

WOMEN, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE:
CHALLENGES OF FISHERIES DEVELOPMENT ¹

Siri Gerrard

1. INTRODUCTION: FISHERIES AS A RESEARCH INTEREST

1.1. The complexity and challenges of the field

Fisheries as an economic basis for life seem to have an overwhelming impact on peoples institutions, lives, values, priorities and symbols.

Right now the fishery population in several societies both in the Northern and the Southern hemisphere are meeting tremendous challenges. Politicians, experts, beauraucrats and some inhabitants describe the situation of today as a situation of crisis or a situation of "many problems". In many cases researchers will say that these problems are problems of the pherifery or problems of areas of development. The challenges can be related to different problems: resource problems, technological problems, markedproblems, recruitment problems, problems of knowledge and education, problems of lack of local influence etc.

¹ This paper has to be seen in relation to 17 years of work with research in the fields of fisheries. I will also mention that I have been inspired by talks with members of the World Council of Churches, a NORAD delegation of fishermen and administrators and scientists on fishery questions mainly from the 3rd world (Members of International Collective in support of Fishworkers, ICFS), and with fishery workers, fishermen, fishermen's wives, among them women active in the improvement of the fishermen's and fisheryfamilies' conditions in Finnmark County, Norway and Tarime County, Tanzania. I

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Another trait of the situation is that some of the problems have been reported for a long time, while others are more current problems. When I for example first started to do research in Finnmark, the different activities of the Finnmark fisheries were expanding. The industrial plants faced recruitment problems. The fishermen from the Northern Norway complained about the trawlers and the overfishing of caplin by boats owned by fishermen from the Southern part of Norway.

The fishery population in the North fought at the same time, also a hard fight to avoid membership of the European Community because they felt that the fishery resources were threatened. Such events followed a scientific and political debate of what kind of societies which represented good ways of living (Brox 1966). Brox based his reflections and analysis on his experience from small communities based on both fishing and agriculture in combination.

As a student of the early 70-ies I therefore wanted to find a "successful" community as my basis for my studies. This could give me the chance to study "ways to success" in the fisheries.

As the time went on, the analysis and my own knowledge and the interpretation of the social and cultural phenomena was elaborated. My interest changed from focusing on "success" to focus more on process and the constant changes.

I obtained a deeper understanding of the complexity of the local culture, the social organization, the local politics and the changing role of men and women.

My main method was participant observation. Thus I also developed deeper friendships and social relations to the inhabitants.

The scientific analysis and the daily life were intertwined. I therefore identify with Kirsten Hastrup's way of expressing

when she writes:

"The fieldwork is a process where the ethnographer all the time is in a position of being created. This can remind us of a relationship of Love with seduction, devotedness and change."

The change is so basic that it is difficult to understand how the lovers have had their own identities. These metaphors: Seduction (from the language of Love) and being created (from the religious language) point out that we are not speaking about a historical concept. The reality described by fieldworker thus is a changing reality which sometimes corresponds with the inhabitants, politicians and other writers, sometimes however the reality differs. (Hastrup 1988).

During this time, I also understood more clearly that I did not only describe and analyze local communities, but fishery communities.

1.2. Fishery as a basis for an analytical interest

Fisheries as a field of studying have experienced to give scientific output by giving an empirical context to general theories, models and concepts (Firth, 1952, Barth, 1966, Dahl Jacobsen 1964, Brox, 1972, Wadel 1974).

In Norway the foundation to a "Sociology of the Fisheries" was created during the 1970-ies and 1980-ies: Gerrard, 1975 og 1983, 1986, Hallenstvedt 1980, Mikalsen og Sagdahl 1981, Jentoft 1981 1987, Hersoug 1983, 1987, Wadel and Jentoft 1984, Jentoft and Mikalsen 1987.

Several of these contributions have concentrated on the fishermen's challenges, of formal organizations and problems of fishery politics.

Today we therefore have a situation where Norwegian fishery oriented research mainly has its bases in the formal aspects of organized life while the informal aspects are lacking in spite of their significance of people's lives.

There are however exceptions. Gerrard 1975 and 88, Wadel and Jentoft 1983, Kristensen 1986 ^{Hollahl 1986} can be mentioned as examples of some of these exceptions.

Wadel's and Jentoft's system of employment are well known for Norwegian academic students. My own concepts and theories about the women as coordinators and key-persons of the small scale local fisheries and the fisheries work activities as a way of life, have been inspired by the studies of life and work in smaller fishing willage.

The concepts and theories developed and used in the Norwegian fishery research of today thus mainly are created by means of data from Norwegian cultural settings, and we can therefore ask whether the concepts and theories can be fruitful in other cultural contexts. Kalland (1986) and Beyer Broch (1986) have focused on the fishery culture in other contexts. A relevant question is whether a comparative perspective can widen the theoretical possibilities and bring us a step further in searching for general traits. My argument for a comparative perspective is that fishery as a cultural frame creates both similarities and differences as far as men's and women's situation and conditions are concerned. I therefore find it interesting to try to use this opportunity to reveal some of similarities and differences and to see whether comparison can be an interesting, but another type of approach than dealing with one society only.

1.3. A cultural and comparative approach

My aim by writing this article is thus doublesided. On the one hand I want to reveal some cultural and unformal organizational aspects of today's challenges of the

fisheries, especially related to the women's roles. On the other hand, I want to search for some general traits. By applying a comparative perspective and studying two different contexts, I hope to be able to increase the generality.

My interest is based on my cross cultural experience and can be expressed as follows: women's role and contribution to the maintenance of the fishery culture is undercommunicated. This has to be understood in the light of the low degree of formalization of women's knowledge and organization. This becomes significant in the modernization process where the local knowledge and social organization are challenged by external agents of development like political and interest organizations, experts etc. This seems to strengthen the maintenance of the male dominance in fisheries societies and can lead to new problems in the modernization process.

I shall not try to test this as a hypothesis or present "deep" empirical descriptions². I shall rather try to describe the activity pattern of the fisheries women and build up a model which can help us to formalize important aspects of women's lives in fisheries areas or societies.

1.3.1. Two areas - cultural similarities and differences

In the following I shall concentrate on my experience from two areas, one in the Northern and the Southern hemisphere, e.g. some small villages in Finnmark, Norway and in Tarime District at the shores of Lake Victoria, Tanzania,

The reason for choosing Finnmark as an area of study, is explained on the previous pages. The reason for choosing a Tanzanian village, its populations and institutions as a field of research, has its background in my Norwegian experience. Through my Norwegian research experience and through experience in the women's movement, I have seen that some

² For deeper descriptions and analysis, see Gerrard 1975,

aspects of the women's situation in fishery-related areas have succeeded to be put on the political and scientific agenda. Since Norway also is engaged in development of the fisheries in 3rd world countries through NORAD, its politics and its consequences also becomes relevant to Norwegians both as citizens and scientists. In my most optimistic hours I therefore believed that I could contribute in giving better arguments to strengthen the Norwegian development policy in the field of the fisheries, and especially on the women's situations and conditions.

1.4. Focus of interest

This is my interests and background in order to pay attention to the interrelation between gender, organization and production of knowledge in different fisheries areas.

In this paper I shall therefore start out with some analytical arguments. Then I will continue by going into some aspects of the fisheries women's situation and try to build up a simplified model. Finally I start the discussion about the similarities and contrasts especially in the light of women's power and control.

2. PERSPECTIVE AND ANALYTICAL CHALLENGES: FORMALIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE, ORGANIZATION AND GENDER

2.1. Development and formalization of knowledge

I shall not only try to get a better understanding of the advantages or disadvantages by comparing fishery societies, I also want to attack the problem of formalization of local knowledge in the periphery. Formalization of knowledge seem to have been considered more or less implicitly as a metaphor or symbol of development and modernization. When local knowledge

is formalized, it becomes visible and thus can be treated and accepted in other ways than the unwritten knowledge. The need for formalized knowledge seem to be great in contexts of planned development where the local population meet outside experts.

By focusing on these aspects, it does not mean that segregated roles of men and women, formal organizations and lack of formalized knowledge and local knowledge are characteristics that do not exist outside the peripheries. Such phenomena can also be related to dominated groups in general. My belief, is however that these traits seem to interact in such a way that they lead to difficulties in control and development of resources compared with the interest groups in the center (jfr Gunder Frank 1967, Freire 1971). Anton Hoem (1978) and Sveinung Eikeland (1989) have focused on these processes in th Norwegian cultural context. Lack of formalization of knowledge usually imply that decisions on higher levels especially in public areas only to a certain degree take unwritten and unformalized knowledge into use when important decisions as far as developmentstrategies etc are taken. Unwritten local knowledge seems often to be overseen and treated as "myths" and "unreliabel" by outsiders who does not know the local system of knowledge. In such situations solutions created from "outside" do easily fail. More and more they base their decisions on formalized knowledge. Thus we can also see a tight relation between formalization of knowledge, decision and formal organization. Also in the fields of organisations, especially in the field of industry and politics, the formalized knowledge through research are taken into use both in building up the structure and culture of the organization and in their decision making.

2.2. Formalization of knowledge, education and organization

The question of formalization of knowledge thus represents many challenges. In many societies the main part of the

fishery population have had few years of formal schooling. In most societies the fisherybased work up to now has been acquired through unformal socialization. From the Norwegian society we know that formal socialization lead to differentiation between qualified and unqualified work and workers. Anton Hoem says that because of introduction of the school system, a large part of the population in fishery, agriculture and reindeerherding in Finnmark, was looked upon as "unqualified workers" (Hoem 1978). Formalization of knowledge through school systems thus lead to a hierarchy of knowledge with the formalized seem knowlege on the top of the hierarchy. One impact of this, is that the production of formalized knowledge based on local experience from these areas and fields of industry are lacking. This can lead to a low interest for formal education because the curriculum seem to far from reality for the students. Another impact is that existing formalized knowledge which could be of help in solving local problems, are not taken into use because it can seem to be irrelevant or because the fishery population do not know where to find it.

Shortly we can therefore say that unformalized knowledge thus seem to be connected to unformal systems or organizations, written and formal knowledge seems to be connected to formal organization. In societies that emphasizes formalization of organizations this fact can lead to problems of accepting local, unwritten and unformalized knowledge. Formalized knowledge gets priority to unformalized knowledge, formal organizations to unformal organizations, people trained in formal system are preferred to people trained in unformal training systems.

2.3. Formalization of knowledge, organization and gender

In this way of thinking the gender aspect also seem to be relevant because of the fact that ^{men's} fields and activities seem to have priority to female dominated fields and activities as far as production of knowledge is concerned. This means that

men's knowledge and fields of activities seemed to be formalized before women's knowledge and fields of activities. Male oriented and dominated organizations seem to be created before women's organizations. Men's needs and demands seemed to be listened to before women's demands. In most societies we can also find examples that men's industrial and paid interests form a basis for organization and formalization before the unpaid activities of women. From the Norwegian fishery history we know that it was the men's activities in the fishery household that was organized in the fishermen's organization. Women's work remained "unorganized". This has led to a situation where the woman have few societal formal rights compared with the men, but many informal duties (Gerrard, 1979 og 1981). In fishermen's families, fishermen's wives and daughters have often been thought of by the society as "housewives" although many of them are important "industrial workers" often without payment.

2.3.1. Formalization of knowledge, gender, influence and control

Differences between women can also be connected to formalization of knowledge and organization. Women of paid work and also women of agriculture seem to get organized before women of fisheries. Crossculturally we have also examples that the organizations of the women in the Northern hemisphere are formed before the organizations of the women in the Southern hemisphere.

A logical consequence we can draw from this, is that formalization of knowledge and activities seem to be connected to power and control. Holtedahl (1988) shows such a relation in a Norwegian community where fishery, agriculture and food production have formed an important economic basis up to the 1970-ties. Women who coordinated the local social welfare and the female dominated organizations during the 1950ties and 1960ties lost their power to participants in formal economic spheres and organizations dominated by men. The women's knowledge, organization and power became marginalized.

Another important point to mention is that even if the fisheries women's fields of activities result in organization and their knowledge are written down, the question of acceptance and legitimacy still can be questioned. In the Norwegian fishery crisis of today, researchers say that the resource problem is more important than the problems of fishery men and women. Their problems have been characterized by male researchers as problems of luxury (Finnmark Dagblad, Oct. 11, 1989). Knowledge therefore seems to become an area of negotiations between men and women and between people in power and the ones who are struggling for it.

2.5. Summary

Thus the relation between knowledge, organization and gender become manyfolded and complicated to describe and analyze. In the next sections of this paper I will try to build up models of fisheries women's social activities to reveal cultural and organizational aspects. Applying a comparative perspective, there are many aspects to take into consideration. Since my aim is to make a contribution to understand some aspects of the formalization of local knowledge, I shall include different aspects of women's lives like paid and unpaid work, in and outside their houses or their households as well as leisure, political and ceremonial activities within the frames of formal and informal organizations.

By applying one model on two different types of societies, I hope to contribute to formalize women's local knowledge and thus to build up a system of knowledge in contexts where fisheries play an important role.

3. AN EXAMPLE OF THE FISHERIES OF THE NORTH: THE FISHERY WOMEN OF FINNMARK

3.1. THE LOCAL NORTH-NORWEGIAN FISHERY CONTEXT

Norway has traditionally been one of the largest nations as far as fisheries is concerned. In some areas of the country, fisheries forms the foundation of the local life.

The Coastal and Fjord areas of the Northernmost county of Norway, Finnmark, is one area where fisheries represents some of the main activities.

It is also coloured by the fact that the fishery population to a small degree have controlled the trade. The fish has been sold by a few, among them firms and owners in the Southern part of Norway. In this way, Finnmark has traditionally had little control over their rawmaterial.

In the beginning of the 1970ies there were about 100 firms that bought fish from some 3400 fishermen, 2240 fulltime (Fishery census 1971, Oslo 1973). ^{At the end of 1981 there were} about 3150 fishermen, ^{in 1988 2022 ~~fulltime fishermen~~} ^{Fiskamantallet 1982 and 1984}). The number of fishery workers and fishery plants have also decreased. At the end of 1989 there were 2200 registered fishery workers in Finnmark. During 1990 the Labour Authorities expect the number to decrease to about 1900 workers (Finnmark Dagblad, 11.1. 1990.) This means that the coastal areas have undergone great changes in demographic structure, in employment and way of life.

These days the fishermen's activities are influenced by the administrators and politicians through a system of quotas because of the resource situation. This means that many of them have to stay in the ports and villages for long periods without fishing. The subsidies and social security-system in Norway are not sufficient to pay the expences of the industry and of living. This leads to problems of many kinds.

In this situation of crises the fishery population carry out their activities, cope with the daily challenges, the restrictions from outside and struggle to give new meaning to their lifes.

3.2. WOMEN IN THE FISHERIES AND SOME UNITS OF ACTIVITIES

The engagement of the fisheries has always lead to a heavy workload of the men and women of Finnmark. The duties are still many and locally carried out in different organizational settings or units: Households, industrial plants, fishing boats and service institutions like schools, kindergartens, the homes of the old people and shops. Let us give some short examples of women's engagement, in the different settings or units mentioned. They represent units with different values, symbols, duties and rights. They also form an entity of the local life.

The women of the households

The concept of household are widely used in the scientific litterature (Rudie 1969, Stenning 1962 etc) I shall here use the concept of the houshold in the meaning of a unit of people living together in the capacity of maintaining the unit. The work in connection with the household are mainly concentrated on production and reproduction. Lots of efforts are spent on childcare and administration of the economy. The women have also been responsible for social relations of the family members. Production of food and maintainance of the house have also been important.

This type of work has been timeconsuming and represents an important part of a fishery culture (Gerrard 1975).

The work has changed character the last 20 years. As far as production is concerned, more emphasis is put on maintainance of the inside and the outside of the house. During the last part of the 1970's and during the 1980's the "The House" has become not only a material construction for social relations, but it can be looked upon as a symbol of "Norwegianness" and success of the families (Gullestad 1989). Both men and women spend much time to keep up and improve the interior and the exterior of the house. The women perform the daily work, the men the constructionwork.

In this aspect the fishery culture has been inspired by the main stream culture in Norway due to relatively good economy in the early part of this period.

Food preparation and cooking is still done to a larger extent than in the cities, but compared with earlier years, it means less work. The work is to a greater extent done by means of technical remedies. Still fishery women bake their bread and prepare the food from raw materials.

More time is actually used to earn and administer money used in the family. Some 20 - 30 years ago, the agricultural, milk and meat production were tasks for the household. This type of production has now been specialized and is taken over by farmers.

The childcare is mostly done in the household by fewer persons than before. Still the mother has the main responsibility. In many of the small communities places there are daycaresenters where the small children between 2 and 7 years can stay at daytime.

The childcare has also changed character. Now the responsibility of the parents lasts for a longer period. At 16 years of age the youth in smaller fishery willages have to moove away from home if they want continue their education. More children go longer to school than before. This often means that the economic responsibilities of the mother and father continue. This demands cash. The women play an important role in the creation and administration of these duties.

Still the work of the households are gender specific. The female work has changed character from heavily burdens of production to more weight on reproduction, administration and care.

The women and the fishing boats

The fishing boats can be said to be the nerve of the fishing culture in smaller fishery villages. Without the boats and its people, it would be difficult to develop the whole specter of fishery as an industry.

Traditionally fishing has been an activity for men. Few women are registered in the Fishermen's association, but middleaged wives of small boat owners sometimes work as active fishermen. Young women going out on bigger boats are not usual in the Northern part of Norway. Still they get their picture in the local newspaper when they are employed as a crew on trawlers. There have however been great changes in the investment pattern of the local fishing boats.

10 -15 years ago, young boys looked upon fishing as a future possibility. They started out as a crew on a little fishing boat (20 - 50 feet) before they bought their own boat, perhaps together with a brother. The last 20 years we find many examples that the money put into the boats comes from both the husband and wife. We find also more examples of boats that are organized outside the family economy as separate units.

The wives of boatowners sometimes do administrative work for the boats: accountancy works, answer phonecalls. There are also examples that they function as a bank: "lending out" spare money on special occasions. It seems like these tasks are increasing, while maintenance work and baiting work if the boats use long-lines, are decreasing. This kind of work is not stable work and often the official rules for social security are omitted. When there are other possibilities of employment it seems like women choose other kind of work with conditions they define as better than the ones in connection with the fishing boats. When industrial plants get problems, there are examples that women can return to the baiting work and sometimes they beg the fishermen to give them an opportunity to do this type of work.

In many of the fishing villages the seasonal pattern of the work has also changed, especially for the men. The share of

boatowners among the fishermen are greater than twenty years ago. Also The owners of "small" boats are fishing the whole year trough. 10 -15 years ago, the owners of small bouts worked as a crew on the larger boats during wintertime. Now they do fishing from their own boat. Sometimes small boat owners cooperate during the dark and stormy winterseasons by using one boat.

This has to be understood in the light of the changes in technology, resources and the bigger size of the "smaller" boats compared with before.

There are also other reasons for these changes. The result is that in one of the most vivid fishing villages with 16 - 17 fishingboats, there can today be only 4 fishermen under 30 years of age. 15 years ago there were more than 10. This means that the bigger boats get recruitment problems. In this type of work, men have not been replaced by women. The recruitment problem is one reason why middleaged and elderly fisherman today sell their 50 feet boats and buy a smaller boat. Disagreement between fishermen can also be emphasized. Conflicts of some kind can for example occur between coowners can result in selling the boat. Illnesses can also lead to sale of a boat.

Fishermen have also reported that their relation to their wife and her choices decides his strategies as far as buying or selling or what type of adaption they choose. This is understandable if we look upon the changing role of the wives of the fishermen. Because of the many regulations, heavier economic burdens are put upon the wives, wives often manage in financing the daily expences of the houshold. The husband keeps, if he manage, the expences of the boat. There are many examples that the wives have shared the boatexpences to. Thus wives, especially those who are employd in the public sector can function as a social security agent for her husband, the fisherman.

To me it seems like the roles of husband and wife in many fishery housholds have been changing, from strict gender roles to a situation of negotiations of rights and duties (Rudie,

1984). This also seem to have changed the gender- and the spouse relations. In some fishery marriages the wife gets influence in new fields for instance in the household economy.

The women and the processing plants

Traditionally women have worked as seasonal workers in the processing industry. With the industrialization they started to cut and pack fishfilets. The system of formal education and apprenticeship were not developed to a large degree. Later on women also got jobs as controllers and secretaries in the administration.

Men worked as leaders, handled and repaired the mashines and worked as transport workers. The segregation of work has up to now been very clear in this sector. There are changes going on now, but the main pattern still exists. 30-20 years ago most workers were young girls. To day they seldom choose such kind of work. To day it is the married women who are the stable workforce of the plants. In the small fishery villages they often are wives of fishermen.

The last few years some women have started to work in marketing and financing of the fishing industry with success. This type of work is however consentrated in the sentral towns and not in the small fishing villages.

Many of the women who are working in the fishing industry today express wishes to get new challenges and new tasks. There are scheems and projects with the aim of getting more women into new positions. One of the biggest scheems going on, is to educate instructors who can teach newcomers and apprentices in the plants. In October 1989 fishprosessing also came under the Law of Apprenticeship. (Lærlingeloven)

The greatest structural changes however have to be seen in the light of the reduction of the number og factories and their rationalization.

With a reduction of almost half of the plants, the industrial workers represents smaller share of the working population

compared with the situations in the 60ties and the 70ties. An example can be mentioned here. 20 years ago there were about 210 inhabitants in a one of the fishing villages in Finnmark, 35 fishermen and 25 workers, among them 10 women. 13 years later, there were the same amount of inhabitants, 40 workers, among them 27 women and the 35 fishermen. To day there are 135 inhabitants, 30 fishermen and 5 people connected to the plant, among those 2 women: 1 worker and one office manager. The women are together with two men, also the shareholders of the little firm.

The reduction of the numbers of workers, the changes in technology and ownership, in some cases seem to change the traditional segregation of men's and women's work. There are also other examples like the one mentioned above, where women are involved in leadership and ownership positions.

Examples from bigger, more industrialized plants, with relatively high degree of technology, have traditional male ownership and leadership, but practice work rotation. During the problems of the 80ties there have therefore been some examples of changes in gender relations in the fishprocessing plants.

The rationalization or restructuring (as some calals it today) creates many problems. This hit the fishery families hard because the women are loosing their jobs when their husbands and sons at the same time are fishing less than before. Their unemployment benefit is much smaller than their usual income and their situation of uncertainty are encreasing. There are few other possiblilites. Some are starting new small firms or are so lucky that they get a job in the public sector. The possibilities in the public sector have decreased over the last years. Even if some manage to find alternative but unpaid activities andb this maintain their dignity, we can say that private security system are threatened.

In such situations there are examples that women working at a processing plant which the owner will close up, have tried to

establish a new firm in the old buildings of a former fish processing plant. (The Polar case).

For the first time in the Norwegian fishery history the women have taken the initiative to take over a factory. Bureaucrats and other local plantowners have so far been reluctant. Some of the politicians, especially women, have given very clear support to the Polar-women. In October 1989 the leaders said that they were close to give in because of the funding situation. The leading planners on the regional level of the development fund want another kind of production in other buildings and at smaller scale than the women who want to develop their already established skills. The planners also find the investments too big compared with the expenses. The plan for the region states that they want a decrease in the number of plants. (Fylkesplan for Fiskemottak 1988-91) This shows that women of today see alternatives in the local fisheries. However, they meet barriers on the administrative/political level where most of the important actors are men.

Women, education and work in the service and public sector

The Northernmost counties of Norway have always had fewer numbers of youth going to high school compared with many of the other parts of the country. Today there are more schools than 20 years ago, but still many students have to go away to get their high school diploma. This usually means greater expenses of the mothers and fathers. Fishery education has traditionally been an education for men. This means that the curriculum and rules of intake have been malebiased.

No wonder that most young girls in the coastal areas still choose to specialize in traditional subjects, trade, health and social work.

These days many fishery women say that they want education. To use the possibilities of today is not always easy, because schools are often not situated where the fishery women live. Decentralized education has become very popular for

fishermen's wives just as for other inhabitants of the periphery.

During the 1970ties the amount of jobs in the public sector encreased even in many of the small fishing villages. At that time this represented new possibilites for the costal women: The new jobs can be characterized as bluecollar as well as white collar work. Caring, schooling and maintainance (washing) can be mentioned. This has to be understood in the light of the public welfare politics and politics of education.

In the 80ties we have seen that the local women take over more and more qualified jobs from people moving in for a short period because of a higher degree of education. The best results can be seen as far as teachers are concerned.

In this section it is also important to mention that new jobs have also been created in the public and organizational bureaucracy. Women have had access to these jobs, but in the fishery bureaucracy on regional and local level there are few women. This fact seem to influence the fishery policy on most levels.

Women and formal organizations

Segregated organizations for men and women, are usual in the district areas. Perhaps we can say that women have had influence, but not on formal economic and financial politics. The coastal and thus the fishery women have organized in separate organizations. Examples are the Norwegian fisherywomen's Association which is an organization with formal contact with the Fishermen's organizations, The Norwegian Housewives Organization, The Women's Health Organization, special women's groups in political parties etc. The women and their organizations have been important forces in order to build up the welfare system in the communities. The last years the Norwegian Fisherwomen's Association have also worked for the improvement of the women's political and economical situation.

Women have also been members of integrated organizations, but until the middle of the 70ties, they seldom held important positions.

These days the women have gained more influence in the labour unions especially in the union where the fishworkers are organized, NNN.

Most of the associations in the fishery sector have men as key persons and leaders. Of the 80 organizations in the fishery sector, all of them are headed by men as far as I know.

Still it is easy to get the impression that the women and women's organizations are looked upon as organizations of charity and welfare, men and men's organizations as economic, political and industrial organizations.

One of the indications of this, is that the people in the top of the economical, political and bureaucratic organizations of the fisheries, still are men. On a strategy seminar held in May 1989, 35 of the "key persons" of the fisheries organizations and institutions³ discussed the future of the fisheries. Only 5 women were present. The week after the women of a fishery community started an important action, The Action of the Hasvik women, to visualize the problems of the families, the men and the women in fishery districts.

In the literature there has been a long debate whether it is the general crises of the economic or the women's struggle that have lead to changes in gender relations. If we look at the changes in relations of men and women, it seems like extraordinary situations of crises and problems combined with the ideological work lead to these changes. The changes seem however to vary in degree and in generality.

Unformal meetings

Unformal meetings and unformal organization must also be looked into because they represent important arenas in the fishery populations' and especially the fisherywomen's lives.

³Information given by the Secretary of Kystkompetanseutvalget.

This is represented by unformal talks at work, at the "kitchentable" and sport arenas.

Men have also unformal meetings, and their unformal meetings are often an important base to bring questions on the agenda in the formal organizations. Since the formal organizations for women are few and even considered as "unpolitical" the small chats most often end as unformal talks between women. There are important exeptions however.

In one little fishingvillage we saw 10 years ago examples where middle aged women with their daugheters' who also had small children worked to get a public Kindergarten. They succeedet. 10 years later the Kindergarten was closed because of the local economy. Unemployed mothers could not afford to pay the fee.

The Hasvik action started as a result of crisis.

They started the action as an unformal organization. The women succeeded to report their situation to the newspapers and through the Norwegian Broadcasting. They emphasized the social and economic condition of the fishermen's families. Their clear demands is that the loans and the interests of the fishingboats must be released for this year and that the unemployed allowance must be raised from N kr. 180 to N kr 350.-

They **also** demanded to meet the primeminister of Norway in her capacity of being both a primeminister and a woman. When they finally got to meet , she met with the male fishery minister too. They were disappointed because she did not want to speak to them as a woman and a mother.

Some of their claims are the same as the fisherywomen's organization, but that organization have not succeeded to get public support. In Finnmark there are also examples that the demands of the organization disappears from the oral articulation of the problem to its written form.

Very rarely the the newspapers have written about the women's claims.

Whether the fisherywomen will succeed in getting their demands through, still remains to see. They have however succeeded in getting their problem on the national political agenda as never before.

One interesting aspect to mention is that the women themselves are trying very hard not to associate with politicians working with party politics. They say they identify themselves as fishermen's wives and as women.

Women as coordinators of the local fishery sector

I have so far pointed out a lot of activity fields and contexts that for the lives of many fisherywomen.

The social organization of the fishery women can be said to be many-sided. One person have many roles and perform many tasks on different arenas. As mentioned before, the role of the fisherywomen and fishermen's wives can be looked upon as coordinators of the local fishery arenas (Gerrard 1983). This is not a planned task. It must be understood in the light of the women's flexibility of doing many important activities in different organizational settings at a time, to low costs and thus make the fishery industry efficient and more profitable.

One may argue that it was the women, through their mode of organizing the work, who provided the flexibility, and through their flexibility minimalised the problems of coordinating of the local fisheries. On this background I conclude that they bind the different local fishery units together. The women have thereby served as a buffer, regulating their work according to the demands placed upon them (Gerrard, 1983).

Thus women play an important role not only at the household level, but at the local level of the fishery sector.

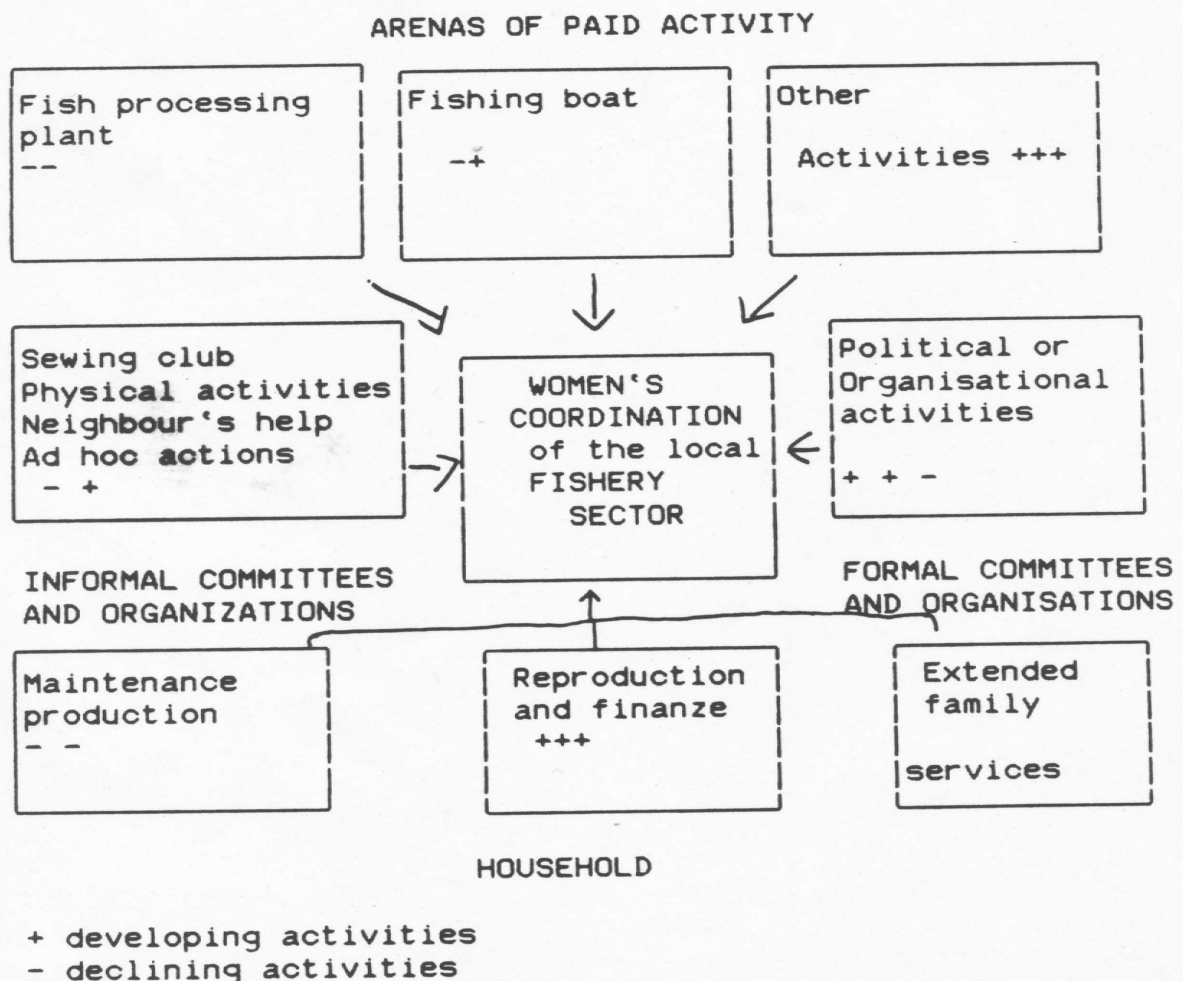
To me the Hasvik women have visualized such role. But they have also shown that they do not identify as housewives, teachers, secretaries, industrial workers, labours for the fishing boats, members of specific organizations etc. They revitalize the content of what I formerly have called the status of "fiskerkone" or "fishermen's wife" in all its

capacities. By their actions they have however widened the content of it by giving it a new dimension on the overlocal or wider level.

Formerly I have stressed the fisherywomen's key role on the local level. Now we see that they also under certain conditions, create a key role of the fishery on a wider level. To me this also show that the traditional ways of characterize industrial politics are insufficient for them. They can be said to enlarge the political concept of fishery so it corresponds with thei daily life.

This can be illustrated in the following way:

Figure 1. Survey of women's areas of activity (household, plant, committees etc.), women's tasks, coordination and flexibility



The Norwegian case: gender, control and organization

These examples of social organization of the women in "the North" can be said to be connected to the formal organizations with representations on the local level as well as the national or even international level. They have many channels to the formal sector. Thus women are integrated in a male dominated economy and male dominated production units. Fishery women of Norway are employees and they are the "working people" in the fishery sector, of course together with men, but men are more often owners and leaders. Because men control important positions, women as a group in this way seem to be controlled by men as far as industrial politics and development strategies of plants and boats are concerned.

The household are only one of many units of women's activities and the relation between husband and wife are only one of the male - female relations the fisheries women go into. The rules and ideas about wife-husband relationship have changed during the last 15 years. Today men and women of the fishery household can be seen as "bargaining parts" (Rudie 1984)

Because of this and because of the male dominance in most of the formal organizations that usually are connected to the fishery sector, many villages seem to lack formal organization where women can come together to discuss and introduce political activities. It is done within the frames of male organizations or within the frames of organizations which are considered by "outsiders" as charity/welfare organizations. Thus the visibility of the wanted changes might be little.

The Norwegian case and the aspect of knowledge

This information are not new information. In the beginning of the 80ties, some of us tried to argue through social science in the same direction of the political active fishery women of to day. At that time these facts and thoughts where not taken seriously by leading representatives of the public sector and by the Fishermen's organization.

Talking and writing about it within specific spheres, are important aspect of formalization of women's knowledge. But the examples mentioned above, show that other aspects have to be taken into consideration. Thus accept from powerful and thus visible groups seem also necessary.

The model of women's social organization can also be said to represent a wide, but local knowledge system. The Hasvik action bring it into a wider context. In this light the Hasvik action get a great symbolic effect as visualizing the process where the women themselves forms the demands. Their demands are coloured by their responsibilities and activities. Their own experience and not research reports is the foundation. This does not mean that research is unuseful. It places important questions on the agenda and make them visible, often before they are accepted as political and practical problems by the relevant parts.

We therefore have to be aware of the structure, culture and organization if we want that the women of the future shall engage in the fishery sector. My personal view is that if this knowledge are not accepted and women don't engaged in the

fishery sector in all capacities and at all level, very few will stay in the fishery willages in the future years.

Up to now the acceptance of this relational and symbolic aspect of knowledge has been lacking in most bureaucratic and political contexts.

It is very temptating to conclude that it is not enough that the knowledge are formal, it has also to be accepted by the "public", in this case politicians and the relevant bureaucrats and the public opinion.

Let us hope a change have taken place: It is no longer only the fishermen, the fisheryworkers and the plantowners that define the content of the politics. The process of integrating women's models of knowledge into the formal politics have started. We still have to see whether this model is culture specific , based on the Finnmark and North Norwegian experience.

Let us therefore also try to use this approach in describing, analyzing and comparing with a Tanzanian community where fishing and fishprocessing is important.

4. A TANZANIAN CASE: WOMEN, KNOWLEDGE AND ORGANIZATION

Tanzania is primarily known as an agricultural nation. The agricultural politics are therefore elaborated and organizations on all levels developed. Never the less, families living nearby lakes, rivers or the Indian Ocean are often engaged in the fishery, often combined with agriculture, trade, crafts and foodproduction.

Most of the fishery of today, can be characterized as small

scale fishery or artisanal fishery. The boats are small, most often driven by hand or sail. The technology is "simple". The fishermen report scarcity of nets. The fish is delivered at the shores where the fishmongers buy the fresh fish. Some of it is also smoked or dried. The fish is sold locally or in the bigger towns and cities. Very little is exported thus fish is important for the people living nearby the fishery resources or succeed in getting hold of it.

Tanzania has also a public administration on all level connected to the fisheries. The official politics express that the aim is to bring the fishing and processing up to industrial standards so that the fishery also can be an export industry (Hempel 1989).

In Tanzania there are three educational institutions which educate people to the public sector: extension service and fishery administration.

Few go into the private sector because of the economic crises which have followed as a result of the agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) the expansion and development on donor agencies. The development strategies are thus a result of negotiations between the agencies and the Tanzanian Directory of Fisheries.

Never the less the artisanal population of the countryside is the foundation of the fishery as an industrial activity, an activity they often combine with other foodcreating and moneymaking activities. The political aim is industrialization (Wemba Rashed 1988).

Women of the fisheries

Traditionally women are rarely thought of or mentioned as actors of the fishery population. This has among all to be seen in connection with the outside knowledge and interest of the fishery culture and society. Traditionally there are examples of women engaged both in fishing, processing and trade. As far as fishing is concerned, women traditionally used traps, mostly for private use at the coast. They collected shell by using a cloth on shallow water. There are also examples of women owning and administrating their husbands' boats concentrating on traditional fishing as well as species like octopus and shrimps (Wemba Rashid 1988).

All in all the fishery sector is clearly segregated as far as gender is concerned. Fshint and public fishery education and administration is male dominated. Some years ago the Ministry of Lands, Natural Resources and Tourism was headed by a woman.

The processing and trade however is a field both for men and women. Women in the countryside as well as in the cities have long experience in large as well as small scale trade. These days the big traders live in cities like Mwanza and Kigoma. This is due to the availability of fish, transport situation and skills, aquired through long experience.

In Tanzania the first research project om women in fisheries. initiated in 1985 which visualizes the women's traditional engagement in the artisanal fishery. It has been followed up by small applied projects mainly initiated by female staff at Mbeqani Fishery Development Centre with support from NORAD.

Since I consider the artisinal fishery population as the target group of fishery development I shall look into the aspects of knowledge and organization in a village of 3.500 inhabitants of the Lake Victoria area, Tanzania. The fishery population in this area can as far as ethnicity is concerned mainly be identified as Wakurya, Wasuba and Waluo. Traditionally they are engaged in cattle holding, agriculture and fishery.

I shall try to describe the daily activities of women by the use of of time and by their priorities.

I shall emphasize the women's activities in the light of organizational units that seem to be dominant in the context of fishery and culture of fishery.

Women and her House

In a Walou dominated cultural context it is quite natural to start with the house. Other authors have stressed the concept of House instead of household in Luo-society because of its importance and significance (?? 1979). In a society where "the household" is formed by a man, his wife or wives, his children, his mother and father, perhaps a daughter in law and her children, this household can be said to consist of many houses. Traditionally the house has been the smallest productive and reproductive unit within such a larger household. There are of course great variation, but the main traits seem to be that the main actors of a house are the mother, and her small

children. The father, if he has more than one wife, shares his time and obligation between his wife(s) and thus between his houses. The mother has the main responsibility for her house and her children. Perhaps we can say that the husband is the head of the household, the wife(s) of the house. In this capacity she deals with different activities: Production and reproduction, with agriculture and ceremonies.

The women and productive activities

The productive activities of the house are very important in Tanzania. In a rural village the time-consuming activities still are connected to farming, food processing and cooking. Traditionally this has been women's work. It is strenuous work to be able to prepare 2 warm meals a day. To get hold of the food, water and firewood employs more than one person a day. Usually this work is done by the women or children who are helping the mother. The cooking is done before noon and in the twilight of the evening. The mere act of cooking takes usually an hour and a half.

The raw materials for the food are either bought or grown in the household. Cassava millet and maize are common together with few vegetables. In the lake villages fish also play an important role. Early in the morning the mother walks to the market or to the beaches and buy the day's supply. Meat and chicken are rare. Mostly it is served for guests or at special occasions like Christmas.

The cassava millet and maize must be dried and grinded. The mother gets help from her unmarried daughters or young daughter in law to this kind of work. In some years when the

agriculture has failed, and when it is difficult or extremely expensive to get hold of the rawmaterials, the burdens of the women therefore encrease. They can intensify the fishtrade and buy the necessary food for the money. In the rainy season we can see examples of the opposite: They than intensify the farming activities.

In villages close to the Lake it is easy to get hold of the water, but it is important to get fresh drinking water in early in the morning. This work is done either by the mother or her school girls.

The firewood problem is however great. It takes several hours to fetch firewood for a days cooking, but this work is often done by the young children.

In this way we can say that that most of the productive work in the house is connected with production of food. The mother is the one who is responsible so that this work can be done. If she is a young mother she most often share her work with her mother in law. The mother in law is then responsible. Later on when she establish her own houshold, it is her repsonsiblity.

The contribution of the husband is mainly in the form of cash and some contribution to the farm work. Number of wives and wealth often seem to decide the size of the contribution. If the husband does not own cattle or boats, his wife(s) has to be very selfdependent (Gerrard 1987)

Just like the production of the household consists of a wide range of activities the same can be said of the reproductive activities. **Reproductive activities** are concentrated around care, widely interpreted, of children at their different phases of life and old relatives especially the parents of the husband since this is a patrilineal society. The amount of time that are spent on these activities and the responsibility vary. In families with 6 -8 children, the mother gets help from the older children. In families with few children, the mother are the one who has to look after the children, help them when they are ill etc. If she has a cowife, they sometimes cooperate. Except for the time around the birth of a child, the upbringing of children usually is done in connection with the different working tasks.

The care of children changes, dependent of age. At school age, she has to see that the children get to school, get the necessary clothing and books. High school affords school fees.

The care is thus not only relational and emotional work, it demands also cash. If a mother and a father have little cash, they often send their schoolchildren to live together with relatives so that they can attend schools. Than the relatives take care of a child wich often helps the relatives in other ways.

Not all mothers manage to send their children to school. If the father contributes little to the economy, she often need the working force of the young children.

Women and Agriculture

Agriculture is another of the main household activities. The whole process from preparing the land, plowing, planting, weeding and harvesting takes time and afford knowledge and practice. The children start early to help. In theory the agricultural work is gender segregated. Clearing the land seem to be the bottleneck. If the husband is old, has obligations to several wives or the wife cannot afford to buy such a service from others, she can get difficulties even if she has the plot and the seed.

The agricultural work is done early in the morning and in the afternoon. This is the best time as far as the heat is concerned.

The way of learning agriculture is by working in the fields and through lessons and practise in primary school. Some has been in contact with the people of the extension service.

The technology is simple. All women have their hoe, but very few have cattle for plowing and a plow since this affords investments and traditionally has been a male activity. This means that the work is hard and that the result in form of crop, vary.

In the village I lived in, very few were selfsupplied with crop. Most women had to supply their own agricultural production by buying from relatives or at the local market.

Women and ceremonies

Another type of activity which is connected with the social relations and with symbols of power, wealth and citizenship is what can be called the **ceremonies**: Burials and taking care of guests from outside the village.

These activities are "occasional" activities, but when they occur, they influence the way of life of all those who are involved and their activities. Since meals and serving of food is important in such events, the women play an important part in preparing and serving. The closer the relative, the more work seems to be demanded from the women.

Another aspect of this is that it costs money. Also here the women contribute because of her wide obligations as far as "food economy" is concerned.

Thus we can say that women in occasions as burials have important duties which give them significance and confirm social relations.

The house thus represents an important and comprehensive arena especially for the women. Different types of activities have their foundations within this context, but its connection to the wider world varies.

The house thus creates a varied and manyfolded frame of activities. It forms the life of its members and thus creates possibilities and challenges for a single member and the members as a whole.

Women and arenas of cash work

We have seen in the former section that the women's need of cash is great. Examples of money or cash-generating activities are selling tea, cakes or porridge at the landing places. Some sell tomatoes, but there are few that sell other agricultural products. The cash mainly comes from fishing and fish trade. A few women are engaged in fishing. The Catholic congregation have organized a team of men and women that are fishing from land. Here the women participate. This is a seasonal activity however and the stability varies. There are however

two women, who have invested in fishing nets and have rendered them to a boatowner to use. This means that the women get the fish from the nets 3 days, the fishermen get the fish the 4th day and the boatowner the 5th day. One of the female netowners living outside the village as a wholesaler, complains that she gets little profit. The boatowner tells her that her net is outworn. She does not believe this and think that he cheats her. This women told me that she was the first to import the new nets in 1984. She had seen them at work in Mwanza, the biggest city at the shores of Lake Victoria. Others tell that there are many examples of stealing.

A third women administer her boat on behalf of her husband who is working in a town in another county. She also complains about the relation to the fishermen and about the profit. These women shows that some aspects of fishing under certain circumstances are attractive for women, but they meet obstackles in their relation to the owners and the active fishermen since they do not fish themselves or daily can control their equipment.

On this background we have to look at the fish trade as one of the most important income generating activity for women.

Women and arenas for fishtrade

In the lake villages the number of the female fishtraders vary from 15 % of the female population to 2 - 5 % . In the villages with several fishtraders, the fishtrade become visible and have a significance not only as a part of the household economy, but also as a part of the village economy. The fishtrade e g buying, processing, transport, marketing make different contexts with different actors and demand different skills. The organization of the trade is characterized by a pattern that can be expressed in the following sentence: "One women - One unit of trade".

The way of organizing can be looked upon as an advantage if the relation to the houshold is taken into consideration. The tradework can be adapted to the householdwork and vice versa.

In periods trade can give some profit without very much investment. It is easy to learn, because you can ask your neighbour or other women in the village to teach you.

The fishtrade can also be looked upon as a possibility to get in touch with others both family and people from other places. Thus the traders get a possibility to maintain contacts, and establish new ones while they are earning money to fulfill their obligations of the house.

During the two last years the Women's Organization has also tried to organize teams. 20-50 women are organized in smaller groups where they buy, smoke, transport and sell fish at the traditional markets. The problem so far has been great costs and little profit. The women have to continue their private business in order to maintain her duties of her house.

The bottlenecks however are many. Buying the fish they have to compete with many others in getting hold of the fish and in price. The processing part of the work suffers from lack of firewood for smoking. The transportation has to be done by carrying the fish on their heads because very few women have bikes and money to pay for a car transport. The buses stop 8 km from the village.

At the marketplace the competition is great. In the rainy season there can be 100 women and 20 men selling fishproducts. This also means that the working hours can be long and the profit low.

The fishtraders relation to the public service is unformal. An unformal "agreement" between the fishery officers and the traders have made it possible to sell at the local market without a license. This creates a problematic relation between the public fishery sector and the local traders. The fishery officers feel they give the women some unlegal privileges, the women fear the offices.

Fishtrading can thus be considered as a survival strategy: These days the little profit goes to the survival of the mother and children. Very rarely it goes to investment and

improvement of their business because the profit is low. The background of the female fishtraders, can also be used as a signification of the fishtrade as an survival strategy. The small scale female fishtrader are most likely wives of older men, wives of men with many cowives, and wives with men staying outside the willage. In other words they are wives of husbands that have a hard time in sharing the household obligations.

Most of the women's fishtrade therefore can be said to belong to the unformal economy with few relations to the public and formal sector. The village pattern of female fishtrade thus form a contrast to the traders in the bigger towns and in some other lake villages where they pay their licence, and have a fearyly big business and get big profit.

Formal organizations as female arenas

The women's relations to the formal associations and organization varies. I mentioned above that the fishtrade of the women, represent an unformal economy. In this village there are no trade unions or trade cooperatives. There are however 3 fisheries officers who are supposed to serve several communities. To day the officers usually give permissons to buy nets and are working with the thefts e.g steeling of the nets in the lake at night. The local fishery officers of to day are men. They consider the fishermen as their main target group. During 1989 one of the officers was assigned to work in the group.

The administrative level that the women are in touch with and where they can meet other women are the female workers in the community development. The villages we are writing about here, however have little or no contact with this section of public politics. This sector often put women's question on the agenda because they initiate projects of agriculture, pottery-making, sowing, etc. Some years ago some women also initiated a fishtrade project, but they got organizational problems and had to send the financial support back.

So far there has been little cooperation between the fishery administration and the other public sectors. Perhaps we can say that here we see examples of unsued possibilities. The formal organizations that are present are organizations related to the different religious congregations. Women participate both on integrated boards and in segregated women's groups. Since the churches also participated in development work, this can be an important channel to influence and change on the local level.

Few women are active and in position in the local branch of the party, Few of the adult women are party members, in the village I studies about 25%. Fewer are members of local boards, but because of sentral regualtions, 2 of the 25 members of the village council will always be women. In the public fora in this village the women often listens and seldom participate. Some years ago a women tried to be a mayor in the village. Together with another male candiadate, she was accepted by the party, but she lost the final election. The local people said she had to loose, because she belongs to a clan with few supporters. And because she was a woman.

The women's organization (UWT) could also be an important channel for the women. Many brances have started cooperatives and industrial projects, but the fishery sector cannot look back on the same experiences. Some years ago they ran a little cafe and a shop, but now the local branch can be said to be sleeping. The leader and the secreatry however attend on meetings outside the village and thus get to know the ideas of women's development. As mentioned above, they have lately also tried to engage in fish trade.

The ideas of development exist among women as well as men. It often materializes in desires "technical things of something comming from outside that we lack". The ideas of development are more than anything else very concrete. The strategies and the organizational aspect are seldom

elaborated. This is understandable as long as the relation between the politics of community development, women and fishery on all levels more or less are undiscussed.

There are however examples of initiative in the neighbouring ward center. A former nurse have involved in building a fishery centre for women, with male participants as fishermen and female processors or traders.

The national institution of fisheries development, Mbegani FDC has started a three months short course where women from three Mara villages among those, Sota, are involved.

An experienced teacher go into the district with the support of the short course and extension department and teach a women's course. This is the first initiative from Mbegani FDC that focus on women in the region of Mara.

Women and informal arenas

The dreams of development are often discussed at informal arenas connected to work. Landing places where the traders buy the fish from fishermen and the marketplaces where the fish is sold seems to be important. Here the individual traders meet and listen to news, discuss political issues both with men and with women. Here they discuss and point out conflicts in their trade. There are also examples that they receive news from the fishery officer if there are special things they have to be aware of. Often the women show outstanding abilities in making speeches and that they are well informed about local events relevant for their trade. Other examples of informal forums, are celebrations and church arenas. Here people from different villages, meet and discuss their challenges. On this background we can understand that some of the churches engage in fishery projects.

Fishery projects of different kinds visualize new challenges. During one of my stays in the village we arranged some ad hoc meetings in different parts of the community together with the fishery officers to discuss building of a fish-smoking kiln for educational purposes. The women themselves approved to

the project and were left to decide where to build the kiln. This was discussed at the meeting which was attended by a few men. The women had several opinions where to build the kiln. The village council who had not had their meetings in 4 months, was only informed about the women's choice. Several members disapproved about the choice. They said it was too close to a certain man's property. Even though the women had started to build the kiln, the discussions were so hard, that the little project stopped. A later effort to build the kiln nearby the fishery station to emphasize the educational aspect of it, not succeeded. At the same time however The Fishery Research Institute took over the station and are now the ones to use it.

This little example shows first of all the importance of following the formal established procedures, especially when sensible questions like localization of something that are associated with development is on the agenda. Secondly it shows also that male dominated forums when they agree, they have difficulties in accepting decisions made by women. Thirdly, it shows that the question of clans and family are taken into considerations as a vivid political factor.

In a way the unformal meetings can be considered as a setting for "small talks" that can be said to be necessary, but not sufficient in a process of development. It also shows that cultural and organizational factors have to be taken into considerations when development strategies are launched.

Women's coordination of the house

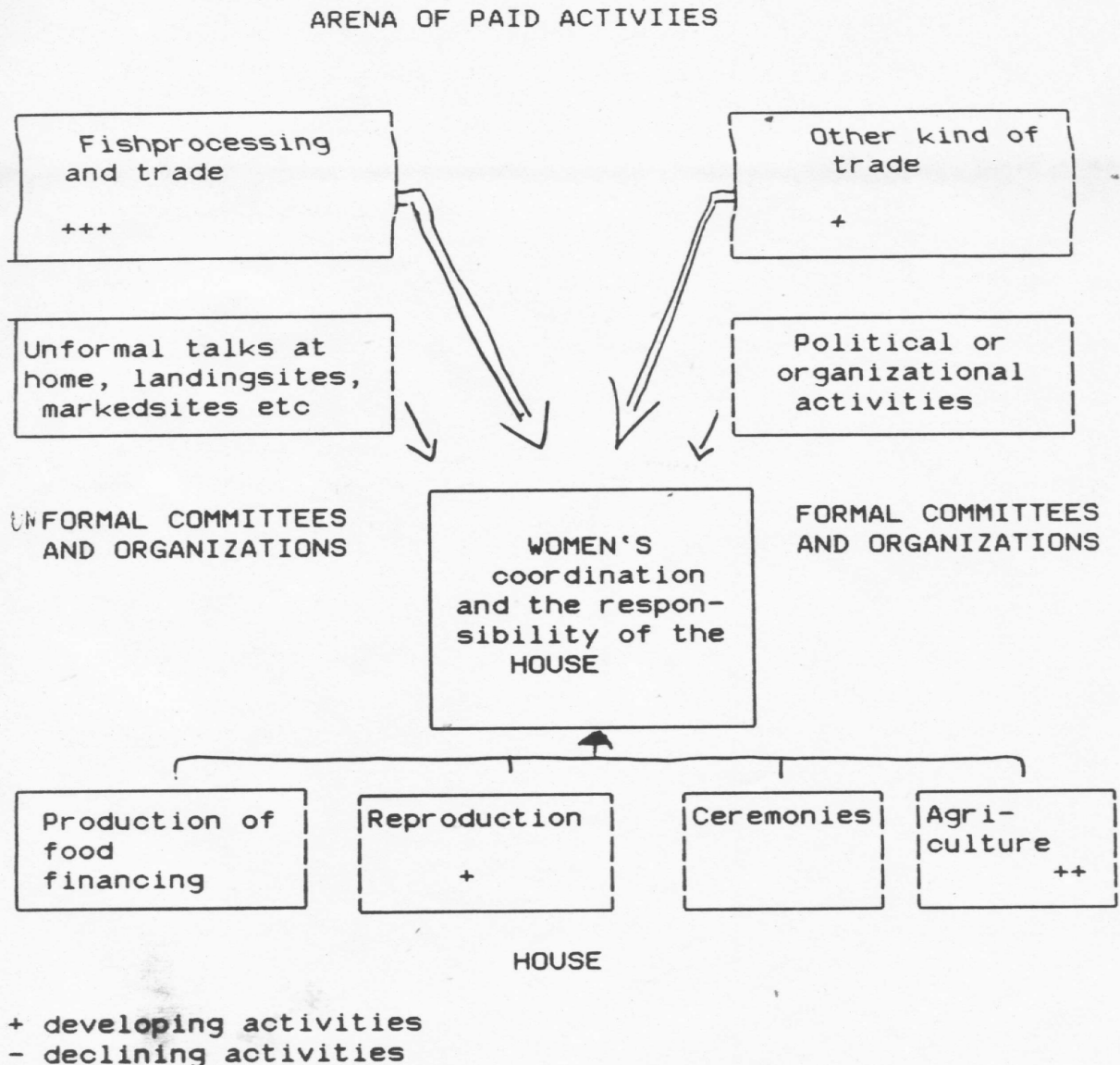
Just as in a North Norwegian fishery society, the women play an important role in coordination. The coordination is however of another kind. While the North Norwegian women play a key role in coordinating different activities on the local fishery sector, the Tanzanian women mainly coordinate the economy of their house.

Just as in the case of the Norwegian fishery women, their flexibility is great. In the lake villages the fishtrade seem to represent a possibility that enables the women to fulfill her family obligations also in situations of crises. . They can withdraw from the fishtrade if they get alternatives, for instance if fishermen earn well. Than their wives are working as farmers and household workers. Very rarely they were fishtraders.

In the relation to the traditional duties of husband and wives, we can say that the coordination of the house, also can be looked upon as the proud wife's strategy in her struggle of keeping up the pride and honour of the family. Thus it can be considered not only as an economic activity. It is also a cultural activity that gives dignity.

Let us therefore see how the model looks like if we apply it to the to describe the situation of the Mara fishery women.

Figure 2. Survey of women's areas of activity (house, trade, committees etc.), women's tasks, coordination and flexibility



The Tanzanian Case: Gender, control and organization

The women's units of activities are to a small degree connected to the formal organizations. Perhaps we can say that they represent the unformal sector.

The women have their own production or business units. Those are unformal. The house unit is the dominant unit and most of the women's production is organized within it or in connection to it.

This means that the control aspect becomes different compared with the North Norwegian Case: While the women in the North Norwegian case can be said to belong to many systems of activities controlled by several men, the women of the Mara case are often under the control of few men in her family, often her father and later on the husband. In the above mentioned case of building the kiln, we saw men involve themselves in the localization of the kiln and wanted to change the decision made by women. In other cases there are examples that husband control the women's surplus money. The economic relations seem also to be directly connected to the men's control of the sexual relations: when and how often he want to be together with his wife, what sanctions should be developed if the wife does not treat him as he wants including making his food. Among the local men and women in this Mara village, the ideas of this is clear and rarely challenged.

The Tanzanian case and the aspect of knowledge

In Tanzania the women's position has been recognized on the general and political level for a long time (Nyerere, 1967). Most emphasis has been put on the women's role in agriculture and community development. There has been few discussions about women in the fisheries. The women of the fisheries thus seem to get little attention on the political level. No wonder that the women's development is associated with "children, health food and water", fishery development most often with the economic aspect in general and fishermen's development specifically. In a way we can say there is a mismatch between the local participation and the sentral knowledge and understanding of the situation. This means that

the local knowledge is invisible. The men's dominance in defining the content in and the problems of the fisheries strengthen the picture of the women's invisible role especial on the national level.

The last years' research litterature have some examples of women in the fisheries as an integrated part of local fishery (Schwartz 1986b, Bashemererwa et al, 1986, Gerrard 1987, Wemba Rashid 1985 and 1987). There have been a production of formalized knowledge. To what degree the litterature has been for taken into consideration is difficult to say. We have some indications however that it has been referred to and thus used on the regional level and by private aid organizations. Through peronal contact I know that men in the public fishery administration are familiar with some of the findings of the research. The practical results however depend on the possibilities, ability and interest to implement political ideas. Among the fishery officers there are men that look upon women as the responsibility of the husband. They look upon men as their target groups. Thus knowledge must be seen in relation with ideology and understandment. Whether it is used by local women is also a question. It depends on the women's ability to read and write , the researchers ability in local languages and the women's possibility to get hold of relevant litterature which is often very difficult unless the relation between the local women and the researcher is personal.

The research becomes first and formost relevant on a political and scientific level. In systems that are built on

formalization it is therefore important.

5. Conclusions: The North and the South: Similarities and contrasts.

In the above description and analysis we can trace some similarities and contrasts.

Since formalization of knowledge and organization is my main focus, I shall try to emphasize these traits in the analytical discussion.

Survival strategies, crises and gender

The female adaption to a situation of crises is that women have to work harder to provide the family with all they need. Thus in the time of crisis, the burden of the women encreases. One common trait is that fisheries women living in small villages in Northern Norway and in the lake Victoria area in Tanzania creates strategies to survive. They devlope different claims and activeties because of the difference in culture and organization. But they modify difficult situations, and they articulate claims on behalf of themselves and the ones they are responsible for concerning working conditions, development politics, child care, education and health. At the time beeing women in both settings look upon the situation as very difficult. It can be characterized as a situation of problems. This word is used by some of the women themselves.

The Norwegian fishery crisis seem to be based on both local, national and international problems. I have mention that the women have little influence on the institution above local level. The marked, resources and subsidies seem to generate important conditions on the national and international level. Here neither local men nor local women seem to have control.

The Tanzanian crisis can be related to the crisis of the 3rd world's economy, lack of influence and dependency of the donor agencies.

Ambiguity of Political Principles, crises and gender

The next question we can ask, is how the the society and its public policy handle this situation of crises. Both Norway and Tanzania have an articulated politics of equality. In the field of fishery this is only specified to a certain degree and has to be understood because the knowledge about women as **serious** actors in the fishery and the fishery policy has not been accepted as a basis for political and social rights. This is the case both in Norway and Tanzania.

The industrial politics are however much more elaborated in Norway. Here the political aim is profitable institutions of the fishery sector. In Tanzania they say privatization especially of the marketing of fish. This principles seem to have a greater concern~~ing~~ than the equality principles. In the Norwegian context it means that the women trying to start a processing factory will have problems of getting their projects through the bureaucratic and political channels. It

is not considered profitable. In Tanzania it means that public support will be given to bigger firms who will engage in marketing of fish rather than village women who want to expand.

Crises, changes in values and gender

The impact of the crises on the population seem to be many. In both contexts crises seem to lead to cultural changes especially as far as gender relations are concerned.

In Finnmark husbands and fathers traditionally have had the cash responsibility for his family. In periods of crises, the women have taken over a great part of these responsibilities if they have had possibilities.

In MARA region husbands and fathers have traditionally kept cattle and some have been fishermen. Cattle have had priority before investment in fishing. During the last 10 years the number of cattle have decreased because of need of cash and because of erosion and lack of grass. During the 1980-ies the problems of fishing equipment have increased. Their husbands possibilities to keep up with their traditional duties and traditional investment pattern are few. Their wives are responsible for the daily economic burden which seems greater than before.

Thus the actual role pattern changes which also seem to have an impact on the traditional values of gender relations.

It is also important to emphasize that even if the crises is a concept used in both areas, the impact is somewhat different because of the differences in power, structure and material culture. In the Tanzanian context, it is the question of feeding the family, hunger and finally the question of the physical health, life and death that are on the agenda in situation of crisis. In Norway it is the question of keeping the house, the boat and the work. It can be the question of psychological health and social relations within and outside the family.

These differences are also related to the political and economical conditions of the countries. Norway's position as a welfare state and Tanzania's position as a developing country can explain some of these differences. The strategies of solving the crises will also be different. In Northern Norway we have seen political actions being initiated among fisheries women. In Tanzania women can be political active, but rarely women in fishery villages are politicians.

Political organization, the sector politics and gender

The values, activities and structures of the fishery women can be looked upon as a form of life, a cultural adaption that is more than just a mere trade or occupation.

There are difficulties in articulating demand because they have to transcend the narrow way of thinking based on certain trades. The politics and the media seem to enlarge the

differences.

During the crises, Norwegian fisheries, women's political actions, are well known because of the relations to mass media. More and more of the fisherywomen have identified themselves as fishermen's wives and thus articulate demands on this background. This is possible because fishery traditionally are looked into as a distinct sector from the local level and up to the national level in Norway. In Tanzania the fishery sector is much more integrated in other sectors. It is a "combined" economy to a larger degree than the Norwegian fisheries. This fact has impacts on the public policy. In Tanzania public policy is more coloured by agriculture and community development than in Norway where politics of the fishery is an important financial and organizational construction.

The fact that the Norwegian fishery is more dependent on public subsidies, also give a greater importance to defining the fishermen's wives and other active fishery women as interest groups belonging to the fishery sector in Norway. In Tanzania the women identify themselves on the basis of tribe and clan or because they belong to a certain religious congregation. In some cases the basis of differentiations are so significant that it prevent from participation in development projects even though they formerly have expressed interests in it.

Another important difference in the strategies in the two cultural contexts is the fact that the Norwegian local women themselves take initiative to actions and projects. In Tanzania "women from outside" have taken the initiatives in the villages we here are dealing with. This has to be connected to the political structure as mentioned above, but it has also to be connected to education and knowledge besides the financial and organizational resources already mentioned. The Norwegian fishery women to a larger extent seem to be aware of their position and thus can use their political possibilities. Other Norwegian women groups have done this since the early 70-ties. At that time it was also "outside" women that put the fishery women on the scientific and political agenda.

In Tanzania rural women engaged in the fisheries have the aims, but lack the resources like the educated women from other sectors and institutions. When they lack the resources, they then have to cooperate with outside women *and men*.

WOMEN CAN BE CONSIDERED AS A RENEWAL FORCE OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL STRATEGIES, BUT THEY MUST CONTROL CERTAIN RESOURCES IN ORDER TO BE THE INITIATORS OF CHANGES.

Right now there are many examples that women are a renewal force even though they in many cases have different interests and think differently. In accepting this and by giving the women better possibilities to realize their ideas of improvement, they will be important partners in the development of the fisheries both in the North and the South.

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