FAO
FISHERIES AND
AQUACULTURE
PROCEEDINGS
32
ISSN 2070-6103

# Strengthening organizations and collective action in fisheries

## A way forward in implementing the international guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries

**FAO Workshop**
**18–20 March 2013, Rome**

**Copies of FAO publications can be requested from:**

SALES AND MARKETING GROUP
FAO, Viale delle Terme di Caracalla 00153 Rome, Italy

**E-mail:** publications-sales@fao.org
**Fax:** +39 06 57053360
**Web site:** www.fao.org/icatalog/inter-e.htm

FAO
FISHERIES AND
AQUACULTURE
PROCEEDINGS
32

# Strengthening organizations and collective action in fisheries

## A way forward in implementing the international guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries

**FAO Workshop**
**18–20 March 2013, Rome, Italy**

**Edited by**

**Daniela C. Kalikoski**
Fishery Industry Officer
Fishing Operations and Technology Branch
Resource Use and Conservation Division
FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Department

and

**Nicole Franz**
Fishery Planning Analyst
Policy, Economics and Institutions Branch
Fisheries and Aquaculture Policy and Economics Division
FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Department

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS
Rome, 2014

ISBN 978-92-5-108082-5 (print)
E-ISBN 978-92-5-108083-2 (PDF)

# Preparation of this document

This document provides a summary of the presentations, discussions, conclusions and recommendations of the workshop on Strengthening Organizations and Collective Action in Fisheries: A way forward in implementing the international guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries, held on 18–20 March 2013 in Rome, Italy. Gratefully acknowledged are the financial contributions for the organization of the workshop and the publication of this report by the Governments of the Netherlands and Sweden through the FAO Multipartner Programme Support Mechanism (FMM).

The contributed papers are reproduced as submitted.

# Abstract

Strengthening organizations and collective action in small-scale fisheries (SSFs) is crucial to safeguarding fishers' livelihoods and food and nutrition security as well as to fighting poverty and vulnerability. The crucial role of organizations in SSFs was underscored during the 2008 Global Conference on Small-scale Fisheries, held in Bangkok, Thailand, and the consultative workshops and related events supporting the development of the international guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries (SSF Guidelines). The United Nations declared 2012 the International Year of Cooperatives with the theme Cooperative Enterprises Build a Better World. This provided further impetus for championing fishers' organizations and collective action as important instruments and drivers in promoting responsible fisheries and achieving the twin objectives of human and ecosystem well-being. In this context, the workshop Strengthening Organizations and Collective Action in Fisheries was held at FAO, Rome, Italy, on 18–20 March 2013. It was attended by 26 SSF experts representing civil society organizations, governments and academia. The workshop anticipated the implementation of the SSF Guidelines by looking at the diversity of existing organizations and collective action in SSFs, discussing their strengths and weaknesses, and proposing elements for a capacity development strategy to strengthen organizations and collective action in SSFs to reduce poverty while promoting responsible fisheries. The workshop identified challenges and opportunities and examined alternative pathways on how organizations and collective action in fisheries can strengthen and be strengthened by the SSF Guidelines. This publication summarizes the workshop results and intends to provide a useful reference document that will feed into the process of implementing the SSF Guidelines, which should be endorsed by the FAO Committee on Fisheries during its session in 2014.

**Kalikoski, D. & Franz, N., eds.** 2014.
*Strengthening organizations and collective action in fisheries – a way forward in implementing the international guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries. FAO Workshop, 18–20 March 2013, Rome, Italy.*
FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Proceedings No. 32. Rome, FAO. 168 pp.

# Contents

# Abbreviations and acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| ACP | African, Caribbean and Pacific |
| BARNUFO | Barbados National Union of Fisherfolk Organisations |
| BFCA | Belize Fishermen Cooperative Association Ltd. |
| BFCMS | Brazilian Fisheries Co-management System |
| BFP | Brazilian Fisheries Policies |
| BMU | Federal Ministry for Environment |
| CAMFA | Conference of African Ministers of Fisheries and Aquaculture |
| CANARI | Caribbean Natural Resources Institute |
| CARICOM | Caribbean Community |
| CAS | complex adaptive system |
| CCCFP | Caribbean Community Common Fisheries Policy |
| CCRF | Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries |
| CEDAW | Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women |
| CERMES | Centre for Resource Management and Environmental Studies |
| CFS | Committee for Food Security |
| CIPAR | Integrated Centre for Artisanal Fisheries |
| CLME | Caribbean Large Marine Ecosystem |
| CNFO | Caribbean Network of Fisher Folk Organizations |
| COFI | Committe on Fisheries |
| COOPERÇU | Iguaçu Fish Producers Cooperative |
| COOPERLAGUNAR | Cooperative of fishing production from Lagoon System |
| CPG | Permanent Committee of Fisheries Management |
| CPUE | catch per unit effort |
| CRFM | Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism |
| CSME | Caribbean Single Market and Economy |
| CSO | civil society organization |
| CT | Technical Committee |
| CTGP | Technical Committee on Fisheries Co-Management |
| EAF | ecosystem approach to fisheries |
| EEZ | exclusive economic zone |
| EU | European Union |
| FAB | Fisheries Advisory Board |
| FAC | Fisheries Advisory Committee |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations |
| FC | fishers' colony |
| FCMA | fisheries co-management arrangements |
| FFO | fisherfolk organization |
| FMM | FAO Multipartner Programme Support Mechanism |

| | |
|---|---|
| FMP | fisheries management plan |
| GEF | Global Environment Facility |
| GLORI | governance-livelihoods-organization-resilience-integration |
| GT | working groups |
| IBAMA | Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources |
| ICCAT | International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas |
| ICMBio | Chico Mendes Institute for the Conservation of Biological Diversity |
| ICSF | International Collective in Support of Fishworkers |
| ICT | information and communication technology |
| IFAD | International Fund for Agricultural Development |
| IPPS | Social and Public Policy Institute |
| LFMA | local fisheries management authority |
| LME | large marine ecosystem |
| MAC | monitoring and advisory committee |
| MMA | Ministry of Environment |
| MPA | marine protected area |
| MFA | Ministry of Fisheries and Agriculture |
| NAFCOOP | National Association of Fisherfolk Co-operatives |
| NEPAD | New Partnership for Africa's Development |
| NFO | national fisherfolk organization |
| NGO | non-governmental organization |
| OECS | Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States |
| PRONAF | National Program for Supporting Small-Scale Agriculture |
| RFMO | regional fisheries management organization |
| RFO | regional fisherfolk organization |
| SCC | Advisory Scientific Committee |
| SEAP | Special Secretary of Aquaculture and Fisheries |
| SES | social ecological system |
| SGCUSRP | National Co-Management System for the Sustainable Use of Fishery Resources |
| SIDS | Small Island Developing States |
| SL | sustainable livelihood |
| SSF | small-scale fishery |
| SUDEPE | Superintendence for the Development of Fisheries – Ministry of Agriculture |
| TBTI | Too Big to Ignore |
| TOR | terms of reference |
| TTUF | Trinidad and Tobago Unified Fisherfolk |
| TURFs | territorial use rights in fishing |
| UN | United Nations |
| UWI | University of the West Indies |
| WECAFC | Western Central Atlantic Fishery Commission |
| WFF | Forum of Fish Harvesters and Fish Workers |
| WFFP | World Forum of Fishers People |
| WWF | World Wildlife Fund |

# Workshop summary

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The workshop Strengthening Organizations and Collective Action in Fisheries: a way forward in implementing the international guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries (SSF Guidelines)[1] took place at FAO, Rome, Italy, on 18–20 March 2013. It was attended by 26 external participants as well as by 16 FAO staff. The external participants represented a wide spectrum of small-scale fisheries stakeholders, including civil society organizations (CSOs), governments and academia.

The purpose of the workshop was threefold: (i) to discuss the main challenges and opportunities for strengthening collective action and organizations in small-scale fisheries (SSFs); (ii) to design elements of a common analytical framework for assessing fishers' organizations and collective action and (iii) to discuss a strategy for strengthening organizations and collective action in support of the implementation of the SSF Guidelines.

The workshop was organized around plenary presentations and discussions, and working group sessions. Three plenary presentations were given. The first one introduced a scoping study on collective action and organizations in SSFs that had been prepared as a background document for the workshop. The study provided an overview of the evolution of collective action and organizations over time and summarized the key strengths and weaknesses of the different organizational types. It then looked into the elements needed within those organizations in order to promote sustainable fisheries and empower fishing communities. The second plenary presentation discussed lessons learned from Brazil and the Caribbean on strengthening organizations and collective action in SSFs. The third plenary presentation summarized the development process of the SSF Guidelines and their potential contribution to social development and responsible fisheries in SSFs.

The participants were divided in three working groups, each of which discussed the same topic of the day, but each focusing on different categories of organization as follows:

- Working Group 1: Customary organizations and new 'supported' organizational forms (e.g. Panglima Laot; beach management units; community fisheries).
- Working Group 2: Economic organizations (cooperatives and cooperative federations; credit and savings groups; etc.).
- Working Group 3: Advocacy and interest groups including emerging networks (associations, unions, NGOs, etc.).

Day 1 of the workshop addressed the roles and institutional arrangement of fishers' organizations and collective action and developed a diagnostic of challenges and opportunities for fishers' organizations and collective action.

Day 2 focused on a common framework for assessing fishers' organizations and collective action. In adition, all groups discussed: (i) the elements for an assessment framework that contributes to a better understanding of why fishers' organizations and collective action might succeed and/or fail and potential pathways for strengthening

[1] At the time of preparing this document, the draft SSF Guidelines were in the process of intergovernmental negotiations. Following comments received on the zero draft of the SSF Guidelines, the FAO Secretariat amended the title of the guidelines to: *Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication*.

fishers' organizations to achieve their objectives; and (ii) guiding criteria for the selection of case studies to which such a framework could be applied.

Finally Day 3 focused on the potential role of fishers' organizations and collective action in relation to the development and implementation process of the SSF Guidelines. The discussions centred on elements that inform the implementation and capacity development strategy of the SSF Guidelines with regard to (i) the roles of fishers' organizations and collective action in implementing the SSF Guidelines; (ii) the support and actions needed for strengthening fishers organization and collective action and (iii) the relevant actors that should engage in the process.

The workshop recognized that organizations and collective action in SSF contribute to maximizing long-term community benefits and to dealing with the threats of fisheries mismanagement, livelihood insecurity and poverty. Organizations provide a platform through which SSFs stakeholders exercise their right to organize, to participate in development and decision-making processes and to influence fisheries management outcomes.

Anticipating the challenges associated with the implementation of the SSF Guidelines, the workshop looked at the diversity and scope of existing organizations and collective action in SSFs, discussing their strengths and weaknesses, and their roles in transforming the SSF Guidelines into a meaningful instrument to improve food and nutrition security and to eliminate poverty while promoting responsible fisheries.

## INTRODUCTION

The importance of SSFs and their role as a contributor to poverty alleviation, food and nutrition security and economic growth are increasingly being recognized. Small-scale fisheries generate income, provide food for local, national and international markets and make important contributions to nutrition. They employ over 90 percent of the world's capture fishers and fishworkers, about half of which are women. In addition to full-and part-time fishers and fishworkers, seasonal or occasional fishing and related activities often provide vital supplements to other livelihood activities in times of difficulties or as a recurrent side-line activity. Small-scale fisheries contribute about half of global fish catches and, when considering catches destined for direct human consumption, the share contributed by the sector increases to two-thirds. Inland fisheries are particularly important in this respect with SSF food fish production dominating the subsector.

Organizations and collective action in SSFs are a way of maximizing long-term community benefits to deal with the threats of fisheries mismanagement, livelihood insecurity and poverty – harsh realities for many of the world's small-scale fishers.

Fishers' organizations, both formal and informal, provide a platform through which SSF stakeholders exercise their right to organize, participate in development and decision-making processes and influence fisheries management outcomes (Jentoft, 1986). To be effective, fishers' organizations need to be strengthened in terms of their ability to exercise this right to organize, to participate in policy dialogues and resource management initiatives, as well as to access markets, financial services and infrastructure.

The workshop anticipated the implementation of the SSF Guidelines by looking at the diversity of existing organizations and collective action in SSFs, analysing their strengths and weaknesses, and proposing elements for a capacity development strategy to strengthen organizations and collective action in SSFs to reduce poverty while promoting responsible fisheries. This report summarizes the workshop results and intends to provide a useful reference document that will feed into the process of implementing the SSF Guidelines currently under negotiation. The workshop identified challenges and opportunities and examined alternative pathways on how

organizations and collective action in fisheries can strengthen and be strengthened by the SSF Guidelines.

## WORKSHOP ARRANGEMENTS

### Venue and participation

The workshop took place at FAO, Rome, Italy, on 18–20 March 2013. It was attended by 26 external participants as well as by 16 FAO staff. The external participants represented a wide spectrum of small-scale fisheries stakeholders, including CSOs, governments, and academia. FAO staff, mainly from the Fisheries and Aquaculture Department, but also from the Forestry Department, Economic and Social Development Department and the Office for Communication, Partnership and Advocacy, participated not only in their technical roles but also as facilitators of the working groups.

The list of participants can be found in Appendix 1.

### Opening session

The workshop was opened by the Director of the FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Resources Use and Conservation Division, Mr Indroyono Soesilo. He welcomed the participants and delivered the opening address on behalf of Mr Árni Mathiesen, Assistant Director-General of the FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Department. He stressed that empowering small-scale fishers through collective action and successful organizations is key to food security and poverty alleviation. Many small-scale fishers worldwide suffer from low incomes, lack of adequate access to markets, social and political marginalization, exclusion and discrimination, and low levels of health and education. Women are often among the most marginalized and need strengthened rights to the natural resources on which they depend.

The preparation of the SSF Guidelines is expected to contribute to fishers' empowerment and improved sector governance, including policy development and practices for securing sustainable SSFs and creating benefits, especially in terms of food security and poverty reduction. He explained that the workshop aimed at gathering the experience and expertise of experts in the field from around the world and emphasized that the SSF Guidelines are expected to become an important instrument for small-scale fishers to learn about and benefit from their rights within the framework of a human-rights-based approach. The SSF Guidelines should be a document that small-scale fishers, fishworkers and their communities across the world feel ownership of and can relate to. He finished by explaining that the SSF Guidelines would be formally negotiated in May 2013, but that they would only start to become useful and have an impact if they were implemented. Although there are many forms of fishers' organizations, they often lack a voice and opportunities to influence or participate in political and economic decision-making. To be effective, fishers' organizations need to be strengthened in terms of their ability to exercise their right to organize, participate in policy dialogues and resource management initiatives, as well as to access markets, financial services, and infrastructure.

It is expected that the full realization of the potential contribution of SSFs to sustainable development will reduce the sector's marginalization, ensure full participation of SSF stakeholders in decision-making and – in line with the Rio+20 conference outcomes – help to end poverty and food insecurity. The SSF Guidelines are expected to be a significant step in this direction (see also Appendix 2).

Rolf Willmann, Senior Fishery Planning Officer, welcomed the participants and invited them to introduce themselves. He then introduced the agenda, explaining that the workshop was taking place as part of the final phase of the development process of the SSF Guidelines before the formal negotiation of the text in May 2013. There was hence the need to start reflecting on implementation strategies, including the

strengthening of organizations as a core part of any strategy. He acknowledged the wealth of available experiences on how organizations have evolved and performed. The ultimate purpose of the workshop was to develop elements of a framework for the better understanding of the kind of interventions needed to strengthen fishers' organizations, taking into account also the roles of other actors and to provide practical recommendations on how organizations can be strengthened and their development facilitated.

He then outlined the purpose and expected outputs of the workshop, i.e.:

- Fishers' organizations: challenges and opportunities for collective action.
- Towards a common framework for assessing fishers' organizations and collective action.
- Implications and suggestions for the International Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-scale Fisheries (SSF Guidelines) development and implementation process.

Participants agreed with the chairpersons proposed by the Secretariat for plenary session as follows:

Day 1 (18 March): Mr Rolf Willmann.
Day 2 (19 March): Ms Ratana Chuenpagdee.
Day 3 (20 March): Mr John Kurien.

The workshop agenda adopted by the participants is shown in Appendix 3.

## PLENARY PRESENTATIONS

### Collective action and organizations in small-scale fisheries: a background note

John Kurien, FAO consultant, introduced the scoping study on collective action and organizations SSFs, which he had prepared as a background document for the workshop. The study (see Part II of this publication) provided an overview of the evolution of collective action and organizations over time. It proposed a categorization of organizations and collective action into five typologies, namely: (i) customary organizations, (ii) cooperatives and societies, (iii) associations and unions, (iv) new 'supported' organizational forms and (v) hybrid and network arrangements.

The paper summarized the key strengths and weaknesses of the different fisher organizational types and then looked into the elements needed within those organizations in order to promote sustainable fisheries and empower fishing communities. The suggested primary dual objective of fishers' organizations should be for fishworkers (men and women) to (i) have a key voice and unambiguous rights in controlling the fishery resource and protecting the ecosystem in which it is found as well as (ii) devising ways and means to ensure the best return for the products of their hard labour. All other objectives are secondary, and fishers' organizations that have only other objectives, however meaningful and relevant they may be, must be seen as involved in the second-best suite of activities.

The study identified ten essential elements that should be inbuilt into an organization's functioning in order to promote wholesome development that is just, participatory, self-reliant and sustainable. The ten elements for resources and institutional arrangements to formulate and implement strategies for action are:

1. collective agreement and resolve,
2. vision for collective action,
3. democracy and transparency in functioning and governance,
4. trust in those elected to lead,
5. resources and institutional arrangements to formulate and implement strategies for action (good endowment of human energies and enthusiasm, availability of human resources, financial resources, the judicious use of resources, laws and norms),

6. accounting for gender,
7. courage and conviction to face odds,
8. information on activities, achievements and failures; education to build capacity,
9. building alliances with other like-minded organizations,
10. processes to evaluate actions and envision changes for the future.

The paper also addressed the issue of how to promote gender equity and empowerment of women, proposing two perspectives. The collaborative perspective looked at how gender relations and women's empowerment can be factored into fishers' organizations that deal with the activity of fishing, which is an overwhelmingly male domain. The independent perspective asked whether gender relations and women's empowerment issues can perhaps be dealt with more fittingly in fishworker organizations meant exclusively for women.

The paper investigated collective action and the role of organizations in abolishing poverty in fishing communities and enhancing food security. Fundamental questions related to poverty were raised: are people poor because they are fishers, or are they fishers because they are poor?

It addressed the importance of the contribution of small-scale fishworkers to enhancing food security. Two ways were mentioned – directly by providing fish as food and indirectly by generating income (through employment – importantly among women), which then is used to purchase food. The merit in working towards the Gandhian mantra of 'production by the masses' for 'consumption by the masses' was mentioned. This mantra becomes a reality if such links between poorer small-scale fish producers and needy consumers can be established – and this is not possible without collective action and organizations.

Main pitfalls to collective action were highlighted in the paper and need to be recognized and overcome if organizational development in the future is to evolve over a more successful and sustainable path than in the past. Those include:

1. Fishing as an activity and being a fisher are in themselves major challenges to undertaking collective action and sustaining organizations.
2. The class character of small-scale fishworkers can be an impediment.
3. The lack of own capital and the high cost of capital from other sources.
4. Small-scale fishworkers have a generally low level and poor quality of educational attainment.
5. The rising age of the average fishworkers.
6. The crisis fishworkers confront with regard to resource depletion and degradation.

The paper proposed a number of avenues to build organizational capacity. It is imperative to make human capital development a core function of any organization. Therefore, the paper proposed paying attention to capacity development for youth, specific leadership training, business and administrative capacities, negotiating a more creative role for women, soliciting support from organizations of civil society, and greater international support for fisher organizations as well as legal and institutional framework support and networking for creating 'economies of scale and scope.

Concluding thoughts indicated that there is a hopeful future for a new, modern SSF sector (and thus fishers) in most developing countries – in both the marine and inland realms. To achieve this, collective action and organizations are vital for establishing fishers' rights for identity, dignity and development.

Negotiating this will entail new commitments and fresh perspectives supported by a clear political vision of what is to be done. The series of consultations held around the world on the SSF Guidelines marks a new and encouraging process of renewal and re-affirmation of rights. One crucially important achievement of this revival of interest in SSFs is that it is supported by the small-scale fishworkers themselves.

Patrick McConney, Senior Lecturer, Centre for Resource Management and Environmental Studies (CERMES, University of the West Indies, Barbados) and Rodrigo Medeiros, Professor, University of Parana (Brazil), introduced the case studies on "Strengthening organizations and collective action in small-scale fisheries: lessons learned from Brazil and the Caribbean", which they had prepared as a background document for the workshop (see Part 2 of this report). A summary is provided in the following paragraphs.

### HOW WE TRIED TO LOOK AT THINGS

McConney emphasized the need for a better understanding of fisherfolk organizations and how lessons from Brazil and the Caribbean may contribute. Interventions in fisheries without a proper understanding of fisherfolk organizations could cause more damage than non-intervention.

The framework CERMES developed for its studies builds on the following concepts:

- complex adaptive systems,
- social-ecological systems,
- multilevel governance,
- adaptive capacity,
- resilience,
- self-organization,
- gender,
- collective action,
- livelihoods analysis,
- the ecosystem approach to fisheries.

In SSFs, FAO and others have addressed sustainable livelihoods, resource management, governance, food security, poverty and other key issues in conjunction with implementing the Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries, an approach now being complemented specifically for SSFs through the development of the SSF Guidelines.

The authors suggested that an integrated model organized around a sustainable livelihoods analysis with an emphasis on organizations would be useful. The authors are in the early stages of developing such a framework which they have named "GLORI" (governance-livelihoods-organization-resilience-integration).

### WHAT WE SAW IN BRAZIL

Rodrigo Medeiros presented cases from southern Brazil with common features of history, community-based relationships and institutions, often dominated by the Fishermen's Colonies (a type of fishers' guild originated by the Brazilian Navy). Outreach from government agencies, NGOs and networks on fishing-related topics, gradual democratization, the emergence of fisherfolk associations (partly a reaction to the Fishermen's Colonies), and social programme oriented to fisheries have considerably driven the development of the situation. Many of the fishers-related organizations, both at local and higher level, have failed however, due to a wide range of problems inherent in both the local and national approaches.

Brazilian fisheries management has evolved over time towards increased centralization of policy development through a technical committee whose members are essentially from the Ministry of Environment and the Ministry of Fisheries and Aquaculture – this committee does not always regularly engage in dialogue with fishing communities and organizations.

At a lower level, at least with respect to policy, there exists an official multilevel fisheries governance system network that does officially include community-based organizations, networks of fisherfolk organizations and a number of other institutions, all formally or informally connected.

The study confirmed the sometimes surprisingly important role that women play in innovative fisherfolk organizations. It also showed the gradual emergence of networks (among NGOs, cooperatives and others) and the development of mechanisms for fishers to better access financial and physical capital. The systems have, however, no clear connection to the maintenance of sustainable livelihoods and are hampered by badly fitting institutional arrangements.

### *HOW IT LOOKS IN THE CARIBBEAN*

Patrick McConney presented the Caribbean situation which is characterized by the presence of shared fish stocks. Official fisherfolk, organizations were introduced in the English-speaking Caribbean in the late British colonial period, the early 1960s and 1970s. Although the individual histories of these organizations are different, common features include:

- being part of the movement towards independence;
- use for political empowerment of "the small man";
- a means to alleviate poverty and encourage saving;
- pooling money to improve commercial businesses;
- an emphasis on boat owners rather than fishers;
- channelling of government subsidies for fishing;
- efficient supply of inputs for fishery development;
- requiring bigger, better and costlier boats;
- seafood processing for food security and export,
- starting up savings societies and cooperatives.

Causes of organizational failure (and most have failed) were undercapitalization, limited technical capacity, inadequate support from government agencies, membership bases that were too small to be viable, little succession planning to groom new leaders, no follow-up to projects and technical assistance, short-term planning rather than strategic planning, limited oversight and monitoring to give guidance, financial mismanagement, regulatory agencies that did not correct financial wrongs, and connection to political movements that changed or lost power. A crucial concern is also the inability to sustain collective action outside of crises, as well as government programmes that often compete with collective action and grassroots organizations. In spite of all this, there is a recent resurgence of interest in organizing.

Multilevel governance and transboundary management are clearly issues for the region (e.g. tuna fisheries). The institutional aspect of regional coordination is now being addressed through the Caribbean Large Marine Ecosystem (CLME) project. Another important element for coordination is the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism (CRFM), which was originally designed as a network within which various member States and organizations would take the lead on different fisheries matters. This has not actually come to pass, however, and now the CRFM operates as a highly centralized network. There are currently efforts being made to develop a more effective network structure, a multicluster design, for the wider Caribbean region

There is an emerging network structure that may facilitate fisherfolk multilevel input into fisheries governance for the wider Caribbean region. The design and testing of the Caribbean Network of Fisherfolk Organizations, still a work in progress, is based on a multicluster design to better match social and ecological systems. In the Caribbean, number of organizations with relatively small membership and key actors play critical roles in developing the capacities of such fisherfolk self-organizations. A crucial element for the sustainability of these developments is the level of commitment and the sense of ownership by the members of these organizations.

Gender considerations are not mainstreamed in the region, although there are female leaders in some fisherfolk organizations. Women's livelihoods strategies, and in particular their frequent position in the value chain as post-harvest business people

buying fish captured by the fishers, may be more of a constraint for them to achieve leadership roles in mixed gender organizations (due to the fisher/buyer conflict of interest) than is the fact that they are "women".

### BRAZIL AND THE CARIBBEAN

Factors favouring success or failure in both regions are mostly very similar and very obvious, but there are differences.

In Brazil, factors creating difficulties include high dependence on government loans and scarce organizational networking. Factors favouring success include women being active in adaptive governance and in formal organizational power.

In terms of adaptive capacity and resilience it is important to establish:

- skills (i.e. knowledge, abilities, and competencies);
- structure (i.e. a clear definition of roles, functions, lines of communication, and mechanisms for accountability);
- linkages (i.e. an ability to develop and manage relationships with individuals, groups, and organizations in pursuit of overall goals);
- material resources (i.e. technology, finance, and equipment);
- adaptive strategies (i.e. practices and policies that enable an organization to adapt and respond to changes in its operating environment);
- world view (i.e. a coherent frame of reference that the organization uses to interpret the environment it operates in and define its place within that environment);
- culture (i.e. a way of doing things that enables the organization to achieve its objectives, and a belief that it can be effective and have an impact).

### EXPERIENCES FROM BRAZIL AND THE CARIBBEAN

Ultimately, successful implementation of the SSF Guidelines will be determined at the lowest level or primary organizational level. A practical but conceptually robust model is needed to guide interventions. Capacity development strategies should include:

1. strengthening fundamental concepts and cooperative principles among leaders;
2. enhancing stewardship over coastal and marine resources via an ecosystem approach;
3. developing administrative and financial skills to manage organizations well;
4. enabling fisheries policies to be integrated with fishers' knowledge and support their own demand-driven diversity of organizational structures and functions;
5. connecting cooperative or other types of organization creation and empowerment approaches with technical and financial support, and livelihood and resilience components/indicators;
6. putting fisherfolk organizations and fisheries co-management on the development agendas of countries and regions in the context of sustainability;
7. creating and expanding spaces for learning and sharing to institutionalize adaptation;
8. mainstreaming gender and focus on welfare, rights, well-being, poverty and food security to the extent necessary, but not so much as to stereotype SSFs as liabilities;
9. adopting effective analytical models for understanding and working with fisherfolk organizations, and tying capacity development into the analytical model;
10. applying the analytical model and agreed notions of capacity development to the SSF Guidelines, leading to both recommendations for action and testing the analytical framework.

With regard to implementation of the SSF Guidelines, the process for delivery will be just as critical in ensuring success as will be the product seeking to be delivered. This process should include practical learning by doing, rather than more

traditional and abstract standard approaches to training. This would greatly reinforce the institutionalization of needed adaptations. Genuine collaboration with other stakeholders will be key to improving the health of marine social-ecological systems for the benefit of society.

## PLENARY DISCUSSION

The background studies provided a common foundation for discussions in the plenary sessions. Main comments from the plenary session are summarized below.

- There is a need to revive cooperatives and organizations along with a capacity-development strategy and appropriate enabling legislation.
- There is a need to look deeper into the political, social, cultural and economic conditions in which the fishers' organizations operate. The market is one of the central issues that needs to be better understood. Power relations and power imbalances are key elements that are very difficult to deal with.
- The issues identified in the fishery sector often also apply to the forestry sector.
- Capacity development efforts should focus not only on technical issues but also on how decisions can be influenced. Capacity development strategies need to take into account the complexities associated with producer organizations and community-based organizations and how the different levels of organizations are influenced by and may influence policy.
- Fisheries households are characterized by a high level of complexity and dynamism. Different objectives and interests regarding what one wants to achieve through an organization vary according to the different stakeholders involved. Household and livelihood strategies change over time and also influence the definition of the objective of the organizations. Types of membership may also change. Therefore, an understanding of the dynamics within the organizations is crucial.
- Fishers perform multi-functions. They are savers, investors, producers and consumers all at the same time, and this creates inherent complexity at the household level. Therefore, there is a need to look at the household level from a multiple perspective. The classic approach has been to focus on fishers (male) as producers and women as processors. However, in many cases, women are also involved in fishing, processing, accounting, etc. It is therefore important to look differently at gender issues and better understand the role of women to identify where they have a comparative advantage. Thus, understanding the distribution of benefits and outcomes may be more important than focusing only at the level of activity, i.e. there is a need to understand the plurality of organizations within the organization at different levels.
- Organizational development in many cases, and particularly if it comes from outside, may start with one well-defined objective. However, that objective is achieved, new objectives may be defined and the organization's mandate may change over time (e.g. changing from governance to trade issues).
- The issue of local governance and global markets is crucial. Fish is highly traded and the presence of the market is very strong in fisheries. Organizations often have a good understanding of what is possible/achievable at the local level. However, nowadays, the local is much linked to the global and there is an increasing need to have compromises and willingness to have networks between local-based and global-based organizations. This is why the role of hybrids and networked arrangements becomes more important. In the post-tsunami period, for example, a lot of money was raised due to the attention of the media. At the local level, global organizations had to relate with organizations that knew the context enough to guarantee appropriate delivery.

- There is a need to understand and to take stock of the type of existing organizations before a new project starts. The appropriate form of an organization in a given place depends on the context and objectives that it seeks to achieve. Also, it is important to know the motivations and process behind the creation of an organization because they may affect its performance (e.g. was the organization created as a result of community needs or as a result of imposition by government?). In Africa, many organizations have been established by governments, and once the support from the outside agency stops the organization erodes.
- Cooperatives have failed in some cases and have succeeded in others (unions and cooperatives such as the Japanese ones are examples that these models can still be valid). In some instances there seems to be a 'favouring' towards hybrid forms while older forms have often been portrayed as failures.
- The last two categories identified in the background scoping study (new 'supported' organizational forms and hybrid and networked arrangements) in some ways are adaptations of old types, (such as customary organizations), which have been revived, for example, by collaborating with governments. There is also a need to look into non-organized communities and understand why there has been a failure of organizations to develop in some places. Indicators of assessment should capture the multidimensional character of organizations' successes and failures, and attention should also be given to cases where there is no organization development. On the other hand, there may be circumstances where organizations do not need to become formalized.
- A more thorough definition and analysis of successes and failures are needed. There is a need to look at these more gradually using criteria that are able to capture and evaluate different stages of evolution of organizations. Successes and failures need to be based on the objectives of the organization and evaluated against them. There are some aspects that may be beyond the control of the organization.
- Assessment indicators should consider not only economic but also social and gender issues and there is a need to understand if the organizations respond to the needs of all members, including men, women and youth. There are some case studies that show that achieving gender equality can be good evidence of successful organizations, which also has positive impacts on their economic performance. There is a need to understand further how to deal with situations in which there are traditional customary gender roles.
- There needs to be an understanding that usually organizations are not 'perfect', due to limitations coming from their own history and culture. Government can have a whole range of different relations with fishers' organizations, ranging from support to indifference and even distrust. This also needs to be taken into account. In the 1950s, for example, many producer cooperatives were established and many of them went bankrupt. Being a cooperative was blamed as the reason despite many capitalist institutions also going bankrupt, just like any other type of economic organization. It is true that fishers' organizations may set too ambitious goals, which increases the likelihood of failure. A similar perception of failures associated with organization typology has been attributed to the "beach management unit" type of organization. In both cases the typologies themselves (i.e. cooperative or beach management unit) have been perceived as being not beneficial for the communities, creating a rejection and lack of cooperation and a prejudice toward that type of organizational structure.
- The value of SSFs and the level of production of associations are not appropriately recognized by governments owing to the lack of statistics. Data are important to inform government's priorities and to show the importance of organizations.

FAO is making an effort to improve the availability and quality of statistics in SSFs.

- In general, there is a lack of recognition of local-level rights-based management that would provide an incentive for stewardship (e.g. territorial use rights in fisheries, marine extractive reserves) and deal with economically driven coastal development strategies. On the other hand, stewardship incentives are insufficient. There are examples where local-level organizations are not always able to cope with fast-changing challenges – in global markets and others (e.g. the small-scale mullet fishery is one of the last forms of collective fishing in Brazil and with a high cultural value, but a new incentive to sell mullet eggs, for example, can be a driver in eroding such traditional systems). It is true that fisheries development does not always follow the right path. Incentive structures need to be investigated as well as how local communities can be enabled to deal with global challenges.

## WORKING GROUP SESSIONS

### Working group arrangements

Ms Daniela Kalikoski, Fishery Industry Officer, FAO, provided a brief overview of the expected outputs and working arrangements for the working groups. Participants were divided in three working groups, each of which discussed the same topic of the day, but each focused on different categories of organization.

Working Group 1 had a focus on customary organizations and new 'supported' organizational forms[2] (e.g. Panglima Laot in Indonesia; beach management units; community fisheries).

Working Group 2 focused on economic organizations[3] (cooperatives and cooperative federations; credit and savings groups; etc.).

Working Group 3 focused its discussions on advocacy and interest groups including emerging networks[4] (associations, unions, NGOs, etc.).

Box 1 summarizes the topic of each day and its expected outputs.

Additional guidance was provided to the participants in the form of questions to frame the discussion.

Box 1 also illustrates the guidance to the working group discussions per topic of the day. Each group was led by an FAO facilitator. A rapporteur and a presenter were selected from among the working group participants.

The groups were given a brief introduction to the topic of the day by the facilitator at the beginning of the sessions. Background documents were provided to the groups to serve as a starting point for the discussions. After each session, each working group reported back to plenary and time was allocated after each presentation for comments and discussions. Women's organizations and gender issues were considered as cross-cutting issues to be discussed in all working groups.

The summaries of working group outcomes presented in the following section also take into account the comments and additional information made available in the plenary discussions.

The **first Working Group session** focused on the roles and institutional arrangement of fishers' organizations and collective action to develop a diagnostic of challenges and opportunities for fishers' organizations and collective action.

---

[2] *A characterization of these categories is found in the scoping study prepared by J. Kurien, pp. 1, 11, 12, 17, 22 in this report.*

[3] *A characterization of these categories is found in the scoping study prepared by J. Kurien, pp. 1, 11, 14, 18, 24 in this report.*

[4] *A characterization of these categories is found in the scoping study prepared by J. Kurien, pp. 1, 11, 15, 19, 25 in this report.*

Box 1 – **Topic of the day and guidance provided to working groups**

**DAY 1: Roles and institutional arrangement of fishers' organizations and collective action**
Expected output: A diagnostic of challenges and opportunities for fishers' organizations and collective action

- What are the origins and motivations of fishers' organizations/collective action?
- How do these influence their structure and performance?
- Do motivations change over time and how does this affect structure and performance?
- What are the major challenges/concerns to carry out the functions and achieve the objectives?
- Internal issues (e.g. representation, leadership, structure, internal operating mechanisms, financial aspects).
- External context (e.g. legal and institutional framework, networking and communication).
- What are the key factors associated with successes and failures of organizations and collective action?
- How do these organizations promote women's empowerment?

**DAY 2: Towards a common framework for assessing fishers' organizations and collective action**
Expected outputs: (i) Elements for an assessment framework that contributes to a better understanding of why fishers' organizations and collective action succeed and/or fail and provides pathways for strengthening fishers' organizations to achieve their objectives; and (ii) Guiding criteria for the selection of case studies to which such a framework can be applied.

- Key elements to evaluate successes and failures: what are the critical questions to be asked/ hypotheses to be tested?
- Internal elements (leadership, representation)
- External elements (e.g. enabling environment, governance)
- The importance of process (e.g. leadership, flexibility, adaptability)
- How can gender be mainstreamed in the framework?
- Which criteria should apply to the selection of case studies (e.g. geography, gender, successes and failures, urban/rural, typology, etc.)?

**DAY 3: Implications and suggestions for the SSF Guidelines development and implementation process**
Expected outputs: Elements to inform the implementation and capacity development strategy of the SSF Guidelines with regard to (i) the roles of fishers' organizations and collective action in implementing the SSF Guidelines and (ii) what support and actions are needed for strengthening fishers organization and collective action and by whom?

- How can the SSF Guidelines support the engagement of fishers' organizations in the process of influencing and changing policy and its implementation?
- Who are the other actors?
- What are the roles and responsibilities of the different actors?
- How do other actors interface with fishers' organizations and collective action (relationships)?
- What are the different strategies and actions needed to strengthen fishers' organizations?
- Which actors (e.g. governments, research institutions, international development agencies, CSOs, NGOs) need to do what with regard to support of the implementation of the SSF Guidelines?

### *Working Group 1: Customary organizations and new 'supported' organizational forms*

The group started with discussing the meaning of customary organizations. There is a vast variety of these organizations, including formal and informal organizations, ranging from loose networks such as beach groups without clear leadership to strongly

organized bodies with long histories. It was also observed that there are customary organizations with a larger mandate than fisheries, but these were excluded from the focus of the discussion.

Among the origins and motivations for customary organizations and new supported organizational forms identified by the group featured the need for empowerment as a means not only to engage with and challenge government authorities, but also to strengthen bargaining power, reduce vulnerability, exclude non-members and to have a levelling mechanism for confrontation. In other cases the need to resolve conflict, for example between fishers or communities over access to a specific fisheries, provided the motivation for establishing a customary organization.

Territoriality was also identified as a driver for collective action related to a common resource that moves. Sometimes customary organizations have their origins in a feudal state for different reasons, for example for defence, and evolved from there. Identity (individual or community) is an important element in customary organizations. If it persists, organizations are more likely to continue. The existence of conflict resolution mechanisms also allows customary law to maintain authority.

Customary institutions are based in bounded societies. These societies change, for example, as wealth differences emerge, social norms evolve and respect of traditional authority erodes and suffers from the presence of competing authorities. This reduces the ability of social control of customary organizations. Motivations and structures however do change or adapt over time, for example in reaction to a change in fisheries policy that disappoints fishers.

Many customary organizations are of a local scale, but the challenges are of larger scale. Up-scaling is therefore an important issue, in particular if in the process the positive qualities of the local setup should be preserved. Multiscale governance as well as changing age structure in fishing communities due to young people exiting the sector are part of the challenges to be addressed by fishers' organizations.

Bridging customary organizations with other organizations, for example NGOs, to form larger networks can also strengthen them. It was reported in fact that the activities of marine conservation NGOs in some areas have been crucial in reviving customary fishers' organizations. The 'benevolence' and enabling mechanisms for local organizations provided by the State were identified as influencing the final outcomes of customary organizations. Customary organizations often also have some issues that need to be carefully addressed. How would, for example, issues of discrimination, or issues related to scale that may go beyond the ability of the organization, be dealt with? There may be power imbalances within customary organizations. Often, the elders are the most important players in a customary organization and their status is linked to assets. Age issues can make organizations less dynamic, in particular in a globalizing world. It was noted that in some cases young people that had left their community were coming back, introducing new technologies such as mobile phones to improve the organization's operational effectiveness and revitalizing customary organizations.

The role of the State for the establishment and maintenance of new supported organizations was also discussed, and it was noted that these organizations are not always perceived as positive by fishers. Collective action can in fact be collaborative but also confrontational, depending on the relationship between the authorities and the fishing communities and the purpose of the new structure (e.g. for co-management arrangements, for taxation). The examples of similar structures established in East Africa and in Cambodia with different results were mentioned in this context. An important driver from the government side for the newer structures is also the attempt to involve communities in monitoring and control as a way to potentially reduce enforcement costs. There is evidence of different kinds of organizations being established also in cooperation with NGOs, mainly for conservation purposes, and

with the private sector, in particular around trade-related issues. The group, however, agreed that collective action is likely to be more successful if it is generated from the bottom.

The group then looked into gender issues and identified that customary organizations usually provide limited roles for women and have a rather patriarchal reputation. Caution is needed however as customary organizations may be more complex than they appear on the surface, and 'imposing' rules from the outside may disrupt existing balances and harm the principle of self-determination. Women often do have an implicit role in their communities, and their ideas and opinions are brought forward via other channels. In newly established organizations on the other hand, women are often mandated to take an active role, to be on committees, etc. The implicit role of women in customary organizations is therefore changed into an explicit role in new organizations and, in some cases, this has given women the opportunity to start new ventures and organizational structures. The group noted that there is apparently no study on the outcomes of gender policy in fishers' organizations available.

***Working Group 2: Economic organizations***

Among the origins and motivations of economic organizations in fisheries feature financial issues (e.g. loans, taxes, credits, subsidies, insurance): improving negotiation and bargaining power for collective sales of fish; organizing harvest functions to avoid excessive harvest and low market prices of fish, including value chain control (e.g. fish processing, storage); collective purchase of fuel, gear and another inputs; and collective action to raise control over resource conservation to improve long-term economic sustainability as well as securing tenure/property rights. As in the case of customary organizations, motivations may change and economic organizations can become multipurpose organizations that build on collective action to support social issues and welfare functions, including the distribution of wealth. Organizations can also be or become part of a bigger political movement or agenda.

Economic organizations have new roles in decision-making processes, including resource conservation. In some cases, they suppress customary organizations that used to have that function. It was stressed that some forms of economic organizations, in particular cooperatives, should be looked at not only as organizational forms but also as the important process on which they are based. Cooperatives are based on a different ideology with a broader agenda compared with other economic organizations that follow the logic of competition. There is a close relationship between membership, common perceptions of the organization and overall performance.

Among the major internal challenges for economic organizations are the issues of keeping the level of commitment of members up and maintaining the importance of process. Internal challenges relate to power balances, for example, in relation to ownership of boats and gear, which influence the control over the fisheries value chain. The role of intermediaries was also discussed in this context. Intermediaries make an important contribution to distribution and storage and by lending money. However, these functions in some cases also provide them with control over the harvesting sector, and hence with disproportionate power.

The question was raised regarding open membership versus limited entry to determine the optimal size of an economic organization. A large membership may be difficult to coordinate while a small group may not be able to generate sufficient presence to be efficient in interacting with third parties. The complexity of arrangements that guarantee successful leadership and the role of women are additional internal challenges. In some cases, female cooperatives and affirmative programme have proved to perform well. Good leadership was identified as one of the key factors for success. Migration of fishers – be it resource-driven or due to political circumstances – on the other hand can be a disruptive factor for economic organizations. Access to

and availability of financial and physical capital are also crucial for the functioning of economic organizations, as are communication processes and infrastructure.

The success of economic organizations depends also on external factors such as an enabling environment in the form of legal frameworks that favour democratic decision making. Political interference, regime shifts and instabilities and lack of autonomy of economic organizations, in particular cooperatives, can constrain the motivations and the range of action of these organizations. There is also the need to prevent free riders from the benefits of economic organizations. Free riding, for example, can threaten the sustainability of the resources if new members that just join an organization benefit from a previously established no-take period to which they have not contributed.

The overall health of the environment is also determining for success of an economic fisheries organization as it influences the production capacity of a fisheries system. If economic organizations engage in resource management there is the need to avoid the generation of perverse incentives, for example, by involving economic organizations in the managing of licences (including benefiting from the revenues generated by the resource allocation: the more fish that can be handled at a landing site, the higher the percentage of return for the economic organization). Economic organizations can also assume an important function as a source of information on markets and fishery resources, contributing to economic and environmental discussions.

***Working Group 3: Advocacy and interest groups including emerging networks***

The group started off with discussing whether an organization needs to be formalized or if it can be less structured, but agreed on the importance of defining the purpose for collective action.

As an example, it was mentioned that, in the Caribbean cooperatives take the lead in advocacy while associations focus on livelihoods and are a reaction to constraining cooperative legislation. In Western Central Africa, the driving force for organization was either cultural or in response to service delivery from government, but also for conflict resolution. However, in some cases the leaders of these movements are co-opted by government. In other cases, donors can be responsible for creating structures, but these may not necessarily reflect local demand.

There is hence evidence that some organizations are formed through external pressure (e.g. projects, donors) or in reaction to changes in the operating environment (e.g. threats to livelihoods, to influence or engage with policy). Organizations therefore either respond to change or create change, but to be successful they need to be demand driven. People use collective action to achieve the scale needed to address certain issues and power imbalances.

The group identified the following key functions for advocacy groups:

- strategic influence of governments and intergovernmental organizations;
- building of alliances with fraternal groups;
- dissemination of information;
- establishing dialogues as well as informed community mobilization.

Fishing communities usually prioritize livelihood protection over resource conservation but there is an increasing awareness about the inter-relatedness of the two. An example from Costa Rica showed how fishing communities that felt threatened by conservation pressure promoted responsible fisheries areas and are connecting these through a network. This is also a means to allow fishers' organizations to generate, preserve and communicate their knowledge, increasing their power bases. In some cases, fisheries networks have developed from broader community organizations to focus more specifically on fisheries livelihood aspects. Having too many members with too many different expectations can dilute the purpose and the impact of an organization. It was noted however that there can be different units within an organization.

The importance of a dynamic interface between the organization and the problems in its interactions with other organizations it is dealing with was pointed out by the group. Organizations need to be able to adapt to changing circumstances in order to survive. Processes within organizations are therefore as important as form and function.

In many situations, there are broader fishing community needs (e.g. wider livelihood issues) and within this there are specific fishers needs (resource management, income from fishing etc.). For the governance of fisheries, networks are good, but they may be less suitable for the specific aims of specific organizations. As features of fishers' livelihoods have changed, organizations have changed in response. However, this has often led to a reduced collective vision and even the collapse of the organization.

Livelihood change can introduce pressures that people are not prepared for, leading even to the loss of assets. Change is key to the way organizations operate.

Networks are a way to allow grassroots-level organizations to have economies of scale and engage in higher-level processes beyond fisheries management that are crucial for empowerment. Grassroots-level organizations are sometimes unable to comply with the requirements for formal legal recognition. Linking up with advocacy groups and networks at higher levels allows them to nonetheless make their voices heard, including at regional and global level. The lack of official recognition may however result in limited access to institutional and donor support. Caution is called for as in some cases organizations engage in networking in ways that do not properly represent the interests of the fishing communities.

Priorities need to be regularly aligned and there needs to be space for change, in particular in the leadership so as to ensure that there is no disconnect between members and the leadership. Holding leaders accountable is one means to ensure appropriate representation.

The working group also discussed the need to allow youth to engage in organizations and networks, as a disconnect with the youth could create leadership gaps. Communication within network arrangements therefore a key factor for success, as is a diversity of connections to key people and organizations.

It was agreed that success should have different dimensions such as sustainability, achievement of objectives or level of policy influence. It also needs to be acknowledged that there are degrees of success and failure and that there are also different perspectives between people and across interfaces. It was noted that conflicts within an organization can stimulate change and new ideas. If a stated intermediate objective is not achieved there may still be gains and lessons learned to re-strategize.

Processes as such can also be a component part of success. There is a suite of indicators in existence that can be adapted to monitor and evaluate specific situations. Among the factors that can threaten the success of an organization, the group listed:

- financial issues;
- the lack of autonomy from external agencies and inappropriate imposed organizational structures (often with a short-term orientation), inward and outward migration in relation to fisheries;
- the lack of collective buy-in.

With regard to women's empowerment, it was stressed that although women play a role in fisheries, in particular in post-harvest activities, they often do not have roles in fisher organizations. There is a need to provide training in administrative, technical and entrepreneurial skills for women to encourage and support them to take leadership roles. Advocacy organizations and networks should also consider including gender equity on their agenda for organizational aims. It was stressed that this should not be limited to declarations and principles but result in actual positive change for women.

Current methodologies to mainstream gender in fisheries need to be assessed and reconsidered if they do not achieve the expected result. Specific women's organizations

can be more effective than mixed organizations in some cases. They can provide women with the opportunity to engage with others as a strong group.

The **second Working Group session** was entitled 'Towards a common framework for assessing fishers' organizations and collective action'. The expected outputs of the discussion were: (i) elements for an assessment framework that contributes to a better understanding of why fishers' organizations and collective action succeed and/or fail and provides pathways for strengthening fishers' organizations to achieve their objectives; and (ii) guiding criteria for the selection of case studies to which such a framework can be applied.

### *Working Group 1: Customary organizations and new 'supported' organizational forms*

The group built on the discussions of the previous sessions and identified a number of elements that would be relevant for an assessment framework for fishers' organizations and collective action. One element refers to the **history** and should include:

- an analysis of the origins and motivations (e.g. related to markets, formed through government for co-management etc.);
- social cohesion (relationship between fishers, power relations among those cooperating or not);
- dynamic elements (e.g. ability to adapt, territoriality, leadership);
- the kind of activities.

In terms of **structure**, the following areas for investigation were identified:

- scale;
- organizational structure;
- membership (participation, inclusiveness, criteria, size, relations in terms of class, gender, power, age);
- existence of codes of conduct;
- linkages (e.g. with government or other external actors, networking [internally and with outsiders], backward and forward-to resources and to livelihoods).

**Functions** need to be assessed through:

- bio-socio-economic indicators capturing a social-ecological system as well as other conservation benefits (biodiversity higher with a strong organization);
- types of government support (e.g. legal, capacity development/knowledge transfer) to allow for socially differentiated analysis of outcomes of organizational change;
- governance (e.g. leadership, decision-making, embeddedness with larger fora, civil society, business, etc.) and level of commitment.

In relation to goals (both, in terms of process and in terms of outcomes), the group stressed the need to focus on improving all dimensions of well-being, including equity and social justice issues, not only resource management or value chain issues. Elements for assessing evidence of achieving process goals can include:

- the level of participation in decision-making;
- compliance with rules and regulations;
- the extent of integration with broader community (e.g. youth engagement);
- the level of adaptation, the level of acceptability by members/non-members;
- the perception to be fair;
- the ability to reduce conflict and enhance cooperation;
- the availability of a suitable workplan and adequate financial and human capital;
- the existence and extent of internal nested structures (horizontal and vertical);
- durability and organizational performance.

Evidence of achieving desired outcomes on the other hand could be assessed through:

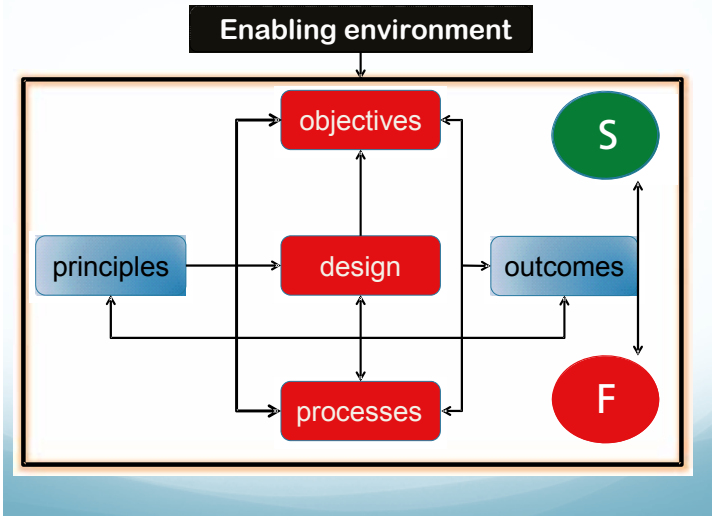
- the capacity to support sustainable resource use (e.g. trends in CPUE, consolidation of TURFs);

- the promotion of social cohesion through internal rules and self-enforcement;
- improvement of the situation of the most disadvantaged;
- improvement in economic welfare and long-term sustainable economic activity (e.g. improved unit prices, influence in local market by mitigating the role of intermediaries);
- capacity building to strengthen the community beyond the fishery (e.g. opening hospitals);
- gender equity;
- proof of resilience and relevance;
- level of control and effectiveness of dispute resolution;
- effective political representation, financial and social sustainability and cultural and occupational integrity.

***Working Group 2: Economic organizations***

The group presented a graphic representation of the major elements of an assessment framework (Figure 1).

FIGURE 1
**Elements of a cooperative assessment framework**




The group agreed that in terms of governance principles a number of issues should be assessed, including:

- the nature of the membership (voluntary, open membership);
- the level of democratic member control;
- the economic participation of members (e.g. levels of equity and distribution);
- autonomy and independence of the organization;
- cooperation among cooperatives;
- level of concern for community;
- gender equity;
- ecosystem stewardship.

Factors that determine an enabling or restricting environment for economic organizations include:

- availability of and access to education, training and information;
- the legal framework and the role of government;
- institutional networks and environment at the local, national and global level (e.g. BMU, customary organizations, intermediaries, SSF Guidelines);

- communication and learning opportunties;
- availability and access to social welfare and services;
- the prevailing civil and political culture;
- the presence of financial support structures;
- the overall social and political economy;
- the conditions of market access;
- the presence of bridging organizations (e.g. academic, civic and governmental).

In terms of organization design, the type of leadership and membership and the related statutes and rules are crucial for failure or success. This holds also for the type of representation and relationships and the division of labour. Important elements of organizational processes that should be part of an assessment framework refer to communication, participation, authority, decision-making, self-evaluation and learning, adaptation and flexibility, innovation, goal setting, peer monitoring/control and sanctions.

In terms of **outcomes,** an assessment should capture changes in:

- resource conservation;
- livelihood sustainability and poverty alleviation;
- coherence with principles, empowerment and self-reliance (including enhanced opportunity for women);
- distributive/participative justice;
- territorial integrity;
- youth retention and engagement;
- sharing and transference of knowledge;
- organizational strength and self sustenance;
- member and community satisfaction and support;
- spin-offs (community welfare, social cohesion, development indicators – education, crimes, new organizations, social conflict resolution, reciprocity and trust);
- openness to markets.

The group also acknowledged the validity of the Rochdale Principles, which were first developed in 1844 as operational principles for cooperatives. Organizations do not exist in a vacuum, and processes lead to redesign and to the reformulation of goals. It would be unfortunate to discard valid principles that have survived for a long period of time and, therefore, updated versions of the Rochdale Principles were adopted in 1966 and 1995 to ensure their relevance over time.

The group noted that cooperatives often do not operate exactly as anticipated in theory. Principles for collective action are therefore important and should be very stable, while the form of organizations can be more flexible.

### *Working Group 3: Advocacy organizations and networks*

The group discussed relevant elements for assessing the success and failures of advocacy organizations and networks. There are two key dimensions to assess: what does the organization achieve and what are the means for doing this? The dimensions are obviously related, for example, in terms of how activities have given their interest group a voice and contributed to the reduction of vulnerability. This is closely related to the level of policy and governance influence and the ability to change attitudes and behaviours. The timeline is also important for measuring success, as an organization may be succeeding or failing at different moments in time.

In terms of **internal structure** the following key features were identified:

- the definition of leadership;
- the mechanisms to obtain financial sustainability;
- learning and the capacity to inform and influence the external environment at different levels (particularly important elements for advocacy organizations and networks).

  - these elements can be strengthened through the targeted engagement with allies, as there is a need to recognize what is within and what is beyond the control of the organization;
- capacity to overcome implicit conflict between government and fishing community representations and to ensure that fishing organizations gain recognition as an equal partner for dialogue.
  - an assessment should be able to capture how the capacity to engage with and be accepted by partners is achieved and how collective power is demonstrated and used. Another important element for success is how conflict is addressed: is there awareness about it and is there any capacity to deal with it?

In terms of **process** it was discussed that the availability of a strategy (which also includes gender assessments) is particularly important for advocacy organizations and networks. This implies that advocacy targets have been identified and there are means to articulate the voice of the membership. However, these types of organizations also need to be responsive and adaptive to changing priorities of their membership. To ensure this, the organization needs to have mechanisms that allow members to influence the organization's agenda and to articulate their own voice, in line with democratic practice. All participants, including women, should be able to participate on an equal basis in all processes.

Advocacy organizations and networks need to identify different ways to influence and to induce behavioural change, and they should seek to develop solidarity at the regional and international level. For a network, it is particularly important to find ways to harmonize different but related messages to develop a common message. This also requires it to 'choose the battles' for which leverage points can be identified.

With respect to **outcomes,** the group agreed that it is key to capture the impacts that the organization's advocacy initiatives actually have on their target audience, as well as on the people they represent, including changes in behaviour and mindsets. These impacts need to be measured in a gender-sensitive manner. Assessing the external interfaces with which the organizations interact and their change over time is therefore important.

Advocacy work aims to provoke change in how a system is managed or in how processes are connected to the system. Advocacy organizations are rooted in the same base as other types of organizations but take a more conceptual approach to changing ideas at the political and conceptual level. They have a bridging function and engage more in political work. It is therefore crucial to assess how they interact with those that have power and how they influence agendas as well as how alliances are formed.

Alliances are likely to change according to the issue the organization is dealing with. Information and communications systems, including the nature of external ties, are therefore key in the assessment of advocacy organizations and networks.

In terms of **criteria for selecting case studies**, the groups agreed on the following elements:

- the need for relevance (e.g. importance of the fishery and its impact on SSF livelihoods);
- information availability and accessibility and representativeness of a diverse range of organizations (e.g. social [including gender], economic, political, environmental aspects; process and outcomes; broad and narrow-mandate organizations; different historical embeddings; geographical spread; types of organizations; scale; marine/inland);
- internal elements (e.g. leadership, representation);
- external elements (e.g. enabling environment, governance);
- the importance of process (e.g. flexibility, adaptability).

It was also suggested that the most important fisheries advocacy organizations and networks for SSFs at different levels (national, regional, global) should be mapped and

that appropriate examples from this mapping exercise should be selected. It should also be investigated how gender can be mainstreamed in the framework.

The purpose of the case studies is to develop an implementation strategy for strengthening organizations, i.e. what are the most critical interventions to put into a global programme of assistance for implementing the SSF Guidelines.

It was recommended that case studies should be formative and not 'extractive': organizations themselves should carry out case studies as a means to develop and strengthen their capacities. The group also agreed that there is a need for a platform where experiences and lessons learned with fishers' organizations can be shared. The comparison with experiences from other sectors, for example on how gender issues are successfully addressed, could provide important potential for cross-fertilization.

## PLENARY PRESENTATION

The third session of the workshop was dedicated to Implications and suggestions for the SSF Guidelines development and implementation process.

Nicole Franz, FAO, Fisheries Planning Officer, provided an overview of the development process of the SSF Guidelines so far. The SSF Guidelines promote a human-rights-based approach to development, bringing together social development and responsible fisheries. They thus complement important international instruments, in particular the FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries, the Right to Food Guidelines and the Voluntary Guidelines on Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security endorsed in 2012 by the Committee on World Food Security.

All of these instruments guide governments and other stakeholders in improving food security and poverty eradication policies and in advancing sustainable development. It is critical to develop and strengthen these links in order for individuals and communities to develop their capabilities to actively and meaningfully participate in decision-making – rather than being impaired by their daily struggle for survival.

In the development of the SSF Guidelines, some 4 000 people were directly involved in consultations between 2011 and early 2013. The CSO community organized about 20 national and one regional consultation, and FAO's sister organization the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) supported five national consultations.

Based on all inputs received from the consultation process, Draft Guidelines were made available to a Technical Consultation (FAO term for the formal negotiation process) that took place from 20 to 24 May 2013 and from 3-7 February 2014.

The SSF Guidelines also received the attention of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, Olivier De Schutter, who stressed the importance of SSFs in the realization of the right to food in a report presented to the UN General Assembly in 2012. In it, he called on States to fulfil their obligations with regard to the right to food and to ensure the active involvement of fishing communities in order to meet these obligations.

FAO also facilitated intensive stakeholder consultation processes over several months in Cambodia and in Malawi.

In Malawi the consultations consisted in two national workshops and 14 local workshops to identify a broad range of critical issues and challenges facing the SSF sector in Malawi and recommendations for how to address these issues. These consultations concluded that achieving sustainable fisheries is indivisible from securing basic human rights and that an intersectoral, coordinated approach to governance is required in order to simultaneously address both fisheries-specific and development needs. It was also noted that instrumental 'co-management' in which responsibilities are shared without meaningful participation by communities will not be efficient in achieving goals. Recognition and protection of fishing communities' tenure security is

a key human right and collaboration with traditional authorities is needed to ensure that these rights are respected. Customary legal systems, institutions and practices often continue to play an important role in regulating fisheries livelihoods but are often not recognized by statutory interventions. The consultations also recommended that FAO's support to the implementation of the SSF Guidelines should include grassroots organizations.

In the example of Cambodia consultations took place at the local, interprovincial and national level. It culminated in a declaration "Making a Brighter Future for Small-Scale Fisheries through Community Fisheries in Cambodia" to guide the sustainable development of SSFs in Cambodia through Community Fisheries. The State Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries of Cambodia officially endorsed these guidelines. In April 2012, the Government issued two administrative orders, one on the implementation of the latest fishing lots reform and one on strengthening and expanding community fisheries to manage the abolished fishing lot and fish conservation areas and to support suppression of illegal fishing activities. The consultation process in fact highlighted how Community Fisheries – an organizational intervention instituted by decrees and administrative orders – has gradually attained the potential of becoming an important local democratic enterprise that can transform the livelihoods of an important section of the rural population of Cambodia. The process confirmed the pre-eminent role that political process and political will have in supporting a commitment for SSFs.

In the **third Working Group session,** participants were asked to discuss how the implementation of the SSF Guidelines may strengthen fishers' organizations and collective action and vice versa.

### *Working Group 1: Customary organizations and new 'supported' organizational forms*

Working Group 1 started the discussion by focusing on why and how the SSF Guidelines can be useful for customary organizations and the new "supported" organizations and who should be involved. Customary organizations in many cases are officially invisible and unsupported; therefore the SSF Guidelines can be seen as an advocacy tool to give them more visibility and voice in decision-making processes.

The various consultation processes with fisheries stakeholders worldwide provided feedback for the preparation of a zero draft of the SSF Guidelines in May 2012. This zero draft reflected the aspirations, concerns and needs of small-scale fishers as part of the process for the final SSF Guidelines to become a useful instrument to guide governments, NGOs and donors in their policy interventions and assistance. The consultation process has involved different actors with different agendas to achieve a wide buy-in and sense of ownership.

Recommendations for next steps developed by Working Group 1 included a dissemination strategy to feed back about the implementation of the SSF Guidelines to stakeholders who have been involved in the process so far as well as for the information of countries that have not been reached yet. Networks and partner institutions could play a major role in this dissemination. Civil society organizations that have played a key role in the process so far include the World Forum of Fishers People (WFFP), World Forum of Fish Harvesters and Fish Workers (WFF) and the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF). They have strongly supported the consultation process by organizing many of the consultations that have taken place worldwide. CSOs are expected to continue playing a strong role in the negotiation of the SSF Guidelines during the Technical Consultation in May 2013 and in follow-up activities towards the implementation of the SSF Guidelines.

The working group suggested that the SSF Guidelines be presented in an accessible and comprehensible way. Although the document will be translated into all official FAO languages,[5] the translation of the document into additional major local languages was highly recommended. This would help to disseminate the SSF Guidelines widely, facilitating their implementation and supporting ownership by governments, CSOs, fishers and other stakeholders. The dissemination strategy could include pictorial versions of the document as well as the use of rural radio, new social media, training workshops, and policy briefs, among others means.

The group discussed the role of customary and new supported organizations in implementing the SSF Guidelines. Customary organizations have the appropriate incentives to implement the SSF Guidelines at the local level. They also have the capability of adapting and moulding the SSF Guidelines to their local realities that are, in many instances, characterized by highly complex and dynamic systems governed by customary laws and local norms.

Issues of land and water tenure and management rights were discussed. The group emphasized that customary organizations have a high dependence on the land – water interfaces because this interface is part of their territory of action. The land – water interface should be seen as an integral part of the identity of customary organizations. In many circumstances, the livelihoods of fishers depend on the rights to have access to land – water territories and their natural resources.

Attention was brought to the fact that in some ecosystems, such as the African seasonal floodplain systems, issues of access rights to resources (including property rights and land tenure) and resource use and management may change completely depending on the season. The SSF Guidelines should recognize such complexity.[6]

Capacity development strategies to support the implementation of the SSF Guidelines should direct efforts towards strengthening leadership to empower and support existing customary organizations (including youth and women, government officials, CSOs). Leaders should have a role in disseminating the SSF Guidelines within their communities. Community leaders can use the SSF Guidelines to protect customary systems of communities and to ensure, for instance, that cultural and social priorities of local fishing communities are addressed in corporate social responsibility and in major coastal development initiatives.

The group mentioned the importance of expanding public – private partnerships beyond government. The group then discussed the support and action needed for strengthening the role of customary organizations. First, there is a need to ensure that customary institutions are explicitly mentioned in the SSF Guidelines and in its implementation strategy as customary organizations appear not to be mentioned as such in the zero draft document.

How to implement the SSF Guidelines should be included in the strategies that are formulated in project proposals submitted from the customary organizations themselves. It is highly recommended that customary organizations be involved not only in the consultation process of the SSF Guidelines but actually take an active role in the decision-making and implementation processes.

It was recommended that support be given to building horizontal and vertical linkages (along coasts, across relevant economic sectors) to allow for more coordinated

[5] Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Spanish and Russian

[6] Other examples illustrating the role of customary organizations in managing complexity include Japan, where customary organizations plant trees to keep river streams clean in order to guarantee good harvests; and Aceh (Indonesia), where the Panglima Laot organization defines the land – water – resources use system and its allocation of activities by area with specific rules and norms that vary from village to village, with the general norm being that the communities take care of their natural resources.

and effective action in support of SSFs. In this particular case, it would be important to revive and expand the role of customary organizations as a way to ensure that fishers have a useful level of decision rights in watersheds and coastal development planning and management (e.g. marine spatial planning, integrated coastal zone management).

There are potential weaknesses with regard to gender issues that should be strengthened in the SSF Guidelines. There is, for example, a need to further investigate the statements related to gender made by stakeholders during their consultation processes (i.e. the relation between reality and stated intentions).

This is because what people say verbally that they believe or feel (and may honestly believe when they say it) often differs considerably (and sometimes diametrically) from the message delivered by their subsequent actions. It is the difference between actual intentions (or sometimes merely subjective norms that call for what are in essence locally "politically correct" responses) and actual behaviour.

There is a need to work on different fronts to induce change (e.g. activism, advocacy, education). Using a theory of planned behaviour in the course of establishing linkages would help. The SSF Guidelines have the potential for inducing change.

The group recommended incentives for and strengthening of women's leadership initiatives and recognizing local conceptions of equity to build empowerment. The importance of recognizing women's rights through laws and actions was highlighted.

***Working Group 2: Economic organizations***

Working Group 2 emphasized that although there is some stigma associated with cooperatives in fisheries, there are some successful fishing cooperatives operating worldwide and there is scope for reviving this type of organization and establishing new ones.

Cooperatives can play an important role in supporting the SSF Guidelines. On the other hand, the SSF Guidelines can provide some support and guidance on how cooperatives can become more self-reliant.

The existence of national enabling policies is important to allow cooperatives to operate and flourish. Data gathering and analysis to understand opportunities, constraints and challenges to empower these types of organizations are important. Efforts to raise public awareness about the advantages of cooperatives to help communities to lift themselves out of poverty were recommended.

Two different types of research programmes were highlighted to support the issues of self-organization, self-reliance and autonomy of cooperatives. On the one hand, research institutions and global partnerships such as Too Big to Ignore (TBTI) could evaluate how the SSF Guidelines are performing and positively influencing cooperative development in various countries. A possible research focus could be on how the SSF Guidelines will be implemented in various countries, looking at initiatives on the ground and at the national level through enabling specific policy strategies. From another angle, the group recommended that the SSF Guidelines could help cooperatives to engage in self-evaluation processes through participatory research where local actors and the cooperatives should evaluate themselves. In this case, there might be a need for capacity development to conduct self-assessment and engage in a co-research type of activity. There was recognition of the importance of developing a network of cooperatives to allow them to perform different functions and operate in different geographical scales as a collective.

The discussion then addressed the way cooperatives could support the implementation of the SSF Guidelines. The following issues were raised on the potential role of cooperatives:

- serve as a way to channel the SSF Guidelines implementation strategies;
- bring attention to the importance of the SSF Guidelines;

- play a role in capacity development through building strong leadership;
- support the creation of national institutional frameworks to promote the SSF Guidelines at the local and regional levels;
- instil and strengthen an understanding of the importance of SSFs to food security, human rights and ecosystem stewardship;
- be active contributors/generators of data collection and analysis.

The group finalized their discussion by addressing the kind of supporting actions cooperatives would need in order to succeed, and who would be responsible for providing this support. There is a need for supporting structures and an enabling environment for cooperatives to flourish. Governments, NGOs, research institutes and networks were listed as primary stakeholders that could have a role to play in creating outreach programme for empowering cooperatives. Capacity development strategies that focus on mentorship for self-assessment and engagement in co-management arrangements were emphasized.

The group mentioned the need for providing capacity building on how to generate funds for cooperatives to administer their business in a fair, equitable and efficient way. Recommendations were made to assist cooperatives that had been set up by governments and that may not have been successful. The cooperatives that are struggling need to be considered for capacity development programmes that also aim to clarify the factors associated with challenges and constraints. There is a need to have a set of case studies of successes available for advocacy use and for exchange of lessons learned

***Working Group 3: Advocacy Organizations and networks***

Working Group 3 started its discussion by looking at why and how the SSF Guidelines could be useful to advocacy organizations.

The SSF Guidelines:

- may serve as an important advocacy tool for different levels of organizations for guiding, leveraging and legitimizing policy;
- can help to obtain government's buy-in through advocacy stressing how the SSF Guidelines can support government agencies (e.g. by incorporating parts of the SSF Guidelines into policy);
- can be used by fishing communities as a framework for information and decision-making (e.g. Central America is moving forwards with developing tools such as literature, videos, and "traffic light style" indicators (among others) for analysing their situation, taking baseline measurements, and using the results to develop plans, policies, and deciding upon action);
- may provide directions for measuring, monitoring and evaluating actions to detect and direct changes;
- are an entry point for raising awareness about other international instruments and their relevance to fisheries (e.g. the Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries [CCRF] and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [CEDAW]). It is important to include such linkages in the SSF Guidelines;
- provide a solid framework to support solidarity and discussions between advocacy organizations/networks at different levels;
- Can be used as a tool to:
  - inform policy debates (e.g. national development debates),
  - empower and demonstrate empowerment that has been created in communities,
  - connect/reconcile the conservation movement with the SSF debates, engage with broader fisheries governance debates (e.g. oceans agenda such as the issues in Areas Beyond National Jurisdiction, individual transferable quota and fisheries agreements);

  - engage with broader development debates (e.g. sustainable development goals, sustainable oceans initiative);
- in order to engage in broader policy debates, a strategy to engage donors and development agencies should encourage support from different actors. This would also be important in terms of being able to access funding for organizations to play their role.

The discussion then addressed the role of advocacy organizations in implementing the SSF Guidelines and how this implementation could be successfully achieved. The group stressed the need to develop communication and dissemination strategies that could be used by organizations to raise awareness about the existence of the SSF Guidelines and to promote their inclusion in policy agendas.

An implementation strategy for the SSF Guidelines should promote constructive collaboration at multiple levels among the fisheries and other stakeholders (advocacy networks). The communication strategies recommended include the use of new information and communication technology (ICT) and social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter, blogs, Skype, Web 2.0 tools) that can be used to reach younger and more sophisticated audiences and can be cost – effective. Information sharing and communication on key topics to build constituencies and mobilize people were encouraged, including communication across national boundaries in the case of networks of advocacy organizations. It is important that a solid understanding of the SSF Guidelines be gained at local/community level in order to influence the national level. In that sense, the use of simple and cost-effective tools that could be used by fishers themselves was recommended.

The group saw the implementation of the SSF Guidelines at the national level as the most challenging task, especially because the implementation of the SSF Guidelines will require changes in the political agendas worldwide. Advocacy organizations should therefore target government agencies (both fisheries and non-fisheries) in their communication strategies, taking into account the ecosystem approach to fisheries.

Advocates should seek out and share success stories of all kinds (e.g. groups that have effectively used the SSF Guidelines to communicate and change policy) and measure change and impact from several sources (e.g. outcome mapping) to make it clear how the SSF Guidelines can actually be applied and implemented in practice. It was recommended that advocacy organizations should use international organizations, change agents, brokers and gatekeepers to gain access to new networks and actors.

The group addressed some cross-cutting issues such as gender, climate change, disaster risk management and integrated coastal zone management. The group noted that the SSF Guidelines can serve as an entry point to engage with other intersectoral parties. It was suggested that advocacy organizations have a role in mobilizing women in cultures where this is an issue. Caution was recommended towards not stereotyping women or other groups without evidence.

The group discussed the support and action needed for strengthening the role of advocacy organizations in implementing the SSF Guidelines. It was suggested that FAO regional offices can serve as brokers to link stakeholders and governmental fisheries authorities in the promotion and implementation of the SSF Guidelines, thereby assisting advocacy organizations. In order to do that, fishery authorities would need to see how the SSF Guidelines could assist them to leverage resources, for example, for policy and plan implementation.

The group emphasized that the SSF Guidelines need to be presented and communicated in a popular and accessible manner. Resources should be allocated to translate and write the SSF Guidelines using an accessible language for local understanding. The group acknowledged that this would be best done at the local level by advocacy groups and local NGOs, among others. Suggestions were made to use peer support for communication within groups; i.e. a “lead” fisher group that assists others

because they "speak their language". Mass media employed at national and regional levels (e.g. TV, radio and Internet) would probably require prior sensitization to the main issues translated for media by FAO.

The following additional recommendations were made:

- Several types of support will probably be required for developing comprehensive communication campaigns, strategies and action plans suitable for multiple products and actors.
- Advocacy organizations need help in developing relevant output, outcome and impact indicators so that the audiences can easily understand and identify the impact of the SSF Guidelines.
- It is important to use both national-and regional-level platforms for action and to target multiple audiences simultaneously, including transboundary audiences.
- There is a need to incorporate the SSF Guidelines elements into strategic plans and intergovernmental agreements of organizations (e.g. through the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism [CRFM] and the Caribbean Network of Fisher Folk Organizations [CNFO] for inclusion in the Caribbean Community Common Fishery Policy).
- Related events should be used to promote the awareness and implementation of the SSF Guidelines.
- The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and other regional organizations could facilitate collaboration among different fisheries advocacy organizations at the national and regional levels.
- Regional fishers' organizations and large NGOs could facilitate exchanges among fishing communities and organizations to learn from each other about good practices.
- FAO and development agencies could facilitate the development of national implementation strategies and facilitate the exchange of information and lessons learned about it.
- FAO could facilitate the establishment of focal points for the SSF Guidelines within national fisheries administrations as counterparts for facilitating the appropriate institutional arrangements, information and communication strategy, etc. (e.g. programme of fisheries ambassadors who receive an award in the Caribbean).
- In order to take ownership of the SSF Guidelines, advocacy organizations should seek a partnership mechanism with the government to have a voice in developing a monitoring, evaluation and progress report framework for the implementation of the SSF Guidelines. These partner organizations need to be recognized as having a right to be involved in processes.

## FINAL PLENARY SESSION: GUIDANCE FOR THE SSF GUIDELINES IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGY

In the final plenary session. the chair invited the participants representing the different fishers' organizations present to indicate additional specific suggestions they might have.

It was noted that there are a variety of activities and organizations dealing with fisheries related issues. Participants discussed how to engage with those initiatives that are relevant for SSFs. Advocacy organizations should look at policy-making processes to ensure they have a much greater participation with national administrations in order to influence these processes.

One option is to engage with the different stakeholders and to contribute to shaping the global agenda. Key issues in fisheries remain the problems associated with the decline of resources and overcapacity. Overcapacity is mainly an issue in large-scale fisheries but it is also present in SSFs. Any investment in fisheries needs to focus on

improving management rather than simply improving technology or production, such as may occur in other sectors.

Fisherfolks organizations emphasized the need to put the SSF Guidelines into action. The CSOs expressed concern that the process of the further development of SSF Guidelines may be constrained by a lack of political will and awareness at the level of top policy-makers. Governments need to take action rather than only thinking and planning strategically. There is a need to develop indicators to assess progress at different levels (from local to global). A mechanism such as the creation of an ombudsman office to monitor progress at the national level would help.

Capacity development of fishers and their organizations is needed to really bring the fishers to the table, rather than just having management authorities only working with technicians and scientists. The International Collective in Support of Fishworkers and similar types of networks could play a bigger role in this. Exchanges of good practices between fisherfolk at all levels would be useful.

The CSOs acknowledged that the SSF Guidelines consultations have empowered the organizations at the national level. Civil society organizations played an important role in taking ownership of the process as they were responsible for organizing many of the SSF Guidelines consultations held in the countries. This contributed to strengthening the collective willingness to overcome constraints.

The adoption of the SSF Guidelines should not be the end goal but rather the start of a new process. Fishers want to see the SSF Guidelines implemented and want to receive feedback on the implementation process.

If an organization is facing challenges related to marine protected areas issues, it should be able to use the SSF Guidelines to claim fishers' rights and advance their cause. CSOs have developed a sense of ownership of the SSF Guidelines. There are expectations on how to use the SSF Guidelines at the local level as an advocacy tool. The WFFP is taking an active role and is setting up meetings with fisheries administrations in Africa prior to the Technical Consultation to share information, establish a dialogue and convey the CSO position. A big international meeting is planned for 2014 to consolidate the CSO position on the SSF Guidelines before their possible endorsement by COFI in 2014. At NEPAD level, the issue has been raised in several meetings. CSOs are part of the African Union comprehensive strategy for fisheries and will ensure that the SSF Guidelines will be discussed in the next Conference of African Ministers of Fisheries and Aquaculture (CAMFA) meeting to be held in September 2013.

Knowledge mobilization and capacity building are other important components. Identifying the needs in developing various types of capacity is one of the planned activities to take place in Africa, for example. One type of research that TBTI could directly support includes assessing the implementation of the SSF Guidelines in different places.

The second Small-scale Fisheries Congress being organized by TBTI (to be held in Mexico in 2014) should have a session on the SSF Guidelines and its implementation.

## CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL REMARKS

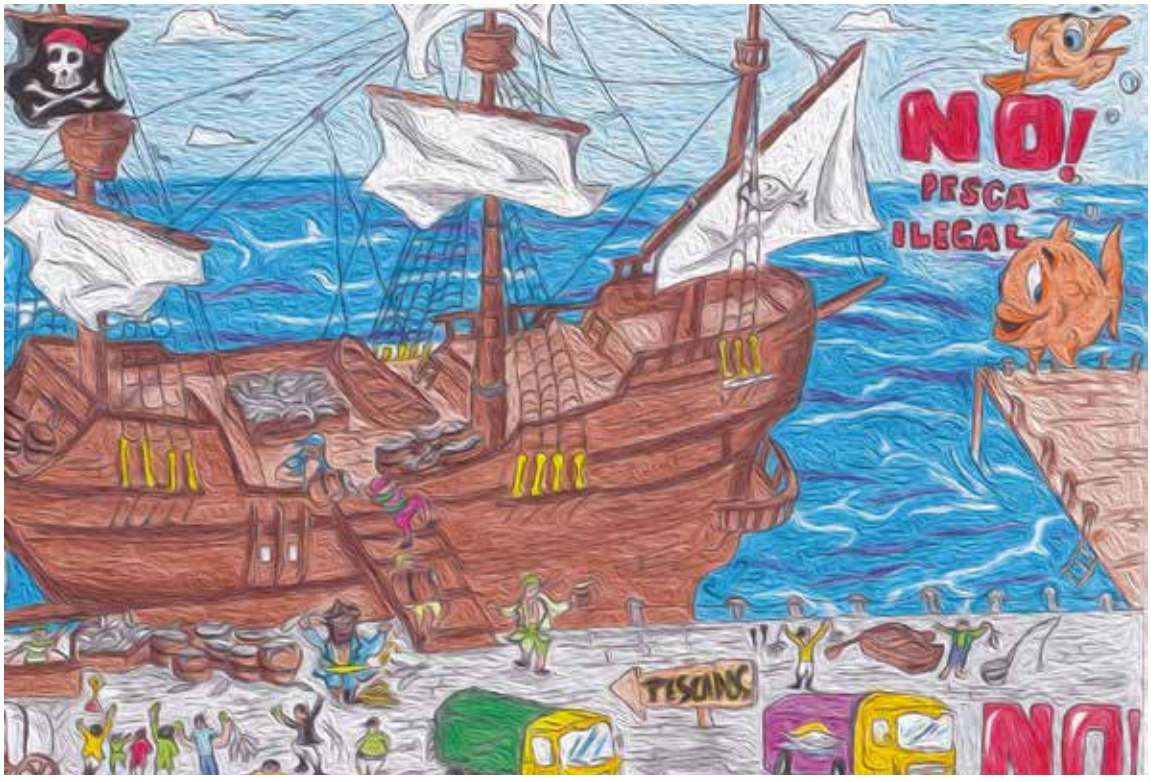
The workshop recognized that organizations and collective action in SSF contribute to maximizing long-term community benefits and to dealing with the threats of fisheries mismanagement, livelihood insecurity and poverty. Organizations provide a platform through which SSF stakeholders exercise their right to organize, participate in the development and decision-making processes and influence fisheries management outcomes.

Anticipating the challenges associated with the implementation of the SSF Guidelines, the workshop looked at the diversity and scope of existing organizations

and collective action in SSFs, discussing their strengths and weaknesses, and their roles in transforming the SSF Guidelines into a meaningful instrument to reduce poverty while promoting responsible fisheries.

Participants were informed by Rolf Willmann of a call issued by the World Committee for Food Security (CFS) to contribute to a study on the contribution of fisheries and aquaculture to food security and poverty alleviation that will be prepared for the next CFS session in October 2014.

In their closing remarks, Nicole Franz and Daniela Kalikoski reminded the participants of the importance of the SSF Guidelines and of having strong organizations in SSFs to defend the livelihoods of fisheries-dependent communities. They thanked all participants for their constructive participation and their continuous support to the SSG Guidelines development process.




Ayrton Andres Hernández Correa, aged 12, Uruguay

Asmi Kawatkar, aged 19, Philippines

# Appendix 1 – List of participants

Edward ALLISON
Overseas Development Group
University of East Anglia
Norwich NR4 7TJ, United Kingdom
E-mail: E.Allison@uea.ac.uk

Maarten BAVINCK
Director, Centre for Maritime Research (MARE)
University of Amsterdam
Nieuwe Prinsengracht 130, Rm G2.05, 1018 VZ
Amsterdam, Netherlands
E-mail: J.M.Bavinck@uva.nl

Jock CAMPBELL
IMM Ltd, Innovation Centre, University of
Exeter Rennes Drive, Exeter
EX4 4RN, United Kingdom
E-mail: J.Campbell-IMM@exeter.ac.uk

Tony CHARLES
Professor
Management Science/Environmental Studies
Saint Mary's University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
Canada B3H3C3
E-mail: tony.charles@smu.ca

Ratana CHUENPAGDEE
Canada Research Chair in Natural Resource
Sustainability and Community Development
Department of Geography
Memorial University of Newfoundland
St. John's, NL
Canada A1B 3X9
E-mail: ratanac@mun.ca

Omar DEFEO
Professor
Universidad de la Republica
Faculdad de Ciencias
Rambla O'Higgins 5319
Montevideo, 11400 Uruguay
E-mail: odefeo@dinara.gub.uy

Katrien HOLVOET
Programme Coordinator
GCP/RAF " Strategic response to
HIV/AIDS for fishing communities in
Africa"
01BP 1369 Cotonou, Benin
E-mail: kholvoet@hotmail.com
Katrien.holvoet@fao.org

Naseegh JAFFER
Co-coordinator
World Forum of Fisher People (WFFP)
1 Station Road
Mowbray, 7700
Cape Town, South Africa
E-mail: naseegh@masifundise.org.za

Svein JENTOFT
Professor
Norwegian College of Fishery Science
University of Tromsø
9000 Tromsø,
Norway
E-mail: svein.jentoft@uit.no

Jan JOHNSON
Via San Mauro 9
02040 Poggio Catino, Italy
FAO Retired (Small Scale Fisheries)
E-mail: janpeterj2@gmail.com

Pamudji LESTARI
Minister for People's Welfare
Jakarta, Indonesia
E-mail: pamuji.lestari@gmail.com

Suyuti MARZUKI
Planning Bureau
Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries
Jakarta, Indonesia

Margaret NAKATO
Executive Director
The World Forum of Fish Harvesters & Fish Workers (WFF)
P.O. Box 33929 Kampala, Uganda
E-mail: Mnakato@worldfisherforum.org

Paul ONYANGO
Professor
University of Dar es Salaam
Dar es Salaam, United Republic of Tanzania
E-mail: onyango_paul@udsm.ac.tz

Nilanto PERBOWO
Director, Planning Bureau
Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries
Jakarta, Indonesia
E-mail: perbowon@me.com

Budi PRIYONO
Senior Public Relations
Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries
Jakarta, Indonesia

Constanza RIBOT
Mesoamerican Reef Program Coordinator
Comunidad y Biodiversidad A.C
Calle Carey SM10 M24 L10
Puerto Morelos Quintana Roo
Mexico 77580
E-mail:cribot@cobi.org.mx

Emilia Rosa SIHOTANG
President Director of Indonesia's Cendekia Mulia Komunikasi Corp
People's Empowerment Forum & Expo 2013
Jakarta, Indonesia
E-mail: rosa@cendekia.co.id

Vivienne SOLIS RIVERA
CoopeSoliDar R.L
San José, Apdo. Postal 2459-2050
Costa Rica
E-mail: vsolis@coopesolidar.org

Isac Newton TARIGAN
Planning Bureau
Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries
Jakarta, Indonesia

Philip TOWNSLEY
IMM Ltd
Exeter, United Kingdom
Via Roma 21
01100 Viterbo, Italy
E-mail: ptownsley@fastwebnet.it

Nobuyuki YAGI
Professor
Graduate School of Agricultural and Life Sciences,
The University of Tokyo
Tokyo, Japan
E-mail: yagi@fs.a.u-tokyo.ac.jp

## RESOURCE PERSONS

John KURIEN
FAO consultant
BN 284 MS Lane Bapujinagar
Trivandrum 695011, Kerala, India
E-mail: kurien.john@gmail.com

Patrick MCCONNEY
Professor
Centre for Resource Management and Environmental Studies (CERMES)
University of the West Indies
Cave Hill Campus, Barbados
E-mail: patrick.mcconney@cavehill.uwi.edu

Rodrigo MEDEIROS
Professor
Socio-Environmental Studies
University of Parana
Av. Beira Mar s/n, Pontal do Sul
Pontal do Paraná/PR, Brazil
CEP 83255-976
E-mail: rodrigo.medeiros@ufpr.br

Lena WESTLUND
FAO Consultant
Badhysv 13, Saltsjo - Boo
Sweden
Mobile: +46 708548813
E-mail: lena.westlund@swipnet.se
Lena.westlund@fao.org

## FAO MEETING SECRETARIAT

Nicole FRANZ
Policy and Economics Division
Fisheries and Aquaculture Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: Nicole.franz@fao.org

Daniela KALIKOSKI
Fishing Operations and Technology Branch
Resources Use and Conservation Division
Fisheries and Aquaculture Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: Daniela.Kalikoski@fao.org

Rolf WILLMANN
Policy and Economics Division
Fisheries and Aquaculture Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: rolf.willmann@fao.org

## FAO STAFF

Dubravka BOJIC
Gender, Equity and Rural Employment Division
Economic and Social Development Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: Dubravka.bojic@fao.org

Rosalud DELA ROSA
Senior Consultant
Office for Communication, Partnership and Advocacy
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: Rosalud.delarosa@fao.org

Emily RODRIGUEZ
Natural Resources Management and Environment Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: Emily.rodriguez@fao.org

Yvette Diei-Ouadi
Policy and Economics Division
Fisheries and Aquaculture Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: Yvette.DieiOuadi@fao.org

Johanne FISCHER
Marine and Inland Fisheries Branch
Resources Use and Conservation Division
Fisheries and Aquaculture Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: Johanne.fischer@fao.org

Helga JOSUPEIT
Policy and Economics Division
Fisheries and Aquaculture Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: Helga.josupeit@fao.org

Fred KAFEERO
Forestry Economics, Policy and Products Division
Forestry Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: fred.kafeero@fao.org

Rebecca METZNER
Policy and Economics Division
Fisheries and Aquaculture Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: Rebecca.metzner@fao.org

Olga NAVARRO
Fishing Operations and Technology Branch
Resources Use and Conservation Division
Fisheries and Aquaculture Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: olga.navarro@fao.org

Jessica SANDERS
Policy and Economics Division
Fisheries and Aquaculture Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: Jessica.Sanders@fao.org

Florence POULAIN
Policy and Economics Division
Fisheries and Aquaculture Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: Florence.Poulain@fao.org

Susana SIAR
Fishing Operations and Technology Branch
Resources Use and Conservation Division
Fisheries and Aquaculture Department
Viale delle Terme di Caracalla
Rome, Italy 00153
E-mail: Susana.siar@fao.org

Cherif TOUEILIB
Subregional Office for North Africa, SNE
PO Box 300, 1082 Citè Mahrajène, 1002 Tunis
Belvédère, Tunis
Tunisia
Fax: +216 71 905110
E-mail: cherif.toueilib@fao.org

# Appendix 2 – Opening of the workshop

**Welcome address by Mr Árni Mathiesen**
**Assistant Director-General**
**Delivered by Indroyono Soesilo**
**Director**
**Fisheries and Aquaculture Resources Use and Conservation Division**
**FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Department**

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Welcome to Rome and welcome to FAO. I'm very grateful you have accepted our invitation to participate in the Workshop on Strengthening organizations and collective action in fisheries: a way forward in implementing the international guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries.

According to the latest figures, the livelihoods of about 357 million people depend on directly small-scale fisheries, and they employ more than 90 percent of the world's capture fishers. But the Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries approved in 1995 does not give the kind of visibility to SSF that matches with their importance for livelihoods, food security and poverty alleviation. However, since 2003, the FAO Committee on Fisheries (COFI) has promoted efforts to improve the profile and understand the challenges and opportunities of small-scale fishing communities in inland and marine waters.

Prompted by COFI, in 2008 the FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Department embarked on a broad-based consultative process with small-scale fisheries stakeholders including governments and fishworkers' organizations and their supporters.

Throughout this process, strong support was expressed for the development of an international instrument in support of small-scale fisheries and in 2011 COFI recommended the development of international voluntary guidelines to complement the FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries as well as other international instruments with similar purposes, in particular those related to human rights, sustainable development and responsible fisheries.

The preparation of the SSF Guidelines is expected to contribute to policy development at the national and regional levels. In addition, both the process and the final product are expected to have considerable impact on guiding policies and practices for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries and creating benefits, especially in terms of food security and poverty reduction.

Strengthened rural institutions, producer and local community organizations are key to ensure more equitable and secure access to productive resources, strengthened policy and legal frameworks for co-management of natural resources, improved governance of tenure of fisheries and land and to ensure more effective delivery of basic services. Empowering small-scale fishers through collective action and successful organizations is key to food security and poverty alleviation. Many small-scale fishers

worldwide suffer from having low incomes, lack adequate access to markets, face social and political marginalization, exclusion and discrimination, and low levels of health and education. Women are often amongst the most marginalized and need strengthened rights to the natural resources on which they depend.

This workshop seeks your experience and expertise in finding the best way and means how FAO and others can contribute towards strengthening collective action and fishers' organizations. Thus we look forward to three days of productive and creative discussion, lively debate and recommendations on how to move forward.

As you will be discussing during the next three days, although there are many forms of fishers' organizations they often lack voice and opportunities to influence or participate in political and economic decision-making. To be effective, fishers' organizations need to be strengthened in terms of their ability to exercise their right to organize, participate in policy dialogues and resource management initiatives, as well as to access markets, financial services, and infrastructure.

The SSF Guidelines currently under negotiation will be an important instrument for small-scale fishers to fight for their rights within the framework of Human rights based approach. The document should be one that small-scale fishers, fishworkers and their communities across the world feel ownership of and can relate to. The Guidelines will only become useful and have an impact if they are implemented. Anticipating the challenges that lay ahead for their implementation this workshop is taking a proactive approach towards a capacity development and implementation strategy. Our vision is to see the contribution of SSF to sustainable development fully realized, to end the sector's marginalization, to ensure full participation of SSF stakeholders in decision making and – in line with Rio+20 - to end poverty and food insecurity. The new Guidelines are a prominent step in this direction.

At this point I would like to invite Mr. Rolf Willmann, who will provide you with a more specific background and objectives for this workshop. I thank you once again for your participation and remind you that there is a long way ahead of us and we need your inputs now and in the future to make progress in this important endeavour.

I wish you a fruitful workshop and a pleasant stay in Rome. I also invite you to go to the Casa Bar during the lunch break where we are having an exhibition of amazing Drawings from Children-Youth from all over the world who participated in our International Competition "Protecting our Fisheries Inheriting a Healthier World" as part of raising awareness of children and youth of the importance of responsible fisheries for food security and poverty alleviation.

# Appendix 3 – **Agenda**

**Workshop**
**Strengthening organizations and collective action in fisheries: a way forward in implementing the international guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries**
**18–20 March 2013 - Rome/FAO HQ**
**Ethiopia room (C 285/89)**

| | |
|---|---|
| **Day 1** | **Fishers' organizations: challenges and opportunities for collective action** |
| | **Welcoming remarks** |
| | Introduction to the agenda<br>Presentation of the scoping study<br>Presentation of case studies (Brazil/Caribbean)<br>*Coffee break*<br>Plenary discussion: Q&A and reflections on scoping study and case studies<br>Introduction to break-out working groups |
| ***Lunch*** | |
| | Working groups:<br>Roles and institutional arrangements of fishers' organizations and collective action: opportunities and challenges<br><br>*Coffee break*<br>Working groups continued |
| **Day 2** | **Towards a common framework for assessing fishers' organizations and collective action** |
| | Reporting back from the working groups<br>Discussion<br>*Coffee break*<br>Working groups:<br>Assessing fishers' organizations and collective action: issues requiring priority attention |
| ***Lunch*** | |
| | Working groups continued<br>*Coffee break*<br>Reporting back from the working groups and plenary discussion |

| Day 3 | Implications and suggestions for the international guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries (SSF Guidelines) development and implementation process |
|---|---|
| | Overview of the SSF Guidelines development process so far and next steps<br>*Coffee Break*<br>Working groups:<br>How can the implementation of the SSF Guidelines strengthen fishers' organizations and collective action and vice versa? |
| ***Lunch*** | |
| | Working groups continued<br>Reporting back from the working groups<br>*Coffee break*<br>Plenary discussion: Guidance for the SSF Guidelines implementation strategy<br>Closing |

## Working groups (WG)

WG 1: Customary organizations for local level governance including conflict resolution, natural resources management and other tasks

WG 2: Economic organizations (coops and coop federations; credit and savings groups; etc.)

WG 3: Advocacy and interest groups including emerging networks (associations, unions, etc.)

# CONTRIBUTED PAPERS

Lord Azhrin D. Bacalla, aged 12, Philippines

# Collective action and organisations in small-scale fisheries

by

**J. Kurien**
FAO Consultant


Angel Heart, aged 9, Philippines

# Acknowledgements

This background note is composed of two parts. Part One consists of my reflections on the issues provided in the main terms of reference. It is based on my forty years of hands-on involvement with small-scale fishworkers in facilitating their collective action for creating a variety of organisational forms at local, national and global levels.

Part Two presents a consolidation of the responses received in an e-mail survey conducted as part of this assignment. This survey was an after-thought. It was intended to make the exercise more participatory and tap the experience and knowledge about collective action and organisations among fishworkers from a cross-section of persons. The survey was composed of five questions and sent to a purposively selected list of about 120 persons around the world. Responses were received from 67 persons of which 19 were from small-scale fishworkers; 15 from civil society activists; 18 from academics and 5 from representatives of governments. I wish to express my gratitude to them.

I also graciously acknowledge the comments offered on the initial draft by Daniela Kalikoski, Susanna Siar, Robert Lee, Rolf Willmann, Nicole Franz, Carlos Fuentevilla, Patrick McConney and Rodrigo Medeiros. They are however not responsible for the views, or the errors, in this note.

# Introduction

- **"Every human group or class that wants to defend their interests and rights in society, needs to organize"**
  *Gabriela Cruz, President, National Federation of Fisheries Cooperatives, Ecuador*
- **"This is what we should achieve through united organisational initiatives: identity, dignity and development. Else, we have nothing.**
  *Moideen, fisher in Kozhikode, India*
- **"You could argue that fishers need a dual system; one that champions for the rights of the fishers and one that protects the business of the fishers"**
  *Nico Waldeck, Coastal Links – a fisher network in South Africa*
- **"Organising inshore fishermen is a multi-dimensional project, reflecting the ambivalent and complex nature of the independent operator or primary producer"**
  *Late Michael Belliveau, Former Executive Secretary, Maritime Fishermen's Union, Canada*

Working together in consort, to achieve common ends, is a fundamental human trait. It may be reasonable to surmise that early human beings resorted to collective action, for example, to defend themselves against animals, much before they contemplated the need to form organisations among themselves. In this background note, ***by collective action, we refer to actions taken by a group of individuals.*** Collective action can occur spontaneously and informally, without any structural form, by people coming together temporarily, and also through real and virtual social networks, to achieve common interests.

The word 'organisation' is derived from the Greek word '*organon*' which means 'tool'. For this background note, we consider ***organisations to be human-initiated social-cultural structures (tools) that are utilised by a group (members), over time, to achieve collective action objectives.*** Therefore, it is important to observe that while collective action can take place without an organisation, (e.g. short term mobilisation to achieve some ends) an organisation which does not undertake collective action is an empty shell and of little use to its members or to society at large.

Collective action leading to organisational initiatives has been an integral part of the history of fishworkers around the globe. The well documented history pertains to actions in countries such as Canada, Norway and Japan, to name a few. The prime motivation for collective action in these countries has been the yearning of fishers to be freed from the yoke of exploitation imposed by merchants and middlemen. In their collective actions they were supported by committed individuals, supportive social and political movements and/or the state in the respective countries.

The early history of collective action initiatives among fishers in developing countries is less well known. This is partly due to the fact that where it is documented, it has been in the local languages, or part of oral tradition, and hence largely unavailable in the international public realm. Moreover, often these actions of protest by fishers, leading to formation of organisations, have been part of larger movements for social, cultural and political emancipation in those countries and documented with that ethos in mind.

In this brief background note, in keeping with the Terms of Reference, our attempt is to first provide some insights about the evolution and nature of collective action and organisational models among the small-scale fishworkers. The focus is on the developing countries. This is followed by brief sections on elements needed within

fishworker organisations to promote sustainable fisheries; how to promote gender equity and empowerment of women; the role organisations can play in abolishing poverty and enhancing food security; obstacles to collective action and organisational formation; and some important considerations for building organisational capacity for the future.

# 1. Assessing the evolution of collective action and organisations

To attempt a 'real history' of collective action and organisational formation among one occupational group is a formidable challenge even if we restrict our spatial scope to one country. Consequently, it would be pretentious to claim that we can possibly provide a history of the evolution of collective action and organisational efforts by small-scale fishers around the world. Such a venture may be more beneficially approached by attempting a 'schematic history' of organisations among fishing and coastal communities in developing countries.

We provide a brief summary of organisational forms in Table 1 and consider each of them in greater detail thereafter. While there is a time-line inherent in the summary, there is no suggestion of any gradual evolution of organisational forms. In many countries, all or some of the forms indicated in the Table 1 may have existed together and also continue to do so at present. All the organisational forms have their origins in some conjuncture of historical circumstances. Thereafter they evolve according to specific enabling and hindering factors particular to each country or context.

TABLE 1
**Schematic history of forms of fishworker organisations and collective action in developing countries**

| Organisational Form | Approximate Time Period | Nature of Collective Action | Current Status of Initiatives |
|---|---|---|---|
| Customary Organisations | At least from 1500 AD onwards | Based on collective action which was identity-oriented, consensual and community-initiated | Old forms still exist in many countries. In some countries efforts are being made to revive them within the context of new socio-political and cultural realities. |
| Cooperatives and Societies | Some from early 1900s onwards but largely formed during 'Development Decades' – 1950s, 60s and 70s | Based on collective action which was sector-oriented and supported/co-opted by the state | Most of the older, 'supported top-down' forms defunct or dormant. New ones being organised with more 'bottom-up' approaches. |
| Associations and Unions | Largely Post-1980 onwards | Based on collective action which was sector-oriented, class-based and largely adversarial to state | Many have lost their earlier vibrancy and strength. Many survive at the federated – national and global – levels. But active participation at the local levels has considerably reduced or is non-existent |
| New 'Supported' Organisational Forms | Largely 2000 onwards | Based on collective action which is co-operational, multi-interest (cross-class) and multi-layered with revived interest by state, international organisation and NGOs | Many interesting initiatives which need to be observed closely. |
| Hybrid and Networked Arrangements | Largely post-2010 | Based on collective action by a mix of 'face-to-face' and 'virtual' organisations aided by support groups and even the state with important use of information and communication technology (ICT) for collective action and organisational management. | Too early to make assessment of status |

## 1.1 CUSTOMARY ORGANISATIONS

*(Based on collective action which was identity-oriented, consensual and community-initiated)*

There is considerable documentary evidence, from different parts of the developed and developing world, about the existence of indigenous customary law among numerous maritime and riparian communities who depended on fishery resources for part (or the whole) of their annual occupational cycle.

These customary arrangements primarily gave identity to the communities in which they evolved. The 'laws' were largely in the form of unwritten norms and rules which defined the nature of access and allocation of fishery resources in marine space or other aquatic bodies. Customary organisations which came into existence based on these arrangements utilised a variety of means and measures to implement the roles which were bestowed on them. Important among these were, *inter alia*, social sanctions, taboos, spatial separation, social fencing, rituals and ceremony – all of which had community consent. Each individual customary organisation evolved its own rules. These were not usually shared across organisations. They were site specific. However, all customary organisations of a common ilk had common norms which they shared and even embellished.

The central feature of these customary arrangements was that the autonomy of the individual and the household (or family) were circumscribed by the welter of both traditions (history) and aspirations (future) provided by the community. A group of households constitute a community to the extent that they are held together by these shared traditions and aspirations and related to natural resources in a well-defined spatial configuration. These customary arrangements were accompanied by some minimal, but efficient organisational structures, managed by knowledgeable individuals and elders – largely male members -- who were accepted by the community to play the role of 'keepers of the law'.

Box 1 – **Strengths of Customary Institutions**

"Customary institutions have four important strengths. First, their ethics do not come from any celestial source but basically from the relationships between humans. Second, they have an intimate knowledge of biological and non-biological resources. Third, these institutions are adaptive and flexible, and change or evolve according to the circumstances. Fourth, they are built on the values of trust, reciprocity, altruism, love, affection and appreciation."

Member of a customary organisation speaking at a Workshop in Lombok, Indonesia in August 2009

Customary organisations dealing with fishery issues seem to have emerged in greater measure on islands, fjords, large bays, deltas, lagoons, floodplains -- where the dynamics of the aquatic ecosystem could be closely observed and the rhythms of the natural resources could be understood by the human communities which settled near them. Customary organisations were therefore very local eco-system specific. Within this space they dealt with issues of tenure, access, allocation of space and time, resource conservation and importantly on matters of resolving conflicts that arose over the former issues. The right to resolve conflicts was an indirect assertion of their rights over that resources/space. They have been known to respect ancestral and spiritual beliefs which provided a shared frame for defining their reality and highlighting their identity. This helped to strengthen the social and cultural fabric of the communities.

What we consider today to be customary organisations dealing with fishery issues may also have originated to achieve other objectives such as naval protection of coastal areas. When that role became redundant, in course of time or due to historical circumstances, these organisations then transformed themselves into arrangements which dealt with fishery issues. They may also just be a part or sub-set of another larger customary arrangement – such as one in relation to traditional land rights – in which case their functions with respect to fisheries may be stinted.

Customary organisations in coastal and riparian communities cannot be idealised as having been egalitarian or even serving the needs of the whole community. Most of them however did seem to ensure that the 'basic needs' – the right to access resources for consumption needs – was guaranteed to all. There was, so to speak, a right to food and survival, which was unquestioned and which could not be denied to anyone in the community. However, rights to ownership of resources and tenured access to them is sometimes restricted to a smaller group defined by heritage, caste and other such identities. In some customary contexts there were distributary arrangements which would ensure that the weaker and disadvantaged members in the community were given priority in the provisioning of their basic need for food. Widows, the handicapped, the maimed, the orphans and those who performed services for the community as a whole but did not fish, had 'customary claims' and were thus 'entitled' to a share of the resources. This would be provided by those who fished. They would set aside a small share of their harvest for provisioning these 'customary claims'.

In some contexts, customary organisations are also nested arrangements with a hierarchy of local (village) and higher spatial levels (province, national) of co-ordinating structures. Generally, such nested arrangements do not override the autonomy of the local organisations which are usually sacrosanct. Higher level structures usually function as 'realms of appeal' – particularly in the context of conflicts between local organisations. Apex structures, if they exist, are generally more recent in origin, having been created usually to negotiate with the state and to represent the customary organisation at larger multi-sectoral platforms.

In situations of long drawn conflicts, of a socio-political nature for example, when there is a breakdown of governance, customary organisations often played the important role of representing the 'identity' of the coastal/riparian community as they take action for their protection, establishment of peace and re-assertion of their time honoured rights – human rights including rights to resources.

It may be appropriate to date the speedy decline and neglect of customary organisations in fisheries to the post-World War II and post-colonial periods. The decline must also be viewed in the context where countries, having attained independence, entered into an era of 'modernisation' of the economy and its institutions – without adequate review or understanding of what already existed – often at the near total neglect of traditional, customary institutions and sectors such as the artisanal, small-scale fishery.

However, in many post-colonial contexts, customary organisations despite lack of active promotion, continued to flourish – albeit in local contexts. Customary organisations in modern nations which were formed out of islands and archipelagos exhibited far greater 'staying power' compared to customary organisations in nations which were formed of continents. Good examples of the former include – Indonesia, Philippines, the Pacific nations – and of the latter, India. One important reason for this can be the inadequate 'reach' of the modern state in the former countries due to the dispersed nature of the islands and the greater importance of marine space and resources in the lives of ordinary people. In such situations, customary organisations often provided the only semblance of social structure with the necessary legitimacy to exercise authority. Hence they survived alongside other new, but weaker forms of modern organisations.

Other contexts where customary organisations remain resilient are in nations where cohesive indigenous communities existed. Nations which would fall into this category include New Zealand, Canada, Brazil among many others.

## 1.2 COOPERATIVES AND SOCIETIES

*(Based on collective action which was sector-oriented and supported/co-opted by state)*

The dawn of the post-colonial era, particularly after World War II, witnessed many of the current developing countries obtaining and wresting independence to start a journey of modern and self-reliant development and nation building.

Along with the policy of adoption of western technology in the primary sectors of the economy, one other important challenge facing these countries was building new organisational forms for agriculture and allied activities which would help to channelize development assistance and also help to raise the productivity of the primary producers residing in rural areas. In many of these countries the new leadership was also keen to institute economic change which would result in growth with development and equality. To achieve this, the 'cooperative' was a favoured organisational choice.

Both Robert Owen who is credited with starting the organisation of the cooperative in 1817, and the weavers called the Rochdale pioneers who wished to start a self-sufficient community in 1844 with the cooperative as the basis, were fired by a common conviction. They believed that being voluntary, democratic and self-controlled, the cooperative provided the framework by which grass-root communities, through group effort (collective action), could gain control over productive activities from which they derived their sustenance and livelihood. Implicit in this belief was the rationale that cooperative development would originate from people's own interest and motivations.

In less than a century of its origins, the institution of the cooperative had evolved in a variety of forms in different parts of the Anglophone, Francophone and Hispanic world and their colonies. These did not occur within the same time or space. They were introduced largely on a 'trial by fad' basis without much learning from experience. They can be roughly categorised into three types:

- **the unified model** *(the single cooperative movement with the standard primary-secondary-apex hierarchy);*
- **the social economy model** *(where cooperatives were just one of the legal entities which brought people together who share similar values – so the values took priority over the model);*
- **and the social movement model** *(where an interest group such as a trade union or farmer/fisher association played the key role in bringing people together using the cooperative as a form of collective action – the economic role of the cooperative being viewed as a means of achieving other more important social objectives).*

The experience of pre-cooperative groups in Eastern Europe and Russia, the Rochdale and Raiffeisen style cooperatives in Great Britain and Germany respectively, combined with the initial tryst with cooperatives in many of the colonies of Britain and France in the early 20th century, provided the rationale in the newly developing countries that the cooperative form of organisation was eminently suited to their aspirations of self-help, self-governance and self-responsibility. Cooperatives thus became a passion of the governments of most developing countries and they set about in 'mission-mode' to organise cooperatives in every field of activity. Fisheries were no exception.

Box 2 – **Cooperatives and their functions**

Cooperatives are basically member-owned businesses. They aggregate the market power of people who on their own could achieve little or nothing. In doing so, they provide ways out of poverty and powerlessness. The representative body for cooperatives, the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA), defines a cooperative as:

***An autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations, through a jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprise***

Based on this definition, the ICA set out seven cooperative principles: voluntary and open membership; democratic member control; member economic participation; autonomy and independence; education, training and information; cooperation among cooperatives; and concern for community. The first four of these are core principles without which a cooperative would lose its identity; they guarantee the conditions under which members own, control and benefit from the business. The education principle is really a commitment to make membership effective and so is a precondition for democratic control, while cooperation among cooperatives is really a business strategy without which cooperatives remain economically vulnerable. The last principle, concern for community, is about corporate responsibility, and it leads into other concerns that the ICA is promoting such as prevention of poverty and protection of the environment.

During the three 'Development Decades' – 1950s, 1960s and 1970s – there was considerable state patronage for all forms of economic organisations among primary producers. The hope was that this support – in the form of subsidies, grants, extension services for new technology adoption etc. – would transform what were considered 'primitive and inefficient' practices and technologies into 'new and efficient' systems, thus solving the problems of poverty and ill-fare in the rural areas.

Some of the hallmarks of the drive for 'cooperative-isation' in fisheries included the formulation of formal laws; the setting up of an administrative hierarchy for the registration, monitoring and auditing of cooperatives; and the creation of extension services for popularising the idea. Fishery cooperatives though, were rarely the favourites in the government cooperative departments.

Cooperatives, in many countries, became part of a government sponsored program for development of fisheries. The focus was on creating a cooperative 'sector' and not a cooperative 'movement'. This meant that priority was accorded to achieving stated targets and gathering statistics of coverage and performance. There was scant regard for the qualitative aspects of participation, power and social change. The pressures on the government officials to show 'results' often meant that numerous cooperatives were indeed quickly registered; the statutory minimum required number of fishers enrolled; government finances offered; new boats and gear supplied and efforts at marketing of fish undertaken. Much of this initiative came from 'above' with little real participation by fishers who signed-up to be members. The effective control over cooperatives often remained with merchants, middle-men and outside investors who readily became members. The majority of the fishers, who knowingly enrolled as members, did so in anticipation of benefits in the form of fishing equipment or finances for their purchase. And those whose names merely featured on the lists -- totally without their knowledge -- unknowingly contributed to the statistics of membership numbers touted in government reports.

However, all the members did not benefit equally in any case. The limited supply of inputs such as credit and fishing requisites often reached only those members who had the right connections or were the favourites of the managing committee of the cooperative. Many of those who received new boats and nets left the cooperative once they became self-reliant. They also did not repay their loans.

However, at the aggregate level of the fish economy, there was considerable infusion of credit, fishing requisites and new technology through the aegis of cooperatives. The cooperatives often became the main vehicle for delivering 'modern technology' in fisheries to those communities who were considered the 'traditional, ignorant, unorganised, artisanal fishers'.

Indeed, in many tropical developing countries this resulted in 'technological dualism' in the harvesting activity – particularly in the marine capture sector. A 'modern sector' with trawlers, purse-seiners and large gill-netters emerged. This significantly raised the fish harvest and also contributed to the rapidly increasing international export market for marine products. In most countries, the 'traditional sector' – the dispersed, small-scale, artisanal fishing communities -- continued to utilise their older craft/ gear technologies, sometimes with innovations such as out-board motors, which were also often distributed through cooperatives. However, there was little change in the practices relating to fish marketing. The middlemen and merchants who in effect had a stranglehold on the fishers could not, as initially envisaged, be dislodged.

### Box 3 – **Digby's diagnosis**

***Why it is comparatively easy to organise small farmers into cooperatives for economic progress and so much more difficult to organise small fishermen on the same lines for the same purposes?***

Following an analysis of fishermen cooperatives in 15 countries – of which 5 are in the developing world, Margret Digby offers the following insights in conclusion:

Since there were a number of fishermen cooperatives which were successful, the contrast between successful farmers and unsuccessful fishermen's cooperatives must not be exaggerated. Fishery being a minority occupation, even the best organisations can be overlooked. However, even so, the most important factors working against cooperation in the fisheries appears to be the following:

1. *Social Structure of Industry*: Fishing is still 'food gathering' and so produces a society which is less cohesive, less ordered, less educated than that of peasant farmers. Fishermen also form a depressed class, often cut off from the rest of the population. In such conditions work organisation becomes difficult.
2. *Domination by commercial interests*: Compared to agriculture, the quick modernisation of the fishery leave the fishermen very much at the mercy of those who lay out the capital.
3. *Lack of Consistent Policy*: In most countries there has not been a consistent or continuing policy of cooperative development in fisheries as has been in agriculture. Where fishermen cooperatives have been formed there is often little follow-up. Trouble ensues, funds are misused and disillusion sets in.
4. *Lack of Comprehensive Approach*: Cooperatives concentrate on one aspect of the fishermen's needs like credit which appears simple. The complexity and interrelationship between different activities in fishing are ignored leading to failure.
5. *Modernisation of the Industrial Model only*: Government's in developing countries make modernisation plans modelled after the industrialised nations and include fishermen cooperatives in these plans without expert encouragement and proper supervision. The cooperatives develop, if at all, very slowly. Most drop out of the grand design unnoticed.

*Source:* Digby M, 1973: The Organisation of Fishermen's Co-operatives, The Plunkett Foundation, Blackwell, Oxford, 1973

Most of the cooperatives did not market the fish of their members, so the status quo remained with respect to the nexus between middle-men and merchants at the first point of sale. This kept the prices paid to the fisher as low as possible and was the most exploitative link in the fish value chain. There was also no system whereby loans offered to the members by the cooperatives could be recovered gradually. As a result most cooperatives faltered once the supply of credit ceased.

In most developing countries, fishing communities – particularly those in the marine sector – were among the poorest, the least educated and often the most inaccessible of the rural population. Living on the fringe of the land and with most of their members having very minimal interactions with the rest of mainstream society, they became victims of social and cultural stereotyping. They were often considered to be careless spendthrifts; loud-mouthed; drunkards; easily provoked to anger; 'smelling of fish' and so forth.

The nature of extension services rendered to fishing communities was poor and rarely tailored to their special needs. In some countries it was facilitated by volunteers like the US Peace Corps. Where it did exist, it was just a copy of the strategies adopted for agriculture that were often irrelevant for fisheries. There were very rarely any extension workers from among the fishing communities, and those who did venture to make contact with the coastal villages were happy to complete their tasks at the earliest. The visits were merely for the official administrative records.

In many democratic developing countries, if fishing communities formed considerable vote banks, or were perceived to pose a threat to the political status-quo, fishery cooperatives were subjected to 'political capture'. Cooperatives often became, in effect, mere conduits to channel government largesse to the fishing community in return for votes or acquiescence.

Box 4 – **Seven "No's" for success:**
**Lessons from Marianad Fishermen's Cooperative, Kerala, India:**

1. The cooperative was formed by the fishermen themselves. It arose from a need, and more important, from a conscious awareness of the root cause of their problems
   (No imposition from above).
2. The cooperative is completely controlled by the fishermen and is based on the strength of their collective unity and leadership.
   (No personality cults.)
3. The cooperative has evolved at a pace that facilitated complete comprehension of each of its activities by each of its members.
   (No large "schemes" at the initial stages.)
4. The cooperative has constantly had to struggle against vested interests in order to continue its activities. This has inspired cohesion rather than disunity.
   (No moment of complacence.)
5. New membership has been restricted to those fishermen who are fully convinced about the value of the cooperative.
   (No membership campaigns.)
6. Uniformity in the application of rules and regulations dictated by the members themselves.
   (No preferences and exceptions.)
7. An open administrative policy on work procedures delegated to a dedicated set of employees who are answerable to the general body of members.

*Source:* Kurien, J, 1980: Fishermen's Cooperatives in Kerala: A Critique, FAO/BOBP Publication, Chennai

However, despite this largely 'top-down' process of cooperative development, there were many examples from around the world of spontaneous collective action by fishers that led to the creation of fishery cooperatives which fully imbibed the principles of the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) in letter and spirit – of, by and for the fishers. Though they were few and far between, these cooperatives were genuinely 'people's organisations'. They were usually started as a consequence of spontaneous action by fishers in response to exploitation by merchants; or to situations where their traditional rights, or access to fishery resources, were threatened by outsiders. These cooperatives exhibited success in a variety of realms, including *inter alia,* their efforts to provide inexpensive credit; to mobilise savings; to deliver inputs for fishing at cheaper prices; to organise livelihood provisions for fishing families; to process and market the fish of their members and also safeguard the original rights. They highlighted that cooperatives could make a difference in the lives of small-scale fishers.

By and large however, in the developing countries, the experience of cooperatives among fishers has been disappointing. To many fishers the word 'cooperative' smells worse than decayed fish! Many governments, and also a host of civil society organisations – the new breed of facilitators -- which sought to organise economic organisations for fishers at a later point in time, were forced to avoid the word 'cooperative' and adopt different generic names like association; village society; welfare societies; community development agencies and so on. It would be naïve to say that the mere change in name made a difference to the manner of functioning of these organisations.

However, the generally negative experience with cooperatives made certain that the 'revivalist endeavour' was a little more 'bottom-up' and made serious attempts to be genuinely participatory.

These cosmetic changes sometimes faced legal hurdles when it came to organising of fish business activities. In many countries only cooperatives were permitted to undertake business, whereas societies and associations were expected to restrict themselves to welfare and non-profit initiatives. Such restrictions often resulted in these initiatives becoming lop-sided in their focus, and most often dealing only with very benign, status-quoist activities. Some of these initiatives hence became heavily dependent on the support of quasi-governmental bodies or non-government organisations (NGOs) for their continued functioning.

Though the experience with cooperatives in the fisheries sector and for small-scale fishers often spanned over two to three decades, it was difficult, in most developing countries, to claim that they made a real change in the quantitative or qualitative aspects of life and livelihood of fishers. Fishing communities often remained 'outliers' in the development processes in their respective countries, falling behind the rest of society on most counts of socio-economic and quality of life indicators. Perhaps the most instructive part of these endeavours was that fishers and fishing communities became acutely aware of what cooperative 'should not be'!

## 1.3 ASSOCIATIONS, UNIONS

*(Based on collective action which was sector-oriented, class-based and largely adversarial to state )*

The late 1970s and early 1980s heralded a new-era of collective action by fishworkers, often resulting in the formation of a new genre of organisations. In many developing countries, the evidence of state-co-option of cooperatives and their failure to make any significant changes in their lives led to considerable dissatisfaction among fishing communities. The evolving context in many of the fish economies of these countries also compelled fishworkers to consider other forms of collective action and organisations.

In the tropical developing countries, home to the majority of small-scale fishers, the hurt of neglect on land was further compounded by a new situation of marginalisation

at sea. The latter was as a result of the unbridled ingress of larger fishing vessels -- involved in trawling and purse-seining -- into the near coastal waters. In many countries there was sporadic and spontaneous venting of anger against these vessels at sea. Such frustrations often translated into fishers contemplating and planning to band together for adversarial collective action.

The focus of attention was directed both against the activities of the boats which jeopardised their livelihoods, but also indirectly against the state which was being held responsible for facilitating these investments in the 'development decades'. A clear "we versus them" ideology was quickly emerging along the coasts. It is of consequence to note that this mobilisation of opinion and actions by fishers emerged strongly in countries which were democracies and also in those ruled by military and civilian dictators. The intensity of dissent among small-scale fishworkers could be gauged by this political fact alone.

In countries where rights of dissent and adversarial action existed, fishers coalesced to form trade unions or associations. In the others, where freedom was greatly curbed, they sustained the wide-spread and spontaneous actions by a menu of innovative approaches, including the revival of the remnants of customary organisations as a cloak for wielding their 'weapons of the weak' (a la James Scott).

Box 5 – **Weapons of the Weak: How Acehnese fishers got their education fund**

The Panglima Laot (Sea Commander) was formed as a coastal protection force by the Sultan of Aceh in the 16th century. Each coastal village had an autonomous Panglima Laot with a territory called a '*lhok*'. A *lhok* was a socio-ecological unit comprising coastal land and coastal sea. Each Panglima Laot, in consultation with the fishers, devised its own specific rules for the *lhok* with respect to access, allocation and regulation of the fishery. But there were time-honoured norms with regard to issues such as conflict resolution that were respected across all Panglima Laot. These norms were an integral part of the '*hukom adat laot*' or 'customary law of the sea'. In 2002, Aceh was considered a conflict zone by the Government of Indonesia and placed under military control of the Indonesian Army. During that time many Thai vessels used to ingress into the coastal waters near Aceh. On one occasion, after their patience had run out, a group of Panglima Laot leaders, using great skill and guile, 'captured' some of these vessels and handed them over to the Indonesian Navy. There was considerable political pressure from the Thai authorities to get the vessels released. However, a historical conjuncture of circumstances, and support from influential Acehnese leaders in the central Indonesian government and in the national political parties of Indonesia, resulted in the vessels being auctioned based on court orders. Rather than remit the proceeds from the auction -- around USD 1.5 million -- to the general government coffers, it was used to create a fund, to be administered by the provincial board of the Panglima Laot, to provide educational scholarships for children from fishing families. After the tsunami in 2004, this fund was "topped up" by the Indonesian President to USD 6.5 million. The fund is considered by the Auditor General to be one of the best administered in the country.

The 'labouring class' nature of this new genre of fisher organisations gave a strong adversarial orientation to them. It also distinguished them from the traditional 'working class' unions in that many of its members being small-scale fishers were 'petty commodity producers' with no direct 'capitalists' to oppose. However, they focussed their attention on demands to the state. They were hence often perceived to be anti-state and were therefore dealt with by the authorities in this manner. Arrests, torture and disappearance of the fishworkers and activists of these organisations were frequent. Legal cases against them for all manner of violations were commonplace.

This local and national awakening of fishworkers was also co-terminus with the first wave of establishment of Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs) by most countries

following the run-up to the signing of the UNCLOS treaty in 1982. In the Asian countries with large fisher populations – e.g. India, Indonesia, and Philippines – the awakening was also co-terminus with the conflicts between trawlers and small boats as a consequence of the increased emphasis on exports of marine products from their national waters to Japan, USA and Europe. The 'militant' actions by small-scale fishers were supported by civil rights groups and a new genre of NGOs which were also springing up in countries which were undergoing social and economic pangs due to the structural adjustment programs foisted on them by the IMF and World Bank.

There were sterling examples of actions by these organisations in Chile, Brazil, Colombia, Senegal, Indonesia, India, Sri Lanka, Philippines which led their respective governments of the day to, *inter alia*, make major concessions; re-orient and withdraw unpopular policies for the expansion of industrial fisheries; ban trawlers; cease the establishment of privatized regime of rights to coastal waters; enhance greatly the welfare and social security measures for fishworkers; establish new agencies to channel development assistance and funds exclusively for small-scale fishers; structure their participation in resource management and so forth.

If in the last century there was a period when state and society became responsive to the collective action by fishers, then it was in the 1980s and 1990s. The adversarial actions were well organised, widespread and not mere local events. Most of these fisher organisations were 'independent' – not representing any particular political party. Whole coastlines of countries reverberated with protests and demands. These struggles threw up numerous local, village level leaders from among the fishers. Their sustained campaign actions and interactions with the media projected them into national fame. These organised fishers groups received unstinted support from civil society action groups representing a wide array of interests – human rights, environmental protection, consumer rights, women's issues, and development action. They also caught the imagination of academics and researchers, testifying for their genuineness and their appeal to the popular psyche of the larger society. In several countries, the fishers also got the support of political parties, industrial trade unions, farmer's organisations and other working class organisations. They functioned at a historic conjuncture of events and could be termed as part of the global phenomenon of 'new social movements' of that period.

These national level actions also led to several regional efforts and one international initiative in 1984 in Rome, of bringing together these fishworkers and their supporters for discussions and strategic planning for global actions.

Such initiatives also spurred heightened interest in the academic and research community to examine the variety of socio-economic and political processes such as – differentiation, marginalisation, trans-national collective action and so forth – happening in the fisheries sector world-wide.

Parallel to what was happening in the developing countries, there were also interesting adversarial developments taking place in the developed countries (e.g. Canada, New Zealand, Norway, France) among first-nation aboriginal fishing communities; indigenous communities which were involved in coastal activities including fishing; small-scale fishers contesting large industrial fishing interests and so forth.

Box 6 – **Organisational Activity by Indigenous Communities and Artisanal Fishers in Developed Countries**

In **Canada** the collective action of the fishers among the Indians, Inuit and the Metis led to the Department of Fisheries and Oceans devising the 'Aboriginal fishing policy' intended to support healthy and prosperous Aboriginal communities through programs which ensured greater co-management of the fishery with these communities. In **Norway** the Sami people struggled and won the rights to special quotas for fishery resources under the Coastal Fisheries Committee for Finnmark. In **New Zealand** the Maoris, after much debate with the government and also time in court, finally agreed on how to settle the loss of Māori fisheries rights. The government gave quota shares to the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission, for the benefits of Māori and also a cash settlement that was used to buy half of New Zealand's biggest fishing company - Sealord. The government also gave Māori 20 per cent of the commercial quota shares of any new species brought into the system. In **France**, in the province of South Breton, the artisanal fishers organised to claim that they have historically been fishing far beyond the 12 nm zone and contest the claims of the industrial fishing lobby, supported by the EU, which wish to define them as small-scale and restrict their activities to the 'local space' of territorial waters.

These trans-national actions in the fisheries sector provided the insight that the combined depletion and/or ruin of fishery resources and deteriorating livelihoods of small-scale fishing communities was pan-oceanic and not restricted to developing countries alone. The cause of these actions were perceived to be basically the result of usurping of unwritten and customary rights over resources by mindless state actions (e.g. creation of EEZs and not putting in place governance arrangements to allocate space and resources to the different groups involved in fishing) and aggrandizing capitalistic interests which were only committed to the sole pursuit of profits over all else – without any regard for sustainability of the resources or the livelihoods of the majority.

By the end of the 20th century there were two global fora of fishworkers – World Forum of Fish Harvesters and Fishworkers (WFF) and the World Forum of Fisher Peoples (WFFP). They have functioned as a strong interest-group and have, along with the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF), been instrumental in lobbying and actively engaged in international processes of the UN, ILO and FAO, and also at regional levels. They have been placing the interests of small-scale fishers, fishworkers, fishery resources and the aquatic environment into the agenda of international negotiations and agreements. The hallmark of these initiatives has been that they have been truly global in highlighting the interests of fishworkers world-wide.

By and large the collective action agendas of these two global fora were formulated in the context of an anti-liberalisation and anti-globalisation perspective. Their contention was that traditional, small-scale fishworkers world over are being marginalised as part of the dominating national and global policies which favour the rich and powerful over the majority of the poor and the weak. They also highlighted that the depletion of fishery resources was primarily and largely the result of the operation of industrial fishing vessels which were flagged in the developed and developing countries. They also point to the unfairness to the small-scale fishers who were being discriminated by governments despite the fact that they accounted for the largest share of fish for human consumption; the most employment for unit of capital; and greater economic and social profitability. In order to set right this injustice these fishworker organisations had no option but to adopt a strategy of organising globally and acting locally.

The adversarial initiatives and new associational activities of these organisations at all levels – local, regional, global – are not without their explicit and innate contradictions which manifest themselves most sharply at the local levels.

Firstly, the fishworkers which these two organisations represent or support are by no means a homogenous group. They include crew on small boats; owner-workers; petty-capitalist owners; migrant crew on boats; women workers in processing; wives of fishers; petty women fish traders – to mention but a few distinct sub-groups. All the above mentioned groups face different levels of socio-economic marginalisation and exploitation of different sorts. In that sense they are all 'victims' rather than 'prime beneficiaries' of the global economic system. Yet, within them there is differentiation that places them on different levels of the social and economic ladders in their respective contexts. These differences can give rise to lack of cohesion and common interest and affect the long term interests and sustainability of the organisations.

Secondly, since the vast majority of the national organisations have dealt primarily with 'political' issues, they have not been concerned with tackling the economic issues of their constituency. Consequently, when they are not dealing with a collective action issue of consequence for which they need to mobilise opinion and/or concrete action (meetings, demonstrations, mass-actions, fasts etc), they have little else on their agenda that is of continued, sustained, daily involvement. As a result, keeping the 'tempo' of the organisation is a task which calls for considerable effort and ingenuity. This places the burden of the task on a few activists or members of the elected governing executive bodies. Moreover, very few of these organisations also have any sustained source of funding – except perhaps a small membership fee (which is usually difficult to collect); funds mobilised during struggles; monies from well-wishers – and this poses a major problem to ensure even the basic modicum of administrative activities which are necessary to keep any organisation going. If there is not a stream of collective action, then these organisations tend to languish with inaction.

Thirdly, arising from the above, the possibility of ensuring the internal democratic functioning of these organisations is often put to severe test. Whereas, more often than not, they are likely to have started with full and active participation of their constituencies, the current inaction makes participative democracy in these organisations a pipe dream. A handful of activists and leaders (and only a handful are actual fishworkers) are forced to perpetuate their leadership, perhaps much against their desires. This is for the simple reason that, were it not the case, these organisations would cease to exist.

Fourthly, there is also the demographic transition among the local membership – particularly the persons who are engaged in small-scale fishery-related activities on a full-time basis. Their overall numbers are declining and their average age is increasing. In some contexts new migrant entrants, (who take to fishing on a part-time basis and follow a purely exploitative rationale with no history or attachment to responsible fisheries and care for the ecosystems), may create a different group with no small-scale fisher identity. These processes are undoubtedly taking place at varying speeds in different countries and depend importantly on the pace of overall social and economic development and its degree of inclusiveness in any given country. Given this, in some countries the incumbents of the full-time, small-scale fishery are in terminal decline; in some others they are stagnating; and in some they flourish and indeed even have a bright future if they have the right organisational support and appropriate facilitating government policies. Albeit, in some countries, youth are re-entering fisheries due to decreasing work opportunities. However, this excursion into fisheries can be very temporary.

These four concerns – the heterogeneity of interest among the members; the inability to maintain a sustainable tempo in the activities of the organisation; the lack

of democratic functioning and the demographic transition among the core membership – can pose a threat to the continuity of these organisations.

There is already a perceptible trend in this direction in many countries. It is unfortunate that many of the national level organisations, which in their respective countries -- in the 1980 and 1990s and some even up to 2005 -- played a significant role in defending the rights of fishers, have exhibited dissension among the ranks, spawned leadership squabbles, remain dormant, got co-opted by government, or even closed down. Many are slowly but steadily evolving towards becoming 'empty shell' or 'letter head' organisations with a leadership cadre in place but without a solid, (ac) countable membership. They lean on their historical tract record. They pass muster in public consciousness because of their once well-known, sterling activities and contributions not only in the fisheries sector but also in issues of much wider concern such as coastal zone protection; debates on society and technology; women's issues; eco-system approaches to development and so forth.

However, the two global bodies continue to function and lay claim to represent millions of fishworkers world-wide. In their short history they have not yet taken up any sustained adversarial collective action which links global to the national and local. These global bodies are currently composed of the 'leadership' of the national bodies, and to the extent that the legitimacy of the latter are not questioned, these global fishery fora continue to have a role to play in representing the issues of concern of small-scale fishworkers on the global scale.

## 1.4 NEW 'SUPPORTED' ORGANISATIONAL FORMS

*(Based on collective action which is cooperational, multi-interest (cross-class) and multi-layered with revived interest by state, international organisations and NGOs)*

Our schematic history thus far has indicated how customary organisations in their original form have been largely relegated to history. In numerous countries cooperatives are being set aside as they became delivery vehicles of state largesse rather than genuine people's self-help organisations. Associations and unions are currently, on the whole in decline. They are largely unable, particularly at the local level, to sustain their campaigns for just development in the fisheries. In many local and national situations there seems to be paucity of purpose and an organisational vacuum.

Against this background, there has also been increased awareness and heightened concern that fishing and riparian communities are being rapidly marginalised from the very spaces on which they have been living for ages and abruptly barred from fishing territories which they have fished for generations. This marginalisation has often taken place in the name of 'desirable' national and pubic objectives such as coastal protection and marine resource conservation.

In this context, there has been an evolving consensus on the part of fishing communities, the NGO sector, international development organisations and many governments in developing countries, that some new forms of organisation and collective action are imperative. The organisational lacuna is particularly apparent with regard to the management of the fishery resources that have, in most countries, been in a state of decline.

It is of significance to note that many of these new initiatives have either been initiated by governments or by international development organisations with support from national and international civil society organisations. Occasionally, there has also been keen involvement of the active remnants of customary organisations, cooperatives, associations and unions of the fishers in the respective countries.

The main difference between the earlier phase of 'supported cooperatives' and this new (current) phase of 'supported organisations' is largely that the latter are more oriented to the specifics of the fishery and not part of some overall effort at

popularising a generic form of organisation such as the cooperative. Having learnt lessons from the past, and given that the new ethos in the development discourse is to highlight 'participation of the beneficiaries', there are some structured provisions to ensure that the fishers and communities are at least nominally consulted. The presence of civil society organisations as watchdogs, even when they are only on the side-lines, make the functionaries (of government or international organisations) who are in the forefront of organising these new initiatives, exhibit a penchant for participation by the fishers. Such social pressures provide hope that these initiatives will be more sustainable and stay on track.

Just as much as there is participation featured into these initiatives, there is also politics. In some contexts this is very obvious and blatant, in some it is hidden. Much depends on the positioning of the state in these new initiatives. The level of involvement of the state, to a certain extent, is also an indication of the level of co-option of the fishers which takes place in these new organisations.

As these organisations are meant specifically only for the fishers, they are also often brought to existence through new legislation which is tailored to the particular context and the purpose of the organisations. Common titles of these legislations include: Fisheries Village Societies Act; Fisheries Resource Management Councils Act; Community Fisheries Sub-Decree; Fisheries Co-Management Societies Act; Coastal Village Units Act; Beach Management Unit Acts and so forth.

By and large these new organisations are multi-purpose and include provisions for welfare, education and socio-cultural activities, commercial activity, conservation and management initiatives, financing schemes. They have democratically elected governance structures. There are provisions for engaging professional management. Rights for taking action against violators of the law are commonly included in their charters. There is also the scope for setting up a nested hierarchy of governance across geographic levels – local, sub-national or regional, and national.

As a generic type, the most popular of these new organisational forms are structured for co-management arrangements of the fishery resources and development initiatives within the socio-economic realms of the community. With regard to co-management of resources, the fishers – their community or organisations – are usually the lead partners. The other partners in management are usually the representatives of the state (e.g. department of fisheries), other interest groups which have a stake in the aquatic or terrestrial terrain which is of primary concern of the fishers (e.g. the tourism industry, the conservationist groups); and supporting civil society groups. Negotiating to create these co-management organisations is a major task in social engineering.

Box 7 – **New 'supported' organisations in different countries**

**BEACH MANAGEMENT UNITS --BMU (LAKE VICTORIA – KENYA)**

The Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization (LVFO) was formed through a Convention signed in 1994 by the East African Community Partner States of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda as a result of the need to manage the fisheries resources of Lake Victoria in a coordinated manner.

Beach Management Units (BMUs) are the foundation of fisheries co-management on Lake Victoria. There are 1,087 BMUs on Lake Victoria. The BMUs now have:

Legal status, giving legal power to BMU activities.

All stakeholder groups are involved. Everyone working in fisheries at a beach must be registered with a BMU.

At least 30 boats, so that they are big enough to plan, raise revenue and operate effectively.

A committee with representatives from all stakeholder groups and at least 3 women.

An assembly, formed by all registered members of the BMU, who meet every 3 months to oversee work.

**COMMUNITY FISHERIES --CFi (CAMBODIA – INLAND AND MARINE)**

Organisations called COMMUNITY FISHERIES (CFi) (Sahakum Nesat in the Khmer language) were created following a Sub-Decree issued by the Royal Government of Cambodia in 2000. CFi were created to give the fishery resources of the Lake Tonle Sap to the communities who lived around it. CFi were later extended to the marine areas and other riverine fisheries of Cambodia. There are 467 CFi in Cambodia today.

All Khmer citizens have the right to collectively establish CFi in their own local areas, on a voluntary basis and take the initiative to improve their own standard of living by using fisheries resources sustainably to contribute to economic and social improvement and poverty alleviation. CFi shall have by-laws, internal regulations, management plans, maps of their community fishing areas and agreements recognized by the competent authority. CFi whose fishing areas are adjacent to each other can participate with each other by establishing federations of community fisheries. Rules and legislative procedures for establishing and managing CFi shall be determined by Sub-Decree. The Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries shall have general jurisdiction over management of CFi.

**FISHERIES AND AQUATIC RESOURCES MANAGEMENT COUNCILS -- FARMC (PHILIPPINES – MARINE)**

FARMCs were established under the Philippine Fisheries Code of 1998. FAMRCs are formed in all municipalities/cities abutting municipal waters as defined by this Code. The FARMCs are formed by fisherfolk organizations/cooperatives and NGOs in the locality and be assisted by the Local Government Units (LGUs) and other government entities. Before organizing FARMCs, the LGUs, NGOs, fisherfolk, and other concerned People's Organisations (POs) are expected to undertake consultation and orientation on the formulation of FARMCs. FARMCs have a nested organisational structure with the National FARMC Council which is a multi-stakeholder advisory body with a 15 member council of which 5 are fishworkers; 5 represent commercial operators; 2 from academia; 1 from NGOs and the remainder from government.

The functions of the FARMCs include: assisting in the preparation of the Municipal Fishery Development Plan and submit the plan to the Municipal Development Council; recommend the enactment of municipal fishery ordinances to the Town Councils through its Committee on Fisheries; assist in the enforcement of fishery laws, rules and regulations in municipal waters; advise the Town Council on fishery matters through its Committee on Fisheries, if such has been organized; and perform such other functions which may be assigned by the Town Council.

How these new organisational forms pan out in real space depends to a great extent on the nature of interaction and power of the different interest groups involved. The most important in this are no doubt the fishworkers – men and women. A key determinant of success will depend on whether or not the fishworkers feel genuinely empowered by their participation. If they have a history of grass-roots organisational experience – through earlier involvement with customary organisations, cooperatives, associations or unions -- then they are in a much better position to assert their rights and to play the role of equal partner, most often with representatives of the state. However, where these new 'supported organisations' are created in countries without such history, the risk of repeating the experience of 'supported cooperatives' is indeed real!

In developing countries where the state is strong-armed – the socialist countries and those where 'democratic' dictators dominate – these organisations are the only option for fishers to organise for 'collaborative' collective action. At the local level the ideology of the state may not hinder the scope of activities which can be taken up for implementation. However, networking and nested structures may be viewed with suspicion and restricted in their scope of action.

In some countries, these new 'supported' organisations have been in existence for over a decade. Assessments of their performances have been undertaken by international organisations and by academics. The evaluation is mixed with no clear verdict about success or failure. Because of the wide mix of organisational-types and political contexts within which they flourish (or fail) it is hard to clearly establish (as yet) the nature of collective action which has been undertaken through these organisations and also to assess the impact which they have on the life and livelihood of the fishworkers.

## 1.5 HYBRID AND NETWORKED ARRANGEMENTS

*(Based on collective action by a mix of 'face-to-face' and 'virtual' organisations aided by support groups and even the state with important use of information and communication technology (ICT) for collective action and organisational management)*

The renewed focus on the relevance and role of small-scale fisheries in global fisheries development and management points undisputedly to the need for a rethink about new institutional arrangements and commensurate organisational forms which will be needed in the future.

The schematic history, which we have sketched out above, highlights that there is no single organisational type best suited for all needs. Different organisational forms have been foisted on, or created by, fishworkers and their supporters at various points in time and in different countries. Each form has been suited to a particular set of functions and needs. Success and failure of the organisations depended on a variety of factors. These include: the motivation for starting; the nature of support received; the composition of the membership; the level of complexity of activities undertaken; the nature of their relationship with the state; the level of community cohesion; and so forth.

The future seems to lie in forms of 'hybrid' arrangements/organisations in which the issues of 'identity', 'rights', 'development' and 'management' can be addressed appropriately and to the extent possible in combined fashion.

Structurally, these organisations may have a mix of both 'face-to-face' and 'virtual' dimensions in their functioning. The role of information and communication technology (ICT) will acquire greater prominence in networking of such organisations, given the rapid pace of innovations and the declining costs of ICT services (e.g. short message service, photos using cell-phones, video-conferencing, free internet-enabled audio conferences etc.)

For example, currently there are concerns in many countries about whether, and if so how, custom can be incorporated with modern organisational arrangements that have legal recognition in the fishery for undertaking activities such as fisheries management. In countries where customary practices are still spatially widespread, or where they are practiced by a significant section of the population, or both, there are moves to give legal recognition to custom in national constitutions, the fishery laws, laws relating to decentralised governance and so forth. The giant strides in ICT have facilitated far greater contacts and coordination of collective action between these customary organisations in a country. Support organisations have taken initiatives to foster face-to-face meetings between customary organisations. Some of these initiatives have received a boost from many international declarations and conventions taken by UN bodies and also numerous supportive actions facilitated by influential civil society bodies. The 'identity' dimension which is largely synonymous with customary institutions, meshes into the organisations which have legal and constitutional 'rights' for fisheries development and management.

There has been a revival of interest in such hybrid arrangements, for example in post-disaster situations. Modern institutions of governance, making effective use of information and communication technology (ICT) and using the role of the media, have been able to mobilise resources for relief and rehabilitation at the macro-level. However, they often fail to adequately address the specific and immediate needs of individual survivors at the micro-level. They face the conventional problems of adverse selection and moral hazards in their choice of beneficiaries. Customary organisations being largely 'local' are able to, in greater measure, identify and address such individual needs of those in distress making for more effective, meaningful and humane assistance. So, while customary organisations may be 'rejected' in normal circumstances, they certainly attain pride of place in times of crisis. The post-tsunami context in Aceh, Indonesia and Tamilnadu, India provided instructive learning on how best to firm up such relationships towards creating hybrid organisations

**Box 8 – Hybrids from the tsunami**

It took a disaster like the tsunami for many international organisations and civil society groups to become fully aware of the command, respect and the usefulness of customary organisations among fishing communities.

**In Tamilnadu, India** the existence of the traditional 'caste panchayats' in the fishing communities and their role in issues such as conflict resolution has been documented by researchers. The government organisations and NGOs which function in fishing villages have rarely taken cognizance of the caste panchayats on grounds that they are casteist and patriarchal. Providing aid to those who survived the tsunami entailed good targeting and a keen understanding of the specific needs of individual families. Only the caste panchayats and their leaders were in a position to provide this. In many instances they created a social fence around the village to ensure that aid agencies, who knew virtually nothing about the ground reality, did not create a 'tsunami of aid' and destroy the socio-economic fabric of the community which was left behind. It is well known that the caste panchayats, in many cases, did 'inflate' the needs of the communities. Their patriarchal gender bias was also noted. But the good side is that the distribution within the village was based on a more just assessment of real needs of individual families – something which no aid organisation would have been able to achieve. This experience has opened the possibility for NGOs and the functionary of the state to have greater receptivity to these once 'insular' organisations. This interaction could become the impetus for greater dialogue and collaborative action in which all the parties involved are open to 'positive change'.

Box 8 – **Hybrids from the tsunami** *(cont.)*

**In Aceh, Indonesia** there was a similar situation with regard to aid distribution and the customary organisation called Panglima Laot. Many western aid organisations focussing on the 'efficiency' of distribution of aid were keen to make their own independent assessments of loss and damage of fishing assets and provide relief based on this. Many did not wish to even acknowledge the presence of the Panglima Laot. The FAO/UN, involved in a program for capacity building for fisheries co-management, however took the approach of working with the Panglima Laot in a participatory manner as partners, rather than working through them. The distinction in the two approaches is important. The former permits constructive collaboration and mutual corrective action. It is inherently a slower approach, but more stable in terms of creating lasting results. It created a synergic dimension in working towards assessing the 'real needs' of the communities. The collaboration also ensured that the Panglima Laot obtained a stake not only in the immediate actions, but also in their future implications. For the FAO/UN this meant far greater credibility within the community. Within three years it was possible to set-up five co-management initiatives in four districts covering about 25 per cent of the coastline. Legally constituted organisational structures were created in which elected representatives of the Panglima Laot; youth from the community and accredited functionaries of the district fisheries departments worked together for fishery resource rejuvenation; banning of destructive fishing methods within the small-scale fishery (e.g. mini-trawls); starting credit schemes among the women which would be tailored towards responsible fisheries by their husbands and so on.

The global renewal of interest in cooperatives which focus on the 'development' interests of fishing communities can be combined with the interest of both the state and associations of fishers for 'management' of fishery resources. Important initiatives in this direction are being made in Central and South America. They are harbinger to forms of hybrid arrangements/organisations where fishers take the lead initiative for allocation and conservation of the resource and combine this with modulated control over the forward marketing of the products of their labour. Often such hybrid arrangements are also the result of strategic partnerships which the fishers enter into, by befriending civil society associations motivated by their own concerns for resource conservation and fair trade arrangements. The use of ICT in such arrangements breaks much of the information asymmetry which had earlier marked these realms of activity and business.

Box 9 – **New forms of cooperatives and collaborations for the future?**

**MEXICO**

**The Fish Production Cooperative Societies of Cozumel and Vigía Chico** are two cooperatives working in the Mexican State of Qintana Roo. They have 48 and 80 members respectively. The cooperatives support local fishermen to acquire fishing permits, collectively manage marine resources and engage in group decision-making. With funds from UNDP they made artificial lobster shelters, mapped lobster fields, created a database documenting catch size and abundance, all as tools to ensure the long-term viability of lobster fishing in their respective regions.

Members have access to capacity building and training on marine resource management, financial planning and running a profitable fishery. Outreach, environmental education and training are also provided to local youth to instil a conservation ethic in future generations, thereby ensuring the long-term sustainability of marine resources and to train new members and young leaders in management positions, thereby ensuring institutional sustainability for the cooperatives.

Box 9 – **New forms of cooperatives and collaborations for the future?** *(cont.)*

The work of the two cooperative societies has had positive impacts on marine biodiversity in the region. Members earn an annual income of about USD 3000 from selling their lobster catch and additional income from selling other fish over the course of the year. The consolidation of lobster marketing through Integradora de Pescadores de Quinana Roo has provided an additional mechanism for ensuring the long-term sustainability of the initiative.

The cooperatives have established partnerships with several research centres which study the performance of the lobster fishery and make ecological assessments of ocean floor habitats. They have also close links with various levels of government in the region and these have provided capacity building, technical and resource support, including the purchase of engines, boats, and refrigerators. Further partnerships have been forged with the United Nations Foundation, UNDP COMPACT, and Conservation International.

**COSTA RICA**

**CoopeTárcoles R.L.** is a cooperative of artisanal fishers located in the Gulf of Nicoya on the Pacific coast of Coasta Rica. The cooperative has 35 members (30 men and five women) and has a direct impact on an estimated 250 people. The organization was founded in 1985 by artisanal fishers from the community, with the objective of eliminating middlemen in the market for fish to obtain better prices for their products and improve the incomes of members. The members of CoopeTárcoles agreed to establish their own 'Code of Responsible Fishing' which was intended to serve as a set of guidelines which could be adopted voluntarily.

The fishers belonging to CoopeTárcoles practice 'artisanal fishing', meaning that they employ traditional methods to catch fish from small boats, on fishing trips that last less than 48 hours and take place within five nautical miles of the low-tide mark. Membership dues fund a project manager and maintain the community's processing facility, where catches are received, weighed and sold directly to local tourism operators, effectively eliminating market intermediaries.

CoopeTárcoles R.L. collaborates with CoopeSolidar R.L. - a Costa Rican group committed to conserving marine resources and improving local livelihoods. CoopeSolidar has assisted CoopeTárcoles in developing certain participatory methodologies that have encouraged agreements and strengthened its capabilities, especially in terms of its political influence.

Consortio Por La Mar was established in order to create a source of financial sustainability for CoopeTárcoles's socioeconomic and environmental activities. The organization hopes that this enterprise will make it possible to gradually end its dependence on international aid and provide continuity to the organization's efforts in conducting ongoing research and data collection.

CoopeTárcoles has participated in and hosted a number of forums to unite stakeholders in the area of artisanal fishing, and has played a key role in progress toward national policy changes in community management of protected areas. CoopeTárcoles has also made progress in uniting artisanal fishers from throughout the country and region for political purposes through visits to its facility and participation in the National Artisanal Fishers' Forum. In 2008, the First National Artisanal Fishers' Forum was held in Tárcoles. During these three days of work, artisanal fishers from throughout the Pacific coast of Costa Rica met to discuss issues of common interest and opportunities for the artisanal fisheries sector.

Adapted from: The Equator Initiative: http://www.equatorinitiative.org/

These hybrid arrangements introduce greater diversity into the socio-cultural ecosystem of the fishery sector. With more partners, having different core objectives, but with similar overarching goals, there is cause for greater mutual inter-dependencies among partners. This should act as pressure to achieve greater accountability and

transparency of action. One consequence of this is likely to be greater organisational flexibility and an evolving multiplicity of partners. The flip side of this could be the inability to develop long term and sustainable relationships. We are probably moving to an arena of high-tech, high-trust and high-turnover organisational arrangements. Given the chequered history of fisher organisations, whether this will be a welcome change for the sector and for the small-scale fishworkers, only time will tell.

## 1.6 OVERALL ASSESSMENT OF COLLECTIVE ACTION AND ORGANISATIONAL FORMS

We complete our narrative of the schematic history of collection action and organisations in small-scale fisheries by providing in Table 2 a brief summary of what we consider to be the key strengths and prime weaknesses of the different organisational forms discussed.

TABLE 2
**Summary of the Key Strengths and Prime Weaknesses of the Different Organisational Types Discussed in the Note**

| Organisational Type | Key Strengths | Prime Weaknesses |
|---|---|---|
| Customary Organisations | Based on socially sanctioned community consent with 'living' rules and norms making for flexibility of action in issues relating to allocation; conservation; conflict resolution | Difficulty of maintaining oral traditions and social acceptance, particularly among younger community members |
| Cooperatives and Societies | Economic activities take priority giving importance to equality and returns based on members' participation | Inability to keep politics out and mobilise adequate finances and managerial competence to face economic odds |
| Associations and Unions | The primacy of politics and power for effective collective action is emphasised; stress on socio-welfare empowerment through campaign mode of functioning | Leadership unable to sustain the tempo in 'ordinary times' and move beyond adversarial collective action to make linkages across scales to further the economic interests of fishers |
| New Supported organisational forms | Oriented specifically to fisheries sector; tacit support of the state; consensus and participation of different interest groups focussing importantly on aspects of resource management | Being a creation of the state, there is always the danger of co-option and inability to ever foster mass mobilisation |
| Hybrid and networked arrangements | Collective action less burdened by rigid organisational structures; high quality of collaborations possible; effective use of ICT for collaboration across organisations and network types | Temporary nature of relationships hampers long term commitments developing between partners |

Our schematic historical sketch of collective action of fishworkers, exercised through these broad types of organisational forms can certainly not be pictured as having been a very successful story. There are many examples around the world of fisher and fishing community related organisations which once flourished, played sterling roles, but also got gradually or suddenly wrecked. The causes for such organisational failures are numerous and often relate to a complex inter-mix of social, economic, cultural, political, structural and personality factors. It will be instructive to analyse the historical trajectories of a few of these organisations from a sample of countries. The lessons from such case studies will be instructive for future collective action and organisational development. It will be instructive to follow-up on earlier such efforts made by FAO/UN in this regard.

Despite this seemingly bleak history, there is some reason for cautious optimism about the future. As we survey the current scenario, there continue to be numerous innovative micro-initiatives – many of which, as we have designated above, are hybrids – that point to significant departures from the old cruise line. There are also other important reasons for this optimism. Firstly, there has been significant learning from

past mistakes. Secondly, fishworkers as a whole are today hugely more educated, aware and better prepared for collective action. Thirdly, there is a far greater and more sustained support for fishworkers and their problems from several quarters in civil society. Fourthly, there is tacit recognition by states that fishery resources are indeed valuable as a source of food and nutritional security and can be well managed only with the participation of the fishers. It is fair to surmise that the voyage ahead portends to be across better understood navigable space.

It may also be appropriate to indicate that in a post-liberalised, post-globalised world, the pressures on the labouring sections of the population, to merely ensure their survival, is indeed increasing. This in itself can be a key driver and motivator both for collective action and search for new forms of organisational expressions to improve life and livelihood.

The challenge lies in how it will be possible to negotiate all these grounds for optimism and chart the course of the voyage ahead. In this context, the near future, given the renewed interest in small-scale fisheries, holds promise.

Shara Mae Adena, aged 13, Philippinnes

Gambar Alifah Untuk, aged 8, Indonesia

# 2. Elements needed within organisations to promote sustainable fisheries and empower fishing communities

Organisations and collective action should always be seen as two sides of the same coin. As we have stressed earlier, while collective action may happen without the presence of an organisation, to imagine an organisation which does not engage in collective action questions its very reason for existence (its raison d'etre). Clearly, collective action through organisations provides more synergy than collective action which is not through organisations.

For small-scale fishworkers, the benefits of belonging to an organization are many -- from experiencing a sense of belonging and identity, to generating market power for better terms, involvement in the development of policies for the betterment of the fisheries sector and for participating creatively in civil society.

The primary dual objective of fisheries organisations should be for fishworkers (men and women) to have the ***key voice and unambiguous rights*** in:

(1) Control of the fishery resource and protection of the ecosystem in which it is found

(2) Devising the ways and means to get the best return for the products of their hard labour.

All other objectives are secondary, and fisheries organisations which have only other objectives, however meaningful and relevant they may be, must be seen as involved in the second-best suite of activities.

However, whatever be the objectives for which a fisheries organisation functions, we would consider ten essential elements, which must be inbuilt into its functioning in order to promote wholesome development that is ***just, participatory, self-reliant and sustainable***.

- ***Collective agreement and resolve***

Initial members should agree collectively and resolve to stand by the basic purpose/ objective for which the organisation has been created. Sometimes, this agreement arises spontaneous from the realisation about the need to take action. Such agreements tend to be more cohesive. But these agreements can also be affected adversely with time, with changes in the membership over time, with the initial founding members aging and leaving the scene. Consequently there is always a need to re-visit these 'founding agreements and resolutions' and re-interpret them to keep the spirit of the organisation (esprit de corps) and its morale.

- ***Vision for collective action***

Arising from this collective agreement is the basis for creating a vision for collective action. As the Japanese say 'Vision without action is a day-dream and action without a vision is a nightmare'. All organisations which succeed have a clear vision. They may not be able to ever fully attain or reach this vision, but having such a high target is

desirable. Articulating a vision statement for the organisation should be undertaken in a manner that all members can contribute and have a say. The statement itself needs to be short and expressive of the lofty goals which members wish to achieve collectively.

- ***Democracy and transparency in functioning and governance***

Providing voice, the freedom to be heard and make choices, right to know and the right to dissent must be granted for each member. These are core elements for democratic and transparent organisational functioning. However, these elements must then translate into the members being able to, through a process of participatory and representative democratic processes, elect a small group of persons from among themselves who will conduct the affairs of the organisation and be given the mandate to take decisions on behalf of all. The small group of elected persons should be held accountable for their actions and also keep the membership informed, from time to time, about the progress of their work and the consequences and impacts of their decisions. Administrative and governance prowess and transparency are essential for efficient organisations. When members do not have the capability or the time for this, it must be delegated to a competent and dedicated cadre of managers.

- ***Trust in those elected to lead***

If those who lead these organisations are chosen in a democratic and transparent manner, then it is the bounden duty of those who elect them to trust in their abilities to deliver. Without this basic trust, no leadership can act with confidence. Trust also engenders mutual respect between the leaders and the members. As the organisation grows and develops there are likely to be several occasions and reasons when this trust is put to test. If leaders pass the test, then the organisation flourishes. When they fail, it is the collective responsibility of the members to elect new persons to take up the mantle of leadership. Trust and leadership are cardinal and reciprocal attributes for organisational success.

- ***Resources and institutional arrangements to formulate and implement strategies for action***

Collective action and the initial formation of an organisation often take place with a modicum of resources and institutional arrangements. However, for sustaining the growth and development of any organisation there is need for a range of resources and other supportive arrangements.

The prime initial requisite is a *good endowment of human energies and enthusiasm* and an ample share of the spirit of voluntarism. This normally arises from the wellsprings of accumulated social capital reserves – bonding, bridging and linking -- among the members and supporters. All these forms of social capital must be utilised in the right mix and at the right conjunctures in the creation and development of the organisation.

Next in order are the *availability of human resources* in the form of person-power and expertise in the relevant set of objectives and activities for which the organisation has been created. To sustain expertise, it is important to make a commitment to building and improving the quality of human resources within the organisation. Awareness creation, informal training, skill development, formal education and transformational learning may be required to achieve this.

*Financial resources* are needed for any action and it is always best, initially, to depend on what is available with the members or with their larger community (face-to-face or virtual) of supporters. Institutionalizing the arrangements for sourcing financial support from members and beneficiaries of the organisation (e.g. through membership fee; fixed commissions or service fees from sale of members' products; fixed contribution from members' incomes etc.) can be a way of ensuring a minimum

of core funds. The codes and strategies for raising other finances need to be handled appropriately, ensuring to the extent possible that the sources, from which funds are obtained, do not impinge on the organisation's autonomy of action and commitment to its vision.

Possessing resources is no guarantee for smooth and meaningful functioning of the organisation. Key to success is *the judicious use of resources* in the right measure and sequence. Economic organisations for small-scale fishworkers will do well if they are multi-purpose and establish a chain of credit-production-marketing-savings. Political organisations of the fishworkers (unions, associations) should not only undertake adversarial action for what they are against, but also articulate what they are for, and give support to the social and economic organisations among the fishworkers which strive to make an alternative development process possible.

*Laws and norms* (both within the organisation and externally) which are required to facilitate actions intended to achieve the objectives must be put in place. Administrative propriety and good management systems need to be formulated and discussed with the membership and implemented meticulously. It may also be necessary to lobby for larger supportive rules and legislations which can only be introduced by higher civic bodies or the state.

- ***Accounting for gender***

There is need to call attention to a common gender discrimination which constantly occurs with regard to the aspects of human energies and human resources and the properties of enthusiasm, voluntarism (mentioned above). In many fisher organisations, women are seen to play a crucial and visible role in the initial formation process with respect to the above aspects and properties. However, later they get relegated to being 'invisible' once the core activities and programs of the organisations – which tend to be largely male-oriented -- take centre stage. Being mindful of this tendency forms the first step to take corrective action to avoid this pitfall. Small-scale fishing must always be viewed as a joint enterprise of men and women -- even when the women are not at sea. It is importantly women's activity at home and on land which makes it possible for the men to stay at sea. Without women there is no fish to harvest! Recognising this fact, and duly acknowledging the relative strengths and weakness of women and men in relation to different fishing and non-fishery activities, without necessarily stereotyping their roles, will bring much synergy into a fisheries organisation.

- ***Conviction to face odds***

When an organisation succeeds in its activities there is celebration. When it falters or fails then there is suspicion, ill-feeling, lack of interest, non-cooperation. Fisheries are fraught with far greater risks than most other primary occupations. This is true of access to the resource, the act of fishing and the sale of the product. It is inevitable that these odds will get reflected in the culture and socio-system of fishworkers' organisations. When such events materialise, members may doubt the sincerity of leaders or usefulness of the organisation and consider a variety of options, including deserting the organisation. It calls for special skills by leaders and a sense of forbearance on the part of ordinary members to hold an organisation together in times of crisis.

- ***Information on activities, achievements and failures; education to build capacity***

In organisations where the governance is democratic and transparent, there will be a good flow of information on the activities, the achievements and the failures. Quality time needs to be assigned by leaders to appraise the membership about the causes and the consequences of the outcomes of their mandated actions. Such feedback must be on a regular basis. Most fishworkers are busy with their work, and because it often takes place at odd timings, they may miss out on 'regular' information. The need to take the

message to the fishworkers using a variety of means and media thus attains importance. It should be a priority to make innovative use of information and communication technology (ICT) to achieve these goals.

Capacity building of the members and their families -- spouses and youth – is also a challenge which needs the attention of the organisation. Sustaining a fishery requires the support of the family. The future of small-scale fisheries depends on the attitude of the youth in the community towards its present and evolving status. For example, if the desire is to envision a low-non-renewable energy and high science-intensive technology for the small-scale fishery of the future, then a whole new menu of educational inputs will be needed to realise this dream. Without the structured involvement of the youth of the communities, this dream can never become reality.

- ***Building alliances with other like-minded organisations***

Fishworker organisations cannot be sustained into the future if they remain as islands. There is an urgent need today to forge alliances with other like-minded organisations in the fishery, outside the fishery, in the country and outside the country. There is a heightened need for much greater people-to-people interactions on issues such as technology transfer; adversarial collective action for the common good; awareness about the trends in trade and markets; and on methods of sustaining organisations. The insights and learning which result from building such alliances can be transformational when they are properly planned and implemented. Seeing what other organisations do, help to 'situate' one's own organisation and its actions, as well as its strengths and weaknesses, is a more dispassionate context.

- ***Processes to evaluate actions and envision changes for the future***

Instituting built-in mechanisms for evaluation of actions is a desirable activity to ensure vibrancy of an organisation. Learning from successes and failures lies at the core of getting out of the 'run of the mill' syndrome to becoming a 'learning organisation' where members attempt to expand their horizons and continually renew their collective aspirations. What is needed is not pre-determined log-frames, but rather, approaches for continuous review to identify the key attributes which define desirable and useful actions and outcomes. These attributes may be related to the nature of an activity; its timing; its positioning in the sequence or combination with other activities; the extent of participation of women in it; the role played by older, more knowledgeable persons; the enthusiasm of the youth; the share it has in the total output of the organisation; the strategic nature it plays in the success of the organisation; or a combination of the aforesaid.

The present they say is the past of the future. The reviews of key attributes of present activities should lead to envisioning purposive changes for the future. Only then do we learn from history. Many good and well-functioning fishworker organisations have lost their relevance after years of functioning because of the reluctance to take on the challenges of renewal when faced with the changing dynamics of events and time.

# 3. How to promote gender equity and empowerment of women

The question of gender relations and women's empowerment in fishworker organisations can be addressed in two ways. We call them the collaborative perspective and the independent perspective.

In the collaborative perspective we consider the question -- How can gender relations and women's empowerment be factored into fisher organisations which deal with the activity of fishing that is an overwhelming male domain? In the independent perspective we consider the question – Can gender relations and women's empowerment issues be dealt with more fittingly in fishworker organisations meant exclusively for women?

- ***The collaborative perspective***

The rationale of the **collaborative perspective** is that small-scale fishing needs to be seen as a joint enterprise of men and women even when the women are not at sea. As mentioned above, it is importantly the activity of women at home and on land which makes it possible for the men to stay at sea. Recognising this fact, and duly acknowledging the relative strengths and weakness of women and men in different fishing activities, without necessarily stereotyping their roles, will bring much synergy into a fisheries organisation.

Keeping the above in mind, in a fishing organisation, how, when and where women involve in organisational activities should be a collective decision, taken according to the circumstances and the nature of the actions. For example, women may be keenly involved in the initiation of the organisation. Very often it is women (the wives of the members) who interact on a day-to-day basis with fisher organisations such as local marketing cooperatives to transact business while their men are at sea. They may set up autonomous activities (e.g. like saving and credit schemes) oriented to both their own self-employment and to the activities of their husbands/menfolk. They can involve with conservation activities ensuring that the venture becomes more community-oriented and not merely viewed as a fishery management tool. They may use their moral authority and powers of persuasion to re-educate fishers involved in illegal and destructive fishing activities. They are well placed to play an enabling role in the financial and general administration of fisher organisations. They can also animate the extension activities of the organisation.

The above examples show how (although they may be seen as 'collaborating spouses') women's skills and competence can play a matching role in a fisher organisation and provide a synergy which would be totally lacking if the organisation, in the conventional default mode, is envisaged as an exclusive male domain. Such involvements not only contribute to women's equality, empowerment and autonomy, they create the basis of ensuring balanced gender relations in the fishing community.

- ***The independent perspective***

The rationale of the **independent perspective** is to have independent women's organisations which take up they own economic and social activities expressed in the form of networks, associations, unions, self-help groups etc. without necessarily integrating them with the functioning of the fisher organisations. This can be for two reasons: Firstly, women may feel that they experience many limitations and

constraints, because of special demands on their time and resources as well as the 'invisibility' of their work, and hence prefer to set up autonomous organisations. These may or may not play supportive roles to the fisher organisation. Secondly, women who are involved in fishery related employment may be motivated to take up, on a more consistent manner certain specific activities. These can include matters such as: quality of life issues; right to food and work; priority rights to riparian lands for livelihood and housing; equal pay for equal work in fish processing; crew members' entitlements to social security; children's education etc. These are often issues likely to be ignored by fisher organisations as they are involved with more technical fishery issues or because their organisations are restricted or unable to take up these issues, for legal and/or political reasons.

There may also be socio-religious and cultural reasons that make the independent and separate approach to women's activities the 'right' way to approach the gender issues in the fishery. In such circumstances, both the fisher and the women's organisations may consider it strategic to act separately.

Irrespective of the perspective chosen, the need to take a more balanced gendered approach to fisheries and the greater involvement of women promises to provide more synergy to fisheries organisations.

# 4. Collective action and the role of organisations in abolishing poverty in fishing communities and enhancing food security

- ***Abolishing poverty***

The poverty of fishing communities is proverbial. In most developing countries today, it is fishing communities who continue to be at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. Even in countries where the 'overall' indicators of human development are good, fishing communities tend to be the adverse outliers. The problem of poverty tends to be more acute in the case of marine fishing communities and fishing communities in inland waters who pursue fishing as a full-time avocation.

In most of the developed countries also, fishing communities were in the past among the poorest. It was a combination of state intervention; public welfare programs; intervention by social activists and collective action by the fishers themselves which changed the situation for the better.

Are people poor because they are fishers, or are they fishers because they are poor? This is a proposition that has been raised and debated by academics and social activists. The tinge of determinism in the proposition belies an understanding of the life and work context of most fishing communities and the numerous factors which account for their material poverty. These include *inter alia*: the perpetual harvest nature of the production process; the high perishability of the product; the relatively higher capital investment needed for production and the associated higher risks to it; the relative isolation of their work spots from mainstream society; the dangerous nature of the occupation, and the stochasticity of the relationship between investment and output leading to greater faith in luck and religion. All these factors contribute significantly to their dependence on 'intermediators' (persons and institutions) who present themselves as providers of succour and help.

The prime cause for poverty among fishing communities is the domination which they are subjected to from such intermediaries who buy their fish; provide them with credit; offer them land on which to build their homes; extend consumption loans and in this process easily ensnared them in a web of exploitative deals; promise them a better life in the 'hereafter' for all the suffering they experience in the present. This is the 'principal source of exploitation.'

Extracting themselves from these debilitating impediments is the most meaningful objective for collective action. It will have a transformative and liberating impact on their lives. However, this is easier said than done. Nevertheless, we can draw inspiration from the recorded fact that wherever there has been some sustainable and meaningful improvement in the lives of fishing communities, it has been the result of fishers coming to terms with this exploitative relationship and acting in unison to alter it, and importantly, creating the necessary organisational arrangements, to sustain the impact of their efforts over time, most often with the help of empathetic governments.

The 'mega' changes of this order, where all the fishers of a country benefitted, occurred in Japan and Norway. Collective action and the creation of organisations

were key factors to enable this achievement. But there are many hundreds of isolated examples from all over the world where 'micro' initiatives of collective action by fishers, standing up to the forces of exploitation, and creating their own organisations, have spurred ripples of change with significant liberational impacts.

One of the prime lessons learnt from such sterling examples of collective action and organisational development is the indispensability of unwavering 'political' support to the fishers if the objective is to abolish poverty and not merely alleviate it. Ideally this support should come from the state. But more often than not it has been from social activists', non-government organisations and larger social movements.

The hopes attached to the cooperative movement among fishers were indeed that it would bring about such fundamental transformations in their lives by addressing the 'causative' reasons for exploitation rather than addressing only the 'consequential' circumstances. Except for a few important exceptions, such hopes did not materialise because the 'principal source of exploitation' was not tackled by these organisations.

Currently, the global level organisations of the fishworkers also do not have this issue of exploitation by merchants and liberation from it adequately high up in their action agendas. Their priorities focus on the issue of preferential rights to resources, labour standards, welfare measures, impacts of globalisation, trade measures and so on. There is a need for a rethink on priorities for action.

- ***Enhancing food security***

Small-scale fishworkers contribute hugely to the cause of enhancing food security in two ways – directly by providing fish as food and indirectly by generating incomes (through employment) which then gets utilised to buy food.

Firstly, most of the fish harvested by them is consumed directly, in the fresh form, and most often by the less well-to-do consumers residing in the immediate hinterlands. Secondly, vast quantities of the fish netted by small-scale fishers are composed of smaller pelagic species, known for their greater fatty oil and micro-nutrient composition. This fish thus accounts for the crucial protein and micro-nutrient needs of rural consumers and is available at reasonable prices. Thirdly, the fish harvested by them generates a considerable amount of labour-intensive secondary employment – importantly among women -- in the processing and marketing and thus contributes to generating incomes which are then used to buy food for the family. It is estimated that for every small-scale fisher, there are 3-4 persons employed at different points upstream on the value chain.

If there are well-functioning organisations – say cooperatives for fish processing and marketing – it is possible to establish linkages that can greatly enhance the food and nutritional significance of the fish harvested -- for example, by arranging for fish (in fresh or processed form) to be supplied directly to school feeding programs.

There is merit in working towards the Gandhian mantra of 'production by the masses' for 'consumption by the masses'. This mantra becomes a reality if such links between poorer small-scale fish producers and needy consumers can be established – and this is not possible without collective action and organisations.

# 5. Some pitfalls to collective action and how to overcome them to form successful organisations

Collective action in small-scale fishing communities is subject to many innate pitfalls and limitations. These need to be recognised and overcome if organisational development in the future is to evolve over a more successful and sustainable path than in the past.

Six key issues, which can be considered challenges, impediments, shortcomings or pitfalls, and not adequately addressed, are highlighted here. These issues are by no means complete or inclusive. However, they were chosen to highlight the complexity of the challenges which will emerge ahead.

- ***Fishing and being a fisher are challenges in themselves***

Fishing as an activity and being a fisher are in themselves major challenges for undertaking collective action and sustaining organisations. This is particularly true with respect to capture fishing and marine fishers. The activity of capture fishing is marked by the strong element of chance; by lack of visual observation of the prey; by the inordinate impact of the nature of the milieu on the behaviour of the prey; by a perpetual harvest nature and lack of consistent quantum or type of output; by high perishability of the product. In additional to the above, marine capture fishing is marked by very strenuous physical activity, high risk to life and equipment (high depreciation and easy loss of the means of production). The community property perspectives vis-à-vis the eco-system and fishery resource tend to exacerbate the proclivity for possession rights.

**Box 10 – Fishing communities and organisation development**

Organisations, and the techniques used to introduce them into the communities, must be adapted to the life-style of fishing peoples. Here are some of the aspects of the occupation of fishing which influence the community of fishermen in such a way that they must be taken into account when forming fishermen's organisations:

- Resource variability and migration when following fish
- Resource variability and loan repayment problems
- Fishing cycles and meeting attendance
- Equipment depreciation and capital needs
- Role of women and division of labour
- Isolation of fishing communities
- Isolation and low education levels
- Isolation and deception in fish selling
- Sea tenure: issues arising from its presence and absence
- Fishermen as independent types
- Composition of fishing crews: kinship and need for harmony
- Periodicity of income and post-harvest loss
- Perishability of fish: capital needs for holding power

*Adapted from: Richard B Pollnac, 1988:* ***Evaluating the potential of fishermen's organisations in developing countries,*** *International centre for Marine Resource development, University of Rhode Island, Kingston*

Those who take to fishing as an occupation have their psyche modulated by these natural conditions, over which their control and understanding is incomplete. The element of chance makes for their belief in luck as well as the role of the 'divine' in determining the outcomes of their labour, their use of equipment and their skill. Consequently, religious sentiments and structures tend to percolate more easily among fishers, and organised religion often opiates the manner in which they view social relations. The perpetual harvest nature makes fishers unmindful of the needs of the morrow. It also provides the foundation of their generosity and more carefree approach to life. The inability to visually observe the prey makes for disproportionate emphasis on skill, and in marine fishing the high risks contribute to the machismo of the successful fisher. The priority of possession rights gives rise to high levels of benign competition. The strenuous nature of their labour and the high perishability of fish make them more predisposed to hasten the disposal of the outputs of their labour without adequate thoughts about returns to labour. In addition, their nature as largely 'petty commodity producers', involved in a sharing arrangement of the value of output, makes them lack the consciousness of the 'exploitation' which they are subjected to by those who buy their products (see more below).

This conjuncture of the characteristics of fishing and fishers creates a psycho-social context that greatly dampens the possibilities for collective action. Fishers tend to be more resigned to socio-economic hardships. Though cooperation is essential within a fishing unit, the benign competition between units generates a streak of strong individualism. As a result collective action for achieving social, economic and political objectives does not easily emerge spontaneously. However, when it does, due to excruciating or exploitative circumstances, or as a result of transformational awareness facilitated by outsiders, action is firm in purpose and liberating.

Small-scale fishers, though peasant-like in consciousness are hardly farmer-like in temperament and character. Plans for spurring collective action and the creation of organisational structures need to be cognizant of these features which have been discussed. A systemic effort at producing and utilising training material which focuses on socio-political analysis of the fisheries sector, which can lead to transformational action, will be a pre-requisite. It is essential to target the youth in this endeavour.

- ***Class character of small-scale fishworkers as impediment***

One of the most important impediments faced by small-scale fishworker households in achieving a wholesome livelihood and life of dignity has to do with their ambivalent class character alluded to above. They are more akin to 'peasants' than to 'workers'. This is not just a characteristic unique to them. It is indeed the hallmark of the vast majority of the labouring population in developing countries. There is no real 'pure' working class who only have their labour power to offer in the market. The majority of the labouring poor households eke out a livelihood by a multiplicity of strategies which include: selling their labour power; using their small asset base to produce or sell commodities; offering free services in return for goods in kind and services sans payment; bartering the commodities which they produce or obtain as gifts. This range of strategies can be performed at their 'home base' or at places away from home to which they migrate in search of livelihood.

Small-scale fishworkers (it is perhaps more appropriate to use the term small-scale fisher-people!) in developing countries adopt all the above strategies to survive.

There is merit in examining the characterisation of small-scale fishworkers, particularly in developing countries, as 'petty commodity/service producers', using simple technologies for harvesting, processing and marketing that are of low investment and result in low productivity of output. The products/income they produce is largely absorbed for their own subsistence and hence the 'surplus value', if any, is small. Like

most petty producers, they are chronically income-deficit households and cannot afford to remain without working.

Small-scale fishers are also more often than not faced with a 'buyer's market' with respect to their products. They are in no position to bargain for a fair price for them. The high perishability of the product, and the high cost associated with preservation, is an additional set of factors that lowers their market power. Earning a livelihood is a struggle, and existence is largely hand to mouth. They often may have to resort to a multiplicity of activities (fishing, farming, trading) undertaken in heterogeneous forms of labour (as owner-operator, as crew with a share, as migrant labour, as attached labour) involving different social relationships of production in order to survive. Sometimes the earning which they finally make is not even adequate for survival and so they have to resort to borrowing even to make ends meet.

Because they have little collateral, their access to credit is low. If they are able to obtain credit, then it is often linked to offering the product of their hard labour to the person – often a merchant -- offering the credit. This inter-locking of the credit and product market enables the merchant to extract whatever little surplus value which is created. This inability to accumulate, even a bear necessary social surplus, limits the possibility for raising their investment base and further keeps productivity and incomes low. This combination of factors – low investment; inadequate productivity; a buyer's market; interlocking of credit and product markets; little surplus generation – leads to a vicious cycle of poverty and powerlessness from which they are individually not able to extract themselves easily.

The mini-capitalist investors, who relate to small-scale fishworkers, by virtue of the capital which they possess, tend to use their endowments as quick circulating capital in the form of trading capital, mercantile capital and usurious capital. They rarely can make long-term investments in the form of industrial capital. The former forms of capital largely preclude growth of employment and productivity. Availing this capital forces small-scale fishworkers into a variety of near feudal and semi-feudal production relationships and also deprive them of dignity and freedom. Such investors not only extract surplus – they also extend their power to influence institutions (rules and norms) and control organisations (like cooperatives) thus creating a form of 'political accumulation' within the fishery sector. They normally prefer to invest their accumulated capital surpluses outside the sector.

Overcoming the series of obstacles and encumbrances which have been enumerated above requires that fishworkers recognise and accept their position as a 'special class of households'. It is therefore not possible to confine them into the currently fashionable individualist and reductionist approach of neo-classical economics where every individual and household must be placed in one of the categories: 'producer' or 'consumer'; 'saver' or 'investor'.

Small-scale fishworker households belong to all these categories, all at once.

This multi-faceted character of their households makes it strategic and essential to envision collective action to create multi-purpose organisations which cater to the overall needs of the household and not just deal with single activities such as organising saving and distributing credit; undertaking fish marketing and trade; involving in fish processing; engaged in providing fishing equipment; supplying household provisions, and so forth. The need is, for example, to create an organisation which will get access to credit and distribute this for purchase of fishing equipment and market the fish which is harvested and mop up the savings (say a fixed amount of the net earnings of every fishing trip) to increase the 'credit pot' and start the virtuous cycle again. Together with these economic functions related to the fishery, the organisation can also enter the realm of provisioning of household consumer needs of its members. It can also conduct service and educational activities within the community which it serves. It may lobby for issues of concern which have a bearing on the fishery or the community as a whole.

- ***Lack of capital as shortcoming***

The lack of own capital and the high cost of capital from other sources combine to make *individual efforts* to achieve a decent livelihood a difficult proposition for the vast majority of small-scale fishworkers. The inability to access capital indicates, at once, both the potential of collective action by pooling small resources and also the possible instability of an organisation formed in this manner. This is particularly relevant in the case of economic organisations, such as cooperatives, which require significant financial buffer, if they are to function in competition with merchants.

Going by the past experience of organisational initiatives among fishworkers, providing capital in the form of credit has not, in the main, been a beneficial intervention. Many fishworker organisations which have received large infusion of capital in the form of credit have faltered. Such failures have been largely the result of lack of prudent and capable financial management and corruption arising from this.

A significant number of fishworkers pooling their resources and creating the conditions for sustainable collective action is one of the sensible solutions for achieving wholesome livelihoods. However, there is an innate element of 'instability' in these organisations if they cannot attract/supplement such funds with other sources of capital from benign outside sources. Additionally, if they are unable to link credit to productive activity and marketing, and establish a mechanism to recover repayments in a manner which suits the rhythm and tempo of a fishery (and also the outcome of a fishing season which is related to climatic conditions and status of the resources), they run the risk of financial collapse.

Fishing is a high risk, high profitability enterprise. There is need for injection of 'venture capital' into such an undertaking. Fishworker organisations need to negotiate new forms of partnerships with private or public financial agencies and/or with NGOs which can mobilise such funds. This is another strategy to tide over the lack of capital.

- ***Low educational attainments***

One of the most crucial pitfalls to collective action on the part of small-scale fishworkers pertains to the generally low level and poor quality of their educational attainments. An important reason for this is to be found both in the low demand for education which is then exacerbated by the inadequate and inappropriate supply of educational facilities and services delivered to them, thus forming a downward spiralling vicious cycle.

The low demand is often due to the fact that children need to be involved in fishing – particularly in the case of marine fishing – at an early age if they are to 'learn by doing' which is the main method for passing down fishing skills. In cases where children do go to school, they often end up internalising the value system of formal education which does not valorise manual work (many even despise it), and become reluctant to join occupations which require hard labour such as fishing.

Additionally, the quality of education they receive, does not adequately equip them to compete for other non-fishery jobs, thus creating a context where they become unfit for fishing and not fully competent for other occupations. Most youth in fishing communities who have been 'schooled' find themselves in such dilemmas. Parents with low literacy are hence not convinced that education helps. Consequently they do not take active collective action to address the impediments in the education system. As a result the current inappropriate education system merely replicates itself *ad infinitum.*

There is a great need for devising schooling systems and curriculum which will be relevant for children from fishing communities. There is need for residential fishery schools to be located in areas where there is a high density of communities who are involved in fishing. The curriculum needs to be specially tailored to providing technical knowledge and skills in fishing, along with other general education subjects in the

physical, social and environmental sciences. While there are good examples of well-equipped fishery technical schools in many tropical developing countries – the best example probably being Indonesia -- all of them are oriented to the industrial fisheries model and totally neglect the needs of the small-scale fisheries. This bias needs to be corrected. Efforts in this direction are being made in some countries.

Building the educational capabilities and endowments of youth from small-scale fishing communities is one of the most sustainable ways for fostering collective action into the future to ensure better educational facilities for fishing communities. Youth that are technically, socio-culturally and politically equipped are the spearheads to making the organisations of the future more relevant and responsive to the needs of the small-scale fishery.

### Box 11 – **Efforts at changing priorities to small-scale fisheries in fisheries education**

Fishery high schools were started in many developing countries in the 'development decades' with the intention of creating a cadre of well-trained fishworkers who would manage the modern industrial marine fishery sector and the modern aquaculture activities. In none of these institutions has there been any systematic effort to make the students aware of the reality in the small scale fishery of the country. Moreover, the number of pupils from the fishing communities was also limited.

In Indonesia there are eight such fisheries high schools located in different islands of the country which are intended to train quality human resources for the marine fisheries and aquaculture in the country. The schools are known by the acronym SUPM (Sekolah Usaha Perikanan Menengah). One such school is located in Ladong, near Banda Aceh the capital of Aceh Province, on the northern tip of Sumarta Island. The annual intake of the school is between 100-150 students. Normally only below 5 per cent of the pupils were from the fishing communities of Aceh.

In 2008 the school entered into an agreement with an FAO/UN capacity building initiative, funded by the American Red Cross (ARC), to conduct a series of training programs for youth from Aceh's fishing communities. The training was to be in community organisation and fisheries management and was titled 'Youth for Responsible Fisheries.' Following the commencement of the training, it became apparent that the teachers of the school did not have adequate understanding of the small-scale fishery, nor were they appropriately equipped to teach these youth who were less formally educated. The teachers recognised their limitation and were willing to undergo training in pedagogy to make their teaching more participative and also incorporate in the learning process the fund of practical knowledge of the youth on the socio-economic aspects of small-scale fishing. A cadre of 174 community motivators were trained in this process. They became the 'motivators' of co-management in Aceh Province.

This experience made the school authorities realise the importance of engaging more closely and directly with the local fishing communities of the province in which they were located. A detailed discussion with the customary fisher organisation Panglima Laot followed. The Panglima Laot manages a large education fund known by the acronym YPMAN. The SUPM Ladong and Panglima Laot's YPMAN Fund entered into an agreement whereby the latter would forward the names of deserving and qualified youth from the fishing community who would then go through the selection process of the SUPM. If they are selected, then the YPMAN fund would extend a scholarship to the student. The enrolment of youth from the small-scale fishing communities of Aceh to the SUPM has increased from 2 and 3 per cent in 2009 before commencement of the scheme to 24-30 per cent in 2012.

- ***Rising age of fishworkers: will there be a new cohort?***

A phenomenon observed in many countries has been the rising age of the average fishworker. Youngsters seem reluctant to take to fishery related activities. This is particularly true of the more educated youth. There is also pressure from parents, who are fishworkers themselves, to ensure that their educated children do not 'come back to fishing'.

Such attitudes arise importantly from the 'low status', 'hard work' and 'high risk' accorded to fishing in many countries and hence the associated urge, particularly for the educated youth in fishing communities, to seek employment opportunities outside the fisheries sector. This tendency has been particularly strong in countries where economic development policies have expanded the opportunities for work, other than fishing, along the coastal zone in realms such as tourism, free-trade zone industries and so forth. The tendency is further heightened when these alternate industries expand by displacing fishing operations which existed in those areas. The question which then arises is whether there will be a new cohort of workers to run and manage the fishery or is the small-scale fishery heading for a terminal decline?

An important first step to solving this existential crisis, confronting some small-scale fisheries, is to revive the possibilities for collective action and the creation of organisations which will ensure greater rewards to fisheries. This can be achieved through the use of new technologies, measures to ensure higher returns for fishing and guarantee of stable markets for fishery products. Some new and supportive institutional arrangements (rules, laws) will be required to realise these goals. (See above)

Given the current global economic scenario of 'jobless growth' and far greater 'informalisation of work', the apparent shift of employment away from 'primary sector' occupations is likely to be a transient phenomenon. In this context, it is possible to envision a situation in fisheries where a modern, decentralised, small-scale fishery can re-emerge, with blending of knowledge and technology, combined with new hybrid organisational forms, to assure greater absorption of high quality labour and ensure higher output and productivity.

- ***The crowning dilemma of declining fishery resources***

One of the key existential challenges being faced by small-scale fishers today is the crisis they confront with regard to resource depletion and degradation. It will be fair to state that they are not the originators of this problem. But it will be unreasonable to conclude that they have not contributed to exacerbating it.

As we mentioned in the schematic history, in the late 1970s and 1980s, spontaneous collective action among small-scale fishers in many developing countries arose as their reaction to the unbridled incursion of larger-scale vessels into their traditional fishing grounds using gear such as large bottom-trawls and purse-seines. Incessant trawling and seining resulted in considerable eco-system overfishing in the tropical waters and in turn affected the harvesting potential of the small-scale operators.

Collective action yielded many positive results which, in many countries, led to state legislations creating special zones in the most productive resource area close to the coast for exclusive use of the small-scale fishers. No trawls and large seines were permitted in this zone. Other measures such as ban of trawling during the monsoon rain months were also enacted in countries where such seasonal restrictions made a significant difference to the conditions of the fish stocks.

These regulations were often contested in the courts by the industrial fishing industry on the ground that they were discriminatory; against the principle of equality in law and violated the fundamental rights to pursue any business. In one significant legal verdict, the court pointed out that while the industry had the fundamental right to pursue the *business* of fishing, the fundamental right of the small-scale fishers to a

*livelihood* in fishing had a higher priority and was more sacrosanct in the overall social context. Therefore a restriction of the fishing space for fishing for livelihood was not discriminatory and did not violate fundamental rights.

However, these gains of collective action did not last long. The undoing was caused by the small-scale fishers themselves. Their up-scaling of technology, competition among themselves, and even the use of destructive fishing gears (e.g. mini-trawls and ring seines), within and outside the exclusive zone created the same order of resource problems which they had initially opposed. Reaching this impasse also reflected the failure of their associations and unions to exercise social norms of fair and just allocation of fishing rights within the exclusion zones among the small-scale fishers. They also refused to recognise the issue of the abdication traditional skills (e.g. dropping of the use of sail and wholesale conversion to the use of engines to power their craft) as a matter of the 'politics of technology'. They considered it merely a shift to less drudgery of labour. The overall outcome was the sequential depletion and destruction of near-shore resources leading to economic and eco-system overfishing caused by adoption of destructive fishing gear such and mini-trawls; the excessive use of non-renewable energy; the inability to cover costs of operation – all leading again to a vicious race for fish.

We need to add to this scenario the destruction wrought by sectors other than fisheries such as tourism, industrial development, urbanisation etc. through the insertion of pollutants into the aquatic ecosystems. There has also been the destruction of habitats such as mangroves, sea grass, corals etc. in the marine space and devastation of flooded forests, deforestation at the source of rivers, building of dams, mining of sand and so forth in the inland waters. All of these activities have treated the rivers, lakes and the coastal waters as sinks for dumping the waste of human activity. The cumulative effect has been resource depletion and damaging of the rejuvenative capacity of the aquatic eco-systems. And the burden of this is borne largely by fishing communities.

The cumulative impact of this burden of declining resources has resulted in a variety of responses on the part of small-scale fishworkers. Firstly, there has been the tendency to increase the time spent fishing – particularly at sea. In some countries this has brought fishers under suspicion of carrying out illegal activities. The ill-conceived notion is used as justification by law enforcement authorities to oppress fishworkers and in some cases have put them in danger. Secondly, there has been the proclivity to leave the sector. This is evident in the case of many youth in the fishing communities, particularly if they have also had the opportunity for education. Thirdly, particularly in the inland flood plain fishery, there has been the propensity to diversify activity and spend more time on riparian non-fishery activities.

Clearly, none of these responses is a solution to the problem of resource depletion. There is need for a 'second awakening' on the part of the small-scale fishworkers to the need for a new round of collective action through the aegis of organisations which exist or need to be created to fulfil this purpose. In this context, the Voluntary Guidelines on Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries (VGSSF) being negotiated by the FAO/UN, and the renewed commitment to it by small-scale fishers around the world as well as support from civil society and governments augurs well.

We can reasonably conclude this discussion on pitfalls by asserting that the solution lies in embarking on collective action to ensure that good organisations are in place for fishworkers. Individualist responses to the impediments will not lead to a satisfactory resolution of the shortcomings and problems confronted by fishworkers. As the barriers to progress are multi-dimensional, the response also warrants a collective and multi-faceted approach.

John Michael  P Jetigan, aged 18, Philippines

# 6. How to build organisational capacity and seek support for small-scale fisheries

Organisational capacity building is a task which needs to be woven into any organisation's short and long term objectives. In other words, it needs to be envisioned as a continuous and on-going process, failing which, an organisation tends to become irrelevant or moribund. To a considerable extent, the faltering of fishworker organisations in the past can be attributed significantly to this inability on their part to take capacity building seriously. To tread a more sustainable path into the future, it is imperative to make human capital development a core function of any organisation.

- ***Capacity building for youth***

If youth in fishing communities do not deem it fit to continue in fishing, then the future of small-scale fisheries is bleak. In many countries, fishing is considered to be a 'low and inferior' occupation even if it is monetarily lucrative.

Fishers usually wish to see their children get education and move into other occupations. However, the economic reality in many developing countries is such that employment opportunities in other sectors of the economy are not necessarily obtained very easily for the average educated youth.

Given this context, sustaining the enthusiasm of youth into re-entering the fishery attains importance. If more educated youth decide to re-integrate themselves into decentralised, local-level employment opportunities in fisheries, it can then generate the demand for greater and appropriate technological upgradation in fisheries and better structured, governed and supported organisations. Enskilling and empowering the youth towards this goal is hence a priority for ensuring the future sustenance of small-scale fisheries.

There is need and scope for a whole new menu of skills, directed to youth, in order to facilitate a range of technical, socio-cultural, organisational and governance initiatives. These include -- multiple-energy (a mixture of alternative and traditional energy sources?) use options; natural resource rejuvenation methods; social-political analysis of the sector in the context of globalisation; documentation and study of the community's human and knowledge resources; use of ICT for a variety of uses *(e.g. safety during fishing; monitoring, control and surveillance (MCS) and combatting illegal, unreported, unregulated (IUU) fishing; and monitoring markets and trade development);* advocacy and lobbying techniques; public relations and communication skills; networking initiatives with other sectors and consumers; building negotiation strategies with partners and regulators, including the state.

- ***Specialised training for leadership and administrative skills***

Many well-functioning fishworker organisations have originated out of spontaneous action or they are well supported by other organisations in the initial periods. The original leadership is well motivated and sincere. They are able to take the other members along with them due to their charisma, hard work and purposeful dealings. However, such social capital can be transitory and once such leaders have run their course, the organisation can falter. Examples of this phenomenon are numerous in the chequered history of fishworker organisations around the world.

One of the important ways to avoid such organisational decline is to institute a structured program of leadership capacity building. Leadership is not a quality acquired at birth. It is gradually acquired and built by the process of socialising and conscious skill development. It is therefore possible to provide people with the knowledge and the means for obtaining the attitudes required to become a leader. A more conscious and sustained initiative at leadership training – focusing on the youth (young women and men) – should be deemed a priority for all fishworker organisations.

This is a realm where fishworker organisations may have to seek alliances, support and guidance from civil society organisations. (See below)

- ***Negotiating a more creative role for women***

Harnessing the creative energies of women is another realm which has been grossly neglected by fishworker organisations in the past. Since many of the organisations have been focussed on the activities of the fishers, who are predominantly men, they have structurally failed to incorporate ways and means of taking advantage of the strengths of women. It is necessary to negotiate pathways by which women, particularly wives of fishers, can take active and meaningful roles in the organisations. Such participation must contribute to strengthening of both the organisation and the women closely associated with it.

- ***Soliciting support from organisations of civil society***

In comparison with the development decade era, fishworker organisations of today have vastly improved in terms of their ability to conduct their own affairs and also take their own autonomous decisions with regard to the nature of external relations and collaborations which they will enter into. However, there are still many realms where these organisations require greater empathy and support from civil society organisations in order to further their cause of improving the lives and livelihood of fishworkers. Some of the important areas include negotiations with the state; explorations into new science-intensive technologies in harvesting and processing; international trade negotiations; involvement in the management of protected aquatic realms; devising of social security measures such as insurance, pension schemes; fund raising; evolving a communications and public relations strategy; capacity building programs for organisational development and so forth.

Fishworker organisations should actively seek to get the support of civil society groups who can assist them in their activities. However, it is crucial that the choice of partners is made in a judicious and discerning manner to ensure congruence of objectives and compatibility in terms of strategies and visions.

- ***Greater international support for organisations***

In the three 'development decades' (1950-1979) the support received from international organisations such as the FAO and ILO for fisher organisations was considerable. This can be gauged by, for example, the numerous studies commissioned, evaluations undertaken and technical meetings held on the issue of fishery cooperatives. The commitment to, and level of enthusiasm about, the role and relevance of organisations for fishworkers was once very high in the international development circles.

Thereafter, the global trend towards greater economic *laissez faire* resulted in greater emphasis on individual performance over collective action. The role of organisations, the bedrock of collective action, was thus relegated. The sincere support which was extended towards many organisational initiatives of fishers by the state in earlier times gradually began to wane. This withdrawal of the state lasted for almost 3 decades in most countries spurred largely by the neo-liberal agenda imposed by international

lending institutions. During this time, most of the autonomous actions by fishworkers, to start their own organisations, met with suspicion at best and outright hostility at worst.

There seems to be, at the international level, a renewal of the commitment to promoting organisational initiatives among primary producers. The thrust during the International Year of Cooperatives (IYC) in 2012, which was supported by FAO, IFAD, WFP, ILO, UNDP and national governments world-wide, is indicative of this. Earlier in 2008, at the Global Conference on Small-Scale Fisheries, there was a re-affirmation about the role of cooperatives and other organisational forms as a means of achieving resilience and stability of fishing communities. The Conference has been the well-spring from which the current negotiations for drafting an International Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries originate. The commitment to this process by the FAO/UN, numerous national governments, and a whole host of civil society organisations provides reasonable hope for revival of genuine interest in organisations for small-scale fishworkers.

For local and national organisational initiatives among fishworkers to flourish, there is need for greater and more open support from international organisations. Reflecting on the 'mistakes' of the development decades, there is need for a more nuanced and concerted support from these quarters so that national governments will in turn be enthused and supportive of genuine collective action by fishworkers.

- ***Legal framework support***

In many developing countries, the desirable legal framework for active promotion of small-scale fishing does not exist at the moment. In the Pacific, where customary organisations are more present and active there have been efforts made for creating greater legal space for incorporating community-based small-scale fisheries into national legislations.

Many of the fisheries legislations, where they exist, are mainly from the post-independence 'modernisation' era or even earlier. The assumption at that time was that the small-scale fishery would gradually, be totally replaced by the industrial fishery or, alternatively, merely disappear. The UNCLOS had not yet become statute. There was little awareness about the role of 'custom' and about the proliferation of legal pluralism within the small-scale fishery. The ecological and economic significance of riparian areas – particularly the coastal zone – was not fully appreciated.

Following the signing of the UNCLOS III in 1982 there was a spate of national level legislation promulgating Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs). These laws have been characterised as a 'sea grabs by the state'. They were more focussed on the monitoring and control of the living and non-living resources within the EEZs.

A new set of legislations -- which deal more specifically with the resources in the near shore littoral zone (say within 4 to 5 nautical miles from the shore) -- is required if the small-scale fishery is to be meaningfully supported. These zones can be designated as 'livelihood fishery zones' where only selective and non-destructive fishing gear can be used and where only owner-operators are permitted access.

There is also need for proper coastal zone (and other riparian [waterfront] zone) regulations which prioritise the needs of the fishing communities for their housing and other fishery infrastructure requirements.

Legislation which bestows upon small-scale fishers the exclusive status of owner-operator as well as the right to organise the first sale of their products will contribute to significant enhancement of their earnings and control over their lives.

Regulations which prioritise the possibilities of direct, bulk purchase of fish from small-scale fishers for mass-scale food security programs – such as school meal schemes

– can be contemplated particularly in countries where small-scale fishers are known to fish for shoaling pelagic fish species. This will help stabilise prices for the fishers and ensure fish as food for needy populations.

- ***Networking for creating 'economies of scale and scope'***

The menu of activities undertaken by a local level organisation is generally specific to the needs of the concerned group or community of small-scale fishworkers. The geographic settlement of local riparian communities normally gives rise to a physically lateral spatial pattern. This makes them ideally amenable to a 'necklace' type of horizontal networking.

Organisationally such a networking possibility allows for retention of local autonomy while allowing for consorted action when it is required. Horizontal networks permit 'scaling out' rather than 'scaling up'. They allow for greater reach and coverage. They are more democratic and participatory. They permit more diversity, without sacrifice of unity. They can be quickly activated and disbanded.

Combined with the new possibilities opened by ICT, such networks can be the base for enhancing the bargaining power of fishworkers, for example by aggregating their produce; by collective negotiation with buyers on price of first sale. Scaling out can also result in being able to procure inputs are lower prices. Such networks also permit quick collective response in times of crisis – as in the case of natural disasters; search and rescue operations at sea; action against intruding foreign vessels and so on. Such horizontal networks also act as effective conduits for quick diffusion of ideas and innovations –technical, economic and social.

Small-scale fishworkers can also network with small-scale producers in their locale to arrange exchange or barter of products. They can also establish linkages with local consumers in their immediate vicinity as part of campaigns for direct producer-consumer links or 'slow-food' initiatives opening the possibilities for 'production by the masses' to contribute to 'consumption by the masses'.

Small-scale fishworkers can also create virtual networks with other small-scale fishworkers around the globe on the basis of common interests and congruence of ideas. The networking capabilities of the two global fishworker forums; the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers; the numerous national and regional civil society organisations which were active in organising the workshops around the world for discussions on the VG SSF draft and several other NGOs can contribute significantly to attaining this goal.

# 7. Some concluding thoughts

Collective action and the creation of sustainable organisational structures will be a *sine qua non* to revive and modernise the small-scale fishery sector globally. However, it was in the developing countries, where the past experiences -- on both counts of collective action and organisational development -- have largely resulted in outcomes which were sub-optimal. There is hence need for greater focus of attention in the developing countries for instituting plans to track some of the new developments being fostered by small-scale fishworkers, governments and civil society support groups to create new organisational forms or revive old ones.

One important pre-requisite will be to undertake a few diligent case studies in a representative list of developing countries, so that we can obtain a clear understanding of the past, present and the future of collective action and organisational development. A tentative structure and outline for undertaking such studies is provided in **Appendix 2.** This is only a guideline.

Collation of the insights from these studies should be widely discussed at regional and international sessions in the presence of fishworkers, academics, civil society activists and policy makers. Such interactive sessions will greatly facilitate arriving at recommendations and conclusions which will have a greater possibility to be honoured and implemented.

Putting new strategies for organisational development into practice must be undertaken in a participatory mode – right from the very conception stage. Structured involvement of women and youth must also be ensured as an integral part of the organisation process and not as an afterthought. The institutional arrangements (rules, legislations etc.) required for the stability and formal acceptance of these organisations should be reviewed. Collective action to ensure enactment of the same is crucial for sustainability of organisational initiatives. In the case of economic organisations, reliable working capital sources must be assured.

There is a hopeful future for a new, modern small-scale fisheries sector in most developing countries – in both the marine and inland realms. To achieve this, collective action and organisations are vital for establishing their rights for identity, dignity and development. Negotiating this will entail new commitments and fresh perspectives supported by a clear political vision of what is to be done. The series of workshop held around the world to discuss the Voluntary Guidelines on Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries mark a new and encouraging process of renewal and re-affirmation of rights.

One crucially important achievement of this revival of interest in small-scale fisheries is that it is supported by the small-scale fishworkers themselves.

This has the advantage that we will not be confronted with the danger of a single story or a single definition but rather a plethora of narratives which will confront the stereotypes and showcase the diversity of the small-scale fishery and help steer the destiny of small-scale fishworkers into the future.

The purpose of this background note was only to provide a few preliminary insights towards this goal. A detailed and frank discussion at the Workshop in March 2013 should take this forward.

Hanifah Adiyani Tangko, aged 16, Indonesia

# Appendix 1 – The ICA Statement on the Co-operative Identity*

## DEFINITION

A co-operative is an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprise.

## VALUES

Co-operatives are based on the values of self-help, self-responsibility, democracy, equality, equity, and solidarity. In the tradition of their founders, co-operative members believe in the ethical values of honesty, openness, social responsibility, and caring for others.

## PRINCIPLES

The co-operative principles are guidelines by which co-operatives put their values into practice.

### *First Principle: Voluntary and Open Membership*

Co-operatives are voluntary organizations, open to all persons able to use their services and willing to accept the responsibilities of membership, without gender, social, racial, political, or religious discrimination.

### *Second Principle: Democratic Member Control*

Co-operatives are democratic organizations controlled by their members, who actively participate in setting their policies and making decisions. Men and women serving as elected representatives are accountable to the membership. In primary co-operatives, members have equal voting rights (one member, one vote) and co-operatives at other levels are also organized in a democratic manner.

### *Third Principle: Member Economic Participation*

Members contribute equitably to, and democratically control, the capital of their co-operative. At least part of that capital is usually the common property of the co-operative. Members usually receive limited compensation, if any, on capital subscribed as a condition of membership. Members allocate surpluses for any or all of the following purposes: developing their cooperative, possibly by setting up reserves, part of which at least would be indivisible; benefiting members in proportion to their transactions with the co-operative; and supporting other activities approved by the membership.

### *Fourth Principle: Autonomy and Independence*

Co-operatives are autonomous, self-help organizations controlled by their members. If they enter into agreements with other organizations, including governments, or raise capital from external sources, they do so on terms that ensure democratic control by their members and maintain their co-operative autonomy.

* Adopted at the 1995 ICA Centennial Congress in Manchester, England.

### *Fifth Principle: Education, Training, and Information*

Co-operatives provide education and training for their members, elected representatives, managers, and employees so they can contribute effectively to the development of their co-operatives. They inform the general public—particularly young people and opinion leaders—about the nature and benefits of co- operation.

### *Sixth Principle: Co-operation among Co-operatives*

Co-operatives serve their members most effectively and strengthen the co-operative movement by working together through local, national, regional, and international structures.

### *Seventh Principle: Concern for Community*

Co-operatives work for the sustainable development of their communities through policies approved by their members.

# Appendix 2 – **Collective action and organisations for fishers and fishworkers**

(Suggested Structure and Outlines for Case Studies*)

*[*Case studies may include and examine the whole range of forms of fishworker organizations and collective action within a country/region as presented in Table 1]*

- Origins, initiators, motivations, types
  - History and factors accounting for starting the organisation
  - Who were the initiators
  - Core motivations involved for commencement
- Structure of Organisation (Membership, supporters)
  - Nature of the membership
  - Criteria for membership
  - Size of membership
  - Role of supporters and/or facilitators if any
  - The gender issues; role of women; role of youth
  - Internal operating mechanisms of the organizations *(e.g. meeting schedule, election/decision making procedures, transparency/reporting back mechanisms)*
  - Financial implications of running the organization and related funding mechanisms *(how is or has the organization been financed over time).*
- Function of Organisation (Activities)
  - Main activities and relationship to fisheries
    (Organise production; provide credit; better marketing; bargain for welfare gains; social and cultural activities; negotiate with state)
  - Unique and/or distinguishing activities
  - Involvement in fisheries management *(Resource protection; co-management initiatives; regulation and/or allocation decisions)*
  - Involvement in capacity building and knowledge transfer *(Training for youth; transfer of knowledge, skills; passing down custom)*
- Governance Structures
  - Is organisation under any specific state legislation *(legal and administrative)*
  - Is it a customary institution
  - Nature of governance framework
  - Involvement of non-members and their role
  - Nature of decision making bodies and decision making process *(Transparency, accountability, justice, gender equality, non-discrimination)*
  - Are there democratic elections
- Networking and External Relations
  - Is organisation part of larger network or federated structure?
  - Nature of representation in such larger/higher bodies
  - Relationship with larger community in the area
  - Relationship with political process of country

*...(cont)*

- Relationships with the 'outside world'
- Relationship with NGOs involved in development activity, research etc.
- Relationship with academia – researchers, students
- ICT – how has the recent massive improvement in information and communication technologies changed/impacted the organization

- Factors for success/dormancy/failure
  - Is organisation still vibrant and functioning
  - How much of initial objectives, motivations still persist
  - What are its main achievements
    *(Poverty reduction; self-reliance; collective action; avoid exploitation; improve livelihoods and welfare; enhance income; (re)establish identity, retain culture)*
  - What are the keys to success
  - What accounts for dormancy
  - What accounts for failure
- Lessons learned and the way forward: recommendations
  - Factors identified associated to successes and failures
  - What needs to be done and in what level to overcome challenges (*draw some examples from successful and unsuccessful cases)*
  - Strategy to strengthen organizations *(draw some examples from successful and unsuccessful cases)*

# Results of the e-mail survey

### Question 1: Do you think small-scale fishworkers (men and women) need organisations to ensure a secure future?

*The future of small-scale fisheries in the world, and hence of small-scale fishworkers are at stake due to decreasing fish stocks, increasing marine pollution, increasing industrial fishing, etc. In the given scenario, small-scale fishworkers cannot lead a dignified life and thereby will fail to secure their future. They would need support at the policy level. This cannot be achieved unless they create and sustain organizations that can provide stewardship for coherent & collective strategies to tackle issues that affects their lives and livelihoods. Every human group or class that needs and want to defend their interests and rights in society, needs to organize. Therefore the need is not unique to artisanal fishworkers/ fishing community. This need not necessarily be formal organizations. Most fishing communities are organized at village levels in various informal arrangements. These relations have provided the basis for their fishing activities, laying the foundation for close interaction between their customary systems of natural resource governance, collective organisation, use and management of the fisheries.*

*All respondents in the current survey were of the view that fishworkers need to organize. According to one respondent organizing is first and foremost an issue of empowerment. When organized and with their voices stronger than while in isolation, they cannot be ignored as easily, and governments have someone to talk to, which is essential for co-management and for accessing other government initiatives/ schemes/ benefits aimed at fishing community/ fishworkers. Organizations allow people to pool their resources. Organizations create a platform for sorting out differences, for interactive learning, and for coordinating actions. The solution to many problems in fisheries lies in cooperation and collective action, which organizations help to facilitate.*

*Among the respondents, fishworkers indicated that organizations made them better off, brought development (mainly social and economic) and progress to fishing communities in general. Organising gave them a unified front and a different identity and self-esteem, increasing their bargaining power even in the face of the powerful and monied sections (industrial/ commercial) in fishing which could take over the whole fishing industry in the absence of these organizations. The responses from fishworkers indicated that they valued the social, management, political and economic advantages given to them by these organizations. Organizing gave them visibility and voice helping them to access much needed benefits. One of the respondents even added that organizations help the community members to observe self-restraint with regard to resource exploitation which in turn could help sustain their livelihoods. One of the examples on the merits of organizing comes from South Africa where fishworkers threatened by the rights allocation process organized in community-based organizations to challenge the same. This resulted in small-scale fishworkers getting access to fishing grounds and thereby a grip on their culture and livelihoods. The role played by organizations in making visible the issues and concerns of fishworkers, fishing community and their way of life are undisputed. Lack of organization made socially and economically weaker sections prone to more and severe exploitation. The benefits of belonging to an organization are many. These include: creating a sense of belonging and ensuring identity to fishermen; generating market power; and better probability of inclusion in processes that affect their lives and livelihoods.*

*One of the fishing community representatives added that the presence of large number of organizations (formal and informal) in the small-scale fishing sector, however, has resulted in division among/ within the community which is a threat in the face of outside pressure.*

*The varied responses obtained in the survey can be classified under the heads: social, political, economic and ecological*

### Social

*By the very nature of their occupation, small-scale fishworkers (SSFs) are not powerful and are dispersed in space and often in their range of interests. A fishworker organization will unify the dispersed and give power to the powerless. Defining the interests that might unite SSFs are numerous and difficult. Given the diverse nature of the sector it is also difficult to reach an agreement on what comprises the small-scale sector. To form the organizations and sustain them is then the next challenge.*

*Where fishworkers have strong community dimensions, they need to organise for their social and emotional well-being. The traditional/ customary institutions among some fishing communities play this role quite effectively.*

*Individual, privatized notions of rights have weakened collective action as well as undermined the culture of many communities that depended on the transmission of oral histories and collective knowledge through customary institutions and practices. Other values such as ancestral and spiritual beliefs and practices that further strengthen the social fabric that once provided a shared frame of reference have also been impacted by a more individualised approach. This has left communities alienated from their value base. Collective, customary systems of dispute resolution have been weakened as have relations of reciprocity and care. This makes small-scale fisher vulnerable to conflict. Within the current context of globalisation and increased mobility and fluidity of communities, SSF organisations can play a key role in providing a common frame of reference. This will enable fishing communities to adapt and shape new futures, but built on values of care for others and the need to ensure the well-being of others around them. It is about securing their futures not only through stronger collective bargaining power in terms of the market, but also importantly through protecting the future of their cultures and histories.*

### Political

*Formal fishing organizations have been a way to gain recognition from the State as to who is a "legitimate" fisher. This has in turn channelled benefits to fishing community.*

*Marine fisheries simultaneously have both inter-sectoral, multi-scale, as well as local, national and international dimensions. These are often incoherent and have conflicting dimensions, requiring negotiations involving the different sub-sectors in fisheries, other sectors and the State. These are to develop informal and formal arrangements in the short- and long-run. Small-scale fishworkers, in general, being politically, economically and socially weak would find it difficult to emerge from these negotiations with favourable outcomes unless they are well organized at different levels and are supported by the State and sympathetic elements of civil society/NGOs.*

*Organizations help fishworkers to represent their interest in the world of competing interests, to be part of the decision-making processes, etc. (to negotiate on a more equal footing with larger players such as multinational oil companies, tourism entrepreneurs, aquaculture enterprises, city planners and others who seek to claim or modify space in the coastal zone). In Brazil, the National Movement of Fishers and NGOs in support of fishworkers participated in the National Committee for Co-management of the lobster fishery. There was an attempt by the Confederation and the Fisheries Ministry*

*to keep out the fishers and the civil society from the committee. However, the General Accounting Office monitoring government policies intervened, and the Fisheries Ministry will now have to let the fishers and their supporters back into the committee.*

*Increasingly the right to participation is being recognized as international customary law and is being embraced by States. SSF organisations provide the means whereby fishers can realize this right.*

*Small-scale fishworkers need to organize to defend their human rights with the governments of their respective countries. They need to organise to campaign for basic rights, where these are not being upheld. This can include anything from campaigning for inclusion in provisions made under national climate adaptation plans and disaster risk reduction programmes, to fair inclusion in health and social service provision. It can also include protection of the rights of particular social groups, such as migrants, indigenous people and children.*

### Economic

*As all small producers, scaling up to get the best result in the market place (both for fish and for inputs) fishworker organizations help small scale fishworkers get better economic returns from their activities. Both fishermen and fisherwomen need economic organisations (coops, self-help groups, etc.) to help them achieve scale. The specific activities or businesses in which economies of scale are relevant will vary from context to context. While it may make best sense in fish marketing in some contexts, it could be inputs and credit in others.*

*Ensuring access to inputs implies access to affordable credit to procure craft gear and accessories. Access to product market includes right of fish sales, access to cold chain facility, market information, affordable credit to cover processing costs, social amenities at landing/processing centres etc. In the modern context, access to market also involve complying with environmental, sanitary and phyto-sanitary, and labour standards at the State or supra State level. There is also need for training in all these areas.*

*Due to the highly perishable nature of fish, middlemen take on an important role in transporting excess fish (which cannot be absorbed locally) to faraway markets and to processing units etc. This, most of the times, is beyond the capacity of the resource poor fishworkers. By organizing in the form of productive associations and cooperatives guarantees fishworkers fair prices and access to markets. This allows them to compete on a level playing ground with merchants.*

*Organisations help to engage with global markets on more favourable terms. Though keeping global markets at bay would be the ideal situation, currently that seems an improbable proposition in the near or medium term. Therefore, it is important that fishworkers find ways to ensure that they can negotiate with larger-scale market intermediaries (e.g. major seafood buyers) to ensure that the power and value-set of outsiders does not dictate what people are able to do. However, in many countries, market penetration and the introduction of new economic policies, colonial and modern and statutory legal systems have undermined the customary and collective basis of fishworker institutions.*

*Fishworker organizations provide the State a party to engage with and enter into dialogue. Organizations also facilitate the state to channel benefits to particular groups/ communities.*

### Ecological

*Fishworkers should organize for the sake of resource sustainability. When fishworker organizations make decisions on resource exploitation it is likely that all fishers respect the same as it was their own decision. Whenever fishers act in coordination with other fishers in any aspect of the fishing activity they are in fact organizing and creating organizations.*

*Small-scale fishworkers organisations help fishworkers/ fishing community to effectively participate in fisheries management either through a community-based fisheries management framework or through a co-management framework. However, such organisations have to be inclusive, preferably of all those involved in SSF.*

*Organizations have been fundamental towards responsible fishing and innovative ways towards community-based governance models to make decisions on the marine territory.*

*Organisations will enable them to argue for a fair share of access to resources in managed fisheries – whether these are in fisheries managed communally, territorially, by the state, or by ITQs.*

*Collective action is required to ensure that individual, community and sub-sectoral interests are represented in negotiations over allocation of fishing rights.*

*However, one respondent was of the opinion that several small-scale fisheries and fishworkers exist (and have existed for centuries) in a context where no formal organizations such as coops, associations, unions etc., have existed. Focusing exclusively on collective efforts will therefore overlook the existence of other processes to ensure a secure future for the fishers.*

*Another concern about organizations highlighted in the survey was the capturing of the same by elites of the organization for personal gains or by those whom the organisation may seek to influence. The organizations and its leaders must be accountable to its membership and also in dealing with uncertainties in markets, environment, and access to resources etc. making honesty and trust critical factors for the success of organizations.*

### Question 2: What type of organisations should they be? (Cooperatives, associations, unions ?)

*Many respondents were of the opinion that it is not possible to prescribe any specific organisational type. This is because the terms cooperatives, unions and associations could mean different things in different contexts. Therefore focus should be on an organisation' function and not necessarily its name. In general, organizations - - its type and, suitability to fishworkers, etc., depends on the existent situation/ context and is subject to change and cannot be externally prescribed. The type of organization should be whatever is best suited to govern common resources in a way that is sustainable for future generations and maintains the livelihoods of the people currently dependent on the resource, thereby contributing to their wellbeing.*

*There exist formal (cooperatives, associations, unions, etc,) and informal organizations/ arrangements (traditional community/ community-based organizations) at various levels, as appropriate, depending on economic, social, cultural and political factors prevailing in each country. There are also permutations and combinations of these organizations. An assumption is that the forces of these organizations could combine to protect the interests of small-scale fishing communities mainly from an equity perspective. Therefore, it is important that all these varied organizations be understood, recognized and acknowledged.*

*An organization in general carries out one or several of the following function – economic, political, resource management/ecological and social. For instance, the Maritime Fishermen's Union (MFU) in Canada, a trade union, plays a representative role (political function) but is also part of a co-management system.*

*In Sri Lanka, the fishermen coops in the Northern Province played all four roles during the war time. Now, under peace time conditions, the coop system is unfurling a bit due to various political dynamics that is dividing the community with state policies keen on establishing political control over fishworker organisations.*

*In India, there are very successful economic organisations (coops for men, self-help groups for women), fairly active political organisations (trade unions, associations)*

*representing fishworker interests and strong social organisations managing both political representation and the socio-cultural sphere. Historically, the traditional village/caste organisation has played at least three of the four roles: social, political and fisheries management. However, their involvement in the economic sphere has been weak or negligible. In fisheries management, the dynamics associated with fisheries development in the country has led to the decline of the role and effectiveness of traditional organisations. A new structure could be erected on top of these traditional organisations to undertake fisheries management function.*

*However, setting up new organizations or arrangements could relegate the already existing/ functional ones to oblivion. This is more so in case where the older ones are formed by more vulnerable sections of the society. One example is the Lake Victoria fisheries, where setting up of a coop disadvantaged the women who previously had access to the fish for processing and sale. The case of caste organizations in India, mentioned above, is another good example of how development in fisheries can affect organizations.*

*Nevertheless, it should be understood that local organizations are needed both for a better understanding of the changing elements of the environment and the new issues that these create, and for an effective enforcement of any management or warning system that will be deemed necessary. Such an objective requires both a federation (union) to discuss and deal with the government, and local associations for grasping the issues and to undertake the on-the-ground- enforcement.*

*The type of organization is also determined by existing policies, legislations, political climate, what functions is not well taken care of within the existing structure etc. For example, in many Caribbean countries the cooperative legislation and policy is geared to credit unions, essentially business and banking. Consequently, many places favour associations. In Cambodia there is still hesitation to establish cooperatives because of the bad experience during the Khmer Rouge in using cooperatives. Some countries automatically favour cooperatives, associations, unions, etc., by giving them certain constitutional rights/privileges, etc. For example, in Belize, if one forms a cooperative, one automatically gets the right to export marine products. On the other hand for an association such privileges do not exist. In case of repressive states, it would be difficult to form any organization other than the ones handed down from 'above'. Though organizations imposed by state could help channel benefits from the State to its members. Creation of unequal relations which could disempower the members is the flipside. The situation is similar in the case of repressive societies which deny women to form organisations or form organizations whose objectives and functioning are dominated by men. Experience from Ecuador indicates that it is cooperative organizations that have shown greater development and improved quality of life of members. This is due to the ideological framework (cooperative doctrine) which has formed them.*

*Self-initiated autonomous organizations that are instrumental in mobilization of human, material and immaterial resources for collective action to pursue a common goal are generally regarded as the most effective of organizations. Therefore, ideally small-scale fishworkers should be able to initiate their own organizations autonomously to be able to best serve their interests. And these organizations should be recognized as representative organizations by the state, the fisheries sector and the society. However, it should also be borne in mind that small-scale fishworkers are also not a single-interest group. The most marginalized among them generally have the least resources available and often have no other choice than to join the organizations of dominant interests to access some of the benefits of a group/collective.*

*Fishworkers, however, emphasised that whatever the kind of organization -- be it cooperatives, unions or associations – the bottom line is that they should be handled by fishworkers themselves and it should include women as active participants.*

*The largest number of respondents (including fishworkers who were already members of cooperatives 13/19) recognized and favoured the formation of cooperatives (30/67 respondents) over any other type of organization. They consider cooperatives to be the only impartial structure in its functioning. It provides a business-oriented approach and also enables fishworkers to act as a company to get benefits of trade for its members.*

*However, it was also recognized that economic organizations such as cooperatives, in most cases, are effective only at the local level, while associations/ unions championing for the rights of fishworkers and their community, though relevant at the micro level, are absolutely required at the macro level for political negotiations. Such organizations are pertinent where fishworkers are denied their rights to resources and right to lead dignified life. As many as 20/ 67 respondents stressed the importance of unions/ association.*

*Respondents also recognized the importance of social movements which form the spring board to network, plan and execute joint actions, to make the voices of fishworkers stronger and their demands more powerful. The independence provided to organizations by movements while facilitating interdependence to make individual fights for justice and collective good stronger is well recognized.*

*Cooperation is the key and not necessarily cooperatives, opined an academician. Cooperation can be organized in different ways, and one should be open to the possibility that one organization can be as effective as another type. However, the type or its formation itself is not guarantee for success. Fishworker organizations in cooperation with local governments could prove to be effective in its overall functioning. The fishworker organisations could utilize the legislative power, stronger financial basis of these government organizations. However care should be taken that fishworker organization does not deviate from its agreed vision, mission and objectives in the process of collaboration.*

### Question 3: What should be their prime objective?

*The prime objective of any small-scale fishworker organization is to remain united and achieve the collective welfare of its members to pursue common interests.*

*However objectives of organizations could vary based on particular contexts and could be valid as long as it:*

- *reflects the concerns and demands of small-scale fishworkers and delivers the collectively agreed objectives*
- *makes the respective organization respond and work with its members*
- *facilitates organizations to generate a coherent and clear message to those whom it wishes to influence*
- *helps the organisation to protect economic, social, cultural and political space of small-scale fishworkers to improve and sustain their inter-generational well-being from a human rights and ecosystem perspective.*

*Other objectives include:*

- *Ensuring the visibility and recognition of small-scale fishworker, including the equal recognition of unpaid work (generally reproductive work done by women)*
- *Striving to maximize dignified, safe, durable and profitable work, involving the highest possible number of people. Though the latter can be at odds with economic efficiency, it is a crucial goal in places where small-scale fisheries is a major provider of employment and low-cost nutrition.*
- *Creating wealth to be part of a better world and once this is achieved the objectives can change and focus of 'higher' needs*

*Different organizations achieve different objectives.*

***Economic organizations** such as cooperatives take up issues related to markets such as ensuring greater control for fishworkers over their markets (both output and input), reducing operation costs, reducing the role of middlemen; promoting available and*

*accessible technology to access a wide variety of markets, enabling them to earn more money while reducing landings etc. Cooperatives help lessen the economic fragility of artisanal fishers to deal with the fluctuations and uncertainty of the market and competition from industrial fishing. It is also observed that most cooperatives benefit only their members, cooperatives can empower and benefit a broader group indirectly.*

***Political organizations/ Associations** such as unions will seek to advocate policies that promote and sustain small-scale fisheries, fishworkers and fishing communities in ensuring their livelihoods; mobilise for collective action; ensure participation of fishworker representatives in various processes that affect their life and livelihoods ensuring that their voices are heard; engage with policy makers and so forth. In the realm of resource management, such organizations strive to promote sustainable and cost-effective fishing technologies/ practices in the inshore waters; ensure that fishworkers comply with the rules agreed upon. With regard to the social role, these organizations work towards a holistic improvement of the fishing community by taking up issues of socioeconomic development such as education, health, social security etc. and ensure that governments provide services necessary for small scale fishermen to thrive. Associations/trade unions have a more political orientation. They can represent the whole category and aim at broader goals, short, medium and long term. These different roles and range of objectives mean that associations/unions may have a more important and strategic role in the defence of fish workers as compared to cooperatives, especially when they are united to create a social movement.*

*Resource management organizations such as co-management bodies will strive to ensure better resources management taking into consideration the needs and practices of small-scale fishworkers; ensure sustainable and equitable fishing. Fisheries management is about managing people rather than managing fish. With this in mind, and from a managerial standpoint, fishers need to be an integral part of fisheries management. However, very often, since the fishers are not well organised they are poorly represented because they do not have an adequate platform for constructive discussion. Therefore, the main purpose even in resource management organizations is to organize better and to increase their capacities to engage constructively with fisheries managers so as to enhance fisheries management and their own livelihoods.*

*Social Organizations: To ensure unity and internal coherence within the fishing community and to ensure peaceful co-existence and greater integration with the rest of society.*

*All the above categories of organizations could contribute towards capacity building and empowerment of their members by playing a vital role in information sharing which is vital to the sustenance of the community and the members they represent. They should network with larger social and political processes that will consolidate and strengthen their stand on issues.*

*The existence of one type of organization does not invalidate the importance of the other. Cooperatives tend to improve the competitiveness of those involved in the market, improving their lives in the short term. However, they do not change the structural conditions of the market, which is inherently unequal. This can be tackled by movements, associations and trade unions at the national level. It is important to showcase the importance of different types of organizations for the betterment of their members and the power they could wield towards political mobilization at different scales.*

### Question 4: What should be two or three or their main activities/functions?

*The main functions and activities of an organization depend on its form and objectives. The responses given are categorized as follows.*

#### *Cooperatives*

- *Ensure good input and output support. This included; access to better markets, better price for products, better credit and marketing requirements for fishworkers; ensure that the first sale of fish is under the control of the producer; ensure supply of fishing crafts/gear, fuel etc. to members; ensure better handling/ processing of products.*
- *Credit, Savings and Insurance Function (revolving credit schemes, instant credit schemes) which are important in a context of weak and inadequate credit and insurance markets*
- *Take up alternative development plans/ programmes*
- *Provide support for the education of children of the fishing community*
- *Fight to ensure safety and security of fishworkers*

#### *Associations/ Unions*

- *Mobilization and organization of small-scale fisherfolk for collective action; establishing permanent channels of information exchange in order to break the condition of "isolation"; knowing others' situations, problems and experiences of organization and struggle, and devising joint actions at different scales, up to the national level; ensuring the transfer of skills and knowledge to each other among the membership; connecting with small-scale fishworkers around the world; establishing alliances with other sectors and integrating wherever possible and applicable.*
- *Attain recognition for small-scale fishworkers from authorities; protecting and defending their access to coastal living and occupational spaces, as well as to fishing ground and fishery resources; establishing their collective rights; protecting the values and strength of their culture, traditional knowledge and supportive social systems*
- *Ensure representation of fishworkers in various policy development processes; bring back power and decision-making to fishing communities; perform the duty of a pressure group in its fight towards the rights of small-scale fishworkers and against policies, plans, projects that hamper the lives and livelihoods of small-scale fishworkers; fight for the promotion and recognition of small-scale fisheries as a valuable asset for national or regional development and fight for the sectors' recognition to move towards long-term conservation of the sea; contribute to the wellbeing of fishers at all social, economic, political and cultural fronts*
- *Capacity building/ training of fisherfolk on various issues including mobilization, organizations, human rights, etc.*
- *Establish leadership/ create leaders to negotiate with government and other agencies*
- *Deal with management of common resources*
- *Establish resource management regulation such as enforcing best practices in fishing; ensure disciplined and responsible fishing; manage fisheries from a sustainable development perspective;*
- *Settle internal disputes; ensuring membership participation on an equal and egalitarian basis; creating a shared set of rules for the use and benefit to small-scale fisheries*
- *Channelize incentives from institutions to members; guarantee government subsidies and social security measures for fishworkers; develop strategies that*

*reinforce the need for better labour and health conditions for fishers and workers in the post-harvest activities*

- *Ensure critical education to strengthen critical awareness of difficult situations faced by fisherfolk which will also help highlight the perspectives of small-scale fishing. This is essential for the nurturing of new leaders and renewal of existing leadership.*

### Question 5: What do you consider to be the key factors/features which these organisations should possess in order to be sustainable and successful?

*Many respondents indicated that any organization working for the cause of a community should have a strong local base and be preferably of, by and for the members of the community, in this case the fishworkers. This is because, such organizations are better equipped to articulate and defend the needs and rights of the community it represents.*

A prerequisite for any organization to be successful, however, is identifying and *agreeing to a vision and mission based on a common understanding which truly defines the purpose of its very existence. Attention must be paid to the importance of the knowledge, values and actions of the organisation in the founding processes and documents so that the organisations articulate clearly the philosophies and value systems upon which they seek to operate. This process should also ensure that local values, culture and identity of the people it represents are maintained. However, it should also be alert to the changing scenario and be adaptable in order to survive.*

*The respondents (mainly the fishworkers and their supporters) also agreed that organizations need to be built on the basic values of accountability, democracy, equity, honesty, non-discrimination, participation, reciprocity, solidarity, transparency and trust. It was also suggested that if the organization is to gain the trust of its base, it should have a good ability to listen, learn and communicate effectively with its members. It was emphasised that the social dimensions, values and benefits of organisation should not be overshadowed by over-emphasis on the objective of strengthening bargaining power in the market place.*

*It is crucial to retain autonomy, political independence and credibility of the organization and its members while engaging with larger socio-economic processes. This attribute was seen as important aspects for effective and successful functioning as well as the sustainability of organizations.*

*Other important factors that determine the success of an organization are leadership, networking with other movements and processes, support from government and other agencies and good administration of the organization.*

#### *Leadership:*

*Leadership is key to success (36/67). Strong, responsible, effective and good leadership motivated by the collective good, a will to unify and based on strong ethics (mainly an ethic of care for members as well as ecosystem upon which the community depends) are important factors that determine the success of any organization. Leadership should ideally be provided by a group of people and not by single individual.*

*Good leadership will care about:*

- *strengthening of internal cohesiveness with respect for diversity among membership (inclusiveness and equal representation);*
- *equal and active participation of both men and women in various processes including decision-making;*
- *keeping up the momentum of the organization;*
- *effective and efficient planning and conflict resolution strategies*
- *improving the awareness building among members about the challenges facing the sector using effective communication to convey messages quickly and easily, using languages known to its members*

- *maintaining good working relationships with members and member organizations*
- *increasing engagements with government bodies for the greater good of the community*
- *capacity building among its members including the leaders to improve communication and representation capacities.*
- *ensuring exposure for its members to similar communities in other parts of the world*

*However this emphasis on leadership comes with a caveat that it could become so strong that it stops listening to its members who could become victims of the iron "law of oligarchy". This kind of strong leadership could be more effective externally, though democracy within the organisation will be defunct, opined an academician.*

### Good Membership:

*An organization is defined by its membership. For an organization to succeed and be sustained it should have enlightened members with a spirit to voluntarism. They should actively participate in processes happening within and out of the organization. They should be ready to make individual and collective commitments. They should have the ability to build and preserve the organization's collective memory (knowledge, insights). An organization is only as strong as the cohesiveness among its members. However in some places it is also seen that members see their organizations as an extension of their own fishing activities and not as a body that needs to function on its own terms, for instance be able to build secure funding of its own activities and programs. The "what is in it for me" attitude among members could be detrimental to internal solidarity, cohesion, and governance, which are essential for the long term effectiveness of the organization.*

### Good Administration:

*Good administration was highlighted as an important factor for a successful organization by half the fishworkers (10/19) who responded to the questions. Clear internal rules, easily understood with appropriate and efficient penalties are determinants of organizational success. Good business management skills, sustainable financial management systems were also listed high among the fishworkers view of successful organization. Responsible management of funds with strong fund raising capabilities (to mobilize its own funds through membership-fees as well as mobilize external resources without losing out on organizational interests) were underscored by fishworkers as an important factor for organizational success.*

*Good administration, management skills etc. among fishworkers however could be a problem given the lack of resources like education, organizational skills, self-confidence, time etc. And this would necessitate legal, financial and accounting advice and support from outside sources to avoid fiscal problems. However it should be ensured that such roles remain supportive and must not result in taking-over of the organizational initiative from the fishworkers.*

### Effective Advocacy and Lobbying:

*Organizations working for fishworkers should lobby for responsible fisheries management; demand clear policy guidelines over their rights; advocate for jurisdictional boundaries; demand social equity in government welfare schemes/ programmes etc. For the above, the organizations should have the mandate to influence policy making, consensus building, capacity to implement reform, ability to monitor results which will also determine the management of resources.*

*Organizations should also increase their capacity to engage, negotiate, and develop strategic alliances in order to facilitate the achievement of its objectives with partner organizations. They should network with larger movements with shared interests so as*

*to improve and increase their collective capacity for action, communication and also to ensure that their efforts go beyond their village/ beach.*

*In order to negotiate with, partner or combat outside organizations, fishworkers organizations may require support from good intellectuals, political organisations, government agencies and support through facilitating legislations, etc*

*The support of government was viewed to be key for the success of fishworker organizations.*

*Governments should undertake the following:*

- *facilitate formation of organizations of fishworkers based on the local felt need and objectives*
- *facilitate exchanges among organizations*
- *provide financial and administrative assistance, training to start up their organizations until they are able to sustain themselves from membership fees and income from productive activities.*
- *ensure effective dissemination of scientific data and information, converted into languages understood by fisherfolk.*
- *provide financial support and low interest rate lending specifically designed for small scale fisheries*
- *place restrictions on open-access (in other words, initiate a limited entry system) which is important for any co-management organization to succeed.*

### *General Attributes:*

*There are other general attributes which account for successful organisations. This could depend on several factors and they can vary from country to country, and perhaps from fishery to fishery. Also, the attributes that could make them function in a coherent fashion can change if there are radical shifts to supply of fishery resources and demand for fish and fishery products, or under changing labour supply conditions (depleted fisheries, competition from aquaculture, increases in imports, export regulations, influx of labour or de-populating coasts, so on and so forth).*

*Ideally, organisations should be autonomous, subject to an independent oversight mechanism, democratic and bottom-up, as far as possible, to ensure that they collectively strive to develop a common, vibrant and pre-emptive space for sustainable small-scale fisheries development.*


Carlos Del Pueyo Ruiz, aged 7, Spain

# Strengthening organizations and collective action in small-scale fisheries: lessons learned from Brazil and the Caribbean

by

**P. McConney**
University of the West Indies, Barbados
and
**R. Medeiros**
Federal University of Paraná, Brazil

Jana Rivera, aged 14, Philippines

# Acknowledgements

We thank several fisherfolk leaders and organizations that contributed to this discussion paper. Special thanks go to Mitchell Lay of the Caribbean Network of Fisherfolk Organisations (CNFO) for organising and leading the fisherfolk group interviews in Jamaica and Guyana. We acknowledge the contributions from fisherfolk organisations in Brazil. Special thanks also to Carina C. Foppa for reviewing some of the analysis for the Brazilian case study.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

The concept note for the overall initiative on "Strengthening organizations and collective action in fisheries: a way forward to the implementation of the International Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-scale Fisheries" provides the background for this look at the lessons learned from Brazil and the Caribbean. It recognizes that both formal and informal fisherfolk[1] organizations may serve to empower fisherfolk and improve their livelihoods. In successfully doing so, issues of food security, access and tenure, gender, poverty, resource sustainability and more are addressed. Success, however, can be elusive and hard won. This is the problem.

FAO and several other agencies in partnership with fisherfolk organisations around the world are seeking better, and more successful, institutional approaches to establishing and sustaining fisherfolk organisations (FAO, 2010). Small-scale fisheries (SSF) occupy a place of prominence in this quest. SSF employ more than 90 percent (33 million) of the world's 36 million capture fishers, and another 107 million people in fish processing, distribution and marketing (Mills *et al.,* 2011), with about 47 percent of these people being women. SSF are also key to the success of several international instruments and new approaches that aim to contribute to sustainable fisheries (FAO, 2009).

Of all fisheries, the challenges of fisheries governance are greatest with SSF (Bavinck *et al.,* 2005). Recognising these challenges, in addition to the guidance offered by the Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries (CCRF), the FAO and partners are developing the International Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-scale Fisheries (SSF Guidelines) in a global participatory process with fisherfolk input.

The relevance and crucial role of fisherfolk groups was underscored during the 2008 Global Conference on Small-scale Fisheries[2] and in many discussions and forums of the on-going SSF Guidelines process. The United Nations declaration of 2012 as the International Year of Cooperatives with the theme "Cooperative Enterprises Build a Better World" provides further impetus for championing fisherfolk organisations as important means for institutionalising responsible fisheries and achieving the related aims of ecosystem health and human well-being.

The concept note states that fisherfolk organisations "need to be strengthened in terms of their ability to exercise their right to organize, participate in policy dialogues and resource management initiatives, as well as to access markets, financial services, and infrastructure." But first, we need to get a better understanding of such organisations and collective action. In fisheries, interventions without understanding can prove as problematic as not having intervened at all. This look at lessons learned from Brazil and the Caribbean contributes to the global level of understanding required to implement the SSF Guidelines.

---

[1] "Fisherfolk" is the term commonly used in the Caribbean by harvest and postharvest fishing industry participants to refer to themselves and their groups. The alternative term "fish workers" is not used. It also distinguishes them from "fisheries" organisations, which often refers to governmental agencies.

[2] Report of the Global Conference on Small-scale Fisheries, Bangkok, Thailand, 13-17 October 2008. FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Report No. 911. [http://www.fao.org/docrep/012/i1227t/i1227t.pdf]

## 1.2 ABOUT THIS REPORT

The next section (Section 2) of this report addresses methods. It outlines some key concepts and the major research framework employed. Means of data collection, analysis and interpretation, plus their limitations, are also provided. The Brazil and Caribbean studies follow the same pattern. Sections 3 and 4 include the study area situation analysis, factors favouring success or failure, issues of special interest (gender, networks, self-organisation, governance), some success stories and capacity development needs. The final section synthesizes lessons learned from the two geographic areas. References follow.

The main audience for this discussion paper comprises fisheries experts from academic, government, inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations. The language and format are aimed at this group rather than other (e.g. resource user or policy-maker) audiences that must also be reached in order to successfully implement the SSF Guidelines. The assumption is made of a high level of familiarity with concepts and contexts associated with the topic that allows scene-setting to be brief and the bulk of the paper to be focused on the findings. The aim is to provide thought-provoking information and ideas for consideration.

# 2. Methods

## 2.1 KEY CONCEPTS

The framework underpinning our approach to this study incorporates concepts such as complex adaptive systems (CAS), social-ecological systems (SES), multi-level governance, adaptive capacity, resilience, self-organisation, gender, collective action, livelihoods, the ecosystem approach to fisheries (EAF) and others suggested as the new directions for SSF (Berkes *et al.,* 2001). Most readers will be familiar with these and will appreciate that some, such as governance, are characterised by different schools of thought that diverge more in their details than in their principles (Jentoft, 2007).

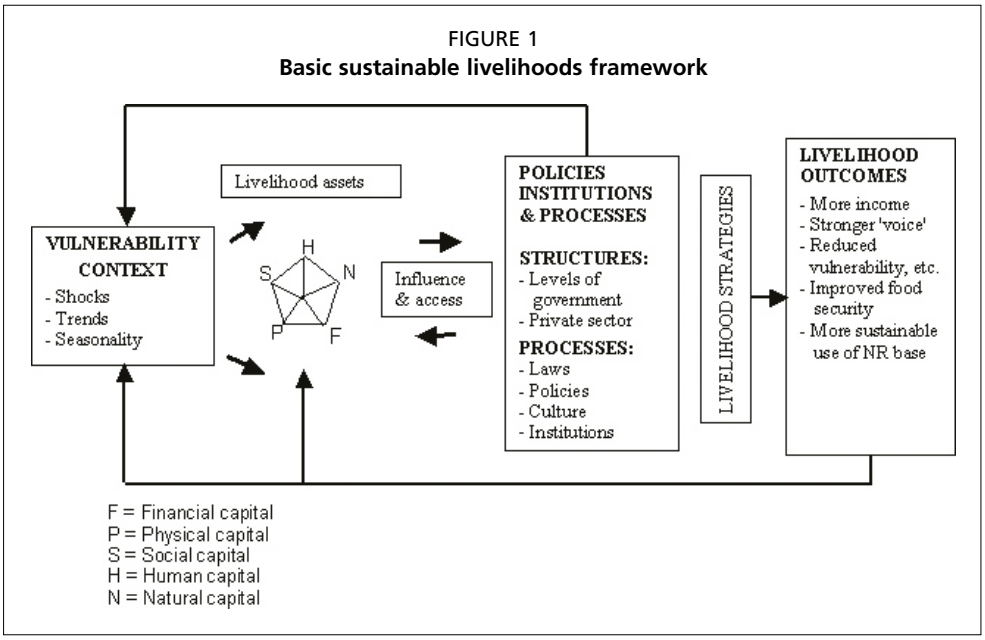
Although much can be said and debated, rather than a literature review, we provide just a brief overview that focuses mainly on the linkages among concepts. This affords us the opportunity to take an interdisciplinary approach that benefits from several perspectives articulated with the research framework. Evidence of usefulness is partly provided by the results. The evidence is partial mainly because this is an attempt to fit findings from secondary sources into the framework rather than apply the framework to primary data to test or validate it from the bottom up, as would be ideal.

Fisheries, especially SSF, are complex adaptive social-ecological systems (Mahon *et al.,* 2008). Combining CAS and SES with thinking on resilience, governance and especially livelihoods provides a powerful, and reasonably coherent, conceptual framework with which to examine fisherfolk organisations and collective action. Viewing the fisheries system from the perspective of fisherfolk should be most instructive. This places sustainable livelihoods (Allison and Ellis, 2001) at the core of resilient fisheries SES where multi-level, interactive governance (or governability) is critical (Bavinck *et al.,* 2005). Notions of self-organisation, networks and adaptive capacity are prominent in both livelihoods and governance analyses. Livelihoods and governance are the two main analytical perspectives here. The research framework emphasises and operationalizes linkages between them.

## 2.2 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Livelihoods, such as those in fisheries, which depend upon natural resources, illustrate SES by their practical integration of the social and ecological components as well as governance (especially governing interactions) in the course of everyday life. Fisherfolk organisations in SSF, as noted previously, are mainly focused on livelihoods and governance. Of these two, frameworks for livelihoods analysis are better known, with governance gaining ground fast. In SSF, use of the sustainable livelihoods (SL) approach is now commonplace (Béné, Macfadyen and Allison, 2007). The SL framework (Figure 1) has been adapted to address deficiencies such as to add enhancement and diversification (IMM, 2008) and to fit purposes such as gender analysis (Weeratunge and Snyder, 2009) and disaster risk management (Baas *et al.,* 2008) among many others.

FIGURE 1
**Basic sustainable livelihoods framework**

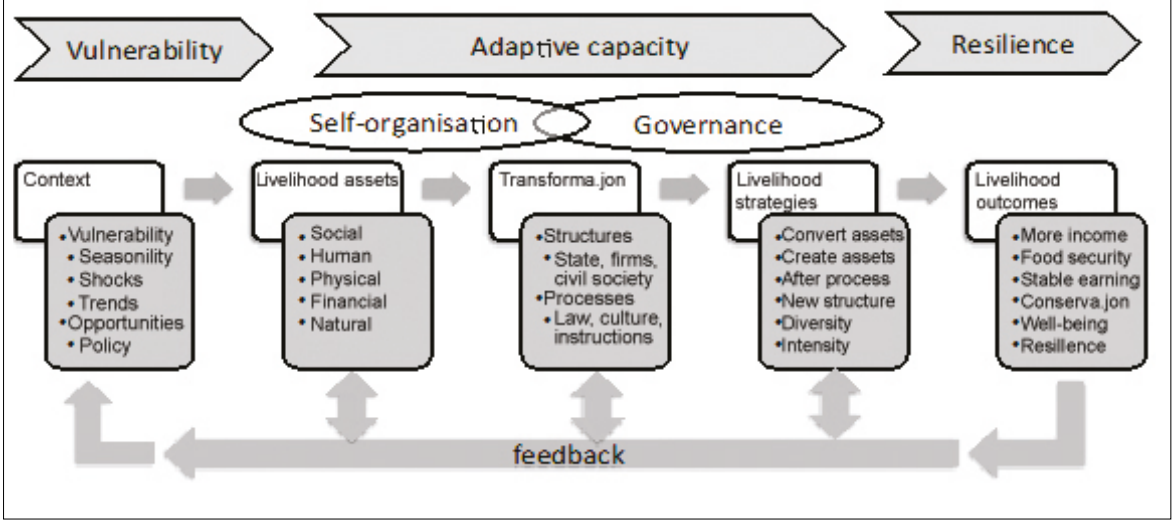



For natural resource economic sectors such as agriculture and forestry, there are projects and programmes (of FAO, WWF, etc.) that combine SL and governance. In SSF, FAO has addressed SL and governance along with food security, poverty and other issues, often in conjunction with implementing the CCRF (FAO, 1995 and 2009). These initiatives, however, do not fully incorporate the most recent thinking on fisheries governance and resilience into SL, and are not from an organisational and collective action perspective.

There needs to be a framework, based for example on the SL approach, that fully integrates components of our current thinking from governance, livelihoods and resilience with an emphasis on organisations as the unit of analysis. A rough first draft of such a framework is proposed in this paper (Figure 2).

It is the 'governance-livelihoods-organisational-resilience-integration' (GLORI) framework. Although each of these components can add significant layers of complexity to the framework we suggest that, for multi-stakeholder communication and practical application to SSF, it should be kept simple and centred upon livelihoods.

FIGURE 2
**The livelihoods approach can integrate governance, organisations and resilience**



SL must be approached from the perspective of groups, networks and organisations in addition to individuals, fishery enterprises, households and communities. Ideally, there is a progression from SES vulnerability towards desirable resilience through the development of adaptive capacity (mainly of and by fisherfolk organisations in this case). The vulnerability context includes the aquatic ecosystem and ecological considerations. But, consistent with a working definition of governance (Kooiman *et al.,* 2005), it should also include opportunity. It is necessary, but not sufficient, to be concerned with problem-solving. Advantage must also be taken of opportunities or situations in which they can be created. Further along the framework incorporating governance, windows of opportunity contribute to transformation (Olsson *et al.,* 2004). Opportunities lower thresholds (constraints) in shifting from one regime into another that is more desirable, but transformation requires some prior level of adaptive capacity, and this comes largely from livelihood assets.

Among the five types of livelihood assets the fisherfolk organisational analysis is concerned mostly with human and social capital and their roles in organisational strengthening through building capacity. The capacity to self-organise, which includes the access to and influence of transformative structures and processes, is especially important for collective action. The links between collective action and governance in SES are many (Ostrom 1990 and 2009). Human capital is instrumental in leadership and enabling key individuals to be change agents, but attention must be paid to social networks within and outside organisations (Diani and McAdam, 2003). Such networks can be avenues to new resources and empowerment (Bay of Bengal Programme, 1990; Mahon *et al.,* 2010; McConney *et al.,* 2011).

The interactive governance approach (IGA) and governability concepts of governing system, system to be governed and governing interactions (Jentoft, 2007) can be conceptualised as structures, patterns and relationships within social networks. Social networks feature prominently in access to people and resources (Granovetter, 1978), in self-organisation led by key actors (Borgatti, 2006) and in collective action (Flores, 2012). Network governance is a concept that is attracting much attention in the literature (Bodin and Prell, 2011; Carlsson and Sandström, 2008; Triantafillou, 2004). Elements of network governance are found throughout the framework but will be concentrated in the area of transformative structures, processes and institutions (Parsram and McConney, 2011).

Livelihood strategies are typically suites of actions and activities that change over time depending upon feedback from their outcomes and external circumstances. Indeed, the entire system is subject at all points to perturbations from external sources. Our interest here is primarily in strategies that involve fisherfolk organisations. In some situations, however, the individual, household, fishing enterprise or community will be the more appropriate unit of analysis, especially for understanding informal organisations and collective action. These people and groups may be in conflict with formal fisherfolk organisations if resources, power or other aspects of fisheries are being contested (Pollnac and Poggie, 1991).

Livelihood outcomes achieved through fisherfolk organisations provide partial measures of success but do not cover all of the governance aspects. Governance arrangements, more than livelihoods in many cases, will be situation dependent and more diverse. Along with ecosystem health, sustainable livelihoods and good governance are key contributors to resilient fisheries SES such as will be aimed for through the implementation of the SSF Guidelines (FAO, 2012).

So what are the general (reasonably situation-independent) criteria for success, and the general conditions that favour successful collective action and fisherfolk organisations? The abundant literatures on fisherfolk organisations such as cooperatives (Jentoft, 1985 and 1986; Hannesson, 1988; Henry, 2012; Meynell, 1984 and 1990) and on co-management (Pomeroy and Berkes 1997; Brown and Pomeroy, 1999; Pomeroy

*et al.,* 2004; Pomeroy and Rivera-Guieb, 2005; Armitage *et al.,* 2007) provide much information on criteria and conditions from both theoretical and empirical analyses. Combined, these literatures address governance, livelihoods and organisations in relation to ecological issues that are relevant to EAF, and which are consistent with resilience thinking (Lebel *et al.,* 2006). John Kurien (1988 and forthcoming) and others (e.g. Kurien and Willmann, 2009) present overviews that touch upon the above. Therefore, in this paper, we focus on the experiences of our geographic study areas and the additional insight that GLORI provides.

## 2.3 DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Except where stated otherwise, 'Caribbean' in this paper refers to the countries of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM[3]). Data for the Caribbean were collected mainly from secondary sources such as development project reports. There have been few academic studies (in any discipline) of fisherfolk organising in the Caribbean, but what was available was also drawn upon. Most of these academic studies are not so recent as to use resilience or EAF perspectives explicitly. We concentrate, however, mainly on those that do.

Barbados is over-represented in the data because information on this country, previously researched by the author, was more accessible. Since, from the author's observation and experience, the situations in several other CARICOM countries are similar, this bias is not expected to overly influence the main lessons that can be drawn from the data. Situations that are quite different, such as in Belize, are pointed out.

Primary data collection was limited mainly to a presentation and opportunistic group interviews with the leaders of fisherfolk organisations who were attending workshops in the CARICOM region, including the Caribbean consultation on the SSF Guidelines (FAO, 2013). The interviews were done in Jamaica on 6 December 2012 and in Guyana on 27 February 2013 and some participants attended both interviews. They were both implemented with the assistance of the Caribbean Network of Fisherfolk Organisations (CNFO). The interviews posed to the leaders the same questions posed to the writer by FAO. Their perspectives were incorporated into this paper.

Information on fisherfolk organisations in Brazil is mainly from the Southern and Southeastern coasts. Less information was available on other regions. Similar to the Caribbean case study, data was collected mainly from secondary sources such as research projects and government documents. We also collected information via interviews, personal notes from research and outreach projects, and the final report of the "National Conference on Cooperatives in Fisheries" (SOLTEC/UFRJ, 2010a, b). We also had support from colleagues from the government, fisherfolk organizations and research institutions.

## 2.4 LIMITATIONS

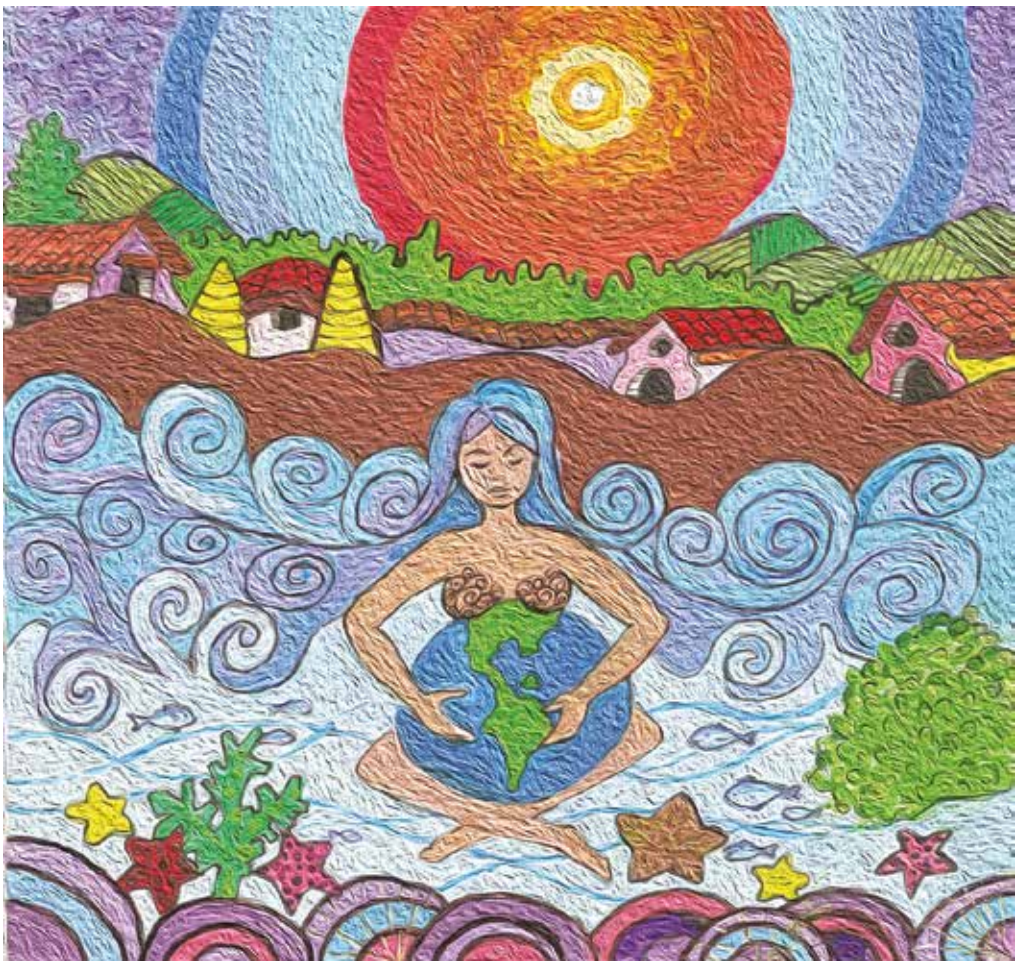
A research framework was sketched out above and applied to the extent possible in this paper. However, the integration of the livelihoods and governance analyses, with SES and resilience thinking running through them, needs testing especially with fisherfolk groups and with primary data. This would allow further refinement and more coherent operationalization.

In addition, the analysis for Brazil is limited geographically. Owing to the delimited available information, we cannot reliably expand our analysis to regions beyond the South and Southeast. Therefore, we stress that North and Northeast regions were not considered in this document. In many cases, more accurate analysis on a larger

[3] Antigua and Barbuda, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Lucia, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago.

geographic scale would require delving into such government files as still exist (mainly in fisheries and cooperative administrations). Oral histories would also have to be obtained from elder fisherfolk. This would be a worthwhile future endeavour.

Yudah Israel Diaz Alemán, aged 13,, USA



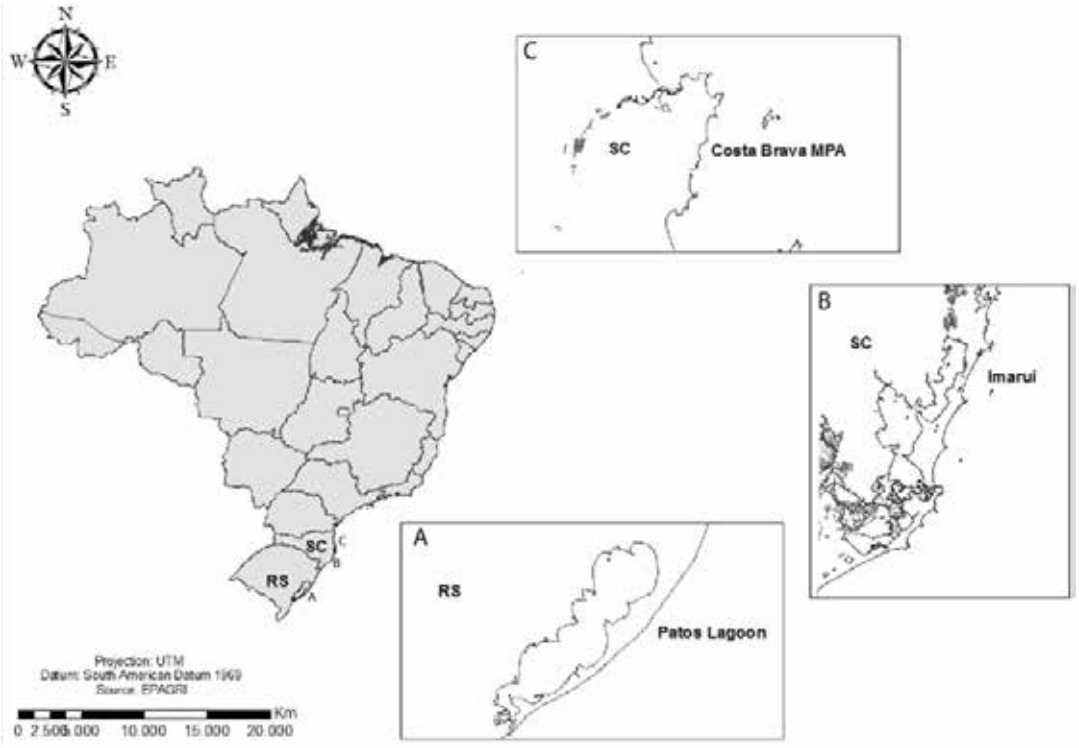
Tiffany Gómez, aged 10, Peru

# 3. Brazil

## 3.1 STUDY AREA AND SITUATION ANALYSIS

The Brazilian coast is subdivided into States and grouped into five geographic regions which had about 570 000 artisanal fishers officially registered in the Ministry of Fisheries in 2008 (Figure 3). Although the numbers do not reflect a complete portrait of the importance of fishing to the regions, we see that the majority of artisanal fishers are concentrated in the Northern and Northeastern regions (Vasconcellos *et al.*, 2007).

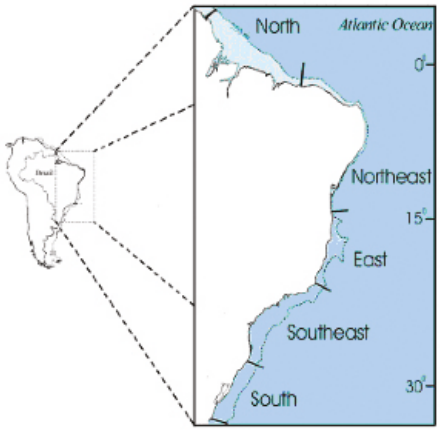
FIGURE 3
**Map of Brazil with highlighted regions (comments along the manuscript). 3A – Patos Lagoon. 3B – Imaruí Case Study. 3C – Costa Brava Case Study**




In addition, for working purposes, the Brazilian Exclusive Economic Zone is divided into four regions (Figure 4) based on oceanographic, biological and sediment characteristics (MMA, 2006). Each region has biophysical attributes that influence fishery dynamics and fishing settlements along the coast. Reef and rocky bottoms, estuaries and bays, mangroves and coastal lagoons are the relevant ecosystems.

The Amazon River contributes to continental runoff and influences biological productivity of the North region, sustaining small-scale subsistence and commercial fisheries. Oligotrophic waters, reef and rocky bottoms dominate the Northeast and East Coast region (Vasconcellos *et al.*, 2011; MMA, 2006). The Patos Lagoon is the most prominent ecosystem and influences fisheries along the Southern and Southeastern Coast. Important migratory and regional fish stocks like the pink shrimp *Farfantepennaeus paulensis*, *F. brasiliensis*, the croaker *Micropogonias furnieri*

FIGURE 4
**Brazilian Exclusive Economic Zone**




*Source:* (Vasconcellos *et al.*, 2011)

and the mullet *Mugil liza* have part of their life history inside Patos Lagoon and/or surrounding areas (MMA, 2006). Also, upwelling regions and others lagoon systems contribute to abundant stocks and the development of commercial fisheries and activities related to the fishing industry.

Although commercial fisheries occur, subsistence and small-scale fisheries (SSF) correspond to 90 percent and 53 percent of the number of boats and fishing landings, respectively (MMA, 2006). Unlike most of the Brazilian coast, SSF correspond to less than 10 percent of total landings at Santa Catarina State (MMA, 2006).

### 3.1.1 Fisheries management in Brazil: a historical overview

An adequate understanding of the history of fisheries management in Brazil is needed to appreciate the development of its fisherfolk organisations. We believe that most of what we call underdeveloped or inexistent fisherfolk organisation is due to the history of fisheries management in Brazil.

Prior to colonization, all fishing activity in Brazil was self-managed, indigenous people mostly harvesting sustainably from their various regions. Although subsistence-based, there is evidence that such fisheries were nevertheless complex and sophisticated, involving gears like bone hooks and small nets made from woven fibres collected from forests (Diegues, 2006).

The arrival of Portuguese and Spanish migrants in the XVI century marked the development of larger-scale commercial fisheries. Owing to the greater similarity to European climates, many settlements developed in the more southern states and contributed towards the early development of industrial fleets, initially at Santos in São Paulo State (Vasconcellos *et al.*, 2011). Following a rapid increase in the numbers of fishers and vessels, the exploitation of fishery resources required the emergence of the first natural-resource management organisations.

Throughout its history, Brazil has experienced multiple degrees of linked organisations of civil society and social movements and forums at local, regional, national and international levels that have cumulatively improved human and civil rights, environmental protection and democracy (Silva *et al.*, 2013). Various institutional arrangements have shaped the three key sectors – fisheries, protected areas and coastal management – of natural resource management along the coastal zone. While it might be expected that fisheries and protected areas should both be embedded within coastal management, they have instead been managed by different policies, institutional arrangements, levels of stakeholder participation and leading organisations (Vasconcellos *et al.*, 2011; Kalikoski *et al.*, 2009; Seixas & Kalikoski, 2009; Scherer *et al.*, 2011; Seixas *et al.*, 2011).

Modern fisheries management in Brazil can be divided into three development stages (Table 1) (Silva *et al.*, 2013). During the first stage, the Brazilian Navy had jurisdiction over fisheries management. The Navy created the "Diretoria de Pesca e Saneamento" (Board of Fisheries and Sanitation), which was aimed at promoting fisheries. In the same period, the Navy also created the first fisherfolk organisations called "Colônias de Pescadores" (fishers' colonies)[4] that were essentially loose regional collectives (Diegues, 1983).

[4] The fisheries colonies are a core topic in this report which will be explored in detail in the next sections.

TABLE 1
**Institutional periods and stages of fisheries management in Brazil, the respective leading organisations and decision making institutions and evidence of coastal collaborative management (CCM) related to formal legislation**

| Institutional period | Leading organisations | Decision making | Evidences of CCM |
|---|---|---|---|
| **First Stage** | | | |
| 1921–1962 | Navy<br>Ministry of Agriculture | Hunting and Fishing Service (after 1938) | Organisation of "fishermen's colonies" by Navy as an extension of coastal zone defence. Military ideology, affecting community-based management. |
| **Second Stage** | | | |
| 1962–1989 | Superintendence for the Development of Fisheries (SUDEPE – Ministry of Agriculture) | SUDEPE | Command and control was still the dominating ideology. |
| 1989–1998 | Brazilian institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA – Ministry of Environment) | IBAMA regional delegates play a special role in developing regulations for regional fisheries. | Command and control persist, but more empowered by scientific advisory committees. |
| 1998–2003 | IBAMA<br>Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture (DPA – Ministry of Agriculture) | Fishing resources are classified as either overexploited (IBAMA regulation) or underexploited and highly migratory fishes (DPA regulation). | Research organisations (universities and fisheries institutions) function from formal partnerships. CCM emerges from Protected Area Policy (National System for Protected Areas – SNUC) give opportunities to CCM at advisory and deliberative councils. |
| 2003–2009 | Special Secretary of Aquaculture and Fisheries (SEAP – Presidency of Republic) – IBAMA<br>Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMBio – Ministry of Environment) | SEAP had status of Ministry, replacing the roles of DPA.<br>Division of competences between IBAMA and SEAP remained. | Emerging institutional arrangements, although not formally defined as fisheries policy strategies. Rising number and consolidation of protected areas for resource users (extractive reserves) as a proper institutional arrangement in fisheries management. |
| **Third Stage** | | | |
| 2009–present | Ministry of Fisheries (MFA) - IBAMA | MFA leads the decision making, although still shared with IBAMA. | Participation and traditional ecological knowledge are considered basic assumptions of the new fisheries policy. Creation of National Co-Management System for the Sustainable Use of Fishery Resources (SGCUSRP) |

Source: Silva *et al.,* (2013).

The creation of the "Superintendência para o Desenvolvimento da Pesca" (Superintendence for the Development of Fishing – SUDEPE) in 1962 (1962–2009) marked a new, second stage of fisheries management in Brazil, characterized by the empowerment of a government institution that actively advanced fisheries development. This second stage had four institutional periods and was distinguished by a rapid expansion of industrial fisheries, shifting ideologies between environmental protection and fishery development, government incentives to develop industrial fleets, which effectively reduced the relative importance of artisanal fisheries and institutional failures and intra-government conflicts caused by overlapping jurisdiction between government agencies (Vasconcellos *et al.*, 2007; Vasconcellos *et al.*, 2011; Diegues, 1983). Also, the creation of Instituto Chico Mendes para a Conservação da Biodiversidade (ICMBio) in order to implement management of protect areas policy caused important changes. Participation was established as a condition and a duty of resource management, and there has been an increased focus on fisheries management under a collaborative approach, especially through so-called "marine extractive reserves" (Box 1) and other sustainable-use protected areas (Seixas & Kalikoski, 2009).

Box 1 – **Marine Extractive Reserves – Institutional innovation and fisherfolk empowerment?**

Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) were initially created to support conservation policy under which human use of nature was treated as undesirable. Use of MPAs as a fisheries management tool is still recent and subject to evaluation of performance (Macedo et al., 2013; Macedo, 2008; Moura et al., 2009). After the recent institutional changes, Instituto Chico Mendes de Conservação da Biodiversidade – ICMBIO (Chico Mendes National Institute for Biodiversity Conservation) has the jurisdiction over Federal MPAs.

The National System for Protected Areas (SNUC) defines two categories of MPAs: a) no-take areas: only non-extractive uses are permitted (like education and visiting activities, research); b) sustainable use: extractive uses are allowed under regulation by a management plan. With innovative institutional arrangements and positive outcomes for SSF, increased attention has been paid to Extractive Reserves and Sustainable Development Reserves. They are sustainable use protected areas in which traditional use and territorial use rights are legally guaranteed.

As argued by Diegues (2008), "MER is essentially an effort to modify and extend the concept of "extractive reserves"– a conservation and sustainable development framework successfully instituted in the western Amazonian forest economies – to the coastal and marine domains of traditional fishing communities". According to Kalikoski et al. (2011), Marine Extractive Reserves (MERs) cover about 835,000 ha of coastal area and sea space distributed among 19 MPAs along the Brazilian coast in 2008. Besides environmental and fishery crisis and conflicts, different levels of fisherfolk organization and political goals influence the asymmetric distribution of MERs along the Brazilian coast (84 percent are located on the North and Northeast coasts) (Kalikoski et al., 2011; Kalikoski et al., 2009).

"Although the establishment of ERs may sometimes be a part of governmental programs related to large-scale landscape planning (a paradoxical top-down approach), the establishment of most ERs started through initiatives created by local communities threatened by development projects and/or with neglected socioeconomic and cultural survival agendas" (Moura et al., 2009, p. 619).

In MERs, fisherfolk organizations play a leading role in decision-making. This institutional innovation empowers fisherfolk organizations. Without it human and social capital may be not enough to trigger the desired level of organization and influence over the decision-making process.

Fisherfolk face problems of weak local organization, misunderstandings about MER functions, conflict over the boundaries and surroundings. Fisherfolk organization networks have been developed to enhance communication and learning among fisherfolk representatives on MER boards and also to build a political agenda for dialogue with the government. Considering the history of command-and-control fisheries management, MERs are creating a new institutional environment for learning how to make co-management work in Brazil. Differences in levels of fisherfolk organization severely affect a wider adoption of MERs along the Brazilian coast. The MER is a strong tool for fisherfolk empowerment and territorial control, and this is sometimes contradictory to overall Brazilian policy.

Several initiatives along the Brazilian coast will serve as "laboratories" but additional efforts need to be made, like those stressed by Kalikoski et al. (2011), including "(i) support for community organization and development of participatory projects, for example of NGOs, churches, donor agencies and the government; (ii) design of fishing accords that aim to exploit resources sustainably and that devise specific roles and responsibilities for fishing communities to help secure sustainability; (iii) creation of alternative sources of livelihoods; (iv) investment in capacity-building and access to information; (v) incentives for self- management and the development of community leadership; (vi) building of the legitimacy of informal rules and informal community-based institutions by the government; (vii) restriction of access and use rights to local communities; (viii) creation of mechanisms to add value to fish resources; and (ix) community participation in fisheries research.

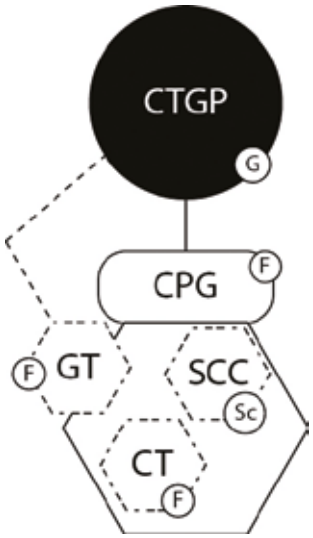
In the third fisheries management stage, the creation of the "Sistema de Gestão Compartilhada do Uso Sustentável dos Recursos Pesqueiros" (Brazilian Fisheries Co-management System - BFCMS) in 2009 established the "Comissão Técnica da Gestão Compartilhada dos Recursos Pesqueiros" (Technical Committee on Fisheries

Co-Management – CTGP) exclusively comprised of representatives from the Ministry of Fisheries and Aquaculture (MPA) and the Ministry of Environment (MMA) (Figure 5). In practice, the CTGP has enhanced coordination between MMA and MFA (Silva *et al.*, 2013). In addition to defining which fishery rules are applied, CTGP has the prerogative of initiating (or not) fisheries co-management arrangements (FCMA).

FIGURE 5

**The Brazilian Fisheries Co-Management Systems**

(F) means that fishermen representatives have formal places. (Sc) refers to exclusive participation of research and education representatives. (G) refers to exclusive federal government representatives. CTGP - Technical Committee on Fisheries Co-Management. CPG – Permanent Committee of Fisheries Management. GT – Workgroups. SCC – Advisory Scientific Committee. CT – Technical Committee. Dashed line indicates structures that will be working only if authorized by CTGP.




For all the three historical management stages, the preconditions for fisheries co-management (Berkes *et al.*, 1991) were nationally rare or absent (Vasconcellos *et al.*, 2007). Since the recent formation of CTGP, no other initiatives on fisheries co-management arrangements have been created or implemented. There are also no defined mechanisms to connect existing local FCMA (including marine protected areas councils) at regional and national levels. As a result, most of the Brazilian experience with fisheries co-management is restricted to some FCMA locally established and claimed by the fishers, or initiated through processes conducted by other organizations instead of the government (Seixas & Kalikoski, 2009).

Many of the changes discussed above in terms of fisheries management ideology have mirrored broad social transitions. For example, since the early 1980s, Brazilian society has experienced a democratic transition (from military rule) that facilitated the emergence of clearer social identities and organisations in participatory and public decision-making arenas. This democratic movement affected natural resource management. Specifically, the evolution of environmental policy in Brazil has provided tools for social control (defined here as a policy tool that provides society the opportunity to "control" the performance of government, management decisions and sectorial policies) across national, regional, state and municipality levels, including: (i) environmental impact assessments and environmental licenses that enable potentially hazardous activities to be monitored and evaluated according to criteria regulated by the government; (ii) protected areas with obligatory representation by civil society and resource users; and (iii) environmental councils and local 'Agenda 21' (UNCED, 1993) created at municipality, state or regional levels, and with the capacity to intervene in environmental policy and socioeconomic development.

More recently, this phenomenon has been further influenced by pressure from left-oriented parties (especially workers) in the federal government, by the enhanced engagement of civil society and by external influences from a globalized world (Borba & Sell, 2007; Avritzer, 2007). Still, fisheries co-management incentives at a national level in Brazil have been politically gridlocked. However, experiences at a local level (Box 2) are revealing opportunities that can promote adaptive learning for effective cross-scale management interactions in fisheries (Seixas & Kalikoski, 2009).

Box 2 – **Examples of fisheries co-management experience at local level at Brazilian Coast**

| Experience | Co-management arrangement | Fishers participation | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Marine Extractive Reserve** | MPA deliberative Council (MPADC) | Fisherfolk organization is created/empowered to lead the MPAC adminstration | Moura et al. 2009 Lopes *et al.* 2011 |
| **Marine Protected Areas** | MPA Advisory Council (MPAAC) | Fisherfolk organization representatives are part of MPAAC. | MMA (2007) |
| **Fishing Forums** | Fishing Forum (FF) | Fisherfolk organization representatives are part of FF | Kalikoski *et al.* (2002) Almudi e Kalikoski (2010) |

Within this new democracy MERs have two characteristics that help to encourage the development of fisherfolk organizations. First, MERs work through a deliberative management council that controls the outputs from the decision-making processes. Although government retains power, resource users have more influence on the Council in comparison to other stakeholders. Also, MERs have the pontential to reduce the distance between scientific and traditional knowledge (Spinola, 2012). Fisherfolk tend to be better engaged in management processes if fishers' knowledge is considered, but be less engaged if it is neglected (Medeiros, 2009).

Second, fisherfolk organizations should be involved prior to the creation of the MPA. According to National Policy on Protected Areas - SNUC (Sistema Nacional de Unidades de Conservação da Natureza), communities must demand the creation of MERs. After creation, fisherfolk usually create organizations to work on administrative issues of MERs that are relevant to diversify the way they are politically represented. The engagement of such associations helps to mediate the creation and implementation of a MER, but can also sow "seeds of empowerment" by stimulating the creation of other forms of fisherfolk organizations (Moura *et al.,* 2009).

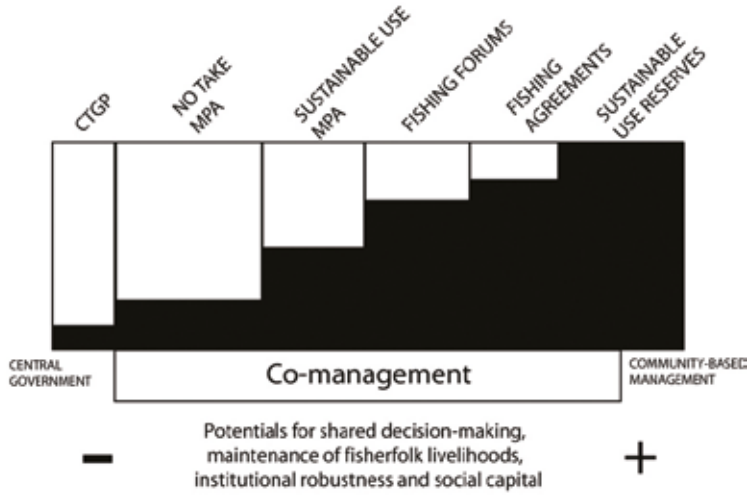
The SNUC has other types of MPA that are dramatically different from MERs in terms of fisherfolk organization engagement. First, other MPAs have consultative councils instead of deliberative or executive. Decision-making processes are controlled by the government. Also, the composition of the Council involves several other stakeholders because of which, in some cases, fisheries topics are sometimes not discussed except for considering fishing as an obstacle to biodiversity conservation (Medeiros, 2009). These other experiences are providing insights into better approaches to fisheries issues in management procedures (MMA, 2007). Fishing Forums are decision-making arenas that work mainly in two forms. First, they are informal discussion, learning and networking arenas. Composed mostly of fisherfolk and their different forms of organization, they are not always recognized as part of a management body. Second, Fishing Forums may be formal institutions linked, to a limited extent, to some level of the management body. Thus, a Fisheries Forum may be:

- A *consultative body of a Marine Protected Area* (Almudi and Kalikoski, 2010), which can function as a dialogue facilitator between the management body/ agency;

- Part of a *formal fisheries management body* (Kalikoski *et al.*, 2002), with some level of authority in decision-making;
- An *informal collective* working as community-based or fisherfolk institutional environments for negotiation, learning and formation of social capital.

Inspired by the "ladder of participation" (Arnstein, 1969) and levels of co-management from Berkes (1994), Medeiros (2009) argues that these differences in institutional arrangements affect how fisherfolk will be part (or not part) of decision-making processes. Assuming that with greater participation the more likely it is that livelihoods will be part of the management agenda, participatory institutional arrangements will be more robust (Ostrom, 1990). Therefore, fisherfolk organizations will flourish better under conditions where higher participation is provided for (Figure 6).

FIGURE 6
**Decision-making arenas and potential for fisheries co-management at Brazilian Coast**




*Source:* Medeiros (2009) adapted from Arnstein (1969) and Berkes (1994). CTGP: Technical Committee on Fisheries Co-Management

Kalikoski et al. (2009) observed regional asymmetries in these experiences on fisheries co-management at local level. They suggested that there are differences in: i) fisherfolk political organization, ii) how driving forces (impacts from tourism development at coastal zone) affect fisherfolk organization, and iii) regional priorities in political and social-economic agendas.

Other institutional arrangements such as fishing agreements are also important, but they are limited mainly to freshwater fisheries in the Amazon (Kalikoski *et al.*, 2009). Medeiros (2009) argues that fishing agreements could potentially play an important role in a transition from lower to higher levels of fisheries co-management (Figure 6). We will not explore these, however, since the focus of this report is on coastal fisheries and related fisherfolk organizations rather than freshwater fisheries.

This section provided information on how institutional arrangements affect the engagement of fisherfolk organizations in fisheries co-management (FCM). The inconsistencies in FCM policy help to explain why fisherfolk organization development is still in its early stages in Brazil. We will see in following sections that this context gradually weakened FFOs and created a monolithic structure. We also argue that the observed recent diversification of FFOs is an outcome of resistance to conventional management.

### 3.1.2 Recent history shows a gradually diversification following the democratic transition

Fisherfolk organisations in Brazil are facing an ongoing process of evolution, empowerment and diversification. For the purpose of the study, we define a fisherfolk organization as any assemblage of fishers (formal or informal) with functions of representativeness, empowerment and education, in the capture, harvest and post-harvest sectors of a SSF fish chain (Box 3). According to Araujo and Silva (2012), fisherfolk organization began with the first fishing activities practiced by Indians and slaves. However, the first formal organizations (the Fishers'Colonies) were created by the Navy in the early 1920's, much more for military purposes than for political organization of fishers (Diegues, 1983).

Box 3 – **Typology of fisherfolk organizations identified for this study**

| Typology | Features | Role in SSF dynamics |
|---|---|---|
| **Fishers Colonies (FC)** | First formal fisherfolk organization in Brazil. It still remains as the main representative of small-scale fishers in fisheries management. | Formal representation in dialogues with government (Federal, State and Municipality) and decision-making areas (Protected Areas, Fisheries Management).<br>Responsible for conducting most of bureaucracy (access to social benefits and health services, fishing licenses, loas, etc). |
| **Syndicates and Unions (SU)** | Began to act as fisherforlk organization since 2008, after the creation of the "Law of the Fishers' Colonies" | Although less recognized by the loans government, syndicates play the same roles as Fishers' Colonies. |
| **Associations (AS) and Pastoral da Pesca** | Emerged as fisherfolk organization with more political content and approach.<br>Focus of political resistance to Fishers's Colonies<br>Significant participation of Church | When affiliated to Syndicates, they play the same role of Fishers' Colonies<br>Diversified functions related to political engagement, education, outreach and research projects |
| **Cooperatives (COOP)** | Created to support the organization of sections of fish chain (capture, post-harvest, and market) | Still in small numbers. Experiences of success and failure occur |
| **Fisherfolk Networks (FNET)** | Empowered and diversified after National Conferences on Fisheries and Aquaculture in 2003. Political Agenda based on raising fisherfolk participation and control over fishing territories | Providing new identities to fisherfolk organization as well as empowering new leadership.<br>Offering better connection with non-fisheries organizations (eg. Environmentalist NGOs). |

The development of the Fishers' Colonies (FC) was oriented to offer technical advice, health assistance and mediation for loans, with the supervision and support from of Ministry of Agriculture and the Navy. After 1973, in a period of fishery modernization policy, FC were given support for administrative organization and they achieved the status of a "class organization". However, they retained much of their authoritarian structure (Araujo and Silva, 2012). Those authors also argue that several leaders of this type of organization did not originate from the fishing industry, but from local political powers and markets. The authors also suggest two turning points for fisherfolk organization. The first was the creation of the Pastoral Commission of Fishers in the 1980s. The second point was the 1988 Constitution. These events have been briefly described as follows:

> *The movement to re-democratize the country towards the end of the military dictatorial regime had an important influence on the democratization of the overall electoral process. This process was stronger in the northeast, where the Pastoral dos Pescadores (Fishers' Pastoral), created by the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil, played an important role. The work of the Fishers' Pastoral since then has been also instrumental in securing artisanal fishers' rights to*

> *social security services of other workers (e.g. retirement benefits, health benefits, maternity allowances and unemployment benefit to compensate for periods of fishing closures). Moreover, before the Constitution of 1988, fishers were only allowed to organize themselves into traditional colonies whose role was mainly related to social services. The new Constitution allowed fishers to create their own trade unions*. (Kalikoski & Vasconcellos, 2012, p. 122-123)

Diegues (2005) also argued that small-scale fisheries were only later recognized, and the recent evolution and diversification can be explained by:

> *the recent political liberalisation in Brazil, after the fall of the military regime (1964 to 1984) which allowed the exploited and forgotten groups of society to express themselves more freely, especially in defense of their rights and aspirations in the Constituent National Assembly; the work carried out by non-governmental organisations, in particular, the Catholic Church, through the activities of the Pastoral da Pesca, mainly in the north and northeastern states and the birth of the MONAPE – Movimento Nacional de Pescadores (1989).*

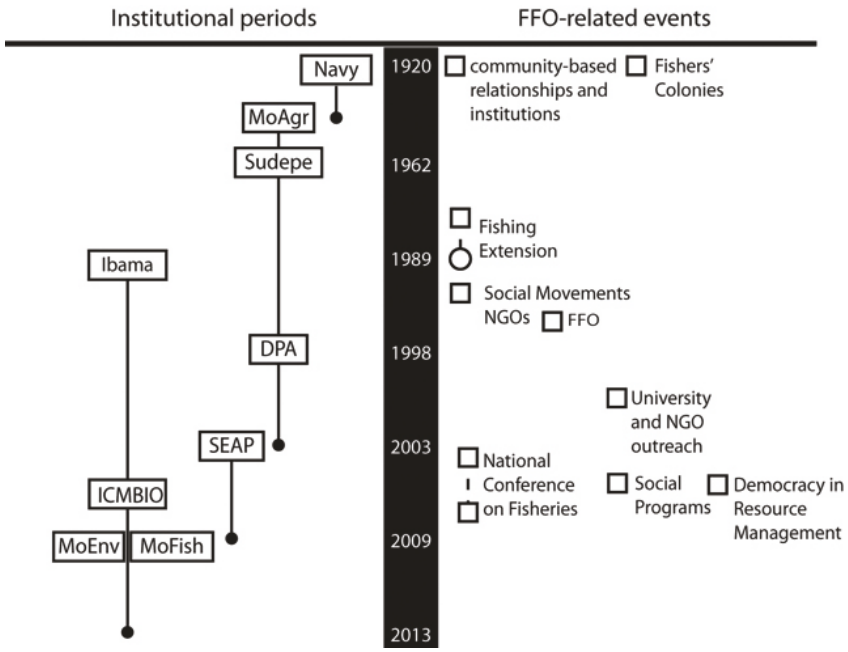
This new situation created room for diversification and freedom in fisherfolk organizations. However, fisheries polices created mechanisms that still maintained the fishers dependence on Fisher's Colonies, especially for access to fishers' rights (Araujo and Silva, 2012). Other forms of fisherfolk organization, especially associations and unions, were allowed to mediate the access to fishers' benefits only after 2008, under the new Fisher's Colonies law. Under this law FC and unions were both considered official representatives of fish workers. Associations connected to unions could now play the same role as FC.

Two phases in the development of fisherfolk organizations are seen. The first phase, is maintenance of FC as the main representatives, but with allowing the creation of new organizational forms. These so-called new fisherfolk organizations concentrated on offering resistance to FC, empowering fishers and representing fishers in different decision-making arenas, thus contributing to the formation of new social identities. In the second phase, after 2008, some of these new social identities were blurred when the new associations began to play the same role as FC.

As we mentioned in the earlier section, the dominant "command and control" ideology prevailed over a collaborative management approach in Brazil during the last five decades. This hierarchical governance model delayed the process of learning and adapting in such organisations as well as the creation of new ones. Also, Fishers' Colonies remained the official fisherfolk representative, despite of the increasing diversity of fisherfolk organizations.

During the institutional periods in fisheries management described before (Table 1), several social and political issues have influenced the development of FisherFolk Organizations (FFOs) in Brazil. FFOs represent outcomes from the interaction between these processes, sometimes related to and sometimes isolated from the main dynamics of the institutional periods (Figure 7).

FIGURE 7
**Fisherfolk Organization related events. For this scheme, MoAgr – Ministry of Agriculture, MoEnv – Ministry of Environment, MoFish – Ministry of Fisheries and Aquaculture. Adapted from Silva *et al.* (2013).**




The main factors that have shaped the evolution of fisherfolk organisations in Brazil could be pointed out as:

- Community-based relationships and institutions (formal and informal): Community-based relationships and institutions form the basis of fisherfolk organisation since the early settlements along the Brazilian Coast (Diegues, 1983). Theses relationships influence how fishers interact and engage in formal fisherfolk organisations (e.g. Fishing Cooperatives).
- The dominance of Fishermen's Colonies as the main organisation: they inherited the vertical and centralized management from their origin (the Navy) and in most cases work as sources of political capital at the local level.
- Fisheries extension by Government agencies: with support from the Federal Government, State rural extension agencies contributed to empower fisher organisation and promoted cooperative-like actions inside the Fishermen's Colonies between 1970s and 1990s.
- The engagement of NGOs and Network in fishing-related topics: since the 1990s gradual engagement of organisations, including NGOs, social movement and networks has been promoted better understanding of the role of empowering organisation among fisherfolk.
- Gradual democratization of environmental and fishery management (including MPA governance): since advisory committees and boards have been created, these new decision-making arenas have allowed fishers to organize and reconceptualise fisherfolk organisation.
- The emergence of fisherfolk associations: Posing resistance to Fishermen' Colonies (FC), other fisherfolk associations or guilds were created to offer new perspectives. In some cases, this new organisation was mere political opposition to FCs. In other cases, they created networked organisations and were the background to the formation of new cooperatives.

- Social Programmes oriented to fishers: the acknowledgement of fishers as workers, a traditional people, as part of a vulnerable group has been supported by several social protection programmes[5] since the Workers Party was elected in 2003.
- The National Conferences of Fishermen: the government organized conferences with great impact on fisherfolk organisations. They created a new environment for fisherfolk organisations to communicate, to learn and to interact, although they were still ineffective in creating and implementing fishery policies.
- The new outreach perspectives with participation of NGOs and universities: although official rural extension agencies have almost ceased their activities with fisherfolk organisations, NGOs and universities have emerged as important bridging organisations to promote and to empower fisherfolk organisation.

### 3.1.3 Insights into the potential success and failures of fisherfolk organizations emerge from the construction of a policy

An effort was made in 2009 to support the elaboration of a National Policy on Fisherfolk Organization to be implemented by the Ministry of Fisheries and Aquaculture. The "Núcleo de Solidariedade Técnica" (SOLTEC) – a research and outreach group from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) – conducted 3 regional workshops and 1 national workshop with a total of 150 participants, including representatives of fisherfolk organizations, outreachers, researchers, representatives of local government, social movements, and others. Participants described the main obstacles to the development of fisherfolk organizations, followed by the main actions needed to overcome these obstacles. Reports from the regional workshops were consolidated for the national workshop where representatives from the regional workshops proposed a final report. Some of these results are listed as follows.

According to this report (SOLTEC/UFRJ, 2010), the main obstacles for fisherfolk organisation are:

1. Social and political organisation: lack of trust and transparency among fisheries management institutions, paternalistic culture prevailing in most Fishers Colonies.
2. Capacity and technical advice: not many examples of training to improve the capacity of fisherfolk organisations.
3. Marketing: lack of basic physical infrastructure for storage, transport and marketing.
4. Infrastructure and financial credit: difficulties to access loans and to manage acquired equipment, low capacity for administrative management of cooperative.
5. Environmental issues: concerns about condition of fish stocks and ecosystems.

That report also demonstrated regional differences and similarities that provide insights into how the factors listed influenced fisherfolk organizations. In general, considering experiences in the southeast and south of Brazil, successful initiatives in promoting fisherfolk organizations have been primarily related to strengthening collective work, capacity building mechanisms, improving the channels of communication among stakeholders leading to increased participation, social inclusion and leadership formation. Along with promotion of alternative sources of income, there are efforts at promoting increased life quality, as well as attempts to improve income by value aggregation strategies and creation of local markets. There is also the legitimization of informal agreements and traditional practices (Kalikoski *et al.,* 2009).

[5] Since 2003, social programs were developped by the government in order to: reduce social inequalities and to alleviate proverty in fishing villages. Some are: a) payment of unemployment benefit ("seguro-desemprego"), as a compensation for the prohibition of fishing during closed fishing seasons, b) inclusion of fisherfolk's wives as applicants for unemployment benefit, c) loans for house construction, fishing gear and boat acquisition.

Opportunities are arising from the new directions of networked organisations, social movements that add collaborative and cooperative dimensions to social organisations and go beyond merely regulating fishermen's activities.This could be achieved by using distinct mechanisms, such as in Rio de Janeiro through the formation of social networks and partnerships with universities, governmental and non-governmental organizations. In Rio de Janeiro, this mechanism promoted a long-term perspective to the importance of water quality maintenance as a primary component for the sustainability of fisheries and increased social and human capital. However, it also identified a lack of forum and capacity-building mechanisms, combined with a tendency towards favouring personal interests over collective ones (MPA, 2012).

Espírito Santo has experienced the formation of cooperatives of fishermen and women, as well as women's associations. Investments were made for physical structural improvement, with the installation of ice machines. The success of these initiatives improved income and quality of life, created new markets, improved food security and encouraged collective learning. However, also identified was a lack of public policies for the fishing sector which could lead to failure of the entire fish chain. Capacity building mechanisms are absent, as are incentives for cooperativism, since fishermen stop receiving their income during the closed season when they are members of cooperatives (MPA, 2012).

In São Paulo, fish farming, aquaculture and handicraft cooperatives generated new job experiences, capacity building processes, improved income, introduced new equipment for production and transportation and also changed local consumption habits, with the introduction of fish as a usual food item. But a lack of long-term commitment, distrust, and the lack of representative leadership may still lead to ultimate failure, due to excessive dependence on government assistance (MPA, 2012).

In Paraná, an experiment of combined cooperatives (COPERÇU, COOPERMANGUE, etc.) was responsible for the growth of financial capital through governmental support. Incentives such as the provision of infrastructure through partnerships with universities and other institutions (e.g. SEBRAE) proved to be beneficial. This is even though institutional conflicts persist, from changing legislation, difficult access to credit for commercialization and lack of a technical body to implement actions. The experiments in general have failed to create structures for management support purposes and suffer from a lack of commitment of the community to project objectives (MPA, 2012).

In the case of Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul, practices and processes that have led to success can be pointed out as being aquaculture, artisanal fisheries and handicraft. These are practices that in Santa Catarina have led to the formation of an organized system with technical assistance and infrastructure for fish processing provided by the government, ensuring a second source of income and also a basis for promoting women's empowerment and organization (MPA, 2012).

Rio Grande do Sul State experimented with organizational process which includes the presence of a regional network for fisherfolk organization, provision of infrastructure and access to local markets. These processes succeeded as they promoted leadership formation, increased participation in public policies and quality of life. Also, the infrastructure available permitted an approximation of a formal market, along with assistance policies for food security such as the governmental program "Fome Zero (Zero Hunger)". On the other hand, difficulties were found in access to the formal market and distribution of products. Problems related to lack of trust in fishermen (turning social inclusion into a more difficult task), lack of governmental and technical support to ongoing projects, the fact that collectivism was not part of their culture and that there is still a conflict related to rights of access to the resource by artisanal and industrial fisheries.

Factors and mechanisms that favour success in one locality may lead to failure when applied in a different context. Through the analysis of the particularities and identification of vulnerabilities of a specific locality, entry points for promoting successful initiatives aiming at fisherfolk organisation might be recognized. Empowering fisherfolk organizational structures, the use of multiple entry points, objectives (social, cultural, biological), and also multiple governance levels is necessary as a set of tools and mechanisms that, combined and adapted to region's characteristics, may lead to successful experiences. It becomes necessary to go beyond merely regulating fishing activities, towards promoting networked organisations that address collaborative and cooperative dimensions.

## 3.2 FACTORS FAVOURING SUCCESS OR FAILURE

The main picture shows a controversial condition in the Brazil case study. Failure comes from a historical "comand-and-control" model of governance in which institutional learning was rare or absent (Silva *et al.,* 2013). Institutional learning comes from alternative environments instead of conventional management. Alternative decision-making arenas at local and regional level (Seixas & Kalikoski, 2009) as well as emerging fisherfolk networks (Lopes *et al.,* 2011) set the pace for new perspectives. However, other features also need to be considered.

### 3.2.1 Context shows social and ecological vulnerability and an inconsistent but shifting institutional environment as an opportunity

Regional and local differences in fisherfolk organizations reveal challenges. Common features of vulnerability however included:

- *Loss of resilience of fishery systems is a significant issue*, although information is scarce. Impacts on small-scale fisheries may not be apparent, but we believe that the decline trends of fishing stocks (MMA, 2006) have more influence where industrial fishing is well developed like it is in the South and Southeast States. As an example, Patos Lagoon fishing communities are no doubt facing changes in their abilities to copy with resource and ecosystem depletion caused by changes in lagoon system resilience as well by overexploitation of migratory and regional fishing stocks (MMA, 2006; Kalikoski & Vasconcellos, 2011).
- *Social representation of the decline of stocks is present among fishermen*, which affects their motivation to continue with fishing activities and the "recruitment" of younger fishers (Medeiros 2009; Medeiros *et al.,* 1997; Pinheiro *et al.,* 2010; Trimble and Johnson, 2013);
- *Inconsistency in fishery management bodies as well as institutional failures reduces the environments for fisherfolk organizations flourishing and being empowering*. Fishery regulation is one of the main reasons that lead fisherfolk to abandon the activity and to mistrust decision-making processes.

However, opportunities can emerge through evolving new institutional arrangements at local-level, except for situations where government does not recognize or accept the local contribution to the decision-making process in fisheries management and development. New forms of fisherfolk organization provide strategies for learning and adapting (Lopes *et al.,* 2011). Democratization of MPAs and the creation of Marine Extractive Reserves bring together strategies for ecosystem protection and empowerment of fisherfolk organizations.

### 3.2.2 Livelihood assets

Financial capital plays a dual role in fisherfolk organisation in Brazil. Several government programs like "Programa Nacional de Apoio à Agricultura Familiar (National Program for Supporting Small-Scale Agriculture)" or PRONAF provide loans to fishermen to improve boats and gear, but also provide funding to cooperative organisations.

However, some of these efforts fail because they do not take development of cooperative and collaborative principles as a starting point. Lack of capacity-building and participatory planning affect human capital, can be stressful, and can contribute to failures and or internal conflicts.

Social capital emerges in a shifiting regime context. Approaches like the "fisheries solidarity network" stress the need for a new institutional environment to increase adaptive capacity, self-organisation and social identity (Lopes *et al.*, 2011). Notwithstanding the data poor situation, it appears that engagement of fisherfolk in other networks is valuable, including such as: "Network of Fishermen Representatives in Marine Protected Areas Boards", the "Network of Agroecology Small-Scale Farmers" or the "Network of Community-based Tourism". They are engaging fisherfolk organisations and leaderships in new perspectives. These perspectives have been brought back to the community level in order to stimulate a process of "fishermen learn with fishermen" in contrast to exogenous exclusive learning processes (Lopes *et al.*, 2011). However, old social capital should also be considered. Some intrafamiliar and intracommunity relations show signs of weakening (Foppa, 2009; Medeiros, 2009; Galvão, 2013; Trimble and Johnson, 2013).

Physical capital has been demonstrated to be worthless when human, social and natural capital is failing. In fact, it can be a source of conflict especially if it comes from Government social programs with electoral ties. Also, if linked with natural capital, fishers are not willing to cooperate or to be supported with physical capital in conditions where there is no fish or shrimp to catch! However, a connection between socioeconomic development and fishing resource sustainability is not clear in the fishery governance model.

Human capital is also a matter of concern. Illiteracy is present in several fishing villages along the Brazilian Coast (Hanazaki *et al.*, 2007; Vasconcellos *et al.*, 2007; Kalikoski & Vansconcellos, 2011; Medeiros, 2009; Foppa, 2009). One education institution for high school and thechnological studies, Instituto Federal de Edução – IFPR, in a partnership with Ministry of Fisheries, is providing a technological course in fisheries and aquaculture. The course is delivered mostly through distance learning, allowing fisherfolk from isolated areas to study. Although the course is not enough to reduce illiteracy, opportunities emerge from students with new knowledge to work on fisheries.

### 3.2.3 Transformation

Governance structures and processes are probably the main challenges to the development of fisherfolk organisation. The disconnect between and weak ties among different types of fisherfolk organisations is an obstacle to engage fisherfolk organisations in decision making.

New windows of opportunity are emerging via the Brazilian Fishery co-management system and the National Program for Fishing Cooperatives. This new environment can offer the necessary institutional support to legitimize this wave of changes in fisherfolk organisations.

### 3.2.4 Livelihood strategies

Livelihood strategies are highly dependent on financial and physical capital in Brazil, especially in the South and Southeastern regions. Loans from PRONAF and persuasive actions from fishing extension agencies have contributed to the rise of the idea that technological modernization is the best option. Also, the financial compensation during closed harvest seasons, while it helps on one hand to alleviate poverty, on the other, can create socioeconomic dependence and reduce livelihood strategies (Galvão, 2013). Empirical evidence from fisherfolk organisation is insufficient to evaluate how fisherfolk organisations can contribute to the development of adaptive strategies.

Strategies are also affected by distance from opportunities. For example, the closer the fishing villages are to tourism centers, the higher is the potential for fisherfolk to develop strategies to control fish value chains as well as to engage in tourism-related activities (Foppa, 2009). On the other hand, isolated fishing villages often increase their dependence on middlemen as well as on the use of destructive fishing gears, which lead to short-term gains but ultimately to loss of resilience.

From our own experience and from other sources (Medeiros, 2009; Galvão, 2013; Andriguetto, 1999), fish value chain behaviour is very similar througouth South Brazil where fisheries are based on shrimp (trawlers and stow nets) and gillnet fishing. We assume seven general stakeholders who play different roles in fish value chains:

- *Fishing family*: comprises the household of a fishing village, including mainly fisherman, fisherwoman and their relatives who necessarily contribute to fishing activities.
- *Middlemen*: mediate the selling between fisherfolk and others stakeholders.
- *Local consumer*: comprises final consumer like tourists, hotels and restaurants and locals of the village who buy directly from fisher family.
- *Local fish markets*: comprises public and private markets at local villages which buy directly from fisher families or middleman to sell fish locally.
- *Regional fish market:* encompass features of local fish market as well as intermediate economic relations with regional consumer and the fishing industry.
- *Regional consumer:* final consumer geographically settled away from harvest sites.
- *Fishing industry*: comprises a number of enterprises of broader scale related to processing and selling of sea products.

The structure of a fish chain changes according to the following (Foppa, 2009; Medeiros, 2009):

- Conditions of ecosystems and stocks: signs of overexploitation and loss of resilience affect the overall interest of keeping the fishing family in continuing to carry on all the activities.
- Distance from urban areas: distant areas tend to have less options to sell the harvest, which can increase the middlemen's control over fish chains.
- Level of tourism development: although tourism can promote negative impacts, it can also offer marketing alternatives of direct selling of the harvest and thus empower fish family.
- Total landings in harvest period: in situations where a fishing family has no storage capacity (physical capital) or helpers in fish processing (social and human capital), high amounts of harvest can oblige a fishing family to be controlled and exploited by middleman.
- History of socio-political organisation: a history of kin ties in fish processing, and the presence of bridging organizations and so on can promote fishing families empowerment.
- Presence of cooperative initiatives: cooperatives initiatives can promote better control of the fish chain, but can also affect the fishing family structure.
- Sense of belonging and territoriality: aknowledgement of fishing villages as "good places" to buy fish can help to reduce psychological marketing distance between producer and consumer.

## 3.3 ISSUES OF SPECIAL INTEREST

### 3.3.1 Gender is essential to improve adaptive capacity

Women play an important role in the fish chain. The woman tends to control intra-familiar dynamics while the man controls extra-familiar dynamics. Women play a leading role in processing fish and processing as well as housekeeping. Men lead the capture activities as well as participation in decision-making arenas (Galvão, 2013; Foppa, 2009). The level of control along the fish chain is thus highly influenced by

the presence of women in a fishery system. Referring to the participation of women (specially the wife), a quote from a recorded interview with a fisherman stated that.

*"The fisher that doesn't have his wife by his side will be lost!"*

However, the division of labour in fishing activities also creates invisibility of the so-called "fisherwoman". Largely labelled only as fisher's wife, the fisherwoman has her real role sometimes neglected by the government agency as well as her local community (Galvão, 2013). In interviews, a fisherwoman leader (Medeiros, unpublished data) argued that "treating the fisherwoman as wife only diminishes a woman's importance to the maintenance of fishing activities". Instead, the multifuncional fisherwoman-housekeeping role addresses the higher complexities of women's day-to-day use of time compared to that of the men (Galvão, 2013; Borgonha and Borgonha, 2008). Based on Galvão (2013), a woman's participation in fisher family activities could be summarized as:

- Processing fish and shrimp captured by the members of fisher family or families from their own familial networks (relatives, neighboors, friends)
- Creating new marketing strategies at local level by selling fish (and its byproducts) in their households
- Fixing fishing gears and boats
- Working on alternative jobs outside fishing to enhance family income (although limited by high illiteracy)
- When registered as fisherwoman or fisherwife, they apply for "seguro-desemprego" in no-take seasons.
- Capture fishing

### 3.3.2 Networks and their linkages reveal the diversity of fisherfolk organizations (even if poorly acknowledged)

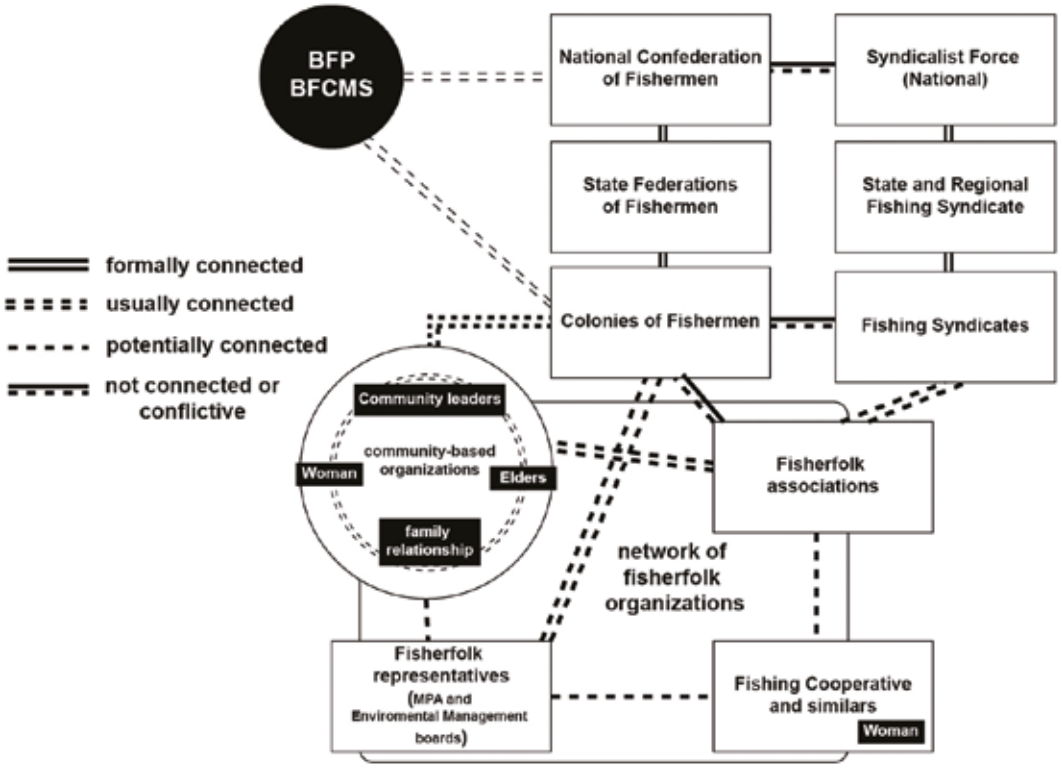
Network analysis is not well developed for fisherfolk organisations, as we can see from studies on the Caribbean in the following sections. We performed a qualitative evaluation based on available data and on our experience on the field. We can state that there are three levels of fisherfolk organisations and connections (Figure 8). The first comprises the Fishermen Colonies and their State Federation and National Confederation. They are recognized as the formal fisherfolk organisations and have strong connections with the government in order to assess fishery policies and to be the representative in fisheries management decision-making.

The second level is related to syndicates and unions. Since 2008, the new law on fishermen's organisations defined the Fisherman Colonies also as a worker representative. This situation caused a legal battle with Fishing Syndicates to decide whether Fishermen Colonies have the jurisdiction to represent fishing workers. Fishing Syndicates, which had earlier been more connected to commercial fisheries and the fishing industry, started to involve small-scale fishermen especially after connecting to fisherfolk associations. These two hierarchical connections concentrate their roles in dealing with all the bureaucracy in the regulation of fishing: fishing licenses, boats regulations, access to social programs, among others. Fisher's Colonies (FC) and Syndicates have similar functions and hierarchy in representativeness of fisherfolks. Fishers can freely choose which organization will represent them. However, for most of the situations, only FCs are named as fisherfolk representative in the Brazilian Fisheries Co-Management System (BFCMS). Most of the positions occupied (Figure 8) by fisherfolk representatives are from FC and its State and National Federations.

The third level of fisherfolk organisation has its origin in the socio-political and socioeconomic roles of an organisation. What we call "network of fisherfolk organizations" brings together the diversity of formal and informal organization of fisherfolk. They are formed by four structures:

FIGURE 8

**Fisherfolk organisations (FO) in Brazil and its main connections. Formally connected organisations include those with hierarchical structure and geographical jurisdiction. FOs usually connected are those where their interaction is presented but the connection is not a condition although they expected to occur. Potentially connected interactions are those where FO can occur although they are not usual or expected. Not connected or conflictive organisation are those where conflictive interaction prevails and FO avoid each other. BFP – Brazilian Fisheries Policies; BFCMS – Brazilian Fisheries co-management System.**




1. the community-based organization: Communities have their own hierarchies and levels of organizations not always considered in fisheries management (Rosar, 2007);
2. elders' organization.: old fishers who are respected by their history on a certain fishery or by their prior participation in representing fisherfolk (specially FCs).
3. Family relationships, responsible for the structure of fishing family described before as well as increasing participation of woman reflect sources for organization.
4. Community leaders, some of then with political participation, some others from church are also important sources of organization and leadership. Fisherfolk representatives emerge from these groups, which at any given moment, may formally represent or be assembled in other forms of organization, like cooperatives, associations and others.

Marine Protected Areas councils, in contrast to BFCMS, are open to all these different forms of organizations, specially on community-level organisations and institutions (formal and informal). Fisherfolk representatives are using this kind of representativeness to join regional and national fisherfolk networks, and using this opportunity to communicate, to learn and to empower. Detailed information is lacking about these new networks, and so that only future studies can help to understand how they will offer opportunities for new perspectives.

### 3.3.3 Self-organisation

Fisherfolk organisation seems to be truly dependent on supportive organisations that "bridge" opportunities to work together and to collaborate. However, in situations where fishing families are strongly connected, self-organisation can succeed. However it is important to mention that highly hierarchical fishery governance structures with preferential connections to Colonies of Fisherman might sometimes create challenges to self-organisation.

The formation of new fisherfolk leadership, connections and other opportunities to communicate and to learn plays an important role in the development of a certain level of self-organisation.

### 3.3.4 Multi-level governance

The so-called Brazilian System for Fisheries Co-Management (BFCMS) has the jurisdiction and responsibility to perform real multi-level governance. We argued in prior sections that such multi-level governance is very challenging. The main reasons can be stressed as follows:

- Decision-making arenas proposed by BFCMS are highly hierarchised with few potential positions for fisherfolk organizations.
- Even when such positions are available, selection for them is poor in taking into consideration the diversity of fisherfolk organizations, concentrating rather on FCs as the main representatives.
- Although fisheries co-management occurs at a local level, there is no overwiew connecting these experiences with the BFCMS.
- While fisherfolk networks are an emerging factor and issue, clarification of their purposes and connection to the local level needs to be improved.

## 3.4 SOME SUCCESS STORIES TO SHARE

The history of fishing cooperatives reveals two phases. The first dates from 1960 to 1980, when cooperatives failed and generated much scepticism among fishers. The second is still in progress, and information is scarce. According to SOLTEC/UFRJ (2010), success stories depend on both local recognition of the importance of collective action and also on improvements to the family income.

There are public policies that offer support for resource users to foster co-management processes such as the Coastal Management National Plan (Law 7661/1988), the Water Resources National Policy (Law 9433/1997) and the National System of Nature Conservation Units (Law 9985/2000), but most of the decision-making is still unevenly shared among government and society (Seixas *et al.*, 2009). A major factor that helps to foster co-management is the support of organizations such as institutes or NGOs acting as bridging organizations between resource users and the government as well as contributing with funding and monitoring (Seixas *et al.*, 2009).

Co-management arrangements in Brazil may be both formal, when legitimized by the government and supported by a legal framework; or informal, when achieved through community self-organization (but which are not generally legally recognized, even though they may play an important role in decision-making). Usually, formal co-management arrangements take place inside protected areas, with many different degrees of resource user participation, being higher in the particular cases of Extractive Reserves and Sustainable Development Reserves (both types of Protected Areas classified under the category of sustainable use) (Seixas *et al.*, 2009). A more profound analysis of some experiences with co-management arrangements in Brazil might lead to a better understanding of factors that contribute to the success of some initiatives and of the barriers that still exist to others.

### 3.4.1 Forum of Patos Lagoon experience

Established as a co-management arrangement as a result of community self-organization in 1996, the forum was formalized by a Federal Decree (171/1998) in 1998, functioning as a consultative body, with representative members of 21 institutions (encompassing fisherfolk organizations, researchers, NGOs, industries and the government), intended to rebuild the capacity of the fishing resources at Patos Lagoon, with the government´s having the final decision (Kalikoski, 2002; Kalikoski *et al*., 2009).

This led to greater legitimacy over time and initiatives towards a more inclusive decision making process. However, in spite of the achievement of a legal framework through the forum (IBAMA 171/98 e 144/00, substituted by IN MMA/Seap 03/2004), the initiative, aiming at providing for the establishment of property rights on resource access by limiting fishing effort and excluding non-resident resource users, as well as fisherman that do not have have fisheries as their main activity and source of income, has not succeeded due to the lack of monitoring and enforcement (Kalikoski *et al.*, 2009; Kalikoski and Vasconcellos, 2012).

### 3.4.2 Cooperlagunar is a recent and relatively successful experiment

The Cooperativa de Produção Pesqueira do Complexo Lagunar COOPERLAGUNAR (Cooperative of fishing production from Lagoon System) was created in 2009 in a region which includes most of the constraints described before: low cooperative culture and conflicts with the local Fishermen's Colony, long distance from urban centres and an isolated community, among other factors (Figure 3B). In contrast to other experiences in Brazil, Cooperlagunar is a good example where cooperatives can be strengthened with the support of bridging organizations (such as NGOs). Information on Cooperlagunar was collected through project reports, interviews and participation in some activities of this organisation. The Cooperative "Cooperlgunar" was created inside an NGO named "Instituto de Políticas Públicas e Sociais - IPPS (Social and Public Policy Institute). This NGO has its background in social movements and syndicalist actions. They started action in 2004 focusing on the Lagoon System "Mirim – Imarúi – Santo Antônio", located in the Southern part of Santa Catarina State. The main actions include:

- Education programs to reduce illiteracy among fishing families.
- Development of a collaborative approach to support fish value-chains, like: renovation of canoes.
- Education center for digital inclusion.
- Outreach.
- Environmental education.
- Empowering collective action.

Beyond acting as a bridging organisation, IPPS also has local fishers as members of the organisation, including participation in the coordination of activities and at the administration board of this NGO.

## 3.5 CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT NEEDS

Considering the limitations and early stages of fisherfolk organisation in Brazil, proposals for capacity development arise from several objectives. According to SOLTEC/UFRJ the main capacity development needs included:

1. Empowerment of fisheries extension.
2. Education to develop associative and cooperative principles, including Solidarity Economy.
3. Technical Advice and capacity-building for project creation and access to loans.
4. Supporting the culture of fishing (e.g. traditional knowledge, self-belonging).
5. Environmental education.

6. Education and research on new technologies.
7. Training on entrepreneurship, financial health and administrative management of cooperatives.
8. Experience sharing in fishing processing emphasizing a learning-by-doing process.

Improvement of communication, prioritization of fisherfolk representatives and informal organisations, exchange of best practices, inclusion of "cooperative thinking" at basic schools and strengthening of institutional support to cooperatives are among the concerns of capacity development strategies (SOLTEC/UFRJ, 2010).


Jamia Tolentino, aged 14, Philippines

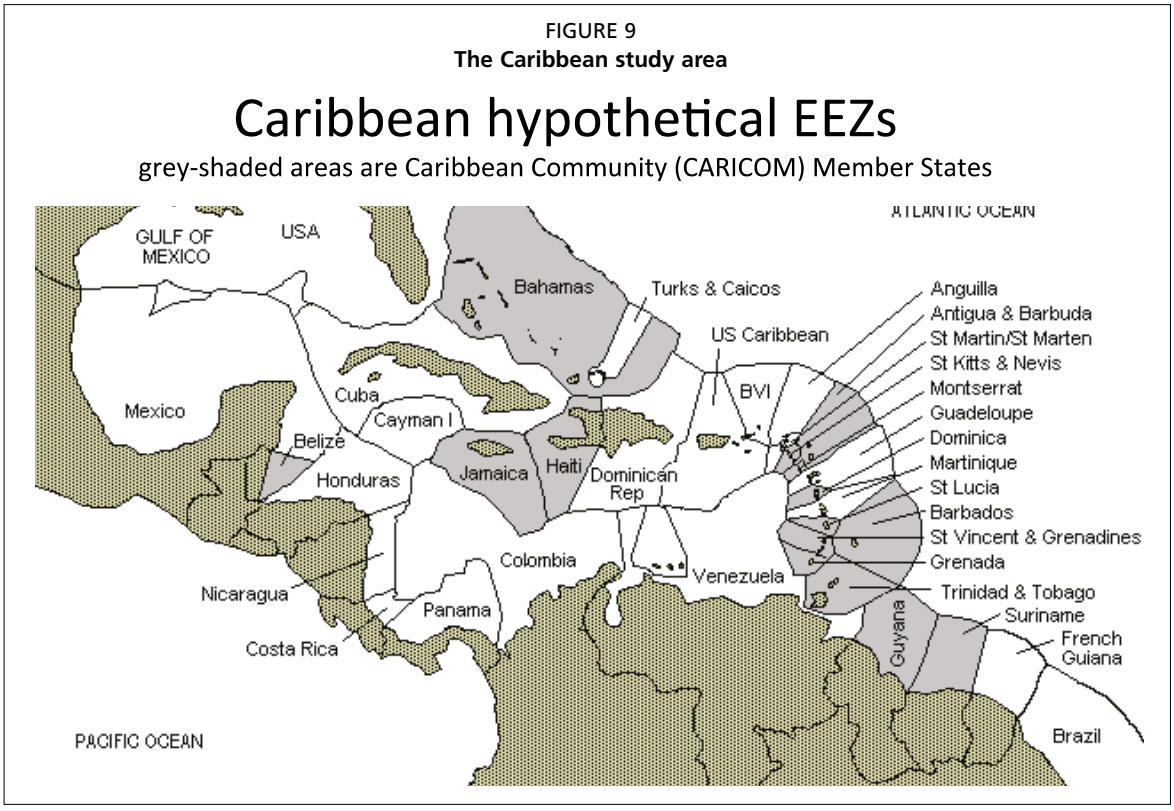
# 4. Caribbean

## 4.1 STUDY AREA AND SITUATION ANALYSIS

CARICOM countries are distributed throughout the Wider Caribbean Region (except for the Gulf of Mexico) which corresponds roughly to FAO Statistical Area 31 under the Western Central Atlantic Fishery Commission (WECAFC) and the Caribbean Large Marine Ecosystem (CLME). The area is exceedingly diverse and complex in several ways ranging from its ecology to geo-politics at multiple levels (Chakalall *et al.*,1998) and has recently taken interest in marine ecosystem-based management (Fanning *et al.*, 2011). WECAFC meetings provide information on the fisheries of the Wider Caribbean region (FAO, WECAFC, 2012).

Within WECAFC, the CARICOM countries (all small island developing states or SIDS, see Figure 9) are a less diverse subset, but there are still considerable differences in many respects ranging from language and culture to the make up of their economies and fisheries. The fragmentation of the region, and the absence of a regional fisheries management organisation (RFMO), has led some to question whether it is a mosaic or a melting pot for transboundary marine resource management (McConney *et al.*, 2007).

FIGURE 9
**The Caribbean study area**




Under the CLME project, the fisheries have been grouped for Ecologically Based Management (EBM)/ Ecological Approach to Fisheries (EAF) and governance purposes into continental (mainly shrimp and groundfish), pelagic (from large tunas to small flyingfish) and reef (including a variety of finfish, lobster and conch) (Fanning *et al.*, 2011). Almost all of the fisheries would be categorised by any observer as small-scale,

regardless of the particular definition in use. Exceptions could be shrimp trawling off the Guianas-Brazil shelf and the dive fisheries for lobster and conch on some offshore coral reef banks, but even these are barely on the margins of the SSF envelope. Seafood exports from CARICOM countries are not large in volume or value (except for some shrimp, lobster and conch), but are significant in terms of providing foreign exchange especially if fish marketing for tourism is considered a sort of domestic export. Fish consumption in the region is around double that of the international average. Regional production of value-added products is, however, limited and imports can be high especially in countries that depend on specialty products for tourism.

In no CARICOM country do fisheries contribute more than a few per cent to national Gross Domestic Product, and in many it is less than one per cent. Fisheries, however, are still considered socio-economically, and sometimes politically, important due to their high contribution to rural coastal communities, food security, culture and much more (Breton *et al.,* 2006). A recent study of poverty suggests that, while pockets do exist within the fisheries of most countries, it would be highly inaccurate to portray fisheries in CARICOM countries as pursuits of the poor (CRFM, 2012a and b). Haiti is an obvious exception. Fisheries, for many people in the region and visitors alike, form part of an intangible Caribbean identity that acquires tangible economic value when combined with many other ingredients such as tourism. Fisheries and tourism are currently the two major uses of Caribbean Sea ecosystems (CARSEA, 2007).

Conventional (command-and-control) fisheries management is still the norm where there are attempts to actually manage fisheries. Community-based management of marine resources is not common, and can be quite challenging in CARICOM (Renard, 1991). Many fisheries effectively remain unmanaged and open access even where a few regulations do exist. This is mainly due to the very low capacities of fisheries authorities in CARICOM relative to the geographic scale of the fisheries and the skill set required for management (Mahon and McConney, 2011). Recently there have been attempts at both national and community level marine resource co-management (Brown and Pomeroy, 1999; Pomeroy *et al.,* 2004). This trend is particularly strong in association with marine protected areas (MPAs) and the push for marine biodiversity conservation. The latter, such as the Caribbean Challenge, is linked to big international NGOs and commitments under multilateral environment agreements such as the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) (McConney and Pena, 2012).

The connections and conflicts among coastal uses and abuses such as by fisheries, tourism and conservation are appreciated in most countries since coastal management, either integrated or mainly sectoral, is in place to some extent in the countries. We earlier noted the interest in EBM/EAF. Attention has also recently turned to climate change adaptation (CCA) and disaster risk management (DRM) in Caribbean SSF and aquaculture. Spearheading many of these recent trends is the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism (CRFM) established in 2002 as a fisheries advisory and technical assistance forum for and of CARICOM countries (Haughton *et al.,* 2004).

The foregoing is a very brief and partial overview of fisheries in the CARICOM Caribbean. It notes that fisheries resources are not very abundant or valuable on the global scale, but are nationally and locally quite important for livelihoods in most places. Although either no fisheries management or conventional management are the norm, there are now more attempts at co-management and EBM/EAF, as well as other initiatives that reflect an increase in resilience thinking (Fanning *et al.,* 2011). Much of this involves transboundary collaboration. It is on the evolving landscape that, in the next few paragraphs, we superimpose images of fisherfolk organisation (informal and formal), starting with a historical perspective and coming quickly to the present. The latter period and contemporary research provides for richer analysis and an application

of the GLORI framework that is both cross-scale and multi-level. Later sections of the paper pull out and focus in greater detail upon specific aspects of the Caribbean situation.

### 4.1.1 Regional overview from early history

This section draws heavily upon earlier work by McConney (2007), who provides an overview of the early history of fisherfolk organising. Fisherfolk organisations were introduced to many locations in the English-speaking Caribbean during the British colonial period, often in the early 1960s and 1970s. The histories of how they arose at different times in different places are not the same, but common inter-related features included:

- Being part of the movement towards independence.
- Use for political empowerment of "the small man".
- A means to alleviate poverty and encourage saving.
- For pooling money to improve commercial business.
- An emphasis on boat owners rather than fishers.
- Channelling of government subsidies for fishing.
- Efficient supply of inputs for fishery development.
- Getting into bigger, better and costlier boats.
- Seafood processing for food security and export.
- Starting with savings societies and cooperatives.

Although the scenarios of the past were not always of gloom and doom, people remembered the failures clearer than the successes. Some failures were very personal disappointments, recalled with bitterness. Fisherfolk said it was important to know the history of their groups, and failed initiatives for organising, in order not to make the same mistakes again and open old wounds. Older fisherfolk were often conflicted between a strong belief in the principle "unity is strength" and their experiences of failing to achieve unity. Some became convinced that fisherfolk organising was inherently impossible.

- Under-capitalisation (not enough funds to run them).
- Limited capacity (leadership, skills, resources, etc.).
- Inadequate support from government agencies.
- Membership bases that were too small to be viable.
- Little succession planning to groom new leaders.
- No follow-up to projects and technical assistance.
- Short term planning rather than strategic planning.
- Limited oversight and monitoring to give guidance.
- Financial mismanagement ("who thief the money?").
- Regulatory agencies did not correct financial wrongs.
- Connection to political movements that changed.
- Inability to sustain collective action outside of crises.
- Government programmes that competed with them.

Although the scenarios of the past were not always of gloom and doom, people remembered the failures clearer than the successes. Some failures were very personal disappointments, recalled with bitterness. Fisherfolk said it was important to know the history of their groups, and failed initiatives for organising, in order not to make the same mistakes again and open old wounds. Older fisherfolk were often conflicted between a strong belief in the principle "unity is strength" and their experiences of failing to achieve unity. Some became convinced that fisherfolk organising was inherently impossible.

Changes between the 1970s and 2013 vary by location, but one can observe:

- There is greater Caribbean economic integration.
- Better communication (TV, travel, phone, internet).

- People are more aware of how to run businesses.
- People are more aware of how organisations work.
- Long term and strategic planning is now customary.
- People in fishing industries are better educated.
- Fishing is not a job of last resort in several places.
- Markets for fish have global linkages to fish trade.
- Tourism has expanded as a major fish consumer.
- More value-added seafood products are available.
- There are more successful groups to use as models.
- Government agencies are generally more supportive.
- National Fisheries Advisory Committees (FACs) now exist.
- There is now a regional fisheries body, the CRFM.

The latter, the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism (CRFM), is a major driving force in current regional and national efforts at formal and informal fisherfolk organising. A brief re-introduction to the CRFM (mentioned earlier) with its quest to form or strengthen national fisherfolk bodies, and network them into a regional organisation, follows.

### 4.1.2 Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism

Haughton *et al.,* (2004) provide background on the CRFM. It aims for sustainable fisheries in the CARICOM region and beyond, but currently in an advisory, not management, capacity. The CRFM project on the *Development of Caribbean Network of Fisher Folk Organizations* ran from 2006 to 2009. It has been followed by a 2012-2013 project on *Implementing the Caribbean Community Common Fisheries Policy: positioning and engaging fisherfolk organizations.* We focus on the first project since the second one is just starting activities on the ground.

McConney (2007) states that the demand for the first project was based upon the results of a CRFM (2004) fisherfolk needs assessment that was followed by fisherfolk meetings in 2004 and 2005. The CRFM's 2004 fisherfolk meeting recommended the formation of a regional network of national fisherfolk organizations. The meeting recognised the need for strengthening institutional capacities of fisherfolk organizations to address issues revealed by the needs assessment such as weak management skills, poor access to information and limited capability for advocacy.

The 2005 meeting produced a *Strategy and Medium Term Action Plan for the Institutional Strengthening of Regional Fisher Folk Organizations - 2006 to 2010* to address the points above. It is through this bottom-up participatory process that the first project was designed. The overall objective of the project was:

- To contribute to improved income earnings, higher standards of living of fisherfolk and sustainable use of fishery resources in the Caribbean.

The more specific purpose of the project was to have:

- Institutional capacities of fisherfolk organizations developed at the regional, national and community levels.

This CRFM project, affiliated with a few others and done in partnership with the Caribbean Natural Resources Institute (CANARI) and The University of the West Indies Centre for Resource Management and Environmental Studies (UWI-CERMES), is the centrepiece of the GLORI analysis, and especially the networking and multi-level governance aspects. But before we get there, we take a look at some of the experiences at national and regional levels that allow observations on the factors that seem to favour success or failure. The brief overviews are intended to illustrate the diversity of Caribbean situations and experiences.

### 4.1.3 Barbados

#### *4.1.3.1 Early organisations focused on cooperatives*

McConney *et al.,* (2000) describe the 1960s development of fisherfolk organisations in Barbados. The earliest were Cooperative Fishing Savings Societies initiated by officers of the cooperatives and agriculture divisions of the colonial public service. Fisheries officers at the time stated on record that cooperatives would not form as long as fishers could get government loans and that fishers were individualists by nature (see Jentoft and Davis 1993). Fisheries officers did little to encourage cooperatives and maintained individual-oriented incentives. Fisherfolk, mainly boat owners, were enticed to join cooperatives by prospects of more goods and services from government. Early cooperatives were multipurpose, providing fishing supplies, offering fish transport and engaging in fish marketing. Cooperatives Division officers chose leaders from among the more articulate and respected boat owners.

The ILO (1964) warned of too many cooperatives being formed without necessary support, of jurisdictional overlap and of poor inter-agency coordination. These early cooperatives, despite their origin, tried not to be dependent upon government, something the leaders were proud of, but they failed by the 1970s due to poor management and absence of enabling policy (McConney *et al.,* 2000). In contrast, the 1985 formation of a new cooperative was a bottom-up process mainly by a group of boat owners who immediately set about targeting government to solve problems. Burtonboy and Jones (1988) and Burtonboy (1988) suggest that a pressure or lobby group would have been more appropriate than a cooperative.

#### *4.1.3.2 Recent initiatives are more diverse*

In the 1980s several fisherfolk associations started as collective action born out of conflict with boat owners, due to coast guard enforcing MPA laws, to gain access to a landing site within a port, because of poor landing site facilities and due to an EEZ dispute with a neighbouring country (McConney *et al.,* 2000). These associations received some support from the fisheries authority such as by providing information and a meeting location, but all were short-lived once the crisis was past. However, the association, rather than cooperative became the preferred form of organisation. The Cooperatives Division was paying attention to credit unions rather than producer cooperatives of any type.

The Fisherfolk Organisation Development Project started in 1997 with a socio-economic study "to determine attitudes towards collective action and cooperatives in particular given past experience" (McConney *et al.,* 2000). Results reinforced the focus on associations, but the project increased their number rather than their quality (McConney 2001). It attempted to build critical mass in order to form a national body. The Barbados National Union of Fisherfolk Organisations (BARNUFO), a national association, was formed in 1999 when about a dozen associations existed. Associations were all informally 'registered' with the Fisheries Division and had constitutions but no legal basis. Draft legislation to provide incentives to all types of fisherfolk organisations was never passed into law. The fisheries authority has provided some support such as an annual subvention and office space for BARNUFO, and small development grants for its member organisations upon application.

BARNUFO was heavily involved in drafting the country's early fisheries management plans. An amendment in 2000 to the 1993 Fisheries Act provided BARNUFO with a seat on the national Fisheries Advisory Committee, a multi-stakeholder co-management body that advises the minister responsible for fisheries (McConney *et al.,* 2003a). Early cooperatives and associations were not focused on empowerment and participation in decision-making, but there has been a recent trend in this direction. However, there are now only about six fisherfolk organisations, most

of which have very low activity or capacity. External agents such as the University of West Indies (UWI) have attempted to strengthen BARNUFO, but to little avail (Tabet 2009).

### 4.1.4 Belize

Fishing cooperatives in Belize are often identified as the most successful in the Caribbean, and many fisher study tours have been there to learn from their experience. As in other Caribbean locations, the early cooperatives were formed under colonial rule in the 1960s. Over a dozen formed and many failed, leaving four main ones to thrive and form a national association in 1970 (McConney *et al.,* 2003b). The distinctive features about Belize that lead to success include:

- Harvest of high value export-oriented species (lobster and conch).
- Exclusive marketing rights issued by government for this seafood.
- Representation on the influential national Fisheries Advisory Board.

The export exclusivity is akin to milking a cash cow and some have claimed that this has reduced the resilience of the cooperatives as both conch and lobster harvests decline but few alternative fisheries or means of income are being explored by the cooperatives. The typical problems of disloyalty, delinquency and financial mismanagement are also said to exist but the relatively high profitability provides a strong incentive for these not to threaten the survival of the organisations as has happened elsewhere (McConney *et al.,* 2003b). The national association is known for its powerful and politically astute leadership, and it also hires well-known and connected advisers, such as from environmental NGOs or formerly in government to assist in its business which includes interaction with MPA interests.

### 4.1.5 Dominica

At the CRFM (2007a) national consultation to launch a national fisherfolk organization in Dominica, issues raised by fisherfolk included:

- Uncertainty over the role national and regional organisations would play in eliminating IUU fishing, especially by the neighbouring French Departments of Martinique and Guadeloupe.
- Insufficient community involvement and low membership numbers and engagement as the reason for past failures.
- Lack of succession planning, including the reluctance of persons with capacity to step forward as leaders, leaving less able leaders in position for many years.
- Lack of access to information and education on organising and organisations.
- Inability to compete with other organisations (e.g. tourism) for government attention.
- Differences in status and benefits of informal groups versus registered cooperatives, the latter being favoured in Dominica and supported by the Cooperative Division.
- Low visibility and viability of small fisherfolk organisations, whether formal or informal.
- Concern that with 26 designated fish landing sites in Dominica, and only four registered fishermen's cooperatives in the country, forming a national body using only these four would not be truly representative of the fisherfolk of Dominica.
- The challenge of learning from and adapting the Belize model of national fisherfolk organisation.

Under the CRFM project, the National Association of Fisherfolk Cooperatives (NAFCOOP) was formed in 2008 with ten member organisations. Its leadership is very active with strong support from the Fisheries Division, which provided administrative assistance and is seeking to involve NAFCOOP more in fisheries

decision-making. Some of the primary cooperatives in Dominica are also involved in interesting institutional arrangements for local management of marine areas for fishery and other purposes (Pena and McConney, 2011).

### 4.1.6 Grenada

In 2007, there were five registered fisherfolk co-operatives and three fisherfolk associations in Grenada, with some being more active than others (CRFM, 2007b). The most successful engages in fish marketing, fishing gear and fuel supply, and more. The National Fishermen's Association of Grenada, established in 1993 by fishermen's cooperatives and associations, was long dormant by then. The reason for failure given by a fisher leader was loss of recognition and status after a change of government, and consequent exclusion from fisheries decision-making. At the CRFM national consultation to launch a national fisherfolk organization, issues raised by fisherfolk included:

- Being careful not to appear to be partial to any political party or government.
- Poor communication, since previous failure was due to decisions and activities that took place at the executive level not reaching the general membership for support.
- Lack of networking at the national level which was another reason for the failure of the previous national body.
- Building capacity within primary organisations to facilitate the transfer of information to their members and to build a stronger secondary organisation.
- The need for more social activities to develop comradeship and trust, as well as to encourage informal discussions on topics of common interest.
- The Co-operatives Division needed to build its oversight capacity in order to improve accountability and performance of the fisherfolk cooperatives.

Participants said that they wanted the national body to provide services of fish marketing, education and training, advocacy, representation on any fisheries advisory bodies to government and empowerment of fisherfolk. Although a national steering committee was formed to take the process forward there has been little leadership or progress in Grenada.

### 4.1.7 Guyana

Unlike the small islands, Guyana has a distinct mix of industrial and small-scale fisheries. Cooperative development was a strong feature of the socialist government in Guyana. In 2007, there were 13 registered fishermen's cooperative societies, but not all were active (CRFM 2007c). There was an active informal trawler owners association. In Guyana, the Cooperatives Department administers the laws governing both cooperatives and associations. Four co-operatives and two associations were represented at the national consultation to launch a national fisherfolk organization. Points raised by them included:

- Sharing information with primary groups and exchange programmes for fisherfolk.
- The need for fisherfolk and their organizations to capitalize on the CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME) in marketing fish and fish products.
- Financial contributions of the primary organisations to the national body.
- Concerns about piracy and licensing arrangements to fish in Suriname.
- Representation on the government's recently resuscitated Fisheries Advisory Committee (FAC).
- The minimum number of seven primary societies that were needed to form a federation (whereas in some countries it was just two).

Participants noted that fisheries cooperatives in Belize were production and market oriented while those in Guyana were more into importation of fishing requisites

and the provision of ice, docking facilities and other harvest sector services for their members.

### 4.1.8 Saint Lucia

Fisherfolk cooperatives in Saint Lucia were developed for the administration of duty free refunds on fuel and other concessions given to fishers by the government (CRFM, 2007d). As a result, only boat owners were attracted to such organisations since there was no incentive for others, or fishers who did not own boats, to get involved. The first national fisherfolk organization, a secondary cooperative, was registered in 1978 and given the responsibility to import fish trap wire. The scheme was abused, the cooperative was not closely monitored and it did not meet regularly. Its demise, however, was mainly due to inactivity of its primary cooperatives. In 2007, there were eight registered fisherfolk cooperatives on the island. At the national consultation on forming a national body, points raised included:

- The need to make information available in a timely manner on fisheries and related matters in formats that could be easily utilized by the stakeholders or target groups.
- Ways and means for organisations to seek "buy-in" from their individual members.
- Reducing or eliminating the factors leading to the first national failure which were:
  - poor or no communication between the secondary and its unit cooperatives,
  - roles were not clearly defined or understood,
  - poor financial management,
  - no oversight of its operations to ensure accountability.
- Using the lessons learnt from that experience to be sure to enforce the rules governing the operations of the organization by the regulatory agencies.
- The need to bring in other stakeholders such as net makers, boat builders, etc.
- Areas in which the body should function such as advocacy, institutional development and training, representation on such bodies as the Fisheries Advisory Committee, bulk purchase of fishing gear and material, and participation in activities to conserve and manage fishery resources.

Since that meeting, a national fisherfolk cooperative has been re-started and is functioning.

### 4.1.9 St. Vincent and the Grenadines

At the CRFM (2007e) national consultation to launch a national fisherfolk organization in St. Vincent and the Grenadines, which had four cooperatives, points raised included:

- Primary organisations were faced with many challenges and believed that there was a lot to be done to get all fully functional before a national body could be formed.
- Initial concepts and a framework structure should be developed and taken to the membership of the various primary groups for further discussion and refinement.
- The timeframe for formation of the national organisation depended on the interest of the fisherfolk themselves and their capacity to mobilize resources including by networking.
- The organization would have to be empowered and have legitimacy.
- Training and education at all levels was identified as being critical to success.
- It should be a structure of wide cooperation to include fisherfolk other than fishermen.
- The Cooperatives Department could not assist with the development of a business plan due to conflict of interest, but could recommend others who could.

A Steering Committee was formed and the mainland island, St Vincent, remains at this stage of progress. Subsequently an environmental NGO, Sustainable Grenadines, engaged fishers in the Grenadines islands of both St Vincent and Grenada in forming and networking several fisherfolk organisations (SusGren, 2010). This met with limited success but SusGren often engages the small and weak organisations in its activities such as marine spatial planning, responsible fisheries and coral reef conservation. The mainland and Grenadines groups are not well connected to each other.

### 4.1.10 The Caribbean Network of Fisherfolk Organisations emerges at regional level

As previously stated, the CNFO was the main output of the first CRFM project on fisherfolk organisation strengthening and networking. In addition to the countries reviewed above the CNFO's current active membership includes Antigua and Barbuda (where its leader is from), Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago. Other CRFM members such as The Bahamas, Turks and Caicos Islands, Montserrat and Haiti have so far not played major roles in the CNFO. Later sections focus on aspects of the CNFO such as its network structure, multi-level governance and as an example of success.

## 4.2 SEVERAL FACTORS FAVOUR SUCCESS OR LEAD TO FAILURE

There is a large literature on fisherfolk organisation success and failure, most of which is of global relevance (e.g. Meynell 1984, but especially Meynell 1990). Meynell's 1990 analysis is particularly data rich and insightful but lacks a well-constructed conceptual framework. It could be interesting to fit his findings into GLORI or some other model for further analysis.

Global scoping (see report by John Kurien) may also reveal which are currently the most universal factors in practice and in the academic literature. Below we lightly apply the GLORI framework to the Caribbean experience in order to highlight a few factors of interest. We use livelihoods as the core of the analysis, weaving in governance, organisational theory and resilience thinking as appropriate. We return to some of these as issues of special interest.

### 4.2.1 Context sets the scene

This covers mainly vulnerability, but also opportunity. Caribbean fisherfolk organisations are not overly concerned about the status of marine resources in most places despite trends of decline, particularly in inshore fisheries. Although none appear to have failed due to resource depletion, the Belize situation clearly illustrates the vulnerability to failure if adaptive capacity is not developed.

Seasonality and inter-annual fluctuations in resource abundance seem to impact enterprises and individual livelihoods more than organisations, a factor that may assist in stabilising organisation income, a potential success factor. Similarly, organisations that provide inputs such as gear and fuel to members are likely to succeed, such as in Grenada, especially in the face of trends such as rising fuel costs or high private sector prices.

Opportunities to diversify organisational income earning, referring to the Belize, Grenada and early Barbados experiences, also favour success. This can be countered, however, by vulnerability in management structure and practices, which reflects limited capacity.

### 4.2.2 Livelihood assets are critical

Financial capital is a key factor to livelihood and organisational success. Organisations in Belize were able to provide loans to members. Several of the national consultations stress human and social capital, and that the lack of them led to organisational failures.

Networks seemed to be particularly important for organisational success, and the lack of them a key factor in failure. Self-organisation seems to depend much on internal networking, as evident from Belize where fisherfolk groups seem to be the most self-organised.

Physical capital seems less important. Organisations that had assets such as vessels and vehicles did not seem to be appreciably more successful. Indeed, these assets could become divisive points of contention and conflict, as occurred in the early Barbados cooperatives.

Access to natural capital, fish, is also critical but is more of an individual than organisational matter. Community or organisation based quota allocation, for example, is not a feature of Caribbean fisheries, which are mostly open access. However, there was interest in the role organisations could or should play in reducing or eliminating IUU fishing and hence improving access to resources with less conflict. Such a role would favour success.

### 4.2.3 Transformation may be necessary

This largely concerns governance structures and processes. The national consultations suggest that organisations that assist fisherfolk in navigating through obstacles to their livelihoods are likely to be supported and perhaps successful. Several consultations mentioned the role of organisations in fisherfolk representation on multi-stakeholder bodies. Influence and access are two important aspects of transformation, and the Grenada case showed that the lack of these factors led to organisational failure.

### 4.2.4 Livelihood strategies are diverse

The extent to which fisherfolk include their organisations in livelihood strategies seems to vary considerably. For many it would seem that organisations are of marginal rather than major importance. The main exception is again Belize, where the cooperatives are the main means of high income for many.

The call for organisations to provide more information, education and training (building capacity and human capital), if answered, would incorporate them further into livelihood strategies and add to their likelihood of success.

Allowing high levels of free-ridership seems to be a factor for organisational failure since it erodes active support for the organisation, and this is a common complaint of fisherfolk. If free-riding is low, then the benefits available to members only should result in more support for the organisation.

### 4.2.5 Livelihood outcomes provide feedback

Evidence is scarce on the relationship between factors of failure or success and livelihood outcomes. Ideally, there should be a link suggesting that improved food security, well-being and quality of life or similar goals are tied to membership in fisherfolk organisations. There is insufficient evidence to show that this may be so except for in Belize. For an organisation to contribute to such outcomes, it must itself be resilient. Most of the organisations have been short-lived, it is not clear from the evidence what factors contribute most to their sustainability.

### 4.2.6 Fisherfolk interviews provide insight

Feedback from fisherfolk leaders was sought by one of the authors in December 2012 and February 2013 group interviews by posing the question: What are the key factors and principles that lead to successful organizations and collective action? They responded with the following items for attention:

- Transparency is important.
- Effective communication and access to information.
- More than common bond, but also shared needs.

- Trust is important.
- Want to be independent but connected.
- Want to be part of something needed.
- Sensitivity of government departments to fisheries; do they genuinely want to help fisheries to develop? What about political will?
- Equal vision requires everyone as a leader and part of the process.
- Organisation as interface between fisherfolk and others.
- Social benefits must be real and tangible, collective and individual.
- Community cohesion is important.
- Knowledgeable members are required.
- Effective and committed leadership.
- Mission must be clear.
- Internal financial control for accountability.
- Positive action (not just talk).
- Succession planning and leadership development.
- Effective representation.
- Feedback and follow-up.
- Integrity throughout the entire organisational structure.
- Focused and strategic decision-making.

Similarly, this question was also posed: What are the key factors and conditions associated to failures of organizations and collective action? The fisherfolk leaders replied:

- Opposites of success factors on previous slide.
- Financial mismanagement.
- Poor succession planning.
- Barriers to interaction e.g. by different social class of leaders to members.
- Poor choice of leader because of wrong selection criteria.
- Organisations used as private businesses.
- Inability to have division of labour, low capacity.

## 4.3 ISSUES OF SPECIAL INTEREST

The following sub-sections examine issues of special interest in the GLORI framework and for the implementation of the SSF Guidelines. They all overlap. Brief points are made on each.

### 4.3.1 Gender equality is attainable

There is little empirical evidence of gender awareness or examples of gender mainstreaming and trends in ensuring equality in fisherfolk organisations. Gender analysis and related research in Caribbean fisheries is sparse (CANARI, 1999; McConney *et al.,* 2011) and few data explicitly concern organisations. Most fisherfolk organisations are male dominated, as is the harvest sector. However, in Trinidad there exists an active 'Women in Fishing Association'. 'Central Fish Processors' in Barbados is the only association comprising all female fish vendors.

Two of the three leaders of BARNUFO in Barbados have been women, and a woman is a national fisherfolk leader in St Kitts and Nevis. Since women in the fishing industry are most often fish vendors, there is the potential to be in conflict with the mostly male harvest sector. Women and their capabilities, however, are generally well-respected (Grant, 2004) and it is their economic role rather than gender that may be problematic in mixed membership fisherfolk organisations.

Unless organisations set out to be broad-based, such as BARNUFO, the opportunities for women to occupy leadership positions are few. In BARNUFO, female leadership was not questioned explicitly on gender, but rather on the extent to which the women

in charge had the interests of the harvest sector at heart (especially since one was a fish vendor) and knew enough about it to represent it adequately.

Feedback from fisherfolk leaders, including some women, was sought in group interviews by posing the question: What are the key factors and principles that guide organizations to promote or not gender equality? Concerning promotion, they responded:

- Fisher wives market catch so prove their capability.
- Women in public sector attract women into fisher leader positions.
- Women have capital to be boat owners, houses, etc.
- Vendors can get rich off the work of fishermen in some places.
- Women choose to take up leadership positions or not.
- Women shown to do all kinds of work.
- More men taking women's jobs ashore.
- Social fabric supportive of equality.
- FAC law specifies women on board.
- Societal culture accepting gender role.
- Religious culture.

According to them, what did not promote gender equality included:

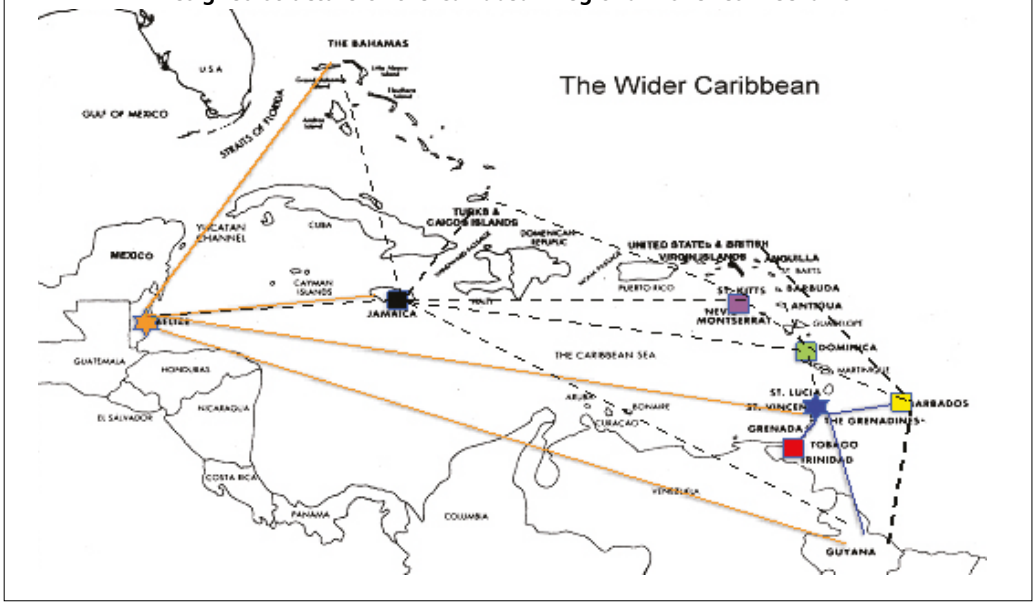
- Marginalisation in the industry by men who are the face of the industry.
- Women and men have different interests …if vendors and fishers are in the same organisation there is trouble…becomes complicated as they are in competition, conflict.
- Different roles …equity rather than equality; the women get ahead as vendors, leaving the men behind financially…bad relationships.

### 4.3.2 Role of networks must be understood

Social networks are important in Caribbean fisheries and the networks of persons pursuing different livelihoods tend to be different. For example, the social networks of fish vendors in Barbados tended to be more collaborative than those of fishers and boat owners, which were more instrumental (McConney, 1997).

Organisations are essentially groups of people sharing a common purpose and working collectively towards achieving it, but seldom are all of the people in anyone's network also members of the same organisation. So organisational membership creates

FIGURE 10
**Designed structure of the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism**



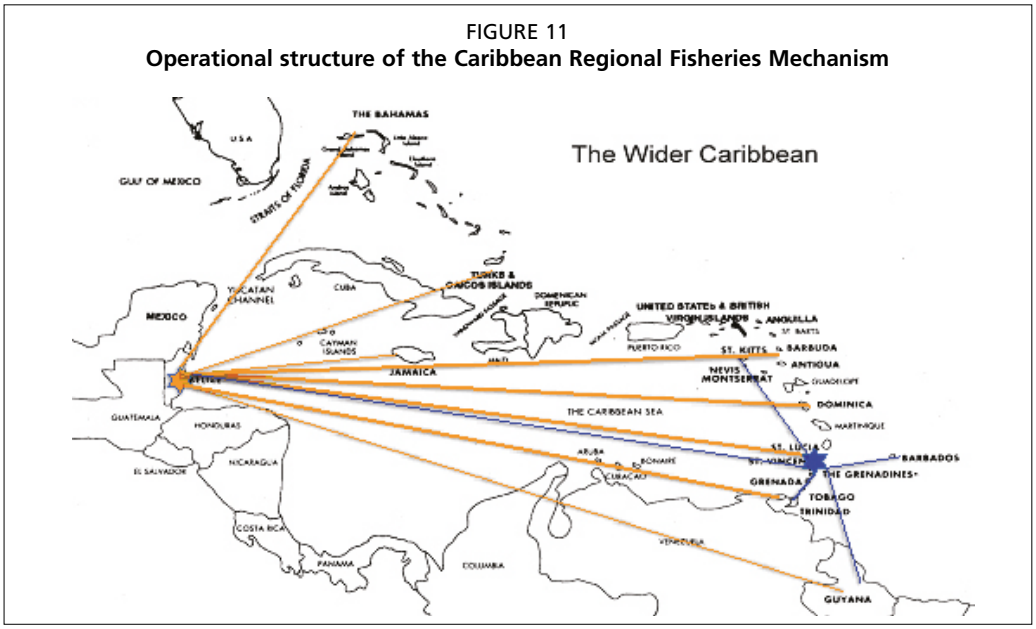
boundaries containing certain actors in a network and excluding others. Since actors in organisations typically maintain both internal and external connections as they go about their lives, their roles in organisational networking are of particular importance. Key actors may have powerful friends or kin on the outside that they can call upon if necessary to assist the organisation. They may also act as links between different groups.

While not ignoring personal, local and national level networks, we focus here on regional transboundary organisational networks as these are critical to the Caribbean. Such networks are likely to be similar to those in large countries and are relevant to scaling-up initiatives. Differences may exist between network structures and functions that are based on formal legal-institutional arrangements (what is on paper), based on less formal operational arrangements (what actually happens) and an ideal-type arrangement if there was optimal adaptation (what should be). The capacity requirements of fisherfolk organisations may be different in each of these arrangements. The differences among them may be more or less significant. Moving from the present to what should be may require transformation (Olsson *et al.*, 2004).

The CRFM was originally designed (albeit largely metaphorically) as a distributed network within which various member states and organisations would take the lead on different fisheries matters (Figure 10). Its legal agreement of establishment does not prevent this (Haughton, 2004). Thus the diagram shows the CRFM Secretariat offices in Belize and St. Vincent and the Grenadines having networks for undertaking some activities. It also shows select CRFM countries (e.g. Barbados, Dominica, Jamaica), or organisations within them (e.g. UWI campuses), leading by networking for other activities. The idea was that competencies (e.g. for research) and comparative advantages (e.g. geographic location) would be taken advantage in a highly adaptive manner for greatest efficiency and effectiveness as well as to distribute the development of capacity and experience with leadership.

In practice, however, the CRFM operates as a highly centralised network with the major hub being the headquarters in Belize and a minor hub being the office in St Vincent and the Grenadines (Figure 11). Seldom do the fisheries authorities or other organisations take the lead on activities. Implementation of activities is often by consultancies contracted extra-regionally or to regional enterprises that are not part of the CRFM structure. This more centralised structure can be cost-effective and efficient, but it seems less effective and does not help to build much adaptive capacity or

FIGURE 11
**Operational structure of the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism**

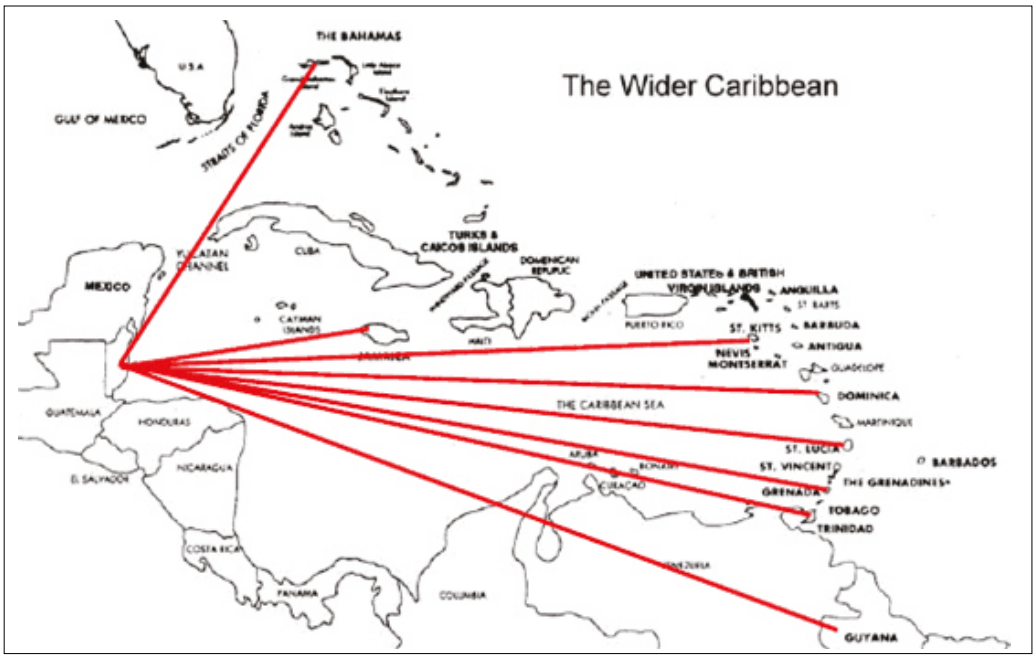


resilience within the CRFM structure itself. This is a huge deficiency in many respects, but one that CRFM countries seem to be unwilling or unable to address. What then should be the structure of a regional fisherfolk organisation the main aim of which is to interface with the CRFM in order to influence policy and governance?

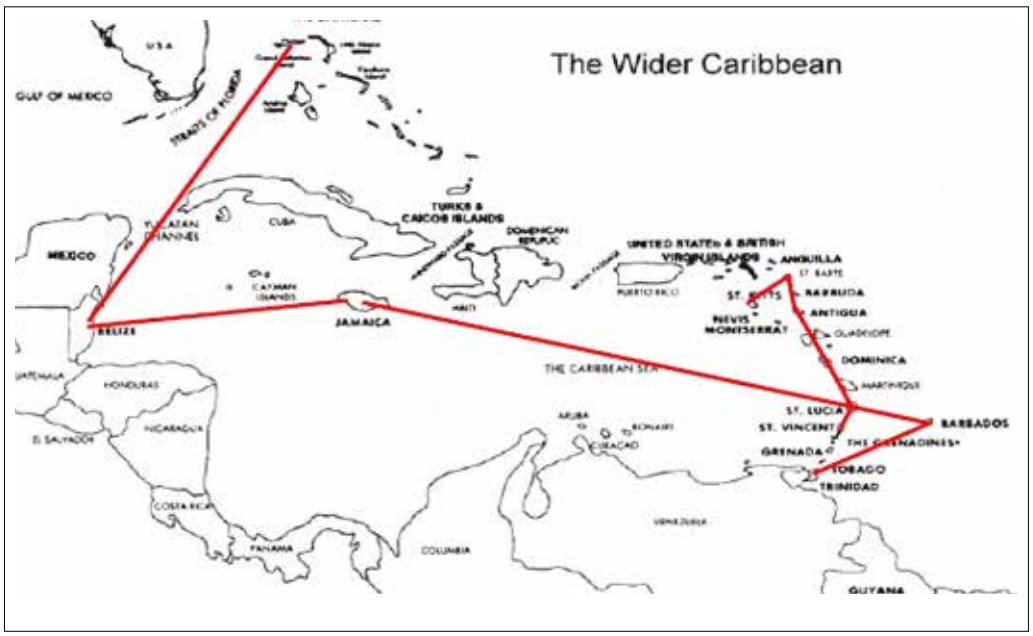
Fisherfolk leaders took the CRFM designed and actual structures, and the functional structures of other organisations, into consideration when setting about to design their own network. The process is analysed in detail in McConney and Phillips (2011), an extract from which is offered as a success story in a later section. The three main network designs considered are shown in the Figure below, and their pros and cons summarised in Figure 12. using criteria of self-organisation, adaptive capacity and resilience.

FIGURE 12 a), b) and c) **Alternative designs for the fisherfolk network**

(a) Centralised hub




(b) Open network



(c) Multi-cluster

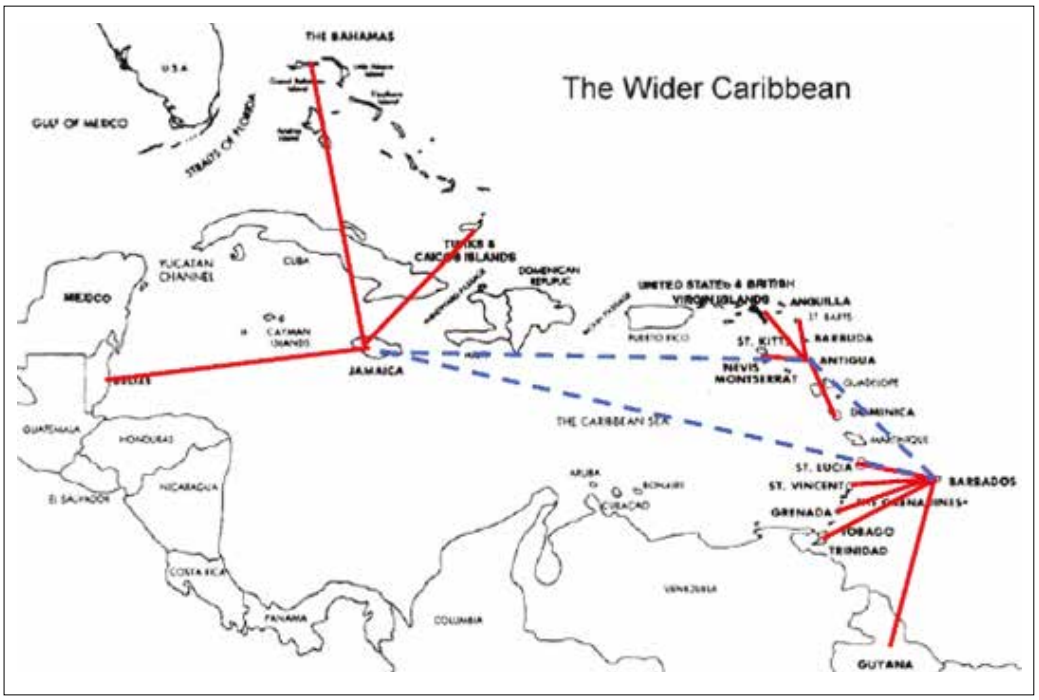



TABLE 2
**Analysis of fisherfolk network options**

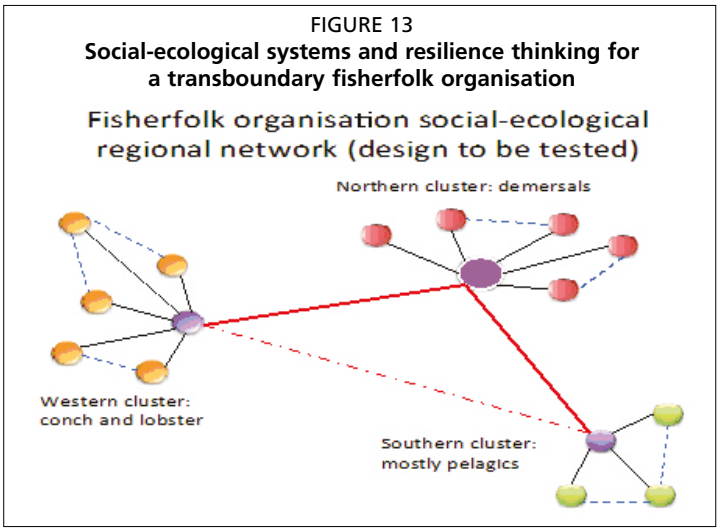
| Network Feature | Centralised hub | Open network | Multi-cluster |
|---|---|---|---|
| Self-organisation | √ Clear network leadership and 'headquarters'<br>√ Accountability is made easier by centralisation<br>x Concentration of power in hub may cause conflicts<br>x Most inequitable structure | √ Each NFO is encouraged to become self-reliant<br>√ Can be equitable with shared leadership, benefits<br>√ Requires less continuous effort for coordination<br>x Regional leadership may be difficult to develop<br>x Effective communication may be more challenging | √ A small number of hubs is easy to coordinate<br>√ Familiar structure used for some large companies<br>√ Each cluster can be a learning centre to share lessons learned<br>x Some activities cannot be done sub-regionally<br>x Disparity in performance of clusters may be an issue<br>x Hubs need to be able to work together cohesively |
| Adaptive capacity | √ Can build critical mass of capacity in one place<br>√ May delegate responsibility to other nodes<br>x May foster dependency on the better endowed hub<br>x Capacity building at hub may benefit only a few | √ Tasks can be delegated based on node strengths<br>√ Capacity can be spread amongst the nodes<br>x Capacity may become spread too thinly to be useful | √ Clusters can be sized to suit available hub capacity<br>√ A hub can be designated leader by period or task<br>√ Diverse capacity is more feasible due to inherent differences<br>x Dependency on some hubs may arise<br>x Capacity has to be built in several locations |
| Resilience | √ Can be more efficient and effective for operations<br>√ May be taken "more seriously" as a regional structure<br>x Whole network vulnerable if centre fails or falters | √ Failure of a node may not affect the entire network<br>x Can be too diffuse to plan well and reach decisions<br>x Nodes may be less inclined to sustain the network<br>x Unable to present a 'face' to external stakeholders | √ Nodes that are neighbours can form strong clusters<br>√ Failure of a cluster may not destroy the network<br>√ Distributed and diverse capacity favours resilience<br>x Hub failure can still affect several nodes |

√ advantage

x disadvantage

Table 2 shows that all three of the network designs would have advantages and disadvantages in relation to the aims of achieving self-organisation, adaptive capacity and resilience within a transboundary fisherfolk organisation. The choice is a matter of trade-offs and preferences. The design of the fisherfolk organisation network is still a work in progress but fisherfolk leaders have suggested that the multi-cluster design, which provides a closer match between social and ecological systems (Figure 13), is more likely to favour success. This structure would produce three clusters of national fisherfolk organisations that share interest in similar fisheries resources and are geographically fairly close to each other. The fit is not perfect, but comes close to the scale matching that should be sought.

FIGURE 13
**Social-ecological systems and resilience thinking for a transboundary fisherfolk organisation**




Below the regional level, at the national level there has been network analysis of fisheries governance in Trinidad and Tobago in which fisherfolk organisations and their ties feature prominently (Sandy *et al.,* 2011). In 2008, both the Monitoring and Advisory Committee on the Fisheries of Trinidad and Tobago (MAC) and the Trinidad and Tobago Unified Fisherfolk (TTUF) participated in the management of Trinidad and Tobago's fishing industry.

Using quantitative social network analysis, the report examined the kinds of interventions and governance structures that had been useful in enhancing adaptive capacity within the fisheries system.

The organisations had overlapping memberships but with low-density networks, meaning that many possible links were absent. There can be many possible consequences and interpretations, but two are that collective action in the fisherfolk organisation would have been challenging, as would have been a high level of self-organisation. Fisherfolk complained that TTUF offered an unsatisfactorily low level of representation and had leadership that reached out to few (Sandy *et al.,* 2011). The situation in Trinidad and Tobago resembles several other locations and indicates the importance of fisherfolk organisations actively managing their networks.

#### *4.3.2.1 What fisherfolk said about networks and collective action*

In the December 2012 and February 2013, group interviews previously mentioned, fisherfolk leaders were asked: What are the roles of networks in organizations and collective action? They replied:

- Sharing information widely.
- Increasing use of social media by fisherfolk.
- Communication networks used to share responsibility and establish division of labour.

- Providing data.
- Strengthen organisations through constant interactions.
- Networks may form cliques within organisations and conflicts among them (often seen in mismanagement).
- Communication networks help to spread information.
- Visions and innovations of leaders can be spread.
- Connects organisations to resources.
- Allows representation to bodies at higher levels.
- Improves coordination, better use of resources.
- Storing information.
- Peer coaching and mentoring.
- Developing and strengthening relationships.
- Understanding of others' perspectives.
- Helps to manage conflicts.
- Builds mutual respect.

### 4.3.3 Self-organisation requires leadership for learning and adaptation

A common understanding of self-organisation is that it reflects the capacity of a group to arrange itself and its activities in order to adapt to changing circumstances, or to make good progress under fairly constant conditions, without significant external inputs. Key concepts are learning, leadership and adaptation.

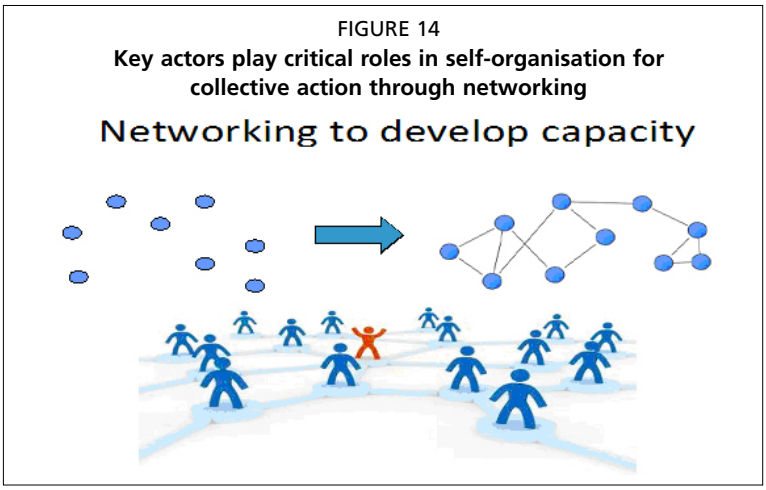
In the GLORI framework the perturbations may come from the vulnerability context, and the resources for self-organisation from the combined assets of group members along with the environment for transformation.

An example of the latter is whether there is enabling policy supportive of fisherfolk organisations or, as seen at times in Barbados and Grenada, the system is predominantly anti-organisational. Conflict, as seen in the Barbados example, is a frequent trigger of spontaneous collective action, but such reactions are typically short-lived, coping strategies more than adaptation, and are not self-organisation.

#### *4.3.3.1 Leaders of change are key actors*

Key actors and change agents, functioning as leaders, play critical roles in fisherfolk self-organisation such as through networking to develop capacity (Figure 14). In this case an actor uses his or her network to leverage resources for the organisation and demonstrates leadership. However, the efforts of one actor alone are not sufficient. The members of the organisation must respond or rally around and take ownership of the initiative, moving the entire organisation into a new configuration accordingly.

FIGURE 14
**Key actors play critical roles in self-organisation for collective action through networking**



In the Caribbean, the coordinator of the CNFO is one of the key actors and change agents assisting the network to self-organise with limited external input. In network terms, he is a broker located centrally among several clusters that otherwise may have few ties bridging them. Not only is he an accomplished fisherman, but he also understands fisheries science, is a champion of sustainable and responsible fisheries, and promotes the use of information technology. His natural leadership style exemplifies what other fisherfolk are being trained to do (Almerigi, 2000). Resources accessed by him and others are spread within the CNFO, allowing it to organise itself. However, when limits in capacity are reached, some external input is necessary.

The distinction between self-organisation and the inability to self-organise is that the external inputs do not have to be constant or frequent in self-organisation. There is a ratchet-like path of progress with each input raising the organization to a higher level of capacity at which it can operate largely on its own, and adapt, before requiring another injection of assistance. For example, CNFO leaders were exposed to the Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries and implemented their own training on fishing practices based on the CCRF. Later they required assistance on EAF as a stage of further development in this direction and again have demonstrated the capacity to follow-up on EAF initiatives without constant assistance.

As noted in the Caribbean situation summary, some organisations (regardless of formal category) set out to be pressure groups and may seem to be highly dependent upon government for benefits. The success of such pressure groups is, however, measured more by their influence than direct action. The appearance of dependence may therefore be deceptive. Both pressure and non-pressure organisations have the well-being of their members as the desired outcome. Monitoring and evaluating success requires indicators appropriate for examining both the processes and the products (outputs and outcomes) of different organisational types.

Regarding the sources of external assistance, the situation analysis shows that Caribbean fisherfolk organisations collaborate with regional intergovernmental agencies, national government, university and NGO sources to build capacity. There is also involvement from international governmental and non-governmental agencies. This wide range of agencies shows much variation by situation and over time with regard to their roles in assistance.

#### *4.3.3.2 Fisherfolk share views on self-organisation*

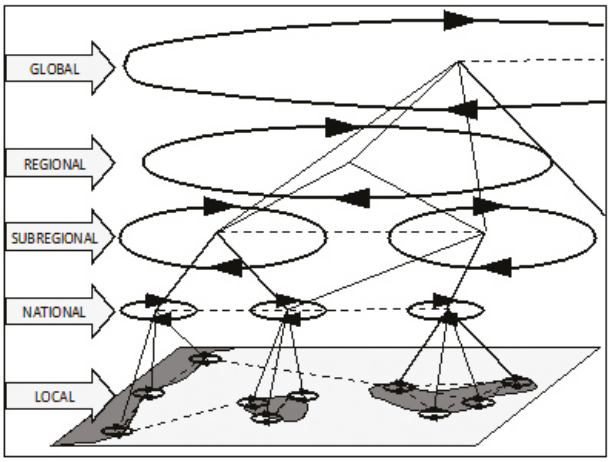
The question for fisherfolk leaders in the December 2012 and February 2013 group interviews was: What are the key factors and principles that enable and promote self-organization? Responses were:

- Common interests: organise around interests without need for outside motivation.
- Oncoming real and perceived threats that are shared.
- Regular meetings and interactions; facilitates effective modes of operating, communication.
- Threatened livelihoods motivate spontaneous collective action.
- Government incentives and NGO funds may only be accessed through organisation: incentives to self-organise.
- Opportunities need to exist to be taken advantage of collectively.
- Ethnic groupings and other shared features strengthen bonds.
- Family ties: strong bonds and unity.
- Vision of where you are going unites people to act together.
- Remote communities get accustomed to fending for themselves.
- Perception of benefits.

### 4.3.4 Multi-level governance is based on networks

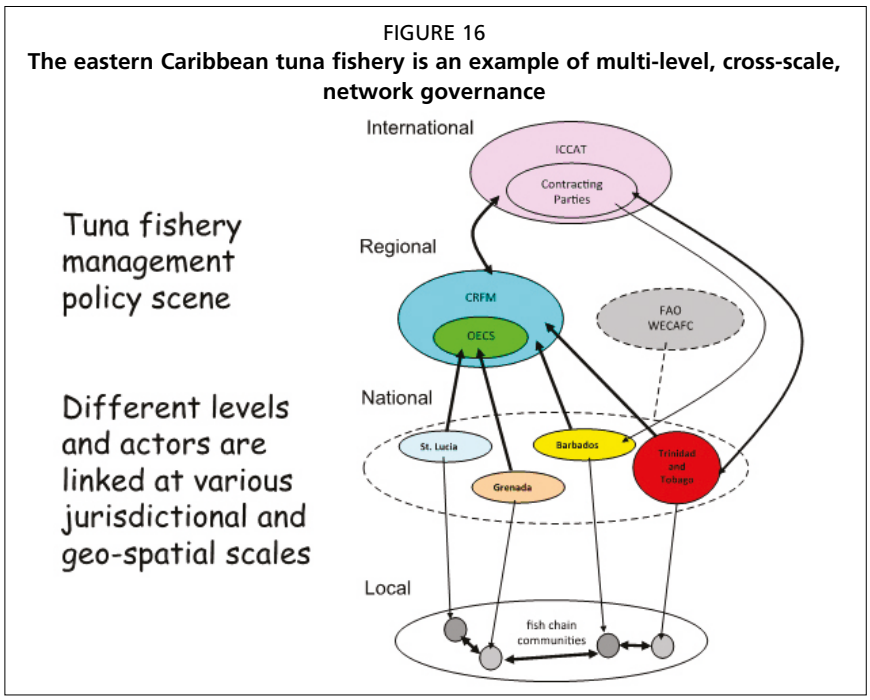
Multi-level governance has been touched upon in the discussion of networks. The CLME project that focuses on transboundary marine resource governance uses a conceptual and analytical framework based on five levels that are occupied by organisational networks having both vertical and lateral linkages through policy cycles (Figure 15).

FIGURE 15
**CLME multi-level governance framework**



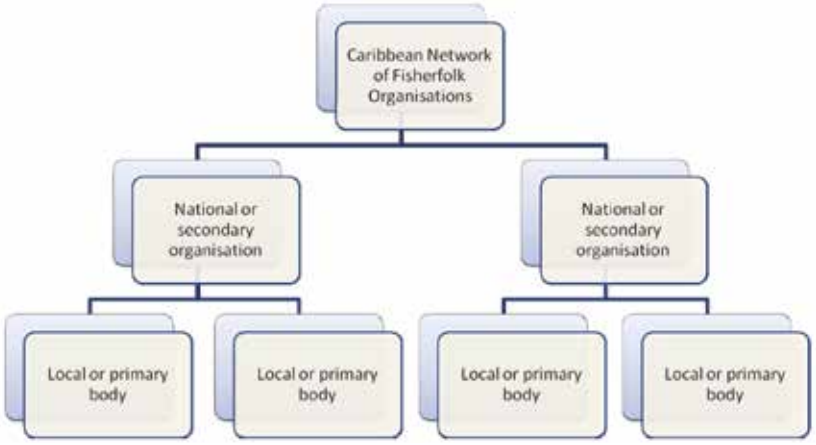

Fisherfolk organisations can and do fit into this framework. An example is the management of tuna fisheries in which fisherfolk organisations currently have direct roles in governance at local, national and sub-regional levels along with the potential to indirectly influence regional and international fisheries policy (Figure 16). Fisherfolk, however, may not have an operational image of the entire governance structure; they may not know the roles of the various organisations including the potential roles that theirs could play at different levels. No fisherfolk organisation is currently playing any major role.

FIGURE 16
**The eastern Caribbean tuna fishery is an example of multi-level, cross-scale, network governance**



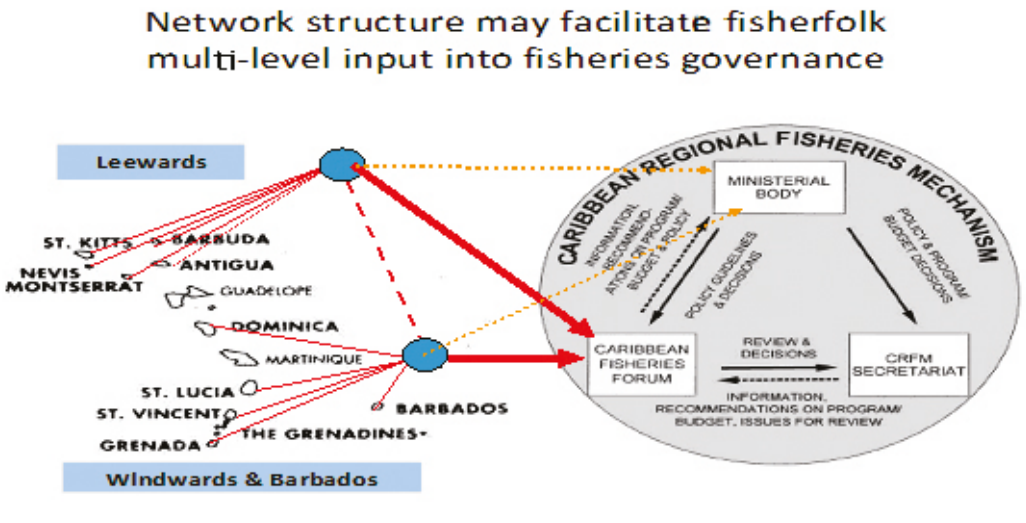
The diagram illustrates ideal formal communication lines among the governmental organisations and their links to the local level communities and fishing enterprises. A multi-level fisherfolk body has the potential to interact with the governance structure at all levels, but particularly from local to regional. The three-tiered (hierarchical) network structure of the CNFO, described previously (Figure 17), is an arrangement with the potential to achieve the multi-level interaction described. It interacts now with the CRFM and WECAFC at the sub-regional and regional levels, with national fisheries authorities, and has local site-based organisations as primary members. CNFO has not yet taken a stance on the tuna fishery.

FIGURE 17
**Fisherfolk organisation network hierarchical structure**



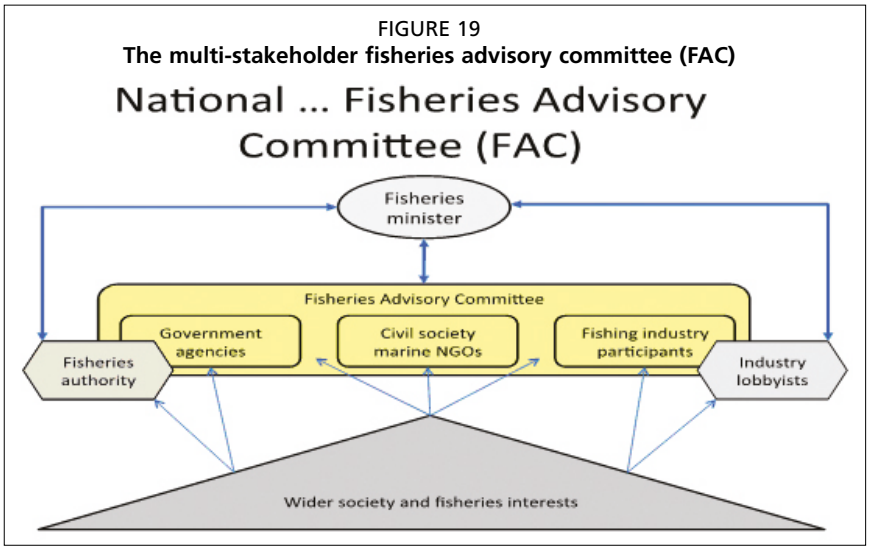

In the CRFM, the CNFO, using delegates from its national fisherfolk member organisations in several countries, interacts at both the technical advisory and policy decision-making levels (Figure 18). The CNFO has a seat at the table of the Caribbean Fisheries Forum as an observer with status equal to the regional university. Unlike the UWI, it has also been allowed direct access to the Ministerial Council. Achieving these levels of interaction was partly due to capacity development under the CRFM project in partnership with a university (UWI) and NGO (CANARI) (McConney and Phillips, 2011).

FIGURE 18
**CRFM multi-level network governance offers opportunities for fisherfolk input**



At the national level, most CARICOM countries make legal provision for a multi-stakeholder Fisheries Advisory Committee (FAC) to advise the fisheries minister on policy (Figure 19). Few of these are active but all have the potential to be avenues for fisherfolk organisations to engage directly in fisheries policy.

FIGURE 19
**The multi-stakeholder fisheries advisory committee (FAC)**




In a study of Caribbean co-management arrangements, the Fisheries Advisory Board was shown to be quite successful in Belize (McConney *et al.*, 2003b), but the Fisheries advisory Committee has been less successful in Barbados (McConney *et al.*, 2003a). The main difference is that the Belize board has significant clout due to the presence of the politically powerful Belize Fisherman's Cooperative Association whereas the Barbados board at first had no fisherfolk organisation member, and only recently has added the weak Barbados National Union of Fisherfolk Organisations as a member.

Legal provisions governing the composition of the FAC vary by country. In the few countries in which FAC are operational, their composition does not yet reflect EAF (De Young *et al.*, 2008) as several major stakeholders are absent from the table. This may seriously and negatively impact the transformation component of the framework as inter-sectoral interactions are unlikely to be synergistic if the sectors remain in silos, with fisheries often at the bottom in terms of status and power both in public administration and in society as a whole.

## 4.4 SOME SUCCESS STORIES TO SHARE

### 4.4.1 Rise of the CNFO

The Caribbean does not have an abundance of fisherfolk organisation success stories. The majority of early (1960s) cooperatives failed and only a few of those established later are still active in most countries. There have, however, been notable cases of sustainability and of resurgence. The former is exemplified by Belize as described previously, with Jamaica and Guyana being successes to a lesser extent. Resurgence is evident in Saint Lucia and Dominica. Other countries continue to stagnate with a few weak organisations at primary level and an even weaker formal or informal group nationally, e.g. Barbados, St Kitts and Nevis. The major new success based upon progress to date but still in its early stages, is the CNFO. The CNFO story is told in detail in McIntosh *et al.*, (2010) and McConney and Phillips (2011). An extract from the latter is provided which chronicles the collaborative planning process through which the CNFO was developed (Table 3).

TABLE 3
Participatory processes were used for strengthening national fisherfolk organisations and networking them regionally to develop the CNFO (Adapted from McConney and Phillips, 2011)

| Timeline of participatory capacity building events and actions | Capacity development outputs and outcomes |
|---|---|
| Training of Trainers Workshop for Fisheries Extension Officers to Enhance Their Skills to provide better Information, Advisory and Training Services to Primary and National Fisherfolk Organizations, 4 – 14 December 2006, St. Vincent and the Grenadines | • Shared learning and consensus building among fisherfolk, fisheries officers and cooperatives officers.<br>• Capacity building.<br>• Networking across organisational and national boundaries.<br>• Learning about factors contributing to resilience of local and national fisherfolk organisations. |
| MarGov Project Inception Workshop, 15-16 May 2007, Barbados | • Multi-stakeholder networking.<br>• Formal introduction to, and discussion of major concepts, including practical application. |
| "Fisherfolk organisations in the Caribbean: briefing note on networking for success". June 2007 | Guidance on how to build or strengthen adaptive and resilient networks using participatory field methods. |
| "Fisher Folk Net" electronic newsletter produced from July 2007 | Information exchange to aid networking and collaborative decision-making |
| National consultations to launch national fisherfolk organisations in Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines, in July 2007. | • Promotion of national level networking, collaboration and organisation.<br>• Connect to policy.<br>• Promote institutional learning. |
| Regional Fisheries Stakeholders Workshop to Promote the Launching of a Caribbean Network of National Fisherfolk Organisations, 26-28 September 2007, Grenada | • Promotion of transboundary networking, collaboration and organisation.<br>• Building adaptive capacity, consensus and group leadership.<br>• Practical use of networks. |
| Policy briefs on "Network analysis in marine resource governance from a policy perspective", April 2007, and "Getting more fisherfolk into better fisheries governance", September 2007. | • Information exchange that assists research to influence policy.<br>• Some capacity and consensus building around policy aspects. |
| "Fisher folk and fisheries scientists linking and learning together" at the 60th Gulf and Caribbean Fisheries Institute (GCFI), 5-9 November 2007. Punta Cana, Dominican Republic, | • Regional networking and information exchange amongst fisherfolk, scientists, fisheries managers and other actors.<br>• Build fisherfolk capacity to understand fisheries science perspectives/methods. |
| Small project on "Enhancing marine resource governance through developing capacity for communication in the Eastern Caribbean". Done March – June 2008. | • Building capacity for communication and fisherfolk organisation advocacy.<br>• Link fisherfolk to local mass media network in several countries. |
| Small project on promoting the formation of national fisherfolk organisations and fishers exchange. Done May – June 2008. | • Fisherfolk leader visits to strengthen links from national to regional organisation levels.<br>• Learning from successful groups. |
| Training Workshop on Management, Communication and Advocacy for Fisher Folk Organisations in CARICOM 22 September - 3 October, 2008, St. Lucia | • Regional organisation vision and mission statements.<br>• Capacity development in several areas. Network concepts and practical exercises.<br>• Consensus building for regional network structure, function. |
| Regional symposium on "Marine Ecosystem Based Management in the Caribbean: an essential component of Principled Ocean Governance", Barbados, 10-12 December 2008 | • Networking and knowledge acquisition by fisherfolk leaders.<br>• Capacity building in fisheries science and management.<br>• EBM "translated" into fisherfolk terms. |
| Tabet MSc research internship. "Fisherfolk organisation in the network governance of small-scale fisheries in the CARICOM region". May 2008 – February 2009. | • Graduate research adds academic insight shared with fisherfolk in participatory action research.<br>• Builds capacity.<br>• Clarifies practical application of network concepts. |
| First Workshop on Regional Fisherfolk Organisations Policy Influence and Planning, 13 – 15 January 2009, St. Vincent and the Grenadines | • Regional vision and mission statements refined.<br>• Policy statement for Ministerial Council. Identification of strategic objectives and priorities.<br>• Action planning.<br>• Capacity building.<br>• Strengthening leadership, collective action and building consensus. |
| Fisher exchange on Caribbean fishers collaborating on suitable gear and techniques that will contribute to sustainable fisheries, 1-3 April 2009, Grenada | • Demonstration of fisherfolk leadership and capacity to organise.<br>• Networking among active fishers and fisher leaders.<br>• Building capacity to understand and use fisheries science/ management concepts. |
| Second Workshop on Regional Fisherfolk Organisations Policy Influence and Planning, 15-17 April 2009, Commonwealth of Dominica | • Analysis of regional fisheries policy from fisherfolk perspective used to build capacity.<br>• Participation in fisheries policy. Medium-term strategic plan for regional fisherfolk organisation based on learning. |

### 4.4.2 Fisherfolk leaders suggested cases of success

A group of fisherfolk leaders was asked in February 2013: What would be a set of Caribbean success case studies that can be identified and described for advocacy and exchange of lessons learned? They identified some successes as:

- Dominica: National Association of Fisherfolk Co-operatives (NAFCOOP).
- Guyana: Cooperative #66.
- Belize: National and Northern Fishermen Cooperatives in the early days.
- St Lucia: Castries Fishermen's Cooperative.

When also quizzed on the criteria that they used to determine success the fisherfolk said:

- Number of people who benefit.
- Financial turnover or net revenue.

Of the successes identified by the fisherfolk, only the Belize organisations have been reasonably well documented in accessible literature referenced earlier. Within the Caribbean there is potentially a wealth of cases of different levels of success that can offer lessons and serve as a testing ground for GLORI or some other conceptual framework.

The fisherfolk criteria are also instructive in placing socio-economics ahead of ecological (e.g. resource health or abundance) or governance (e.g. participation or empowerment) matters. This resonates with a strong livelihoods orientation and egalitarian perspective.

## 4.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT

### 4.5.1 Suggestions from fisherfolk leaders

Caribbean fisherfolk leaders were asked in December 2012 and February 2013 in group interviews: What are capacity development needs for strengthening organizations and collective action to reach their organizational goals in support of implementing the SSF Guidelines? Acknowledging differing levels of familiarity with the SSF Guidelines (FAO, 2011 and 2012), they suggested:

- Training in resource management (EAF).
- Building leadership, succession planning.
- Advocacy and negotiation, lobbying.
- Forming networks, organising exchanges.
- Business skills and marketing skills.
- Knowledge on and promotion of responsible fisheries.
- Means of closer genuine collaboration with government authorities.
- Connecting to private sector and civil society.
- Adapting to climate change impacts.
- Quality control and assurance.
- Adaptive capacity generally.
- Diversification of resource use (flexibility to use other resources).

### 4.5.2 Framework for thinking about capacity

Given that the draft SSF Guidelines are quite broad, there is considerable latitude to include the fisherfolk recommendations, even if slightly amended. First, however, there should be clear understanding of what, in practical terms, is meant by capacity development. The Caribbean Natural Resources Institute (CANARI) framework views organisational capacity as multi-dimensional (Krishnarayan *et al.*, 2002) and suggests the following seven elements:

- *World view*: a coherent frame of reference that the organisation uses to interpret the environment it operates in and define its place within that environment.
- *Culture*: a way of doing things that enables the organisation to achieve its objectives, and a belief that it can be effective and have an impact.

- *Adaptive strategies*: practices and policies that enable an organisation to adapt and respond to changes in its operating environment.
- *Linkages*: an ability to develop and manage relationships with individuals, groups, and organisations in pursuit of overall goals.
- *Structure*: a clear definition of roles, functions, lines of communication, and mechanisms for accountability.
- *Skills*: knowledge, abilities, and competencies.
- *Material resources*: technology, finance, and equipment.

This framework for thinking and acting on capacity development incorporates adaptation, networks and higher orders of capacity (e.g. world view and culture) that are enabling in nature. In some cases, these higher orders need to be tackled before the more mundane. For example, an organisation that is unaware of its universe of opportunities or has a culture of autocratic leadership is likely to be stifled and limited in its ability to formulate innovative solutions to problems. If these aspects of capacity are not addressed first, then no amount of training is likely to have the desired effect. The framework can most easily be explained through its application, in this case to fisherfolk organisations really owning and implementing the SSF Guidelines.

### 4.5.3 Capacity framework applied to the SSF Guidelines to develop recommendations

Based on personal experience of Caribbean fisheries and the findings in this paper, including the suggestions of the fisherfolk leaders, we recommend some priority areas for Caribbean fisherfolk organisation capacity development (Table 4) using the CANARI framework described above. In the table, we take each section of the SSF Guidelines and set out what aspect of fisherfolk organisation capacity, particularly adaptive capacity, should be priority for development. Regional (tertiary), national (secondary) and local (primary) organisations will have different needs. Cooperatives and associations, the two main organisational forms in the Caribbean, may also have slightly different needs. However, here the recommendations pertain primarily to the regional network and the larger national organisations, rather than small, local, primary organisations.

TABLE 4
Recommended Caribbean fisherfolk organisation capacity development

| Sections of the Zero Draft SSF Guidelines, May 2012 | Recommended Caribbean fisherfolk organisation capacity development to implement the SSF Guidelines, combining experience, research and suggestions from fisherfolk leaders |
|---|---|
| Part 1. Introduction | |
| 1. Objectives | The objectives will be better understood if the world views of organisations are expanded. Caribbean organisations are quite insular and lack global affiliations or experience. They need to be exposed through communication (e.g. internet, video, paper documents) and participation in international fisheries fora. |
| 2. Nature and scope | As above. Articulating concepts of fisheries systems could be quite useful. Special effort is required to bring in postharvest and support enterprises along the fish chain. Communication should focus on explaining fisheries concepts of all types. |
| 3. Relationship with other international instruments | Although familiarity with instruments (particularly the CCRF and UNCLOS) is increasing, this needs to be improved and expanded to other fisheries instruments as well as non-fisheries ones (e.g. CBD, CITES) for EAF. It requires appropriate communication products as well as face-to-face and online awareness-raising. Connections to everyday life must be made. |
| 4. General principles | • Organisations will need assistance in determining if or how the general principles align with their visions, missions, goals, objectives, strategic plans and other guiding items.<br>• The general principles may need to be fully explained. In cases of mismatch, or poor alignment that needs to be addressed, investigation and participatory formulation of remedial action will be necessary.<br>• Where organisations entirely reject any of the principles as being inappropriate, even after investigation and action, these cases should be carefully documented including any alternative principles that the organisations substitute.<br>• Build planning skills within organisations to better incorporate the general principles. |

*Continued*

| Sections of the Zero Draft SSF Guidelines, May 2012 | Recommended Caribbean fisherfolk organisation capacity development to implement the SSF Guidelines, combining experience, research and suggestions from fisherfolk leaders |
|---|---|
| Part 2. Responsible fisheries and sustainable development | |
| 5. Governance of rights, resource management and stewardship | • Advocacy, negotiation and lobbying are appropriate skills to develop, but must be coupled with analytic and strategic planning skills either in the organisations or via their networks.<br>• Network understanding and management is required. Additional capacity for co-management and responsible fisheries is needed.<br>• Mainstreaming gender and the ability to analyse policy will be important.<br>• Since most Caribbean fisheries are open access, understanding the nature and importance of rights will require attention.<br>• Attention must be paid to transboundary governance and the role of the regional and national organisations in policy and managing shared resources. |
| 6. Social development | • Capacity must be developed to address insurance, social security and credit, but this needs to be through networks.<br>• Livelihood diversification has been requested and is key to building resilience, reducing poverty and securing food. |
| 7. Decent work and employment | • Fisherfolk have requested assistance with private sector partnership, business skills, organisation management and leadership.<br>• Safety at sea, including communication technology, is important especially given climate change predictions of more hazardous working conditions. The content of ILO's C188 should be examined for relevance to Caribbean circumstances. |
| 8. Postharvest and value chains | • There are few postharvest organisations, but some harvest organisations engage in postharvest, marketing and distribution. These require development of capacity and fisherfolk have requested a focus on quality assurance. A better understanding of value chains is a prerequisite, including export markets. |
| 9. Gender equality and equity | • In the Caribbean it is said that men, particularly male youth, are in crisis given trends in education and labour force. Caribbean gender relations may be different from other parts of the world. Caribbean fisherfolk leaders are not uncommon, but more can be done to improve the |
| 10. Disaster risks and climate change | • Fisherfolk are requesting assistance with adaptation and disaster management. Developing capacity for EAF and communication may cover much of the required action. Many opportunities for capacity building also exist through collaboration with a variety of on-going and planned climate and disaster-related initiatives. |
| Part 3. Ensuring an enabling environment and supporting implementation | |
| 11. Policy coherence, institutional coordination and collaboration | • Organisations need to acquire advocacy skills to reinforce the calls to develop enabling policy environments and network governance to facilitate self-organisation.<br>• The regional level is especially critical, as is elevating the status of fisheries at the national level to become more politically important. |
| 12. Research, information and capacity development | • The science-policy interface requires attention, including the capacity for fisherfolk collaboration in research that influences policy. This will be through better networking that puts organisational interests onto fisheries research agendas. |
| 13. Implementation support and monitoring | • Development of more, stronger, more efficient and more effective vertical and lateral linkages for implementation are required given the practical limits to development of capacity within individual fisherfolk organisations.<br>• The capacity to manage organisational networks and enhance leadership is key. |

Careful attention needs to be paid to the mode of developing capacity. Consistent with resilience and complex adaptive systems we recommend learning-by-doing combined with participatory monitoring and evaluation. Social learning should be emphasised over attributing blame for failure. Network considerations such as the diffusion of innovation will be important in assisting fisherfolk organisations to assist others rather than rely greatly upon external assistance.

Wee Xin Hui, aged 13, Singapore

# 5. Lessons learned

Fisherfolk organisations in Brazil and in the Caribbean share several issues in common, but are distinctly different in others. Although we believe that both case studies require further examination with collection of primary data, the main lessons from the current analysis follow.

## 5.1 FACTORS FAVOURING SUCCESS OR FAILURE AND HOW TO OVERCOME CHALLENGES

Data, time and other resources did not permit a detailed analysis of factors favouring success or failure. Several cases yielding rich empirical data (such as in Meynell 1990) would be required.

In both the brazilian and the caribbean cases, success, or the potential for success, seems to be aligned with enlightened leadership, enabling policy, strong motivation for collective action, fairly valuable marine resources, support from but not coercion by state authorities, some external assistance and sound organisational management. None of this is surprising.

The list of conditions favouring failure is much longer and even more obvious. There are few differences between Brazil and the Caribbean in terms of failure or success, but nuances are noted.

In Brazil, factors that seems to work slightly differently from in the Caribbean are:

- Failure:
  - High dependence on loans to create strategies that usually ended up influencing loss of livelihood assets and resilience – they promote individualism instead of cooperation through social capital;
  - Mistrust of government to develop cooperative initiatives; strong belief that "government must provide everything", creating a paternalistic perspective;
  - Mistrust or underdevelopment of cooperative work based on using fisherfolk organization networks.
- Success:
  - Gender issues: rising importance of women in cooperative work and the development of new leadership of fisherfolk organizations beyond Fishermen's Colonies; women lead in adaptive governance structures;
  - More institutionalised and formalised role for some fisherfolk organisations in governance which can contribute to success but is not sufficient on its own.

Other issues appear to be unclear in fisherfolk organisation development. Although both Brazil and the Caribbean show some successful outcomes, matters such as integration of fisheries with coastal management and sustainable development show inconsistency. Issues of natural resource management, livelihoods, adaptive capacity, resilience and governance are also addressed in sustainable development more generally, but fisheries are often on the margins (e.g. in current green economy initiatives). Further analysis would support a detailed discussion of the topic in order to provide support to enrol capacity for sustainable development as in the SSF Guidelines. The histories of failed fisheries management, and dominance of "command and control" approaches or open access regimes, are major threats in both cases.

## 5.2 GENDER, NETWORKS AND SELF-ORGANIZATION

Brazil and the Caribbean are at different stages of development in terms of gender, networks and self-organization. Brazil seems to be slightly ahead in terms of recognizing women in fisheries and their role in networking, while Caribbean case studies showed that men have leading positions in fisherfolk networking more than women, despite some female leaders.

The Caribbean situation seems to be ahead in terms of using fisherfolk networks for advancement compared to the Brazil case studies. Although overseas frontiers impose some challenges, the history of networked projects and the presence of CRFM create enabling conditions for fisherfolk networks in the Caribbean. In contrast, the highly hierarchical structure of fisheries management and the centralization of Fishermen's Colonies as formal representatives reduce the opportunities to network through self-organisation in Brazil.

However, recent years have opened new perspectives for fisherfolk networks in Brazil. Social programs, engagement of NGOs (with a better history of network participation), alternative approaches to outreach from universities and NGOs, and new management arenas have triggered responses in which fisherfolk organize themselves in different patterns in Brazil as has happened in the Caribbean. Evidence of adaptive capacity development is increasing.

## 5.3 CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY TO STRENGTHEN ORGANISATIONS AND COLLECTIVE ACTION

Ultimately, successful implementation of the SSF Guidelines will be determined at the site or primary organisational level, ideally scaled up to increase in scope. Capacity development needs and strategies can be expected to differ among and within geographic regions. The evidence for this is clear within the Brazil and Caribbean cases. Theories of collective action are insufficient to guide the necessary interventions without integration of fisheries SES considerations. The strong connections between social interaction and the ecological factors that are characteristic of fisheries must also be taken into account. A practical but conceptually robust model is needed to guide interventions.

Taken in broad terms, these cases point to capacity development strategies that include:

- Strengthening fundamental concepts and cooperative principles among leaders.
- Enhancing stewardship over coastal and marine resources via ecosystem approach.
- Developing administrative and financial skills to manage organizations well.
- Enabling fisheries policies to be integrated with fishers' knowledge and to support their own demand-driven diversity of organisational structures and functions.
- Connecting cooperative or other organisation creation and empowerment with technical and financial support, and livelihood and resilience components/ indicators.
- Putting fisherfolk organizations and fisheries co-management on the development agendas of countries and transboundary regions in the context of sustainability.
- Creating and expanding spaces for learning and sharing to institutionalise adaptation.
- Mainstreaming gender and focus on welfare, rights, well-being, poverty and food security to the extent necessary, but not so much as to stereotype SSF as liabilities.

The list can be long and detailed, but suffice it to say that the process for delivery will be just as critical in ensuring success as the product sought to be delivered. We recommend much learning-by-doing with practical emphasis rather than standard "training" approaches to training. This will assist in institutionalising adaptation. Genuine collaboration with other stakeholders will also be key to improving the health of marine ecosystems for the benefit of society.

# References

Allison, E.H. and F. Ellis. 2001. The livelihoods approach and management of small-scale fisheries. Marine Policy 25: 377-388.

Almerigi, S. 2000. Leadership for fisherfolk. CARICOM Fisheries Research Document No. 24. 63pp

Araujo e Silva, G.A. 2012. Dinâmicas sociais, organização política e conflitos da pesca artesanal na Foz do Rio São João (RJ). Masters Thesis. Universidade Federal Fluminense. Programa Pós- graduação em Antropologia. Niterói.

Armitage, D., F. Berkes, and N. Doubleday. (eds). 2007. Adaptive co-management: collaboration, learning, and multi-level governance. UBC Press, Vancouver

Avritzer L. Sociedade civil, instituições participativas e representação: da autorização à legitimidade da ação. Dados 2007;50(3):443–464.

Baas S., S. Ramasamy, J. Dey DePryck and F. Battista. 2008. Disaster Risk management Systems Analysis. FAO , Rome.

Bavinck. M, R. Chuenpagdee, M. Diallo, P. van der Heijden, J. Kooiman, R. Mahon and S. Williams 2005. Interactive fisheries governance. Delft: Eburon Publishers. 72p.

Bay of Bengal Programme 1990. Helping fisherfolk to help themselves: a study in people's participation. FAO Bay of Bengal Programme, Madras, India.

Béné, C., Macfadyen, G. & Allison, E.H. 2007. Increasing the contribution of small-scale fisheries to poverty alleviation and food security. FAO Fisheries Technical Paper. No. 481. Rome, FAO. 125p.

Berkes F, George P, Preston R. Co-management: the evolution of the theory and practice of joint administration of living resources. Alternatives 1991;18(2):12–18.

Berkes F. 1994. Co-management: bridging the two solitudes. *Northen Perspectives 22:* 18–20.

Berkes, F., R. Mahon, P. McConney, R. Pollnac and R. Pomeroy. 2001. Managing Small-scale Fisheries: Alternative Directions and Methods. International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada

Bodin Ö. and C. Prell (eds). 2011.Social Networks and Natural Resource Management: Uncovering the Social Fabric of Resource Governance. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge

Borba J, Sell CE. Movimentos sociais, participação e democracia: contexto e perspectivas de debate no Brasil. Política e Sociedade 2007;11:7–18.

Borgatti, S.P., 2006. Identifying sets of key players in a social network. Computational and Mathematical Organization Theory 12:21–34..

Breton, Y., D. Brown, B. Davy, M. Haughton and L. Ovares. Eds. 2006. Coastal Resource Management in the Wider Caribbean: Resilience, Adaptation, and Community Diversity. Ian Randle/IDRC, Ottawa.

Brown, D.N. and R.S. Pomeroy. 1999. Co-management of Caribbean Community (CARICOM) fisheries. Marine Policy 23:549-570.

Burtonboy, A.H. 1988. Fisheries cooperative development Barbados: Project findings and recommendations. FAO Terminal statement.

Burtonboy, A.H. and R.V. Jones. 1988. Survey of the Barbados fishing cooperative membership on motivation, awareness and commitment. FAO Field Doc. No. 1.

CANARI. 1999. Integrating gender issues in participatory and collaborative natural resource management. CANARI Workshop Report. 15 - 16 November 1999, Port of Spain Trinidad

Carlsson, L. and A. Sandström. 2008. Network governance of the commons. International Journal of the Commons 2(1): 33-54

CARSEA. 2007. Caribbean Sea Ecosystem Assessment (CARSEA). A sub-global component of the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA), J. Agard, A. Cropper, K. Garcia, eds., Caribbean Marine Studies, Special Edition, 2007.

CEMBRA - Centro de Excelência para o Mar Brasileiro. O mar no século XXI: relatório aos tomadores de decisão. Base Hidrográfica da Marinha, Niterói, 2012, p. 540.

Chakalall, B., R. Mahon, and P. McConney. 1998. Current issues in fisheries governance in the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). Marine Policy 22:29-44.

CRFM. 2004. Report of organizational needs assessment of Caribbean fisher folk organizations. Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism, Belize.

CRFM 2007a. Report of the National Consultation to Launch a National Fisherfolk Organization in Dominica. CRFM Technical & Advisory Document, No. 2007/5,15pp

CRFM 2007b. Report of the National Consultation to Launch a National Fisherfolk Organization in Grenada. CRFM Technical & Advisory Document, No. 2007/6,14pp.

CRFM 2007c. Report of the National Consultation to Launch a National Fisherfolk Organization in Guyana. CRFM Technical & Advisory Document, No. 2007/7, 14pp.

CRFM 2007d. Report of the National Consultation to Launch a National Fisherfolk Organization in St. Lucia. CRFM Technical & Advisory Document, No. 2007 / 9, 12pp

CRFM 2007e. Report of the National Consultation to Launch a National Fisherfolk Organization in St. Vincent and the Grenadines. CRFM Technical & Advisory Document, No. 2007/ 10 15pp.

CRFM. 2012a. Diagnostic Study to Determine Poverty Levels in CARICOM Fisheries Communities –Technical Document. CRFM Technical & Advisory Document – Number. 2012/3. Volume I, 398p.

CRFM. 2012b. Diagnostic Study to Determine Poverty Levels in CARICOM Fishing Communities - Policy Document. CRFM Technical & Advisory Document, Number 2012 / 3, Volume II. 25p.

De Young, C., Charles, A. & Hjort, A. 2008. Human dimensions of the ecosystem approach to fisheries: an overview of context, concepts, tools and methods. FAO Fisheries Technical Paper. No. 489. Rome, FAO.152p.

Diani, M. and D. McAdam. 2003. Social Movements and Networks. Relational approaches to collective action. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Diegues AC. Artisanal Fisheries in Brazil. International Collective in Support of Fishworkers, Chennai, 2006, p. 72.

Diegues AC. Pescadores, Camponeses e Trabalhadores do Mar. Editora Ática, São Paulo, 1983, p. 287.

Fanning, L., R. Mahon and P. McConney. [Eds]. 2011. Towards marine Ecosystem-Based Management in the Wider Caribbean. Amsterdam University Press, Netherlands. 428pp.

FAO. 1995. Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries. 41p.

FAO. 2009. Report of the Global Conference on Small-scale Fisheries – Securing Sustainable Small-scale fisheries: Bringing together responsible fisheries and social development. Bangkok, Thailand, 13-17 October 2008. FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Report. No 911. Rome, FAO. 190p.

FAO. 2010. Report of the Inception Workshop of the FAO Extrabudgetary Programme on Fisheries and Aquaculture for Poverty Alleviation and Food Security. Rome, 27–30 October 2009. FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Report. No. 930. Rome, FAO. 68p.

FAO. 2011. Discussion document: Towards voluntary guidelines on securing sustainable small- scale fisheries. Rome, FAO. 49p.

FAO. 2012. International guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries. Zero draft. Rome, FAO. 38p.

FAO Western Central Atlantic Fishery Commission. 2012. Report of the fourteenth session of the Commission, Panama City, Panama, 6–9 February 2012. FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Report. No 1000. Bridgetown, Barbados, FAO. 99 pp.

FAO. 2013. Report of the FAO/CRFM/WECAFC Caribbean Regional Consultation on the Development of International Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries, Kingston, Jamaica, 6–8 December 2012. Fisheries and Aquaculture Report No. 1033. Rome. 41 pp.

Flores, R., M. Koster, I. Lindner, and E. Molina. 2012. Networks and collective action. Social Networks 34:570–584

Granovetter, M. 1978. Threshold models of collective behavior. American Journal of Sociology 83: 1420–1443.

Grant, S. 2004. Caribbean women in fishing economies. Proceedings of the Gulf and Caribbean Fisheries Institute 55: 68-77.

Hanazaki N, Castro F de, Oliveira VG, Peroni N. 2007. Between the sea and the land: the livelihood of estuarine people in southeastern Brazil. *Ambiente & Sociedade* 10: 121–136.

Hannesson, R. 1988. Studies on the role of fishermen's organizations in fisheries management. Fishermen's organizations and their role in fisheries management: theoretical considerations and experiences from industrialized countries. FAO Fisheries Technical Paper No. 300:1–27.

Henrÿ, H. 2012. Guidelines for cooperative legislation. International Labour Office. – 3rd ed. rev. - Geneva: ILO.

IMM 2008. Systematic approaches to livelihoods enhancement and diversification: A review of global experiences. IUCN, Gland, Switzerland and Colombo, Sri Lanka; CORDIO, Kalmar, Sweden; and ICRAN, Cambridge, UK.

International Labour Organization. 1964. Report to the government of Barbados on cooperative development. ILO, Geneva.

Jentoft, S. 1985. Models of fishery development: the cooperative approach. Marine Policy 9:322-331.

Jentoft, S. 1986. Fisheries cooperatives: lessons drawn from international experiences. Canadian Journal of Developmental Studies. Vol VII, No. 2: 197-209.

Jentoft, S. 1989. Fisheries co-management: delegating government responsibility to fishermen's organizations. Marine Policy 13:137-154.

Jentoft, S. 2007. Limits of governability: Institutional implications for fisheries and coastal governance. Marine Policy 31: 360–370.

Jentoft, S. and A. Davis. 1993. Self and sacrifice: an investigation of small boat fisher individualism and its implications for producer cooperatives. Human Organization 52:356-367.

Kalikoski, D.C., and M.C. Vasconcellos. 2012. Case study of the technical, socio-economic and environmental conditions of small-scale fisheries in the estuary of Patos Lagoon, Brazil. 1075(null) ed. Food And Agriculture Organization Of The United Nations, Rome.

Kalikoski DC, Seixas CS, Almundi T. Gestão compartilhada e comunitária da pesca no Brasil: Avanços e Desafios. Ambiente e Sociedade 2009;12(1):151–172.

Kooiman, J., M. Bavinck, S. Jentoft, and R. Pullin [eds]. 2005. Fish for life: Interactive governance for fisheries. MARE Publication Series No. 3, University of Amsterdam Press, Amsterdam.

Krishnarayan, V, T. Geoghegan and Y. Renard. 2002. Assessing capacity for participatory natural resource management. CANARI Guidelines Series 3. Caribbean Natural Resources Institute, Laventille, Trinidad. 21 pp.

Kurien, J. 1988. The role of fishermen's organizations in fisheries management of developing countries (with particular reference to the Indo-Pacific region). FAO Fish. Tech. Pap. No. 300.

Kurien, J. and R. Willmann. 2009. Special considerations for small-scale fisheries management in developing countries. In, Cochrane, K.L. and S.M. Garcia (Eds). 2009. A Fishery Manager's Guidebook. FAO, Rome and Blackwell Publishing, Oxford. 518pp.

Lebel, L., J.M. Anderies, B. Campbell, C. Folke, S. Hatfield-Dodds, T.P. Hughes, and J. Wilson. 2006. Governance and the capacity to manage resilience in regional social-ecological systems. Ecology and Society 11(1): 19. www. ecologyandsociety.org/v0111/iss1/art19

Lopes PFM, Silvano RAM, Begossi A. 2011. Extractive and Sustainable Development Reserves in Brazil: resilient alternatives to fisheries? *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 54: 421–443.

Lopes V de FM, Mattos UA de O, Lianza S, Silva ERD, Santos PRD. 2011. Dinâmicas territoriais e a organização dos pescadores: A experiência da rede solidária da pesca no Brasil. *Revista de Gestão Costeira Integrada* 11: 187–196.

MACEDO, H. S. Processos participativos na gestão de áreas protegidas: Estudos de caso em unidades de conservação de uso sustentável da zona costeira do Sul do Brasil. Master Thesis. Florianópolis: Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina. Departamento de Sociologia Política, 2008.

MACEDO, H. S. et al. Governing wide coastal-marine protected territories: A governance analysis of the Baleia Franca Environmental Protection Area in South Brazil. Marine Policy, v. 41, p. 118–125, set. 2013.

Mahon, R. and P. McConney. 2011. The national fisheries department and small-scale fisheries management: 'fit for purpose?' Pages 261-272 in R. Chuenpagdee [ed.] World Small-Scale Fisheries Contemporary Visions, Eburon Academic Publishers, Delft, The Netherlands.

Mahon, R., K. Blackman, R. Lee and P. McConney. 2010. Assessing social network structure of stakeholder organisations in the Grenadine Islands. CERMES Technical Report No.31. 25pp.

McConney, P. 1997. Social strategies for coping with uncertainty in the Barbados small-scale pelagic fishery. Proceedings of the Gulf and Caribbean Fisheries Institute 49: 99-113

McConney, P. 2007. Fisher folk organisations in the Caribbean: briefing note on networking for success. Report prepared for the of the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism (CRFM) Secretariat, Belize City, Belize. 18 pp.

McConney, P. and K. Parsram. 2008. A research framework for examining the characteristics of networks that determine resilience and adaptability in marine resource governance in the English speaking eastern Caribbean. Proceedings of the Gulf and Caribbean Fisheries Institute 60:65-72.

McConney P., and M. Pena. 2012. Capacity for (Co)Management of Marine Protected Areas in the Caribbean. Coastal Management 40:3, 268-278

McConney, P. and T. Phillips. 2011. Collaborative planning to create a network of fisherfolk organisations in the Caribbean. Pages 207-230. In B. Goldstein (ed.) *Collaborative Resilience: Moving Through Crisis to Opportunity.* MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 376 pp.

McConney, P., R. Mahon and H. Oxenford. 2003a. Barbados case study: the Fisheries Advisory Committee. Caribbean Coastal Co-management Guidelines Project. Caribbean Conservation Association, Barbados. 77pp.

McConney, P., R. Mahon and R. Pomeroy. 2003b. Belize case study: Fisheries Advisory Board in the context of integrated coastal management. Caribbean Coastal Co-management Guidelines Project. Caribbean Conservation Association, Barbados. 70pp

McConney, P., R. Mahon, K. Parsram and S. Cox. 2011. Fisheries networks in the Caribbean. Pages 273-284 in R. Chuenpagdee [ed.] World Small-Scale Fisheries Contemporary Visions, Eburon Academic Publishers, Delft, The Netherlands.

McConney, P.A. 2001. Organising fisherfolk in Barbados without completing a clean round. Proceedings of the Gulf and Caribbean Fisheries Institute 52: 290-299.

McConney, P.A., A. Atapattu and D. Leslie. 2000. Organizing fisherfolk in Barbados. Proceedings of the Gulf and Caribbean Fisheries Institute 51: 299-308.

McIntosh, S., M. Lay, P. McConney and T. Phillips. 2010. The development of a Caribbean regional network of fisherfolk organisations and its role in influencing fisheries policy. Proceedings of the Gulf and Caribbean Fisheries Institute 62: 298-305

McConney, P., V. Nicholls and B. Simmons. 2011. Gender in Caribbean fisheries: it's the women's turn. Unpublished paper presented at the Institute for Gender and Development Studies Biennial Symposium: Contemporary Issues in Caribbean Research on Gender and Feminism, UWI Cave Hill Campus, 24-25 February 2011.

Meynell, P.J. 1984. Small-scale fisheries cooperatives - some lessons for the future. COPAC Occasional Paper No. 2.

Meynell, P.J. 1990. Success and failure in fishermen's organizations. FAO Fish. Circ. No. 819.

Mills, D.J., L. Westlund, G. DeGraaf, Y. Kura, R. Willmann and K. Kelleher. 2011. Underreported and undervalued: small-scale fisheries in the developing world. In R. Pomeroy and N. Andrew, eds. Small scale fisheries management: frameworks and approaches for the developing world, pp. 1–15. Wallingford, UK, CABI.

MMA. 2006. Avaliação do potencial sustentável de recursos vivos na Zona Econômica Exclusiva: Programa Revizee. Ministério do Meio Ambiente, Brasília.

Moura RL, Minte-Vera CV, Curado IB, Francini-Filho RB, Rodrigues HCL, Dutra GF, Alves DC, Souto FJB. 2009. Challenges and Prospects of Fisheries Co-Management under a Marine Extractive Reserve Framework in Northeastern Brazil. Coastal Management 37: 617–632.

Olsson, P. C. Folke and F. Berkes. 2004. Adaptive comanagement for building resilience in social–ecological systems. Environmental Management 34: 75-90

Ostrom, E. 1990. Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action. Cambridge University Press. New York, NY, U.S.A.

Ostrom, E. 2009. A General Framework for Analyzing Sustainability of Social-Ecological Systems. Science 325:419-422.

Parsram, K. and P. McConney. 2011. A network approach to understanding coastal management and governance of small scale fisheries in the eastern Caribbean. Pages 334-350. In R. Ommer, R.I. Perry, P. Cury and K. Cochrane (eds.). World Fisheries: A Social-Ecological Analysis. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, UK. 440pp.

Pena, M. and P. McConney. 2011. Institutional arrangements for local management of marine areas in the eastern Caribbean. Proceedings of the Gulf and Caribbean Fisheries Institute 63:267-273.

Pollnac, R.B. 1988. Evaluating the potential of fishermen's organizations in developing countries. International Center for Marine Resource Development, URI, Kingston.

Pollnac, R.B. and J.J. Poggie. 1991. Psychocultural adaptation and development policy for small-scale fishermen's cooperatives in Ecuador. Human Organization 50:43-49.

Pomeroy, R.S. and F. Berkes. 1997. Two to tango: the role of government in fisheries co-management. Marine Policy, 21 (5): pp. 465-480.

Pomeroy, R.S. and R. Rivera-Guieb. 2005. Fishery Co-Management: A Practical Handbook . CABI Publishing, Cambridge, MA. 288 pp.

Pomeroy, R., P. McConney and R. Mahon. 2004. Comparative analysis of coastal resource co-management in the Caribbean. Ocean and Coastal Management 47: 429-447.

Renard, Y. 1991. Institutional challenges for community-based management in the Caribbean. Nature and Resources 27(4): 4-9.

Rosar DB. 2007. Gestão participativa e política substantiva: duas formas de ação política coexistentes em Ibiraquera (Imbituba/Garopaba – SC). Programa de Pós-Graduação em Agroecossistemas, Centro de Ciências Agrárias, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis. Master Thesis

Sandy, K., N. Leotaud, S. Leid and K. Blackman. 2011. Network analysis of two stakeholder organisations involved in the governance of the fishing industry of Trinidad and Tobago. CERMES Technical Report No. 49. 20 pp.

Scherer MEG, Asmus M, Filet M, Sanches M, Poleti AE. El manejo costero en Brasil: análisis de la situación y propuestas para una posible mejora. In: La gestión integrada de zonas costeras. Algo más que una ordenación del litoral revisada? (eds Farinós, J.) IIDL/ Publicaciones de la Universitad de Valencia, Valência, 2011, p. 161–173.

Seixas CS, Kalikoski DC. Gestão participativa da pesca no Brasil: levantamento das iniciativas e documentação dos processos. Desenvolvimento e Meio Ambiente 2009;20:119-139.

Silva, C.N.S., M.K. Broadhurst, R.P. Medeiros, and J.H.D.G. Guanais. 2013. Resolving environmental issues in the southern Brazilian artisanal penaeid-trawl fishery through adaptive co-management. Marine Policy: 1–11. (in press).

SusGren. 2010. Report on "Strengthening Fisher Folk Collaboration in the Grenadines" Project. Sustainable Grenadines Inc. report for MarGov project. CERMES, University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus, Barbados, 41 pp

Tabet, L.M. 2009. Fisherfolk organisation in the network governance of small-scale fisheries in the CARICOM region. CERMES Technical Report No. 20. 63 pp

Triantafillou, P. 2004. Addressing network governance through the concepts of governmentality and normalization. Administrative Theory & Praxis 26 (4): 489-508.

Pinheiro L, lana PDC, Andriguetto-Filho JM, Hanazaki N. 2010. Pesca de pequena escala e a gestão patrimonial: o caso da pesca da tainha no litoral paranaense. *Desenvolvimento e Meio Ambiente* 21: 143–155.

Trimble M, Johnson DS. 2013. Artisanal fishing as an undesirable way of life? The implications for governance of fishers' wellbeing aspirations in coastal Uruguay and southeastern Brazil. *Marine Policy* 37: 37–44.

Vasconcellos MC, Diegues ACS, Sales AC. 2007. Limites e possibilidades na gestão da pesca artesanal costeira. In *Nas redes da pesca artesanal*Costa AL (ed). IBAMA/PNUD: Brasília; 15–83.

Vasconcellos M.C., Diegues A.C.S., Kalikoski D.C. 2011. Coastal fisheries of Brazil. In: Salas S, Chuenpagdee R, Charles AT, Seijo JC, editors. Coastal fisheries of Latin America and the Caribbean. Rome: FAO. pp. 73–116.

UNCED. Agenda 21: Earth Summit - The United Nations Programme of Action from Rio. United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, 1993, p. 300.

Vasconcellos M, Diegues AC, Sales RR. Limites e possibilidades na gestão da pesca artesanal costeira. In: Nas redes da pesca artisanal (eds Costa, A.L.) IBAMA/PNUD, Brasília, 2007, p. 15–83.

Weeratunge, N. and K. Snyder. 2009. Gleaner, fisher, trader, processor: understanding gendered employment in the fisheries and aquaculture sector. Paper presented at the FAO-IFAD-ILO Workshop on Gaps, trends and current research in gender dimensions of agricultural and rural employment: differentiated pathways out of poverty Rome, 31 March - 2 April 2009

FAO FISHERIES AND AQUACULTURE PROCEEDINGS 32

# Strengthening organizations and collective action in fisheries

## A way forward in implementing the international guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries

**FAO Workshop**
**18-20 March 2013, Rome**

This document provides a summary of the Workshop on Strengthening Organizations and Collective Action in Fisheries: a way forward in implementing the international guidelines for securing sustainable small-scale fisheries held in Rome on 18–20 March 2013. The workshop anticipated the implementation of the SSF Guidelines by looking at the diversity of existing organizations and collective action in SSFs, analyzing their strengths and weaknesses, and proposing elements for a capacity development strategy to strengthen organizations and collective action in SSFs to reduce poverty while promoting responsible fisheries. The document contains a summary of the plenary presentations, the working group outcomes and the plenary discussions. This is complemented by the full text of two background papers that informed the workshop, one general paper on collective action and organisations in small-scale fisheries and one more region-specific paper on strengthening organizations and collective action in small-scale fisheries: lessons learned from Brazil and the Caribbean.

ISBN 978-92-5-108082-5 ISSN 2070-6103

9 789251 080825

I3540E/1/12.13