have been rare and sporadic, but we need to understand the common

factors of all the occurrences.

Earthquake-induced tsunamis hit India in 1881, 1941 and 1945, and one caused by a volcanic eruption in Indonesia came in 1883. Indian literature and recent archaeological finds also suggest tsunamis had occurred in the region even 2,000 years ago," K.S. Krishna, of the government's National Institute of Oceanography, who is co-ordinating the project, told the Associated Press.

The findings would be part of India's upcoming coastal hazard preparedness plan that would also include early warning and crisis management measures for storm surges, underwater mudslides, volcanic eruptions, coastal erosions, harmful algae blooms and oil spills.

India is also building a tsunami warning centre in the southern city of Hyderabad at a cost of US\$28 million, which it expects to open by September 2007.

India has a coastline of 7,500 kilometres, along which more than 250 million people live. The December 2004 tsunami killed 10,749 people in India.

Another 5,640 people are listed as missing but are presumed dead. At least 2.7 million people were affected.

*The high seas. The sun sinks down, is swallowed by the mists long before it reaches the horizon. For one brief moment, the sea is pink on one side and blue on the other. Then the waters grow darker. The schooner slides, minute, over the surface of a perfect circle of thick, tarnished metal. And at the most peaceful hour, as evening comes, hundreds of porpoises emerge from the water, play around us for a moment, then flee to the horizon where there are no men. They leave behind them the silence and anguish of primitive waters.*

— from *The Sea Close By* by Albert Camus



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

The opinions and positions expressed in the articles are those of the authors concerned and do not necessarily represent the official views of ICSF.

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