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WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP IN FISHERFOLK ORGANIZATIONS AND COLLECTIVE ACTION IN FISHERIES

A review of evidence on enablers, drivers and barriers



Cover photo: Artwork created during the Caribbean Fisherwomen Learning Exchange 2017, Costa Rica, organized by CoopeSoliDar R.L, CERMES and FAO. The artwork was the result of women discussions concerning their role in small-scale fisheries and painted by Guadalupe Álvarez.

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP IN FISHERFOLK ORGANIZATIONS AND COLLECTIVE ACTION IN FISHERIES

A review of evidence on enablers, drivers and barriers

Enrique Alonso-Población

Consultant

Santiago, Chile

and

Susana V. Siar

Fishery Industry Officer

Fishing Operations and Technology Branch

FAO, Rome, Italy

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PREPARATION OF THIS DOCUMENT

This document presents the findings of a desk study that was undertaken to: (1) understand the barriers and constraints women face when participating in fisher organizations as members and leaders; (2) identify opportunities where women have successfully participated in organizations, and how such examples could be scaled up in other situations where constraints are high; and (3) identify good practices that promote and strengthen women's participation in a meaningful and effective way.

The desk study contributes to the FAO Strategic Objective 3 (Reduce rural poverty) Output 1.1: Support to strengthen rural organizations and institutions and facilitate empowerment of rural poor.

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ABSTRACT

The increased recognition of the multiplicity of roles played by women in, and their crucial contributions to, the fisheries sector exists in stark contrast with the low presence of women in fisherfolk organizations around the globe, and the lack of access to decision-making positions in many formal fisheries-related organizations. This paper summarizes analyses of a global literature review on women in fisherfolk organizations. The aim of the study was to identify positive examples and lessons learned by pointing to the drivers – as well as the enablers and entities identified in the literature – that have a key role in fostering increased women's participation and leadership in collective action in fisheries. State institutions, social movements and civil society organizations, development and conservation projects, religious movements, academia, endogenous mobilization, charismatic individuals and coincidences have been identified as the key enablers of women's participation in collective action. Dwindling resources and the need to secure management roles, modernization, the allocation of fishing rights, economic changes, family welfare and women's rights, are the main drivers identified by the authors as catalysers of women's engagement in collective action. Finally, the paper identifies some of the barriers faced by women to gain equal access to organizations and decision-making. Although more research on the topic is required, there seems to be consensus on the positive effects for women arising from their engagement in modes of collective action.

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INTRODUCTION

The substantial contributions made by women, and the multiple roles they play in fisheries have gained increasing recognition worldwide in recent years (see FAO, 2016b; World Bank, FAO, WorldFish Center and ARD, 2012). Collective action is inherent to the fisheries sector, either to defend collective interests in the market environment, to secure rights, or simply to catch fish. Considering the extent of their involvement (see Weeratunge, Snyder and Choo, 2010) and the contributions of women to fisheries (see Harper *et al.*, 2017; Harper *et al.*, 2013; Kleiber, Harris and Vincent, 2014, 2015), one would expect women to have equal access to participation and decision-making in fisherfolk organizations and collective arrangements. However, that is not the case (see FAO, 2016a).

The Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication (SSF Guidelines) (FAO, 2015) was the first international instrument of its kind to recognize the importance of women in the small-scale fisheries sector worldwide, stressing the need for full recognition of fisherwomen's rights. In addition, the guidelines recognize the role of fisherfolk organizations as a means to achieving the aims of the SSF Guidelines, namely: improving the socio-economic situation of fishers and fishworkers; achieving the sustainable utilization of fisheries; promoting the contribution of small-scale fisheries to a sustainable future; providing adequate guidance to states and stakeholders; enhancing public awareness and promoting the advancement of knowledge on the culture, role, contribution and potential of small-scale fisheries.

The inclusion of gender issues in an international policy instrument such as the SSF Guidelines is the result of the efforts of a whole movement of people and organizations from both civil society and academia who have worked tirelessly to increase recognition of women's rights and their voice, and to address power imbalances in fisheries globally. While the endorsement of the SSF Guidelines in June 2014 is a milestone, and a promising outcome in itself, new challenges arise when moving towards the implementation phase. Full recognition of women's rights would bring equal access to fisheries organizations and decision-making positions in fisheries-related institutions and organizations. While equal access to participation and leadership in fisheries is still an aspirational goal, there are successful cases from which important lessons can be learned to guide efforts to achieve this objective. The aim of this paper is to extract some of the lessons that can be drawn from the literature currently available on women's participation and leadership in fisherfolk organizations and collective action in fisheries worldwide. Specifically, the goals of this study are: (1) to identify cases where women have successfully participated in organizations, and explore how such examples could be scaled up in other situations; (2) to identify good practices that promote and strengthen women's participation in a meaningful and effective way, specifically identifying the drivers and enablers that the literature points to as key factors in fostering women's participation in collective action; and (3) to identify the barriers and constraints faced by women when participating in fisherfolk organizations as members and leaders.

SETTING THE SCENE: SOME INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS ON ORGANIZATIONS, COLLECTIVE ACTION AND EMPOWERMENT

Fisherfolk organizations are as diverse, complex and dynamic (Jentoft and Chuenpagdee, 2009) as the fisheries they are linked to. Their existence, success and stability over time are therefore dependent on a complex set of environmental, cultural, political and social factors. Fisherfolk organizations are essentially social arrangements – in the broadest sense – between fishery-related individuals, groups and stakeholders, to address specific issues. The use of ‘social arrangement’ is intentional here, as it does not constrain our view to a particular idea of institutions, organizations or associations, instead allowing us to refer to less formal and changing modes of collective action. The diversity of arrangements ranges from formal organizations – registered, regulated by dedicated legislation – with formal governing bodies and governed by democratic means, to informal forms of collective action that can be as old as those based on customs or as new as ad hoc social mobilizations resulting from citizens’ discontent with specific policies. Fisherfolk organizations also diverge when it comes to their aims and scope, ranging from those focused on economic (as in the case of most cooperatives), social (in the case of self-help organizations), legal or resource governance (in the case of co-management bodies) issues; in addition, some of them benefit from a delegated authority over particular areas, as in the case of resource management committees.

For the purposes of this paper, collective action is broadly understood as “people joining together purposively for a common cause” (Jentoft *et al.*, forthcoming). Formal fisherfolk organizations are therefore a type of collective action organized under specific arrangements. However, joining together to achieve an outcome, either in the form of an informal or a formal arrangement, does not mean joining together forever. As Kurien (2013) notes in a review paper on fisherfolk organizations in small-scale fisheries, case studies show that the lifespan of an organization can be limited depending on a diverse range of factors. For this reason we believe that assessing a fisherfolk organization for stability over time is not the best approach; rather, any form of collective action should be evaluated on the basis of its successes, not only in achieving its planned outcomes but also for the unplanned positive side effects it may bring alongside these. This approach generates a paradigm change in which collective action is no longer conceived as a state, but as a flux, the direction of which depends on a negotiation between conditions rooted in a particular context (social, ecological, cultural, economic, legal, etc.) and individual and collective agents.

The case studies analysed in this report reflect the diversity of existing modes of collective action, from informal movements to women-only formal organizations, mixed organizations, sector-related organizations, and associations aimed at achieving a wide range of outcomes. The diversity is enormous, but the literature available does not always provide the level of detail to determine if specific arrangements are more successful than others.

All this variety of organizational arrangements and reported outcomes brought further questions: Does participation in organizations always bring about empowerment? Does engagement in collective action always help to address power inequalities between men and women?

According to Rowlands (1995), the concept of empowerment itself is rarely defined in development policy research, and ultimately depends on the notion of power selected by the authors. Specifically, when it comes to the development policy agenda, the concept of empowerment can suffer from a process of instrumentalization that has its costs (Kabeer, 1999): for example, in the translation of feminist insights into policy discourse through quantification, which removes the original, political edge of feminist discourse. Feminist studies have focused their attention on disentangling and unveiling power inequalities between women and men. To do so, they have employed different notions of power. Choosing a specific definition of power would bring about different paths to achieving empowerment and divergent evaluations of success; considering the aim of an action as getting “power over” – as if power were a zero-sum game – is not the same as getting “power with”, where power results from collective action (see Rowlands, 1997). In general, it can be said that feminist research has not reduced its understanding of power to a formal–institutional definition

(Rowlands, 1995). Analysing women's power in fisheries only by assessing whether women actually participate and lead in fisherfolk organizations would restrict our own understanding of power to the formal–institutional dimension, or bring to the fore old discussions built on the dichotomous public–political/private–domestic paradigm.

Recognizing the idiosyncrasies of the fisheries sector in different locales has led to nuanced analyses of the specific outcomes of women's participation in collective action in fisheries, including the recognition of negative outcomes. These negative experiences and outcomes can encompass a wide range of developments, from the challenges faced on the ground when attempting to integrate women into fisherfolk organizations (see Alonso-Población, Rodrigues and Lee, 2016), to an analysis of the side effects of involving certain groups or individuals in organizations (see Nayak *et al.*, 2016). Resurreccion (2006) for example, called attention to the potential negative consequences that participation in organizations may have for women, such as increasing the burden placed on women, furthering exclusion and reproducing inequality by not considering women's needs and conditions of engagement.

Most of the literature reviewed establishes a clear causal link between women's participation in fisherfolk organizations and some form of – undefined – empowerment. As such, many authors envision the strengthening of women's organizations as a necessary component to addressing a range of different issues in the sector (Hauzer, Dearden and Murray, 2013; see Ngwenya, Mosepele and Magole, 2012). Yet, as authors do not work within a single conceptualization of power and empowerment (see the exercise by Poh Sze Choo and Williams, 2014 analysing the empowerment effect of 20 projects under a unified definition of empowerment), it is difficult to determine whether participation in organizations bring along empowerment *per se*. The general trend, however, seems to point to a certain level of consensus on a number of positive effects for women arising from their active involvement in collective action in fisheries at the political, legal or social level. This trend is so generalized that it poses one challenge to the exercise of learning lessons from documented experiences: there is limited access to more negative experiences, which currently remain largely unreported.

Defining the notion of empowerment is beyond the scope of this work, but as a point of departure, we consider that the low involvement of women in modes of collective action, or women's denied access to decision-making positions in fisherfolk organizations, is both the cause and consequence of the unequal access to a source of social, economic and symbolic capital (the organization or social arrangement itself); ultimately, it reveals that despite the increasing recognition of women's contributions to fisheries, women are not yet being considered citizens and workers with full rights in the sector. Denying women equal access to decision-making positions and full participation in fisherfolk organizations is equivalent to denying half of the fisheries-dependent population their basic economic, social, labour and environmental rights. While it is difficult to determine whether participation in organizations brings empowerment – as that would require a unified definition of power – lack of participation in collective arrangements and denied access to organizational forms is a consequence and indicator of a lack of access to specific resources, and is a cause of the further marginalization of women.

“WOMEN DO FISH”

In a classic book on the Spanish Galician fisheries, dating from the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Joaquín Díaz de Rábago (1885) called attention to the importance of the work of women in the fisheries within the region, specifically in post-harvest-related work. Tasked to study the problems of “working classes” in Spanish Galicia, he approached fisheries from a broader standpoint, considering the variety of work that the “fishing industry” encompassed. This approach to women’s work led him to become an active advocator of women’s labour and civil rights (Martínez Rodríguez, 2002), turning his work into a reference for further analysts and policymakers interested in the issue within Galicia, a region that has reportedly changed the situation of women in the fisheries sector in the last few years (see Box 1). However, considering fisheries as “more than fishing” was a not a common approach, at least until some decades ago. Today, evidence shows that women do indeed participate in fisheries all around the globe. Yet the accumulation of evidence, nowadays available in a vast bibliography, has nothing to do with the evidence itself. Even if the participation of women in fisheries may be as old as the very act of fishing, its recognition has taken centuries of work to accomplish, and has been far from linear (Britton, 2012).

From a feminist perspective, authors have focused their attention on the reasons for this blindness. Porter (1985) for example, points to the descriptions of nineteenth-century Newfoundland ethnographers as a result of a broader patriarchal ideological context. In an influential work on the anthropology of fishing and women’s studies, explicitly aimed at addressing common misconceptions of women’s work in fisheries, Nadel-Klein and Davis (1988b) point to two common popular images of women in fishing communities. The first is that women do not participate directly in the fisheries; the second is that women’s roles are of little importance and of minor theoretical interest. In their own words, “both of these misconceptions stem directly from an androcentric and capitalist (wage-oriented) bias in the definition of what constitutes ‘work’” (Nadel-Klein and Davis, 1988a). Specifically, work is conceptualized as the task that leads to a market exchange, which in the primary sectors usually refers to the act of “hunting” (on the “male the hunter” bias, see Slocum, 1975). A further bias has been the tendency of ethnographers to use a “bipolar” and “rigid” model of sexual division of labour in their descriptions of fishing communities (Alencar, 1993), in which men are represented as acting over the sea and women over the land. While the men–sea/woman–land model can find ethnographic support in different social and cultural settings (Thompson, 1985), its generalization can be problematic (Walker and Robinson, 2009); authors have thus called attention to the need to leave the model and start from the ethnographic description, emphasizing the specificities and nuances of case studies (Alencar, 1993; Motta-Maués, 1999), and avoiding generalizations.

In recent decades, many authors have analysed the multiple reasons leading to women’s lack of visibility within fisheries. As a result, a vast bibliography has been produced reporting on the crucial contributions and multiple roles of women in fisheries. However both, the strategies through which the androcentric, hunting-market bias has been contested, and the critical role of women in fisheries worldwide has gained recognition —at least in the domain of academia, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international agencies, remain largely unassessed.

Social scientists with a feminist lens have mainly deployed three strategies to contest the androcentric bias. One of them is ethnographic, and consists in bringing ethnographic examples where women are directly involved in sea-fishing to the fore and theorizing on the basis of these. Some examples can be found in the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula, as in the case portrayed by Sally Cole among the Portuguese women of Vila da Praia, which the author used to problematize notions of the sexual division of labour and the (re-)definition of work, theorizing on the effects of social change on women’s autonomy (Cole, 1988, 1991). The second strategy is conceptual, and entails broadening the concept of fishing to encompass all non-sea-hunting related tasks, as Díaz de Rábago did at the end of the nineteenth century when studying Galician fisheries. Within this line of argument, in a recent study Weeratunge, Snyder and Choo (2010) reviewed a broad range of evidence from Africa and the Asia-Pacific regions to contend that if gleaning and post-harvesting activities were fully taken into

consideration in official statistics, the fisheries and aquaculture sectors “might well turn out to be female sphere” (Weeratunge *et al.*, 2010).

The third strategy is ontological, and involves problematizing the nuances of mutual dependency – and ultimately agency – by showing that “for some to hunt”, some others bear the responsibility of a number of other crucial tasks. For example, in her classic work aimed at understanding consumption, Rosemary Firth (1966) unveiled the separate responsibilities and complementary economic strategies of men and women, which both contributed to a single consumption whole, by approaching the households as units of analysis. These three strategies have rarely been employed in isolation, and for the most part have been articulated in combination with one another.

The final outcome of this long process of contestation by feminist scholars is that nowadays it is widely recognized that women do indeed participate in fisheries in a variety of ways, along the entire value chain: among many other aspects, by financing fishing operations, preparing baits, mending nets and preparing fishing gears, managing finances and administering family businesses, gathering shellfish and reef gleaning, fishing at sea, processing and marketing seafood products. However, this recognition is mainly present in the realms of academia, NGOs and international agencies. Some milestones testify to this achievement; for example, in 2012 FAO incorporated a chapter on gender mainstreaming in fisheries and aquaculture in The State of World Fisheries and Aquaculture (SOFIA) report for the first time (FAO, 2012). Authors and the relevant institutions have also increased their efforts when estimating women’s contributions (Harper *et al.*, 2017, 2013; see also Kleiber, 2014; Kleiber *et al.*, 2014) or the number of women participating in the workforce (see FAO, 2016b; World Bank *et al.*, 2012). One of the results of this process of increasing contestation and visibility, in which civil society organizations (CSOs) have played a crucial role, is the effect on international policies. The best example is the Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication (FAO, 2015) which, in contrast to the gender blindness displayed by the Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries (Williams, 2010), present an opportunity for transformative action (Quist, 2016). Nevertheless, policy changes do not always translate into national policies integrating a gender perspective (Williams, 2008), or they do so with further biases, such as by focusing exclusively on post-harvest (Lentisco and Lee, 2015) or leaving women out of fisheries governance (Bennett, 2005). Currently, the most challenging next step is to achieve an effective implementation of the SSF Guidelines. As articulated by Kleiber and colleagues (Kleiber *et al.*, 2017), this endeavour will require the adoption of a gender transformative approach that recognizes the diversity of experiences among women and the different root causes of gender injustice and inequality, engaging in iterative examination of the dynamics of power and focusing on capacity development.

FROM “WOMEN DO FISH” TO “WOMEN DO PARTICIPATE AND LEAD”

As pointed out by several authors (Kleiber *et al.*, 2015; Weeratunge *et al.*, 2010), the discourse must move beyond the “women do fish” argument.

Fishing, in the same way as any other economic occupation, is not an activity carried out by individuals in isolation. Both men’s and women’s fishing are determined by logics of rivalry and solidarity (see Plath and Hill, 1987). Either as part of collective strategies to glean invertebrates or catch fish, to defend collective interests against those of fish buyers and suppliers, or to secure rights in the context of modern states and globalization, fishers are dependent on mutual cooperation and collective action. In spite of this, women are often excluded from access to equal participation in fisherfolk organizations and are denied access to decision-making positions in many fisheries-related organizational arrangements. It may therefore be sustained that the androcentric bias was not only tied to the realms of the economic activity (work and the market) as initially pointed out by feminist scholars (Nadel-Klein and Davis, 1988a), but also to the realm of politics (participation in organizations), as happens in many other sectors outside of fisheries. However, in comparison to the exceptional efforts of scholars and practitioners to theorize based on evidence of women’s participation in fishing-related activities (contesting the hunting-market bias), little has been produced on the basis of evidence of their participation and leadership in fisherfolk organizations.

As a result, the “women do participate” argument is still to be addressed. Until now, it can be argued that social scientists approaching the issue from a feminist perspective have for the most part opted for what we have conceptualized above as the ethnographic strategy, i.e. theorizing on the basis of ethnographic accounts in which women do formally participate and lead, or those in which they are totally excluded from both participation and leadership. The second strategy, i.e. the conceptual one, would encompass broadening the scope of the meaning of fisherfolk organizations to any collective action in fisheries, which is this paper’s intention. Finally, the ontological strategy would bring about a renegotiation of female agency and hence the very concepts of participation and leadership: for example, by studying the influence of women in formal decision-making through informal networks. We have found that these two strategies still require progress in the literature, as issues such as the involvement of women in informal organizations or their informal participation in formal organizations are not yet adequately documented.

METHODOLOGY

This report summarizes the results of a literature review on women in fisherfolk organizations and collective action in fisheries. While the scope of the review is global in scale, it is far from having a global coverage. It is rather the result of a selection of documents that were deemed relevant to learning lessons and providing insights for a comparative analysis. The bibliographical selection was accomplished in several phases. The first phase comprised a preliminary selection of literature on the topic using publicly available sources (Google, Google Scholar, etc.), research networks (such as ResearchGate and academia.edu) and research engines (Jstor, ProQuest, EBSCOhost). This preliminary search resulted in an initial selection of 68 papers that served as the basis for further research. These first papers selected were classified into four levels: Level 1, Level 2, Level 3 and Level 4 (Table 1).

The preliminary selection of documents served as: (a) the beginning of the review process; (b) the development of a new classification system for the papers as they were analysed (see Table 1); and (c) the beginning of a thread to identify further relevant publications. All papers were classified using the Mendeley desktop tool, through which tags were associated to all the documents. A second classification of the papers was developed following a set of categories listed in Table 1.

Table 1

Benefits from small-scale fishery utilization and marketing

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| <p>Level</p> | <p>Level 1 – papers specifically focused on the topic at stake. Their main areas of study cover the roles of women in fisherfolk organizations, specifically analysing participation and leadership, and typically studying the factors shaping the current status (historical, economic, policy-related, etc.).</p> <p>Level 2 – papers where the roles of women in fisherfolk organizations are not the main focus of study. However, they provide insights on the roles of women in organizations and collective action and might also delineate the reasons shaping the current status.</p> <p>Level 3 – papers focused on gender in fisheries and aquaculture that contain relevant insights on the topic at stake. While they are not the main focus of the literature review, they may serve to contextualize the discussion or to complete information where necessary. They are considered here either because they contain theoretical discussions of interest for the present work or for their ethnographic or theoretical contributions to the topic of gender and fisheries.</p> <p>Level 4 – papers that analyse the current status and argue that improved management and livelihoods outcomes would be achieved through enhanced participation of women in fisherfolk organizations. Level 4 also includes papers suggesting explanations for the lack of participation of women in fisherfolk organizations.</p> |
|---------------------|--|

| | |
|---|--|
| Type of document | Grey literature Peer-reviewed paper. |
| Origin and support (as emphasized by authors) | <p>Emphasis on external factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - supported by state institutions - social movements and epistemological change - supported by development aid and conservation projects - supported by religious organizations - supported by academia - coincidences. <p>Emphasis on internal factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - collective agency - individual agency. |
| Drivers for organizing/aims (as emphasized by authors) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Resources driver - modernization driver - fishing rights driver - economic driver - uncertainties driver - women's rights driver - men's rights driver and family welfare. |

The tagging system was developed while the reading process progressed, obliging the authors to reorganize the dataset retroactively. The tagging mechanism developed through the reading process served to organize the report writing, facilitating the analytical process and facilitating further revisions during the writing process. In total, 232 papers were reviewed, classified and analysed.

ENABLERS AND ENTITIES INVOLVED IN FOSTERING WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN COLLECTIVE ACTION AND ORGANIZATIONS

Identifying good practices and lessons learned from currently available experiences and exploring how successful cases could be scaled up encompassed identifying which were the entities and enablers identified by authors as key to strengthening the effective participation of women. The contents of some of the key references pointing to each entity are summarized in the following sections.

Role of state institutions

For some regions and countries, authors have acknowledged the crucial role of state institutions in promoting women’s participation in fisherfolk organizations. Frangoudes, Marugán-Pintos and Pascual-Fernández (2008) emphasized the role of regional administration (with authority over resource management) in fostering a positive transformation among female, on-foot shellfish gatherers [*mariscadoras*] in Galicia (Spain). As a result, their organizations, operating under the auspices of local *cofradías* (community-based institutions in fishing communities whose existence can be traced back to the twelve century), now have a crucial role in resource management and market control (Box 1). By reflecting on the Galician case, the authors point to several factors leading to this transformation: a long tradition of associations in the sector, i.e. Spanish *cofradías*, a good knowledge of the situation from the government with management authority, political will and leadership within the regional government, in addition to the availability of European Union (EU) funding that served to incentivize collective action through meetings, trainings and other support, and to provide organizations with new roles in governance of resources and the market. Policy change was therefore a crucial factor in changing the socio-economic situation of female, on-foot shellfish gatherers in Galicia. As noted by Marugán Pintos (2004) and Frangoudes and colleagues (2013; 2008), the new policy direction of the regional government, which aimed at professionalizing the on-foot shellfish gathering activity (previously a complementary livelihood), included a shift in the exploitation regimes, from harvesters to shellfish cultivators: first by restocking overexploited resources and then by increasing productivity rates. This change was accompanied by an integral reorganization of the sector and a need to foster the organizational development of previously non-organized women producers. In order to do so, the participatory approach adopted proved to be a key factor, as well as a huge investment by the regional government in capacity development activities targeting the needs of the *mariscadoras* [shellfish gatherers] covering both technical and managerial skills.

In Pernambuco (Brasil), Inácio and Leitão (2012) emphasize the role of political change in the creation of instances of representation for women in fisheries. Specifically, they report on the development of the *Articulação de Mulheres Pescadoras* in Brazil (Articulation of Women Fishers of Brazil). The *Articulação* is a mediation entity between women fishers and the state that emerged as a result of the dialogue which took place during the state-promoted CONAP (National Conference of Fisheries and Aquaculture), a series of conferences (2003, 2006 and 2009) organized by the newly-appointed government with the aim of changing fisheries policies in country. After the first CONAP in 2003, and following the consequent recognition of the specific challenges faced by women fishers, a First National Meeting of Women Workers in the Fisheries was held to articulate specific actions. This first meeting served to mobilize the organization of women into “articulations” (regional and national) dedicated to oversee, discuss and consolidate actions to get women’s working rights included in the new political agenda (Inácio and Leitão, 2012). These new instances of representation have been instrumental in the acquisition of new rights by women fishers (see Box 1).

Box 1: The paradigmatic case of Galician shellfish gatherers

As in many other places around the globe (Béné, 2003), images of poverty have been strongly linked to on-foot shellfish gathering in Galicia, with references to the relationship between these dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Labrada, 1804). This image still resonates extensively today in the elderly population's narratives relating to the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the post-war period (Alonso-Población, 2014), both characterized by hunger and extreme poverty. From the 1950s, and especially during the 1960s, the increased per capita income led to an increase in the demand for seafood in all countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (García Alonso, 1987). In Spain, this rise in the consumption of seafood was consolidated during the 1960s, then increased further due to the change in culinary patterns of an emerging consumer class, which in turn led to an increase in the price of seafood. As a consequence of this increase in the demand for shellfish, new techniques were developed, such as the "can" [dog] (González Vidal, 1980) for muddy habitats and the "espello" [mirror] for rocky ones (Alonso-Población, 2014), and an increased number of people from coastal areas (not necessarily from fishing communities) entered the fishery to complement their peasant-based mixed livelihood strategies. This process in turn triggered new conflicts of territoriality all over Galician coastal areas and a decline in the availability of resources. During Franco's regime, a first attempt to regularize the activity was accomplished in 1963 with the creation of the shellfish-gatherer card ("carnet de mariscador"), which had a limited impact. In 1970, a new regulatory framework was approved. From a development-oriented standpoint, the new law encouraged the entrance of new entrepreneurs into the seafood subsector, enacted a change in the tenure and exploitation regimes and hence increased conflicts (González Vidal, 1980). With the arrival of democracy, the administrative structure of the state changed and the authority over some areas was transferred to the newly created autonomous regions. In 1982, the authority over coastal spaces – and hence shellfish-gathering areas – was passed down from the state to the regional government of Galicia. The entrance of Spain into the European Union led to further adjustments to the Galician policies in line with the requirements of the Common Fisheries Policy.

In this context, the Galician government developed a series of legal changes during the 1980s to limit access to harvesting grounds. Yet, the big change was carried out at the beginning of the 1990s, when the regional government promulgated a new legal framework for Galician fisheries that set the scene for a substantial change in the sector. The aims of the new policy were to encourage the professionalization of the activity, so as to evolve from a complementary livelihood to a full-time occupation operating as a partial cultivation system, in order to ensure a product of quality and to resolve the administrative challenges (Marugán Pintos, 2004). Alongside this, a surveillance service was created to ensure compliance. Furthermore, the government created a system by which some of the competences over fisheries management (distribution of working days, bans, etc.) were transferred to producers. This was done through the development of a licensing system and dedicated Exploitation Plans that producers would present to the authorities through their *cofradías*. To do so, dedicated associations of shellfish gatherers were created within the *cofradías*.

However, as noted by several authors (Frangoudes *et al.*, 2008; Marugán Pintos, 2004; Meltzoff, 1995) the legal framework was not enough to catalyse change. The regional government made a huge investment in capacity development, research and extension services (Frangoudes *et al.*, 2008; Macho *et al.*, 2013; Marugán Pintos, 2004). The in-depth knowledge of public servants and decision-makers on the nuances of the sector and a commitment to the advancement of women by key figures (with a number of women in decision-making positions in the administration from the mid-1990s) from both the administration and *cofradías* (Marugán Pintos, 2004; Meltzoff, 1995), were other key factors that run parallel to a series of coincidences

Box 1: The paradigmatic case of Galician shellfish gatherers (...continue)

that accelerated change (Marugán Pintos, 2004); among them, the unexpected positive side effects of the new contextual conditions forged after the Prestige oil spill in November 2002 (as pointed out by Fadigas, 2017).

In the words of Marugán Pintos (2004), Galician women shellfish gatherers “got that train”. Currently, women benefit not only from a better income, increased public recognition and access to the marine social security scheme. They also participate and lead their local organizations and keep key roles in managing resources and control market prices (a summary table of the process of change can be found at Frangoudes *et al.*, 2013, pp. 258–259). Two second-level associations covering the entire region were created afterwards: AGAMAR (Asociación Galega de Mariscadoras, created in 1998) aimed at improving the situation of all shellfish gatherers; and AREAL (Asociación de Profesionales de Marisqueo a Pie de Galicia, created in 2002), a federation of shellfish gatherer associations advocating improvements to working conditions, adding value to their products through labelling, promoting the products as well as their professional status and strengthening their representation on official government bodies (Frangoudes, Pascual-Fernández and Marugán-Pintos, 2014).

Despite the new challenges posed to these women by the current economic crisis in Spain – such as the increased levels of poaching (Frangoudes *et al.*, 2013) – their case is an outstanding example of the professionalization of fisherwomen who not only harvest the resource but maintain responsibilities over harvesting strategies and management, and have been able to make their voice heard in institutions and decision-making fora, contesting the traditional stigma associated with their labour.

However, applying this successful case to other countries and contexts, mostly developing countries, requires careful consideration and an acknowledgement of the national socio-economic context in which the process took place. The exercise of acknowledging the broader context is necessary because, despite the overall success, the process of professionalization of on-foot and on-board shellfish gathering had the side effect of leaving out the fishery people who used the activity as a complementary livelihood (Marugán Pintos, 2004) or those who for a different array of reasons (not meeting the criteria to apply for the licenses, internal struggles within the male-oriented *cofradías*, territoriality issues between *cofradías*, etc.) were not able to access fishing rights. At some specific locations within Galicia, the side effect was that some people were left out, while others were brought in (Alonso-Población, 2014). For example, in the village of Laxe, where women used to harvest barnacle as a complementary livelihood, the regularization of the activity resulted in only one permit granted to a woman, out of four on-foot barnacle gatherers, but also brought in men who were not barnacle harvesters and excluded other men of lower economic status who regularly harvested as a complementary livelihood – but lacked the documentation needed at the time of the fishery’s closing (Alonso-Población, 2008). These collateral effects, however, could be socially absorbed in a context with a strong public social service, including universal and high-quality health and educational services. The latter brought about an increased expectation of social mobility for younger generations in fishing communities, the opening of new livelihood opportunities not linked to the sea for men and women, and a parallel lack of interest in fishing (and mostly shellfish gathering) from younger generations. However, it remains to be seen whether this process, which included the granting of rights and the closure of the fisheries, can be accomplished in different contexts, where alternative livelihoods independent of the fisheries are scarce or inexistent, and where states may lack the human and capital resources to carry out profound reforms of this kind.

Bagsit and Jimenez (2013) report on a mangrove conservation project in the Philippines in which a government body (the Banate-Barotac Bay Resource Management Council Inc.) granted authority over a 3.5 ha of mangrove area in Barangay Talokgangan (Banate, Iloilo) to the Talokgangan Concerned Citizen Association (TaCCAs). The authors report how, with the development of the initiative, the number of men in the organization decreased in contrast to the increased importance of women (despite the main leadership position being held by a man). One of the reasons outlined by the authors is that in contrast to their male counterparts, women played a significant role in most of the activities of the mangrove reforestation project, including nursery development and maintenance, as well as the planting, protection, management and maintenance of mangroves (Bagsit and Jimenez, 2013).

In Uganda, Nunan (2006) reports on the empowering effect on women derived from the policy change that occurred in the 2000s with the creation of the Beach Management Units. The co-management scheme developed, recognized and embraced the contending interests in the Lake Victoria fishery by bringing together the different actors that made up the sector (boat owners, boat crew, fishmongers and other stakeholders) and by integrating marginalized groups such as women and crews in decision-making. To ensure representation for these groups, the new institutional arrangement legally guarantees a quota of 30 percent of the committees' seats for women and a further 30 percent for crews. This representation led to women's empowerment, enhanced decision-making leverage on issues affecting them and their families, along with greater access to licenses in some cases and therefore increased income (Nunan, 2006).

Social movements and CSOs

Several authors have emphasized the crucial role of social movements and epistemological changes in fostering women's collective action. Alencar and colleagues (Alencar, Sousa and Gonçalves, 2014) report on the experience of ten projects that received support from the Brazilian state-run research institute IDSM (Instituto de Desenvolvimento Sustentável Mamirauá) in the Brazilian Amazon, focusing on resource-management issues. The authors report on the increasing presence of women fostered by several factors linked to public policies. First, the creation of a "conservation unit of sustainable use" area which, rather than being oriented exclusively towards conservation goals, tries to balance economic development and conservation. Second, the participatory approach used by the National System of Conservation Units (Sistema de Unidades de Conservação) who, in their role of establishing the norms for the creation and management of the Conservation Units, included women as advisors in the Unit's Management Council (Conselho Gestor). According to the author, both the need for increased participation from men and women, and the necessary balance between conservation and economic development, were ideals that gained prominence at the time of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. As a result of the criticism of the dominant model of capitalist development that separates humans and the environment and segregates the sexes, women were able to further this new gender-inclusive development model (Alencar *et al.*, 2014).

Nayak (2005) describes the negative consequences of modernization and globalization on women in India's shrimp-related fisheries and reflects on the ways the fishworkers movement has responded to the impacts. The author describes how the increased fishing capacity of the trawl fleet, the centralization of landings, the development of cooperatives by local governments, the liberalization of exports and the lack of access to credit, hindered women's access to a share of fish (trawlers' bycatch) that provided an important livelihood for them. Furthermore, intensive aquaculture brought about the privatization of common resources. While intensive shrimp aquaculture and the shrimp trawl fishery created some jobs in the processing plants, "the conditions under which women workers are recruited and must work are reminiscent of the slave period" (Nayak, 2005). In the 1970s, India's fishworkers movement (National Fishworkers Forum — NFF) started to become organized and the feminist perspective within the movement took shape, conceptualizing modernization as a patriarchal project. Women had a crucial role in the NFF: not only were they part of the request for a ban on trawl fishing, but they demanded transport facilities to get their fish to the markets, exemption from market taxes

and better facilities in marketplaces, in addition to access to fish landings in the centralized harbours and access to credit, and were successful in getting access to a government savings-cum-relief scheme. As noted by the author (Nayak, 2005), despite the role women played in the movement they encountered initial resentment from men and several charismatic women were marginalized. This gradually changed, and the movement began to accept incorporating a semi-autonomous women's federation. However, in recent times the leadership has turned the focus towards cultural (caste) identities, thereby weakening feminist positions.

Box 2: The Brazilian case: hard-won rights at risk?

A significant amount of literature has been produced by Brazilian scholars relating to the conquering of fisherwomen's rights (see for example Alencar, 2013; Alencar, Palheta and Sousa, 2015; Inácio and Leitão, 2012; Leitão, 2010; Manesch, Siqueira and Álvares, 2012). Specifically, this bibliographic output has served not only to increase knowledge and account for the historical mobilization of women, but also to recognize the role of social movements in the achievement of women's rights in fisheries.

Following Alencar (Alencar, 2013), the invisibility of fisherwomen's work in Brazil began to be contested in the 1980s, when women began to mobilize for recognition as workers and reap the benefits available in social security policies such as pension plans, maternity pay or the right to unemployment benefit for artisanal fishers. This movement of women also challenged power relationships in the private and public spheres as well as in fisheries organizations such as *colônias*, syndicates and associations in which women had little access to the decision-making bodies. Initially, the women's movement worked hand in hand with the fishers' movements that struggled for the right of access to social security policies and the defence of territorial rights. However, thereafter women separated their platforms from that of men due to the specific nature of the rights requested by women (such as the right to maternity leave and a pension, or the recognition of land-based activities such as net mending). During the 1990s, the fisherwomen's movement incorporated issues related to environmental degradation, the loss of land, and the natural resource base.

One of the results of women's mobilization was the creation of the *Articulação Nacional das Mulheres Pescadoras* in 2006. The *Articulação*, brought about important results. Among them, integrating the gender approach into national fishing law (Lei nº 11.959 de 29 de junho de 2009/Presidência da República), resulting in women's right to access the Unemployment Insurance Scheme for Artisanal Fisherfolk¹. By broadening the concept of fisherfolk (Manesch *et al.*, 2012), women's activities such as net mending, fish processing and others were considered as work.

However, as pointed out by Alencar (2015) in a recent paper, the rights achieved after almost 40 years of struggle by fisherwomen's movement may be at risk. Specifically, the author points out how "recent proposals to change the legislation for the sector, such as the Provisional Measures 664 and 665 and the Presidential Decrees 8.424/2015 e 8425/2015 which, amongst other provisions, alter the definition of the notion of fishing and artisanal fisherfolk, and together with the dissolution of the Ministry of Fisheries and Aquaculture and the transfer of the Secretary of Fisheries to the Ministry of Agriculture [Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Provision], threaten some of the gains achieved by artisanal fishermen and fisherwomen, and reinforce the long history of the invisibility and undervaluation of the work of fisherwomen. The new measures

¹ The Unemployment Insurance for Artisanal Fisherfolks provides fishers with the equivalent to a minimum salary during annual bans between December and March.

Box 2: The Brazilian case: hard-won rights at risk? (...continue)

and Decrees, if enacted, will exclude many women from the category of professional artisanal fisher, as they do not consider the activities of sewing canoe sails, adding value to fish, making the fishing materials by hand – for example, the nets or traps for shellfish gathering – as part of an artisanal fishery’s production chain. The Decree 8425/2015 classifies these activities as “support” to fishing and as a result reinforces the invisibility of the fisherwomen in the eyes of the State, with negative consequences for the process of affirming their identity as workers, and their recognition as subjects with rights. In short, the decree reinforces the difficulties to access social security rights such as pensions, maternity pay, cash transfer programmes and compensation policies such as the Unemployment Insurance for the Artisanal Fisherfolks.” (Alencar *et al.*, 2015, p. 40)².

Civil society organizations and grassroots movements have been key in both influencing policy development towards a recognition of women’s rights in fisheries as well as engaging women in collective action. The first is demonstrated by the key role played by CSOs such as the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF), the World Forum of Fisher Peoples (WFFP) and the World Forum of Fish Harvesters and Fishworkers (WFF) in the development of the Small-Scale Fisheries Guidelines. Part of this advocacy work has involved increasing the visibility of women’s work, the barriers faced by women within the fisheries sector and ensuring the voice of fisherwomen organizations is heard. The pioneering work of ICSF deserves special mention in this regard, which has run a Women in Fisheries programme since 1990. In the words of Nayak and colleagues, the programme was “aimed basically at strengthening the role and space of women in fishworker organizations, and defending their spaces in fisheries” (Nayak *et al.*, 2016). Among other things, the programme encompassed capacity development actions, awareness raising, raising visibility (e.g. throughout the regular publication of the Yemaya newsletter), advocacy work at the international level, exchanges of experiences between fisherwomen, a forum of discussion for fisherwomen organizations and professionals, action-research and documentation. Between its objectives and actions, the ICSF Women in Fisheries programme accomplished a crucial task in promoting women’s participation and leadership in fisheries globally: that of connecting initiatives at the national and international level (Brazil, Spain, France, India) and developing common ground for the work of community leaders, NGOs, state agencies, feminist groups, academics, activists and professionals concerned with women’s rights in fisheries (an insiders’ account is available in a the recently released report by Nayak *et al.*, 2016).

External support from development aid or conservation projects

In a 2003 paper, Aswani and Weiant (2003) reported on the results of a women’s community-based marine protected area project in the villages of Baraulu and Bulelavata in the Roviana Lagoon, Solomon Islands. With the aid of donor funding, the project harnessed local livelihoods and reinvigorated an informal management strategy that had previously been implemented on an ad hoc basis through the development of a marine protected area (MPA). The authors suggest that the commitment and participation of women in acting collectively to develop a spatial–temporal marine closure arose from the engagement of local women in the processes of data gathering and resource monitoring. They contend that sharing the positive results of the research with the community generated an increased interest from women in the project and ensured their direct participation in resource monitoring and enforcement (Aswani and Weiant, 2003).

One challenge for development interventions is the practitioners’ capacity and willingness to deal with complexities, and to move beyond ‘simple principles’ and ‘methodological tools’ (Harrison, 1995). As

² Citation translated by lead author.

such, any gender mainstreaming strategy depends not only on knowledge, but also on the gender awareness and the sensitivity of institutions and development planners, who require a degree of flexibility during project implementation in order to respond to changing realities (Lentisco and Alonso, 2012). In this vein, Resurreccion (2006) points out that the inclusion of women in resource management organizations is not unproblematic. Drawing on the case of state-driven CFIs (Community Fisheries) in Cambodia's Tonle Sap Lake, the author emphasizes the role of development discourses in shaping state programmes and the resulting risks of generating what Agarwal (2001) refers to as "participatory exclusions". By deconstructing some of the discourses of management programmes implemented by development agencies, the author points to two main assumptions: first, that participation in these programmes and the access to credit facilities will solve women's poverty; and second, that women's participation will improve the management of fisheries in the Tonle Sap Lake. These assumptions overlook the fact that women are not fully able to participate in fisheries management because of the multiple 'female' tasks they perform (farming, seasonal fishing and reproductive work, among others) and due to the traditional role assigned to men in fisheries management. She concludes that inserting women into the CFI programme without recognizing actual gender/social inequalities from a holistic perspective may inadvertently reproduce existing power relationships instead of actually transforming them. A possible solution to actually engage women in resource management, the author points out, would be to create separate women's groups in the short term for them to define their own terms of involvement (Resurreccion, 2006).

Lentisco and Thao (2013) report on some of the activities conducted by the Spanish-funded and FAO-executed Regional Fisheries Livelihoods Programme for South and Southeast Asia in Viet Nam, where co-management work translated into providing support to set up fisheries associations (FAs). While at the start of the project FAs began by recruiting only male fishers, later on incentives were provided to promote women's membership in FAs. Notably by promoting household membership, with husband and wife having to pay only a single membership fee together, as well as financial support only for those livelihoods projects where women were FA members. As a result, participation increased from 12 women out of a total 1 196 members in 2011 to 471 women out of 2 081 members in 2013.

Bhujel and colleagues (Bhujel *et al.*, 2008) report on a development project amongst Tharu women in Nepal aimed at developing small-scale aquaculture livelihoods that served to promote women's organization. As a result of the success of the first pilot phase of the project, which supported 26 women to get involved in small-scale aquaculture, a second phase of the project included the creation of cooperatives, given that the pilot phase had revealed the empowering effects of organizing the participating women in groups. The authors emphasize both the social, food security and economic benefits of the establishment of three organizations. The cooperatives served as a savings and loan mechanism (self-help group), a platform to coordinate the purchase of inputs (such as seed) and facilitated the scheduling of harvest and marketing, among other aspects (Pant, Shrestha and Bhujel, 2012). The authors further note the progressive, empowering effect of these organizations, through which women made their voices heard and put forward their ideas (Bhujel *et al.*, 2008).

In a recent paper, Mutimukuru-Maravanyika *et al.* (2016) report on a participatory action research project implemented in the Anlo Beach fishing community in Ghana aimed at promoting women's participation in development and governance. The authors suggest that participatory action research can bring about transformative and sustainable outcomes, emphasizing the need to understand power asymmetries first, and open up space for leadership to emerge from women's groups during the development of action plans as well as through joint implementation of activities. On the basis of this case study, the authors point out that government agencies rarely have the capacity to implement bottom-up approaches to empowerment, mobilization, and capacity building, hindering their implementation at scale; this level of social engagement can however be developed by external actors such as NGOs (Mutimukuru-Maravanyika *et al.*, 2016).

Religious movements

Brazilian scholars have emphasized the role of the Comissão Pastoral da Pesca (CPP) – Pastoral Fisheries Commission – in the development of fisheries organizations and community fisheries management since the 1960s. At the end of the 1960s, the CCP was formed by a progressive sector of the Catholic Church strongly influenced by Liberation Theology, and started to develop actions against the marginalization of fisherfolk in the north-east of Brazil (Alencar, 2013). Furtado and Leitão (2013) show that the CCP was borne out of a context characterized by a strong repression over the popular education movements in the country – with the advent of the military regime in 1964 – and a predominantly conservative approach by the hierarchy of the Catholic church, which was more focused on converting than in educating in the 1970s. It is in this context that the CCP (today the Pastoral Fisheries Council) worked to empower fishers. Based on personal accounts and research, the authors point out how this empowerment took place, including the creation of spaces for dialogue and identity formation, awareness-raising activities, education and the promotion of women in the local fisheries organizations (see Alencar, 2011; Leitão, de Lima and Furtado, 2009), the *colônias de pesca*, which were institutions created and controlled by the Navy from which women were excluded until the 1970s.³ In the 1980s, environmental rights were also a focus of the work of the CPP, which was also key in the development of the National Movement of Fishers (MONAPE). MONAPE was instrumental in the struggle for the realization of fishers’ rights, including the provisions of the 1988 Constitution that equated *colônias* with rural workers syndicates, and in the recognition of women’s roles in fisheries nationally from the mid-1990s (Maneschy, Alencar and Nascimento, 1995). Nowadays, “the fisherwomen who today lead the Articulação de Mulheres Pescadoras de Pernambuco [Articulation of Women Fishers of Pernambuco] (see Box 2) began their fight during the decades of the 1980s and 1990s with [the] support of the CPP in Itapissuma” (Furtado and Leitão, 2013, p. 1). This is also the case when looking back at the lives of charismatic figures in the *colônias*, such as Joana Rodrigues Mousinho, who became the first elected president of Colônia Z-10 in 1989 (Leitão *et al.*, 2009).

Another example of interest pointing to the role of religious organizations as enablers of women’s collective action in fisheries is the case of the *Apostolado del Mar* in Spain. Fostered by the Catholic Church, the *Apostolado* was a key organization in creating a platform that enabled the creation of seafarers’ wives associations (Paredes Soto, 2005), the further development of women’s capacities and a common platform to get their claims heard in the public domain. As pointed out by García-Orellán (2005), prior to Spain’s entrance into the European Union (1986), the claims of the seafarers’ wives associations, fostered by the *Apostolado* from the 1960s onwards, focused on two main issues: first, to realize the right to get two months inland paid leave after five months at sea for seafarers; second, to achieve social security benefits for men, such as early retirement, medical assistance abroad, etc. The entrance of Spain into the European Union in 1986 created a new political platform to which they could direct their claims, as well as broadening of their scope, which was primarily national. Beyond labour and social rights for seafarers, this new phase focused on new issues such as safety at sea and fairer social welfare allowances, along with the continuous search for improved solutions to allow better sea–land life balance. In this second phase, the *Apostolado*’s presence was channelled through the various seafarers wives’ associations created by the religious movement from the 1990s onwards – such as the association Rosa dos Ventos in Galicia or the Asociación de Esposas de Marineros de Pasajes in the Basque Country – maintaining a coordinative role between the various associations created, as demonstrated by the development of biannual meetings between seafarers’ associations from Spain, France, Italy and Portugal, or the publication of a dedicated newsletter from 1989 (García Orellán, 2005). The *Apostolado* established itself in Caleta Vélez (Andalucía, Southern Spain), at the beginning of the 1990s, generating an association that served to advocate for the rights of fishing

³ Between the twenties and the seventies, fisherfolks were considered reserve forces available to become active members of the navy in case of armed conflict. For decades, the *Colônias* were led by staffs of the military forces [Ministério da Marinha]. Control of the *Colônias* was also exerted by vessel owners, who also controlled the Federações and Confederações de Pescadores [Fishers’ Federations and Confederations].

families and to channel state funding for capacity development programmes and the provision of services for fishing families in partnership with the state's Instituto Social de la Marina, a state body managing social security for sea workers (Corbacho Gandullo and Florido del Corral, 2004). Specifically, capacity development programmes were aimed at improving women's skills in administration and management of the family fishing companies. On the basis of this local experience, an association with a national scope, Asociación Nacional "As de Guía", detached from the religious movement, was instituted in 2002.

Role of academia

The role of academics in fostering women's organizations, in making women's voices heard, or in empowering women through joint action has been key in the fisheries sector. An interesting example is provided by the case of FishNet, a voluntary group of feminists, academic representatives of women's organizations, government and community agencies, researchers, community development workers and some fishery workers, who worked to raise the voice of fisherwomen and empower women from fishing communities during the Newfoundland cod crisis at the beginning of the 1990s (for a detailed insider account, see Neis, 2000).

Inácio and Leitão (Inácio and Leitão, 2012) emphasize the role of participatory research projects conducted by UFRPE (Universidade Federal Rural de Pernambuco) in the development of the Articulação de Mulheres Pescadoras of Pernambuco. The research approach combined information gathering through meetings that served as spaces for sociability, integration and dialogue that contributed to mapping and consolidating the demands of the group. The authors point out that given that the Articulação did not have a legal status, their partnership with other institutions (University, governmental entities, NGOs and the Conselho Pastoral da Pesca) was instrumental.

In 2003, the European Commission presented the results of the Mac Allister report (Mac Alister Elliot and Partners Ltd, 2002), a study commissioned by the European Union General Directorate of Fisheries on the roles of women in fisheries in Europe. The report, which underestimated the number of women in the sector within the European Union, provoked the reaction of political actors, organizations and academia (Pascual-Fernández, 2005). The European Red FEMMES was among the latter. The project was created as a reaction to the lack of researchers and the weak articulation of how women are linked to fisheries in the European Union context. Led by Katia Frangoudes from the Université de Bretagne Occidentale, and with the participation of a number of researchers based in the European Union, the project was able to mobilize funds from the European Union to work towards developing a mechanism of exchange, with the ultimate aim of developing productive links between several actors working in the fisheries arena, namely social scientists, women linked to the sector and institutions connected to the issue (Frangoudes and Pascual-Fernández, 2005a). Several workshops and symposia were carried out and produced during the project that remain key materials today for the study of women in fisheries in Europe (Frangoudes, Escallier and Pascual-Fernández, 2004; Frangoudes and Mongruel, 2003; Pascual-Fernández, 2005) and elsewhere (Frangoudes and Pascual-Fernández, 2005b).⁴ These materials also served to: raise the visibility of women's work and the contemporary processes at work in the European Union regarding women's roles in the private and public spheres; to connect researchers, women's organizations and public administrations; and to provide a platform to advocate for, and catalyse, positive change towards the recognition of women's rights in the sector.

One outcome of the project was the creation of the AKTEA Network (European Network of Women in Fisheries) in 2006. AKTEA emerged as an independent network of fisherwomen's organizations (AKTEA, 2006) and is still active today.⁵ Among other elements, the AKTEA advocacy agenda included the professionalization of women in the sector, increased access to training, the formal

⁴ Beyond these documents, the network published a regular AKTEA Newsletter.

⁵ <http://akteaplatform.eu/>

recognition and access to social security rights for women's unpaid contribution to family-based enterprises through the figure of "collaborative spouse", and the promotion of women in decision-making positions both in organizations and public fisheries administration (Quist, Frangoudes and O'Riordan, 2010). Within the latter actions, AKTEA recommended that national and transnational women's organizations join the Regional Advisory Councils (RACs), which are stakeholder-led organizations that provide recommendations to the European Commission and European Union countries on fisheries management issues. Today, and after DG MARE modified the regulation, thereby creating the option for women's organizations to access the seats of the NGOs and consumer organizations, several women's organizations have a space in the RACs.

With emphasis in Asia, but with a global focus, the Global Network on Gender in Aquaculture and Fisheries has been working for nearly 20 years as an informal network of scholars and practitioners.⁶ Originally termed "Women in Fisheries", and later "Gender in Aquaculture and Fisheries" (Williams, Williams and Choo, 2014), the group recently became a specialized section of the Asian Fisheries Society.⁷ The network's focus encompasses: (1) promoting cooperation among experts and advancing research and practice; (2) increasing awareness of the importance of incorporating gender, and more particularly women, in fisheries and aquaculture interventions/research, and to contribute to women's development; (3) advocating for the advancement of women within the sectors; and (4) promoting the establishment of, and collaborating with, local networks and organizations involved in gender issues. While not specifically a fisherfolk organization or an advocacy group (Gopal *et al.*, 2016b), this network has been instrumental in increasing women's visibility in fisheries and raising the interest of multilateral organizations in the topic. Among the immediate outcomes is the production of a number of publications arising from the regular biannual GAF Symposia (Global Symposium on Gender in Aquaculture and Fisheries) with contributions from different countries and regions (Poh Sze Choo, Hall and Williams, 2006; Poh Sze Choo *et al.*, 2008; Gopal *et al.*, 2016a; Gopal *et al.*, 2014; Williams *et al.*, 2002, 2012; Williams *et al.*, 2001), that have served to draw attention not only to the multiplicity of women's roles in the sector around the world, but to the variety of specific problems faced by women in fisheries, even triggering actual changes – such as the case of HIV/AIDS in Uganda's fisheries (Williams, 2008). As an outcome of the exchange put forward by this network of professionals, activists and scholars, some professional women's organizations involved in fisheries have grown up along with national networks, such as the one in Philippines, inspired by other countries' experiences (Matics, Poeu and Siason, 2001).

Endogenous mobilization

One of the roles of academia has been to contribute to fostering an ideological shift, along with the CSOs and social movements that triggered processes of endogenous mobilization.

In drawing a causal link between participation in organizations and social change, some authors have called attention to the fact that, notwithstanding the final outcome of social mobilization (successful or not), a primary outcome of collective action is self-objectification (Drury *et al.*, 2005; Drury and Reicher, 2005) whereby actions are understood as expressing social identity, which carry with them processes of empowerment. This is one of the arguments made by Maneschy (2012), for whom women's collective action brings along the construction of a collective identity, a symbolic mechanism through which women are able to contest the patriarchal imaginary. On the basis of a case study in Colônia de Pescadores Z-32 de Maranhã (Brazil), Alencar *et al.* (2015) describe a process of endogenous mobilization initiated by local fisherwomen through the establishment of a Group of Women in Action within the local fisheries organization called *Colônia de Pescadores*. The Group was constituted in 2008 as a reaction by women to the resistance posed by men to their active participation in a resource management project. After the men's initial resentment, women became active participants in management (policing, enforcement, fishing or data collection) and were able to

⁶ See genderaquafish.org

⁷ <https://genderaquafish.org/gaf-section/>

defend their collective rights ensuring differentiated quotas for them, separate legal status (so that if men fish illegally they are not punished) and equal shares from fishing campaigns. The author suggests that through the establishment of the group the women developed an identity and were able to gain political capital by redefining their actions and building a collective agency through which they called into question power relationships within the *Colônia* and the sector at large (Alencar *et al.*, 2015).

In an ethnographically rich paper, Siri Gerrard (1995) theorizes the social mobilization of women arising from the reduced availability of cod in Norway at the end of the 1980s, the moratorium set in 1989, and the subsequent development of the individual transferable quota (ITQ) system. She describes women's roles and women's political participation in organizations before the moratoria, and analyses how gender roles changed with the fisheries crisis and how women acted collectively to fight for the welfare of their households and their communities' fishing rights. These demands were channelled through different organizations such as the Coastal Women's Action Group (Kystkvinnesaksjonen), the Norwegian Fishermen's Wives Association (Norges Fiskarkvinnelag), political parties and other groups, such as Skarsvåg Housewives' Association (Skarsvåg Husmorlag). Overall, the author argues that the fisheries crisis brought about a change in women's political roles and strengthened their identities as coastal women. To explain this change, Gerrard's starting point is that gender role patterns are inextricably linked to knowledge systems, so that action depends on the group's roles and their resulting own definition of the problems and the solutions. Building upon this theoretical framework, Gerrard (1995) contends that women's actions in the political arena – and partly their limited immediate impact on fisheries policy – was the result of a mismatch between the women's knowledge system and that of the authorities, politicians and public administrators. The author further reports that at the beginning of the crisis women's collective action focused on the national arena, but the agenda gradually shifted from both local and national efforts to local action (Gerrard, 2000). In this second phase (late 1990s), in which the locus of action is the local context, women's roles in the political arena were substituted by symbolic strategies taken through formal and informal collective actions that challenged men's political hegemony in the local fishery, for example through their roles in summer festivals (Gerrard, 2000).

“Woman of the sea” (*haenyo*) divers from Korea and the women divers of Japan (*ama*) are among the fisherwomen groups whose activity has attracted more attention from external observers. In contrast to Japan's *ama* (Lim, Ito and Matsuda, 2012), Korean divers (Kim, 2003; Ko *et al.*, 2010) have long-established organizations. However, their organizations have not attracted the same level of attention when compared to that paid to the work of these fisherwomen.

In the Yahataura Fishing Community, Japan, *ama* diverwomen are registered members of the Tobu Fisheries Cooperative Association (FCA). Through their membership of the FCA, they are given access to fishery rights and to services offered by the FCA, such as the marketing of their catch, credit, supply of inputs, insurance, warehouses, training. Yet, despite participating in the cooperative, women *ama* do not have any part in administrative/managerial decision-making processes (Lim *et al.*, 2012).

In contrast to Japan, Jeju island divers in Korea have their own organization. In a dedicated study of the *Jamsuhoe* (Association of Jeju Women Divers), Kim (2003) emphasizes the role of these associations as forums for decisions related to teamwork in diving operations, cooperation on sales, sharing of profits, management of festivals and donations, provision of rules and guidelines for those divers who move in or out of a village, development of operational rules by season and product, safety regulations, emergency management, conservation, and serving as a mechanism for enforcement. Historical records suggest that the *Jamsuhoe* emerged as an endogenous movement initially aimed at protecting the individual and economic rights of the women divers during the Japanese occupation of Korea, and these associations have thus been instrumental in anti-Japanese resistance (Kim, 2003).⁸ Following Kim (2003), despite the *Jamsuhoe* still being a source of social capital, several

⁸ For a historical perspective on Jeju's and Korean women divers see Li (2012).

contemporary processes are leading to a weakening of these organizations, namely: loss of trust among divers, decrease of the association's autonomous decision-making power, loss of ownership of ocean resources, change in mobility patterns, a decreasing sense of community unity, decrease of active women divers (and consequently members of the organization) and the widening of more attractive livelihoods for young women not linked to the sea (Kim, 2003), insofar as diving still carries a symbolic connotation of low status (Li, 2012). A similar trend of ageing and decline in numbers is also identifiable among the Japanese *ama* (see Lim *et al.*, 2012), leaving a gap that has even led to an increased number of men becoming involved in traditionally female fisheries (McDonald, 2013). Despite having their own associations, Sun Ae Li points out in her 2012 paper that Korean divers “do not have the opportunity or the right to reflect their knowledge of, and claims on, the marine environment and resources to influence government fishery policy” (Li, 2012: 48).

Individual agency

Meltzoff (2012) uses the case of Illa de Arousa in Galicia (Spain) to reflect on the role played by individuals in promoting women's organizations. The reported transformations in women's involvement in Galician fisheries (Frangoudes *et al.*, 2008) started with a first experience of participatory management developed in the Cofradía of Illa de Arousa. In her 1995 paper, Meltzoff studied the unprecedented political rise of women within the traditional fisheries management organization, *Cofradía*, and emphasized the crucial role of two men: the Regional Government Minister, who set up mechanisms to promote co-management through a more active role of *Cofradías* in resource conservation, and the *Cofradía*'s manager Manuel Lojo. Meltzoff recounts how, infused by his political ideals on political action, this new educated Cofradía manager catalysed change by using his political and diplomatic skills, by encouraging women to take up leadership roles in the *Cofradía*, and by mobilizing the new resources available from the new European Union regulations and regional government policies.

In Massachusetts (USA), Clark (1988) studied the case of the Gloucester Fishermen's Wives Association. Emerging as part of an anti-poverty campaign in Gloucester by a social service agency called Action, the association had been active since the mid-1970s in fighting for fishing rights, including the extension of US territorial waters, requesting federal assistance for local fleets, fisheries management, promoting consumer awareness of underutilized fish species, or lobbying against oil drilling in fishing grounds. Clark (1988) emphasizes the crucial role of specific women in the GFWA's success (Rose and Maria), and delineates several biographical factors shaping their leadership: among these, the author identifies their position in the family (i.e. as the older sisters of migrant Sicilian families), their early involvement in the family fishing enterprise due to the need to serve as translators for the family business, and their role as wives of skippers with a managerial role and without the need for a paid job – in contrast to crewmembers' wives.

In Costa Rica, Solís Rivera and colleagues' (2016) case study on CoopeTarcoles R.L. revealed how a female manager (later to become a member of the Board of Directors) was instrumental in reversing the financial situation of the cooperative from a position of financial loss to financial sustainability, as well as in upholding the values of honour, commitment and hard work.

Reference to specific agents of change is sometimes obscured in the literature, which has generally provided greater visibility to institutions. For example, within the work of the abovementioned CCP in Brazil, the role of specific figures in the actual implementation of the Commission's programmes are identifiable. For example, Leitão and colleagues (2009) point to the role of Irmã Nilza (Maria Nilza de Miranda Montenegro) in fostering female leadership at the Colonia Z-10 in Itapissuma. Irmã Nilza was a female religious leader who had worked to organize the community since the 1970s, raising awareness on the rights of fisherfolk and implementing literacy programmes for women (Leitão *et al.*, 2009).

Convergence and coincidences

In a detailed study of the process of professionalization of Galician women shellfish gatherers – probably the one that has been most extensively documented – Marugán Pintos (Marugán Pintos, 2004) points out that among many factors, some “fortunate coincidences” converged to catalyse change. Among these non-orchestrated factors, the author emphasizes five coincidences. The first was that the CIMA (Centro de Investigacións Mariñas [Center for Marine Research]), a regional government research institution, was located near Vilaxoán, a community in which women had a certain level of organizational development at the beginning of the 1990s. Due to their proximity, and as a result of the implementation of policy change led by the regional government, biologists and shellfish gatherers started to work together in a collaborative action–research project aimed at increasing the efficiency of production. The second coincidence was that for the first time, three women were in decision-making positions in the regional government ministry. This fact, states the author, brought about a change in the interaction between the government and the shellfish gatherers. In fact, policymakers opened up a direct dialogue with the women (not organized at that time), which had previously been mediated by the male-dominated *cofradías*. This new interaction led to the identified need to open up a broader dialogue and experience sharing event – a First Encounter of Women Shellfish Gatherers that furthered the process of change. A third coincidence contributing to the strengthening of women’s organizations and their professionalization was the increase in the number of regional government extension workers: professional staff who were key in articulating the process by establishing affective relationships with the *mariscadoras*. A fourth coincidence was the approval by the European Union of the NOW (New Opportunities for Women) funding, a programme aimed at contributing to women’s capacity development and women’s integration into the labour market. The NOW project “Women in the shellfish-gathering sector” made the design and implementation of an integral capacity development project, one specifically tailored to the *mariscadoras*’ needs and educational level, possible. The fifth coincidence was the elaboration of a development plan called Plan 10, led by the regional government. The aim of the plan was to upscale the initial Vilaxoán pilot project and change the *mariscadoras*’ productive practices, shifting from harvesting to breeding. The intended increase in income, time and efficiency of the women’s work and the change in the harvesting regime generated a new impulse to consolidate the women’s organizations, already furthered by capacity development initiatives such as specific courses for organizational leaders.

In a recent paper, Fadigas (2017) reports on the positive side effects of another (negative) coincidence: the Prestige oil spill that occurred in Galicia in November 2002. In light of the close link between women’s work and identity and the coastal zone, shellfish gatherers were significantly affected by the effects of the oil spill. However, the author suggests that the post-disaster context set the scene for accelerating change towards increased representation and inclusion of women in decision-making bodies (Fadigas, 2017).

DRIVERS FOR ORGANIZING

The drivers for organizing are varied and can be summarized as falling under two types: organizations that emerged as a reaction to specific phenomena, and those which were the result of efforts promoted by external entities. For the most part, however, the organizations analysed were from the product of both reaction and induction. The causes for organizing are directly related to the aim of the organizations. A set of drivers for organizing, and an organization's specific aims, are summarized in the sections that follow.

Dwindling resources and securing management roles

A common issue in many accounts of women's mobilization in the fisheries is the increased pressure over resources, a reduction in the availability of the resource base and the consequent socio-economic impact (Alencar, 2000; Alencar *et al.*, 2014; Clark, 1988; Frangoudes *et al.*, 2013, 2008, 2014; Marugán Pintos, 2004; Simonian, 2006). Environmental change and overexploitation of resources both at the global and local levels have been shown to bring about differing impacts for men and women.

In a paper reporting on the conflicts around a lake situated in the *Várzea do médio Amazonas* (Pará, Brazil), Alencar (2000) reports on how the increase in fishing effort and the reduction of fishing stocks led to two direct impacts on women's lives: (1) an increase in the competition for the resources and a decreased amount of fish caught, with an accompanying economic impact; and (2) the need to increase the time dedicated for fishing operations and to cover greater distances to find the fish. As a direct result, and given the myriad other responsibilities borne by the women, the fisheries crisis in the lake increased the workload for women and negatively affected the household members' capacity to consume certain products to which access is restricted.

Simonian (2006), for example, shows how a reduction in the availability and size of shrimp in the Island of Tambioca (Brazil), where women are the main producers, led to several livelihood diversification coping strategies that brought about modes of collective action. In Galicia, amongst a variety of causes, the motivation of on-foot female shellfish gatherers to develop formal organizations from the 1990s onwards was a consequence of the increased demand and price of seafood in the preceding decade, and the resulting increase in pressure on resources, which led to reduced availability (Frangoudes *et al.*, 2008; Marugán Pintos, 2004). As a consequence, and as a result of the new policies laid out by the Xunta de Galicia (regional government), women's collective action focused on taking advantage of the new possibilities which had opened up, and they devoted their energies to achieving a greater role in fisheries management.

The modernization driver

Technological change and the process of modernization undergone by the primary sectors have both had specific impacts on the lives of men and women in developing countries (see the pioneering work of Boserup, 2007). These effects were not the same everywhere, however. Cole (1988, 1991) reports on how in the Portuguese Vila da Praia, a mixture of political, economic and ideological change led to a shift in the aspirations of younger women, who no longer wished to be "workers" in a household-based fishery, but housewives (*donas da casa*) in a waged employment-dependent home. This aspirational shift, accompanied by technological improvements, ultimately reduced the extent to which women were involved in fishing. This brought with it decreased autonomy for women and increased levels of stress among as a result of the tensions between what they aspired to do and what they actually did.

Maneschy (1995) reports how in Pará (Brazil), innovations in preservation technologies, transport facilities and the increased presence of merchants in the ports reduced the length of pre- and post-capture activities, leading to a progressive alienation of women from activities directly linked to the fishing, and a consequent entrance into a labour market characterized by low wages and precariousness. However, the effect of technological change and modernization has not entailed a decreased presence of women in the sea and on shore everywhere. In contrast to these three cases, in

which modernization was the cause of women's withdrawal from direct, fishing-related activities, Alencar (1997) demonstrates how the progressive decline in the cultivation of jute in the Amazonian region, added to the increasing importance of commercial fishing and the expansion of livestock farming, catalysed a reorganization of productive work that led to an increased presence of women in fishing activities.

In some cases, modernization has not had a major impact on women's roles and has not led to disempowerment. As Niehof and colleagues (Niehof, Jordaan and Santoso, 2005) and Niehof (2007) reveal through longitudinal research in a Madurese fishing village, technological improvements in fishing and fish processing occurring over a period of more than twenty years did not ultimately lead to a decrease in women's powerful position in the fishing community, as they maintained great control over household income management. On the contrary, their analysis points to an even stronger and more asserted role in some domains. Underpinning their power is a marked – and unchanged – division of labour that allows the *pangambã*' women (traders, entrepreneurs, and bankers) to display female agency in the social and economic spheres (Niehof, 2007).

Overall, therefore, modernization and technological change have had diverging effects on women depending on the historical and contextual conditions, and have consequently led to differing modes of collective action. While outside of the framework of formal organizations, Jordaan and Niehof (1982) show how vital the *pangambã*' women's mobilization against the government's modernization scheme was. The scheme affected two areas: the technological – which was effectively embraced by fishers – and the organizational, through the development of newly designed cooperatives that were tasked to reorganize the system of moneylending, through banking, and marketing, through auctions. The reasons for the failure of fisherfolks' cooperatives (Koperasi Unit Desa) were varied; among them, the fact that they were run by individuals unrelated to fishing, as well as the lack of sufficient administrative guidance and the lack of involvement of the Fishery Service. Yet, one crucial factor which increased the lack of trust in the Koperasi Unit Desa was that its operation aimed to affect the historical relationships of dependence and trust embedded in the local credit and marketing system, and ultimately the operation of the powerful *pangambã*'. As the success of the World Bank-funded government modernization programme would have put them out of business, and deprived the fisher community of their local bankers, fish marketers and protectors, *pangambã*' women devoted their energies to preventing its implementation (Jordaan and Niehof, 1982).

The fishing rights driver

The establishment of new fisheries management measures have run parallel to crises in fisheries. Women's mobilization has not only responded to diminishing resources, but also to the specific consequences of decisions by fisheries managers for women (Clark, 1988; Gerrard, 1995; Munk-Madsen, 1998; Neis, 2000; Skaptadóttir, 2000). In an analysis of the fisheries crisis in a coastal village of Newfoundland, Davis (2000) found that while the ethos of demoralization and the escalating conflict levels were identifiable as affecting the entire community in the same way, the crisis itself affected men and women in significantly different ways. These differences are reflected in new gender division of labour and space, reorganization of family life, and gender ideologies (Davis, 2000). Neis and Williams (1997), for example, pointed out how women with children deal with much of the stress resulting from loss of work, self-esteem, income and the capacity to plan for the future, as a result of their roles involving household income administration and tension-management.

Just as the effects of managers' decisions touch men and women in different ways, so the coping strategies differ as well. Gerrard (1995), for example, argues that the fisheries policies that restricted financial support to the fish processing industry, the 1989 cod moratoria and the quota system developed for the Norwegian coastal fleet in 1990, were the triggers for strengthened collective action and women's acquisition of a public role. She further suggests that women reacted not only to the specific socio-economic situation, but also to the knowledge base inherent to the decisions of fisheries managers. The social ramifications of the introduction of an ITQ system encouraged investments in freezing trawlers, leading to larger companies taking over the fishery.

In Iceland, Skaptadóttir (2000) reports that the inhabitants of Eyri gradually lost access to fishing because of the new resource management system. The author shows that while men responded to the crisis in a more individualistic manner, the coping mechanisms adopted by women stressed the importance of community and cooperation, as exemplified by the development of a community crafts centre (Skaptadóttir, 2000).

The economic driver

Economic change has been both negative and positive for fishing communities and, as in the case of other drivers analysed, has led to differing outcomes for men and women in fishing. Alonso-Población (2014) shows how technological improvements and increased fishing catches in a Galician fishing community, in addition to an increase in fishing consumption and seafood prices, provoked an integral change in the fisheries sector. The increase in wealth from the 1960s onwards – made possible by capital accumulation through migration, amongst other things – brought with it an increased access to ownership of the means of production for the most successful skippers' households, which in turn led to a change in the sharing system (from salaries paid by “land ship-owners” to shares paid by “sea ship-owners”) and the division of labour. The new sexual division of labour within these new ship-owners' households made women (*armadoras*) gradually less dependent on the mixed livelihood strategy that included shore fishing and barnacle gathering, and became more focused on business management, marketing, administration and net-mending. All these new roles held by the *armadoras* (women from ship-owner households) required increased dedication within the progressive bureaucratization of the sector from the beginning of the 1990s onwards. However, as a result of their status as household workers, younger women rejected becoming *armadoras*, a situation that may well change since the recognition of the collaborative spouse status. In contrast to the women, for which economic change and development led to work regarded as “household work”, men became skippers and owners in the period between the 1960s and 1990s, when technological changes and capitalization led to successful fishing campaigns that led them to being regarded as “big men” in the public domain (Alonso-Población, 2014).

In their overview paper on the history of women's mobilization in Europe (see Box 3), Frangouides and colleagues (2014) contend that the economic crisis which resulted from decreases in catch and the reduction of fish prices in France and other European Union countries was a trigger for the development of a second generation of fisherwomen's organizations all over Europe (Frangouides *et al.*, 2014). Kim (2003), for example, reports that on Korea's Jeju Island it is believed that the first Jamsu Cooperative Association was established in 1920 as a consequence of the increased demand for fishery products and the parallel expansion of the economic role of the *jamsu* – women divers. This expanding economic role put the cooperative in a strong position to protect the individual and economic rights of women divers during the Japanese occupation of Korea, improving diving conditions and protecting them from the exploitation of boat owners. Sudden economic crises, such as those emerging as a result of resource depletion, have catalysed intense women's mobilization (see cases reported in the “Dwindling resources and securing management roles” section).

Box 3: An overview of women's organizations in Europe

Based on a large body of case studies from the European Union (Frangoudes *et al.*, 2004; Frangoudes and Mongruel, 2003; Pascual-Fernández, 2005), Frangoudes and colleagues (2014) established the mid-1990s as a crucial triggering point in the development and consolidation of a new generation of women's organizations in the fisheries sector in the region.

In the course of their analysis, the authors establish a dividing line between two sets of women's organizations (Frangoudes *et al.*, 2014). A first generation of fisherwomen's associations focused on issues primarily related to ensuring the well-being of the fishing families. Two associations are documented in this period. One in Norway, initiated in 1946, which focused on improving the living conditions of fishing families and acquired nationwide recognition. The second one, initiated in Ireland in 1964 with the aim of serving as a support network for women when the men were at sea and communications were difficult. This group reduced its activity during the 1980s as a consequence of the improvement in communication technology and became active again in the 1990s with a more policy-focused agenda.

In contrast to the first generation, a second generation of fisherwomen's organizations emerged in the 1990s, characterized by the diversity of their goals, geographical scope and representativeness. One of the triggers identified by the authors (Frangoudes *et al.*, 2014) was the crisis suffered by the fishing industry in several European Union countries. After participating in fishers' movements against the crisis's effects in France, women decided to create their own organizations to fight for the survival of their fishing communities. The French case served as an example for the establishment of new organizations among Member States, and other women's organizations emerged in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, which also aimed at advocating for the rights of their families and their communities. A second category of organizations included those formed with the aim of enhancing their position in resource management, as in the case of the Galician shellfish gatherers (see overview and references included in Box 1). Women's organizations targeting better safety at sea and working conditions for their husbands also emerged in Finland, Sweden and Norway, in Galicia (association *Rosa dos Ventos*) and in France (*Femmes Entre Terre et Mer*). In contrast, other organizations emerged with the aim of fighting for women's fishing rights, as in the case of the *Tyrius* association in El Palmar (Spain), which successfully fought against the local community's customary law that deprived women of hereditary rights. Lobbying for the formal recognition of the role of the "collaborative spouse" (CSS) was the goal of a number of women's associations. The example of women's associations in France, who were able to get the CSS status recognized in the fisheries law of 1997, was followed by many other associations throughout Europe. Finally, the right to better training and education motivated the spouses of fishermen to become organized in France and Greece, among others. In France, a Ministerial decree was signed into law, and in 2007 regulated a 'Certificate of Collaborative Spouse for Maritime Family Enterprises', which is equivalent to the high school diploma.

The family well-being driver

Following Frangoudes and colleagues (2014) (see Box 3), a first generation of women's organizations emerged in Europe before the mid-1990s with the aim of ensuring the well-being of families and fishing communities. Specifically, two women's organizations are the subject of analysis: one in Norway, whose main aim was to help fisher families in times of need; and the second in Ireland, created as a mechanism through which women could support each other when the men were at sea and communications were difficult (see Frangoudes *et al.*, 2004). Corbacho Gandullo and Florido del Corral (2004) report that one of the first women's associations linked to the sea in Spanish Andalucía was the Asociación de Mujeres del Mar de Cádiz; was born in 1986 when the wives of seafarers

working in the merchant navy and those of men working industrial fishing realized the common problems they faced as a result of the men's extended absences from home, such as rootlessness and solitude. However, their work not only focused on addressing sociability and networking issues, but also on improving skills and personal development (Corbacho Gandullo and Florido del Corral, 2004). Beyond specific uncertainties and situations arising from the work of family members at sea and the long absences of men, the focus of the seafarers' wives organizations has been to deal with common social problems specific to a given territory or class (Corbacho Gandullo and Florido del Corral, 2004).

Safety at sea and better working conditions for seafarers and fishers has been one driver for women's organizations, as per documented cases in Finland, Sweden, Norway, Spain and France (Frangoudes *et al.*, 2014). This is also the case in some of the previously mentioned seafarers' wives' associations originating in the *Apostolado del Mar*, for whom a key concern was achieving a better sea-life balance among seafarers (see section on "Religious movements" above).

The women's rights driver

The feminist critique of the classic description of fisheries called attention to the bias shown by ethnographies until the late 1980s (Alencar, 1993; Nadel-Klein and Davis, 1988a). This bias rendered the work of women invisible and annulled the importance of their contributions by not considering them as workers. In a famous work on the theory of law, the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (2000) – though not a feminist himself, Bourdieu's theories and concepts have served as cross-fertilization ground for feminist scholars (see for example Lovell, 2000) – pointed out that "it is not exaggerated to consider that the law makes the social world, with the condition of not forgetting that it [the law] is made by this same world" (Bourdieu, 2000). The abovementioned bias have ultimately been reflected in state laws through a process of "naming" (Bourdieu, 2000). This process of naming brings about the establishment of barriers behind which certain social groups are excluded from access to specific rights and are exposed to state violence if they transgress such limits. When it comes to women's formal participation in fisherfolk organizations, a further bias should be emphasized, one contested by feminist scholars (Lamphere, 2009): specifically, that of the prevailing association of men with the public/political domain and women with the private/domestic domain, the which is pervasive in lay as well as policy thinking.

Through a review of documentation, Maneschy (2012) traces the process and outcomes of the collective mobilization of fisherwomen in Brazil, which was initially fostered by the Catholic Church in Pernambuco in order to acknowledge the working conditions of women shellfish gatherers in the 1970s. Such collective mobilization evolved in different ways in different states, and achieved national impact when the new Fisheries Law of Brazil incorporated a broader concept of fishing which included the work of women, such as repairing nets or processing. Beyond the symbolic realm, women's movements in Brazil achieved impact in acquiring collective rights through redefinition, i.e. giving a new meaning to the concept of fishing and getting this new concept enacted in the legal system. The struggle to achieve legal recognition for the status of the collaborative spouse has also been a crucial issue to triggering women's mobilization in Europe (Frangoudes and Keromnes, 2008; Frangoudes *et al.*, 2014).

The pursuance of specific rights for women appears in the literature as one of the main drivers for women's mobilization in Brazil (Alencar, 1997, 2013; Alencar *et al.*, 2015; Inácio and Leitão, 2012; Maneschy *et al.*, 2012), Europe (Frangoudes *et al.*, 2014) and Korea (Kim, 2003).

Further to the collective action directed towards achieving women's full rights as workers and citizens, authors have documented cases of women's mobilization when women's rights – although partially recognized – were not fulfilled. Hellebrandt and colleagues (2016), for example, report on a case of women's mobilization that occurred in Colônia Z3, Brazil in 2011, fostered by a mistake of the Ministry of Labour and Employment which, did not pay women the unemployment subsidies as a result of a misunderstanding. The issue brought about two collective strategies: on the one hand, the

women looked for a new professional category under which they could receive the benefits; on the other, the women restarted a cooperative [Cooperativa Mulheres da Lagoa] with which they could complement their incomes. In the same vein, McCay (2003) reports on how the women workers of the Fogo Island Cooperative faced down intense social pressure to mobilize during the cod crisis in Newfoundland, when the Co-op board of directors, constrained by the lack of raw materials and the shorter fishing seasons of the new species processed at the plant, decided to apply a “preferential hiring policy” under which only those workers whose spouses provided raw material to the processing plant could keep their jobs.

BARRIERS TO WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND LEADERSHIP

As has been shown in this report, many of the fisherfolk organizations have received some sort of external support: either from state authorities, NGOs or other institutions. However, support from state and non-state bodies depends on the degree of recognition that the fisherwomen's work is able to draw.

When it comes to states' recognition, different authors have explored some of the reasons why women's work has been overlooked by authorities (see Chapman, 1987; Göncüoğlu and Ünal, 2011). The lack of quantification of women's contributions is one of the most common causes identified in the literature as a barrier to women's participation in organizations or to create women's organizations (Göncüoğlu and Ünal, 2011; Magalhães, *et al.* 2007). As articulated by a number of authors, the crucial contribution of women in fisheries in terms of food security (see the work of Kleiber, 2014) and community well-being are easily overlooked, as they are not registered in most official statistics (Weeratunge *et al.*, 2010). In Vanuatu, Kailola (1996) reports how the state has found it easier politically to justify investments in men's activity by developing statistics of their fishing activities, which is primarily focused on marine commodities directed towards the export market.

Lack of state recognition has been also linked to the fisheries in which women operate. Hauzer and colleagues (Hauzer *et al.*, 2013) report how the government tried to ban a fisherwomen's fishery in the Comoros Islands because it was considered destructive. In order to resolve the issue, the authors instead proposed strengthening the role of informal, already existent, women's groups as well as formal women cooperatives that already have some involvement in management. However, while the state has been supportive of men's fisher associations, this was not the case for women's groups. Even though faced with this barrier, women kept themselves organized in local working groups and cooperatives, through which they decided on aspects of their fishing-based livelihoods collectively, shared information, and passed on their knowledge to young people.

Göncüoğlu and Ünal (2011) show how in the southern Aegean region in Turkey, only 4 out of 21 fishery cooperatives have women members, thereby making up only 1 percent (10 out of 837) of the total cooperative membership in the entire region. The authors identified a number of reasons for this situation, namely: (1) the nature of women's work, which is carried out individually, irregularly and in a relatively undefined area under conditions that do not require cooperation, thereby hindering the development of a sense of unity; (2) the lack of a sense of professional promotion; (3) lack of acknowledgement from their male counterparts; and, (4) the general feeling among women that the cooperative is a male domain (Göncüoğlu and Ünal, 2011).

The case of *mama karanga* (frying women in Kiswahili) in Kenya also sheds light on some of the barriers faced by women to participate in fisherfolk organizations. *Mama karanga* are small-scale women traders and processors whose work is key in Kenya's coastal fishery. Matsue and colleagues (2014) point out that *mama karanga* are of crucial importance for the governance of coastal fisheries for three reasons: First, they are a key link between fisheries and food security, due to their role in retailing relatively affordable fish to local communities; second, as traders they transmit market demand signals to fishermen, structuring fishermen's decisions; third, they are dependent on access to fish, and are affected by changes in the fishery. Despite this, *mama karanga* face a number of barriers to participate effectively in fisheries management bodies. Among these are the financial constraints of paying the BMU's (Beach Management Unit) fees, the state officers' disregard of their voices, the reluctance by men to accept their full participation on the assumption that they either they lack the capabilities, "they do not fish", or are suspected of having opposite interests to men. Other causes for their lack of participation are the *mama karangas'* perception that the issues discussed in fisherfolk organizations are not related to their (trading) work and interests, the lack of time necessary to participate, lack of confidence and formal education, or because of pre-existing social and cultural norms – such as the custom of asking for their male counterparts' permission despite their economic autonomy. In spite of the above, they have participated in some modes of formal and informal collective action (Matsue *et al.*, 2014).

In Zanzibar, Fröcklin and colleagues (2013) show that in addition to inequalities related to the access to resources, capital, contacts, markets and higher value fish, women's participation in fisheries-related formal organizations and informal trader groups is lower than men's. In contrast to some men fish traders, women are not members of the village's fisheries management committee and are not members of self-organized trader groups. Based on respondents' inputs, the authors point to three causes for this lack of participation among women, namely: the lack of time to get organized and participate (despite their interest in doing so); the lack of assistance from the state authorities in a context where a lack of skills is identified by respondents as a barrier to getting organized; and the contrasting interests and lack of trust between traders.

The challenge presented by individual rivalries and contrasting interests between different groups is of great importance when it comes to the barriers to collective mobilization. In a study carried out at formal and informal fish markets in Mumbai (India), Shuddhawati Peke (2013) reports how, despite being negatively affected by the contrasting interests of state authorities and private development initiatives, and despite being left behind by fisheries sector organizations, women vendors were unable to act collectively because they viewed each other as competitors. In a similar vein, in a study about the women fish border traders in Cambodia, Kusakabe and Sereyvath (2014) report how, despite being encouraged to work together by the fisheries authorities to secure better prices from Thai buyers, women fish traders were not keen to do business with other Cambodians and , showed more interest in securing their upstream (Thai traders) and downstream (fishers/suppliers) linkages instead, given that their prices depend heavily on price swings and fluctuating fish availability.

In addition to all of the issues above, women's collective action faces major obstacles posed by the widespread bias, patriarchal discourse and metaphorical binaries largely contested by feminist scholars (see Lamphere, 2009). Added to these is the reliance on mythical representations such as the view of women as mothers and wives in contrast to men as breadwinners and leaders (see Lim *et al.*, 2012). These narratives should be still subject to systemic contestation.

CONCLUSION

Women actively participate in all stages of the fisheries supply chain, from pre-capture to capture and post-capture. However, with notable exceptions, women's participation and access to leadership roles in fisherfolk organizations are marked by enormous challenges. The existence of these barriers ultimately reflects that despite having obligations, fisherwomen do not enjoy full rights. We have focused our analysis on organizations whose aims included gender-related outcomes, and that explicitly or implicitly seek to contest gender differences, address power imbalances and bridge the gender gap.

This literature review points to the enormous variation in organizational arrangements and the extent of differences in the level of involvement and roles of women within organizations. In some cases women are initiators and leaders (e.g. Clark, 1988); in other cases they are participants along with or without men, or even external supporters, such as the case of women from the public administration in Galicia that animated the professionalization process (see Marugán Pintos, 2004). Many different contextual and individual characteristics shape the dynamics of participation in collective action: from historical and culturally-rooted factors (see Clark, 1988) to the power arising from the roles of women in the economy and community (see Niehof, 2007); the availability of charismatic figures (see Meltzoff, 1995) and agents of change (see Leitão *et al.*, 2009); the availability of external support by social or religious organizations, states and access to training (Frangoudes *et al.*, 2013); or the extent of the problems faced that have led to the establishment of organizations, and how these specifically affect women (Gerrard, 1995). All of these are factors that shape the way leadership and participation are materialized.

The present literature review leaves many questions unanswered, as the research on women in fisherfolk organizations is still scarce. Among them, more in-depth case studies reporting on the potentially unexpected, negative side effects of women's participation in organizations are needed for lessons to be learnt. There is also a knowledge gap when it comes to the informal participation of women in formal organizations, or the informal relationships and means by which women deploy their agency to influence the decisions of formal fisherfolk organizations. Furthermore, the literature does not always provide details on the specific organizational forms, internal forces and divisions, the interactions with other organizations, the specific governance systems, or the types of membership, which means that a detailed comparison of organizational forms is not possible. Nevertheless, the focus of so many researchers on the topic in recent decades is a sign of a movement towards a better understanding of how collective action can reduce the power imbalances between men and women.

The available literature confirms the positive outcomes that joining together for common goals can yield for women, thereby ultimately indicating that women's collective action and the full participation of women in fisherfolk organizations is a crucial tool to combat gender inequality.

RECOMMENDATIONS BY STAKEHOLDER GROUP

All stakeholders

1. Recognizing diversity is key to the success of fisherfolk organizations: “one-size-fits-all” solutions and the import–export of organizational arrangements should be avoided. Instead, collective action should be tailored to the complex social, political, ecological, legal and cultural contexts it is situated in and which it aims to act upon, together with the issues it aims to address. The right formula is the one that yields positive results. This rationale should be considered when developing or supporting organizations whose aim (either implicitly or explicitly) is to empower women and to bridge the power gap between men and women in fisheries.
2. The lifespan of a formal fisherfolk organization or any other form of collective action can be limited. The success of any form of collective action should be evaluated on the basis of its success and not on the basis of its stability over time. This rationale should be considered when evaluating women’s collective action or women’s participation in organizations, so that success is evaluated against the arrangement’s contribution to bridging the gender gap.
3. Fostering women’s participation in fisherfolk organizations is not without problems. Erroneous cause–effect assumptions about the outcomes of participation, and overlooking the conditions of engagement, time and energy required for effective participation may inadvertently reproduce existing power relationships instead of actually transforming them.
4. The academics, professionals and activists advocating for an increased recognition of women’s rights in fisheries are for the most part women. Men have a responsibility in advocating and contributing to the recognition and enjoyment of full rights by women in the fishing and aquaculture sectors.

Fisherwomen

1. Mobilizing for common goals and eventually getting organized is in itself a mode of contestation that serves as a pre-condition to changing the status quo, insofar as organization allows the acquisition of political, social and symbolic capital.
2. Dwindling resources, political and legal change, manager’s decisions, etc. are factors that affect men and women differently. Fisherwomen should ensure that they have access to adequate channels to make their voice heard and through which they can fight for their specific rights, without being subsumed under those of men.
3. The newly approved Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication should be used by fisherwomen groups as a policy instrument to be utilized and referred to when fighting for fisherwomen’s rights.

Researchers, academia and research institutions

1. More research should be conducted on the roles and benefits of women’s participation in fisherfolk organizations. Research can consider the following:
 - a. further case studies and comparative analyses are needed, from which further lessons can be drawn;
 - b. context-specific studies providing applied solutions to address gender inequalities through social mobilization and women’s integration into organizations;
 - c. more research focused on women as the main subjects and on gender inequalities as the main target of study – rather just another variable of analysis – should be conducted.
2. More studies should focus on the role of women’s agency in collective action. Most studies focus on the structural or enabling conditions leading to women’s participation in organizations, while few analyse women’s agency and power. This shift would involve analysing the informal power of women in formal decision-making processes. Unveiling women’s influence in formal organizations’ decision-making should serve as a means to encourage formal participation.

3. With some exceptions, the current literature focuses for the most part on positive experiences. Negative experiences, reporting on failed attempts of mobilization by women or on the process of marginalization of some specific women groups should also be reported.
4. Further studies should consider the multidimensional nature and effects of women's involvement in collective action, including personal (autonomy), psychological, economic, social and political realms.
5. Specific action-research programmes on fisherwomen's participation and leadership in fisherfolk organizations should be encouraged.
6. Beyond research, academics – mainly women – have proven to be key advocates and catalysts of women's movements in fisheries. The authority which academia provides should be mobilized to encourage dialogue, raise visibility and engage fisherwomen in collective action to make their voices heard.
7. Academic institutions and research networks have proven themselves instrumental and should continue to play a key role in empowering fisherwomen movements whenever possible, by performing different functions, e.g. facilitating dialogue, increasing capacities, connecting different stakeholders, providing advice and facilitating information to fisherwomen groups, providing authority to fisherwomen claims and advocating for fisherwomen rights, serving as a communication channel with the media, institutions and the general public.
8. To do so, academia should secure more funding for specific action-research programmes.

States

1. Recognizing women's roles and contributions in the sector is a first step, but it is not enough. Full citizenship implies ensuring fair and equal access to full membership and leadership positions in state-recognized organizations. All the more so when fisherfolk organizations are granted authority over management or any other public resource.
2. States should ensure that the voices of all groups participating in a given fishery are represented in fisherfolk organizations, with a mediation role between the sector and the state administration. To do so, specific legal and policy development may be needed, and the use of quotas should not be disregarded.
3. States should invest sufficient resources in acquiring detailed knowledge of the fisheries sector in the country, as well as the historic and current roles of women, in order to be able to promote context-specific organizational solutions that ensure that the voices of all groups are heard by the administration.
4. States should invest the required resources in capacity development to ensure full involvement of women in fisherfolk organizations, including ensuring equal access to leadership.
5. States should encourage women's effective involvement in organizations through meetings, workshops and other events during which, through dialogue and experience sharing, fisherwomen can identify common challenges and seek joint solutions to the problems they face. While fostering dialogue is an important step, it should not be deemed the only ingredient in the recipe (interest, common drivers, charismatic figures, capacities, opportunities, etc. are needed); it should not be considered an end in itself, but as a means to get a further outcome.
6. Extension and rural advisory services are an important tool for supporting fisherfolks. These services should not only be focused on men's work, but also provide support to fisherwomen and enhance the operation of fisherfolk organizations.
7. Committed politicians are key. Committed individuals in decision-making positions in state government can make a difference to the fostering of fisherwomen's participation and leadership in organizations. Adequate sector-oriented gender mainstreaming strategies should be part of fisheries policies.
8. Women conduct different activities to men in fisheries, and more often than not face different challenges and are affected differently by environmental, legal or political change. For this reason, the state should ensure that women have the adequate platforms, such as organizations, to make their voices heard and their rights recognized.
9. Beyond complex policy interventions, simple measures can quickly and effectively foster women's formal involvement in fisherfolk organizations (such as including men and women

from fishing families in the organization for a single fee). Identifying and implementing schemes to incentivize women's involvement is key.

Social movements and CSOs

1. Continue advocating for women's rights with a special focus on mobilizing fisherwomen to get organized as a means to make their voice heard.
2. The feminist perspective still encounters resistance in the fisheries sector. Keep moving the integration of the feminist perspective forward in fisheries with a special focus on the need for women to mobilize collectively to realize full rights as workers and citizens.
3. Maintain a critical approach to organizational solutions in fisheries that are gender neutral and gender blind.

Non-governmental organizations and UN agencies

1. Sharing data and research results with fisherwomen can be a good means of encouraging participation and mobilization towards specific common goals.
2. Fostering the development of women's organizations or the participation of women in existing ones should be carefully considered for its benefits and potential drawbacks for the fisherwomen themselves. The nature and scope of the organization and the organizational form should bear in mind the aims of the development intervention and the challenges that women's participation may face.
3. Pilot projects are an efficient way of testing the feasibility and adequacy of implementing specific organizational solutions, to test their capacity to deliver the desired outcomes and to learn lessons on the potential challenges and solutions. Pilot projects can be a good way of informing the development of wider solutions or how broader policy change is implemented. NGOs and development agencies can be key in piloting solutions and increasing knowledge on the results for further upscale.
4. Participatory approaches and action research can serve to catalyse positive transformations. To do so, an in-depth knowledge of power asymmetries and the development of spaces of participation that enable the emergence of leadership are key.
5. Development aid projects should document in-depth case studies of successes and failures which may remain unseen given the dependence of many organizations on donor funding and the consequent need to report on good results. "Well-documented failures" are necessary to avoid repeating past mistakes.

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