GENDER ROLES IN FISHERY PLANNING AND PROJECTS: THE CASE STUDY OF COAST REGION IN TANZANIA

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ABSTRACT

Women play crucial roles in fisheries, particularly on the post harvest level. Despite this, they are noticeably absent from the discussion of many development programmes in fisheries. The focus is mainly on the needs and interests of men, neglecting women. Women are hardly involved in the planning and decision making or in the implementation and management of the projects. Therefore this study examined the importance of involving both women and men equally during planning of the fishery projects. The study tried to relate to different theories on women in development (WID), gender and development (GAD) and women, environment and alternative development (WED). A total of 88 persons in connection with Mbegani Fisheries Development Centre (Mbegani FDC), Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) and with people in villages where these institutions have been involved: Mlingotini and Bagamoyo nearby Mbegani FDC and Juani and Jibondo at Mafia.

The findings show that the involvement of women and men in the planning of the projects varied. At Mbegani FDC a female orientation has been weak and women's participation in planning have been lacking from the very beginning and until to day. The same can be said about the projects in Bagamoyo and Mlingotini although the projects were aimed at women and sometimes both at men and women. However, women have participated in the implementation processes. In the projects related to MIMP, women have been integrated in the planning process from the very beginning and at all levels as a result of planned actions. Women are members in steering committees and leaders of their groups. There is a special gender officer in the MIMP structure as well as in the villages. Women have also been well trained. In this way their income generating projects are successful and reflect the sustainability of the resources. Some of the women have also involved themselves in other kind of development activities. I have therefore concluded that awareness of women's needs and participation of women and men in the planning process seem crucial for the success of the fisheries projects.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION: WOMEN AND MEN IN FISHERY PROJECTS AND PLANS

This study attempts to elaborate on men's and particularly women's roles in fishery planning and projects. I examine the present practice of women's role in the fishery industry as well as their representation in plans and projects. Gender related differentials are highlighted in the analysis of the access to the fisheries activities, as well as labour division in the fishing industry and home tasks. The study focuses on gender and especially women in the fishing industry and elaborates the resources brought by women into the industry. I will also try to look at social and cultural barriers to women's development that lead to marginalization. I am also interested to see if some of the barriers are connected to subtle forms of negligence in policy.

The marginalization of women in development issues is a great concern all over the world (FAO, 1991). Over the past twenty years the topic of women in development has attracted much attention. In the field of agriculture, male dominated development agencies and ministries failed to recognise women roles. There was a general assumption that the farmers were men and guided the development activities towards them although women also were important actors in farming, especially in the small-scale farming (Boserup, 1970). The same tendencies were found in the fishery industry. Fishing is usually, but not always, associated with men (Nadel Klein and Davis, 1988). It is increasingly obvious that, women play critical roles in making it possible for men to fill the roles of being fisher in terms of processing, marketing, financial control both in the household and in the market.

Nonetheless, most fisheries projects and programs ignore gender (Wembah Rashid, 1989:2; Swantzs, 1986). Fishing is usually directed to men as technology change favour men. In the Tanzanian fishing industry like in any other developing country the role of women in the industry are poorly reflected and women's contributions to the industry output and productivity are poorly registered and unrecognised. (Gerrard, 1988). There is far more information available of fisheries processing and marketing without focus on men and women's contributions. With this background, this study is therefore designed to examine the need of women in development of the fishing industry and what is an immediate solution to help

build a picture of the roles women play in the development of the projects. The information gathered will provide insight into what areas of the industry interest women, what issues concern them and how they might further develop their roles.

Situation of women in Tanzania

The situation of women in Tanzania in many aspects is not different from other women in the world. Women take much of the work that needs to be done to ensure the family's daily survival. Many studies confirm that, women are responsible for half of the workload. Besides performing productive activities they also ensure maintenance of their households (Sigot, *etal*, 1998). It is estimated that women in Tanzania work an average of 3,069 hours per year, compared with men who work an approximately of 1,829 hours (Medard, 2002 un pub). Women have found themselves taking care of the twin burden of mother and father, by being head of the families as their husbands are in cities for working or searching for work.

One of the first researchers to state that women contribute to development not only through remunerated work but also through a great deal of unremunerated work was Boserup (1970). On the one hand, women participate in the production of goods and services for the market and household, or family enterprises. On the other hand even today they also perform the great majority of unremunerated domestic and community work, such as caring for children and older persons, preparing food for the family, protecting the environment and providing voluntary assistance to vulnerable and disadvantaged individuals and groups (ODA, 1995). Therefore, many institutions that work for equality between women and men, like ODA, say that, it is important to actively involve women at every level of identification, planning, implementation and evaluation of activities. This will arouse their ownership and enable them to contribute better to their own well-being and that of their communities. Women and gender issues affect development progress thus, there is a need of following up and presenting proposals concerning equality between women and men in their respective spheres of responsibility.

When it comes to employment officially registered (paid work) Tanzanian women are mainly found in a few selected sectors. The fishery sector is among of the sectors with few women employees, only 7.5% of the professional employees are women (Fisheries Department, 2000). There is a saying that there are sectors

which are "traditionally preserved for them" These sectors include education, agriculture, medical clerical work and secretarial services. There are a quite number of reasons for this situation. Women have been discriminated in obtaining employment outside their "traditional sectors' 'and even when they are employed they earned less than men for equal status jobs (Young, 1993). At the moment the situation of women in Tanzania is difficult. They have to adapt to themselves to work hard to provide the family with all they need. As in many countries, men usually represent the family in public debate. Women are generally vulnerable and disadvantaged individuals / groups in Tanzania. They fight for them and their own families' survival.

In most countries in the world as well as some ministries and government bodies dealing with fisheries rural development, the representation of women is similarly low (Gerrard. 1995,1991). At the local government level, few women hold decision-making positions and are only rarely involved in traditional authority structures. As these bodies are often responsible for local resource allocation, women's lack of representation at this level has many negative implications in terms of their access to such resources, but they fight for their families' and their own survival.

Women and fisheries in Tanzania

Fishery is one of the sectors that women involve themselves in so that they can survive. Fishery includes not only activities related to boats and catching fish. Collecting shellfish and other marine life from the reef and mangroves; cleaning, cutting, cooking and preserving seafood; buying and transport, sitting in the market selling seafood are also important. All in all there is a whole host of other activities to do with marine resources.

The fishing industry of Tanzania is not different from other fisheries in most regions, in the third world. The large boats that do fish off-shore and in deep-sea waters have male crews, while women manage smaller boats and canoes close to the coastline. Many more women engage in fishing with small implements, wading and gleaning the shores for shellfish, and collecting seaweed. In artisanal fishing communities, in addition, women are mainly responsible for performing

the skilled and time-consuming jobs that take place on-shore, such as net making and mending, processing the catch and marketing it.

Fishing is seen as the capture of fish and solely the domain of men. Restrictions on some of the fisheries activities for the women are the traditional division of labour between men and women. The motivations and aspirations, knowledge and experiences of these activities to women in the fishing communities may differ by age, gender, ethnicity, religion and marital status.

In general it could be said that, women and men are engaged in complementary activities in fisheries. In the fisheries sector of Tanzania, gender roles are a prominent feature both in terms of involvement and participation. Involvement may be considered to be acts of engagement in activities of the sector for employment or socio-economic gains. For example, men are involved in fishing, fish processing and marketing activities. Women on the other hand are predominantly involved in post-harvest activities (Medard, 2002, Gerrard, 1988). Participation on the other hand, and in simple terms requires active involvement in planning and the decision making process and having a major say in the prioritisation of development activities and programmes. It also entails taking part in implementation of the decisions and actions, and benefiting from the results.

Indirectly in the fishing industry women contribute in the production by making or mending fishing gear (Osei-Opare 1990; FAO 1988,1987). Also women may cultivate and harvest fish in ponds or weirs (Msege and Waya, 1990). Despite the rapid growth of the role of women in the world economy, few efforts have been made in the fisheries sector to address their issues. Besides, women play a crucial role in the development of a fishery, but they have been neglected in planning and decision-making stages of many development projects. This is a matter of great concern.

Marginalized women in the fishery plans

Since women are engaged in fisheries, it is also interesting to see if women also are engaged in projects and planning processes. In Tanzania like in other countries, the development programmes and efforts have tended to discount the potential contribution of women to the economy. (Gerrard. 1995, Davis and Gerrard, 2000). The fishing policies and programmes have focused mainly on the needs and interests of men neglecting women engaged in fisheries and not giving them

respect as equal partners whether in production or development of the sector. The policies have ignored fisherwomen assuming that women will also be the recipients of the benefits distributed to men or simply because they have not appreciated their importance within the fishing industry (FAO, 1990). In fishery policies and plans the women are marginalized and consequently deteriorated in their socio-economic status. If efforts to achieve development are to make any impact, then they must address the present inequality between women and men. The technological bias that favours men, particularly in fisheries projects, contributes to the inferior position and suppressed rights and privileges of women in the fishing industry. (Davis and Gerrard, 2000). Women involvement in processing and marketing though recognised has only to a little degree been considered when planning the fisheries development projects.

In the fishing communities, women are often not perceived to have any meaningful income generation capacity and hence they are neglected to household and cheap labour in processing activities. In the fisheries sector it is no doubt that, recognition and involvement of women in planning and decision making have lagged behind just like in other sectors. The fisheries technology has mechanised many of the tasks traditionally assigned to women; on the other hand, it has largely forced out women in this industry. The full integration of women and development issues into a country's general and sectorial planning unquestionably fosters harmonious and sustainable development. Conversely, ignoring women and consigning them to invisibility can lead to imbalances and have a negative impact on the process of change. Generally it can be said that, marginalization of women in development programmes has resulted in a real difference between women and men in their access to various opportunities and their social status and power (Isinika and Wambura, 1998). Women are, almost always being at the loosing end.

Women and politics in Tanzania

Interested as I am in the gender aspects of fisheries plans and projects, it is also interesting to look at women's role in politics. Tanzania passed the general policy on women in development in 1992. After the fourth World Conference on women, Beijing in 1995 the politicians opted to adopt the platform for action for women by targeting towards improving them in the terms of education, decision making and economic empowerment (United republic of Tanzania, 1995). The

policy raised concerns about the obstacles hindering women and the need to develop ways to eradicate all forms of discrimination against women. It encouraged mainstreaming of gender issues into policies and programs gender advocacy and promoted women's socio-economic status, participation of women at international level and reducing women's workload. (Mukungara and Koda, 1999).

Women have been deprived of many human rights, often as a matter of tradition; the current attempt is empowering women so that neither side is put into a position of dominance. Women will gain power only when both men and women begin to respect and accept the contribution of women. Developing women's capacities for income generation without threatening men is important. Men are more likely to support approaches to women's empowerment if they are also beneficiaries of those programs (Young, 1992). Without the involvement of men, women are unlikely to gain new rights. It takes a concerted effort to break age-old traditions and what men perceive to be in their self-interest.

Since the declaration of the "Decade of the Women" in 1 975, efforts have been made to improve the living conditions of women and to correct the disequilibrium between men and women. FAO and several governments in the developing world picked up this initiative. These national institutions and FAO became committed to ensuring that women's contributions/ role in general and in fisheries in particular is recognised and supported.

The framework for fisheries development in the Third World was provided by the World Conference on Fisheries Management and Development in 1984, which adopted a strategy for fisheries development. The strategy recognised the prominent role women play in production, processing, and marketing in fishing communities in many countries and endorsed their inclusion in all appropriate development programmes to enhance their role. (FAO, 1991). This conference also adopted the participatory and integrated approaches for the development of fisheries projects and plans during implementation process. Review, in fisheries in general, the role of women in the development of the sector and the project activities that involve them is very low and male dominance is very prominent in the fishing industry, which has resulted in marginalization of women.

Gender as a development issue of relevance to Tanzania:

Tanzania has been an active player in championing the cause of women before independence. This is from the fact that excluding women has led to negative consequences for the entire society since it denies society the full potential of talents available in the population. Statistics in Tanzania indicate that the situation of women relative to that of men is not different from the scenario reflected in global statistics. For instance in the year 1994/95 women headed the agricultural household in Tanzania. (MAC and Statistics Bureau, 1996). As is also true in most other countries of the world, women in Tanzania find themselves in the lowest levels or employment in both formal and informal sectors (Mbilinyi and Semakafu, 1995). Gender relation in Tanzania is coloured by subordination of women. This has consequences not only for women, but also for society at large. Since long, women in Tanzania have continued through their own struggles to promote more equality and equity of the sexes (Koda, 1994). The local women initiatives embraced the international movement because of similarity in their objectives and sometimes adapting them to suit local conditions.

Any part of Tanzania as part of the global village will inevitably be influenced by what happens in the rest of the world. Governments often want a share of global resources that come along the gender agenda no matter how small. These situations make gender issues relevant to Tanzania because the message they carry is realistic of the situation as it presently prevails. Tanzania is among the developing countries and its development is highly dependent on what every one does. It has been established that in Tanzania the development trend has favoured dominance of male biased structures and increasingly marginalized women bureaucratic decision-making, planning, and implementation of various development activities. (Mbuguni, 1994). This in turn has amplified oppressive gender relation in terms of participation and involvement during the implementation of development projects in different sectors in the country of which the fishery sector is one.

1.2 The study

Objective of the study

The main objective of this study is to examine if there is a gender orientation and representations in recent fishery plans and projects. The study examines the factors relevant for women's involvement in planning of the fisheries projects like political, social economical and cultural factors. I want to follow up the heavy emphasis that public authorities and developing agencies put on the importance of involving women directly in fisheries development. Is such an emphasis only empty words or are the words translated into practical actions? Do they make women equal partners to men in decision—making and in all stages of project planning, implementation and evaluation? I will also look at the constraints facing women's involvement in plans of the fisheries projects. I will try to study the need for women in development of the fishing industry and suggest solutions, which will help to build up the role of the women.

The objective can be summarized in the following way:

- 1. To examine women and men's participation in fishery planning and projects.
- 2. To examine if there is a female orientation in fishery plans and projects.
- 3. To examine if women's participation and female orientation empower women.
- 4. To get a clearer picture of the obstacles that women encounter in planning and implementing development projects.
- 5. To develop strategies that empowers women's participation and female orientations in fishery plans and projects.

Research problem and the research question

On the basis of an assumed marginalized position of women in planning and projects I have in this study, asked whether there is a female orientation in fisheries plans and project or not and what consequences does it have for women's development and to the fishery industry in general?

My main question can therefore be summarised in the following way:

"What is the position of women in fisheries plans and projects?"

I will relate this to the actual roles that women have in fishery activities and fishery households in order to be able to state some thing on women's role in the fishery

development. I will try to consider social, economic, ecological, cultural and ideological aspects to understand the barriers to participation.

Rationale of the study:

Issues' concerning gender have been a subject of great debate in the development thinking over the past two decades and have become a global discussion. In the fishing industry women have been identified as producers, assistants to men, processors, traders, and prominent operators in activities that are not related to fisheries but essential in family and community welfare. However, the focus on the larger operations of men overshadowed the economic role of women in fishing communities. The shadow caused a relative neglect of the needs and interests of women. In Tanzania the role of women in fisheries development and their potential contribution to the economy is recognised but seldom has discussion favoured their needs and interest. (Wembah, 1989 and Gerrard, 1988). As a result, a gender sensitive approach in plans for development activities has been considered as a basic condition to obtain sustainable economic and social progress for both men and women world-wide. (UNEP, 1995). There is therefore a need to examine importance the of involving women directly in fisheries development and making them equal partners to men in decision -making and in all stages of project planning, implementation and evaluation (World conference on Women 1995 Beijing).

Area of study

Since the time to do research for master thesis was short, I have limited my study to some parts of the coastal area. These are also areas that are easier to reach compared with the other places in Coast region. Bagamoyo and Mafia districts were chosen, and the three projects, Mbegani Fisheries Development Centre (MFDC), Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) and two surrounding villages from each project were studied. For the purpose of this study, Mbegani FDC is considered as a project besides being an institution designed to educate people in the fishery industry.

1.3 Conceptual framework and theory

From WID to GAD and WED

Today most researchers who are interested in development questions highlight gender. There are many opinions on what gender is. Gender refers not to women or men per se, but to the relations between them, both perceptual and material. According to Young (1987), the gender relation must be understood both in the light ascribed roles (kinship, affinity) and obtained roles, social, political and economical. This research focuses on mobilisation and integration of women in development.

The Gender and Development (GAD) approach emerged in the mid 80's as a reaction to the meagre results of Women In Development (WID). In WID women were at best incorporated through minor components in larger projects, or they were involved in small projects aimed at women only, thus continuing to be left out of the main thrust of development interventions. The issue was one of incorporating women (who were involved in much of the work, yet continued to be left out of most of the benefits), rather than empowering them in order to transform unequal relations.

The point of the GAD approach is to examine how the relative positions of men and women in society, and the system governing the relations between them, affect their ability to participate in development (Young, 1992). Whereas the WID approach had attempted to increase women's participation and benefits, thereby making development more effective, GAD sought to empower women and to transform unequal social/gender relations. It aimed at full equality of women within the framework of economic development (Braidotti et al. 1994: 80-82). The GAD approach thus posed the issue of equality, equity and rights as central to development efforts, and by addressing these questions; it questioned the kind of development model, its relations of power and the conditions for its continuation into the future. It is focus was on "fit between family, household or the domestic life and organization of both political and economic spheres.

According to the GAD concept, of addressing unequal power by seeking to transform unequal relations, women and men are recognised as equal in terms of roles and responsibilities. It emphasizes the relation ship between men and women and inscribes a more woman centred approach on development projects. This

approach is possible by empowering women. GAD approach goes further than WID as it emphasizes participation of women in promoting change in social structures, which entails a shift of power relations. Kate Young, (1997, 1993) argues that involving women at all levels of development thinking, planning and implementation will make a world of difference not merely to women but to the society as whole. How to address this? According to Moser, 1993 planning with gender focus which includes participation by linking women with different activities in any sector will transform the subordinate position of women in plans and projects.

Women and Environment and alternative to Development (WED) goes further than WID and GAD by not separating women from nature." Women and nature are associated not in passivity but in creativity and in the maintenance of life" (Shiva, 1988). Any development alternative to women which intends to provide a more permanent solution will have to ascribe high priority both to environmental and socially sustainable factors. Women should be considered with nature together. Harcourt (1994) argues that excluding men and women has contributed to economic and ecological crisis. In addition to this, it is argued that the economic system can only exist if women are internalised and nature remains externalized as women form the bridge between man and the biological/ ecological. On the other hand, women are natural resource managers in many Their knowledge, experience and traditional skills in management societies. increases environmental action when they are involved in planning and decision making of how to use the environment. Empowerment of women and effective participation in environment activities reduces degradation. Braidotti et al. (1994) view women as an instrument to attain the goal of environmental preservation.

Given the dynamic nature of reflection and action in women's movements, central concepts will continue to evolve. For our purposes this makes it difficult to pinpoint a universalistic and lasting agenda in connection with, for instance, sustainable development - itself a rather changeable and difficult-to-grasp paradigm. In fact, there is nothing inherent to women's nature or biology that would make them better resource managers than men: cultural variations in the construction of feminine attributes, as well as changes in gender roles, and the adoption of unsustainable practices by women attest to that. Women's roles as resource managers throughout the developing world derive largely from a

culturally based – and biased - division of labour. Moreover, by focusing on these traditional roles of women, programmes that promote improving these roles to better resource conditions carry the built-in danger of maintaining women's subordinate position, of which traditional roles are an integral part.

Gender concerns intersect all development areas and sectors, because all policies, programs and projects have an impact on women. All development initiatives, therefore, require a gender analysis. There is mounting evidence that a focus on gender equity and gender-sensitive planning also makes sense from an economic efficiency perspective. For this purposes it is important restructuring the prevailing systems to practice gender thinking not only during implementation of development programmes but also when planning and in decision-making. In other words every attempt has to be made to create the political will, which reflects advancement and empowerment of women.

Women and empowerment,

For the time being, women's movements, after considerable changes in mainstream thought, are primarily concerned with gender equality equity and empowerment.

The Women's Empowerment Framework is an analytical tool for understanding the process of women's empowerment standing on the shoulders of gender and development philosophy. It suggests that women's advancement can be understood in terms of concerns at five levels of equality, and that empowerment is vital to the process of advancement towards gender equality. To empower women does not mean removing or lessening the powers traditionally held by men; it means working alongside men without discrimination and/or victimisation (Tanzania Gender Net working Programme- TGNP, 1994). Empowerment can be facilitated by accepting gender issues as a part of development, by putting it in its right perspective and by introducing it at a pace acceptable to the people. Sharing of power and decision-making. Empowerment of women involves many aspects for example, economic opportunity, social equality, and personal rights. It can be individually or collectively. What is meant is enabling women collectively to take control of their own lives to set their own agenda, to organise to help each other, make demands towards the state for support. With the collective empowerment of

women the direction and process of development would be shifted and respond to more women's needs and visions.

It is now being recognised in development circles that economic growth and social betterment are best achieved when the mass of population is informed about and involved in development aims and plans, and sees self as a direct beneficiary of the resource (Young, 1987). For this matter the question of empowering women is crucial and can be done using various groups involved in development work including Non Governmental Organisations (NGO). The main concern is to encourage women to participate and be full actors in planning and to carry out activities, including decision making at all levels.

According to Paul (1987) *participation* is defined as an objective for empowerment and capacity building, increasing project effectiveness and to efficiency. Participation becomes a means when it mobilizes to get things done, by voluntary means or bottom –up to obtain a larger share of resources. For example, women as well as men they have the right and duty to participate in the execution of projects which profoundly affect their lives. Participation can enhance women's empowerment and assist them to become aware of their different positions in plans and needs/ interests (also men to become aware); involve fully for meeting these needs and act as the competent actors where they are. On the other hand women's participation is a means to improve project results. (Moser, 1993) argued that, since women's contribution is significant to the industry and as they are also more committed to the success of a project, the exclusion of women can negatively affect the outcome of a project, while their active involvement can often help its success

In the 1990's we have seen an increasing recognition of the centrality of women's empowerment to the success of development programmes. The empowerment of women was essential to the declarations and platforms for action of the 1990 World Conference on Education for All. The 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, the 1993 Human Rights Conference, the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, the 1995 World Summit for Social Development, and the Regional Preparatory Conferences for the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women.

Empowerment of women is a critical factor in eradication of male bias and effective participation of women in fisheries activities to enable them to take an

active part in the planning and decision making process. It is also a development issue, since women who become empowered to act in a wider sphere take a more active role not only in economic activity, but also in exerting political pressure for many changes. (Afshar, 1998). Empowerment encompasses women moving into positions of "power over," (the capacity to make one's own decisions on issues). Not only this but also, "power to" (the capacity and freedom to put issues on the agenda), 'with the awareness that an issue is an issue and from within' (the power that comes from uniting with others around the same interests and organizing for concerted action). (Afshar, 1998: 12-13). Moser (1989) identified empowerment as an approach to gender where the welfare of equity is practised. In general, empowerment implies that women, like men, have more power over their own situation, and can make improvements to their lives.

Having gone through this literature I will nuance my research questions as follows.

- 1) "What is the position of women in fisheries plans and projects in Tanzania.
- 2.) Does representation and participation in plans and projects empower women?"

1.4 Methodology

Methods were three used in this study. Personal talk interviews and personal participant observation all form part of the primary data. The questionnaires were used to interview the people in the three projects. Staffs at Mbegani FDC and Mafia Island Marine Park and women and some men involved/participating in fisheries and fisheries related activities from fishing communities were interviewed.

At Mbegani Fishery Development Centre (MFDC), which here I have chosen to consider as a project, I interviewed 16 staffs, (men and women). I picked them randomly from their working section. From Bagamoyo project, which is close to MFDC, I interviewed 10 people. Unfortunately all of them were women. In Mlingotini project there were 16 people made up of men and women. At Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) 12 staffs members were interviewed and in the fishing villages Jibondo 19 and Juani 15 people were interviewed. A total of 88 people were interviewed for the purpose of this study.

The secondary data of this study are from the projects annual reports, evaluation reports, white papers and official records from various ministries. In this way I hoped to find practical indicators of women's participation in project activities within and outside the project area and whether they were involved directly within the project's general plans. I also wanted to know the number of women in the planning committees, and decision- making for various fisheries activities.

Interview questionnaires

A semi-structured questionnaire was used to interview each respondent on an individual basis. The questionnaires were both in English and Kiswahili. The English phrased questionnaires were only used to interview project workers and people in the offices. Women and men in the fishing communities were interviewed using the translated, semi-structured interviews in Kiswahili. The interview questionnaires were of three types. There were those which were for men and women from the selected fishing villages Type I, for the Mbegani FDC, denoted by Type II, and Type III were for the MIMP programme projects (See appendix 2, 3, 4).

Participant observation

This part was a challenge for me. I therefore start by explaining my own role. I was able to reach the neighbouring fishing villages by the help of the fisheries officers' colleagues. The selected and visited villages knew me from before as I was engaged in fisheries bureaucracy. I have a lot of implicit application of the gender issues theoretically but this time my role changed to a practical one. I was forced this time to be strong with courage in my new role of being a researcher on gender relations to the coastal fishing communities. I tried as much as possible to participate in their daily activities for the neighbouring communities in determining labour organisation and income generating and distribution in the family. In Bagamoyo and Mafia district I devoted 10 days for each district in the villages.

In Bagamoyo I went to homes and markets to observe women activities and fish trade. I experienced some negative impacts from men as some of them lost interest of concentrating in the conversation when they noticed that most of the

questions were directed to favouring women. Also some men asked to be present when I was talking to their wives just to be sure of and know what I was asking them. In some villages men refused to be interviewed, they said "these are women issues." Both in Mbegani FDC and in the MIMP projects, male and female staff accepted me and the interview work was done smoothly. I guess the knowledge and the long time relationship as colleagues influenced my work and made it easy.

Sampling

During sampling the target group were women involved/ participating in fisheries and fisheries related activities from both fisheries project and fishing communities. Men and youth from these study areas were also interviewed besides the fact that few men showed up for interviews. I wanted to include women that were active in the different projects, women in the planning and decision –making in the fisheries project and regular men and women living in the fishery communities but not engaged in projects. The members of the village committees and the village chairman in the case of the neighbouring fishing villages were also interviewed. I did this in order to understand the conditions outside fisheries project, the impacts of the projects (positive and negative) to the neighbouring fishing communities. The intention with the interviews was to obtain more information on their daily work, income expenditure and other family related issues.

Data analysis

Data analysis was carried out based on various activities, roles played by both men and women in the fisheries projects and from the neighbouring fishing villages which in one way or another have interaction with the projects. Gender relations were analysed by studying the different roles of men and women during planning and decision making of various fisheries and other related activities performed in the studied areas. Computerised statistical techniques were used to analyse the results from the primary and secondary data. Statistical package of Ms-Excel programs was used to obtain percentile values of data.

Scope of the study and limitation

The study is not intended as a comprehensive one. Only random survey and interviews were conducted with female and male members in selected villages and male and female staffs at Mbegani and Mafia, a total of 40 questions were asked. Even if the questions covered many fields they were far from sufficient to have a broad impression of all the aspects.

The truth of the background information of the respondents specifically in the fishing villages had effect on my study survey results. For, instance individually women were not willing to say and able to remember the profit they got from the group work activities after dividing among themselves. Thus, it was difficult for this study to assess directly the impact of their projects in improving their life and whether involvement in plans or not is a potential resource for changing the situation of women.

1.5 The structure of the thesis

While the first chapter has tried to give an overview over the background, research problem, question and methodology, the second chapter covers the case study area of some parts of the Coast Region, location, size and various activities in the region. The roles of both men and women in the Coast region and the fisheries sector are described in this chapter. The emphasis on recognition of the contribution of women activities as well as economic role of the fishery industry in Tanzania is enlightened.

Chapter three explains one of the fisheries developments projects, in the Coast region, Mbegani FDC. Mbegani being an institution, that has an objective of educating people in order to help develop the fishery of Tanzania, the proportion of men and women both in staff and among the students was looked at to understand the position of women in projects and planning. The chapter also considers the curriculum at the centre whether it enriches the position of women in projects and plans or not.

Chapter four deals with, activities of women from the neighbouring fishing communities and the involvement of Mbegani called "training out side Mbegani"

The issues described are the activities of women and men and their involvement in planning of their group projects.

Chapter five deals with the findings of the study carried out in Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) a programme dealing with conservation of biodiversity. The chapter enlightens the structure of the MIMP in relation with gender issues by looking at the activities of different women groups and whether MIMP as a project brings resource to the women in terms of material and skills which gives power to participate in planning of their group projects. The barriers to women's participation and involvement in fisheries activities are explained in relation to various characteristics covered in at individual and group level in the working environment of the group projects.

Chapter six analyses the findings in the three fisheries projects in relation to each other and I try to discuss whether women and men are empowered by these projects, (Mbegani FDC and MIMP). Beside this, the analysis of whether gender inclusion is considered when planning their group projects was also a concern in this section. The means and the management structures of the projects were analysed to find out whether they influence beneficiary participation. The last chapter covers the recommendations. I try to suggest various mechanisms and strategies for women's advancement in the fishery sector and emphasises the importance of involving women in the initial stages of any activity, whether it concerns development projects in the fisheries sectors, official policy making or industrial activity in general.

2.0 Descriptive aspect of the study area

In this chapter I will describe the study area the Coast Region and the villages studied Bagamoyo, Mlingotini in Bagamoyo district, Jibondo, and Juani in Mafia Island district. I will emphasise general information concerning the demographic and cultural aspects of the areas, economic activities of men and women and other relevant development issues associated with the fishing industry. I will however start with information about the Tanzania fisheries in general out lining men's and women's roles. By doing this I will give the picture of the resource situation that is an important part of the framework that will colour women's and men's actions. I will concentrate on the coast region since that region is my study area.

The Tanzania Fisheries

Fishing has been an important occupation for people living near water for a long time. The fishery industry plays a great role for the development of the country. (Maembe.1998). The contribution of the fishery industry is of great importance for the economy in many societies. It has a lot of economic and social significance to the people of Tanzania. It is the source of various social benefits as it provides food, income, and employment opportunities for the community. The fishing industry employs a good number of people. Some are full time fishers while others are part time fishers. It is estimated that around 80000 people in Tanzania are fishers, and a few other millions derive their economic liveli-hood from fisheries related activities which also includes processing and marketing (Fisheries policy 1997; Maembe, 1998). In this sector women have been identified as producers' assistants to men, processors and traders, although the focus on larger operations by men have overshadowed the economic role of women in the fishing industry (Overa, 1998).

Fishing in Tanzania takes place on both marine and freshwater bodies mainly at artisanal level, contributing about 15 % and 85% per annum respectively. Contribution of the sector to GDP for the past ten years 1988-1998 has been between 2,7 and 3,1%. (United Republic of Tanzania, 1999). Generally, the fishing activity and prevailing processing plants mask the actual significance of Tanzania's fisheries in terms of their wider socio-economic value as major

providers of nourishment for the country as a whole, and as an important source of part- and full-time employment in many local districts. The sector accounts for an estimated 30 percent of Tanzania's supply of animal protein. For the lowest-income segments of the population, fish is generally the major animal protein consumed, because of the price of some of the cheaper fish products, and in particular of dried $dagaa^1$, in relation to meat and poultry. In areas lying along major lakes and rivers, fish assumes an even more predominant food security role for local inhabitants.

Furthermore, artisanal fishing in some instances provides opportunities to gain annual earnings well above national averages for the agriculture sector. Despite this, fisheries work may offer at least some chance for gainful employment in many rural localities where other forms of work are difficult to secure or are insufficient in them-selves to generate enough earnings to meet household needs. To fulfil the needs the country is making efforts to increase its fish production for the purpose of feeding her increasing population and contribute to the growth of the economy through capture and culture fisheries. To achieve the goal the country had to look at various ways that could lead to an increase of production to reach the estimated production of 730,000 metric tons (Fisheries Policy 1997). Various strategies were set to boost and speed up the production, for example to improve technology both for the fishermen and the processing channels to facilitate marketing and distribution of fish resources to predetermined areas. But this does not depend only on technology, it's also important to include people, values, structural organisation and proper planning.

Marine Fisheries:

The marine coast of Tanzania is about 800km and Coast region (study area) is within this coastline. Marine fishing activity is generally concentrated inshore and around the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and Mafia. Various estimates place the number of full-time coastal marine fishers in the 10 000 - 15 000 range, operating with some 4 000 to 5 000 small crafts. Fishing crafts are primarily ngalawa (outrigger canoes) or small dhow-type planked boats (mashua), and are mostly propelled by sail. A wide variety of small-scale and traditional gears also continue

¹ Dried sardiness

to be used in the marine waters. Annual harvests as reported in FAO statistical compilations (FISHSTAT) for 1987-1997 ranged from 40 000 to 50 000 tones. The marine catch is composed of a great diversity of species, including snapper, kingfish, shark, rays, shrimps, lobsters, sardines and sea cucumbers.

Utilisation of the catch

Fish is an immensely popular food in most communities in Tanzania. The domestic market absorbs most of the national catch. It is estimated that about one third of the national catch is consumed in fresh form. However, sale and consumption of fresh product is mostly restricted to areas within a short commuting distance from the major water bodies, owing to the lack of adequate communications, insulated vehicles and cold chain facilities.

2. 1 Fisheries politics

In many policies including fisheries policy, women are not recognised as important in the development process and not included at the level of policy formulation. These policies do not dedicate and enhance women's participation through projects and programmes that systematically bring them into the mainstream of development activities (Afshar, 1998; Moser, 1993). On the other hand, Moser (1993:7) argues that, even when these development policies are aware of the important role women play in the development process they still" miss" women in the plans.

Also Young (1993) said that it is very rare that the interest of women are explicitly considered in either the economic or political aspects of development planning, and that women are politically weak in a sense that, no government will fall from power based on its policies affecting women.

In Tanzania a new fisheries policy, created in 1997, goes a long way toward meeting the present challenge, facing the local fishers in the country including women. However in this policy like other policies in the world there is a great difference between the strategies and the implementation. The policy strategy states that gender through participation will be encouraged and strengthened in planning and implementation of fisheries undertakings (Fisheries policy, 1997:15). On the other hand it will encourage gender equity at all levels

of fisheries development and attend issues that hinder women from active participation. Although the strategies are stated, I could say there is little effort put on implementation of women issues in fisheries related activities. Although for the time being little by little the importance of women is realized in many ministries. For example in the year 1997, the Ministry of Natural resources and Tourism, where fisheries belong a gender mainstreaming workshorp was held in Morogoro. The objective of the workshorp was to mobilise the society, making them aware of the importance of involving women in all processes of development planning (Mhina, 1997).

2.3 The study area

The Coast region: location and size

The Coast region is situated on the Eastern part of Tanzania mainland along the Indian Ocean coastal belt, located between latitudes 6° and 8° south of the equator and between longitudes 37° 30' and East of the Greenwich meridian line. It was established in 1972 when the former Coast Region whose headquarters were in Dar-es-Salaam was divided to form two regions namely Dar-es-Salaam and the present Coast Region.

The region shares boarders with Tanga Region to the North, Morogoro region to the West and Lindi Region to the south. The region covers 3.8 percent of the total land area of Tanzania mainland. On the East, the region shares borders with Dar-es –Salaam and the Indian Ocean. Three big rivers transverse the region from West to East to discharge their waters into the Indian Ocean; and are the Rufiji, the Wami and Ruvu. Administratively the region has six districts, Bagamoyo, Mafia, Rufiji, Mukuranga, Kibaha, and Kisarawe. The two districts with relevant fisheries project were chosen to examine the gender dimension in the fishery plans, situation and position of men and women and whether there is a gender imbalance in the plans and projects (of activities). Mbegani Development Centre (FDC), which is in Bagamoyo district, represented the finished fisheries project and Mafia Island Marine Park in Mafia Island district represented the on going fisheries activity (Appendix 1).

Demography and Climate

According to 1988 census statistics, the Region had a population of 638015 comprising of 309751 males and 328264 female with a population density of 19,7 people per square kilometre. It is the least populated region of Tanzania mainland with only 2,75 percent of the total population of the country. The topography of the region is characterised by three features namely they are: Coastal Belt, river basins and lowlands, and highland plateau which rise from100 meters to 480 metres above the sea level. It covers a total area of 33539 square kilometres, which is equivalent to 3,8 percent of the total area of Tanzania mainland. Dry land area covers 32407 square kilometres equivalent to 96,6 percent of the total regional area and the remaining 1132 square kilometres are covered by water.

Religion and Ethnicity

The majority of the Coast residents are Islamic and the religions in the community play an important role in social and cultural structures and men attempt to do the customary muslim prayer five times per day. The indigenous inhabitants of the Coast Region are Zaramos and Wakweras speak Kiswahili as a result of intermarriages with the Arabs, Indians, Shihiri and Comorians. In the past there were restrictions that forbode women from different kinds of work, protecting them from the extreme work habits. In the coast region especially in fishing communities women were kept indoors for household work.

2.3 Activities, men and women in the Coastal area

Introduction

The fishery system is a dynamic one so is the case also in the coastal area. It includes men and women who work with catching, processing, marketing and ancillary sub-sectors, which inter-relate catering food and services for fishermen, traders, boat builders, gear suppliers and transport.

Fishing

In the Coast region like any other coastal community people depend on the fishery resource. For many people living along the coast of this region fishing is a form of livelihood that has been passed through generations. Fishing and its related

activities, processing and marketing, are extremely important activities for men and women in the coast region, both for the production of food for the family and for income generation. In this case the knowledge and scale of transmitting them have become a part of culture within the fishing area. The Region utilises the 1132 square kilometres covered by water for fishing activities. The greater part of this water area lies along the coastal strip.

Fish marketing

In many regions women have the primary and often exclusive responsibility for marketing fish products. In the artisanal sector of Tanzania women do the fish marketing (Msege and Waya, 1990; Gerrard, 1988)). The majority of women purchase and process the waste products from the fish plants (Merdard, *etal* 2000). Marketing of fish provides the main source of income in many families of Tanzania, reflecting in improved livelihoods when women control this income. They spend on food and other basic household needs like medical care and buying clothes for the children. This is especially true where women control this income - they are more likely than men to spend money on alternative sources of food and other basic household necessities.

Fish trading has become a major income generating activity in the fishing communities particularly for the middle aged women in the country. Fish trading offers a relatively stable income for families whose previous dependence on fishing as a livelihood has been curtailed due to inability of the primary provider, the fisher husband to engage in this physically demanding work. Family support now falls on the shoulders of these women. In the coast region women engage themselves in selling fish and fish products within and out side their villages. Selling of fried fish and smoked fish is dominant in the coastal area, as it is easier to handle the product (see fig 2).

Processing Activities

Processing activities include smoking, sun drying, frying and processing fish in the processing factories. Because fish perishes so quickly it needs to be processed as soon as possible. In Tanzania smoking and sun drying are traditional techniques for fish preservation especially for women. The fish species mostly smoked are along the lakeside. Smoking the fish is labour intensive and often

requires locally available technology such as mud ovens or the re-use of discarded oil drum. (Bagachwa. *etal*, 1994). The fish species mostly smoked are Nile perch, catfish, mackerel and other small fish species including sardines are sun dried for preservation. Expansion and increase processing activities by factories in many countries has forced women out of employment as only few quantities landed on the beach are processed traditionally. Technology can reduce the status of women in a certain field, including employment (Boserup1970: 49).

Women in the coastal area besides of the cultural beliefs of confining in their house holds participate in the fish processing smoking and frying individually or in groups some working in the processing plant. Old aged women in most cases are engaged in frying while the young work in the processing plant for example in TANPECSA (see fig 8).

Fish unloading

Taking of the fish out of the fishing boats is the activity known as unloading. Women in West Africa are engaged in unloading of the day's catch and are paid in kind by being given some fish for home consumption or sale depending on the catch offloaded (Overa, 1992). In Tanzania fish offloading is done by men women during this time will concentrate on cooking food along the beach for sale to the men as soon they finish offloading and need to eat. No one can doubt that women from the coastal areas are experts in the field of cooking. They normally learn different types of cookeries.

Farming in the ocean

Seaweed farming is a mariculture of marine benthic algae, which are submerged in the intertidal and subtidal zones. It's a new activity in the fisheries sphere of Tanzania and it has become an economic important activity especially in Tanzanian Islands by providing employment to a larger number of Zanzibar. (Shunula and Msuya, 1995). It has created job opportunities to over 40000 villages in Tanzania. Besides employment farming in the ocean has been of great potential for generating local and foreign currency (Sobo, 2001). Statistics indicate that seaweed farming has brought women into a new arena in fishery activities, as they are intensively involved in the multiple work of production, weeding, harvesting, drying and marketing of the products. Few men are involved in this activity. The

activity has brought some changes in strengthening the position of women in the country as now they have real opportunities to take initiatives and taking care of their financial problems. Women along the coastal area, the majorities undertaking the lead in farming seaweed as it requires low capital investment. It uses affordable technology and is thus appropriate to women, normally having little capital.

Aquaculture

Aquaculture is a relatively new and underdeveloped farming practice compared to agriculture in Tanzania. Where Aquaculture is practised, women's contribution in feeding and harvesting fish is immense, as few or no women own land to be able to construct their own ponds. The few women who own the land are either widowed or divorced and face problems of capital for construction as a reasonable amount of money is required to facilitate the initial stages of pond construction. Most of the pond owners are married males who draw labour from the family. No female was found to own a pond in the Coast Region (Lutakumwa, 2001).

Other activities

In a sense, the fishing industry is not a single industry in the region but loosely connected to a range of economic activities. Besides agriculture and fishing, the women or men are engaged in other income generating activities, like sale of firewood and charcoal, drinking water, public transport, petty trades and other activities related to the fishing industry.

The non-fishing related activities

The Coastal Region is also highly dependent on various activities as a source of income; these include agriculture, wildlife and mining. The participation of women in the fishing activity takes place along side their non-fishing production activities and household responsibilities. Women in the coastal communities engage in a combination of fishing and farming as a way of coping with the seasonal nature of these occupations. The coastal profile shows that women play multiple roles beyond child bearing and community maintenance with which they are mainly associated.

Agriculture

Coast Region has good potential soils for cultivating various crops including food and cash crops. Both males and females are involved in farming activities and use hand hoe. The crops cultivated include cashew nuts, coconut palms, cassava, rice, maize, millet and various fruits like oranges and pineapples. Farming activities are seen as a major activity for old age and women from districts that are far away from the coastal strip. According to the 1988-population census about 65% of the Coast population from 10 years and above were employed in the agricultural sector (Coast Region Profile, 1999).

Household activities and characteristics in the Coast Region

Women are considered as having more responsibilities for the household and community welfare than men have. Besides the domestic activities that increase household resources, the creative role, as for example, bearing, looking after and educating children, cooking food, washing clothes and growing food for home use. Women from the coastal area engage in activities that generate income for the household like, paid employment, labouring jobs, management or professional positions, but positions of leadership and influence are frequently occupied by men (ODA, 1995). In spite of this fact, a man makes most decisions in the household. He decides on the use of the surrounding resources such as the sale of goods like fish, although he does not do the marketing (Swantz *etal*, 1986).

The Coastal area and the Fishing Culture

The fisheries culture in the Coast region is intermingled with a lot of participants, fishermen, processors and traders. Fishing and its related activities, processing and marketing, are extremely important activities for men and women in the Coast Region both for the production of food for the family and community, and for some small-scale income generation. Besides other roles, women in the region provide alternative sources of seafood for the family when the weather was too rough for the men to go fishing. Women, however are involved in much of the processing and marketing of the fish the men catch while men are involved in fishing, netting, and trolling using small motor boats or outrigger canoes. In general, fisheries goes together with other activities like net mending, net making and boat building. In this study, I will concentrate on the interaction of men and

women and their relation to the fisheries project to general development of the fishing industry.

2.4 Development projects in the Coastal area

Development projects aim to strengthen communities to increase income and food production. Similarly fisheries projects aim to provide fishers with new technologies to raise fish production. In connection to this, a number of development projects have been initiated in the region to improve the livelihoods of the people in the Coast Region. Among them are the developments of a bee keeping industry and tree planting for conserving the environment. In which the key actors are women. The two groups, bee keeping and tree planting were established in 1994 with the help from NORAD. Other projects include, mangrove restoration, biogas production, aiming at integrating women into habits of the caring environment.

3.0 Mbegani Fishery Development Centre and Gender Roles

In this chapter I will highlight some aspects concerning gender in an institution that has an objective of educate people in order to help to develop the fishery of Tanzania. I consider institutions that educate women and men for a future in the different jobs of the fishery industry as a key institution as far as development is concerned. In the following I will try to find out whether Mbegani Fishery Developing Centre (FDC) had a gender policy.

I will look into the proportion of women and men both in the staff and among the students. Are women in a position where they get planning experience and do have they power to plan? Does the curriculum enrich the students with knowledge that enable them to make projects and plans where women and men are considered equal actors?

3.1. Mbegani Fisheries Development Centre and the earlier days

The history of Fisheries Project in Tanzania goes back to 1972 when the Government of Norway was requested for aid to develop the overall fishing sector and Mbegani FDC was one of the main projects. It was agreed that the Government of Norway would assist the Government of Tanzania in carrying out a programme of development projects to contribute to further the economic and social welfare of the people of Tanzania. This programme has focused on projects that support the activities of fishermen rather than women (Gerrard 1988; Swantz etal, 1986). This has been due to the focus on income generating, commercial fisheries development, which is believed mainly to involve men.

Location

The former Ministry of Agriculture, Food, and Co-operatives, in which the Fisheries directorate used to form a part, established Mbegani FDC as a government institution as early as in 1966. The centre was surrounded by more than seven villages, namely; Kaole, Pande, Mlingotini, Zinga, Kerege, Bagamoyo,

and Kiromo. Besides being a neighbour to these villages the centre presumed to work out a relationship with the fishing communities. The training and development work conducted at the centre was aimed to reach the fishing communities both directly and indirectly. Each village surrounding the fisheries project centre benefit differently.

Mbegani FDC started for the purpose to increase the fishery resource production with heavy emphasis to increase the catches. From 1983 research and technology techniques were important measures to reach this aim. However, this is an aim that has not been fulfilled. The total catch estimated in Tanzania is still 350,000 metric tons compared with the potential yield that can be harvested 730,000 metric tons (Fisheries Policy 1997:2). Why is the production not increasing though the project activities have been taking place for many years? Possible reasons could be; (a) less resource base (b) pattern of fishing with men harvesting and women processing (c) Post harvest losses. One could also possibly think that a lack of gender orientation could also account for the lack of fulfilment of the aims.

The objectives and means of Mbegani FDC

The general objectives of Mbegani FDC was to further development in the Tanzanian fisheries by means of basic applied research and direct development activities of which training should be the main concern. The training has been carried out on several levels. Most emphasis was put on Diploma courses and Certificate courses on specified sub sectors. Short courses for artisanal fishermen, covering areas where training was found to be necessary became little by little an important part of the centre.

Mbegani organisational structures roles and responsibility

The Fisheries Division at the Ministry in Dar es Salaam formulated the policies on all fisheries training institutes in the country and directed the institutes and centres on all matters regarding the structure and management. At that time little or no formal evidence seemed to be put on gender questions neither from the leaders in the Ministry nor from the responsible principal and his team of professional tutors and support staff.

Early courses and early staff

The first courses started in 1982 when the first students were enrolled in diploma, certificate and short courses. According to the information in table 5, the proportion of female student was very low at Mbegani FDC from the very beginning. It did not improve much in the first years. In 1986/1987 it was "a peak" with 7 women. The ordinary courses and also the short courses favoured men, and this had a direct impact on future number of women in the fishing industry (Gerrard, 1988).

The same situation was found as far as the staff was concerned. In the beginning there were very few women, but in the 1980s there seemed to be a shift in the emphasis on women also in Tanzania as well as in other countries. Women started to criticise the lack of gender orientation in development projects. In connection with the Norwegian support to Mbegani FDC, fresh money were brought in, research started and especially the female staff at the centre was involved. The increase of women in 1987 might be understood as a result of the female orientation that took place in the mid 80s. The female staff took responsibility for the work directed towards women (Swantz, 1986; Masaiganah, 1987). These women showed interest in going to neighbouring villages to interview local women to understand their situation socially and economically.

Summary

From the very beginning, the Mbegani FDC focused on commercial fisheries activities in which women received little attention. However, little by little in the 1980s the number of female students enrolled was increased and was the same time when the women at the centre started to conduct interviews with the women from the neighbouring villages to be acquainted with their situation / position in fishery activities. The support from NORAD enabled these initiatives and they were successful at that period.

3.2 Staff, activities and training at Mbegani FDC to day

Today there are six departments at the centre, namely; Nautical Science, Marine Engineering and Refrigeration, Boat Building, Training, Processing and Fish Biology Department. The gender pattern among the professional and non-professional staff is as shown as follows:

Table 1: Professional and non-professional staff at Mbegani FDC 1995 – 2001

	Tubic 1, 110tesbioliu unu non professional stati at 110cgam 120 1772								
P	rofessional	Staff			Non Profess	sional staff			
Year	Men	Women	Total		Men	Women	Total		
1995	72	5	77		40	4	44		
	(93%)	(7%)			(91%)	(9%)			
1996	75	5	80		52	10	62		
	(94%)	(6%)			(84%)	(16%)			
1997	60	5	65		40	10	50		
	(92%)	(8%)			(80%)	(20%)			
1998	71	4	75		39	11	50		
	(95%)	(5%)			(78%)	(22%)			
1999	50	4	54		35	9	44		
	(93%)	(7%)			(80%)	(20%)			
2000	52	4	56		37	5	42		
	(93%)	(7%)			(88%)	(12%)			
2001	52	4	56		35	4	39		
	(93%)	(7%)			(90%)	(10%)			

Source; Field survey, 2001

We see here (table 1) that men form a vast majority of the teaching staff. There have never been more than five women in the staff. Today there are four. Compared with the situation in 1986/87 where two women were engaged, one in the processing and one in the biology department the numbers have increased (Gerrard, 1988). Women are today employed in the same department as before. Considering the number of women that are engaged in fish processing in the Tanzanian industry, that I would never the less say that they are underrepresented.

Even though there are six departments at Mbegani FDC, women continue to concentrate in two of them: the biology and the processing department, each with two women. In the biology department the women concentrate on teaching at the regular courses that take place at Mbegani FDC as well as at the short courses.

Women are the ones that deal with female oriented activities and projects at the centre as well as outside the centre. Their work consists of teaching, administration and co-ordinating the work. They report that most of the time they have to teach at

the regular courses at the centre. That means that little time is devoted to women activities both within and outside the centre.

Possibilities and obstacles for planning and leadership

The situation of women professionals and non-professionals in Mbegani FDC is not different from that of other women in many other institutions in developing countries. The non-professional women are also few at Mbegani FDC. I observed that the principal and vice principal are and have always been men. Only one woman has been acting as the head of department. She was in the training department. The remaining were regular teachers. Since women are so few and since women are concentrated in only two departments' chances for women to be appointed to leadership jobs are few.

Since there are few women in leadership position one could think that they might be younger and/or have less education than the men. It could therefore be interesting to look at the age and education pattern of the staff.

Table 2: Age structure of men and women at Mbegani

Age structure	Male	Women	Total	Percent
20-30	-	-	-	-
31-40	4	3	7	44
41-50	6	1	7	44
51-60	2		2	12
61-70+	-	-	-	-
Total	12	4	16	100

Source: Field survey, 2001

The study found that four men and three women among the seven or 44% of the respondents were between the age's 31-40 years, six men and one woman or 44% were in the group between 51 –60 years. Only two men or 12% of the staffs were between 41-50 years while non-of the staff interviewed was between 20-30 years (table 2).

These results indicate that women have an age and an experience that enable them to be potential leaders. However, the great number of older and experienced men might indicate that the competition of having leadership jobs is rather great.

Another factor that should be considered is education level. If men have a higher level of education than women, they have better chances to get leadership positions.

Table 3: Education level of staff at Mbegani FDC

Education level	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Primary education	1	-	1	6
Secondary education	2	-	2	13
Higher education	9	4	13	81
Total	12	4	16	100

Source; Field survey, 2001

This table (3) shows that all of the women are just as well educated as men. The women at the centre concentrating on the teaching tasks had post graduate education. From other sources I also learned that women with secondary education worked as secretaries and those with only primary education worked as cleaners. These findings indicate that the education level should not be a hindrance for women to be recruited into leadership positions.

Other reasons for women not being recruited into leadership positions could be marital status.

Table 4: Gender and marital status among the respondents

Marital status	Men	Women	Total	Percent
Single	1	-	1	6
Married	11	3	14	88
Widow	-	1	1	6
Total	12	4	16	100

Source: Field survey, 2001

Among the respondents three women are married and one is a widow. That indicates that women probably have heavy responsibilities and workloads also at home. However, most women of today manage to cope with such situations.

3.3 The students

The following tables give us an impression of the gender pattern among the students.

Table: 5 Student enrolment by gender at the Centre

Year	Male	Female	Year	Male	Female
	Students	Student			
1982	20	_	1992	22	4
		1		No intake	7
1983	50	1	1993	No intake	-
1984	43	l	1994		-
1985	37	4	1995	19	1
1986	26	4	1996	24	-
1987	22	7	1997	15	-
1988	39	4	1998	14	1
1989	37	6	1999	12	3
1990	26	8	2000	11	4
1991	55	4	Total	472	54

Source: Mbegani FDC annual reports, (1982-2000).

Women have always been few in numbers compared with men. Since the intake has decreased the female proportion has increased. In the year of 2000, four out of 15 students were women. We must go back to 1987, 1989 and 1990 to find more female students enrolled at the centre (table 5). At that time it was an awareness of the importance of involving women in the fisheries sector (Gerrard.1988; Swantz, 1987; Hersoug *et al*, 1986). This does not compensate for the year where only men were recruited. Through the years 1996 and 1997 only men have been students at Mbegani FDC.

The same patterns are also found in the short courses.

Table 6: Gender and short course 1982 – 1989

Year	Male student	Female student
1982	14	4
1984	5	-
1986	24	-
1987	8	-
1988	15	1
1989	11	3
Total	77	8

Source: Mbegani FDC annual reports, (1982-1989).

The short courses, which operated at the Centre from 1982 to 1989, comprised a total of 85 students among these only eight (8) were female students and 77 were male. This is equivalent to only 9% of the women while men occupy 91% of the total student enrolled.

According to Hersoug, *e tal*, (1986: 52) no short course has been planned or performed especially for women by 1986 when the evaluation team was at the centre, although in the following two years 1988 and 1989, four female student were enrolled. I can that say the processing sector, in which women are the majority, is underrepresented. The effect of this will reflect not to meet the immediate objective of the fishing industry of increasing production and reducing post harvest losses. Women, besides their role in processing and marketing activities are also an important link between the fish caught and fish consumed (FAO 1988; Gerrard, 1988).

The pattern as we saw for the teachers are the same for the students. Female students still represent a minority group. That means probably that that the standards for learning are set by men. Since Mbegani is a boarding school, it also means that women represent a minor group also in the social life of the institution.

The curriculum and teaching methods

The curricula of the different courses offered at Mbegani aims at training the manpower with the right skills in the specialised, respective fields. The courses offered for Diploma (long course) include; Boat building that deals with designing, construction and maintenance of small crafts used by small fishermen like *mashua* and *ngalawa*. The other course is, Marine engineering and refrigeration, which intends to sharpen the students on the use of hand tools. Also at the centre students

are trained in Master fishermen skills for the purpose of increasing the number of skippers not only on smaller vessels but also to work on large vessels. Together the above mentioned skills intend to demonstrate the use of several gears found in fisheries. The curriculum for diploma in fish processing which intends to improve processing and reduction of the post harvest losses in the processed fish. (Hersoug *et al*, 1986), is the course in which the few women were enrolled. They graduated as certificate or diploma candidates.

The study found that, the same courses are being taught at the centre today although there are few students being enrolled at present. (. table 5). The majority of the students at the centre now are the government employees enrolled for upgrading and only those students whose the parents are able to pay for them. The survey found that in general the number of students has been reduced due to general economic problems, different from previously where they were being selected by the government after completion of secondary school to join different courses at the centre.

Also it was observed that the practical activities and training (industrial training) is less practised compared to the time when the centre was supported by Norwegian money and Mbegani FDC was operated as a NORAD financed project. The curriculum at that time followed the agreed syllabi where the training was supposed to take 1/3 to ½ of the course. The time for practical training was concentrated on training outside the centre. In this way the students were familiarized with the actual practical problems. To day I found out that students to a very little degree were attending the training outside the centre. When I asked the principal of the centre he said money was the big obstacle to facilitate students with practical experience both inside and outside the centre.

3.4 Mbegani: a "male made" institution?

Within the staff and among the students women are not well represented. They are present in lesser degrees; they tend to comprise a low proportion of the staff list and are often not represented at the higher levels of leadership especially when it comes to decision-making.

On the background of this information we can ask why are there so few and continue to be so few women at Mbegani? According to the Principal of the Centre

he said that the scarcity of woman working in other department than processing and biology is due to that fact that other departments are more demanding. Both the staff and students need to sacrifice a lot of time to enable them to cope with the working environment. According to the head of department of Nautical science, and I quote: "People working in the department dealing with fishing activities they start working six o'clock in the morning until seven in the evening. This has become difficult for women to work in this department and leave their families all day long. For this reason women have been discouraged from joining this profession. In fact, the situation of women is generally poor relative to men in terms of their number in leadership positions, decision-making, and planning committees. Few women seem to have been encouraged to take such positions. Another reason which also, Hersoug *et al*, (1986) points out is to the little weight which was put on the question of emphasizing women especially during the planning of Mbegani FDC (Hersoug, *etal*, 1986: 9)

Mbegani and empowerment of women

It is an accepted policy now that development strategies should ensure women's roles and positions in the fishing industry and in particular in the plans and decision making (UNEP 1995). Therefore fisheries programmes in developing countries need to consider, recognise and support women in different kinds of institutions, including fishery institutions.

However, I will say that the challenge for many development institutions has been to create space for empowering women at the personal level, at the project or the programme level and finally at the institutional level. The hope is that it can begin by an assessment of the institution's own gender sensitivity and fairness in terms of representation, policies and programmes. The way I see it, this has hardly yet started at Mbegani FDC except for a period in the 1980s. The attitude of many teachers is still very conservative. For instance, I have heard teachers say that women should avoid study programmes that require fieldwork.

I believe however, that the more women enter the traditionally maledominated fields of fisheries research and management, their skill and leadership are dispelling such types of beliefs that may have kept interested women from entering these fields. One step in empowerment of women in fisheries is to let women have the chance to assess training needs and to develop, deliver and evaluate training to increase the involvement of women in development and improve the quality of life for village women. If this does not happen, especially at a development centre like Mbegani FDC, I am afraid that women will continue to be a marginalized group.

Conclusion

The study results found out that only few women are training and are trained to carry the post harvest aspects while a huge number of men are trained to teach fishing. This could result in bottlenecks, which means less output. I have wondered if gender equity at Mbegani FDC could lead to a better recruitment of women and more emphasis on women's needs and challenges, especially into the processing part of the fishing industry. It is easy to think that more knowledge about processing could decrease post harvest losses. In this way more and more people would understand the importance of having trained female fishery officers as project helpers and as students. In my point of view a need arises of women's integration to remove the bottleneck. Such arguments also find support from others. The meaning of women's participation becomes valuable in the society when the involvement both in productive and reproductive activities it is connected with education the woman has and the income she earns. This is crucial for the fact that woman feeds the world. (FAO, 1988). To understand women's involvement is more and more important since participation more and more becomes an accepted and practised political principal for analysis, planning and action to many societies (Swantz etal, 1998).

I also observed that since the women at the Mbegani FDC were not involved in leaderships' position, they did not participate in planning and decision making, even though they had post graduate education like men. Only one woman due to her position as head of department had earlier had the chance to participate in planning and decision-making processes and be a part of a leadership team. In general, during the years 1982 to 2000, a total of 472 men and 54 women have been educated at Mbegani FDC (table 5). There are an overwhelming number of men that have gone into public service jobs. Since the curriculum only to a minor degree focus on gender, the chances for getting knowledge to assist women with their special needs, in development is not very big.





Figure 1: Fish smoking using muddy oven at Bagamoyo





Figure 3: A boat made at Mbegani FDC for Mlingotini women in 1980s



Figure 4: An old woman collecting uduvi at Mbegani Beach



Figure 5: Women and men working in seaweed farm at Mlingotini village





Figure 6: Women offloading octopus and processing at the beach of Jibondo Figure 7: Women seaweed farms at Jibondo and Juani Villages



Figure 8: Women in the processing job at TANPESCA plant



Figure 9: A farming group of men at Kifinge village in Mafia

4. 0 Gender roles on projects in Bagamoyo area

In spite of few women both as staff and students at Mbegani FDC, the centre has been and is involved in projects in the neighbouring villages. This chapter therefore deals with the findings of the study in one of the two fisheries project in the Coast Region where Mbegani FDC has carried out projects.

The issues of concerns are the activities and involvement of especially women, but also with a glimpse to men's activities in the fishing industry compared to the engagement in concrete projects and plans. The chapter will analyse the impacts of neglecting women in the industry and finally elaborate the importance of gender involvement and enlighten the needs for women's empowerment in various activities performed in the fishing industry. I have chosen two areas nearby Mbegani where projects have been carried out. They are also of interesting because Mbegani FDC initiated the first projects already in 1986. These projects were also among the first in Tanzania that had women and fishery in focus.

4.1 Training outside Mbegani

Mbegani FDC has a history of involvement in the neighbouring villages, not far from the school. The involvement is dominated by assistance of equipment social services and technology. The social services today include transport to and from Bagamoyo town, a dispensary and mother child clinic is offered also free to the neighbour villagers. Besides this, Mbegani FDC does the maintenance of the water pipe and the villages linked to the same pipe also benefit (Hersoug *etal*, 1986). In terms of technology, the teachers at the centre and the buildings are used for seminars and workshops related to direct knowledge transfer or giving them equipment's to perform certain activity. To gain insight into the knowledge of the situation of women in these fishing communities, I visited two neighbouring villages, which are surrounding Mbegani to understand better women's and men's participation and decision making both in the planning of the projects and in the implementation of the planning. Men and women from the neighbouring fishing communities of Mbegani FDC were interviewed to find out what they are doing and the role they played during the formulation of their group project.

In this section I will give brief description in relation to the women's groups both in the 1980's and today. My main emphasis will be put on the survey done during the summer 2001. I was interested in knowing whether the activities of the Mbegani are relevant to the women needs. In this way I can see if the presence of the centre with different technology has impacted women positively or negatively in terms of economic and social status.

Mbegani and projects in the 1980's: examples from Mlingotini

In 1986 Mbegani Development Centre was set up to provide education and development to cover the needs for the fishing industry in neighbouring villages by putting more emphasis on development projects in the villages. Three coastal village communities were given equipment, including fishing boats and gear. Mlingotini is a fishing village where several projects have taken place. The village has gained from the presence of Mbegani in receiving training in various extension courses organised by the centre, regular ice supply for enabling fishing to far places. Besides this the Mbegani centre is also concerned with the women groups

The women formed a group in 1986 but this was dissolved in early 1987 because of a lot of difficulties and lack of trust among the women. In the same year 1987 the women reorganised themselves and formed a new group (Masaiganah, 1987). This group has brought fresh small fish, which they fry and send to sell within the village and some to Dar es Salaam. The group managed to buy a canoe from Mbegani FDC after being given a loan from *Umoja Wa Wanawake* (U.W.T)² regional office after hearing the where about of the group.

(see fig.3). A boat was made at Mbegani FDC for women at Mlingotini village.

The group was very active and this made it to be considered by the Fish Processing and Marketing Department of Mbegani FDC to send students for their practical/ industrial training (Kilonge and Masaiganah, 1987). In this way women learnt how to handle the fish in a proper way. Beside of the group being recognised by the processing department, the training department also took initiatives of closer contact with the group by appointing three (3) students to live at Mlingotini and work with the group. Two males and 1 female and these students were assigned to make a follow up of day to day activities of the women fishing group

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² Women union in Tanzania

and engage fully in processing and sales of their fish. The three students were asked to see whether the women got profit or not from their projects. The group had a ngalawa built at Mbegani and they introduced the chorkor smoking kiln and smoked the fish for selling.

4.2 Training projects today

The effort of aiming at improving women's life is still going on. Mbegani has given old ladies the mosquito nets for fishing *uduvi*³ (see fig 4).

For the time being the group has expanded and has formed other two groups, one in which also men are members. The group in which men are members is mainly dealing with the seaweed farming, while the other group is concentrating on fish frying and petty trade of food and kiosks activities.

Seaweed farming group in Mlingotini

These days the seaweed farming in Mlingotini Village is taking a new face, by comprising both men and women members. The group has 23 female and 20 male members.

The Bagamoyo district fisheries office let their female officer organise the seaweed farming groups by calling a village meeting. The initiatives came from the private company Zanzibar Seaweed Farming Company (ZASCO) together with fisheries division. This initiative was the second trial of farming seaweed at the coast of Mlingotini and this time it was successful.

The training concerning seaweed farming conducted by fisheries division and ZASCO, the Buyer Company. There has been little contact with MFDC. The reason for that has to be related to the economic difficulties at the centre. The female fisheries officer is attached to the village and she works with the group. It was a woman fisheries officer attached to the group work because male officers pay little attention to women group work. Obviously she had managed to get a good contact with the group.

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³ small shrimps/ prawns

Activities in the group

Men and women work by dividing the plots and the activities required at that particular time. Weeding and tying of the seedling to the main rope seemed to be women's work while fixing the wooden stakes and bringing the harvest with rafts from deep waters was more of men's work. It is estimated that 40,000 to 45, 000 seedlings can be planted per hector (Sobo, 2001).

In Mlingotini village seaweed farming was first practised in 1990s but it was not successful due to quite a number of reasons. First of all, it was a new idea to many villagers and most of them were reluctant to accept it. Seaweed farming was also perceived as an activity for women. Thus no men showed up during the training seminar organised by the fisheries division. The idea eventually was aborted.

However, people in Mlingotini say that at the moment seaweed farming become a significant income generating activity to both men and women. The group has been able to harvest a total of 5000 kgs of dried seaweed in the first season of the year 2000 and 4000 kgs (dried) seaweed in the harvesting season of 2001. The price of selling dried seaweed was 150 Tanzanian shillings (Ths⁴) per kg and the group managed to sell all the stock they had in these years.

During my stay in the village and through my study I observed that besides the little attention of extension services from Mbegani FDC, the seaweed group has not received any equipment to facilitate the farming process. The group receives the ropes and seedling from the ZASCO Company in Zanzibar in return for selling dried seaweed to the company. The future economic status of the group is promising according to the answers from the group members I interviwed. They have been able to start *upato*⁵ contribution among themselves, which has been useful for buying food and clothes for their children. *Upato* evolved from an

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⁴ During the survey . USD 1= Tshs 850

⁵ With the UPATO an "unplanned" way of organising and saving result was introduced. This system is built on rotation confidence and it is found throughout the world, not only in developing countries but also in the West (Tripp, 1994:224). It has been very helpful to many women groups, not only in fishery industry but also in other activities. In this way both men and women are to able initiate, and implement their own individual plans.

association of neighbourhood women and is fashionable not only among the poor women but also the middle-income women in some villages involved.

Fish smoking and frying groups in Bagamoyo

The Bagamoyo group is a group dealing with smoking and frying of fish started in 1999 and comprise of 10 members all are women. In this group I met and interviewed all the 10 members. The group got an assistance of money from Mbegani FDC to build a muddy oven, which is placed at the residence of one group member (see fig 1).

The group smokes fish valued 10000/= Tshs per week. The fish smoked are mainly mackerel. The profit earned is divided into two portions; 8% to 10% of the profit is deposited into the group account and the remaining portion is divided among the group members. The profit divided to the group members is used to buy fish for frying. Frying of fish is done individually and the money earned is for family use (see fig.2).

Mbegani FDC took the initiative and organised a group by using the woman officer from the processing department. This was done in collaboration with the Fisheries District Office, which appointed a woman officer to work with the Mbegani FDC woman. The fisheries district office was responsible to call and organise a meeting for female interested on the activity of smoking fish. After formation of the group the first training was organised by Mbegani FDC on how to use the oven. The role of Mbegani FDC in this project is training and technology transfer in using the oven.

The study found out that, regular supervision from FDC after the training was lacking. The centre was visiting the group only occasionally. However, the group was receiving the extension services from the district fishery office. Since the group started in 1999 the Mbegani FDC has been able to organise the seminar only twice. It is the female teachers from the processing department who organise the seminars. There are several reasons for this limited supervision. The professional women at the centre dealing with women outside the centre have other tasks to accomplish at the centre. Visiting women for extension could be more or less voluntary and optional. The reason could be due to lack of female orientation in the work of Mbegani FDC. (Hersoug. *etal*, 1986). The difficult

situation of Mbegani FDC could be another reason, this is because very little money was available after 1991 based mainly on the Tanzania budget.

4.3 Women in planing and decision-making

In this part of the chapter I shall try to get deeper into women and men's involvement in the projects by relating to the answers in my survey.

It is also interesting to get to know in what way the group members were informed about the project, by whom and what was emphasised.

Table 7: Motivation for group formulation

Motivation	Frequency	Percent
The community development officer	5	19
asking about the demand of group		
The community development officer	10	38
asking about problems		
Community officer asked for village	3	12
improvement		
Extension officers	8	31
Total	26	100

Source; field survey, 2001

These answers show that the motivation of forming the groups came after the fisheries extension officer and the community development officer visited their village. The results indicate that 18 persons were motivated by the community development officer and eight by the fisheries extension officer either asking them their problems or the activities they wish to do in fishery sector (table7). One of my informants from Mlingotini village expressed it in the following way: "The extension officers from fisheries asked the problems women face and our interest in fisheries activities. It was when we made a list of the problems for women and men in the whole village. This was our role during the formulation of the project group". It seems that the majorities were motivated to form the groups when they were asked about the problems they faced in their villages.

Among the 26 that I interviewed eight women and two men said that they were involved in planning of the project which is 38% of the total respondents

(table 8). According to the results in table 9, the results indicates that 57% of the respondents comprising of 15 females were not informed about the idea of forming the group although they are members of the group project. Eight persons or 31% of respondents said that, the group leaders represented them, though they didn't take their opinions to the planning meeting. Three men said they were not involved in planning and formulation of the project because the project was favouring and focusing women.

Table 8: Participation in the project planning

Participation in	Male	Female	Total	Frequency
planning				
YES	2	8	10	38
NO	2	14	16	62
TOTAL	4	22	26	100

Source; Field survey, 2001

Another interesting aspect is who was involved in the planning of the group projects. I observed that it was either village chairpersons like the development officer and Village Executive Officers (VLO) who were involved in planning of the group formulation.

Table 9: Reasons for not being involved in the planning of the group

Reasons	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Group leaders represented	1	7	8	31
Project favoured women	3		3	12
Not informed	-	15	15	57
Total	4	22	26	100

Source: Field survey, 2001.

Since women seemed not to be involved in planning process, I wondered about the members' view upon having important position in the groups.

Table 10: Women Allowance to occupy key positions in the group project work

RESPONSE	Male	Female	Total	Percent
YES	2	20	22	85
NO	2	2	4	15
Total	4	22	26	100

Source: Field survey, 2001.

Table 10 indicates that in these two fishing villages 85% of the respondents agreed that women should occupy key position in the group. The findings also show that 20 women and two men answered that they had no problems of being allowed to occupy a key position in such a project. The respondents who supported the idea that women should occupy the key positions were mainly women. Two men also supported the idea, "We like when women are leaders besides of the problem of being absent due to family roles they are very trustful when they occupy these positions", a man from Mlingotini village commented.

I also asked whether there were reasons for women not to occupy important positions. In that case they reported housework and the need for men in certain jobs.

Table 11: Reasons for women not occupying key position in the group/community.

3 1	В	Bagamoyo Mlingotini				
Responds	Men	Female	Male ⁶	Female	Total	Percent
Cannot work without	-		2	8	10	39
men						
Busy with household	-	8	2	2	12	46
activities						
Out of group work	-	2		2	4	15
during pregnancy and						
nursing time						
Total		10	4	12	26	100

Source: Field survey, 2001.

We notice that there might be a difference between the villages. While women in Bagamoyo mention household activities, the Mlingotini women were

⁶ Four men is not a representive but chosen to include to get men's opinions.

dependent on men. All in all the results from the study also indicate that 46% of the respondents had the view that women should not occupy the key position for the fact that they are busy with the household activities. The reason for that was key position in-groups requires volunteer time, which could be conflicting with their household work in general. The respondents, who comprised of two men and two women (15%) said women should not be allowed to occupy the key position. The reason for that could be the fear of men loosing their status as head of the households. But the general view was that, aside of triple tasks, they support for them to occupy the key position in the groups. Both women and men had no objection for women having key positions in the group (table 11).

It is also interesting to know how men in the group considered the women's performance.

Table12: Opinion on the performance of group members in the project group work.

Bagamoyo			Mlingotini			
Performance	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Women are hard	-	7	-	9	16	61
working						
Women works better	-		1		1	4
when working with men						
Poor performance	-		1		1	4
Women have little time	-	3	2	3	8	31
for the group work						
Total		10	4	12	26	100

Source: Field survey, 2001.

Besides the fact that the majority of respondents in these two villages said that, women were busy with the household activities, 16 women agreed that they were hard working group members (table 12). One-man said women work better when working with men. One man said that the performance of women in-group work is poor because of their traditional responsibility. All in all two men and six women (31%) had the opinion that women have little time for group work as they have a lot to do in a house.

Table 13: Household work affects group work

Household relation	Bagamoyo	Mlingotini	Total	Percent
Yes	7	10	17	65
No	3	6	9	35
Total	10	15	26	100

Source: Field survey, 2001.

The result of the survey from these villages indicates that household activities were somehow affecting the participation of women in the group activities. 17or (65%) of the respondents who were mainly women agreed to the fact that household activities, which includes childcare, cooking for the family were affecting the attendance and performance in their group work (table13).

"Sometimes we find our selves we are four in the group in stead of ten as our fellow women have to send their little children to the clinic", one group member from Bagamoyo said. In Mlingotini village the women and men in the group also said that childcare was affecting the women in their group to participate well in the seaweed farming. "It is difficult for the women to carry their babies at the back when tying and fitting the seedling into the seawater especially when the tide was rough and coming near the beach", an old man of 50 years commented. Sometimes we have to do their job and this makes us to have few lines of ropes to work with in the plots in that day.

Summary

We find here different views on women's roles both in the planning and in work in the group. However, especially women's involvement in the planning process seems to be weak. In addition women are hardworking with house maintenance. In this way they can be said to be triple workers.

I have therefore wondered to what extent the gender roles in the area in general can help us to explain this. In the next section I will therefore try to elaborate some aspects closely related to gender.

4.4 Gender roles and characteristics of women in fishery project participation

This section describes some cultural, demographic and socio-economic factors that are relevant in the area. These factors can also help to understand women's engagement in the project, in planning and decision-making in these selected villages. Therefore in this section I will present the results of the respondents from the neighbouring fishing villages by looking at and describing age structure, marital status, education level, occupation and income level as basics to women participation.

The majority of the people interviewed were women because men often neglect to answer question focusing on women. Men seem to participate in-groups only when the government releases funds to groups and not individuals.

Age -sex structure of the group members in Bagamoyo and Mlingotini villages

The survey results showed that a total of 26 respondents who comprised of four men and 22 women were interviewed in both two villages. In other words about 15 % were males and women covered the 85%. Almost half of the respondents were between 41-50 years. Three men and four women (27%) were between 51-60 years old. Among the people between 41-50 there were 11 women and one men. The respondents of age between age 31-40 years were five (19%) and only one-respondent (4%) was between the age 21-30 years (table 14). This explains the fact that older people are willing to form groups for income generating activities rather than going to the cities to seek for employment. The opposite is true for the younger ones.

Table 14: Group members and age

Age group		Ma	ale	le Female		Total
Percent						
20-30	-		1		1	4
31-40	-		5		5	19
41-50	1		11		12	46
51-60	3		4		7	27
61-70 +	-		-		1	4
TOTAL	4		22		26	100

Source: Field survey, 2001

More than 70% of the respondents are between 41-60 years as shown in the table 14. The reason for that is that this age group has families, children, and grandchildren. They need an income and at the same time they might have more spare time than younger women might. The younger ones seem to be more mobile and go to town to search for jobs.

Marital status

In the former section of this chapter, we saw that the people considered housework as a reason for not being able to participate in the groups. The reasons for this could be related to marriage. Almost half of the respondents in my survey both in Bagamoyo and Mlingotini villages were married comprising of 12 (46%). The singles were nine (35%) and the five (19%) were widows (table 15).

Table 15: Group members and marital status

	Mlingo	tini	В	agamoyo		
Marital status	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Single	-	5	-	4	9	35
Married	4	6	-	2	12	46
Widow	-	1	-	4	5	19
Total	4	12		10	26	100

Source: Field survey, 2001

Going further into the table we also find 14 people either singles or widow comparing to 12 people who were married. The study therefore also indicate that majority of the women interviewed belonged to single families. One could assume that women decided to be in the group for the hope of improving their daily income and to enable them to buy food and other needs for their families. The singles in this study signify that women have a relatively high work burden.

Occupation structure of the respondents in Bagamoyo and Mlingotini fishing villages

In the selected two villages' respondents were asked about the tasks that men and women perform in their villages (table 16). The women besides the activities of seaweed farming, fish smoking and frying were also found to engage themselves in marketing the fish and fish products within their villages and to the neighbouring villages. The study found out that, women are the one's to take care of the family, child bearing and cooking for the family. The survey observed that the tasks of women put a lot of pressure on women than on men since they have to combine their traditional roles as mothers, wives, regular workers in the group. The study also observed that like in Bagamoyo while women were busy frying fish for selling in the evening market in their household, men were sitting in groups playing bao^7 and drinking black coffee. It was also observed that besides seaweed farming specifically for Mlingotini, trading, house and childcare was ranked the third important task of women in these villages.

The study results indicate that there is a gender pattern concerning the labour division in these two coastal fishing villages. The gender pattern and division of labour in these two villages is still coloured by inherited traditional pattern of work responsibilities like in many coastal fishing villages in the world. The majority of the women were seen to engage themselves in seaweed farming, trading processing (fish smoking and frying) (table 16). But they were also engaged in fishing two (2) boat building three (3) and one (1) in farming as their way of living.

Table 16: Group members and occupation (paid work)

Activity	Bagamoyo		Mli	ngotini		
F	Female	Male	Female	Male	Total	Percent
Seaweed	-	-	5	2	7	27
farming						
Petty trading	2	-	2	-	4	15
Fish	5	-	-	-	5	19
smoking/frying						
Fishing	1		1	2	4	15
Boat making	2		1	-	3	12
Net making			2		2	8
Farming	-		1	-	1	4
Total	10	-	12	4	26	100

Source: Field survey, 2001

⁷ Local game made on wood like draft mostly played by old age men.

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In the case of men in these villages, the results from the survey show that, men do fishing and building of boats according to the answers of three women (table 16).

Household characteristics

In many households in Mlingotini and Bagamoyo like in many fishing villages I observed that the women devote the whole day to being a full time housewife; a fisherwoman completes her household chores between 0700 and 10.00 a.m, and continues between 1500 and 1900. Then she proceeds to fish processing works from 4.30 to 0700 p.m. and late in the evening; then back to the house for cooking of the evening meal and cleaning the kitchen utensils she finally goes to bed at eleven in the night. The education of children, the maintenance of the house, the supply of potable water, and cooking are the principal tasks assigned to women. Sometimes the children help them. The time of the day devoted to household chores varies according to the kind of economic activities practised in the village. The study found that even if women have much to do, they participate in the group work.

Table 17: Men's role in the household

	Bagamoyo		Ml	ingotini		
Men's roles	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Head of the		7	2	10	19	73
household						
Providing income		2	2	2	6	23
home						
Village security		1			1	4
Total		10	4	12	26	100

Source; Field survey, 2001

The study observed that, aside from the occupations of income generation, my respondents looked upon men as the heads of the households. 17 women and two men (73 %) of the respondents in these two villages said that men are in charge of the household and in most cases decide what the family should do the next day when it comes to activities (table17). Also the study found that despite of the men being the heads of the households, only four women and two men or (23%) said that men provide income for the family. Only one woman reported that village security was important.

Table 18: Women's role in the household

Bagamoyo			Mlingotini			
Women's household	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Roles						
Child care	-	4	2	5	11	42
Child bearing	-	1	-	2	2	8
Cooking	-	3	1	4	8	31
Sanitation	-	2	1	2	5	19
Total	-	10	4	12	26	100

Sources: Field survey, 2001.

The study found out that, nine men and two women (42%) of the respondents agreed to the fact that women take care of the children. The cooking task was ranked the second and sanitation was the third. All these roles of women are performed together with income generating activities included group participation (table 18).

Group members and education

Taking initiatives to form groups and participate in the planning can also be related to education.

Table 19: Group members and educational level

Education level	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Secondary education	1	3	4	15
Primary education	-	12	12	46
Informal education	3	7	10	39
Total	4	22	26	100

Source; Field survey, 2001

My results show that, one man and three women all together 15% of the respondents had secondary education. In the study it was observed that 12 women

(46%) had primary education (table 19). This category includes almost half of the respondents. The remaining three men and seven women (39%) had no formal education. In fact primary education is probably not a good enough background to have when it comes to be involved in planning. More than 85% of the respondents have no secondary education and this may have negative influence on their flair for participation in plans. Secondary education opens up insight both in technology skills and organisation skills. Many people think that education is a crucial factor for progress and change. Therefore the lack of formal education among the respondents can be the cause of the inferior position in the planning process and decision making. Also evidence from other studies demonstrate that in the long run increased education for women could contribute to improve quality of life and enhance national development through increased economic production from the fishery resources. Also there is a widespread perception that better educated women are able to handle information and to use goods and services more efficiently.

Traditional beliefs and women's roles

Traditional beliefs and demographic factors have been found to be among the factors that hinder women's participation in public activities in many societies. (Overhole etal, 1994). In particular the culture of people influences the division of labour in many communities, which in most cases classifies men as leaders and decision-makers. Women are classified for household chores that include family and child care. In the coastal societies in Tanzania we find that women are not allowed to interact with men outside the house or speak in front of men. This is explained by many as being related to the Arabic influence. The implication of this is negative for women's leadership roles. Women cannot to go to the market to buy groceries. Men /husbands were supposed to bring every thing for the woman to cook. My research finding show that the situation is changing now. "It is my husband who informed me about the project group that I am a member now. He is very happy when I bring the profit I get from the group after selling our smoked fish thus there is no way now he can refuse me to participate in the group work," woman from Bagamoyo fish smoking group commented.

These days the situation is changing as women are seen to interact with each other and with men. They are engaged in income generating activities. In this way the cultural beliefs that existed in these coastal communities before, are gradually changing.

This was clarified in the study as most of the respondents' answers in both Bagamoyo and Mlingotini showed that there are few beliefs and ideas that forbid woman from participation in projects and group work. In a situation with big financial difficulties in the households women could participate in any income generating activity. At the moment men have realised that women play an important role bringing income to the family. Women are not restricted to stay in household as they were before in the coastal communities.

Summary

The study observed that, women in these villages participate through various group works for income generating activities. In this way they were able to provide money for the family. In spite of this fact both men and women reported that men were the heads of the household. Men want to be known and recognised, even if they cant provide the necessary money for the family. This could be due to the fact that men always demands to be identified as head of the household regardless of their financial obligation to the family. One could expect that such a view demoralize women to work hard in their group projects activities. This study shows that this is not the case.

Conclusion

The study found that in the selected two villages surrounding Mbegani FDC 15 women or 57% of the interviewed project participants, were not involved in planning projects as they were not informed. Three men (12%) said that they were not involved in planning because they considered that the project favoured women (table9). It was the civil servants in fisheries and the development sectors that took the initiative and took care of planning (table 7).

The staff at Mbegani FDC was involved in training, but to a very limited degree compared with their initiative in the 1980s. My study shows that the projects have had some positive effects on the gender roles. Women participate in the activities and in many cases they are the main breadwinners of the households,

even in activities considered as male activities like fishing and boat building. In spite of these realities, the majority of the respondents, 17 women and two men or 73 % consider men as head of the household (table 17). This fact shows that in many cases it can be more difficult to change the *ideology*⁸ and beliefs of gender roles than the reality.

I also learned from the respondents that women were considered as hard working and trustful when they occupy leadership roles in the village groups. These facts should indicate that women in the future also could be and should be active in the planning process.

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⁸ Is a set of cultural values religions and other beliefs and altitudes that lies behind social and political actions. Olav Korsnes, Heine Andersen og Thomas Brante (red.).
Sociologisk leksikon, Universitetsforlaget. Oslo. 1997:129

5.0 Gender roles in projects in Mafia area

This chapter deals with the findings of the study carried out on the Mafia Island in relation to Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP), an institution that I will consider as a programme of many the projects in the Coast Region. The programme concentrates on 14 villages, which are lying within the MIMP boundary. I will look on the gender issues and specifically on different women groups' activities, performed within the frame of the MIMP structure in two of the villages: Jibondo and Juani.

My main question is whether the activities created in connection with the park have had positive impacts on women and their cultural, social and economical positions. As in the foregoing chapters I am interested in knowing more about women's involvement in planning and management both in the MIMP management structure as such, and in the groups created as a result of the establishment of the park. At the end I ask whether MIMP as a programme of projects brings resources to women: Is MIMP an institution that has improved women's position and rights in the selected two villages of the Mafia Island?

5.1. Mafia Island Marine Park

Mafia Island is an area where more than 50% of the population depends heavily on the exploitation of marine resource for their livelihoods (Mahongo, 1994; Anderson, 1995). In the 1980's Frontier- Tanzania project a collaborative programme of the University of Dar-es-Salaam realised that the marine resources were threatened, due to over-exploitation and use of dynamite in fishing to a scale in which the population met many difficulties in order to survive.

The Mafia Island Marine Park was established in 1995 by the Tanzanian government under the Act No. 29 of 1994. It is an initiative designed for conservation of biodiversity to facilitate sustainable use of the natural resources of the area. Through a long participatory planning process that started back in 1991 a management plan was developed (Scherl, 1995; MIMP, 2000).

The Location of the Park

The park covers to day 822 square km incorporating a population of over 18000 people (1999 estimates). The total population of Mafia is around 45000 people according to the 1988,census.

Mafia Island Marine Park is situated in the chain of small islets in Mafia district, approximately 120 km south of Dar es Salaam. The park is located between S 07 45' 07 and E 39° 54' 01" and S 08° 09' 40" and E 39° 30' 00". The villages that I have in focus, Jibondo and Juani are fishing villages with a population of all together 2411, 1203 women and 1108 men, most of them engaged in fishery.

The majority of the residents in these two villages are Islamic and the religious community plays an important role in the social and cultural life. Normally the men attempt to pray five times a day, if not interfered with the fishing activities since they have to go to the fishing grounds during high tide. The dominant ethnic group is Wambwera. Today it is a mixed population due to intermarriages with the Arabs, Indians, Shatris, Comorians, Yao, Nyasa, Ngindo, Mbwera, and Nyamwezi.

Both men and women perform productive work, men as fishermen and women and children in retail fish marketing and other petty trading. Women and children also perform work directly from their home influenced by the Arabic culture in the area. Women are engaged in manufacturing of local products such as the production of ropes and mats (mikeka, misala, makawa, vitanga). The material for this is obtained from the palm *phoenix rectinata* (ukindu) which grows over much in the Island.

Women are also key persons in maintenance of work within the household. An average size of the household was around seven to eight persons in both Jibondo and Juani villages. The time of the day devoted to household chores varies according to the kind of economic activities practised. The full time housewife devotes the whole day; performing her duties a fisherwoman completes her household chores between 7 and 10 a. m, and continues between 1500 and 1900. From 7 p.m. many women in the households start cooking the evening meals, cleaning the kitchen utensils and finally she goes to bed at eleven in the night. The daily life of the women becomes especially hard since they are usually responsible for the children and the daily amount of cash. The maintenance of the house, the supply of potable water, and her care for the children are the principal tasks assigned to women, sometimes assisted by the older children.

The Mafia Island Marine Park and its objectives

In order to conserve or re-establish the sustainable use of the natural resources in the Mafia area, the MIMP developed from the very beginning the following objectives:

- 1. To protect, conserve and restore the species and genetic diversity.
- 2. To manage the marine and coastal areas so as to promote sustainability of the existing resource use.
- 3. To ensure that villages and local resident users in vicinity of or dependants on the marine park are involved in all phases of the planning and share the benefits of the establishment of the marine park.

The objectives above were the guidance for the 10-year strategic plan as well as for the annual operation plans for the marine park. The strategy ensures community participation both in the management and in the communities' access to resources that can benefit social, economic and domestic activities that helps the households to survive without over-exploitation of the natural resources. In order to succeed, dialogues, active building of participatory consciousness and heavy weight on cooperation between the people responsible for the park and men and women in the communities, were important means.

All the activities of the Park are meant to favour both men and women. According to the Marine Park work plan and project document (2000) the established Advisory Committee is present to advice the board of trustees besides to meet the stipulated objectives, also ensuring that women should be present and involved in all activities of the park. The project document elaborates the necessity of women's participation in various committees, from the local up to the national level. Today one (1) woman out of 13 people is a member of the Advisory committee, thus involved in planning and decision making of the park activities. It was observed that in case of committee election in the villages, a minimum of 25% to 30% female candidates should be present or no election should take place. It is the task of the park management together with the Village Liaison officer to make a follow up of the results of the election and to organise the meeting. It is stated in the GMP that, each village council "Either directly or through designated committees communities shall

participate fully in all aspects of park development regulation and general management plan. (GMP, 2000: 40)

The Mafia Island Marine Park and its Means

For the park and its projects it is also developed series of means of support. Since the project has a wide range of objectives, organisational, technical and financial supports are important elements for change and development. The support can be in technological research, extension and training, banking services, or credits facilities. The MIMP gives training in various aspects to the communities and their inhabitants, organised by the park for enabling both sustainable fisheries and conservation of the biodiversity.

In order to gain a gender balance in the project, MIMP has realised that women have to be a special target group of some of the activities. It was therefore important to mobilise women in the communities and focus specifically at women needs and potentials, as alternative activities to achieve sustainability of the fishery resources. The gender officer should facilitate gender awareness and implement group activities beyond fishing and farming, including farming in the ocean and handcraft activities. The project also includes plans for monitoring and evaluation of results at beneficiary levels, and for periodic updates of the social assessment. If done as planned, these actions could raise any issues in achieving the gender objectives

As a result, income-generating activities such as micro-loan schemes, management training and environmental awareness initiatives, have been implemented. Creating functional groups especially for women are also important. The functional groups cannot be formed and operated without support. Field staff from the Mafia Island Marine Park project is supposed to facilitate the involvement of women in the planning process as well as in the implementation.

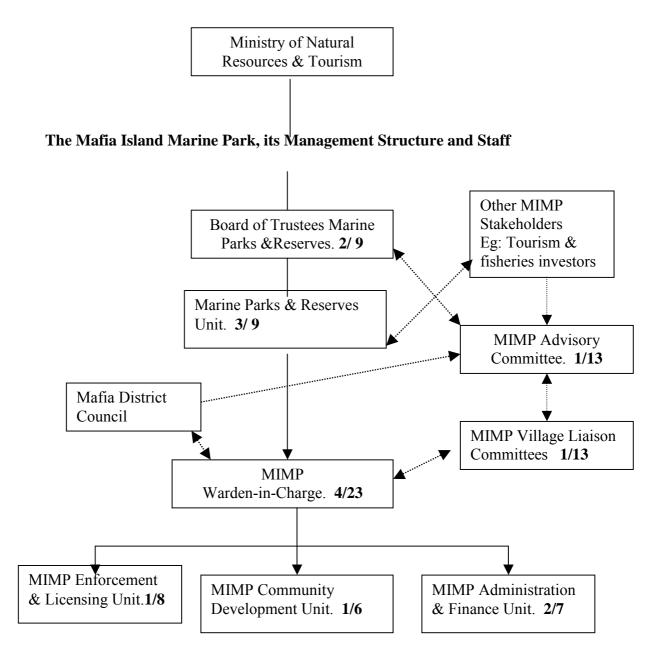
The project also found it necessary to work through two Village Liaison Officers (VLO). In each village one of the officers should be a woman. The VLOs should act as the link between the villagers and the marine park. The female VLO has a special role working with women in each village. This is critically important especially on Mafia where the traditional gender roles only to a small degree allowed women to be breadwinners.

The Mafia Island Marine Park, its Management Structure and Staff

The MIMP has a general management plan (GMP), which is the principal planning document. Here the different organisational levels and institutions are outlined. According to the GMP, (2000) the management include all levels from the Ministry; Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) down to the village level. For the time being, there were two women out of nine members at the Board of Trustees. They are directly involved in planning and decision making. In the office of the Marine Parks and Reserve Unit situated in Dare es Salaam there are three women occupying different positions among the 12 people. Thus, in the Management of the Park at Dar es Salaam; marine park headquarters and board of trustees all together five women. They are involved in planning routine activities within their section to ensure conservation of biodiversity as a main target of Marine Park Programme. The Marine and Reserves Unit manager answered positively when I asked if women are involved in planning on the park activities.

The Mafia Island Marine Park has it is head quarter at Utende at Mafia. The staff consist of 24 persons, four women and 20 men (GMP, 2000) of which the majority was well educated. Among the staff that I interviewed, seven out of eight men and three out of four women had higher education. Men were all assigned to different positions: Principal warden, senior warden community, and Community development assistant Park rangers among the women. The three women; one was a Gender and extension officer focusing at women's issues inside and outside the park, one women was a ranger and the third was an office management secretary. One could wonder that a woman is a ranger, but it is stated in the project document to promote disadvantaged or less represented people like women. A special position as community development assistant has been created on the Park Management Team where the gender women officer is working in order to promote women's participation. She co-ordinates the work directly towards the female VLO and in this way secures women's issues are being implemented in the daily work.

Organisation structure of Mafia Island Marine Park by Gender.



Numerator = Total number of people/ staff

Denominator = Number of women / staff

It was also interesting to look on the age structure of the staff. There was variation on the ages. Two of the women were below 30 years of age, one woman below 40 years and another below 50 years of age. The corresponding ages for the men I interviewed were three under 40 years and five under 50 years (Field survey, 2001). The women looked almost the same age structure as those of Mbegani FDC.

Summary

In the MIMP programme gender was on the agenda from the very beginning. Women were also an important target and got positions in different steering committees. In MIMP had also some well-educated women in staff and arranged for women to be employed at the community level as well

5.2. Project activities after the establishment of the Marine Park

Although the MIMP are directed towards both men and women, women have been the most active in establishing groups. Since this is the case, I will concentrate on the activities that women are engaged in. I will also include some of the other types of activities that have taken place since the MIMP started.

Women group activities

As I have stated earlier the groups are indirectly or directly related to the conservation activities of the Park. According to my interviews many respondents said that they decided to join together into groups so that they can be identified by the Mafia Marine Park project. They were inspired by both in the training and financial assistance offered in order to improve the economy of the family. Since most of their husbands were fishermen and came home without fish as a result of the effect of dynamiting fishing in the area, they thought that being members of a group would open their chances of getting loans from the government.

Women from Jibondo and Juani are therefore involved in various activities including fishing, seaweed farming, processing and marketing of the sea products. Some also make thatch, caps, ropes, and baskets and have started their small businesses, mentioned in descending order of importance. I have focused on seven

different women groups. In Jibondo there are the *Mwani* jiungeni group, *Jitegemee* seaweed farming group, Wastara seaweed farming group, and Jibondo women fishing and seaweed farming group. Similarly, in Juani there are three women groups: Mwanzo mgumu group, The seaweed farming group and The handicraft group.

On the following pages I shall try to describe the different type of activities that were carried out in some of the groups.

Octopus fishing

Fishing of octopus, a species belonging to the cephalopods group, is an activity carried out both in Jibondo and Juani. In both villages women are taking the lead. When I interviewed the octopus women group how they managed to go to the fishing sites, they said, "Men who sometimes are the husbands of others in our group take us into their boats to the fishing grounds and bring us back when the tides are resuming". Women organise in the morning in different groups depending on the capacity of boats to reach the fishing grounds. They use sticks to hunt octopus hiding in their caves. On arrival at the beach with their catches, they assemble for measuring weight, size and maturity stages. The measuring work is done by two women selected from the villages in collaboration with the MMIP staffs. The women octopus fishing groups, have been trained and learned the importance of keeping records of biological parameters to facilitate conservation. Seminars and workshops are directly organised by MMIP. The message of conservation has indirectly reached the women by the different biological research projects that have been undertaken in these two villages.

Through the study I observed the following gender pattern in the fishing of octopus. 90% of the octopus fishers are women in these two villages of Mafia. In other words a female activity. This is a contrast to the former days. In Mafia like any other coastal fishing community fishing has been taken as men's work while women engaged in collecting shellfish, slugs or traditional shrimp fishing using *kutanda*⁹ method (Masaiganah, 1986).

The reason why women started with this type of fishing and taking the men's domain is due to the economic hardships that the Mafia women encountered. The husbands failed to support their families due to poor or no catches because of the

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⁹ Fishing mostly done by women in shallow waters using a piece of cloth

effect of dynamite fishing. When the situation was critical in the household, the women formed the octopus group to identify themselves to the MIMP for assistance and to the company buying and processing octopus in Mafia. The number of women who were involved in fishing octopus in the year 2001 was 376 in Jibondo and 210 in Juani. Each woman-practising octopus fishing was able to collect 10 to 30 kgs of octopus per month during the season. The price for each kilogram was 450 Tshs when the survey was conducted in July 2001 (see fig. 6).

The strategy of their group was that, octopus fishing should be done by women. Men should stay away from fishing octopus. In this way the women managed to satisfy the household's need for food supply and income generation for the families' survival. This was a comment from one member of one of the groups." *Our stand on this octopus group has changed our husband's altitudes. Now they accept that women can go fishing due to the roles we play in the family.*"

The octopus fishing as mentioned is new as women's activity in the Coast area. Women in many coastal fishing communities were not involved in fishing or gathering activities it is known that women should never get into the fishing boat because they bring bad luck. (Lorena, 2001:118). Women said that men in both Jibondo and Juani have realised that they can no longer provide the families by themselves. "It has been a relief for our husbands especially those having more than one wife, as the money we get is used to pay school fees for children. The situation was hard especially after the practice of anti-dynamiting fishing initiation", one-group member commented.

Seaweed Farming

Seaweed farming was first tried in Mafia in 1992 on Jibondo Island. The Mafia Island Marine Park and the Zanzibar Seaweed farming company ZASCO supported the seaweed project. The first harvest was made in November 1999. As in the rest of the coast of Tanzania, seaweed farming has turned out to be activities for women groups. Statistics show that a total of 100 women in Mafia district (Coast region) in the year 2000 were able to harvest 100,000 metric tones of dried seaweed. They earned a total of 120 million Tanzania shillings equivalent to us \$ 15000. (Seaweed report MIMP, 2001). In Jibondo and Juani I observed that seaweed farming has been developed as an alternative to destructive fishing practice, coral and sand mining (see fig 7).

In Jibondo and Juani the groups can have two to three seaweed plots. One plot comprises of 200 strings and can generate income as much as 100000/= Tshs. per person per year. The big group formed and registered is divided onto small groups, which mainly composed of five to ten people. A group of 5-10 people make the division of labour and division of income easier when the selling season comes. It was reported by the women that, they were trained by ZASCO company and some MIMP staffs on how to farm seaweed. The training was offered free to the group members and others interested. The buyer company gives free ropes and strings for use to the groups. The ropes and strings can be used as long as they are not stolen or taken by water waves. Many farmers in both villages reported the problem of strong waves.

Normally seaweed plots are located along the shore adjacent to the village. Even if the government/ Mafia marine park Programme does not allocate seaweed plots to these different groups of women /men the user rights of the plots was recognised by the

Also, I observed that, besides the positive effects seaweed farming brings for ecology conservation along the coast, it also supplies food for fish and income to the people. In this way they stop using the destructive fishing methods. Thus women farming seaweed receive much support from the Park managers. My findings thus correspond to other research findings that, women in many cases have shown to be more knowledgeable than men on ecological matters (Chapman, 1987).

The income generated from seaweed farming has been useful to the women and their families. The women have managed to purchase enough and balanced food items clothes, furniture's, and school fees. The health of the members of the communities has also improved.

Fish frying and sun drying

local communities.

Both in Jibondo and Juani women practice frying of fish for home consumption and for selling. The Jibondo women also attempted to form groups of frying fish and octopus for selling along the beach to the fishermen when the come back from fishing. "The fish frying business is promising as every one has to eat fish in this village every day", One women commented when I asked whether they get any profit from selling fried fish. In each house I was passing by, there was a tray of fish for sell.

Activities outside the groups

Besides the activities mentioned above which are mainly done in groups, the women in all villages around the park engage themselves in processing activities in TANPESCA, a big private company. A reasonable number of women were seen working at this plant as an alternative for income generation.

TANPESCA is situated at the Kilindoni, the main town of Mafia. The plant was established five years a go aiming to process octopus, lobsters, prawns and squids. The company buys the octopus from different fishing villages but mainly from Jibondo and Juani villages. The women's groups have sold their products to this factory and women stand for a considerable amount of the production.

Table 20: Gender and kilos produced

I dole 20	Tuble 20: Gender and Knob produced							
Year	Women	Men	Kg processed	Value in Tshs				
1998	60	65	60,000	108,000,000				
1999	74	80	55,200	99,360,000				
2000	110	120	260.000	468,000,000				
2001	160	50	120,000	240,000,000				
Total	404	315	495, 200	1,015,360,000				

This table also shows an interesting find, and that is the fact that the number of women employed has been increasing enormously while the number of men varies. I did not go into these differences, but perhaps it can be related to the gender pattern that was very clear. In the processing section only women were seen washing and parking the prawns depending on different sizes and folding octopus ready for export market. Men were sitting alongside the processing line labelling and recording the number of boxes being parked by women. When I asked why the plant practised such a division of labour, the man in charge of processing and packing section said that the packing section needs an accurate count for each box. Women, he said, were seen to perform more honestly to this type of work than men. That is why during the high season we need quite a number of women in the processing job (see fig. 8).

Another difference also occurred during the interviews. Despite women's hard work, none of the women were permanently employed in this company. That was a privilege for men. Women did not have any leading jobs, nor were they involved in the planning process. The company also practised different wages for men and women and the wages were rather low according to the interviews made with women. "We are not permanently employed like our counterparts men may be we also receive lower salary than the men and they don't tell us what they earn per month". To me it seems as if this private company used women as cheap labour in their plants. The women were not unionised and thus had no training in collective actions of this kind.

Women also take up other economic activities. The most common is the sale of prepared food and processed agricultural products, such as the production of $togwa^{10}$ which is a soft drink prepared locally from millet flour and the extraction of coconut oil. It happens that they also engage in the cultivation of vegetables, cassava, rice, sweet potatoes and pumpkins and small-scale animal husbandry. They are equally interested in mat weaving, The other areas of employment are the sale of firewood, trade in clothes, and petty trading. A small minority work as civil servants in the administration. In most cases, the revenue generated by these activities gives the women financial autonomy.

Even if the fishing communities of Jibondo and Juani offer various activities to women, fishing remains the engine of the local economy. If the level of fishing increases because of capital support, training and support programmes, it is the whole community that will benefit, including the non-fishermen. It will provide a better distribution of income. In brief, dispositions should be taken to improve the economic wellbeing of the fishermen of the Juani and Jibondo communities.

Summary

The result of gender awareness in MIMP programme is obvious. Generally, the women in the Mafia villages came together on the basis of improving their living standard, and increasing their income. By means of access to training, micro credit and loans also from the government, they were occupied in different types of activities. In this way men were kept out of dynamite activities and thus the Park

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¹⁰ Soft drink prepared locally from millet

officers were also able to spread the conservation message. I will therefore say that through development and a change in livelihoods, conservation was practised.

5.3. Women's position in planning and decision-making

As noticed above, the projects at Mafia managed to mobilise women. This is different from what was seen in the Mbegani projects and in the surrounding villages. Let us therefore see how some of the group members looked upon women's involvement in the projects especially in planning and management. All the information given in the tables are collected from the field sources during the summer of 2001.

From the very beginning it seemed like women were involved. Table 21 shows that female officer either directly from the park or from the village focused on women's problem demands and interests as far as solutions were concerned. 22 out of 34 persons interviewed pointed out that it was the problems women faced that motivated them for group formation.

Table 21: Motivation for group formation

Motivation	Frequency	%
The community development officer asked about the	5	15
group members major demands		
The community development officer from the park asked	10	29
about the problems women faced in the group		
Women committee involved with park activities asked	7	21
what we think is best for improving village livelihood		
which will be supported by group work		
Gender officer from the Park asked about women's	12	35
problems and interest activities in the fisheries		
TOTAL	34	100

The questions and answers that the rest of the interviewed gave had a clearer focus on demands and solutions. These findings also indicate that the civil servant from the very beginning let the group members' own opinions be valued.

The next table shows that, women more than men were active in the project planning.

Table 22: Participation in the project planning

Participation in planning	Male	Female	Total	Frequency
YES	4	18	22	65
NO	8	4	12	35
TOTAL	12	22	34	100

These results indicate that the objectives of 30 % female representation in any meeting were reached.

I also learned from the interviews that two of the men that were involved in the planning process had positions as village chairperson or village executive officer.

Table 23: Reasons for not being involved in the planning of the group

RESPONSE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	PERCENT
Group leaders represented	4	16	20	59
Group/project favoured	6	-	6	18
women				
Not informed	2	6	8	23
Total	12	22	34	100

The study found out that, most of the group leaders in Jibondo and Juani were group members and it was agreed by the members through group meeting that, group leaders will represent the members by taking their ideas with them. For this reason 59% of the respondents who were group members and leaders supported the idea that they were represented. I also learned from observation that transport was a hindrance for each member to come up for the planning meeting. Jibondo and Juani are Islands far away from each other. The only transport is by boat and no public transport exists.

Table 24: Women being allowed to occupy key position in the group project work

Key positions	Male	Female	Total	Percent
YES	6	18	24	71
NO	6	4	10	29
Total	22	22	34	100

71% of the respondents from these two fishing villages agreed that women should occupy key position in the group. 18 women and six (6) men supported the idea by saying that women are hard working and trustful besides being busy with their traditional roles (table 24). Respondents who supported the idea that women should occupy the key positions were mainly women. However, some men also supported the idea, "Women are hard working and show responsibility the same way as they are in the household. This makes a change in a group. We have seen it," one man from Jibondo village said.

Six men and four women (29 %) of the total responses, said women should not be allowed to occupy the key position. I think that these ideas are related to traditional thoughts about women staying home to take care of their husbands and children. It could be due to the fact; men feel women can only be wives and mothers and should stay at home to take care of their families.

For the case of the women who said women should not occupy the key position in leadership, their opinions could be related to the fact that they are afraid of being divorced. Leadership needs time especially when they organise meeting. They women come home late. But all in all majorities of the respondents supported the idea that, women should occupy the key position in the project groups.

I was also interesting to get to know some of the reasons that the group members themselves gave, for not occupying the key positions

Table 25: Reasons for women not occupying key position in the group/community.

	Ji	bondo		Juani		
Reasons	Men	Female	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Cannot work without	2	1	1	2	6	18
men						
Busy with household	2	8	2	5	17	50
activities						
Out of group work	3	3	2	3	11	32
during pregnancy and						
nursing time						
Total	7	12	5	10	34	100

50% of respondents that are 13 women and four men said that women were hard working besides being busy with the household activities (table 25). 18% of the respondents who comprised of three men and three women said women work better when working with men. One could think that, the three men thought that, women always need men's help. The three women, who supported the idea that women can not work without men, can be among those women who do not trust themselves to work without men. On the other hand, six women and five men or 32% had the opinion that women have little time for group work for the fact of being mothers.

Table 26: Opinion on the performance of group members in the project group work

Jibondo			Juani			
Performance	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	Percent
They are hard	3	7	2	5	17	50
working						
Works better when	1	1	1	2	5	15
working with men						
Poor performance	1	-	-	-	1	3
Little time for the	2	4	2	3	11	32
group work						
Total	7	12	5	10	34	100

The study observed that, in these two villages women were considered as hard working and were not dependent on men, these were 17 respondents 12 women and five men together 50% agreed that women are hard working in their villages. 32% of

the respondents said that, women had little time for the project group work, but the general performance of women was good. Only one man (3%) said the performance of women was poor. This is very insignificant when compared to 50% and 32% who appreciate the contribution of women in many activities besides the home tasks they have to do (table 26).

Since women in the Coast region are heavily involved in housework I also had some questions on that topic

Table 27: The relation between household work and group work for women performance

Household relation	Jibondo	Juani	Total	Percent
Yes	12	11	23	68
No	7	4	1	32
Total	19	15	34	100

The results of the study table 27 indicate that household activities were to some degree affecting the participation of women in the group activities. 23 persons or 68% of the respondents who were mainly women, agreed that household activities, which includes childcare and cooking for the family were affecting the attendance and performance in their group work. Presence of the nursery schools has to some extent reduced the burden of childcare, the women from these two villages said.

Summary

The study found out that women at Jibondo and Juani villages participated in planning of the projects from the beginning. They organised their own group and appointed their leaders. Women were brought into a planning position as participants of groups and holders of certain jobs and positions aimed at assisting women.

The majority of women and men respondents from Jibondo and Juani villages support the idea that women should occupy key positions in their groups inspite of them being busy with family issues as they are hard working. "We are sure women will manage to be leaders if they are given the opportunity. We have experienced women's capability in the existing groups you visited", a group of five men from Juani village sitting together along the beach, said to me.

It was also found both in Jibondo and Juani that women had group saving accounts. They said that they kept the savings in the bank still planning how to use the money in order to benefit the project.

The MIMP programme also together and little by little women have been able to gain skills that help to improve their economic situation not only for the women themselves, but also of their families.

On the other hand I can say that the Mafia Marine Park managed to bring the women together and on the course women have been able to gain skills that have helped to improve their economic situation not only for the women but also of their families.

5.4. Participation and characteristics of women

As already mentioned, the women have participated in a very active way in the MIMP programme from the very beginning. This can be due to the clear objectives of the programme; women oriented staff and officers with the special task of supporting women. The severe problems that especially women are facing due to dynamite fishing and over-exploitation could also be a reason. Characteristics connected to the participants and their situation should also be taken into consideration. *Do they have another type of cultural and social background to the project compared with the participants at the mainland?*

I will in this part of the chapter highlight the same aspects as I did in the former chapter about the age, marital status, education, and working conditions. I will start with the age structure.

Table 28: Age-sex structure of Jibondo and Juani respondents

Age group	Male Fo	emale Tot	al Perc	ent
20-30	-	5	5	15
31-40	5	5	10	29
41-50	3	9	12	35
51-60	3	3	6	18
61-70 +	1	-	1	3
TOTAL	12	22	34	100

The first thing that struck me was that the project had cached participants that represented all age groups. As in the Mbegani area the age categories 31 - 50 were

the categories that included most participants. Five of the Mafia women were between 20 –30 years. This represented a big difference compared with the Bagamoyo area where people reported that the youngsters had gone to the city.

That means that Mafia in spite of difficult working conditions in the marine sector manages to let the young women staying. That could also be the case as far as the young men are concerned even if they are not represented in my material.

On the background of the age pattern, it is also interesting to look at the marital status of the participants.

Table 29: Marital status of the group members

Marital	Jibondo	Juani	Total	Percent
status				
Single	6	6	12	35
Married	11	8	19	56
Widow	2	1	3	9
Total	19	15	34	100

In table 29 we find that 15 of the respondents were single or widows, while 19 were married with no considerable difference among the villages. Most likely all participants were members of bigger families and thus important as breadwinners. That indicates as I also showed in the former part of the chapter that the need for income and food might be an important factor for both married, single and widows.

In the former chapter I also found educational level as important factor. It should also be looked into in the Mafia case.

Table 30: Education level of respondents in Jibondo and Juani villages

Level of education	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Secondary education	2	20	22	65
Primary education	6	-	6	18
Informal education	4	2	6	18
Total	12	22	34	100

20 women and two men that is 65% had secondary education and more, six had primary education and six informal education. I find these findings remarkable; especially that 20 of 22 women in a fishery society have such a high level of education (table 30). Probably the educational factor must also be taken into consideration when we want to understand the high degree of female participation in the groups from the very beginning.

With such a high level of education one could also expect a varied set of occupations among the participants. Table 31 show that most of the participants were involved in fishery. There was no difference between the villages. The group participants, both men and women, were found in regular fishing and octopus fishing. Only women were occupied with seaweed farming and fish trades, while only men were found to be net makers and boat builders. The pattern was the same in both villages.

Table 31: Major occupation of the respondents from the selected villages

	Jibondo		Juani			
Activity	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	Percent
Fishing	3	2	2	2	9	26
Boat making	2	-	-	1	3	9
Net making	-	-	1	-	1	3
Seaweed farming	-	5	-	4	9	26
Octopus fishing	2	3	2	3	10	30
Trading	-	2	-	-	2	6
Total	7	12	5	10	34	100

By observing I noticed that, the women went to the neighbouring villages to sell the fish. In addition to this type of work they also took care of the family, had the responsibility for child bearing and cooking in the family for the family members. I found that the tasks for women put more pressure on women since they had to combine their traditional roles as mothers and wives with their role in the group work. Also the study observed that like in Jibondo while women were busy queuing for water ration from the village reserve tank collectors, men were just sitting at the house veranda drinking coffee and waiting for the women to return home and ask whether the food was ready.

The observations were also supported by the answers in the questionnaire. Child care and cooking are considered as women's tasks in the household.

Table 32: Women's role in the household

Women's household	Jibondo		Juani				
roles							
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	Percent	
Childbearing	1	2	1	-	4	12	
Childcare	3	5	1	7	16	47	
Cooking	2	3	3	2	10	29	
House cleaning	1	2		1	4	12	
Total	7	12	5	10	34	100	

The study found that, the women households' role in the two villages in Mafia does not differ with the role of women in the two villages in Bagamoyo. Caring of children was an important task to women in all villages studied. One could reflect with their biology and nature of being mothers thus they have to give children the first priority. Cooking for the family is essential role women have as mothers for the health and survival of their families. It was ranked second with 47% and 29% respectively (table 32). Besides these traditional women were to participate in-group work in all villages.

These results indicate that the women also at Mafia have a "Triple burden" by observing, men seem to have more time to rest. It is therefore very interesting to look at the answers that my respondents gave me concerning men's role in the household

Table 33: Men's role in the household

	Jibo	ondo	Juani			
Men's role	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	%
Head of the household	3	6	2	5	16	47
Bring money home	2	2	1	2	7	21
Village security	2	4	2	3	11	32
Total	7	12	5	10	34	100

According to table 33, four men and seven women considered security to be a male domain. Five men and 11 women looked upon men as head of the households. I was, however, a little surprised because of this fact, since women in these villages through various groups, participate in income generating activities and were able to

provide money for the family upkeep. Normally provision of money in many households is the role of men.

The findings show that men and only two women seem to keep up the idea that men are the breadwinners. These answers are interesting because they indicate that being a breadwinner is not the same as being the head of the household.

This can be due to the fact that men always demand to be identified as head of the household regardless of their financial obligation to the family. In the meantime women seem to continue their work in the group projects activities and bring money home.

Summary

The study observed that, women in these villages' were not dependent on men Women in Jibondo and Juani were active in various activities besides fish processing and seaweed farming. Men identified them as hard working and deserve to be leaders in their projects group because of their capabilities. In both two villages men and women said that, men were the heads of the household, even if that they were not contributing much in households. Men were recognised as head of household by 47% of the respondents (table 33). This didn't affect women as they were still working ingroups and financed the family when their men were unable to meet the needs.

It was also found in the study that in Jibondo and Juani women participated in planning as they were empowered from the beginning when MIMP was initiated in participatory meeting in the late 1990s. This was different from the villages surrounding the Bagamoyo area.

Conclusion

In the beginning of the chapter I asked whether MMP bring resource to women, the study found out that, MIMP was directly involved in the activities of women from the villages surrounding the park and those, which were not, by delivering conservation message. Both the gender officer and the, women who worked as a VLO, were concerned with generating alternative activities to women to reach the objective of MIMP. This made women to participate and become empowered not only on conservation but planning other relevant activities for the sustainability of the park.

It was also observed from the study that women and men from Jibondo and Juani were committed to group activities and this enabled existence of the projects, and women occupying the key and leadership position in the group project work. Also it was observed that, women from these two villages, engaged themselves in various alternative income generating activities. They had group meetings with the gender officer from the park to decide the type of activities to conserve the biodirvesity. "We are living on the Island. We do not have much to depend on .We take care of the existing small land and water for our children by organising activities which do not harm the environment", the Chairperson from a seaweed farming group said.

It was also learnt from Jibondo and Juani that, men from these villages accepted that, fishing of octopus should be left to women, as they were actively involved in it, and deliver income home to subsidize the family budget. In this way the men knew that as soon as women catch octopus and sold it to the buyer company Tanpesca¹¹, the family is fed.

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¹¹ Tanzania fish company

6. 0 Comparing the projects: Discussion and analytical appraisal

In this chapter, I will analyse the findings from the three fisheries projects for the purpose of answering my main research questions:

"What is the position of women in fisheries plans and projects and does a female representation and participation in plans and projects empower women?"

I will first turn to the question of female representation and participation in the planning and implementation of the projects. In doing so, I will mainly draw on the discussions in the summaries of the three foregoing chapters, but also fill in with my other findings. Then I will compare the women's participation and female orientation in the projects and also relate to some of the literature mentioned earlier. At the end of the chapter I will also try to turn to the discussion about women and empowerment.

6.1 Female orientation and women's and men's participation in projects

It could be easy to say that, the main findings from my study are that, the participation in project planning is low and the female orientation is lacking. However, there are great differences between the projects.

At Mbegani FDC I observed that very few women have been teachers and students during all the years the centre has existed. However, the last few years the proportion of women has increased because the total number of students has decreased. There has with one exception been a woman that acted as head of department and thus as a leader. Focus on gender questions seems also to be lacking in the curriculum and study plans.

Also at Mbegani FDC I observed that, since the women at the Mbegani FDC were not involved in leaderships' position, they did not participate in planning and decision making, even though they had post graduate education like male colleagues.

For me it was interesting to see that the situation today compared with the situation in 1986 had hardly changed. There are today no women with development skills employed at the centre even if different consultants like Swantz, (1986) and Gerrard in 1988 suggested that more women should enter Mbegani both as staffs and

students. Swantz recommended that two women should be employed in the development department. One of them could have the responsibility towards the centre and the other one towards the external development work. It was argued that women's important roles in the fishery sector should be recognised. More emphasis on women's development could also lead to a more equal situation between women and men.

Looking at the neighbourhood villages of Mbegani I found that, women are participating in projects even today in the same way as they did in 1986 when women group were organised by means from NORAD and under the supervision of teachers at Mbegani among them Mwajuma Masaiganah. Today, however, there is one group consisting of only women and the other group is a mixed group of men and women. In these groups both men and women participate in the implementation of the projects group work as "workers". By working in their groups in this way they effectuate the idea of the project by learning and doing certain tasks. Today the groups' activities have resulted in income generating activities.

In these villages it was the district fisheries office who took the initiative to start the groups. Some of the Mbegani teachers, among them women from the processing department assisted in the teaching and helped supplying with nets and processing materials. In these villages a civil servant was active.

The MIMP project at Mafia Island is very different. Here women have to a certain degree been integrated in the project from the level of planning to the implementation level. A female orientation was a part of the project statement. It was stated that a female project worker was employed especially to secure the objective to make projects that suit women. Civil servants were also engaged in the villages in order to mobilise and adapt the projects to women's needs. In this way I will say that the Mafia project had a structure that tried to adapt to women's need. It was even decided that the village committees should have a certain percentage of women present 25% to 30%. By observing the activities I also got the impression that women were more active and easier to mobilise in the projects compared with men, majority of the groups comprised women. Women's engagement thus resulted in very interesting results:

1. The most "tangible" and direct benefit result from the action projects was in terms of the income generating activities accorded to the women beneficiaries. The women from Jibondo and Juani were able to undertake a number of fisheries

- activities and contribute to their family income from the profits yielded out of their group activities.
- 2. The beneficiaries developed and thus acquired skills, particularly in the area of fish preservation/processing, buying and selling.
- 3. Additionally, women from these villages obtained through formal means (e.g. by way of the planning workshops and training programmes) and informal means (e.g. through interaction with the Mbegani FCD and MIMP project insights on processing, farming in the ocean, fishing techniques education and fund-raising activities.
- 4. The target women yielded some influence on the other women groups from other villages who directly benefited from the projects.
- 5. The participating groups of women, having gained a better socio-economic status, found it easier to share their own experiences and learning's with the rest of the women and men. They thus motivated others to participate in the group activities particularly the men.

Based on these finding I will therefore say that there are some similarities and some differences between the projects dependent on the project. Some of the common traits, especially for the projects in the villages, were the emphasis on technology, material, training and supervision.

On the other hand findings confirm that, two of the projects are biased towards men. The involvement of women in planning, programming and leadership is very limited. Women are virtually non-existent in this respect. In relation to this, the study found that the situation of women is worse when compared to the contribution they play in the sector. Bagachwa *etal*, (1994), Gerrard, (1988), Swantz, (1986). The Mafia project was different. Here women were involved in the planning and had a place in the whole structure of the project. It seems to fulfil the ideas of my findings. Moser, (1993: 2-3) argues that, development strategies require an entirely new way of thinking in which the stereotyping of women and men no longer limits their choices, but gives way to a new philosophy that regards all people as essential agents of change. Providing equal rights and equal access to resources and opportunities to women, gender equality becomes an essential aspect of human development.

6.2 Why these differences?

How can we explain such differences? As far as Mbegani FDC is concerned it looks like it is hard to changes a structure that is so male-dominated. There has been very few changes as far as gender is concerned in the more than 20 years that the centre has existed. The women both as staff and student have been a minority compared to the men. These are also characteristics that colour the neighbouring villages of Mbegani, women here who are the local civil servants have taken the initiative to new projects.

The MIMP project represents a great contrast compared to these two other projects. From the very beginning women were included in the project thinking with staff and certain demands for representation in committees and boards. The ideology and structure of planning MIMP involved gender/ community from the initiation of the park. Women being the community members participated in the planning meeting initiated in each village. Looking at the organisation structure of MIMP, the actual number is not so big, when compared to that at Mbegani FDC, but interesting is that even if women are not many in number, it looks like they are using their position well to favour women. This means that, women to be included from the very beginning of a project, is important.

Also the difference can be explained in terms of the seriousness of the dynamiting problem in Mafia. The dynamiting fishing which was rampant in the 1980s, could resulted in zero landings by the year 1997 and cause serious damages of the coral reefs. (MMIP, 2000; Anderson, 1995). To overcome the effects, immediate intervention were required to safe guard the biodivesity in the area. This was possible through joint effort of the government and communities. Representation from institutions at national and local levels participated in planning various strategies that ended up in the establishment of Marine Park.

Another interesting difference I came across is the education level of the respondents I interviewed in the two villages in Mafia. The results showed that, the majority of the women had attended primary education. Even if the educated women are over- represented in my study at least we know they are present and use their skills and ability in the group. Access to education is one of the primary indicators of women's status in a given society, and therefore, is the root of women's emancipation.

To me it seemed education was an important component for people to participate in planning and other activities. This could also be a reason for many women and some men form Jibondo and Juani to participate in planning process of their projects in their vicinities in Mafia.

6.3 The projects and WID, GAD and WED perspective

My study is also interesting as far as the discussion of the WID, GAD and WED perspective is concerned. I will say that in the case of the Mbegani FDC the WID strategies were carried out after years where men had favoured one tried with a lot of influence from outside to focus more on women. The consequences at Mbegani FDC were rather meagre. However, the efforts towards the neighbouring village were more successful at least for a period. When the projects restarted in the last part of 1990s I will say that GAD strategy was implemented since men also were involved. The projects at Mafia can be said to follow both GAD and WED perception. The MIMP project had environment as the most important concern. The projects were open for both men and women. It was however taken special precautions to involve women

6.4 Women and empowerment

According to Afshar, (1998) the new way of living of women needs and socioeconomic structures and their involvement in various development activities have focused different ideologies to change to favour participation that was previously lacking. New strategies to eliminate subordination of women were brought forward, empowerment was seen as an important tool. Empowerment seeks to empower women, it includes building a self-positive image, and self-confidence; developing ability to think critically; building up group cohesion, organisation and fostering decision making and action. (Young, 1988, 1987)

Project participation and a feeling of living a "modern life"

In the three projects studied, it was observed that, MIMP through its strategies of developing alternative income generating activities to women managed to empower them. Involvement of women in decision-making process in the MIMP is gradually increasing, although the situation could be improved. For example, in the fishing

communities near the park the study found out that, several groups were formed by women own initiatives or through MIMIP staff.

Also it was learned from the women groups that they consider themselves to live a "Modern life," because of the establishment of the marine park. The gender officers and some MIMP staffs working with the community development section took initiatives to organise groups where many women became leaders of different projects. "In fact we have changed both in life status and confidence. The Marine Park came with the idea of involving women, some of the women said. The Modern life Marine Park empower women to be resource owners and decision makers in some of the activities, a senior warden community said.

On the other hand, the position of women at MFDC and in the two villages surrounding the centre was not promising as none-of the women at the centre was permanently involved in the formal planning, since they didn't have leadership positions. One could think that, the parameters of empowerment were lacking. The actual situation in leadership and confidence looked the same to the two coastal villages. During the ten days I spent in Bagamoyo I was able to meet only two registered women groups engaged in fisheries related activities, which were directly or indirectly related to MFDC. When I asked the reason for this, most women said, fisheries activities need training but they have not received any. They have given up on getting any assistance.

Thus, the projects in the Bagamoyo area showed the opposite where it was observed that, in Mafia you could find many women groups of which I managed to interview seven. At the same time women had democratic working practices with MIMP management by planning together activities related to conservation of income generation. As I have pointed before that, the example of Jibondo and Juani villages in MIMP project show that women and some men participated in an early stage of MIMP initiation (MIMP, 2000; Scherl, 1995.) the same is the case today. Also it was observed that, initial involvement of women in planning of their groups enabled them to plan different activities of income generation related to conservation (seaweed farming) particularly in Jibondo as its a rocky village (Mulyila, 2001).

As mentioned earlier, it also seems like Mafia was the only area of the three projects with WED perspective. It was quite obvious that the idea of engaging women because of crises in "the future" was an important factor for sustainability of the programme.

The empowerment and group participation

It was also observed that participation in planning of the group projects at Mafia not only stimulated women's involvement in organising projects in these villages, but also encouraged them to participate fully in their group activities. According to Moser, (1993: 102) participation is an important mechanism to 'overcome apathy' and 'lack of confidence' and makes women more visible in the communities. Besides this, it enables women to come out of their houses and show self help solutions and this may raise awareness that women can play an important role in solving the problems within the groups and in the households. Thus participation is meaningful when it ends in a development process. (Moser, 1993, 1989). The study observed this situation in the villages studied both in Bagamoyo and Mafia districts. Even though women in the Bagamoyo area projects did not participate in the planning, but only in the project itself, women came out of their "houses" where they usually stayed. Now they participated in public spaces.

The Mafia example also showed that men entered the groups because of women's success. In Kifinge, another village at Mafia Island, the men decided to join together for farming activities. "We are motivated from our wives and we formed a farming group to be recognised as fishing brings little returns". In this way women did not only participate themselves, but encouraged men to participate (see fig. 9). This is in line with Young (1993) who emphasises participation of both men and women in planning and decision making. Young states that the increased awareness of women and men of their rights and knowledge of planning system empowers them by developing their capacity to assess critically their roles and, interpret the meaning of their rights and participate more fully in activities (Young, 1993). This might be the case of some of the groups.

Talking about empowerment, it is also important to understand the importance of the organisation of the group. Young (1997, 1993) argues that, women become empowered through collective reflection and decision making. It was observed from the study survey that, group formation has indeed increased in relation to MIMP establishment. It has been easy for the MIMP to reach the women as they are ingroups and the identified groups work directly with the gender officer from the park.

The existence in the villages of representative to MIMP management, the Village Liaison Officers (VLOs) (park committees), has been an important forum for sharing information among group members. Also the interaction of the gender officer

with women groups reveal that, Mafia Marine Park project has effectively bridged the gap between the traditional male bias in the fisheries activities. Also it was found out that the provision of service like fisheries training and the reduction of illiteracy in various aspects also provided to the group members. Group members meant also knowledge sharing among one another is one of the important benefits of group membership; this includes access to credit groups that were involved and saving by rotation system (upato).

I will therefore say that the Mafia projects seem to have adopted mainstream theory and practice about women in development. In Mbegani and the surrounding villages there is little emphasis on group activities that would reflect empowerment to women in the same way as in the Mafia projects.

Empowerment and leadership

Another benefit identified was the increased confidence and decision-making ability of women group members particularly in Mafia projects. The capabilities and leadership role for women in the villages in Mafia increased. Today clear examples can be cited for increasing women's participation in management in the two villages. Increased women's self-confidence, awareness and their levels have even actively made women participate in male dominated activities in the villages like fishing octopus. The situation improved gradually as the women gained self-confidence after participating in training courses, workshops, and study tours and seeing the results of their activities.

Women learn good communication and interpersonal skills, the ability to listen and relate to others, and become capable of working in self-managing teams. All these qualities tend to favour women to become managers of many development programmes. Women are now engaging in planning, monitoring and evaluation activities and they are apparently actively participating in the formulation of a fisheries management agreement within their group projects.

Empowerment and community participation

This empowerment of group members has had an effect on the community as a whole with signs of increased civic involvement of group members and their ability to take on leadership roles for other community work. As a result of group membership women gain confidence and respect inside and outside the home. "They

are more mobile, and do not just stay at home" the gender officer said. Women's involvement with groups has also increased their ability to speak in meetings and to authority figures. Women have become more articulated in speaking at in-group meetings and in public arenas. Women's mobility has increased and their husbands accommodate their mobility.

Empowerment and the importance of training

In Mafia Island Marine Park the management sometimes organised seminars with a focus on women like the training of the seaweed farming, hand craft maker etc (MIMP, 2000). Many group members mentioned that before being a member of the group they were shy and never spoke in a group of people. Now, they even feel confident enough to speak to foreign people. A response from one male group member is also included in this category as he claim that the project had encouraged him to become a leader in his community as a whole. All in all most group members who are involved in other community work say that the training and experience they have gained by working in their groups has helped them with other types of work. They are no longer afraid of taking leadership positions on other committees in their community. I will say that such confidence in their own leadership, organisational and decision making capabilities gained through project initiative has empowered them to a stronger desire for action. These can therefore be said to be important building blocks for fisheries development.

Empowerment and increase of assets

The accumulation of assets and cash resources is also a source of empowerment for group members. One group member said that before becoming part of women's group, members had few resources as individuals but they were hidden. Being part of a group has mobilised these resources to become very productive. She said that being in a group has helped them realise what hidden talents they already had.

Pooled resources of groups are especially important to group members for use in times of crisis. These pooled resources constitute savings, which have been mobilised during a time of hyperinflation, which illustrate the importance of the savings. Women groups have been able to open saving accounts. The example in Jibondo village show that the octopus and seaweed-farming group managed to have a

group account due to the efforts made by the Marine Park Project. Access to cash for hospital, school fees was an important benefit of group membership mentioned by group members. Also some of the group savings are kept outside of the formal banking system and are often relent to group members to finance emergency and other expenses. The informal village banking is meeting critical needs of the group members and promoting local level transactions and development. The economic changes occurring in the country could make these savings increasingly important in obtaining services for groups in the future.

Empowerment and ecological conservation (WED)

In MIMP there has been an attempt to link women's concerns at the local level, and national level (refer organisation structure). From the very beginning the objective of MIMP has been to develop a sustainable way of living so that the resources can be conserved and not exploited. The gender officer from the park and other staffs from community development section have been involved in training women groups in the alternative activities that consist both income generation and trying to conserve the nature. Women in the surrounding villages, side from being active in all productive sectors, now participate in nature conservation activities. The MIMP social and conservation structure depends heavily on women's participation. There are many women's groups including the seaweed farming which has been active in ecological conservation, in addition to being source of income to many households and overcome family budget constraints. In this way the WED strategies were successful.

Empowerment and planning

The programme of Marine Park has managed to some extent to empower women. MIMP has shown a positive example, women in the two villages' revel to participate in planning in of the group projects. Participation in planning empowers women. Moser, (1993) argues that participation of women in planning may result into control of their resources. I can say this has been the case in the two villages surrounding MIMP, women today are planning alternative activities, which indirectly enhance biodiversity conservation.

Summary

Empowerment can illustrate and give access to different opportunities for women and men in the development of the fisheries sector. It can provide a conceptual rationale for the promotion of women's equal participation in the planning for projects and the development of the sector. Also it can identify modalities for strengthening the role of women and their competence so that they can be recognised in fisheries policy. In this way women's needs can be recognised and be reflected so that both women and men can participate at all project levels: from initiation to implementation and evaluation.

Conclusion: Organisation matters

I will start by saying that all my findings show that "organisation matters." That means the social aspects of the three projects are important factors in understanding the success of the projects. First of all, my findings show that women have varied participation in the three projects. In Mbegani FDC the female position is not well defined as to some extent in the late 1980s the centre followed the GAD perspective after awareness of the importance of involving women in the fisheries sector. Today, it seems the situation is slow for women involvement in planning and leadership position. I can say that at the centre the question of empowering women to take leadership roles, is not a priority, this reflects in the two neighbouring villages studied.

On the other hand in Mafia, the attempt to understand the importance of women in alternative activities is in line with GAD and WED perspectives. Women are involved in various decision making position and occupy or take the leadership position at all levels. The gender expert and extension workers at the park plan with women in various activities. This empowers them to take the lead in their households, to become leaders in various group projects and thus changing the community livelihood to a better status. Men are also empowered in this perspective and they support women initiatives by working with them, some forms separate group projects.

7.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

There are many aspects related to women and fisheries projects and plans, encountered by this study. The most important finding is that participation of women in the planning process ensures a gender orientation from the very beginning of a project. This is true even if the number of women is not so great.

I also found that when women participate they could be active partners in defining their own aims and means. In this way they also seem to be active in the decision making and in gaining confidence from both men and women. If these parameters are present, they have positive effects not only on women, but also indirectly on men and the whole sector of fisheries.

On the basis on my findings and explanations presented in the previous chapters, I will therefore suggest following recommendations:

- 1) It is important that women get empowered. At the same time men must try to be more conscious about women's roles in fishery. One strategy can therefore be to suggest for the policy-makers and public officers to consider a developmental approach /strategy where women participate in the planning process from the beginning. The emphasis on women and planning from the very beginning means that the notion of "We are planning for women" must change to the notion of "We are planning with women. " In this way at least my findings showed that such a participation enables women as project beneficiaries in the way that they feel they own the projects as such and therefore might lead to the success of implementation.
- 2) Together with the idea of a female or gender centred, men should be informed in the planning and decision making stage about the aims and objectives of the projects. In this way they might also get to know the project and enable men to support women if necessary. Even in women's project men get a chance to be participants in a "participatory planning process".

A "participatory planning process" is central both women's and men's empowerment. Both women and men have to be informed and consulted. Even if the

projects focus on women the chances for success is greater if there is a close link between projects, plans and women /men to facilitate sustainable projects in their vicinity. When both women and men are involved in the planning process it directly influence participation and empowerment in performing activities in their groups. When women and men are involved in the planning they can be involved in deciding upon the different means and aims of the projects. Then the relation between men and women's difficulties can be looked upon.

- 3) It is also important that policy makers and planners strive to look upon women's income generating work in relation to their responsibilities in their household and in society as a whole. In this way, women might also receive a fair evaluation of their contribution to the economy. Training is an important means to succeed here. Capacity building in many aspects reduces the notion of women as homemakers and opens the spheres for women to take leadership roles.
- 4) I would also recommend changes in the policies by putting more emphasis on women's needs and women's problems. The policies thus must be directed to create awareness about female participation on all levels. This should be done both in the industrial policies of fishery, the development policy as well as in the general policy of the country. This means that women must have a place in the planning of the projects as well as in the political life at all levels. However, the fishery politics represent a field or a sector with a great potential. Women should therefore become more central in development plans for fisheries policy.
- 5) On the basis of my findings I would also suggest that a follow on the group activities that have already started is crucial for the development of the industry. It is important that the activities might get a chance to continue over a longer time. The efforts at Mbegani FDC lasted for a too short period to have success. The same can be said about the women groups in other fishing villages, or in other government development projects like in Bagamoyo and Mlingotini. The efforts in Jibondo, Juani and the other Mafia villages should be continued.
- 6) To achieve a sustainable industry and an empowering participation takes time. Therefore the central agencies on the government level should create a new

programme to follow up on the women's activities. It has been learned that women groups can put pressure on the community and government to address issues of their involvement in planning and decision making. Thus a need arises of creating functional groups especially for women with different kinds of support. Such women groups should be empowered both by the government and fisheries programmes, by training so that they can add skills including techniques of project planning.

- 7) I also consider emphasis on training as very crucial. Here the central government institutions have a heavy responsibility on their shoulders. Upgrading of the women personnel in the fisheries is needed and to make them able to plan and include men and women in planning processes in accordance with the changes in the industry. This is especially important since to day's fishery needs a flexible and efficient structures. The government and programmes interested in fisheries activities must actively support also re training.
- 8) I would also recommend more women engaged as gender experts and extension workers to promote active participation of women in the projects and fishing villages. It is important to promote awareness-raising campaigns involving men at home and local communities and to establish a partnership under which men and women, regardless of sex, can take part in the decision-making process. A gender officer should always be present to facilitate gender awareness and implement group activities beyond fishing. This includes, farming in the ocean, agriculture, handcraft and trading activities
- 9) The findings from Mafia show that active participation of the women at all levels of the organisation is important also for the empowerment of women. To value women's involvement, there is a need to understand their contributions, problems encountered, understand the basic issues and formulate better strategies to attain full participation in the development of the fisheries sector. This will change and help to improve the lives of women in the fishing coastal communities of Tanzania.
- 10) Promotion of leadership is therefore another important recommendation. In the MIMP programme women constituted 17 % the total of the staff in 2001 when this study took place and one was a leader in gender issues. In this way the spectre of

women's roles are widened and they might become key persons in sustainable development. If women are included in the leadership position, the experience will empower them by improving confidence, independence and status.

- 11) Women can also contribute to sustainability. When women have access to resources they might play an important role in conservation. Women in the fishing communities should therefore be mobilised to look specifically at women's needs and potentials, as alternative activities to achieve sustainability of the fishery resources. It demands motivation, active involvement and organisation of women and men who are the ultimate beneficiaries of programmes. By doing this women and men participate in determining their needs and priorities and contribute to sustainability of actions and initiatives. In the MIMP programme there are positive examples of women's participation in decision making for sustainable conservation activities. Participation of both men and women in sustainable development policy making brings a higher quality to planning and an important sense of ownership to projects. (Moser, 1993).
- 12) Finally, I therefore suggest that the MIMP programme at Mafia could be a model for other projects. The MIMP programme has proactive approaches in incorporating gender concerns. This includes the existence of women from the management level (headquarter), the Marine Park and Reserve Unit, in Dar es Saalam and down to the field staff. There were also women working as VLOS to the park committees in the villages. This resulted in many groups where women were involved.

I would therefore say that the MIMP example demonstrates that, it is not enough for the women to organise themselves. They must be empowered to do so. I would therefore recommend more programmes that follow the examples at Mafia and even add more women to participate in the political and management structures. I am quite sure that this will lead to a more sustainable fishery where the local population and especially women not only gain a way of sustainable living, but where they also create a more viable life for both themselves and their children.

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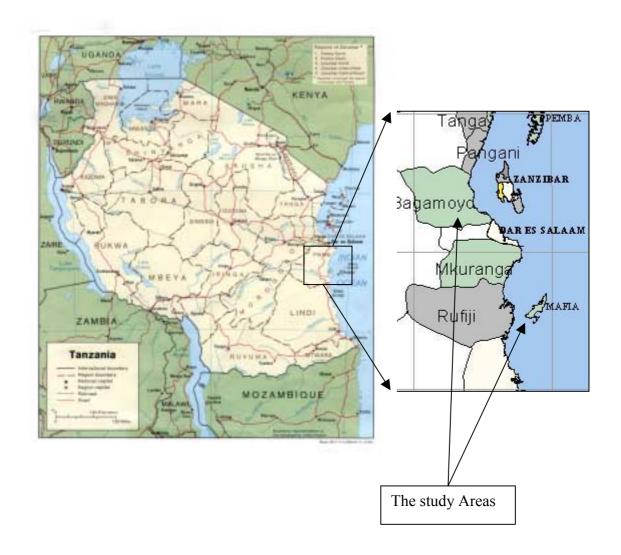
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TYPE I

Questionnaire asked to women and men at the fishing villages:

Gender,

Age

Marital status (included number of wives?)

Ethnic belonging

Number of children

Major occupation

Income per year

Education level / experience

Working days per week

- 1. What is the major demand of this household, national, area?
- 2. What did you do yesterday? Does workload vary with season? YES/NO
- 3. What roles do men play (in ranking order): fishing trade, farming/ agriculture, net making, net mending.
- 4. What roles do women play: example, childcare, childbearing, trade, farming/agriculture, processing and other more.
- 5. What do young women, middle age and old women do?

Do you do the work together with your husband, children, other relatives, neighbours or friends YES $^{\prime}$ NO

- 6. Beliefs forbidden men/women at your place to perform certain roles, traditional patterns, skills and interest taken into account into various activities for women, customs /habit restrict women beyond household/ social constraints?
- 7.Mention activities of women, which supports men, and activities of which women are engaged directly, mention them
- 8. Do you have special group/ association for the fishery? Are these groups useful? In what ways, mention some.
- 9. Who are leaders of the project groups in your village? Men/ women

TYPE II

Mbegani FDC Questionnaire

- 10. Who are the leaders of the project/ institute activity at your work place? Men/women?
- 11. Are you involved in planning of the project /institute activities?
- 12. Are you involved in decision making of the project /institute activities?
- 13. Have you had been a leader? Which position?
- 14. Are they're any women holding position of leadership at your work place?
- 15. What were the criteria used in selecting leaders; Education, Vote, Voluntary
- 16. Were you satisfied with the criteria used. Yes/ No, Give reason on your answers, which Criteria you think could have used.
- 17. Do women ever assume leadership roles? YES- which roles NO -why
- 18. In your opinion should women be allowed to occupy key position in the project/ Institution? YES give reasons: NO- why
- 19 .Are they're any institute structures that permit women to express/ encourage them to perform various roles? Which ones?
- 20 .How do you assess the performance of women in key position in fisheries/fisheries projects.
- 21. Do you think women involvement in planning and decision-making in the fisheries activities and projects should be encouraged?
- 22. What do you think is the major contribution of women in the development of fisheries projects and other related fisheries activities?
- 23. Do you consider/have gender balance room when planning for institute activities
- 24. What problems do you encounter for being gender blind when planning for institute activities.
- 25. Do you have examples of activity planned to favour both men and women in your institute? Mention them.
- 26. In your opinion do you think there is any importance of involving women directly during planning of institute activities?
- 27. Have women been actively involved in actively planning and in setting activities priorities?
- 28. Are there any ongoing institutes' strategies of valuing gender involvement for economic and social development? Mention economic strategies, Social strategies.
- 29. Do you have any monitoring mechanism set up within planning committee of your institute to ensure gender balance?
- 30. What steps have you taken to ensure possible gender representation when planning for activities within institutes?

TYPE III

MIMP Questionnaire

- 31. Are there any community's structures those permit women to express their opinion or encourage Marine Park Unit and Mafia administration?
- 32. How do you access the performance of women in key position in fisheries / marine parks activities.
- 33. Do you think women involvement in planning and decision making in the fisheries / marine park activities should be encouraged?
- 34. What do you think is their major contribution of women in the development of marine parks and other related fisheries activities?
- 36 Do you consider / have gender balance room when planning for marine parks and reserves activities? Do you have examples of activity planned to favour both men and women?
- 35. What problems do you encounter for being gender blind when planning marine parks activities
- 36. In your opinion do you think there is any importance of involving women directly during planning of marine parks and reserves activities?
- 37. Have women been actively involved in activity planning and in setting activities priorities?
- 38. Is there any ongoing National / unit strategies of valuing gender involvement for economic and social development: Mention economic strategies; Social strategies
- 39. Do you have any monitoring mechanism set up within planning committee to ensure gender balance?
- 40. What steps have you taken to ensure possible gender representation when planning for activities within Marine Park unit?