

TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT ETHIC FOR THE FISHING SECTOR OF UKEREWE DISTRICT, TANZANIA

By

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DECLARATION

By submitting this doctoral dissertation electronically I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

AF Mazigo

Stellenbosch, 21st January 2015

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ABSTRACT

This study was prompted by the increasing vulnerability and impoverishment of local fishing folk in Ukerewe District in Tanzania in the midst of the potential of the fishing sector to generate wealth and the many capable actors and stakeholders who can provide essential services and opportunities that can help the fishing folk to overcome their challenges and improve their lot in generating wealth.

Taking the view that some forms of poverty have their roots in the moral system of the people, institutions and organisations involved, and considering the call made by Tanzania's Second National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction to key actors and stakeholders to design and implement interventions that would improve the chances of poor actors to generate wealth, this study aimed to discover what would motivate capable actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe District to do so.

The study asked whether there are ethical values and principles that have the potential to inspire and guide capable actors and stakeholders to reconsider the fate of constrained local actors, and to make a responsible commitment to address their constraining conditions, as well as to determine how these ethical ideas, if any, can be explicated, formulated and implemented.

Empirical research was undertaken in Ukerewe District from October 2012 to March 2013. It followed an applied ethics case study methodology, combined with focus groups, life narratives and in-depth individual interviews. Three hundred and ten local actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe were engaged in progressive stages of critical self-reflection and dialogue within and between particular stakeholder groups. These 310 participants reflected and deliberated on what constituted the poverty of local actors, what it would take to overcome that poverty and what would motivate capable actors and stakeholders to combat that poverty.

The collected evidence led to the establishment of the following: First, the fishing sector offers adequate opportunities to invest in and work to generate income and goods to improve socio-economic conditions. Second, local fishing folk fall into poverty because they are constrained from generating wealth. Third, the local fishing folk could improve their capacities to generate wealth and overcome their poverty through expanded opportunities to acquire and use the relevant competence, efficient productive forces and fisheries infrastructure, formal financial credit and insurance services. Fourth, fulfilling institutional and professional obligations, contributing to possible good consequences and preventing possible bad consequences in the life of the local fishing folk, the fishing sector, their own organisations and society, and showing care for, respect to and solidarity with local fishing folk would motivate most capable actors and stakeholders to undertake pro-poor actions in the fisheries sections.

Based on what the respondents revealed to value and what they wanted to achieve in their fishing sector, an alternative development ethic, namely the Sufficient Capabilities and Wealth Ethic (SUCAWE), was constructed. The SUCAWE offers insightful and empowering moral resources for self-management and for the management of multiple actors and stakeholders in wealth creation and the combating of poverty.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie het ontstaan uit die toenemende weerloosheid en verarming van die plaaslike vissersgemeenskap van die Ukerewe Distrik in Tanzania te midde van die potensiaal van die visserysektor om welvaart te skep, en die vele agente en belanghebbendes wat in staat is daartoe om noodsaaklike dienste en geleenthede te voorsien wat kan help dat die visserygemeenskap hulle uitdagings oorkom en hulle lot verbeter deur welvaart te skep.

Uitgaande van die standpunt dat sekere vorme van armoede wortel in die morele sisteem van die mense, instellings en organisasies betrokke, en met in ag neming van die oproep wat aan sleutelagente en belanghebbendes gerig is met Tanzania se *Second National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction* om ingrepe te ontwerp en te implementeer wat die kanse sal verbeter van armes om welvaart te skep, het hierdie studie beoog om dit bloot te lê wat vermoënde agente en belanghebbendes in die visserysektor van die Ukerewe Distrik sou motiveer om dit te doen.

Hierdie studie het die vraag gestel of daar etiese waardes en beginsels is met die potensiaal om vermoënde agente en belanghebbendes te inspireer en daartoe te lei om die lot van plaaslike agente wat deur armoede beperk word, in herooring te neem, en 'n verantwoordelike verbintenis aan te gaan om hierdie beperkende omstandighede aan te spreek, en het ook gepoog om te bepaal hoe hierdie etiese idees, indien enige, blootgelê, geformuleer en geïmplementeer kan word.

Empiriese navorsing is onderneem in die Ukerewe Distrik vanaf Oktober 2012 tot Maart 2013. Hierin is die metodologie van 'n gevallestudie in toegepaste etiek gevolg, gekombineer met fokusgroepbesprekings, lewensverhale en in-diepte individuele onderhoude. Driehonderd en tien plaaslike agente en belanghebbendes in die visserysektor van Ukerewe is betrek in progressiewe fases van kritiese self-refleksie en dialoog in en tussen spesifieke groepe van belanghebbendes. Hierdie 310 deelnemers het dit wat die armoede van plaaslike agente meebring, ontleed en oorweeg, asook wat dit sou behels om hierdie armoede te oorkom, en wat vermoënde agente en belanghebbendes sou kon motiveer om hierdie armoede te beveg.

Op grond van die inligting wat versamel is, kon die volgende bepaal word: Eerstens, die visserysektor bied voldoende geleenthede vir beleggings en werk waardeur inkomste en goedere tot stand kan kom waardeur sosio-ekonomiese omstandighede verbeter kan word. Tweedens, plaaslike vissers verval in armoede omdat hulle beperk word om welvaart te skep. Derdens, plaaslike vissers kan hulle vermoë om welvaart te skep om armoede te oorkom, verbeter deur die geleenthede uit te brei vir hulle om relevante vaardighede, doeltreffende produksiekragte en vissery-infrastruktuur, formele finansiële krediet en versekeringsdienste te bekom en te gebruik. Vierdens, die meeste vermoënde agente en belanghebbendes wat in staat is tot pro-arm optrede in die visserysektor sou daartoe gemotiveer kon word deur institusionele en professionele verpligtinge na te kom, deur by te dra tot moontlike goeie gevolge en moontlike slegte gevolge in die lewe van plaaslike vissers, die visserysektor, hulle eie organisasies en die samelewing te voorkom, en deur sorgsaamheid vir, respek teenoor en solidariteit met die plaaslike vissersgemeenskap te openbaar.

Op grond van wat die deelnemers openbaar het oor dit waaraan hulle waarde heg, asook wat hulle graag sou wou bereik in die deel van die visserysektor waarby hulle betrokke is, is 'n alternatiewe ontwikkelingsetiek geformuleer, te wete die *Sufficient Capabilities and Wealth Ethic* (SUCawe). Die SUCawe bied insiggewende en bemagtigende morele hulpbronne vir self-bestuur, asook vir die bestuur van 'n verskeidenheid van agente en belanghebbendes betrokke by die skepping van welvaart en die bekamping van armoede.

DEDICATION

In loving memory of the late

Mzee Fortunatus Ninalwo Kanwagale, my lovely father

Mzee Ntulanalwo Mazani, my neighbour and friend

Mwalimu Enos Mafula, my teacher and friend

David Mtabi Ninalwo, my younger brother

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Nevertheless, all the help and guidance notwithstanding, I remain solely responsible for the views expressed and any errors in this work.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARV	Anti-retroviral
BMU	Beach Management Unit
BNA	Basic Needs Approach
CA	Capability Approach
CBO	Community Based Organization
CHF	Community Health Fund
CHMT	Council Health Management Team
CMT	Council Management Team
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DED	District Executive Director
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
FBO	Faith Based Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRA	Human Rights Approach
ICA	Individual Characteristics Approach
LGA	Local Government Authority
LVFO	Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization
MKUKUTA	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania
MLFD	Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries Development
NAOT	National Audit Office of Tanzania
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NLA	Natural Law Approach
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
NSSF	National Social Security Fund
PPP	Public Private Partnership
SACCOS	Saving and Credit Cooperative Society
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SUCAWE	Sufficient Capabilities and Wealth Ethic
TASAF	Tanzania Social Action Fund
TZS	Tanzanian Shillings
UDC	Ukerewe District Council
UN	United Nations
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USD	United States Dollars
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
VEO	Village Executive Officer
VICOBA	Village Community Bank
WDC	Ward Development Committee
WEO	Ward Executive Officer
WHC	Ward Health Committee

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This is a study in development ethics¹. Its empirical part was carried out in the fishing sector of Ukerewe District in Tanzania and engaged key actors and stakeholders in a process of critical dialogical reflection about their current social, production, distribution and exchange relations and practices and what is at stake with regard to human dignity, agency and the well-being of local people participating in the fisheries sections. Respondents were also involved in critical dialogical reflection on factors and conditions contributing to the production and perpetuation of different forms of poverty affecting local actors in the fisheries sections, and the possibility of overcoming these factors and conditions to realise prosperity.

The motivation to undertake this study came from my long-term personal experience with the unsuccessful struggles of most local actors in the fishing sector along Lake Victoria in general, and in Ukerewe District in particular, to generate enough wealth through the fisheries activities they undertake. While this fishing sector is endowed with potential for wealth, and other actors in it have actually generated wealth, most local people participating in it are far from attaining prosperity. Given this scenario, I had wanted to investigate what prevents most local actors from improving their lot in generating wealth through productive fisheries activities.

This motivation intensified with the call made by the Second National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction of Tanzania (famously known as MKUKUTA² II). MKUKUTA II makes a call to key actors and stakeholders in sectors of the economy in which poor people participate and/or depend on for their livelihoods, such as agriculture and fisheries, to design and implement interventions that will offer them opportunities to participate in “wealth creation to eventually get out of poverty”

¹ Development ethics is a field of study involving critical and systematic reflection on “questions about major value choices involved in processes of social and economic development” (Gasper, 2012: 120). According to Goulet (1997), development ethics is concerned precisely with a systematic examination of ethical and value questions posed by development theory, planning and practice in order to diagnose value conflicts, assess policies and assess valuations placed on development performance. Thus, there are at least three levels and/or ways of doing development ethics, namely thinking about experiences of development, thinking about development theory and thinking about development planning (Gasper, 2004; Dower, 2008: 184). The first level involves critical and systematic reflection on the actual practices of development. This experiential reflection involves reflection on the actual development processes occurring in the socio-economic context to understand the values they promote or preserve and the moral principles underlying them. The second level involves critical and systematic reflection on development theory. This theoretical reflection involves critical and systematic reflection on normative issues involving development to underline an ethical basis for thinking, understanding and evaluating good and bad development. The third level involves critical and systematic reflection on development planning. This involves critical reflection and assessment to determine how well development planning captures and pursues the goals that people consider important in their lives and contexts. Development ethics is best understood as “an activity of thinking about ethical issues in theories and practices of development”, done either “monologically by the thinker thinking through things for herself, hopefully in response to what others say or have said in discussions and in writings” or “dialogically through extensive dialogue and interaction between people of different approaches” (Dower, 2008: 184).

² MKUKUTA is an acronym for Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania, Swahili for the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty.

(United Republic of Tanzania [URT], 2010). The envisaged pro-poor interventions are expected to facilitate poor actors to overcome the conditions that constrain them from participating actively in these specific economic and productive sectors, and in the generation of wealth, which is important for improving their lives and overcoming poverty.

Aware of the conflicting values and interests of actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector, and particularly their attitudes of wanting to ‘make more and more personal profits no matter what’, left me wanting to know what would motivate them to reconsider the fate of poor fishing folk in the fisheries sections, and to undertake actions to improve their lot in wealth creation. On further reflection, I became convinced that all this melts down to the ‘ethic’ of actors and stakeholders in the context of wealth creation and the combating of poverty. Hence, I became interested to undertake an exploration to uncover that ‘ethic’.

Embracing the view that some forms of poverty have their roots in the moral systems of the people, institutions and organisations involved, this study proceeded to investigate who the poor actors in this fishing sector are, what constitutes their poverty, what it would take to eradicate their poverty, and what would motivate capable key actors and stakeholders to combat that poverty. The ultimate aim of this undertaking was to uncover contextualised moral/ethical ideas, values and principles with the potential to powerfully inspire and guide capable actors and stakeholders in this fishing sector to undertake responsible commitments to address conditions that produce and perpetuate poverty in the fisheries sections, and those constraining some of those local actors to generate wealth.

1.2 Background to the study

MKUKUTA II is a policy document that formulated guidelines for the enhancement of economic and production activities and consequently for facilitating the participation of poor people in these economic and productive activities to generate resources for use to overcome their poverty (URT, 2010). MKUKUTA II guides national initiatives from 2011 to 2015 to expedite inclusive economic growth, facilitate massive poverty reduction, improve the standard of living and social welfare of people, and realise good governance and accountability (URT, 2010). Its envisaged pro-poor interventions are meant to facilitate poor actors to overcome conditions that constrain their active participation in the specific economic and productive sectors they engage in and to generate wealth.

The fishing sector, which was not targeted by MKUKUTA I, is now incorporated in the plans of MKUKUTA II. This followed from the realisation of the potential of the fishing sector to contribute to economic growth and to improve the livelihoods of those participating in it. Following its liberalisation and commercialisation, the fishing sector has attracted huge investments in its catching and processing sections in both fresh and marine waters, thereby contributing significantly to employment, income, the gross domestic product (GDP) and foreign exchange. According to the

National Bureau of Statistics (NBS, 2011, cited in Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries Development [MLFD], 2012), the fisheries GDP was TZS 154 billion and contributed 1.5% to the total GDP of TZS 9 100 billion in 2001, and that amount increased to TZS 460 billion in 2010 and contributed 1.4% of the total GDP of TZS 32 200 billion.

Meanwhile, the National Fisheries Statistics (MLFD, 2012) show that, in 2010, there were 177 527 full-time fishers engaging in fish-catching activities in fresh and marine waters. According to the 2010 Frame Survey, fish-catching activities in the Tanzanian Lake Victoria had attracted 55 985 full-time fishers in 2000, and this number increased to 94 590 by 2010. The 94 590 fishers caught 243 564.4 tons of fish, with a value of TZS 608 910 975 000. In addition, the number of fish-processing factories in the Lake zone rose from none in 1995 to 14 in 2005, offering employment opportunities to numerous citizens (Kweka *et al.*, 2006). Generally, local people along Lake Victoria are increasingly engaging in catching, processing and trading fish, activities that contribute to both their household income and the reduction of non-income poverty (Kulwijila, Masanyiwa and Namwata 2012).

Notwithstanding the abovementioned contributions, the fishing sector, which maintained modest growth, attaining 5% in 2008 before declining to 2.7% in 2009 (URT, 2010), faces many challenges that affect its economic growth (prosperity) and poverty-reduction potential. In fact, the current fishing practices in it and the production, distribution and exchange relations evolving amongst its actors and stakeholders have introduced a whole set of new challenges to local actors and their fishing communities. Particularly, liberalised commercial fishing has contributed to producing conditions that significantly constrain local people from participating actively and gainfully in their fishing sector.

Some constraining factors include a lack of capital, limited credit facilities, poor technologies, low prices of fish products, high prices of fishing equipment, insecurities and the theft of fishing equipment, use of hazardous fishing techniques, resource degradation, and high post-fishing losses (URT, 2010). In turn, these constraints expose local actors and their communities to the risks of vulnerability and poverty. Such vulnerability and poverty of the local people and the fishing communities along Lake Victoria were exposed in the highly contested documentary film, *Darwin's Nightmare*³.

³ This documentary film was written and directed by Hubert Sauper in 2004. It documents the environmental and social effects of the commercialised and liberalised fishing industry around Lake Victoria in Tanzania. Through its real-life characters, this documentary film powerfully highlights the extent of poverty and the impoverishment of local people amidst the wealth generated by fisheries in Lake Victoria. In many ways, the film unveils the exploitation, injustices and suffering experienced by people in the local fishing communities and in the different productive sections of the fishing industry in which local people engage. Indeed, and, as observed by A World to Win News Service (2005), the reviewers of this film, *Darwin's Nightmare*, unveil the "ruthless exploitation of the working people, deaths of the hapless in villages, women forced into prostitution and scourged by AIDS, lungs assailed by poisonous gas, all consequences of international relations glamorized so often by the great powers of the earth, which come by the name of 'free trade', the 'free market economy' – and in these days, 'globalization'" (<http://revcom.us/a/048/darwins-nightmare-review.html>, accessed on 12 Sep 2014). The message of this film was received with mixed feelings in Tanzania. While most common citizens argued that the film depicted well the reality on the ground, the government leaders were sceptical and strongly opposed its message, arguing

The official records of the Ukerewe District Council of 2012 and the results of the National Sample Census of Agriculture 2007/08 attest to the fact of increased vulnerability and poverty in the district, amidst the wealth potential of the fishing sector and capable actors and stakeholders to facilitate the production of enough wealth to combat and overcome poverty. For instance, the official records of the Ukerewe District Council show that the per capita gross domestic product (GDP) for the district for the year 2011 was only TZS 340 000. With this per capita GDP, it means that, on average, one citizen in this district in 2011 earned and spent TZS 930 (USD 0.56)⁴ per day, which is far below the national poverty line of Tanzania of TZS 1 500 per day.

Besides the income poverty mentioned above, the National Sample Census of Agriculture 2007/08, which involved 37 302 of the 59 508 households, underscored a wide spread of non-income poverty in the district. For instance, with regard to the quality of houses and facilities used in the households, the survey found that, of the 37 302 households, only 24 960 (67%) households had their homes roofed with iron sheets, while the rest had grass or asbestos roofing. It also recorded that 85% (31 684 households) of the 37 302 households had sand floors in their homes and only 1% (4 605) of these households had cement floors in their homes.

With regard to the wall materials of the homes, the survey recorded that 12 434 (33%) households had houses constructed of poles and mud, 10 684 (29%) households had houses constructed from sun-dried bricks, and only 5 342 (14%) and 1 934 (5%) households had houses constructed of baked bricks and cement blocks respectively. In addition, the survey found that, of the 37 302 households, 32 789 (88%) households used traditional pit latrines, 1 566 (4%) households used improved pit latrines, 737 (2%) households used flush toilets and 2 118 (6%) households had no toilets.

Regarding owned household assets, the survey found that, of the 37 302 households, only 27 539 (74%) households owned radio or cassette players, only 645 (2%) households owned television sets, only 11 881 (32%) households owned mobile telephone handsets, only 17 868 (48%) households owned bicycles, only 184 (0.5%) households owned vehicles, and only 645 (2%) households owned motorcycles. With regard to sources of energy for cooking, the survey found that 36 381 (98%) households used firewood and that only 92 households used electricity. In addition, the survey found that the main sources of lighting were hurricane, pressure or wick lamps, used in 36 658 (98%) households, whereas 92 and 276 households used electricity and solar power respectively.

With regard to food satisfaction, the survey recorded that, of the 37 302 households, only 2 855 (8%) households reported to have sufficient food always, 11 237 (30%) households never had sufficient food, 13 631 (37%) households seldom had sufficient food, 2 947 (8%) sometimes had sufficient

that it had some political agenda. It is believed that the European Union based their decision to ban the exportation of fish and fishery products from Lake Victoria to EU countries, inter alia, on some of the facts highlighted in this film.

⁴ Exchange rate in September 2011: 1 TZS equals 0.00060 USD

food, and 6 632 (18%) households often had sufficient food. Moreover, with regard to sources of drinking water, the survey recorded that 92 (0.2%) households used piped water, 10 500 (27%) households used protected wells, 1 289 (3%) households used protected or covered springs, and 10 039 (26%) households used unprotected wells. Another 5 895 (16%) households used unprotected springs, 7 645 (20%) households used surface water (lake or river, etc.), 461 (1%) households used covered rainwater catchments, and 1 197 (3%) households used uncovered rainwater catchments.

The fact that local actors in the fishing sector have remained poor and/or increasingly exposed to risks of vulnerability and poverty, and the general decline of welfare in the fishing communities such as those in Ukerewe District described above, alarmed the government and some stakeholders. Through MKUKUTA II, therefore, the government and stakeholders seek to redress those conditions constraining poor people in the fishing sector and to facilitate them to unlock wealth through productive fisheries activities in which they can engage to improve their lives.

I considered MKUKUTA II's appeal to key actors and stakeholders as an urgent call to them to reflect critically on the processes of production and the perpetuation of poverty of local actors and the impact that poverty has on the human dignity, agency and well-being of those local actors and their fishing communities, and to undertake relevant reforms. However, given the conflicting values and interests of the multiple actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector, some important questions arise. First, what would justify and motivate those key actors and stakeholders to undertake the expected reforms or interventions in the fisheries sections? Second, what should be the content of those reforms or interventions? Third, what would guarantee better implementation and outcomes of those reforms or interventions? Since MKUKUTA II does little to provide satisfactory answers to these questions in order to engage convincingly with capable actors and stakeholders to undertake the expected reforms, we may not see both the designing of relevant pro-poor interventions and the meaningful facilitation of poor actors in generating wealth through the fisheries activities they undertake.

Poverty is a complex phenomenon with many faces, many causes and many effects on individual human beings and their socio-economic and political systems. Given its complexity, a full understanding of poverty is not usually attained, thereby impeding the design of effective strategies for its eradication. Gauri and Sonderholm (2012), who acknowledge the complexity of poverty and challenge the prevailing approaches to its eradication, argue for tackling issues and questions related to the causality, measurement and normativity of poverty to successfully deal with poverty in societies.

Understanding poverty and designing practical strategies to combat it have benefited mostly from the sociological, political and economic perspectives. However, given the complexity of poverty, more perspectives are required to complement and/or enhance those understandings to formulate better

strategies for its eradication or reduction. Indeed, issues and questions about poverty, in particular those regarding its causality and measurement, can be addressed thoroughly through sociological, political and economics perspectives, but issues and questions related to the normative nature of poverty would certainly be well comprehended and tackled when philosophical and ethical perspectives are invoked and adequately engaged (Gauri and Sonderholm, 2012).

The call to consider the normative nature of poverty and the moral issues surrounding the initiatives for its redress is increasingly being made, particularly in the field of development ethics. Concerned with “the ethical reflection on the ends and means of local, national and global development”,⁵ development ethicists undertake critical reflection and deliberation on the moral issues surrounding human initiatives to bring about socio-economic changes and/or redress poverty in societies (Crocker, 1991).

Given the above, theoretical and empirical studies in development ethics are increasingly suggesting that ethical perspectives and approaches may contribute to a better grasp of poverty and consequently inform the formulation of better strategies for its eradication or reduction. Studies such as those of O’Neill (1986), Goulet (1995), Khali (2004), Pogge (2005), Dieterlen (2005), St Clair (2006), Crocker (2008), Sen (2010), Dixon (2010), Gauri and Sonderholm (2012) and García-Marzá (2013) have underlined ethical issues hindering poverty reduction, and cogently argued for a serious consideration of moral/ethical issues to design better measures to combat and overcome poverty.

While noting tendencies to ignore ethical issues and/or partially treating the moral dimension in matters of poverty reduction, studies such as those of Dieterlen (2005), Khali (2004), Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO] (2005a) and Gauri and Sonderholm (2012) suggest that the investigation and mitigation of poverty should not exclude moral/ethical questions. Specifically, whereas Dieterlen (2005: 39) claims that “any social policy that fails to take into account the moral dimension of poverty runs the risk of failure”, Khali (2004: 2) maintains that “a full understanding of poverty in society is contingent upon looking at the phenomenon’s moral and ethical dimensions including the principles underlying public responses”. Accordingly, critical reflection on the ethical issues and moral dimension of poverty is considered important and as having the potential to facilitate the identification of vital ethical values and interests (especially of the poor and muted) that may be threatened or undermined, and to guide their promotion and protection in specific sectors and contexts (FAO, 2005a; Hattingh, 2004).

Besides, García-Marzá (2013: 723) views ethical values and principles as moral resources, which, like natural, physical, financial, human and social resources, allow the carrying out of actions and the

⁵ This is the definition of development ethics provided by the International Development Ethics Association (IDEA), <http://developmentethics.org/about-2/what-is-development-ethics/>, accessed on 08.07.2014.

coordination of plans of action with other individual or collective actors to improve human and societal situations. Garcia-Marzá (2013: 723) contends that, with the right moral resources, individual and collective moral agents can “take on responsible commitments and act accordingly” to redress human and societal challenges such as poverty. In addition, ethical frameworks and approaches have been developed to facilitate ethical reflection and deliberation on moral issues surrounding development and poverty in concrete situations and the identification of relevant moral resources to inspire and guide interested and committed poverty-reducing agents.

The readings mentioned above thus suggest that ethical reflection could play an important role in understanding the poverty produced and perpetuated in concrete socio-economic and productive sectors, and the designing and implementation of development interventions for improving human dignity, agency and the well-being of poor people participating in those sectors. Therefore, I took it as one of my points of departure that a serious consideration of ethical issues when designing and implementing pro-poor development interventions may improve chances for such interventions to succeed in facilitating the combating of poverty and the enhancement of human dignity, agency and the well-being of poor people engaging in those socio-economic and productive sectors. However, the challenge rests on the question of how to identify and address the concrete ethical questions to select credible moral resources relevant to the development of interventions for redressing poverty and facilitating prosperity in specific socio-economic and productive sectors, such as the fishing sector of Ukerewe.

1.3 Statement of the research problem

Income and non-income poverty are on the increase among fishing folk and in the fishing communities of Ukerewe District, despite the fact that the fishing sector and productive fisheries activities in it currently have the potential to provide people undertaking them with enough resources to combat poverty and improve their well-being. That fishing folk are increasingly falling into poverty amidst the wealth potential of their fisheries and the many capable actors and stakeholders with essential services and opportunities that can help them improve their lot in wealth creation leaves one wondering whether those capable actors and stakeholders are unwilling or unaware of their duty to support these constrained actors.

Within the context described above, MKUKUTA II makes a call to key actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector to design and implement development interventions that would offer and/or improve the chances of poor actors in the fishing sector to generate wealth. However, given the conflicting interests and values of multiple actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector, the question that arises is what would motivate those capable actors and stakeholders to reconsider the fate of poor actors in the fisheries sections, and to make responsible commitments to address the main conditions constraining these local actors to improve their lot in wealth creation.

In line with the above, two issues emerged and underlie this research. First, if capable actors and stakeholders were aware of their responsibility but did not help local actors overcome their constraints, what would motivate them to do so now? Second, if capable actors and stakeholders have been unaware of their duty to help, when made aware, what would motivate them to engage responsibly and committedly in redressing those constraining conditions of local actors? With the theoretical points of departure from development ethics, within the context of the call of MKUKUTA II, and taking as my main focal point the fishing sector of Ukerewe District, one in which most local people depend for their survival on fishing and yet are highly constrained from participating gainfully in it, this study proceeded to engage key actors and stakeholders in a process of critical dialogical ethical reflection to think through the two issues raised above in order to uncover ethical ideas, values and principles with the potential to inspire them to redress the constraints of poor actors.

1.4 Research objectives

This empirical study was an attempt to understand the ethical issues and moral dimension of poverty in the context of the fishing sector of Ukerewe District, and to critically reflect on the kind of development ethic⁶ suited to guide actors and stakeholders in that fishing sector in their efforts to combat poverty and to attain prosperity. In general, I asked whether there are any, and if so which, ethical values and principles⁷ with the potential to inspire and guide capable actors and stakeholders to redress the constraints of poor actors, and to provide a moral basis and guidance for making the fishing sector of Ukerewe District work for and benefit poor people. Specifically, my focus was on:

- Exploring the potential of the fishing sector and productive fisheries activities in it to contribute to the reduction of poverty and/or attainment of prosperity of local people and fishing communities in the district
- Understanding who the poor local actors in the fisheries sections are and the conditions constituting their poverty
- Investigating possible and preferred initiatives for facilitating the active and gainful participation of poor local actors in the fishing sector
- Uncovering an ethic that could inspire and guide key actors and stakeholders to choose and implement pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector

⁶ By “development ethic” I mean a set of values and principles that a person or group of people may choose to inform, inspire and guide their choice of development goals and means, as well as initiatives and processes in specific socio-economic and political contexts (Dower, 2008: 184).

⁷ For the purpose of this study, the following distinctions are made between the concepts of ethical values and ethical principles. By ethical values I mean a set of beliefs that members of a given group or society view as having to do with being good or doing the right thing in terms of respect for and promotion of the rights, well-being and dignity of human beings (and in some cases respect for the nonhuman environment), and so are considered worthy to inform and guide conduct with regard to human beings as well as the nonhuman environment. By ethical principles I mean a set of maxims used by members of a given group or society to express, in concrete terms and within a particular context, the relevance and implications of a general ethical value in response to a certain ethical issue. In this study, therefore, I do not use the concepts of ethical values and ethical principles interchangeably, but rather as complementary to denote different ethical aspects in the broader ethical approaches and processes.

1.5 Research approach

This study followed an applied ethics case study methodology with a combination of methods to address the central research question. On the one hand, I undertook a critical review of the relevant theoretical and empirical literature to better comprehend the theorisation of poverty as a moral problem and the ethical/moral dimension of the processes of the production, perpetuation and reduction of poverty. I also wanted to understand the main ethical approaches and their practical guidelines for undertaking ethical reflection and deliberation on the moral issues and moral dimensions entailed in development and poverty reduction in concrete situations. In addition, I wanted to understand ethical values and principles that development ethicists suggest as useful to inspire and guide committed poverty-reducing agents and to provide a moral basis for pro-poor development interventions. A review of the literature on these themes is done in Chapter 2.

On the other hand, I followed a case study approach in the form of applied *phronésis* to capture, given the Ukerewe context, the possible and preferred pro-poor initiatives and credible ethical values and principles with the potential to inspire and guide capable key actors and stakeholders to undertake responsible commitments to choose and implement pro-poor initiatives in the fisheries sections. In this context, I drew on the methodological guidelines of Bent Flyvbjerg and Amartya Sen, and creatively adapted them into a process of progressive stages of self-reflection and dialogue within and between stakeholder groups. I did this with the view to provide the study participants with enough opportunities to debate, reflect and deliberate on concrete strategies for facilitating the active, responsible and gainful participation of constrained local people in their fishing sector, as well as the moral basis for those practical strategies. I provide a detailed description of the research design and methods followed in Chapter 3.

1.6 Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is organised into eight chapters. Chapter 1 is the general introduction. It covers background information, in particular that related to the empirical problems of local people engaged in the fishing sector and the fishing communities that inspired the undertaking of this study, the statement of the research problem, the research objectives and questions, the theoretical points of departure and the research approach.

Chapter 2 comprises a literature review. It covers a systematic exploration of the main ethical approaches to poverty to underscore useful alternative and complementary explanations for understanding and combating poverty. Here I also discuss the practical methodological guidelines that ethical approaches offer to facilitate ethical reflection and deliberation on moral issues in combating poverty and promoting development in concrete situations and the implications of these for designing and implementing pro-poor interventions in socio-economic and productive sectors.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed description of the research strategy employed to carry out the research tasks in the field sites in Ukerewe. I specifically discuss the basis for choosing the theoretical framework and research design I followed, as well as the methods I utilised to select the study participants, and to collect and analyse the field data.

Chapter 4 comprises the main findings related to opportunities that the fishing sector provides to local people and, service arrangements to support their active and responsible participation in it. It also includes a discussion on the (im)possibility of productive fisheries activities to contribute to improving the socio-economic situation of people undertaking them and the general welfare of their fishing communities.

Chapter 5 entails the reporting and discussion of the main findings related to the main conditions and factors constraining local actors from generating enough wealth to improve their human dignity, agency and well-being in the fisheries sections.

Chapter 6 comprises the reporting and discussion of the main findings related to the poverty of local actors, possible and preferred actions to address that poverty, and the moral convictions and motivations of capable actors and stakeholders for undertaking pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector.

Chapter 7 involves a critical reflection and attempt to construct an alternative, coherent and contextualised development ethic with the potential to powerfully inspire and guide multiple actors and stakeholders in their efforts to combat poverty to attain prosperity through the fishing sector.

Chapter 8 comprises summaries, conclusions and recommendations for further research.

1.7 Concluding remarks

The exposition in this chapter has highlighted the background to the study, its motivation, the research problem, the research objectives and questions, the theoretical points of departure, and the research approach that was followed. Building on this chapter, we now proceed systematically in the next chapters to appreciate the theoretical insights and basis for undertaking a process of critical dialogical ethical reflection on matters of poverty and development, the actual undertaking of a critical dialogical ethical reflection in the fishing sector of Ukerewe District, as well as its outcomes.

CHAPTER TWO

ETHICAL APPROACHES TO POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises the review of literature on ethical approaches to poverty and development. The review involved an exploration of the main ethical approaches that explain the nature, causes, processes and practical strategies to combat and overcome poverty. The chapter highlights in particular the contribution that ethical reflection could make in matters of designing and implementing interventions to redress conditions that contribute to producing and perpetuating the poverty of people participating in potentially high-productive sectors of the economy, and in improving the lot of poor actors in generating wealth. I explain the meaning of ethical reflection and highlight the moral nature and dimensions of poverty in section 2.2. I undertake a thorough discussion of the main ethical approaches to highlight their alternative insights and frameworks for thinking and dealing with poverty and development in section 2.3. Concluding remarks follow in section 2.4 to end this chapter.

2.2 Ethical reflection and the moral nature of poverty

Poverty is a complex phenomenon and yet a painful reality experienced by human beings in their social, economic and political arenas (Adejumobi, 2006; Narayan, 2000). Different forms of poverty undermine the dignity and autonomy of human beings in households and communities (Sen, 1999). Eskelinen (2009) and Green (2006) maintain that social relations at the local, national or international level are responsible for the production and perpetuation of different forms of poverty.

According to Eskelinen (2009: 21), “poverty as a concept with ethical significance means involuntary poverty”.⁸ Eskelinen (2009) argues that conceptualising poverty in moral terms requires one to show its moral qualities, including the fact that it is not a condition that the individual chooses freely, and to discuss why it is morally bad. Subsequently, it is important that such conceptualisations render possible the normative analysis of poverty to eventually understand and explain what makes it a moral or ethical problem and one requiring moral/ethical solutions.

Critical ethical reflection on a specific poverty condition therefore involves understanding and determining what is morally bad or wrong about that poverty situation, and consequently the scrutiny of moral justifications and practical strategies for its redress. It follows that ethical reflection must facilitate the unveiling of the moral nature of poverty and the ethical values and principles underlying practical strategies for combating and overcoming it.

⁸ Involuntary poverty is distinguished from voluntary poverty. The latter involves deliberate choices of individuals to embrace some forms of destitution and material needs amidst abundance of goods and resources they may have access to, or ownership and control of. Involuntary poverty is usually embraced for spiritual, moral, or political motives.

The debate on the nature and causes of poverty and the possibility or impossibility of its redress has been at the centre stage of development and poverty scholarship for many years. On the one hand, Neo-Malthusian scholars have developed arguments and provided evidence in support of the view that poverty is “a natural disaster and one without remedy” (Dieterlen, 2005: 15). In fact, Dieterlen (2005) notices that, in their arguments against efforts for combating poverty, some Neo-Malthusians use metaphors that depict poverty as a form of ‘uncontrollable catastrophe’ and argue that efforts under public policy interventions will increase poverty instead of offering solutions to it.

On the other hand, scholars in academic fields such as sociology and social anthropology, economics, political science, development studies and philosophy have argued and provided evidence to suggest that poverty is a man-made problem, and one requiring socio-economic and political solutions. These scholars have suggested individual and structural/systemic causes and solutions to the different problems and forms of poverty in society. Specifically, these scholars have developed arguments and presented evidence to suggest the possibility of eradicating or reducing poverty when individuals and institutions change some of their behaviour, and when exploitative and obstructing socio-economic and political systems and processes in societies are reformed. In fact, these scholars argue that well-designed and implemented public interventions may facilitate poverty eradication or reduction. It is along this second route that the ethical approaches to poverty have evolved and developed.

Scholars and practitioners of development ethics have also embarked on questions about the production, perpetuation and eradication of poverty. In doing so, they have sought to understand the meaning and nature of poverty, its causes and the actors responsible for its production and perpetuation, as well as the compelling moral reasons/motives of effective poverty-reducing agents. Given this, ethical perspectives on and approaches to poverty are comprised of arguments and evidence to highlight what are believed to be the actions, conditions, forces and motives of actors/agents involved in the processes of the production, perpetuation and reduction of poverty (Øyen, 2004).

More precisely, ethical approaches encompass specific points of views of scholars and practitioners who consider and explain poverty as a moral or ethical problem, and one requiring ethical solutions (St Clair, 2004). These scholars and practitioners consider poverty as resulting from the conduct and relations of human beings, institutions and organisations operating in society. They argue that poverty, which exists within socio-economic and political contexts, is morally bad inasmuch as it renders human beings lacking in those things of ethical significance for leading ethical and decent human lives (Eskelinen, 2009). As a result, several ethical approaches provide competing explanations for the moral badness of poverty, moral reasons and practical strategies for its redress.

I follow Eskelinen's analysis of moral explanations of poverty and strategies for combating it to group ethical approaches to poverty into two main groups. On the one hand, there are those ethical approaches that build their arguments and provide evidence informed by deontological explanations, and on the other hand there are those ethical approaches whose arguments and evidence are informed by non-deontological explanations (Eskelinen, 2009). While deontological explanations of poverty proceed from viewing poverty as a violation of specific moral principles, such as the principles of social justice and human rights, non-deontological explanations build their arguments on the understanding of poverty as resulting from the lack of morality and/or ways through which poverty impacts negatively on the morality of poor human beings (Eskelinen, 2009). Notwithstanding the above distinction, the main ethical approaches to poverty provide their explanations while paying attention to both the consequences that different forms of poverty bring about to human beings and their moralities, as well as the moral principles violated following the processes of the production and perpetuation of poverty in specific societies.

The important ethical approaches are (i) the Basic Needs Approach (BNA), (ii) the Individual Characteristics Approach (ICA), (iii) the Natural Law Approach (NLA), (iv) the Human Rights Approach (HRA), and (v) the Capability Approach (CA). These five ethical approaches embody convincing points of view about the nature, causes, moral reasons and practical strategies for combating and overcoming different forms of poverty. In the next section, I undertake a schematic analysis of these ethical approaches to highlight three key areas. The key areas are (i) the meaning and causation of poverty, (ii) the prescribed ethical duties and practical strategies to redress poverty, and (iii) the relevance of an ethical approach in the context of pro-poor initiatives in concrete socio-economic and political situations and productive sectors.

2.3. Ethical approaches to poverty and development

The Basic Needs Approach (BNA), the Individual Characteristics Approach (ICA), the Natural Law Approach (NLA), the Human Rights Approach (HRA) and the Capability Approach (CA) are useful normative frameworks to inform and guide initiatives to bring about development and redress poverty. Development ethicists invoke and utilise insights from these normative approaches in their attempts to reflect on the ends and means of local, national and global initiatives to bring about socio-economic, political and technological changes (Goulet, 1995; 1997).

2.3.1 The Basic Needs Approach (BNA)

The Basic Needs Approach (BNA) has been in existence since the early 1970s and has guided initiatives seeking "to raise the sustainable level of living of the masses of poor people as rapidly as is feasible and to provide all human beings with the opportunity to develop their full potential" (Streeten and Burki, 1978: 412). The BNA integrates deontological explanations of poverty inasmuch as it underscores the facts of the violation of the principles of social justice that demand the establishment

of socio-economic and political arrangements to guarantee the satisfaction of basic human needs for every human being in society to lead a respectful, flourishing and dignified life. The satisfaction of basic needs is vital for ensuring that human dignity and lives are not threatened or harmed. As a normative framework, the BNA has informed and guided the anti-poverty strategies of the ILO, governments and most NGOs.

The recent development of a Needs-centred ethics strengthens the moral reasoning in the BNA to highlight forcefully the moral badness or wrongness of the socio-economic and political conditions that contribute to the non-fulfilment of basic needs. Gillian Brock and Soran Reader are important proponents of a Needs-centred ethics. According to Brock and Reader (2002) and Reader and Brock (2004), the main moral tenets of a Needs-centred ethics are central and evident in the daily private moral lives of people and in the public moral life, and underlie most anti-poverty and development initiatives in the world.

2.3.1.1 The meaning and cause of poverty in the BNA

In the BNA, poverty refers to the condition of lacking those important “requirements for the ongoing being, life, agency, flourishing or avoidance of harm” (Reader and Brock, 2004: 266). Townsend (1979), Griffin (1988), Wiggins (1998) and Veit-Wilson (1999) maintain that basic human needs are vital for ensuring survival, healthy, dignified living and effective participation of every human being in wealth production and meaningful social relationships. Unlike wishes and interests, human needs require satisfaction to guarantee dignified and unharmed living.

In an innovative and insightful refinement of the Basic Needs Approach, Manfred Max-Neef makes a distinction between human needs and their satisfiers. Max-Neef (1992: 204) claims that “fundamental human needs are essential attributes related to human evolution; satisfiers are forms of Being, Having, Doing and Interacting, related to structures”. According to Max-Neef (1992: 199), there are, on the one hand, existential needs, which include the needs of Being, Having, Doing and Interacting; and on the other hand there are axiological needs, which include the needs of Subsistence, Protection, Affection, Understanding, Participation, Creation, Leisure, Identity and Freedom. The satisfiers are material and non-material goods that enable the realisation of the basic needs of human beings at the personal, social group and environment levels and contexts. The examples of satisfiers include food and shelter, which are meant to satisfy the need for subsistence, and the curative systems, preventive systems and health schemes in general, which have to satisfy the need for protection (Max-Neef, 1992).

Further, Max-Neef (1992: 200) argues that “fundamental human needs are the same in all cultures and in all historical periods”; however, the way or the means by which these needs are satisfied changes, both over time and through cultures. Accordingly, Max-Neef (1992: 200) maintains that “each economic, social and political system adopts different methods for the satisfaction of the same

fundamental human needs. In every system they are satisfied (or not satisfied) through the generation (or non-generation) of different types of satisfiers”.

Building on his perspectives on human needs, Max-Neef (1992: 200) proceeds to contend that inadequate satisfaction of basic needs leads to different forms of human poverty. Therefore, there are (i) poverty of subsistence, which emerges due to insufficient income, food, shelter, etcetera, (ii) poverty of protection, which arises following such conditions as bad health systems, violence and the arms race, and (iii) poverty of affection, which arises due to authoritarianism, oppression and exploitative relations with the natural environment. Others are (iv) poverty of understanding, which results from poor quality of education, (v) poverty of participation, which is produced through, for example, marginalisation of and discrimination against women, children and minorities, and (vi) poverty of identity, which arises following, for example, the imposition of alien values upon local and regional cultures, forced migration, and political exile.

Following from these expositions, poor people are needy persons (Brock and Reader, 2002). These persons experience the lack of socio-economic resources and services so basic for ensuring not only their physical well-being, but also the realisation of their human dignity and autonomy (International Labour Office [ILO], 1976). With none or limited resources and opportunities to meet their biological, social and psychological needs, needy and poor persons find themselves in helpless situations and experiences that are “life-threatening, life-restricting and life-disempowering” (Dixon, 2010: 111).

The satisfaction of basic human needs thus is important for ensuring fully and dignified human lives. However, several factors and conditions in societies contribute to the lack of basic human needs, and consequently the failure to satisfy the basic needs of some members of the society. The first factor involves the lack of relevant societal arrangements to facilitate and guarantee the satisfaction of human needs. Gough (1998; 2004) and Max-Neef (1992) argue that every human society is responsible for making arrangements that facilitate and guarantee the satisfaction of basic needs of its members. In particular, Max-Neef (1992: 200) emphasises that “[e]ach economic, social and political system adopts different methods for the satisfaction of the same fundamental human needs”. It follows that the way a society has arranged its social, economic and political systems determines the chances of its members to access the required resources and means to satisfy their human needs.

Thus, for instance, access to economic resources and means for subsistence may be facilitated through the provisioning of employment and the establishment of income-generating activities, while the provisioning of social services and the availability of social safety nets and other forms of welfare may still enable access to basic needs when a person loses employment or income-generating activities. At the same time, the lack of employment and/or self-employment opportunities due to an undeveloped economy, unavailable and/or restrictive policy and legal frameworks, as well as a lack of some forms of social welfare arrangements, would expose society members to the lack of resources

and means to meet their basic needs. In general, the lack of relevant societal arrangements to facilitate and guarantee access to social, economic and political resources and opportunities contribute, in turn, to the non-fulfilment of basic needs of some members of the society.

The second factor involves the presence of unjust and oppressive institutions and systems in society. Eskelinen (2009) and Pogge (2007) view social systems as systems of distribution of resources for everyone to meet his or her basic human needs. According to Eskelinen (2009) and Pogge (2007), the non-meeting of basic needs of some members of society results from the failure of social arrangements at the village, national or global level to fulfil the demands of social justice. Eskelinen (2009) and Pogge (2007) argue, in particular, that the way some agents distribute basic goods, the ways of enacting or creating the rules governing the distribution, and the power structures of distribution systems contribute to an unfair sharing of resources for meeting the basic needs for all people. Consequently, unjust and oppressive institutions and systems would contribute to an unfair distribution of resources and opportunities, and eventually contribute to a lack of basic human needs for some people.

The third factor covers situations of a lack of power and voice to influence decisions about resource distribution. Narayan (2000), Forst (2005), Pogge (2007) and Eskelinen (2009) underscore the role of powerful and wealthy agents in influencing decisions in their favour, while ignoring or remaining indifferent about the interests and concerns of the weak and voiceless members of the society. In the context of the non-fulfilment of basic needs, for instance, Narayan (2000), Forst (2005) and Eskelinen (2009) highlight that people who lack basic needs are in disadvantaged positions in society, and lack political power; their voices are unheard, or they are unable to voice their concerns and demands. Similarly, Pogge (2007) underlines and attributes the failure of some members of the society to meet their basic needs to the grounding rules of social systems, because such rules tend to serve the interests of wealthy and powerful people rather than the interests of poor people.

It follows from Pogge (2007) that the grounding rules of socio-economic and political structures place some members of society in disadvantaged positions, rendering them to become passive, powerless and voiceless agents, and depriving them of their human rights and opportunities for regular and secure access to the means or resources for meeting their basic needs. The rules under which individuals act in the socio-economic and political structures of a society eventually contribute to the lack of means to meet the human needs of some members (Pogge, 2007). Generally, powerful human agents and institutions in the social, economic and political structures of the society contribute to the non-meeting of basic needs of some weak and voiceless people, inasmuch as those agents and institutions prevent their access to such resources, or harm them by depriving them those opportunities that would have contributed to generating resources for meeting their needs.

The fourth factor is the lack or failure of moral systems in societies. According to Singer (1972), O'Neill (1986), Brock and Reader (2002) and Reader and Brock (2004), moral systems play a significant role in ensuring satisfaction of the basic needs of needy human beings. However, when the moral systems fail or remain ineffective in instilling moral obligations in moral agents to fulfil the needs of other needy people, massive non-satisfaction of basic needs occurs. Singer (1972) records the contribution of the moral systems of societies to the failure of ensuring the meeting of the basic needs of certain members of the human society. The cases he refers to entail the failure of affluent individuals and affluent governments to significantly assist the suffering and needy people in Bengal in the early 1970s.

Singer (1972) observes that, whereas affluent people and affluent governments were aware of and capable of assisting to reduce the avoidable suffering and deaths of people in East Bengal, those affluent individuals and affluent governments did not give significant assistance to overcome those threats to human life and dignity. Thus, Singer (1972) concluded that the decisions of those affluent individuals had their roots in and/or sprung from their moral framework, which did not highlight it as a moral duty to help distant needy persons. In his further exploration of the moral roots and implications of such decisions of affluent individuals, Singer (1972: 230) emphasised:

... the way people in relatively affluent countries react to a situation like that in Bengal cannot be justified; indeed, the whole way we look at moral issues – our moral conceptual scheme – needs to be altered, and with it, the way of life that has come to be taken for granted in our society.

In reasoning in that way, Singer (1972) suggests that the moral framework of those affluent people was problematic inasmuch as it failed to guide them to comprehend their moral obligations to help needy and suffering distant human beings. Following from Singer's reasoning above, it is possible that some forms of a lack of basic human needs have their roots in certain moral systems of organisations or societies insofar as such moral systems do not highlight the moral obligations individuals have to ensure that the basic needs of other people are met. In fact, and as noted by Brock and Reader (2002), our failure to notice, adhere to and appropriately respond to the moral demands imposed on us by the needs of fellow human beings contributes to the failure to meet basic needs of some people in our societies.

2.3.1.2 Ethical duty and practical strategies to redress poverty in the BNA

The ethical reflection embraced within the BNA focuses on the role and importance of basic needs in contributing to the sustenance of respectful, flourishing and dignified lives of human beings on the one hand, and on the duty of moral agents to ensure satisfaction of basic needs of all human beings on the other hand. According to Reader and Brock (2004: 266), human needs, which are important for guaranteeing the life-sustenance, agency, flourishing and unharmed living of every human being, have a central place and role in our private and public moral lives.

First, human needs are the sources of moral demands and guidance to behave in certain ways and/or perform certain actions. Brock and Reader (2002) emphasise, for instance, that when we meet a needy person, we feel morally obliged, as moral agents, to fulfil the unmet needs of that human being, and that human needs are also sources of moral reasons for performing certain moral acts. In fact, as moral agents we tend to invoke needs to provide respectable explanations and justifications for most of our moral actions. Furthermore, Reader and Brock (2004: 252) maintain that, in ethics, “the concept of need is a concept of a requirement”, and thus a need implies a state of demanding help inasmuch as the situation of a needy person calls another person to act to help fulfil the unmet needs. Because needs make moral demands in everyday life, Brock and Reader (2002) contend that moral agents must be attentive and respond appropriately to those demands.

In their ethical reflection on poverty and practical strategies for its redress, development ethicists invoking the insights of the BNA treat seriously the thesis that moral agents are morally duty-bound to satisfy the basic needs of needy human beings. Besides, in their ethical reflection and deliberation, these ethicists take into account the bad consequences of the failure to satisfy basic needs, the capabilities and duties of specific moral agents, and the differences the capable moral agents would make in preventing the negative consequences of such a non-satisfying of basic needs for themselves and other members of the society.

In line with the afore-stated, Singer (1972), O’Neill (1986), Brock and Reader (2002) and Reader and Brock (2004) argue that human needs impose on every capable human being a moral obligation to act to meet the needs of others and their own. Specifically, noting that non-satisfaction of basic needs has a negative impact on the human dignity, agency and well-being of the needy person, and causes suffering and sometimes death, these ethicists emphasise that such a lack of secured access to basic needs poses moral demands on capable moral agents who must respond accordingly to facilitate the meeting of specific basic needs to eventually alleviate the possible suffering and death of others.

In particular, Singer (1972: 231), who starts from the assumption that “suffering and death from lack of food, shelter, and medical care are bad”, underscores that capable human beings have a moral duty to alleviate the suffering and death resulting from the non-satisfying of basic needs. He thus argues first, that “if it is in our power to prevent something bad from happening, without thereby sacrificing anything of comparable moral importance, we ought, morally, to do it” (Singer, 1972: 231). Second, that “if it is in our power to prevent something very bad from happening, without thereby sacrificing anything morally significant, we ought, morally, to do it” (Singer, 1972: 235). Singer (1972) maintains that the two forms of his preventive principle should guide human beings in addressing the problem of the non-fulfilment of basic needs.

Singer’s practical strategy involves undertaking philanthropic actions to ensure that any deprivation in relation to basic needs is addressed with the view to preventing possible bad consequences such as

suffering and death. It involves urging capable moral agents to help prevent bad consequences by contributing to meeting basic needs or positively influencing situations that conditions do not arise that contribute to the lack of resources or means to satisfy the basic needs of all members of the human society. In addition, Singer (1972) emphasises the effective undertaking of philanthropic actions to help needy persons requires reworking or revitalising the moral systems so that they forcefully spell out and direct moral agents to fulfil their moral obligation to satisfy the needs of both near and distant needy people.

O'Neill (1986), whose theory of agency covers not only the agency of human beings but also that of institutions and collectives, argues that the capacities and powers of agents to fulfil the duties of justice are paramount to addressing problems associated with poverty in society. While viewing problems of the non-fulfilment of basic needs in terms of the violation of justice, O'Neill (1986) contends that the duties of justice compel all moral agents capable of delivering the goods necessary for meeting basic needs to do so. Additionally, she highlights that such moral agents must not only provide basic goods, but must also refrain from harming people and contribute to reforming unjust societal arrangements. O'Neill (1986: 152) emphasises:

Agents and agencies who contribute to economic or social life in any way from manufacturing to education, from journalism to government service, or from professional service to activity in the women's or trade union movement, have opportunities to advocate and further conceptual, institutional and legal forms that reduce the power and acceptance of unjust arrangements.

O'Neill's practical strategy for redressing poverty as a lack of basic human needs is oriented toward establishing just institutions and systems whose individual and collective agents abide by and are committed to fulfilling duties of justice. It follows that specific capabilities and powers of agents and agencies in specific situations will determine which obligations of justice they can hold and discharge in addressing problems of a lack of basic needs (O'Neill, 1986). Thus, capable human beings, governments and organisations are morally obligated to perform actions that will facilitate the meeting of human needs in specific contexts, and/or to refrain from performing actions that eventually constrain the secure and regular access to basic human needs in societies. Specifically, given the fact that unjust social arrangements impede the meeting of human needs, O'Neill (1986) cogently urges capable agents and agencies to aim at finding or establishing several just institutions and organisations that would embed and guide the realisation of the duties of justice.

2.3.1.3 The BNA and pro-poor initiatives in productive socio-economic sectors

The insights and tenets of the BNA enlighten our understanding of the moral nature of poverty, especially when one reflects on the following two questions. First, what things of ethical significance does a poor person lack when he or she experiences a lack of basic needs? Second, what is morally bad in experiencing forms of poverty in the form of a lack of basic needs?

Indeed, the insights of the BNA suggest that, when one lacks essential resources, opportunities and freedoms to fulfil one's needs as a biological, social and psychological being, one lacks the necessary requirements for enabling and guaranteeing one's subsistence, dignity and autonomy. Accordingly, and as Dixon (2010: 111) notes, the experience of poverty in the form of a lack of basic needs can be "life-threatening, life-restricting and life-disempowering". Thus, the threat to and the harm of the aspects of being and doing of human beings are what make different forms of the lack of basic needs to be regarded as morally bad, unacceptable and requiring urgent remedies.

Given the above, ethical reflection embedding the insights of the BNA, when employed in concrete socio-economic and political contexts, can provide insight into the conditions and causes of the lack of basic needs, the role that capable agents can play in overcoming these causes, and moral reasons and relevant remedial actions. In particular, as normative framework, the BNA can facilitate the following: First, with the insights and lens of the BNA it is possible to explore and unveil concrete cases of the lack of basic needs or deprivation of resources and means for satisfying basic needs in particular socio-economic and political settings in general, and in specific productive sectors in particular.

Second, ethical reflection through the BNA lens may unveil societal arrangements in specific socio-economic and productive sectors to determine the mechanisms and processes that contribute to some actors to lack the needs and resources so basic for their respectful, autonomous, dignified and gainful functioning in those sectors. Specifically, it may enlighten us on the roles of powerful agents and their moral systems in contributing to the non-fulfilment of basic needs, as well as their motivations in fulfilling or not fulfilling the demands for justice by constrained actors.

Third, BNA offers possibilities of invoking and/or integrating a consequentialist and a duty ethics in its action-based ethical reflection and deliberation that focus on the moral justifications and obligations of moral agents to undertake concrete actions to fulfil unmet needs. In so doing, participants in this ethical reflection gain insights into the possible consequences of envisioned poverty-reducing actions and into the reforms required in moral systems to enhance the moral duties of capable moral agents to undertake poverty-reducing actions.

Fourth, methodologically, the BNA is useful in providing guidance about identifying and engaging in action-based ethical reflection and deliberation with those human agents and organisations capable of bringing about positive changes in society that can enhance adequate access to resources and opportunities with a view to fulfilling basic human needs in society (O'Neill, 1986).

Overall, the BNA as a normative framework guides the conceptualisation of the moral nature of poverty and the understanding of the processes of the production and reduction of conditions of the lack of basic human needs. Moreover, moral demands imposed on all human beings to fulfil the needs

of other beings establish worthy criteria to evaluate the actions (and motivations) of moral agents towards others, and to provide grounded moral explanations and justifications for undertaking actions to reform societal arrangements that impede the meeting of the basic needs of some people. The moral insights and tenets of the BNA thus have the potential to guide and provide moral agents with strong moral reasons to fight and overcome conditions that deprive people of basic requirements for their ongoing being, life, agency, flourishing, i.e. to avoid harm (Reader and Brock, 2004).

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned usefulness of the BNA, its conceptualisation of poverty as the lack of basic needs is too narrow, and any obsession with it may obscure other dimensions of poverty that negatively affect the dignity, agency and well-being of needy people. Furthermore, the BNA's view and treatment of poor or needy persons as passive recipients of help may lead to the design and implementation of paternalistic interventions, that is, ones in which the non-poor help the poor, thereby failing to capture not only the reality of the non-poor's involvement in the causation and perpetuation of some poverty situations (St Clair, 2004), but also their ability to engage with and overcome situations of poverty. It follows that the designing and implementing pro-poor interventions to facilitate the active, responsible and gainful participation of poor actors in productive socio-economic sectors such as the productive fisheries activities, it is important to incorporate and treat some insights and tenets of the BNA with great precaution.

2.3.2 The Individual Characteristics Approach (ICA)

The Individual Characteristics Approach (ICA) embeds non-deontological explanations of poverty. It consists of multifaceted sets of explanations that focus on characteristics and deficiencies as the main source of someone's situatedness in poverty (Bradshaw, 2007). The proponents of ICA underscore the importance and role of good individual characteristics and morals in making meaningful and dignified choices in life. Proponents of the Individual Characteristics Approach also invoke the insights of virtue, consequence and duty ethics to underline the fact that certain characteristics and bad choices of an individual contribute to the emergence and perpetuation of some forms of poverty.

In particular, while holding that virtuous persons are responsible and make choices that bring about better consequences for themselves and others, proponents of ICA maintain that bad character traits or moral deficiencies of individuals have negative effects on their hard work and choices and, in turn, expose them to situations of poverty. Proponents of ICA also hold that the persistence of bad character traits, or failure to remedy the moral deficiencies of poor individuals, makes it hard for them to combat and overcome their current poverty situations.

The ICA, as a framework to guide ethical reflection on the processes of the production and reduction of poverty, underlies the thinking of most conservative and liberal scholars and, as an anti-poverty strategy, its perspectives and positions underlie the conservative and liberal approaches to redressing socio-economic challenges in poor communities, regions and nations (St Clair, 2004).

2.3.2.1 The meaning and cause of poverty in the ICA

In the ICA, poverty is the condition for involving a lack of necessities such as basic food, shelter, medical care and safety (Bradshaw, 2007). In this regard, poor people are those who fail to meet these necessities regularly and sufficiently. St Clair (2004: 1) observes that, in the perspective of some ICA proponents, “poverty is commonly constructed as a moral issue in the sense that it refers to the lack of a particular type of morality or the lack of certain moral traits”. Drawing her insights from the USA’s treatment of people who receive welfare, St Clair (2004: 1) highlights:

Poverty is usually viewed as related to individual’s lack of family values, birth out of wedlock, lack of a work ethic, or in short the shortcomings of the poor’s personal responsibility. For example, the availability and level of cash assistance is contingent on several social and behavioral factors unrelated to the material needs of recipients of welfare aid (for example, teenaged parents on welfare are required to attend school, or potential fathers are required to accept paternal duties).

The ICA roots the cause of poverty in individual character traits and deficiencies (Bradshaw, 2007). In other words, the sets of beliefs, values, norms, knowledge and skills that individuals hold or lack, but which are or must be socially or culturally generated, are thought to contribute to the emergence of some forms of poverty that poor individuals experience (Bradshaw, 2007). Furthermore, Bradshaw (2007) observes that the belief that poverty stems from individual deficiencies has underlain some religious and economic doctrines for centuries.

Religious doctrines such as those of the Protestant Reformation view wealthy people as blessed by God and poor people as cursed or punished by God, and consequently the sufferers deserve what they get because of their moral failings (Bradshaw, 2007). Bradshaw (2007: 12) also shows that the neo-classical economists, who hold that “individuals seek to maximize their own well-being by making choices and investments”, argue that some people experience situations of poverty now because they failed to make wise choices or invested in short-term and low pay-off returns. In this way, neo-classical economists emphasise that people are largely responsible for their individual choices with regard to what to choose and invest to attain well-being.

The proponents of ICA underline several factors as contributors to the cause of poverty. The first factor involves the abilities of the individual person. The proponents argue that some people fall into situations of poverty because of a lack of knowledge, relevant work and social skills for accessing well-paying jobs. Indeed, a lack of good education, training and relevant skills exposes some people to unemployment or poorly paying jobs, and this in turn contributes to their failure to get enough resources and means for accessing basic food, housing, medical care and other social services.

The second factor involves the lack of or limited work ethics. Other proponents of ICA hold the view that only knowledgeable, skilful, motivated, focused and hardworking individuals succeed in improving their life situations, and that work ethics is the backbone of success in one’s life. Consequently, individuals who are not achieving success in their lives lack some work ethics in the

sense of being either lazy, irresponsible, not motivated, not focused, or not trying hard enough (Bradshaw, 2007).

The third factor involves the dysfunctional culture or subculture of some people. ICA proponents underscore the role of culture and the processes of socialisation in the development of human capital. The culture of a specific group of people embodies sets of beliefs, values, norms and skills socialised and passed from one generation to another. While some cultures or subcultures embody good and relevant beliefs, values, norms and skills for enhancing, inspiring, empowering and rewarding hard work, other forms of human cultures or subcultures fail to inspire, guide, reward and support productive work, investment and social responsibility (Bradshaw, 2007). Instead, such dysfunctional cultures or subcultures contribute to the production of states such as low esteem, irresponsibility, indifference and laziness in their members, and these states, in turn, affect their struggles to overcome conditions that harm their human dignity, autonomy and well-being.

In general, proponents of the ICA argue for a close link between poverty and morality. Thus, poor people are seen as ‘fallen’ and they continue to fall deeper into poverty because they lack good morals. Furthermore, different forms of poverty, in turn, are seen to have a negative impact on the morality of poor people, thereby exposing them to further moral failings. With this reasoning, it follows that a redressing of the moral failings of poor people would as well pave the way to overcoming their poverty.

2.3.2.2 Ethical duty and practical strategies to redress poverty in the ICA

ICA proponents also hold that poverty has negative effects on the human dignity, autonomy and well-being of poor people and their morality. On redressing poverty, proponents of ICA argue, on the one hand, that poor individuals are responsible for their poverty situations; on the other hand, they argue that capable moral agents have the moral obligation to help poor people to overcome their poverty and regain their dignity, autonomy and guaranteed well-being. Accordingly, their argument is that a concern for and promotion of humanity should inspire, inform and guide capable moral agents in undertaking concrete actions to help fellow human beings to escape from situations of humiliating poverty. In this regard, proponents of ICA propose to undertake concrete actions to effect behavioural changes in, and enhance the abilities of, poor people, and to reform the culture or subcultures of poverty.

The first practical strategy involves initiating programmes for remedying individual deficiencies. The programmes may include training to impart knowledge, skills and other social competences and equip poor people with relevant competitive qualifications for accessing jobs. These initiatives may also include rehabilitation programmes through which poor people receive help to change their problematic behaviour, attitudes and values, and to learn important social and work ethics. These

programmes for remedying individual deficiencies eventually have to impart to poor people those competences for undertaking work and pulling themselves out of their poverty (Bradshaw, 2007).

The second practical strategy involves the establishment of relevant safety nets for poor people. ICA proponents observe that some people fall into and remain in forms of poverty because of the lack of reliable safety nets. They urge for collective action in providing workable and reliable safety nets to help those who fail to help themselves, such as the disabled, elderly, children and unlucky members of the society (Bradshaw, 2007).

The third practical strategy involves reforming the dysfunctional culture or subculture of poor people and replacing it with ones that support productive work, investment and social responsibility (Bradshaw, 2007). Bradshaw (2007) observes that the re-socialisation of youth through education programmes in which positive social values and norms are established and the redefinition of culturally appropriate strategies to improve the social group's well-being, are helpful strategies for reforming and revitalising the culture of poverty.

In general, the belief that the deficiencies, and cultural and moral values of individuals contribute to the emergence of conditions that lead to their poverty, provides a basis for the above practical strategies for redressing poverty insofar as these strategies are oriented towards addressing both the individual deficiencies and their cultural sources.

2.3.2.3 The ICA and pro-poor initiatives in productive socio-economic sectors

The ethical reflection embraced in the ICA to understand conditions leading to poverty and to unveil its moral badness or wrongness, as well as the compelling moral reasons for its redress, focuses on the importance and role of good individual characteristics and morals in making meaningful and dignified choices in life. This ethical reflection thus focuses on the general behaviour, beliefs, values, norms, knowledge and skills of poor individuals to determine their contribution to the emergence of conditions leading to their poverty, and on the alternative behaviour, morals, knowledge and skills required to overcome poverty.

In this regard, the ICA's ethical reflection and deliberation revolve around the culture or subcultures, the morality and the socialisation of poor people to understand what needs to change for them to engage actively, responsibly and gainfully in socio-economic activities in order to overcome their poverty. This ethical reflection also focuses on how specific forms of poverty affect the moral systems of poor people on the one hand, and redress the moral failings of poor moral agents on the other hand.

Given these insights of the ICA into the sources of poverty and practical strategies for its redress, the ICA has the potential to guide ethical reflection and deliberation about relevant initiatives for redressing poverty in concrete socio-economic and productive sectors. First, the ICA framework is capable of enabling the conceptualisation and exploration of the knowledge, skills and other relevant

competences that the poor actors lack, and of the mechanisms that are available to enhance the knowledge, skills and competences of poor actors in order to improve their active, responsible and gainful participation in productive socio-economic sectors. Second, the ICA framework is also capable of guiding the identification of the problematic behaviour, beliefs, values, norms and attitudes of poor actors and the negative influences they have on the active, responsible and gainful participation of those poor actors in productive activities.

Third, the ICA framework is capable of facilitating the unveiling of cultural sources of the problematic behaviour, values, norms, and attitudes of poor actors in productive socio-economic sectors, as well as exploring the reasons referred to, and the mechanisms through which these values, norms and attitudes are failing to inspire, guide, reward and support productive work, investment and social responsibility. Fourth, given that the ICA is insightful and powerful in underscoring the different deficiencies that poor people experience and that expose and throw them into losing sides, it could insightfully guide ethical deliberation on relevant social and moral competences, as well as workable and reliable safety nets for enhancing the active agency and well-being of poor people in productive economic sectors and in enabling communities.

Fifth, the potential of the ICA to robustly enlighten us on how different forms of poverty impact negatively on human dignity, autonomy, agency and the well-being of poor people and their morality, makes it a useful normative framework for providing strong moral inspiration and motivation to capable moral agents to undertake concrete, poverty-reducing actions in specific productive economic sectors.

Generally, in the context of exploring the conditions leading to the poverty of poor people participating in productive and enabling socio-economic sectors, such as the fishing sector, the ICA is keen in highlighting the fact that those poor actors have certain roles and responsibilities in the production of the different forms of poverty they experience. In fact, it would be naïve to deny completely the roles of the problematic behaviour, values and attitudes of those poor actors that have a negative impact on the hard work, investment, and moral and social duties characterising productive and enabling socio-economic sectors and communities.

However, and in line with Rank (2004), I also find it naïve and misleading to attribute the causes of different forms of poverty experienced in the productive sectors, such as the fishing sector, solely to individual deficiencies and the culture of poor actors. Rank (2004: 50) holds that “the focus on individual attributes as the cause of poverty is misplaced and misdirected”, and instead the structural failings of the economic, political and social system are the main causes of poverty. It follows that, in its exploration of the causes and conditions that lead to the poverty of poor actors in productive socio-economic sectors, the ICA framework must be employed with caution, as it is likely to render unintelligible other sources of poverty experienced in productive economic sectors.

Moreover, the relationship between poverty and the lack of moral character that the ICA draws, and its emphasis on the responsibility of poor individuals to overcome their poverty, as well as its call to remedy poverty through the charitable works of the non-poor, leaves a lot to be desired about the potential of the ICA to facilitate relevant pro-poor initiatives in productive socio-economic sectors. As a normative framework, the ICA may guide the designing of pro-poor initiatives that depend on charitable and voluntary actions of the non-poor, instead of underscoring the moral obligations of the non-poor, whose lifestyles, institutions and decisions may be contributing to the conditions of poverty of most poor participants in otherwise productive socio-economic sectors (St Clair, 2004). Consequently, in the context of choosing and implementing pro-poor initiatives to improve human dignity, the agency and well-being of poor actors in productive socio-economic sectors such as fisheries activities, the ICA must be utilised with great caution.

2.3.3 The Natural Law Approach (NLA)

The Natural Law Approach (NLA) embeds deontological explanations of poverty, as it underlines the facts of the violations of important precepts of natural law that ought to guide reasonable persons in their search for well-being, happiness and flourishing. Ethical reflection and deliberation in the NLA follow the methodologies of natural law ethics. Natural law ethics, which was developed by Thomas Aquinas (1225 -1274) and went through different stages of modification to date, is “an ethic based on an account of the human good as it can be identified by reason” (Pope, 2010: 266).

The proponents of NLA hold that intellectual power (rationality) enables human beings to understand the moral requirements of life in their communities, and that any reasonable person is capable of recognising basic moral principles to guide his or her moral life, as well as adhering to them (Pope, 2010: 267). In particular, in his important work, *Summa Theologiae* (ST I-II, 94, 2), Aquinas (1947), building on Aristotle’s philosophy, argues that the first principle of practical reason, namely ‘Do good and avoid evil’, and the positive laws and moral conventions derived therefrom, constitute important natural precepts to guide reasonable persons in their search for well-being, happiness and flourishing. In this way, therefore, natural law ethics is a practical ethics, which “is concerned not only with minimal physical survival but also with the goods that allow for human flourishing in a comprehensive sense” (Pope, 2010: 267).

The NLA as a normative framework is capable of guiding the practical lives of human beings and the understanding and addressing of poverty-related problems that emerge in society. Thomas Aquinas, who held that natural law is capable of providing “overarching criteria for assessing the moral legitimacy of human acts and policies” (Pope, 2010: 268), used the NLA to understand the moral badness or wrongness of poverty in the 13th century. Since then, the NLA is invoked in the social teachings, development initiatives and anti-poverty programmes of the Roman Catholic Church, and in the development interventions undertaken by some NGOs. Currently, new formulations of the

natural law are also employed in scholarly works that investigate or deal with issues of justice, poverty and integral human development (Pope, 2010).

2.3.3.1 The meaning and cause of poverty in the NLA

The conception of poverty underlying the NLA is the lack of basic and necessary goods for the subsisting and flourishing of human beings (Pope, 2010). In the NLA, basic goods are viewed as necessary not only for physiological well-being, but more so for integral human development. This is the conception of poverty traceable in the thoughts of the early proponents of natural law ethics. Aquinas (1947), in the *Summa Theologiae* (ST II-II, 32, 5, 6), argues that there are basic goods that human beings need to sustain their lives and make possible a good life in social contexts. In the *Summa Theologiae* (ST I-II, 2-4), Aquinas (1947) identifies these basic goods as goods of the soul, goods of the body and external goods. He further argues that the lack of these basic goods for human subsisting and flourishing is the state of poverty. Accordingly, for Aquinas (1947), a poor person is one who lacks or has limited means for obtaining such basic goods, and one forced into such a state outside of his or her will and control.

Aquinas (1947) identifies two categories of causes of the lack of basic goods. On the one hand, natural forces (e.g. bad weather, drought and famine, disease) contribute to people being deprived of basic goods; and on the other hand, unjust conduct, such as theft and robbery, unjust business practices and unjust decisions by civil authorities, contribute to the deprivation typical of poverty. Aquinas (1947) argues that poverty produced through the action of human agents is the result of such human agents failing to exercise their virtues of justice and benevolence in utilising the properties and resources entrusted to them for the benefit of human life, and in failing to fairly discharge their duties to societies.

Aquinas (1947) underscores the role of vices such as greed in wealth accumulation. Despite of his appreciation of wealth as instrumentally valuable for the material and social conditions of the good life, Aquinas (1947) nevertheless underlines the fact that some greedy people irresponsibly accumulate more wealth than they need to the extent of depriving or limiting others from accessing the same wealth necessary for their subsistence and flourishing. He also notes that political rulers and civil authorities, while having the duty to protect and ensure that all people have secure access to basic goods for their survival, unjustly create conditions that render it impossible for some people to access public goods or even procure for themselves such basic goods.

The reasoning of Aquinas (1947) referred to above underscores the fact that the lack of basic goods results from the deliberate actions of individual and collective agents other than the poor themselves, and that such deliberate actions contribute to deprive them of those basic goods that constitute a good or even a minimally decent life. It also highlights that a state of poverty is essentially evil because it

frustrates people's ability to acquire resources for sustaining themselves, assisting others, and providing for other necessities of life (Pope, 2010).

Later proponents of the NLA, such as Bartolome de Las Casas (cited in Pope, 2010) and Finnis (1980; 1997), argue that the lack of basic goods that some members of the human society experience is essentially forms of injustice produced and perpetuated in specific socio-economic and political systems. They maintain that unjust socio-economic and political practices, institutions and laws produce conditions such as the oppression and exploitation of some other human beings, which, in turn, limit the abilities of some people to access basic goods.

2.3.3.2 Ethical duty and practical strategies to redress poverty in the NLA

For the proponents of the NLA, the principles of natural law stipulate the ethical duty to redress poverty in human society. The principles of natural law underscore the fact that moral agents ought to be good and to be concerned with the good of all other human beings. These principles also emphasise that good moral agents (individual and collectives) have a moral obligation to ensure the good of all other human beings. Specifically, the principle 'Do good and avoid evil' dictates to all moral agents that they should be concerned with doing what is good and avoiding doing actions that would produce evil.

Besides, the actions of moral agents that lead to states of poverty are immoral or evil, and poverty, because of the negative consequences it brings to human beings, is evil as well. Consequently, poverty and actions that produce and perpetuate it are evil, and all good people and just socio-economic and political systems must avoid and/or combat and overcome them. As such, this line of reasoning guides proponents of the NLA in their ethical reflection to highlight moral reasons and concrete actions for eradicating poverty.

Given the above-stated, the practical strategy for redressing poverty that proponents of the NLA suggest involves the identification and distribution of moral duties to human agents and to established public and private organisations. In this regard, Aquinas (1947) argues that all members of the human community have roles to perform to redress poverty-related problems in society. On the one hand, political rulers are responsible for providing public goods, while civil authorities provide prime protection for poor people in the legal domain. On the other hand, individual members of society have (i) to fulfil the moral duty of justice by providing for the immediate needs of the extreme poor whom they encounter, (ii) to fulfil the moral duty of charity by giving their superflua to the poor, and (iii) to perform supererogatory works for poor people. In addition, Aquinas (1947) suggests three principles to guide the efforts of individual and collective moral agents in addressing poverty-related problems in society.

The first is the principle of *solidarity*, which holds that those who have the greatest basic needs or who suffer from the greatest deprivation should be given priority in moral concern. The second is the principle of *subsidiarity*, which holds that the solution to social problems should be pursued by the most efficient agency at the lowest level of responsibility. The third is the principle of *common good*, which regards the state as ultimately responsible for promoting the public good when other agencies fail to do so.

Besides, Aquinas (1945) argues in the *Summa Theologiae* (ST II-II, 66, 5) that all those individual persons who have contributed to the production of and benefited from certain conditions of poverty should be held accountable, and that there should be demanded from them to pay appropriate restitution. He also suggests that the best way to avoid human-generated poverty is to inculcate virtue in citizens and future rulers. Thus, those who would exercise civil authority must learn to apply justice to contingent circumstances prudently, and to train the ordinary citizens to know what is right and to obey just laws.

Similarly, John Finnis, who collaborated with Germain Grisez and Joseph Boyle (Grisez, Boyle and Finnis, 1987) to develop the new natural law theory, argues that all moral agents are duty-bound to undertake concrete actions to realise justice and integral human development. According to Finnis (1997: 225), “In all one’s deliberating and acting, one *ought* to choose and in other ways will ... those and only those possibilities the willing of which is compatible with the integral human fulfillment”. It follows that, from the moral position of the new natural law, human beings are obliged to behave and act in ways that do not jeopardise but ensure the flourishing of all human beings in all of their relevant aspects of life.

Furthermore, Finnis (1980; 1983) asserts that, when human beings allow themselves to be guided by the principles of practical reasonableness, they will lead fulfilling and just lives not only for one individual, but also for all human beings. The examples of practical reasonableness that Finnis (1980: 108-126; 1983: 17) proposes include (i) the use of efficient means to pursue one’s ends, (ii) not to ignore foreseeable negative consequences to one’s acts, (iii) not to harm any dimension of human well-being, and (iv) to promote the common good.

In general, the practical strategies for redressing poverty suggested in the NLA embrace moral principles that distribute duties to and guide actions of specific moral agents. It follows that those practical poverty-reduction strategies must embed the principles of solidarity, subsidiarity, common good and practical reasonableness. Indeed, the principles suggested above contain a variety of implications for understanding the processes of the production, perpetuation and reduction of poverty in societies. Pope (2010) highlights implications of these moral principles in the context of initiatives to combat and overcome poverty.

The first implication is to view as evil all actions that hinder the attainment of integral human development. Pope (2010) observes that the discernment and emphasis on the fact that human beings are destined to achieve an integral human flourishing implies that all acts that aim to frustrate the attainment of this noble goal are evil acts. Since every state of poverty prevents the attainment of some aspects of integral human flourishing, it follows that every state of poverty is essentially evil, and so it should be combated and overcome (Pope, 2010: 278).

The second implication covers human behaviour that contributes to the production of poverty. Pope (2010) argues that some human behaviour, such as the tendency to discriminate against other people, causes or produces conditions that eventually breed some forms of poverty. It follows that, since such human behaviour leads to evil consequences, it is evil behaviour needing redress (Pope, 2010: 278).

The third implication entails prohibiting all acts of discrimination against poor people and the call to care for them. Pope (2010) views the moral principles suggested above as prohibiting all forms of discrimination against poor people and, in turn, generating a sense of duty to care for poor people. Pope (2010: 278) observes, in particular, that the principles apply to government, which, in principle, is responsible for the common good as having the moral duty to redress poverty in society.

Furthermore, in his thorough treatment of issues of justice, especially as they relate to the ownership of private property, the distribution of wealth and the priority of the common goods over and above private individual goods, Finnis (1998) underscores the moral duty entailed in the ownership of property. According to Finnis (1998: 195-196), ownership of property or a business places a certain moral responsibility on the owner regarding poor people. First, businesses have to help poor people through the provision of employment and charging just prices for goods and services, as well as just interest rates on loans. Second, the owners of property and businesses must fulfil a major requirement of justice in paying taxes imposed for redistributive purposes. Third, the government has a responsibility to facilitate the meeting of the basic and social needs of those citizens who are unable to provide for themselves. In this way, Finnis (1998) highlights in his practical strategies the moral responsibilities of individual human beings, private enterprises, civil society organisations and the government in undertaking initiatives to reduce or eradicate different forms of poverty in society.

2.3.3.3 The NLA and pro-poor initiatives in productive socio-economic sectors

Ethical reflections within the NLA focus on the importance and role of the basic principles of natural law in guiding and guaranteeing dignified and flourishing human lives and social relations. They involve critical reflection on both the main principles of natural law and their derivatives (i.e. the positive laws and moral conventions) to determine how they guide, ought to guide or are failing to guide reasonable persons in their search for well-being, happiness and flourishing in concrete socio-economic and political contexts. In this regard, the action-based ethical reflection and deliberation through the NLA lens revolve around the conditions of the failure of human beings to comprehend

and/or follow the dictates of natural law, and how the violations of such precepts effects the common good, the dignity of people and the flourishing of human lives. In terms of practical strategies, such ethical reflection and deliberation focus on concrete ways to improve the comprehension of and adherence to those principles that guarantee access of every human being to goods required for subsisting and flourishing.

The NLA's perspectives on the causes of poverty and practical strategies for its redress are insightful and may successfully guide action-based ethical reflection and deliberation about relevant initiatives to redress poverty and enhance the agency of poor actors in concrete socio-economic and productive sectors. First, the NLA's firm assertion that human beings, who are social, intelligent and free, must actively and reasonably engage in productive activities to generate resources to meet the basic needs for their own subsistence and flourishing is insightful in matters of rescuing and promoting the agency of poor actors in specific productive activities. Consequently, ethical reflection by those involved in the productive sectors of society may highlight ways through which the active agency and well-being of poor actors are frustrated, and guide deliberation on practical strategies to overcome these frustrations.

Second, the NLA's perspective, according to which failure to abide by or follow the dictates of natural law principles and their derivatives (positive laws, morals, policies), has a negative impact on the agency of human beings and breeds different forms of poverty, is also enlightening in understanding multiple causations of poverty in productive socio-economic sectors. According to the NLA, poverty is caused by the violation of a particular natural law principle, so ethical reflection and deliberation within a certain productive sector can help to identify which natural law principles are violated, and specify ways for their revitalisation and re-enforcement in a particular context. Accordingly, ethical reflection within this approach will focus on understanding and identifying the principles of natural law, positive laws, norms and policies that are at stake in guiding and facilitating fair and regular access to basic goods for survival and flourishing in specific sectors of production.

Third, the NLA is capable and useful to guide ethical reflection and deliberation on conventional moral systems, as well as the standards of specific actors and stakeholders in certain sectors of production – with the specific aim to understand the moral duties inherent in the ownership of property and businesses and their implications for specific sectors of production. The NLA is thus also useful in guiding the exploration of the motivation, and actual or possible actions, of both poverty-producing and poverty-reducing agents. The aim of this would eventually be to uncover those deep-seated moral perspectives of key actors and stakeholders that lead to the persistence of poverty, and practical strategies that can lead to the reduction of poverty through productive activities.

In addition to the above, the NLA is also capable of providing moral grounds and inspiration to combat and overcome those conditions that breed states of poverty in society. Pope (2010) maintains

that the NLA provides grounds for (i) criticising racial and gender discrimination, the exploitation of workers, unequal education opportunities and the exclusion of millions of poor people from medical care, and (ii) objecting to harmful conditions that make it unreasonably difficult for individuals to pursue integral human flourishing. It also provides grounds for (iii) identifying and objecting to the existence of destructive social contexts within which poor people make decisions and act, as well as (iv) critiquing government decisions and policies, and the conduct of multinational actors in relation to the rights and freedom of poor people to pursue integral human flourishing.

Overall, the focus of the NLA is on promoting and/or rescuing the human dignity, agency and well-being of poor people. It employs the language of justice and human rights to emphasise the obligation of all human agents to act justly and to remedy different forms of injustices in the contemporary world (Pope, 2010). Therefore it can guide reflection on the systemic conditions and factors that inhibit the active, responsible and gainful participation of poor actors in productive socio-economic sectors, thereby providing a moral basis for and relevant content of intervention to promote the human dignity, agency and well-being of constrained poor actors.

Furthermore, the moral principles of the NLA, which carry a number of fundamental considerations regarding moral responsibility for the reduction of poverty, have the potential of providing moral insight and motivation in the context of designing and implementing pro-poor development interventions in the productive sectors of society. Nonetheless, and as observed by O'Neill (1986: 119-120), the language of justice and human rights that the NLA employs is sometimes "oddly remote from action", and its "message may be inaccessible or half heard by those with the power to bring change" in those productive sectors.

2.3.4 The Human Rights Approach (HRA)

The Human Rights Approach (HRA) also embeds deontological explanations of poverty. It employs the language of human rights to underscore the fact that the states and conditions of poverty involve violations of the human rights of poor people. In employing the logic of human rights language, the proponents of the HRA seek to depict the evil of poverty and call for urgent global commitments to fight and overcome it.

The inspiration and starting point of the HRA is the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN-UDHR). Article 25 of the UDHR specifies, among other things, "the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of oneself and one's family, including food, clothing, shelter and medical care". Article 28 states that "everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized". Building on Articles 25 and 28, the proponents of the HRA proceed to reflect on and argue for the existence of the human rights of poor people to access the necessities for subsistence, and to free themselves from different forms of poverty.

Thomas Pogge is an important proponent who has made a huge contribution to the conceptualisation and development of the HRA. The HRA as a normative theoretical framework is widely used in scholarly analysis of global issues of justice, as well as in trends of global poverty and human development. As a framework to guide development and poverty-reduction initiatives in the world, the HRA is usually invoked in the works and initiatives of the World Bank.

Chong (2011) observes that human rights organisations (e.g. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch), social justice groups and organisations (e.g. the One Campaign and the Jubilee Network) and humanitarian organisations (e.g. Oxfam, CARE International and ActionAid) have adopted a moral approach to subsistence rights and advocate for the freedom of poor people from severe poverty. These non-governmental organisations and international governmental agencies do so by demanding and/or supporting the establishment of socio-economic, political and legal systems that guarantee the efforts of poor people, who are active agents, to freely pursue their own livelihoods and to exercise the power to demand social and political responses if their efforts to provide for themselves fail (Chong, 2011).

2.3.4.1 The meaning and cause of poverty in the HRA

In the HRA, poverty is perceived as a violation of a human right of poor people, who by the fact of their being human are entitled to basic necessities for subsistence. Pogge (2007: 11) observes that, while human beings as physical beings “need access to safe food and water, clothing, shelter, and basic medical care in order to live well”, those human beings who are poor lack secure access to sufficient quantities of these basic necessities, to the extent of finding themselves in life-threatening situations. He then argues that a state of severe poverty in which people lack sufficient basic necessities for their survival qualifies as a human rights violation. According to Pogge (2007), states of severe poverty constitute violations of the human rights of poor people and, accordingly, urgent remedial actions must be undertaken to secure the human dignity and well-being of those poor people.

In fact, this conception underscores the fact of the lack of basic needs that poor people experience, but adds that some states and conditions of these lacks of basic needs are a violation of human rights, or are a result of the violation of human rights of poor people. For Chauvier (2007: 311), “poverty is a remediable negative side effect of some human activities” and, consequently, a violation of a right of poor people to access their entitled basic resources to overcome their poverty and live humanly.

Chauvier (2007) suggests that the negative side effect of some human activities imposes several challenges on other people. First, it imposes on them a reality that they would not have chosen had the choice been offered to them. Certainly, given their current knowledge and experiences of the negative impacts of poverty on their human dignity, agency and well-being, had they had an option to avoid poverty, these victims of poverty would not freely have chosen the forms and conditions of poverty

imposed on them through the activities of the non-poor. Therefore, such forms of poverty deny poor people their right to and freedom of choice.

Second, experiences of severe sufferings and deprivation of productive capabilities eventually affect the agency of poor people, leading to their failure to engage in productive activities and live humanly. In turn, these forms of poverty render impossible and/or unfruitful the efforts and struggles of poor people to overcome their poverty situations. It follows that situations of poverty do not only contribute to the violation of the human rights of poor people to access basic resources to subsist, but also contribute to the violation of their human right to free themselves from poverty. Viewed through the HRA lens, poverty is a moral evil that must be redressed urgently because it deprives people of “the possibility of satisfying, in a regular and assured way, the needs that are essential to life and to the dignity of life” (Chauvier, 2007: 312).

The proponents of HRA have also embarked on an effort at understanding the causes of severe poverty. According to Pogge (2007), the actions and decisions of human beings and social institutions at the local and global levels contribute to the production and perpetuation of severe poverty. Pogge (2007) maintains that cases of severe poverty may involve many cooperating causes, including both the acts of many agents and rules under which these agents operate. In these cases, some cunning human agents may decide to take advantage of loopholes in unfair rules and policies to benefit themselves, while their acts at the same time lead to other people being deprived of their secure access to livelihood resources. In this regard, Pogge (2007) identifies three causes of severe poverty.

The first cause involves the actions of human agents that bring harm to other human beings. These acts involve cases in which persons act in such a way that they foreseeably and avoidably deprive other people of their real opportunities to secure access to basic livelihood resources (Pogge, 2007). Indeed, human acts such as the polluting of a river and poisoning the fish on which people depend for nourishment and income are violations of human rights, because the human agents involved foreseeably and avoidably deprive their fellow human beings of their basic goods for livelihood and/or render insecure their access to those basic goods (Pogge, 2007: 19).

The second cause of severe poverty involves omissions or failure of human agents “to alleviate severe poverty that they had no role in creating or maintaining” (Pogge, 2007: 18). Pogge (2007) argues that human agents are morally required to relieve some of the life-threatening poverty they can alleviate. However, the decision of capable human agents to omit to alleviate some forms of poverty and/or the failure of human agents to protect and/or to rescue others from extreme deprivation at a very low cost is a violation of human rights.

Pogge (2007) observes that affluent individuals, and especially those in affluent countries, while endowed with resources and means, have tended to ignore calls addressed to them to participate in

programmes that seek to address life-threatening conditions such as hunger and malnutrition in poor countries. He further observes that these affluent individuals provide several reasons to excuse themselves from actively participating in poverty alleviation programmes or contributing resources required for poverty alleviation purposes. He concludes that the decision to avoid aiding people “caught in life-threatening poverty through no fault of their own”, or the failure to help protect and rescue other people from extreme deprivation, not only violates their human right to be free from severe poverty, but also reinforces the severity of such states of poverty (Pogge, 2007: 22).

The third cause involves social-institutional factors. Pogge (2007) contends that some social institutions functioning in the socio-economic and political arena at the local, national and global levels avoidably contribute to the lack of secure access to objects of the socio-economic human rights of some people. Pogge (2007: 26) notices, for instance, that, “in the modern world, the rules governing economic transactions – both nationally and internationally – are the most important causal determinants of the incidence and depth of poverty. They are the most important because of their great impact on the economic distribution within the jurisdiction to which they apply”.

Pogge (2007: 26) maintains that, at the national level, “even relatively minor variations in a country’s laws about tax rates, labor relations, social security, and access to health care and education can have a much greater impact on poverty there than even large changes in consumer habits or in the policies of a major corporation”. At the global institutional order, Pogge (2007: 26) observes that “even the small changes in the rules governing international trade, lending, investment, resource use, or intellectual property can have a huge impact on the global incidence of life-threatening poverty”. Thus, a change in rules may bring unintended and unforeseeable negative effects to the regular and secure access to livelihood resources of some people.

In addition, Pogge (2007) maintains that the rules of each country’s institutional order, as well as the global institutional order, passively fail to prevent severe poverty, fail to protect people from being harmed by the actions of other powerful human agents, and so contribute to the production and perpetuation of severe poverty. Generally, Pogge (2007: 6) argues that the persistence of severe poverty is driven by the structures of the current economic interactions and “human decisions at all levels – from large political decisions about the rules of our national or global economy to small personal decisions about consumption, savings and NGOs contributions”. Therefore, Pogge (2007: 20) argues that human agents “must refrain from actively causing others’ human rights to be unfulfilled”. Consequently, “a person’s human rights imposes a negative duty on all other human agents that they not participate in imposing upon her an institutional order under which, foreseeably and avoidably, she lacks secure access to some of the objects of her human rights” (Pogge, 2007: 24).

2.3.4.2 Ethical duty and practical strategies to redress poverty in the HRA

The proponents of the HRA employ the logic and language of human rights to construct arguments with moral justifications for redressing severe poverty. These proponents of the HRA have established that poverty, which deprives human beings of opportunities to satisfy their basic human needs, and deprives them of avoiding life-threatening harms, essentially is a violation of the human rights of poor human beings. Accordingly, from this view, poverty is an evil.

Having established that poverty is evil and morally unacceptable, the proponents of HRA cogently argue that all human beings are morally obliged to undertake relevant actions to redress life-threatening poverty in the world. In particular, Pogge (2007) underscores that the human rights of poor people impose both positive and negative duties on all human agents to undertake actions to alleviate different forms of life-threatening poverty. It follows that all human beings have the moral duty to combat and overcome severe poverty. With regard to the possibility of alleviating or reducing severe poverty, Pogge (2007) makes interesting observations, and suggests important strategies.

Firstly, Pogge suggests an interactional approach, one in which individual and collective agents have primary responsibility to fulfil the human rights of poor people by changing their behaviour and actions in the socio-economic and political arena at the local, national and global levels. Pogge (2007: 6) observes that notable progress against severe poverty may be made when human agents change some of their decisions and ways of making major and small decisions with regard to interactions in the socio-economic sectors, in relation to political rules and actions, and concerning personal consumption, savings and contribution to NGOs combating poverty.

In line with the aforesaid, Pogge (2002; 2005; 2007) urges individual and collective agents to fulfil their negative duties in the sense of not personally harming or violating the human rights to subsistence of others, and/or withdrawing support from institutions and organisations whose actions contribute to the violation of the subsistence rights of human beings in socio-economic and political systems. He also wants affluent individuals to fulfil their positive duties by participating personally in poverty-reduction initiatives, and/or by contributing resources needed to rescue persons caught in life-threatening poverty. In addition, Pogge (2002; 2007) urges individual and collective agents to participate in initiatives to challenge and demand changes in local, national and global rules and policies that violate the human rights of poor people throughout the world.

Pogge's practical strategy mentioned above thus involves undertaking reforms of moral systems of individual and collective agents in the socio-economic and political arena at the local, national and global levels so that those moral systems highlight, guide and inspire more forcefully the positive and negative moral duties of human agents in matters of combating life-threatening poverty. The reformed moral systems would in turn become relevant ethical frameworks to provide compelling moral reasons and to inform decision-making processes in matters of the fair distribution of resources and

means for meeting basic human needs and alleviating different forms and states of poverty in local, national and global contexts.

Secondly, Pogge suggests an institutional approach, which involves reforming the national and international institutional orders. Pogge (2007) notices that poor people, who constitute half of humankind, consume fewer than 2% of the global product. From such a revealing observation on global consumption, which he considers an important fact, he proceeds to argue that severe poverty is wholly, or very largely, avoidable today. He contends, therefore, that severe poverty can be avoided “not by passing laws against it but - by restructuring national and global systems so that everyone has real opportunities to escape and avoid severe poverty” (Pogge, 2007: 3-4). In fact, Pogge (2007: 28) believes that institutional and structural reforms at the national and global levels are what matter most in effectively combating and overcoming severe poverty, and so he insists:

It is *more* realistic ... to seek substantial progress on the poverty front through institutional reforms that make the global order less burdensome on the global poor. Accepting such reforms, affluent countries would bear some opportunity costs of making the international trade, lending, investment, and intellectual property regimes fairer to the global poor as well as some costs of compensating for harms done.

Pogge’s second practical strategy involves undertaking reforms in the socio-economic and political systems. He argues that socio-economic and political systems at the village, national and global levels, which are systems of distribution of resources for everyone to meet his or her basic needs, tend to embed unfair rules and policies (Eskelinen, 2009; Pogge, 2007). Reforming these social systems would entail reforming the rules governing distribution and the power at play in the structures of these distribution systems, making them just social systems to eventually provide equal opportunities to all members to realise their human rights. Besides, and like Aquinas (1947), Pogge (2002; 2007) argues for the moral duty of those who have been benefiting through unfair socio-economic and political systems to compensate the poor⁹ people who have been generated through those unfair systems.

Certainly, the use of the logic and language of human rights has provided the proponents of HRA with insights into working out moral arguments and practical strategies to combat conditions of poverty threatening the human dignity, agency and well-being of poor people. The practical strategies of the HRA therefore aim to overcome threats to the dignity, agency and well-being of poor people who, in most cases, are viewed and treated as “shrunk wretches begging for help” (Pogge, 2007: 4).

⁹ With regard to eradicating severe global poverty, Pogge (2002; 2005; 2007) emphasises that those who have benefited through the global institutional order that harms the global poor have to undertake compensatory duties. He suggests two broad categories of compensating action, namely financial transfers to the global poor and reforming the international institutional order. He claims that each of these two types of compensating action would require minimal effort and sacrifice by affluent citizens and countries, and would contribute to massive eradication of extreme global poverty (Pogge, 2005; 2007). Pogge’s argument on compensatory duties to eradicate global poverty has received a good deal of critical attention, with mixed results. For instance, Gilabert (2005), Satz (2005), Risse (2005), Miller (2007), and Jordaan (2010) have critically examined Pogge’s proposals on paying compensation to the global poor and making amends in the global institutional order, and concluded that both proposals are harder to implement and unlikely to have much impact on eradicating extreme global poverty.

2.3.4.3 The HRA and pro-poor initiatives in productive socio-economic sectors

Ethical reflection within the HRA focuses on the importance and role of human rights in guiding and guaranteeing dignified lives and meaningful relations of human beings in the social, economic and political systems of society. In particular, such reflection focuses on exploring the nature and causes of poverty to eventually facilitate the construction of convincing arguments in support of the call for “an enforceable global duty to provide a reliable and durable access to basic resources to those who are deprived from them” (Chauvier, 2007: 303). It follows that ethical reflection embracing the HRA embarks on the challenging task of conceptualising and establishing the existence of “a human right to be free from poverty” and to argue for a global duty to eradicate severe poverty (Pogge, 2007).

With the view of firmly establishing that poor people are entitled to the fulfilment of their human rights, ethical reflection within the HRA focuses on portraying poor people “not as shrunken wretches begging for help, but as persons with dignity who are claiming what is theirs by right” (Pogge, 2007: 4). According to Pogge (2007), the portrayal of poor people as persons with a human right to basic necessities, and/or as persons whose human right to free themselves from severe poverty is violated, provides a firm moral ground to call for both national and global actions to fulfil and protect such human rights from being violated. Given the aforesaid, the HRA therefore provides a useful normative framework to guide the exploration and understanding of the processes of the production and perpetuation of poverty and the practical strategies for its redress in concrete socio-economic and productive sectors.

First, with its emphasis on taking seriously the actual functioning of socio-economic and political systems, the normative framework of the HRA has the potential to facilitate critical reflection on and analysis of the rules, policies and operational procedures governing relations and operations in specific productive sectors to determine how they impact negatively on human dignity, agency and the well-being of poor actors. In this way, the HRA can facilitate an understanding and unveiling of the mechanisms of power at play in these productive sectors, and also contribute to determine how these mechanisms impact on the capacities of some actors and make them losers in the stages of wealth creation.

Second, the HRA is also useful in guiding the exploration and understanding of individual and collective moral agents involved in depriving poor actors of real opportunities, and what the human rights of poor actors entail that are violated. Moreover, the HRA is useful in highlighting the omissions or failures of capable moral agents to protect and rescue some actors in specific productive sectors from falling into extreme deprivation of resources. The HRA is also useful to unveil possible reforms in the moral systems of capable actors with a view to reinforcing their understanding of and commitment to positive and negative duties to remedy the deprivation, and to enhance the productive capabilities of poor actors.

Generally, the HRA to poverty provides insights into the motivations of agents involved in the production of poverty, as well as the moral grounds and principles that can help to guide individual and collective moral agents in choosing and implementing poverty-reduction initiatives. The HRA also enlightens us, on the one hand, on moral obligations overlooked by poverty-producing agents and, on the other hand, on those moral obligations that poverty-reducing agents must observe. By highlighting these, the HRA unveils different forms of violations of the human rights of poor people, and sheds light on our understanding of the immorality of some positive laws and policies that guide the conduct of human agents in productive socio-economic sectors.

Notwithstanding the useful insights mentioned above, critics argue for caution in utilising the HRA, as its human rights language in the context of designing pro-poor initiatives may be well received and appreciated by poor people, but not by the non-poor and powerful agents expected to contribute substantively to realising the human rights of poor people. While holding that the language of human rights may empower the powerless in certain contexts, O'Neill (1986: 117) nevertheless maintains that, in most cases, such a discourse "carries only a vague message to those whose action is needed to secure respect of rights".

In addition, O'Neill (1986: 119), who insists that, "in the end, action-based ethical deliberation can be accessible and action-guiding only if it talks about *action*", underscores the fact that the vocabulary of rights avoids the question of agency, thereby remaining oddly remote from actions. In other words, the human rights language is usually too abstract. Talking about the human rights of the poor, with little or no focus on specific actions and reference to individual and collective agents capable of performing those actions to realise the subsistence rights of poor people, would not bear fruit in matters of combating and overcoming conditions leading to poverty. It follows that the 'vocabulary of action' must complement the 'vocabulary of rights', otherwise the intended "message may be inaccessible or half heard by those with the power to bring change" (O'Neill, 1986: 120).

In line with the previously mentioned, O'Neill (1986) cogently argues that the human rights discourse must incorporate the 'vocabulary of action' for it to guide and effectively motivate individual and collective moral agents to undertake poverty-redressing actions. O'Neill (1986: 118) emphasises:

If, for example, we want to know what a right to life is, we must ask not 'What is life?' but rather 'Which sorts of obstructions or risks to life ought to be forbidden for all or for some agents and agencies?' Debates about a 'right to life' only become serious, and acquire the potential for guiding action, when they become debates about counterpart obligations.

Subsequently, the use of the insights and language of the HRA in action-based ethical reflection and deliberation on concrete actions to improve the agency and well-being of poor actors requires great caution lest we fail to engage and inspire those key actors and stakeholders who are capable of undertaking intended reforms in specific socio-economic structures and productive sectors. Furthermore, the portrayal of poor people as the rightful claimants of human rights requires

cautionary treatment, as it also may render obscure some of their actions and behaviour that significantly contribute to breeding conditions of deprivation and violation of their human rights in specific productive sectors, and may lead to the crafting of inappropriate pro-poor initiatives (O'Neill, 1986).

2.3.5 The Capability Approach (CA)

The Capability Approach (CA) integrates deontological explanations of poverty to underscore the facts of the violation of the principles of social justice in the socio-economic and political sectors of societies, and at the same time focuses on the deprivation of human capabilities necessary for every human being to lead the kind of life he or she chooses and values. The CA is useful for understanding and evaluating societal arrangements, social and political actions, as well as processes that promote or hinder human well-being (Gasper, 2007; Deneulin, 2014).

The Capability Approach¹⁰ (CA) was expounded by Amartya Sen, who, dissatisfied with measurements of well-being in terms of income or consumption, sought for a different approach and measurement of human well-being. Sen's CA focuses on human life as it is actually lived, and entails "a serious departure from concentrating on the *means* of living to the *actual opportunities* of living" (Sen, 2010: 233). The CA emphasises that human well-being is better measured by assessing the freedoms human beings enjoy, and the choices they make, rather than the income they have or what they consume (Sen, 1999; Gasper, 2007; Frediani, 2010). More precisely, Sen (1985) argues that the sum of resources does not matter, what matters is what such resources do to enhance the freedoms and choices of people in life.

Based on these insights on what matters most, Sen expounded the CA and moved away from the income-led evaluation methods to focusing on the capacities of people to achieve the things that they have reasons to value (Frediani, 2010). As a moral approach, the CA conceives human beings as essentially reasoners and free choosers. In this regard, Sen (1999) underlines that human beings are not mere receptacles for resource inputs and satisfaction, but rather are agents capable of setting their own goals and making their own choices; and therefore their "freedom to be and do things they have reasons to value" must be recognised, protected and nurtured.

Sen (1999: 18) further maintains that freedom is a principal determinant of individual initiatives and social effectiveness, and contributes to fostering people's opportunities to have valuable outcomes and to enhancing their abilities to help themselves and influence the world. Consequently, a free human being conceptualised in the CA is one who "has the opportunity to function (as a human being) and to

¹⁰ Gasper (2007) makes a useful distinction between the Capability Approach and the Capabilities Approach. According to Gasper (2007: 336), 'the Capability Approach' refers to Sen's work, and 'the Capabilities Approach' to Nussbaum's work. See Nussbaum (1988; 2000; 2003; 2004; 2011) for an elaborate discussion of her Capabilities Approach, methodology and list of Central Human Capabilities.

pursue goals he or she values” (Deneulin, 2014: 34). With the view to promote human freedom, therefore, Sen constructed the CA in a way that it captures a wide range of information useful in evaluating “how people actually live – what they do and are – and their freedom – what they are able to do and be” (Gasper, 2007: 340).

The CA consists mainly of three interrelated conceptual elements, namely entitlements, capabilities and functionings. These elements are important for individual welfare to the extent that changes in them affect the well-being and agency of an individual human being. For Sen (1999), entitlements represent the commodities over which a person has the potential to establish ownership and command. It is either through the production of goods and services, or through the exchange (trade) of goods and services that people access and control the commodities necessary for their well-being. However, Sen (1999) underlines the fact that entitlements are not the ends but important means to human well-being.

Capabilities represent the set of real opportunities a person has for realising his or her human potentials (Sen, 1987), and/or simply the freedoms for achieving various lifestyles in the context of a given society (Sen, 1999). Sen sees an important link between well-being and capabilities, and argues that well-being is best understood in terms of capabilities. He notices that capabilities are basic for a person to achieve a minimum level of well-being, and in turn determine the level of well-being of the individual (Sen, 1999). It follows that the higher the level of a person’s capabilities, the higher is the level of his or her well-being; and the lower the level of capabilities, the lower the level of his or her well-being (Osmani, 2005). Accordingly, Sen (1999) emphasises that expansion of capabilities and equity in capabilities are needed for a person to participate fully in society and flourish.

Functionings are the various aspects of life that people value doing and being (Sen, 1999). They include states of existence and activities people recognise to be important, such as a decent job, nutrition, security and self-respect (Sen, 1999; Deneulin, 2014). Sen categorises functionings into *being* functionings, that is the more stable characteristics of a person such as self-respect or personal agency, and *doing* functionings, namely the specific behaviour of the person, such as communicating in an assertive fashion. He also highlights that there are *achieved* functionings, namely those functionings that an individual has pursued and realised, and *alternative* functionings, namely the various functionings that a person possesses and from which she can choose (Pick and Sirkin, 2010).

People can realise the functionings they value (in terms of being and doing what they have reason to value) and achieve certain levels of well-being thanks to the set of capabilities they have. Therefore, capabilities enable the realisation of valued being and doing functionings and, in turn, the well-being of individuals. Accordingly, having underlined the role of capabilities in fostering the agency and well-being of human beings, Sen (1999; 2010) then advocates for an expansion of capabilities, and an expansion of equity in capabilities for all human beings so that each person can participate fully in

socio-economic and political sectors and flourish. In particular, Sen (1999: 11) highlights the role of human freedom and agency as he writes:

... this freedom-centered understanding of economics and of the process of development is very much an agent-oriented view. With adequate social opportunities, individuals can effectively shape their own destiny and help each other. They need not be seen primarily as passive recipients of the benefits of cunning development programs.

The CA is an important normative framework used widely in scholarly debates and analysis of national and global issues of development, poverty, inequality, exploitation and the oppression of human beings in the world. Specifically, the CA is usually engaged in academic fields such as social policy, development economics and development ethics to highlight the understanding and measurement of human development and practical strategies for its attainment. It is also used as a framework to inform and guide initiatives for the attainment of development and a reduction of poverty in the contemporary world. The insights of the CA, which provided the conceptual underpinning for the UN's Human Development Reports, underlie the UNDP's approaches to human development and the reduction of global poverty.

These insights and strategies are also invoked in progressive social policy, development initiatives and anti-poverty programmes of some developed capitalist societies (Carpenter, 2009). For instance, in 2005, Germany's National Action Plan for Social Inclusion drew heavily and explicitly on the insights and methodology of the CA to prepare its national poverty and wealth reports (Arndt and Volkert, 2007: 22). In addition, Carpenter, (2009: 11) maintains that through the work of Atkinson *et al.* (2002) for the European Commission, the insights and strategies of the CA on poverty were embraced and contributed to "the conceptual shift from a narrow income poverty perspective to a multidimensional poverty and social inclusion" of the European Union. Following this conceptual shift, the EU broadened its "traditional focus on employment policy", and could integrate its "economic and social policy as part of the Lisbon Strategy" (Carpenter, 2009: 11).

2.3.5.1 The meaning and cause of poverty in the CA

In the CA, poverty is viewed and explained in terms of capabilities deprivation, instead of income deprivation, because capabilities enable human beings to lead a meaningful life (Sen, 1999). Besides, given that capabilities are also understood as the freedoms to achieve valuable functionings of being and doing (Sen, 1999), or as the set of real opportunities for realising one's potential (Sen, 1987), and/or "the range of life-options that people have" (Gasper, 2000: 991), poverty is equally viewed and explained in terms of deprivation of real freedoms.

According to Sen (1999: 75), capabilities are kinds of freedom empirically interconnected to and strengthening one another as they, in turn, enhance and enrich the lives people are actually able to lead. Nevertheless, Alkire (2005) holds that a capability must be realised by the individual to be considered a real freedom and to impact positively on his or her well-being. At the same time, some

freedoms are enjoyed thanks to the various capabilities an individual can utilise. There is, therefore, a mutual complementarity between various capabilities and various freedoms. It follows that the actual capabilities of a person are dependent on the various freedoms he or she enjoys (Sen, 1999).

Sen (1999) has identified five distinct types of freedoms. These freedoms are political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparent guarantees, and protective security. Sen (1999: 11) argues that “[e]ach of these distinct types of rights and opportunities helps to advance the general capability of a person”. According to Sen (1999: 11), these five freedoms, which he also terms instrumental freedoms, are important and contribute to the “promotion of overall freedoms of people to lead the kind of lives they have reason to value”. He further asserts that “freedoms are not only the primary ends of development, they are also among its principal means” (Sen, 1999: 11). To illustrate the interconnection and interdependence of the different freedoms, Sen (1999: 11) writes:

Political freedoms (in the form of free speech and elections) help to promote economic security. Social opportunities (in the form of education and health facilities) facilitate economic participation. Economic facilities (in the form of opportunities for participation in trade and production) can help to generate personal abundance as well as public resources for social facilities.

By establishing that capabilities or freedoms foster the agency and well-being of people, Sen (1999) then claims that poverty, which is understood in the widest sense as a very low level of well-being, can be seen as well as the failure to achieve certain basic capabilities or freedoms. In general, Sen (1999) argues that people who experience a low level of well-being lack or have been deprived of basic capabilities (or freedoms) that would have enabled them to command the economic resources necessary for enhancing their well-being. Sen (1999: 20) maintains that deprivation of basic capabilities can be reflected in “premature mortality, significant undernourishment (especially of children), persistent morbidity, widespread illiteracy and other failures”.

In line with the above-mentioned, poverty can rightly be defined as the “lack of capabilities to be free from hunger, to be able to lead a life free from avoidable morbidity and mortality, to be able to take part in the life of the community, to be able to appear in public with dignity, and so on” (Osmani, 2005: 207). Consequently, poverty comprises states of unfreedoms which, in turn, re-enforce each other in such a way that “economic unfreedom can breed social unfreedom, just as social or political unfreedom can also foster economic unfreedom” (Sen, 1999: 8). Sen (1999) notices also that many people across the world experience various unfreedoms that range from the lack of basic needs and social opportunities, the denial of political liberty and basic civil rights, to the lack of economic opportunities and security.

From the exposition above it follows that capabilities are essentially the instrumental freedoms that provide people with a range of alternatives of being and doing (Sen, 1999). Thus, *political freedoms* are political opportunities and entitlements to enable people to practise their civil and democratic

rights; and *economic facilities* are economic opportunities and entitlements that facilitate people to engage actively in economic production, exchange and consumption. *Social opportunities* include social services such as education and health care, which people utilise to live better; *transparent guarantees* are opportunities that enable people to engage with one another in open and trusted ways; and *protective security* are opportunities that provide people with social safety nets (Sen, 1999).

These different capabilities or instrumental freedoms play important roles in the lives of human beings such that some capabilities or freedoms are basic for a person to achieve a minimum level of well-being (Sen, 1999). It follows that, when someone is deprived of his or her capabilities or freedoms, that person becomes highly constrained from becoming the person he or she wants to be, and in doing what he or she chooses, values and enjoys. It is within this context that Sen (1999) cogently argues that poverty should be viewed and explained in terms of capability or freedom deprivation, instead of income deprivation; and that development should be seen as “a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy” (Sen, 1999: 3) and “a process of removing unfreedoms” (Sen, 1999: 86).

Consequently, different forms of poverty impose constraints on individual capabilities and thereby limit the personal agency of the individuals involved (Sen, 1999). In this way, poverty, seen through the CA lens, is a state in which poor people are highly constrained in many different ways. In that situation, poor people become passive rather than active human agents. Having examined Sen’s five unfreedoms in real life, Pick and Sirkin (2010: 108) found that:

Unfreedoms arise when people lack either the opportunities or the capabilities to achieve what they value. Thus, in practice, capable individuals may be restrained in a context that presents insurmountable barriers to action or when basic needs are not met.

Therefore, in real life, what is required is the freeing of individuals from their constraints or unfreedoms to recover their active agency through which they can cultivate and/or rebuild the capabilities necessary for them to access and make use of available resources and opportunities. Accordingly, poor people can choose their most valued options for achieving various life styles in real life only when they get access to such substantive opportunities (Robeyns, 2005; Sen, 1999).

In the CA, states of poverty are thus essentially states of capabilities deprivation and unfreedoms. Accordingly, explanations of the causes and perpetuation of poverty in the CA involve explanations about the emergence of states of unfreedoms that people experience in their lives. Sen, who views and treats the freedoms of individuals as the basic building blocks of authentic human development, has devoted much intellectual effort to understanding what contributes to the emergence of unfreedoms in societies.

Sen’s exploration of the causes of unfreedoms starts with his attempt to understand the nature of freedom. Sen (1999: 17) makes a distinction between the *process* aspect and *opportunity* aspect of

freedom. Process freedom refers to those freedoms that enable people to make decisions and perform actions, while opportunity freedom refers to actual opportunities that people have, given their personal and social circumstances. Likewise, Sen (1999: 142) observes that “individuals live and operate in a world of institutions” and that, within and through the plurality of institutions, including democratic systems, legal mechanisms, market structures, education and health provision, media and other communication facilities, individuals enjoy and actualise their process and opportunity freedoms (Sen, 1999: 53). Having noted that individual opportunities and prospects depend crucially on which institutions exist and how they function, Sen (1999: 17) suggests:

The unfreedom can arise either through inadequate processes (such as the violation of voting privileges or other political or civil rights) or through inadequate opportunities that some people have for achieving what they minimally would like to achieve (including the absence of such elementary opportunities as the capability to escape premature mortality or preventable morbidity or involuntary starvation).

Societal arrangements therefore contribute to situations under which many people become “deprived of important freedoms in leading their lives and denied of the opportunity to take part in crucial decisions regarding public affairs” (Sen, 1999: 16). Specifically, Sen (1999) observes that market mechanisms can contribute to the states of unfreedoms and capabilities deprivation. While keen on highlighting the role of markets in expanding the income, wealth and economic opportunities of people, Sen (1999: 25-26) nevertheless notices that arbitrary restrictions of the market mechanism can lead to a reduction of freedoms, and being deprived of economic opportunities and favourable consequences that markets offer and support.

Furthermore, unemployment can cause not only deprivation of income, but also “psychological harm, loss of work motivation, skill and self-confidence, increase in ailments and morbidity (and even mortality rates), disruption of family relations and social life, hardening of social exclusion and accentuation of racial tensions and gender asymmetries” (Sen, 1999: 94). It follows that the failure of societal arrangements to guide and provide individuals with opportunities to utilise economic resources for the purpose of consumption, production and exchange contribute, in turn, to them being deprived of basic capabilities for participating actively and gainfully in economic activities.

According to Sen (1999; 2010), the failure of societal arrangements to provide adequate public goods may also lead to the deprivation of human capabilities or freedoms. Sen (1999: 292), who views “human capability as an expression of freedom”, underlines the role of the adequate provision of education, health services, social security and other social arrangements in the “enhancement and safeguarding [of] human capabilities to do things – and the freedom to lead lives – that they have reason to value”. Sen (1999; 2010), for instance, notices that people acquire knowledge, good moral qualities and skills for engaging responsibly and efficiently in the production and exchange of commodities through education and moral formation. Altogether, Sen (1999) argues that the failure of social arrangements to provide people with adequate basic services like education and health care may

breed states of illiteracy and ill health, which may have far-reaching impacts on the capabilities of individuals to participate in social, economic and political activities.

Generally, Sen (1999) asserts that individual capabilities crucially depend on the economic, social and political arrangements in society. Sen (1999: 297) emphasises that “a variety of social institutions – related to the operations of markets, administrations, legislatures, political parties, nongovernmental organizations, the judiciary, the media and the community in general – contribute to the process of development precisely through their effects on enhancing and sustaining individual freedoms”. It follows that the deprivation of capabilities happens when the institutions and organisations of the state, market and civil society fail to fulfil their roles to strengthen and safeguard human capabilities and freedoms. Accordingly, the state and non-state actors must be committed to safeguarding and nurturing individual freedoms, and in addressing problems associated with capabilities deprivation and failures.

2.3.5.2 Ethical duty and practical strategies to redress poverty in the CA

Ethical reflection within the CA focuses on the role of different capabilities or freedoms in facilitating the being and doing that people choose and value, and on the societal arrangements that play significant roles in the enhancement or deprivation of such human capabilities or freedoms. The proponents of the CA emphasise that poverty, which involves people being deprived of capabilities or freedoms, is morally wrong because it has a negative impact on the range of life options that people have and, in turn, renders them incapable of realising their own human potential (Sen, 1999; Gasper, 2000).

Accordingly, the proponents of the CA expose the immorality of poverty, and provide compelling moral reasons for its redress. Firstly, they show that basic capabilities are important for the subsistence and well-being of human beings, who, when deprived of them, become life-threatened. Secondly, they expose the fact that the state of capability deprivation is not the state that a human agent chooses freely, but rather is a negative consequence of certain socio-economic and political arrangements. Indeed, societal arrangements sometimes breed situations and contexts that in the end constrain the freedoms and choices of individuals, and/or harm their human dignity, agency and well-being.

With the understanding of the negative impacts of the acts and states of deprivation of capabilities on human agency and the well-being of poor people, the proponents of the CA urge capable individual human beings and institutions to fulfil their duties of justice by undertaking initiatives that rescue and promote the dignity, freedom, agency and well-being of fellow human beings. It follows that individual and collective moral agents have the moral duty to engage in remedying deprived capabilities and removing unfreedoms that impact negatively on the capacities of human beings to

make free choices, pursue and enjoy the states of being and doing they value. Accordingly, Sen (1999; 2010) suggests some practical strategies for remedying capabilities deprivation and failures.

The first strategy involves reforming current social institutions to enable them to become agents of justice in societies. This suggestion springs from the link Sen (1999; 2010) makes between the states of capabilities failure, or inequity of substantive freedoms and capabilities of individuals in society, and the problems of social justice in societal arrangements. According to Sen (1999; 2010), remedying situations of inequity and deprivation requires the redressing of different forms of injustice in societies. Sen (2010: x), who maintains that “justice is ultimately connected with the way people’s lives go, and not merely with the nature of institutions surrounding them”, advocates for reforming social institutions and making them agents of justice to advance the demands of justice in matters of individual freedoms and opportunities to lead the life one has reason to value. With the presence of many active social institutions that promote and advance justice in societies, it would be possible, according to Sen, to remove the different forms of injustice that breed situations of capabilities deprivation and failures.

The second strategy involves designing and implementing relevant public policies in the socio-economic sphere and sectors of production. Sen (1999: 274) maintains that the problem of capabilities deprivation can best be addressed through public policy initiatives. He notices that failures resulting from social institutions sometimes require public interventions to enable and redirect the institutions involved to fulfil their capabilities-enhancement duties and goals. However, Sen (1999: 274) stresses that those public policy interventions must integrate the values, norms and ideas of justice of particular concerned people in specific socio-economic and political contexts to be effective in addressing issues and demands of justice. In general, individual and collective moral agents must fulfil their duties of justice and participate in initiatives of “removing unfreedoms and of expanding substantive freedoms of different types that people have reason to value” (Sen, 1999: 86).

2.3.5.3 The CA and the pro-poor initiatives in productive socio-economic sectors

The CA’s general focus on human agency and well-being and on the practical strategies for enhancing the capabilities or freedoms of poor people renders it a relevant and useful normative framework to guide the choice and implementation of pro-poor initiatives in the socio-economic sphere and sectors of production. Actually, Alkire, (2005) has noted that, in matters of poverty reduction, the CA guides the identification of what people value, the evaluation of actual and lacking capabilities, and the selection of priority functionings a particular initiative to reduce poverty must aim to expand.

In the same vein, Deneulin (2014: 3) highlights that the CA embeds enough moral insights with the potential to inspire and guide people to “shape their social and political action, while respecting their agency and providing support for their well-being in a shared social, political and economic environment”. Hulme, Moore and Shepherd (2001) also argue that, through its recognition of the

relationship between the ends and means of a poverty-reduction initiative, the CA makes strong and explicit links between human agency, poverty and the public policy necessary to facilitate poor people's secure access to and use of essential entitlements. Thus, the CA has the potential of providing people with insightful guidance to critically reflect and deliberate on the ends and means of poverty-reduction initiatives in their socio-economic and productive sectors (Alkire, 2005; Deneulin, 2014).

First, given that Sen (1999) emphasises public debate and democratic deliberation when operationalising the CA, effective operationalisation of the CA demands identifying and engaging key actors and stakeholders. When engaged in participatory exploration and evaluation of their specific socio-economic and political arrangements, these key actors and stakeholders can provide information useful in designing and implementing relevant pro-poor initiatives in specific productive sectors.

With the engagement of key actors and stakeholders within a particular sector of production in a thorough reflection and analysis of their entitlements, capabilities and functionings, it becomes possible to evaluate what they value and choose in the context of the reduction of poverty and facilitation of development. Furthermore, given Sen's stance that capabilities must not be fixed, a participatory exploration of the sets of capabilities relevant to specific categories of poor actors in a sector of production may inform the choice of relevant actions and initiatives to remove depriving conditions and enhance the capabilities of those poor actors.

Second, the CA has the potential to guide a thorough analysis of societal arrangements in the specific sector of production to determine how they facilitate or fail to facilitate the active, responsible and gainful participation of poor actors. Specifically, the CA may facilitate ethical reflection and deliberation on the institutions and organisations of the state, market and civil society operating in a particular sector of production, and contribute to determining mechanisms and processes through which these institutions and organisations facilitate the enhancement or deprivation of the capabilities, freedoms and entitlements of poor actors. In doing so, the CA may shed light on and provide guidance for reforming institutions and organisations of the state, market and civil society to make them effective protectors of justice, and thus enhancers of the entitlements, capabilities and freedoms so basic for the active, responsible and gainful participation of poor actors in the productive activities of their choice.

Third, given its strong focus on human agency and well-being, the CA may enlighten us on the selection of the priority functionings of poor actors that a particular pro-poor initiative must aim to enable and realise, and the concrete actions required of key actors and stakeholders capable of facilitating them. Consequently, the CA may insightfully enable the identification of practical policy options likely to enhance the entitlements and capabilities of those poor actors and the deep-seated

moral resources underlying the motivation of key actors and stakeholders in supporting specific policy options.

Generally, the CA's human agency and well-being orientation makes it a powerful and useful normative framework to guide the exploration and understanding of the processes of the production, perpetuation and reduction or eradication of poverty, the exploration and determination of values and interests of poor people and the actions and policies to promote them in specific socio-economic and productive sectors. However, the CA's ethical individualism (Robeyns, 2005; Alkire, 2008; Robeyns, 2008) and its blindness to class conditions (Chakrabarti and Cullenberg, 2005) must be addressed in order to effectively design and implement relevant pro-poor initiatives in the context of the social, production, distribution and exchange relations in a productive socio-economic sector such as the fishing sector of the Ukerewe District.

2.4. Concluding remarks

The exposition in this chapter has involved reflection on and analysis of the main ethical approaches to poverty with a view to determine their alternative frameworks for thinking and dealing with issues related to poverty and development in society. I have examined the Basic Needs Approach (BNA), the Individual Characteristics Approach (ICA), the Natural Law Approach (NLA), the Human Rights Approach (HRA), and the Capability Approach (CA) and found their insights useful to complement the sociological, political and economic perspectives on understanding and combating poverty and realising development in society (Adejumobi, 2006; Green, 2006; Eskelinen, 2009).

First, the descriptions of the nature and impact of poverty on human beings and their societies contained in these ethical approaches contribute to a better grasp of poverty and the practical strategies required for its redress. In these approaches, poverty involves not only the conditions of the lack of basic human needs for subsistence, but also the violation of human rights and the deprivation of real freedoms, resources and opportunities so important for human beings to participate in productive activities to generate wealth and lead dignified lives. These violations of human rights and deprivations of real freedoms, resources and opportunities to do and be what one values and chooses, breed and eventually generate multiple forms of poverty, such as the poverties of subsistence, protection, affection, understanding, identity and participation (Max-Neef, 1992: 200), which have far-reaching negative effects on the human beings that are involved.

Against this background, Dower (1991) and Dieterlen (2005) give the best summary of the moral badness and negative consequences of extreme poverty situations on human beings. According to Dower (1991: 277-278), extreme poverty is (i) significantly life shortening, (ii) involves great suffering and pain to those afflicted by such forms of poverty as disease and hunger, and (iii) undermines the essential dignity and decency of the lives of human beings. Dieterlen (2005: 38) observes that poverty diminishes the ability of poor people to exercise their rationality and free will

and the ability to set themselves purposes and seek the most adequate means to realise such purposes in their lives. These negative consequences for human dignity, agency and the well-being of poor people make poverty a great evil, and provide the moral basis and motivation for its combat.

Both the enlarged understanding of poverty and the numerous negative consequences of poverty highlighted in these ethical approaches are particularly insightful to guide the exploration of conditions that impact negatively on the human dignity, agency and well-being of poor people, as well as the motivation and value systems of agents responsible for producing and perpetuating these conditions of poverty.

Second, these ethical approaches contribute to a better grasp of the causes of poverty and practical strategies for its redress. To a set of social, economic and political conditions and factors contributing to the production and perpetuation of poverty, these ethical approaches add the role of moral systems of individual and collective moral agents. Emphasising that poor individuals do not freely choose their poverty situations, these ethical approaches highlight that certain flawed moral systems contribute to the production of poverty situations when they fail to guide and empower their moral agents that are capable of making a positive difference to conditions of poverty, but in fact fail to do so.

The actions and/or inactions of individual and collective agents in government, the private sector and civil society that contribute to violations of human rights and the deprivation of the freedoms, resources and opportunities of poor people to function and lead dignified lives therefore are partly the result of defective and/or ineffective moral systems of those individuals and/or their organisations. Accordingly, a full understanding of the processes of the production, perpetuation and eradication of poverty in particular sectors of production requires also that attention is paid to these moral systems, and that they are transformed.

Third, these ethical approaches highlight the potential of poverty reduction and development initiatives to contribute more harm and/or threats to the human dignity, agency and well-being of poor people, and thus urge for caution and thoroughness in the processes of ethical reflection and deliberation on the ends and means of these initiatives. A serious consideration of undertaking ethical reflection on the goals and means of initiatives to combat poverty and attain development therefore is to encourage a better understanding of the moral values and principles that are required within a particular sector of production to inform and provide a basis for context-specific poverty reduction and/or development initiatives.

Indeed, a well-designed and well-executed process of ethical reflection and deliberation can lead to “a systematic and coherent account of the different sets of moral values present in a society and demonstrate their full implications for addressing the complex phenomenon of poverty” (Carabine and O’Reilly, 1998: 10). In the same vein, Dieterlen (2005: 39) highlights:

Both policies to combat poverty and the means to implement them must act with respect for persons in mind. ... The struggle against poverty must seek a means of improving individuals' income and well-being, but also of offering them the necessary means for developing their autonomy, of enabling them to establish their own life plans and seek adequate means to establish and to broaden the social bases of self-respect.

While these perspectives of Carabine and O'Reilly (1998) and Dieterlen (2005) are insightful and useful, the challenge lies in designing and undertaking a process of ethical reflection in concrete contexts to determine credible ethical values and principles to guide the formulation of, and provide the moral basis for, relevant pro-poor development initiatives in specific socio-economic spheres and sectors of production. That challenge was taken up by this study, as it moved to engage key actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe District in a process of critical dialogue and ethical reflection and deliberation on the moral dimensions of poverty reduction and attainment of prosperity through productive fisheries activities. In the next chapters, I report on and discuss the outcomes of this process of critical dialogue and ethical reflection and deliberation on poverty and prosperity as it was conducted, and involved key actors and stakeholders, in the fishing sector of Ukerewe District. However, before I do this from Chapter 4 onwards, Chapter 3 will first provide a comprehensive exposition of this process of critical dialogue and ethical reflection, which entails the methodology of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe the research strategy I employed to accomplish my research tasks and objectives. While invoking the insights of relevant scholars on particular issues about ethical and social inquiries, I present my reasoning with regard to the theoretical framework and research design I followed and the methods I employed to collect and analyse field data. I briefly explain the basis for selecting the fishing sector of Ukerewe as case study in section 3.2. I describe the theoretical framework employed in section 3.3 and the applied *phronésis* design and research tasks in section 3.4. I describe the methods and instruments used in collecting field data in section 3.5, and present the profiles of selected field sites and study participants in section 3.6. The stages of field research, and the methods and steps I followed to analyse my field data are described in sections 3.7 and 3.8 respectively. I end this chapter with concluding remarks in section 3.9.

3.2 Selecting my case study

The fishing sector in Ukerewe District at Lake Victoria is the backbone of the local economy and yet is an economic activity in which most local citizens are highly constrained from participating in gainfully. It presented itself as a good case study in matters of designing and implementing pro-poor development interventions as called for and envisaged in MKUKUTA II.

Ukerewe District is located at latitude 1° 43' 16" S and longitude 33° 06' 52" E. The district covers an area of 6 400 sq. km, out of which 640 sq. km (i.e. 10%) is land mass and the rest, comprising 5 760 sq. km (i.e. 90%) is covered by water. It is constituted of 38 small islands in Lake Victoria, of which 15 islands are inhabited permanently and 23 islands are inhabited temporarily by people engaging mainly in fisheries activities. Administratively, the district is composed of 4 divisions, 24 wards and 74 villages. It has a District Commissioner and other representatives of the central government, as well as of the local government authorities, of whom the Ukerewe District Council is the supreme entity, mandated with the provision of social services and the facilitation and management of local development in the area. Figure 3.1 below is a map showing the location and administrative boundaries of Ukerewe District. The map also highlights the field sites for this study.

According to the URT (2013b), the district had a population of 260 831 people in 2002. That population increased to 345 147 in 2012 (viz. 169 279 men and 175 868 women), which represents a growth rate of 2.82% per annum. It has 59 508 households, with an average household size of 5.7 (URT, 2013b). With only 640 sq. km as its land mass, Ukerewe District is highly populated, with a density of 549.5 inhabitants per sq. km (URT, 2013b). The major economic activities in Ukerewe District are farming, livestock keeping and fishing. People engage in small-scale peasantry to cultivate

food crops such as cassava, sweet potatoes and rice, while those engaging in livestock keep mainly cattle and goats. However, in response to the infertility and shortage of farming land, poor agricultural harvests and the commercialisation of the fishing sector, the majority of the population currently engages in fishing and fish-related businesses.

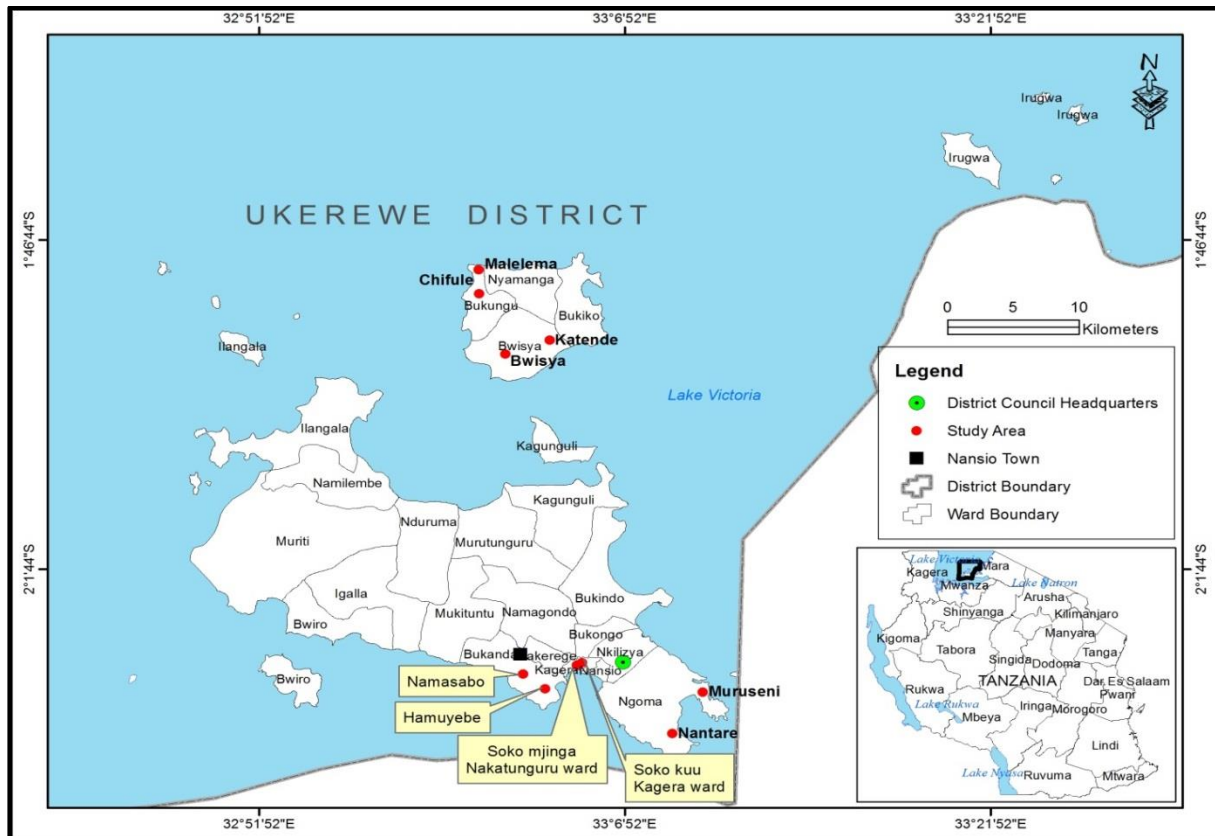


Figure 3.1: Location and administrative boundaries of Ukerewe District and study areas

Productive fisheries activities are conducted mainly in the waters of Lake Victoria and from the beaches of the 38 islands. Whereas there are many fishery species (particularly the *Haplochromine cichlids* and *Tilapiine cichlids*) in the district waters, the commercially important fisheries are the Nile perch (*Lates niloticus*), Dagaa (*Rastrineobola argentea*) and Tilapia (*Oreochromis niloticus*). The Nile perch, which is the largest and commercially most important fish, was introduced into Lake Victoria in the 1950s and 1960s. It usually inhabits deep fresh waters. Since its boom and commercialisation in the 1990s, Nile perch fishery has attracted huge investments in its harvesting and processing sections, more fish catchers and fish traders, and contributed significantly to employment, income and foreign exchange. In addition, Nile perch fishery is integrated into the global market, as most of its landed catch is exported to international markets in Europe, the US and the Middle East (Jansen, Abila and Owino, 2000).

Dagaa is commercially the second most important fishery. Dagaa, a small sardine-like fish, is one of the indigenous fish species of Lake Victoria (Jansen *et al.*, 2000). Dagaa is used both for human consumption and for feeding animals. Dagaa is traded in the local, domestic and regional markets (Jansen *et al.*, 2000). Tilapia (*Sato*) was also introduced into the lake in the 1950s and 1960s. It is commercially the third most important fishery. It inhabits the shallow waters of Lake Victoria. Of the three fisheries, Tilapia (*Sato*) is preferred the most for consumption by local people. Tilapia is traded in local, national and regional markets and contributes to food security, income and employment.

The Nile perch, Dagaa and Tilapia fisheries have great socio-economic significance for the local people and their communities and for the local and national governments. While members of these communities participate in a number of fisheries activities to realise their social and economic goals, local and national governments manage these activities and benefit from the revenues by them.

In Tanzania, the fishing sector is managed mainly through the National Fisheries Sector Policy and Strategic Statements (1997), the Marine Parks and Reserves Act No. 29 of 1994, and the Fisheries Act No. 22 of 2003 and its principal Regulations of 2009. The National Fisheries Sector Policy and Strategy Statements (1997) guides the development of a robust, competitive, efficient and sustainable fisheries sector that contributes to food security, growth of the national economy and improvement of the well-being of fisheries stakeholders. The Marine Parks and Reserves Act No. 29 of 1994 promotes the protection and conservation of fisheries resources and of the aquatic environment for the sustainability of resources.

The Fisheries Act No. 22 contain stipulations on fisheries administration, fishery industry development, aquaculture, the management and the control of the fishing industry, as well as on issues of fish quality management and standards, financial provisions, enforcement, offences and penalties. In addition, the Fisheries Act No. 22 (section 18) and its principal Regulations of 2009 (Regulations 133-136) provide for the establishment of Beach Management Units (BMUs) to effectively involve key resource users, local communities and other stakeholders in the co-management of fisheries resources.

Other relevant policies and guidelines have some bearing on and are invoked in matters of either fisheries resource management or utilisation with a view to achieving social and economic benefits. First, the National Environmental Policy of 1997, which advocates, among other things, for the sustainable utilisation of fisheries resources by using appropriate fishing gear and processing methods, the conservation of fish stocks, and the protection of fragile ecosystems and endangered species. Second, the National Investment Policy of 1997 calls for and guides more foreign and domestic investments in the fishing industry to contribute to employment and economic growth. Third, the Fisheries Master Plan of 2002 formulate guidelines on developing a feasible integrated development strategy that strengthens the capacities of artisanal fisheries groups, small-scale traders, fish

processors and their communities, and contains stipulations on their participation in the fishing sector to attain sustainable economic growth.

Fourth, the National Trade Policy of 2003, which advocates, among other things, for enhancing the contribution of non-traditional (including fishery) export to the growth of the economy. Fifth, the second National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction (MKUKUTA II, 2010), which advocates for mainstreaming the fishing sector into a poverty-reduction strategy and to manage it (the fishing sector) efficiently to achieve poverty-reducing growth. All these policies, laws and guidelines and their implementation in concrete contexts have the potential to support or constrain local actors in the fishing sector, which means that they must be implemented cautiously.

In principal, the Fisheries Division of the Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries Development (MLFD) is responsible for the general development of the fishing sector and the implementation of the National Fisheries Policy of 1997 and the Fisheries Act of 2003. At lower levels, the Fisheries Division collaborates with local government authorities (LGAs) to efficiently manage the fisheries activities to realise the stipulated policy goals. In particular, LGAs have the management responsibility to ensure the legal operation of fishing activities in their areas by (i) issuing licenses for artisanal and small-scale fisheries operations, and (ii) enforcing the laws and carrying out surveillance of fishing activities.

Other responsibilities of the LGAs include (iii) issuing by-laws and participating in formulating regulations, (iv) preparing fisheries development plans that include formulating Beach Management Unit (BMUs) priorities, (vi) registering fishing vessels, (vii) providing extension services to different stakeholders in the fishing sector, and (viii) collecting revenue (URT, 2013a: 10). In line with the aforesaid, the fishing sector of Ukerewe therefore is under the governance and management of the Ukerewe District Council.

In the context of the call of MKUKUTA II stated in Chapter 1, local government authorities (LGAs) in areas with fisheries resources are expected to initiate and implement pro-poor development interventions in their local fishing sector. In fact, following the successful implementation of the local government reform programme from 1999 to 2001, Tanzanian LGAs such as the Ukerewe District Council are legally duty-bound to improve the socio-economic conditions of their citizens through devising and implementing policies and making operational decisions in accordance with the laws and government policies to address constraining factors (URT, 1998). Moreover, as key implementers of the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty and the National Development Vision 2025, Tanzanian LGAs are expected to facilitate and collaborate with other stakeholders in strategising ways to attain economic growth and reduce poverty in their respective jurisdictions (URT, 2010).

Given the foregoing, this empirical study focused on the fishing sector of Ukerewe District and sought to engage key actors and stakeholders in action-based ethical reflection and deliberation on the production and reproduction of poverty in the fisheries sections, and the possibility of and requirements for facilitating the attainment of prosperity through the productive fisheries activities that are undertaken.

3.3 Theoretical framework

I selected the **Capability Approach (CA)**, a normative theoretical framework developed by Amartya Sen, to serve as a point of departure and provisional guide for the action-based ethical reflection and deliberations on issues of poverty and prosperity in the fishing sector of Ukerewe District. In fact, and as Deneulin (2014: 3) has highlighted, the CA provides people with enough insights to draw on “to shape their social and political action” and “transform or create social, economic and political arrangements from the ones which deepen inequality, undermine people’s opportunities to live well and destroy the environment”. Given the study’s broad objective, and the available competing normative frameworks, the CA seemed more appropriate to provide a provisional guide because of several advantages associated with it.

First, the CA enables one to define, conceptualise and evaluate poverty in the context of the actual lives people live and the freedoms they enjoy or lack (Laderchi, Saith and Steward, 2003). Second, the CA draws attention to a much wider range of causes of poverty and options for policies to remedy the situation than most of other frameworks that are available (Laderchi *et al.*, 2003). Third, its operationalisation in specific contexts provides space for the participatory exploration of multiple sources of information pertinent to evaluating socio-economic and political arrangements for successful poverty-reduction initiatives (Alkire, 2005). It thus enables an assessment of “how people relate to each other and what types of relations and institutional arrangements, or opportunities to do or be what they have reason to value, best expand their well-being” (Deneulin, 2014: 46). Fourth, its conceptualisation of poverty as capability deprivation and the links it makes between experiences of poverty and the lack of freedom are insightful for the study, which seeks to address factors constraining local people from participating actively and gainfully in their fishing sector.

The CA furthermore views the goals of development processes and poverty-reduction initiatives to include the removal of unfreedoms, constraints and deprivation affecting the valued aspects of the being and doing of people (Sen, 1999). Given this, I considered the CA a relevant framework to guide my evaluation of societal arrangements to determine conditions, structures and mechanisms enabling or inhibiting active, responsible and gainful participation of local actors in the fishing sector. In fact, Alkire (2005) argues that, in matters of poverty reduction, the CA guides the identification of what people value, the selection of the priority functionings a particular poverty-reduction initiative should aim to expand, as well as the evaluation of actual capabilities required to do so. In so doing, the CA

provides avenues and guidance for people to reflect and deliberate on the ends and means for poverty-reduction initiatives (Alkire, 2005).

In the same vein, Hulme *et al.* (2001) maintain that, through its recognition of the relationship between the ends and means of a poverty-reduction initiative, the CA makes strong and explicit links between human agency, poverty and public policy that are necessary to ensure entitlements. Additionally, Robeyns (2006) and Alkire (2005) have shown that the CA can be used to empirically assess aspects of an individual or group's well-being, inequality and poverty, and guide public reasoning and deliberation on proposals for societal change and for designing credible policies to effect the intended changes. As a normative framework, the CA can also guide the devising and evaluation of development policies in particular contexts, and can provide a normative basis for social and political criticism (Robeyns, 2006).

Generally, with his capability approach to human development, Sen underlines the need to pay due attention to real-life contexts, public dialogue and democratic deliberation on the ends and means of development processes that people want to pursue. Accordingly, the foundation of a sensible approach to development must start with “digging” from within human experiences and discourses and engaging in an evaluative inquiry about what things to do and should count as intrinsically worthwhile in our human lives (Sen, 1984: 310). Sen argues that such a searching process stops only when we find, through “public discussion”, what sorts of ethical concepts best interpret these objects of intrinsic value (Crocker, 2008). Consequently, Alkire (2005), Robeyns (2006) and Crocker (2008) argue that effective operationalisation of the CA in concrete contexts requires the use of methods that engage people in critical dialogical reflection on their real-life experiences, thus facilitating their identification of what they value, what their actual capabilities are, and which priority functionings they should choose, and enhancing deliberation on proposals about societal changes.

Given all the above relating to the CA, I therefore reasoned that the CA could guide my exploration to understand the processes of the production, perpetuation and reduction of poverty, my exploration and determination of the values and interests of poor people in their respective fisheries sections¹¹, and my exploration of the moral motivations of possible poverty-reducing agents. I therefore aimed for an effective operationalisation of the CA in my research strategy by involving key actors and stakeholders in critical dialogical reflection on their current relations and practices in their respective fishing sectors.

¹¹ In this study I distinguish between the *fishing sector* and the *fisheries sections*. By the fishing sector, I mean *all* fish-related activities in Ukerewe District, which include the catching, processing, transporting and trading of fish and fish products; the making and repairing of fishing inputs; and the management of fisheries resources. By fisheries sections, I refer specifically to the *particular* sections of fish catching, processing, transporting and trading of the Nile perch, Dagaa, Tilapia and other mixed fishery, which, when taken together, make up the fishing sector. Given that some study participants were involved in specific fisheries sections, I sometimes use the possessive pronoun ‘their’ to indicate a section in which they engage or participate.

In this process I sought to ask these actors and stakeholders whether or not it is desirable that local people participate actively and gainfully in their fishing sector, and if it is desirable, then what actions and mechanisms should be put in place to facilitate their active and gainful participation. In this manner, I thought the CA was a powerful framework to guide an exploration of the relevant pro-poor interventions in this fishing sector.

In general, I considered the CA an appropriate theoretical framework to guide the uncovering of ethical issues in the production and reduction of poverty, and for the analysis and determination of credible ethical values and principles to inform relevant development interventions to enhance the human dignity, agency and well-being of constrained local actors in the fisheries sections of Ukerewe. Eventually, the insights of the CA informed my selection of the research design, my devising of research instruments, and my choosing of research methods for executing the main research tasks and the collection of data during my fieldwork in Ukerewe District.

However, cognisant of the criticism that the CA focuses mainly on the experiences of individuals (Robeyns, 2005; Stewart, 2005; Ibrahim, 2006; Alkire, 2008; Robeyns, 2008), and does not account for class differences in society (Chakrabarti and Cullenberg, 2005), I deliberately conceptualised a methodological approach that could also take into account the experiences and views of groups and collectives in society, as well as the class differences between them.

3.4 Research design and tasks

I selected and adopted the **applied¹² phronésis design** expounded by Bent Flyvbjerg to guide critical dialogical ethical reflection on poverty and prosperity in the fishing sector in general, and the unveiling of moral values and motivations of key actors and stakeholders in addressing poverty-related challenges in the fisheries sections in particular. Flyvbjerg (1993; 2001), who draws on Aristotle's notion of *phronésis* (practical wisdom) and Foucault's approach to the analysis of power, emphasises in his design and methodology value-rational questions (in distinction from instrumental rationality) that can make a difference in the lives of people. According to Flyvbjerg (2001: 60), the phronetic approach is employed with the view "to carry out analyses and interpretations of the status of values and interests in society aimed at social commentary and social action". Consequently, for Flyvbjerg (1993: 4), value-rational questions need to be resolved "within the interpretive complexities of concrete circumstances, by appeal to relevant historical and cultural traditions, with reference to critical institutional and professional norms and virtues".

¹² By using the term 'applied', Flyvbjerg does not emphasise the application of a theory developed a priori into practical questions in concrete contexts, as is done in the natural sciences, but rather emphasises the undertaking of critical reflection and investigations starting with the actual practices and actions in concrete socio-economic and political contexts. As such, Flyvbjerg, Landman and Schram (2012: 286) highlight: "In phronetic social science, 'applied' means thinking about practice and action with a point of departure not in top-down, decontextualized theory and rules, but in 'bottom-up' contextual and action-oriented knowledge, teased out from the context and actions under study by asking and answering the value-rational questions that stand at the core of phronetic social science."

Flyvbjerg's applied *phronésis* design and methodology enable iterative and interactive phases of thinking and deliberating about moral issues and values guided by four important value-rational questions. For Flyvbjerg (2001: 60), these important questions are: (i) Where are we going? (ii) Who gains, who loses, by which mechanisms of power? (iii) Is this desirable? (iv) What should be done?

Questions (i) and (ii) guide the exploration of critical issues in the specific situation to gain better knowledge of what really is at stake, how it comes about, and whom does it affect positively or negatively (Hattingh, 2010). Question (iii) is the central value question that guides exploration of the moral values and principles of individual and collective moral agents involved in the situation. Question (iv) guides reflection on and determination of relevant courses of action to remedy problematic situations and their impacts on people, institutions, organisations, sectors, animals, plants and other categories of beneficiaries involved in the situation (Hattingh, 2010). In line with the foregoing, Schram (2012: 20) emphasises that the four value-rational questions referred to above are destined to "[produce] research that helps make a difference in peoples' lives by focusing on what it would really take to make that difference on the issues that matter to them most and which most crucially affect them".

For the effective operationalisation of an applied *phronésis* in concrete socio-economic and political contexts to attain relevant and insightful responses to those main value-rational questions, Flyvbjerg (2001: 129-140) suggests the consideration and/or adoption of the following methodological guidelines. First, focusing on the social and historical conditions and contexts of the phenomenon studied, *to identify and establish the socio-historical foundation of the values held by individual and collective actors involved in that context*. Second, *analysing the kind of power at play in that context and the outcomes it produces* to eventually identify options available to change existing power relations. Third, *anchoring the research in the concrete context of the phenomenon or group studied and getting closer to that reality to better understand and interpret it*.

Fourth, ask small questions to generate minutiae and a thick description of the phenomenon studied. Fifth, concentrate on the analysis of actual daily practices to *highlight what is actually happening* before the analysis of involved discourses and determination of the intentions of the actions are undertaken. Sixth, focus on concrete cases and contexts experienced and narrated about the phenomenon under study. Seventh, ask about the 'how' in addition to the 'why' of the phenomenon to generate enough narratives useful for understanding and explaining the phenomenon.

Eighth, focus on the analysis of both the actor level and structure level to determine their interrelationship and, in particular, the extent to which the practices of the involved actors shape structures and, in turn, how the structures influence the agency of those actors. Ninth, identify and engage the 'polyphony of voices' of society in a dialogue aimed at producing relevant inputs for use in further social dialogue and praxis in those specific socio-economic and political contexts.

Given the potential of the applied *phronésis* approach for providing a format for undertaking critical dialogical reflection and deliberation on relevant actions to resolve concrete moral questions in socio-economic and political contexts, I considered it a relevant design to facilitate the successful execution of my research tasks. However, with the view to underscore but move beyond the individual values and actions to specific groups' values and actions to the general community' values and actions in the fishing sector, I reorganised and expanded the dimensions for utilising the value-rational questions.

Thus, to examine the current social, production, distribution and exchange relations and practices in the fishing sector, I reflected on the questions: What is really happening? What is desirable and what is not desirable? Who gains, who loses, through which mechanisms? To examine the social, production, distribution and exchange relations and practices that local actors and stakeholders value and want to realise in their fishing sector in the future, I reflected on the questions: Where do we want to go from here? Is it desirable? How do we get there? What do we want to achieve? Who will gain, who will lose, through which mechanisms? These reorganised value-rational questions informed the construction of specific thematic themes and questions for interviews and discussions, as explained further in subsection 3.5.4 of this chapter.

Specific research tasks in the field sites in the Ukerewe District included the following.

- The first task involved doing exploration to determine the potential of the productive fisheries activities to contribute to improving the socio-economic situations of local people undertaking them, and the general welfare of fishing communities.
- The second task involved undertaking an exploration to understand who the poor local actors in the fisheries sections are and to determine the conditions and factors constituting the different forms of poverty they experience.
- The third task involved doing a thorough investigation of the possible and preferred initiatives for facilitating the active and gainful participation of poor local actors in the fishing sector.
- The fourth task comprised the search for and uncovering of ethical ideas, values and principles underlying the pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector preferred by the key actors and stakeholders.
- The fifth task involved undertaking critical reflection and analysis to determine and suggest credible ethical values and principles that could constitute an alternative and contextualised ethics of development to guide and facilitate multiple actors and stakeholders in their pursuit to combat and overcome poverty and attain prosperity through fisheries activities undertaken throughout the Ukerewe District.

Overall, the applied *phronésis* design and methodology, which integrated well with insights of the CA, eventually facilitated a successful engagement of key actors and stakeholders in critical self-

reflection, dialogues and deliberation on the ethical issues underlying possible initiatives to overcome poverty and attain prosperity through the fishing sector of Ukerewe District.

3.5 Methods and instruments for collecting field data

The qualitative nature of inquiry of this study attracted a set of qualitative research methods. However, the overall objective and focus of this study, as well as the insights and practical guidelines adopted from the applied *phronésis* and the CA, determined my selection of relevant qualitative methods. Thus, I viewed the methods of focus groups, life histories or personal narratives and in-depth individual interviews suitable to facilitate my inquiry and the collection of relevant field data.

3.5.1 Focus groups

The method of focus groups was the main method used to collect field data for this study. Morgan (1996: 130) defines focus groups as “a research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher”. In defining focus groups in this way, Morgan (1996) underlines the nature and uniqueness of the method of the focus group. Accordingly, he states that a focus group (i) is a research method devoted to data collection, (ii) that interaction in a group is the source of the data, and (iii) that the researcher plays an active role in creating the group and in facilitating discussion to collect relevant data (Morgan, 1996: 130).

Morgan (1996) argues that these three constituting elements are useful for (i) distinguishing focus groups from other groups whose primary purpose is something other than research. In addition, (ii) focus groups differ from procedures that utilise multiple participants but do not allow interactive discussions, and (iii) focus groups also differ from other methods that collect data from naturally occurring group discussions where no one acts as an interviewer (Morgan, 1996: 130-131). In general, this understanding of focus groups points to the fact that focus groups ought to be purposefully designed and operated.

The method of focus groups is a famous method of social inquiry. For many years now, social scientists have been designing and using the method of focus groups in their social research contexts, although they use it “with very different theoretical and analytical backgrounds” (Smithson, 2008: 358). According to Smithson (2008: 358-359), researchers use focus groups when they want to “observe a large amount of interaction on a specific topic in a short time” and/or when they want to “produce the best sort of data for the research question”.

While noting that focus groups are “sites of social interactions”, Smithson (2008: 359) underscores the role of focus groups in facilitating the collective development of ideas and highlighting the interests, values, priorities and perspectives of participants. Focus groups also facilitate the construction of theories grounded in the actual experiences and language of the participants. In this way, Smithson (2008) contrasts the method of focus groups with other qualitative methods. In fact,

Smithson (2008: 368) emphasises that focus groups enable research participants to “engage in a range of argumentative behaviors, which results in a depth dialogue not often found in individual interviews” and, in so doing, contribute to the emergence and development of contrasting opinions or perspectives on specific issues.

Farquhar and Das (1999: 62), who used the method of focus groups to study the experiences of lesbians and found it useful, concluded that focus groups “can be helpful in facilitating access to particularly sensitive research populations, and giving voice to sections of the community who frequently remain unheard”. They also noted that, through well-moderated discussions in focus groups, the different layers of discourses on sensitive issues can be uncovered and the group taboos and routine silencing of certain views and experiences can be illuminated. In this regard, it is important that researchers facilitate critical reflection while also paying attention to sensitive moments, identifying unspoken assumptions and questioning the nature of everyday talk to unveil contradictions, norms, as well as the official and unofficial perspectives, in a sensitive topic (Farquhar and Das, 1999; Smithson, 2008).

Morgan (1996), Wilkinson (1998) and Smithson (2000) thus view the method of focus groups as a powerful one in creating spaces for the minority or marginalised groups to express their concerns, interests and perspectives on specific issues, and empowering them to engage in meaningful deliberations and making wise choices. In fact, Wilkinson (1998), Madriz (2000), Smithson (2000), and Pini (2002) observe that, in some instances, the method of focus groups has a positive effect on the participants when their active and free participation in the dialogues, debates and discussions with other group members turns into insightful, empowering, enjoyable and creative experiences. It follows that group participants can use the contexts of group interactions to become particularly reflective, exploring themselves and their relationships in tentative and thoughtful ways to eventually discover new things about their conditions (Smithson, 2008). In line with the aforesaid, Morgan and Krueger (1993) concluded that “the real strength of focus groups is not simply in exploring what people have to say, but in providing insights into sources of complex behaviors and motivations”.

Accordingly, I formed and moderated 45 focus groups with the view to give my study participants, who are key actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe District, opportunities to explore, reflect on and enter into dialogue about the opportunities and challenges presented by their current relations and practices in the respective fisheries sections that they were engaged in. I also sought to give them opportunities to deliberate on ethically founded courses of action to safeguard and enhance the active and gainful participation of local people in the fishing sector. Eventually, these 45 focus groups generated very useful information for this study, as I will report in the chapters that follow.

3.5.2 The life story or narrative interview

The life story interview is another important method of inquiry used in arts and social science research. Atkinson (2002: 123) observes that the life story interview stands alone as a qualitative research method for “carrying out in-depth study of individual lives”. According to Atkinson (2002: 132), a life story interview is “a highly contextualized, highly personalized approach to the gathering of qualitative information about the human experience” that involves the informant, who tells his or her story, and the researcher, who guides the interview. It is also called the life history interview (Atkinson, 2002) or the narrative interview (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000).

Both constructionist and naturalist researchers employ life story interviews in their research to “understand a broad range of psychological, sociological, mystical-religious, and cosmological-philosophical issues” (Atkinson, 2002: 128). Like other qualitative methods, life story interviews allow for the gathering of rich qualitative data, and its resulting narratives can include important events, experiences, perspectives, values and feelings of a lifetime of the informant (Atkinson, 2002). Thus, when conducted properly, life story interviews can become a valuable experience for both the informant and the researcher, and generate narratives that highlight “the most important influences, experiences, circumstances, issues, themes and lessons of a life time” (Atkinson, 2002: 125).

In general, Atkinson (2002) and Jovchelovitch and Bauer (2000) view life narratives or stories as excellent means for understanding how people see their own experiences, lives and interactions with others. Based on this, I decided to use the method of life story interview to highlight how some key actors view their fishing sector and their experiences in it, their own lives as being shaped by the fisheries activities they undertake, as well as their values, roles and duties as they interact with other actors and stakeholders. In this study I therefore employed the method of life story interviews to elicit specific information from three key informants with regard to their concrete experiences of deprivation or enhancement of their capabilities for active and gainful participation in their fishing sector. I selected and engaged with these three informants from amongst the eight that most study participants had recommended as being (i) the most successful long-time male participants in fisheries activities, (ii) the least successful long-time male participants in fisheries activities, and (iii) the successful female participants in fisheries activities.

I used examples of concrete experiences of capabilities deprivation or enhancement that I drew from these three informants to stimulate further critical dialogical reflection in the intra-homogeneous and heterogeneous focus groups (see section 3.7 below for further discussion) to better grasp the mechanisms and processes of the deprivation and/or enhancement of the capabilities of local actors in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. I also used the life story interviews to elicit and highlight the ways these informants view or argue for the possibility or impossibility of productive fisheries activities to

contribute to improving the human dignity and well-being of individuals participating in them, and the general welfare of their communities.

3.5.3 In-depth individual interview

The in-depth interview is a qualitative method used to elicit information in order to achieve a holistic understanding of the situation, issue or phenomenon (Berry, 1999). It involves the informant, who is knowledgeable of the issues, situation or phenomenon being studied, and the interviewer, who asks the informant open-ended questions, and probes wherever necessary, to obtain useful or relevant data (Berry, 1999; Guion, Diehl and McDonald, 2011). When conducted properly, the method of in-depth interview enables the capturing of the insights and perspectives of respondents on a particular issue, phenomenon or situation (Boyce and Neale, 2006). Its use of open-ended questions and a flexible style and format to gather data has earned this method other names, such as the unstructured interview or qualitative interview (Berry, 1999; Boyce and Neale, 2006; Guion *et al.*, 2011).

Social researchers employ in-depth interviews when they seek to attain a deep understanding of the issues and detailed information about people's thoughts and behaviours (Boyce and Neale, 2006). In the context of planning and evaluating programmes, for instance, the method of in-depth interviews is "used for a variety of purposes, including needs assessment, program refinement, issue identification and strategic planning" (Guion *et al.*, 2011: 1). Boyce and Neale (2006: 3) argue that in-depth individual interviews are often helpful in providing the "context to other data (such as outcome data)" and in "offering a more complete picture of what happened in the program and why". In addition, Boyce and Neale (2006: 3) emphasise that in-depth interviews can be "used in place of focus groups if the potential participants may not be included or comfortable talking openly in a group, or when you want to distinguish individual (as opposed to group) opinions about the program".

Two situations of this study necessitated the use of in-depth individual interview. First, six key informants could not make available the time to participate in scheduled focus groups. Thus, given their knowledge, vast experience and active roles in the fishing sector of Ukerewe, I opted to engage them in in-depth individual interviews to elicit their insights into the current and future role of the fishing sector in contributing to the prosperity of individual actors and the fishing communities of Ukerewe.

Second, it appeared that some relevant and sensitive information on the current relations and practices of actors and stakeholders would be well elucidated through engaging key informants in individual interviews. I decided to gather this sensitive information through individual in-depth interviews and later shared and/or reflected on the information with study participants in intra-homogeneous and heterogeneous groups. Generally, I decided to engage another four key actors in in-depth individual interviews to better elucidate their insights into the conditions, mechanisms and processes that

contribute to the deprivation or enhancement of the capabilities of local actors. I provide further detailed explanations of the selection criteria and circumstances that led to the involvement of these 10 informants in in-depth individual interviews in section 3.7 of this chapter.

3.5.4 Research instruments

The research instruments used to elicit information from the study participants were standardised discussion and interview guides. Whereas standardised¹³ discussion guides were used to elicit information from focus group participants, the standardised interview guides were used to elicit information from individual informants through life story and in-depth individual interviews. These standardised guides embedded the CA's categories and Flyvbjerg's value-rational questions. While paying attention to my specific research objectives, I adapted the CA's categories and insights into the processes of the production and reduction of poverty and incorporated them into Flyvbjerg's main value questions to generate my standardised discussion and interview guides¹⁴. Accordingly, the content of my themes and questions for the discussions and interviews revolved around the following.

- First, what is really happening in the current fishing sector of Ukerewe in terms of the trends in fish stocks and catches, and the human dignity, agency and well-being of local actors and their communities?
- Second, what is desirable in the current fishing sector of Ukerewe in terms of the human dignity, agency and well-being of local actors and their communities?
- Third, which agents, processes and mechanisms of power drive the current production, distribution and exchange relations in the fishing sector of Ukerewe?
- Fourth, who benefits and who is losing out in the current production, distribution and exchange relations and practices in the fishing sector of Ukerewe?
- Fifth, what is desirable in the fishing sector of Ukerewe in the future in terms of the human dignity, agency and well-being of local actors and their communities?
- Sixth, which production, distribution and exchange relations and practices are desired in the fishing sector of Ukerewe in the future?
- Seventh, which agents, processes and mechanisms of power would contribute to realising the desired production, distribution and exchange relations and practices in the fishing sector of Ukerewe in the future?

¹³ Standardised in the sense that the same set of themes and/or questions were applied to the same participants in specific categories of actors and stakeholder groups. I have presented these standardised discussion guides at the back of my dissertation as Appendix A.

¹⁴ I learned from Jentoft (2006) some practical ways of integrating these value questions into my contextualised discussion and interview guides. Jentoft (2006) adapted value-rational questioning to underscore the *phronetic* dimension in fisheries management.

In sum, the use of these value-rational questions during the discussions and interviews enabled the collection of relevant data on the fishing sector of Ukerewe, the ethical issues underlying current relations and practices in it, as well as the values that informed the pro-poor initiatives that were envisioned.

3.6 Selected field sites and study participants

In November 2011, prior to the actual fieldwork, my supervisor, Prof. Hattingh, and I paid a visit to the Ukerewe District to familiarise ourselves with key actors and stakeholders and the fisheries activities local actors undertake. With the aid of an informant, we visited different places in Ukerewe to observe the actual undertaking of fisheries activities. In particular, we observed that local men and women were involved in activities such as (i) making, repairing and trading fishing inputs, (ii) catching fish, (iii) processing fish, (iv) trading and transporting fish and fish products, and (v) governing and managing fisheries resources and fisheries activities. In addition, we noted some societal arrangements in terms of the presence of organisations of government, the market and civil society, which played significant roles in facilitating, supporting, guiding and even restricting the active and gainful participation of local actors in this fishing sector. We further noted that these actors and stakeholders were distributed in different geographical parts of the district. These initial observations enlightened us on possible research sites and categories of study participants.

Having received ethics clearance and the relevant institutional permissions for conducting field research, I was in Ukerewe between 15 September and 15 October 2012, testing my research protocols and instruments. My second supervisor, Dr Ngaiza, who visited me in the field between 11 and 14 October 2012 and saw me conduct two pilot studies, namely one focus group and one life story interview, was later instrumental in guiding the refining of my research instruments and contextualising the research design and strategy. Considering the distribution of the key actors and stakeholders and other logistical issues, I selected as my research sites the wards of Bukungu and Bwisya, which host enormous Nile-perch and Dagaa fisheries activities; Bukanda and Ngoma, which host mostly Tilapia fisheries activities; and Nakatunguru and Kagera, which host mostly fish and fishing inputs trading activities. Figure 3.1 above highlights the location of these research sites.

I then visited and had several meetings with actors and stakeholders at these research sites, where I had opportunities to explain the purpose and stages of my research, respond to questions and concerns from these potential participants, and to invite and encourage those who felt comfortable to participate at different stages of this research. I gave the participants I selected opportunities to discuss the content of the consent forms and the implications they entailed and, when satisfied with my responses and clarifications, they signed consent forms.

This study involved 310 participants¹⁵ who represented main groups of key actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. These participants were purposefully selected to participate in different stages of the field research. Two main criteria guided my selection of these participants. First, I selected those actors and stakeholders who seemed knowledgeable of the functioning of the fishing sector and what was at stake with regard to fisheries resources and the human dignity, agency and well-being of local actors. Second, I selected those actors and stakeholders who, given their capabilities, positions and roles in the socio-economic and political set-up of Ukerewe District¹⁶, were strategically better placed to have positive impacts in influencing the envisioned reforms in their respective fishing sections.

3.6.1 Profiles of selected study participants

3.6.1.1 The local actors¹⁷ in the fisheries sections

This first group of study participants included local men and women involved (i) in catching, processing, trading and transporting fish and fish products, (ii) in the co-management of fisheries resources through BMUs, and (iii) in the making, repairing, supplying and selling of fishing inputs¹⁸.

3.6.1.1.1 Local actors in the fish-catching section

The fish-catching section is comprised of owners of fishing vessels and inputs on the one hand, and the actual fish catchers, that is those who actually go into the water to catch fish, on the other hand. This study involved 45 owners of fishing vessels and inputs. These 45 included 10 owners involved in Nile perch fishery, 15 owners involved in Dagaa fishery, 10 owners involved in Tilapia fishery, and 10 owners involved in mixed and other fisheries. Table 3.1 below highlights the profile of these participants.

¹⁵ The list of these 310 participants is available but not provided in this document to protect and guarantee the anonymity of the study participants as promised in the consent forms they signed prior to engaging in this study.

¹⁶ O'Neill (1986) and Øyen (2004) were insightful on this aspect. O'Neill (1986) argues for engaging in action-based ethical deliberations with those agents and institutions capable of bringing about or effecting the intended changes. Øyen (2004) underscores the importance of engaging authorities, politicians, bureaucrats and civil society in critical reflection on and the unveiling of the processes of the production of poverty with the view to make them realise that their efforts to reduce poverty may be futile unless poverty production is brought to a halt.

¹⁷ In this study, the noun phrase "local actors" refers particularly to local men and women engaging in fish-related activities in the sections of the fishing sector of Ukerewe. It serves to contrast these local men and women with other actors and stakeholders in the organisations of government, the market and civil society. However, I use "local actors" interchangeably with "local fishing folk".

¹⁸ Some important fishing inputs include wooden boats, outboard engines, fishing nets, pressure lamps, buoys, ropes, twine, hooks and lines.

Table 3.1: Profile of study participants in the category of owners of fishing vessels and inputs

Sex		Age range (years)						Education level				Number of boats				Prior activity or business				Mode of operation			Years in business						
Men	Women	20-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61+	No formal education	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary college	01-05	06-10	11-15	16-20	Fisheries activities	Non-fish activities	Employed by government	Employed by private co.	Schooling	In-person	Trusted representative	In group/partnership	0-05	06-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31+
39	6	2	10	10	12	11	-	30	12	3	30	6	5	4	25	7	8	4	1	27	15	3	10	7	13	7	2	3	3

Source: Field data, 2012-2013

Table 3.1 above highlights that, of the 45 owners, 39 were men and six were women. Of the 45 owners, 27% (12) were aged between 20 and 40 years and the age range of 73% (33) of them was between 41 and above 61 years. All 45 owners had formal education to the level of primary (67%), secondary (26%) and tertiary college (7%), and could count, do some arithmetic, read and write. About 67% (30) of these 45 owned one to five boats, 13% (6) owned six to 10 boats, 11% (5) owned 11 to 15 boats, and 9% (4) owned 16 to 20 boats. Of the 45 owners, 56% (25) had engaged in fisheries activities (fish catching, processing and trading) before becoming owners, and the rest 44% (20) had no prior experience with fisheries activities.

In operating their fisheries businesses, 60% (27 = 26 men + one woman) of the owners were always at the fishing camps to personally oversee catching activities, 33% (15) had entrusted their operations to trusted representatives or managers, and 7% (3) had joined and operated through informal partnerships. About 67% (30) of the 45 owners had owned and operated their fishing activities for a period ranging from one to 15 years, whereas 33% (15) had been in the fish-catching business for a period ranging between 16 and 35 years.

Fifty fish catchers participated in this study. These 50 fish catchers were all men who go into the lake waters to take fish out using modern and traditional gear and methods. They included 12 catchers involved in Nile perch fishery, 16 catchers involved in Dagaa fishery, 12 catchers involved in Tilapia fishery and 10 catchers involved in mixed and other fisheries.

Table 3.2: Profile of study participants in the category of fish catchers

Sex		Age range (years)						Education level				Prior activity or business				Employer			Years in business						
Men	Women	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41+	No formal education	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary college	Fisheries activities	Non-fish activities	Employed by government	Employed by private co.	Schooling	self or family	Individual owner	Group or company	0-05	06-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31+
50	-	12	10	11	9	8	1	41	6	2	26	14	1	3	6	18	29	3	8	18	11	7	5	1	-

Source: Field data, 2012-2013

Table 3.2 above highlights that 66% (33) of the fish catchers were young, ranging in age from 20 to 35. Of the 50 fish catchers, only one person (2%) had no formal education and could neither read nor write, but knew and could count money. Eighty-two percent (41) had completed primary education

and could count, do some arithmetic, and could read and write; 12% (6) had completed secondary education and 4% (2) had completed tertiary college education.

Prior to engaging in fish catching, 52% (26) had participated in the processing and trading of fish and fish products, and 48% (44) had no prior experience of fish-related activities. Of the 50 fish catchers, 36% (18) were self-employed (i.e. their families or themselves were owners of the fishing boats and inputs), 58% (29) were employed by individual owners, and 6% (3) were employed by informal fishing groups or companies. These participants had vast experience in fish catching, since the experience of 84% (42) of the 50 fish catchers ranged from six to over 31 years.

3.6.1.1.2 Local actors in the fish-processing section

Forty-three (43) local actors (19 men and 24 women) who were collectors and processors of fish participated in this study. These 43 included 10 collectors and processors of Nile perch, 12 collectors and processors of Dagaa, 15 collectors and processors of Tilapia, and six collectors and processors of mixed fisheries.

Table 3.3: Profile of study participants in the category of fish processors

Sex		Age range (years)					Education level				Prior activity or business					Employer				Years in business			
Men	Women	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41+	No formal education	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary college	Fisheries activities	Non-fish activities	Employed by government	Employed by private co.	Schooling	Self or family	Boat owner or crew members	Processing agent	Processing company	Below 1 year	01-05	06-10	11-15
19	24	4	11	15	10	3	3	29	11	-	8	26	2	4	3	12	14	10	7	9	28	4	2

Source: Field data, 2012-2013

As shown in Table 3.3 above, about 70% (30) of the fish processors were young people with an age range of between 20 and 35 years. Of the 43 fish processors, three (7%) had no formal education, could not write, read or do simple arithmetic, but knew and could count money. Furthermore, 29 (67%) and 11 (26%) of the 43 fish processors had attended and completed formal education to the primary and secondary levels respectively. Prior to engaging in the current fish-collection and processing activities, only eight (19%) of the 43 fish processors had engaged in other fish-related activities, while the rest (35; 81%) had engaged in non-fish activities.

Of the 43 fish processors, 12 (28%) were running own or family businesses, and 12 (28%) were hired daily by fishing crews to collect, dry and pack Dagaa. A further two (5%) worked for or were linked to boat owners to process Nile perch, 10 worked for fish-buying and processing agents, and seven were contracted by fish-processing companies to collect and process fish at the landing sites. The experience of these 43 in fish-processing activities was as follows: nine (21%) had worked for a period of less than one year, 28 (65%) had worked for a period between one and five years, and six (14%) for a period of between six and fifteen years.

3.6.1.1.3 Local actors in the fish-trading section

This study involved 42 fish traders. They included 12 Nile perch traders, 15 Dagaa traders, 10 Tilapia traders and five traders of mixed fisheries. Of the 42 fish traders, 30 were men and 12 were women.

Table 3.4: Profile of study participants in the category of fish traders

Sex		Age range (years)					Education level			Prior activity or business				Employer				Market				Years in business							
Men	Women	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41+	No formal education	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary college	Fisheries activities	Non-fish activities	Employed by government	Employed by private co.	Schooling	Self or own family	Boat owner s	Processing agent	Processing company	Local markets within the district	Local markets of neighbouring regions	Fish-processing plants	Other traders/ agents	Below 1 year	01-05	06-10	11-15	16-20	21+
30	12	2	8	10	9	13	-	31	11	-	16	13	1	4	8	30	2	7	3	16	5	9	12	9	11	7	2	6	7

Source: Field data, 2012-2013

Table 3.4 highlights that fish traders with ages ranging between 20 and 35 years comprised 20 (48%) members of the group, whereas those with age ranges between 35 and 41 plus constituted 22 (52%) of the 42. All 42 fish traders had formal education, such that 31 (74%) and 11 (26%) had completed primary and secondary education respectively. Prior to engaging in fish trading, 16 (38%) of the 42 fish traders had engaged in other fish-related activities and the remaining 26 (62%) had engaged in other socio-economic activities or were still studying.

Of the 42 fish traders, 30 (71%) were running their own or family fish-trading business, whereas the remaining 12 (29%) traded as commissioned agents of rich boat owners, rich buying and processing agents, or fish-processing factories. Whereas 16 (38%) of the 42 fish traders bought and traded their fish in the local markets within the district, five (12%) sold their fish in local markets of neighbouring regions, nine (21%) sold their fish to fish filleting factories, and 12 (29%) sold their fish to other traders and agents within their localities. Of the 42 fish traders, nine (21%) had worked for less than one year, 11 (26%) for a period of between one and five years, seven (17%) for a period of between six and 10 years, and 15 (36%) had been in business for a period of between 11 and 21 years.

3.6.1.1.4 Local actors in other fish-related activities

Another 15 local actors (13 men and 2 women) engaged in other fish-related activities also participated in this study. They included six makers and repairers of fishing vessels and inputs, five sellers of fishing inputs, and four transporters of fish and fish products.

Table 3.5 below highlights that all 15 local actors in other fish-related activities were above 31 years old; and that two of them had no formal education, whereas ten and three had attended and completed primary and secondary education respectively. The six makers and repairers include two makers of boats and related accessories, two engines repairers, and two repairers of fishing nets. The two makers of vessels were self-employed, whereas the four engine and net repairers were employed by rich fishermen. Of the six makers and repairers, two had worked for a period of between six and ten years,

two for a period of between 11 and 15 years, one for a period of between 16 and 20 years, and another one had been making fishing vessels and related accessories for more than 21 years.

Table 3.5: Profile of study participants in the category of local actors in other fish-related activities

Fisheries activities	Sex		Age range (years)					Education level				Prior activity or business					Employer				Years in business				
	Men	Women	20-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41+	No formal education	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary college	Fisheries activities	Non-fish activities	Employed by government	Employed by private co.	Schooling	Self or family	Private company as its agent	Rich fisherman	BMLs	01-05	06-10	11-15	16-20	21+
Makers and repairers of vessels and inputs (N = 6)	6	-	-	-	1	2	3	2	4	-	-	3	2	-	1	-	2	-	4	-	-	2	2	1	1
Sellers of fishing inputs (N = 5)	3	2	-	-	1	2	2	-	2	3	-	1	1	-	1	2	5	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	1
Transporters of fish and fish products (N = 4)	4	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	1	1	2	-	-
Total (N = 15)	13	2	-	-	2	6	7	2	10	3	-	8	3	-	2	2	8	-	7	-	3	3	6	1	2

Source: Field data, 2012-2013

All five sellers of fishing inputs were self-employed. Of these five sellers, two had attended and completed primary education, while the other three had completed secondary education. Besides, two of these five sellers had engaged in business for a period of between one and five years, two for a period of between 11 and 15 years, and one had worked for longer than 21 years. Four local actors engaged in transporting fish and fish products had completed primary education. Of the four transporters, one owned transporting vessels and was self-employed, while three were employed. The experience of these four transporters was such that one had worked for a period of between 1 and 5 years, one for a period of between 6 and 10 years, and two for a period of between 11 and 15 years.

I also engaged in discussions and interviews with eight former and current leaders of BMUs (six men and two women)¹⁹. Besides engaging in productive fisheries activities (e.g. fish catching, fish trading and selling of fish inputs), these local actors had also participated in the co-management of fisheries resources for a period of at least between one and five years.

3.6.1.2 Participants from agencies of local government

The second group of participants included administrators, elected political leaders and staff of the Ukerewe District Council. These participants were responsible for the facilitation and management of socio-economic development in their jurisdictions.

Table 3.6: Profile of study participants in the category of administrators and elected leaders

	District Executive Director (DED)	District Council Chairperson	Division Officer	Members of UDC Standing Committees	Ward Executive Officers (WEO)	Ward Councillors	Village Executive Officers (VEO)	Village Chairpersons
Total (N = 28)	1	1	1	8	3	6	4	4

Source: Field data, 2012-2013

¹⁹ These eight leaders of BMUs were not counted separately, as they were already counted in the other categories of local actors. It is important to note that they participated in this study in their different capacities.

As shown in Table 3.6 above, 28 administrators and elected leaders in the tiers of local government participated in the stages of this study. They included the District Executive Director (DED), the District Council Chairperson, one Division Officer, eight Ward Councillors and members of the standing committees of the District Council, three Ward Executive Officers (WEOs), six Ward Councillors, four Village Executive Officers (VEOs), and four Village Chairpersons. These participants were distributed throughout the district and entrusted with administrative and leadership roles in their jurisdictions.

Table 3.7: Profile of study participants in the category of employed expertise

LGA Level	Areas of expertise									
	Fisheries management	Legal and policy	Community development and empowerment	Revenue and economic planning	Agriculture and food security	Land use and management	Trade and markets	Community health	Cooperatives	Extension services (agriculture and livestock)
District (N = 21)	3	1	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Ward (N = 16)	5	-	3	-	3	-	-	3	2	-
Total (N = 37)	8	1	7	2	5	2	2	5	4	1

Source: Field data, 2012-2013

Thirty-seven (37) staff of the Ukerewe District Council participated in the stages of this study. Table 3.7 above highlights the areas of expertise of these members of staff. They include eight fisheries officers, one legal officer, seven community development officers, two planning officers, five officers with expertise in agriculture and food security, two officers with expertise in land use and management, two trade and markets officers, five community health officers, four cooperatives officers and one officer with vast experience in agriculture and livestock extension services. Twenty-one (21) of the 37 staff were stationed at the District headquarters and some of them constituted the District Council Management Team (CMT) as heads of departments. The remaining 16 were stationed at the ward level to work in the villages constituting their respective wards. These officers were duty-bound to provide expert knowledge and advice for facilitating and managing socio-economic development in their designated geographical working areas throughout the district.

3.6.1.3 Participants from local civil society organisations

The third group of participants included members of civil society. Traditional and religious leaders, political leaders, local elites and members of NGOs participated in the stages of this study.

Table 3.8: Profile of study participants in the category of members of civil society

	Traditional and religious leaders	Local elites	Gender and development NGO	Environmental and technology NGO	Paralegal and human rights NGO	Democracy and governance NGO	Culture and development NGO	Economic empowerment NGO	Community health NGO	Political parties
Total (N = 35)	2	3	2	2	3	2	4	3	2	12

Source: Field data, 2012-2013

As shown in Table 3.8 above, 35 members of civil society participated in this study. They included two traditional and religious leaders, three local elites, two members of a gender and development NGO, two members of an environmental and technology NGO, three members of a paralegal and human rights NGO, and two members of a democracy and governance NGO. Included also were four

members of a culture and development NGO, three members of an economic empowerment NGO, and 12 members of the district secretariat of the three political parties active in the district. These respondents played significant roles in facilitating local development and redressing related socio-economic and environmental challenges in the district.

3.6.1.4 Participants from local private companies and social enterprises

The participants of the fourth group included owners and/or representatives of private companies, financial organisations and social enterprises operating in the general local economy of the district and those engaging specifically in the fishing sector of Ukerewe District.

Table 3.9: Profile of study participants in the category of members of the private sector

	District chamber of commerce	Microfinance banks	SACCOSs	Private companies and social enterprises
Total (N = 15)	2	2	6	5

Source: Field data, 2012-2013

As highlighted in Table 3.9 above, the 15 members of the private sector who participated in this study included two leaders of the local business community, two representatives of microfinance banks, six representatives of two active savings and credit cooperative societies (SACCOSs), and five representatives of private companies and social enterprises. These participants represented private companies and social enterprises with important roles in facilitating local economy development in general, and the socio-economic and productive activities in the fisheries sections in particular.

In general, the 310 participants who represented the main groups of actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe participated comfortably and enthusiastically in the stages of this study and contributed to the generation of relevant information. In section 3.7 below, I describe the details of, and basis for, the selection of participants for specific stages of the process of ethical dialogue and reflection that comprised the methodology of this study.

3.7 Stages of field data collection

In line with the general focus of this study, and to ensure effective operationalisation in the field sites, I incorporated the insights of the applied *phronésis* and CA and creatively adapted their outlined steps into the actual process that I followed in my study, which I would like to call a progressively staged self-reflective inter- and intra- stakeholder group dialogue. This is a process of progressive stages of self-reflection and dialogues within and between stakeholder groups. I did this with the view to provide study participants with opportunities to listen to, appreciate, evaluate and understand the perspectives of other actors and stakeholders with regard to the ethical issues involved in their respective fishing sections, as well as the issues involved in the initiatives that are envisioned to overcome poverty and facilitate prosperity. I also did so in order to overcome some of the methodological challenges of the CA and with a view to underscore but move beyond individual

agency to collective agency, individual well-being to collective well-being, individual capabilities to collective capabilities, and an individual development ethic to a collective development ethic.

Thus, following the positive outcomes of the pilot study and the successful recruitment of study participants, the actual field research started, with the first stage of data collection on 25 October 2012. Focus group discussions (both homogenous and heterogeneous FGDs²⁰) within inter- and intra-stakeholder group dialogue²¹ were the main method of collecting information. The range of membership of each of these FGDs was between three²² and twelve participants. I moderated and covered each of these FGDs in one session that lasted between one and two and half hours. I recruited FGD members and moderated all sessions of the FGDs, while my research assistant attended to digital voice recording of the dialogues and taking notes. In addition, I also used supporting data collection methods, which entailed life story and in-depth individual interviews conducted in one sitting that lasted for about one and a half hours.

3.7.1 The stage of homogenous stakeholder group dialogues

The first stage of data collection involved the use of homogeneous stakeholder groups (i.e. homogenous FGDs). Participants from the categories of (i) local male and female actors, (ii) administrators, elected leaders and employed experts of Ukerewe District Council, (iii) representatives of private companies and social enterprises, and (iv) members of civil society organisations (CSOs) took part in their corresponding homogeneous focus groups. With the view to compare and quantify²³ some of the responses from each study participant on specific issues, I used standardised guides of themes and questions relevant to each category of participants to facilitate their dialogical reflection and deliberation in their respective FGDs (cf. Appendix A – Standardised themes and questions).

3.7.1.1 Engagement of local actors

I formed and moderated 16 homogenous FGDs with local actors. These included (i) three FGDs involving owners of fishing vessels (one for large scale and two for small scale), (ii) five FGDs involving fish catchers (three for fishing crews and two for traditional fish catchers), and (iii) one FGD involving women collectors and processors of Dagaa. Others included (iv) three FGDs involving

²⁰ FGDs refers to focus group discussions

²¹ In this study, I use “stakeholder group dialogue” interchangeably with “focus groups” because they exhibit the same features of focus groups highlighted by Morgan (1996). I designed and moderated the stakeholder group dialogues with the view to allow interactive reflection and exchanges on specific issues in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. Besides, and following Pope Francis’s (2013) recent re-interpretation of “dialogue” to emphasise that “to dialogue” is to engage in thinking and respectful exchange with others while believing that the ‘other’ has something worthwhile to say, it is important for me to also use the noun phrase “stakeholder group dialogue”. In fact, the noun phrase “stakeholder group dialogue” captures and represents well the purpose and focus of this study, namely engaging key actors and stakeholders in ethical reflection on poverty and prosperity in the fishing sector of Ukerewe.

²² Most focus group theorists suggest the range of membership of focus groups to be between four and 12. However, Wilkinson (2004) argues convincingly that focus groups can involve as few as two, or as many as a dozen or so, participants.

²³ Morgan (1996) argues that, with the standardised questions and procedures applied in each of the FGDs involved in the study, it is possible to achieve a high level of comparability and quantification of responses.

fish traders (one for women traders only, one for men traders only, and one for petty fish traders (*wamachinga*)), (v) one FGD involving the makers and repairers of fishing vessels and inputs, (vi) one FGD involving transporters of fish and fish products, and (vii) two FGDs involving former and current BMU leaders.

In conducting these FGDs at this stage, I sought to explore how these local actors (individually and collectively) conceptualised and operationalised their needs, interests, motivations, expectations, frustrations and relations with other actors and stakeholders in the current structures of the fishing sector of Ukerewe. I also sought to understand how they coped and/or mitigated their current challenges in it, and the fishing sector they envisioned for the future and their relations and roles in it. In line with the spirit of phronetic research (Flyvbjerg, 1993; 2001), I encouraged individual local actors to share and debate personal and concrete cases and contexts of the deprivation of their capabilities to highlight the agents, processes and mechanisms of deprivation and underscore those productive capabilities they need to realise their valued functionings in the fisheries sections.

Besides the 16 homogenous FGDs, I engaged three informants in life story interviews to capture concrete cases of deprivation or enhancement of their capabilities, and another five informants in in-depth individual interviews to better comprehend some of the conditions, mechanisms and processes of deprivation or enhancement of the productive capabilities of local actors in this fishing sector. The participants in the life story interviews were (i) a 60-year-old and long-time serving fisherman with little successes gained from fisheries activities, (ii) a 52-year-old and long-time serving prosperous fisherman, and (iii) a 49-year-old female owner of fishing vessels employing about 20 fishing crews.

The participants in the in-depth individual interviews included (i) a 57-year-old and long-time serving fisherman and owner of fishing vessels and currently a member of an established limited company undertaking fish-related business, and (ii) a 35-year-old male former BMU leader. I also engaged in an in-depth individual interview (iii) a 66-year-old male seller of fishing inputs with 38 years in the business, (iv) a 42-year-old male seller of fishing inputs, and (v) a 47-year-old female processor of Nile perch. I also employed standardised interview guides when engaging these informants in life story and in-depth interviews (cf. Appendix A – Standardised themes and questions).

I conducted these FGDs and interviews at convenient times and places that were agreed with the study participants; these generated relevant data on current production and exchange relations and practices in the fishing sector. Specifically, we generated data on (i) local actors' interests, motivations, expectations and relations with other actors, (ii) practical strategies used to mitigate and cope with frustrations and unfair relations, and (iii) actual and lacking capabilities and means to enhance them.

3.7.1.2 Engagement with respondents from the local government, market and civil society

During this stage, I formed and moderated 17 homogenous FGDs to engage in dialogical reflection with participants from organisations of the local government, market and civil society. The FGDs to involve employed experts included (i) one FGD with fisheries officers, (ii) one FGD with community development, community health and cooperative officers working at the ward level, (iii) one FGD with community development officers at the district level, and (iv) one FGD with trade and markets officers at the district level. The local government administrators and leaders were involved in (i) one FGD with village chairpersons, village executive officers (VEOs) and a ward executive officer (WEO) in one sampled ward, (ii) one FGD with male councillors, and (iii) one FGD with female councillors²⁴.

The FGDs for involving members of the private sector included (i) two FGDs with representatives of two active SACCOSs, (ii) one FGD with representatives of a microfinance bank, (iii) one FGD with representatives of insurance companies, and (iv) one FGD with members of the executive committee of the local business community. The FGDs for respondents from civil society included (i) three FGDs involving members of the district secretariats of three active and competing political parties, and (ii) two FGDs involving representatives of active NGOs (grouped into NGOs providing socio-economic services, and those dealing with advocacy, democratic governance and accountability in the district).

At this stage I engaged these respondents in critical dialogical reflection to determine, inter alia, their views about (i) the role and contribution of the fishing sector in socio-economic development in the district, and (ii) the interests, values, capacities, challenges, achievements and contributions of local actors in the local economy and welfare through productive fisheries activities they engage in. I also sought to understand and determine (iii) the involvement and motivations of their organisations, enterprises and departments in the fishing sector, particularly their current and future roles and services in the fisheries sections, and the capacities they have or lack to play such roles and provide those services to local actors.

I successfully moderated these 17 FGDs and generated a great deal of data on (i) the extent of current involvement of organisations of local government, the market and civil society in the fisheries sections, and (ii) their capacities and motivations for future involvement in providing services and facilities to local actors in the fishing sector.

3.7.2 The stage of intra-homogenous stakeholder group dialogues

With the view to highlight the collective capabilities and agency of local actors, I formed four intra-homogenous FGDs and engaged 20 local actors from (i) fishing vessels owners, (ii) fishing crews,

²⁴ These male and female councillors included those from wards other than those I had focused on to enlarge the picture of the role of these elected leaders in dealing with pressing issues and challenges in the fishing sector of Ukerewe.

(iii) fish processors, and (iv) fish traders and transporters in critical dialogical reflection on the current and envisioned social, production and exchange relations and practices in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. While I had sought to underscore mostly the individual capabilities and agency of local actors in the first stage, in this second stage I progressed to exploring their collective capabilities and agency.

Informed of the inherent limitation of the CA in facilitating the unveiling of collective capabilities and agency (Stewart, 2005; Ibrahim, 2006²⁵), my strategy was to use intra-homogenous FGDs to overcome the aforesaid methodological challenge to effectively engage local actors in dialogical reflection and deliberation on the relevant freedoms, opportunities and facilities to enhance their collective agency in their respective fisheries sections. Therefore, this stage involved the use of intra-homogeneous FGDs to provide local actors with opportunities to reflect on their collective challenges and identify relevant collective capabilities and means to enhance them to facilitate their collective agency and actions in specific fisheries sections.

Each of these four intra-homogenous FGDs comprised five members of the previous homogenous FGDs of local actors who proved most conversant and eloquent in narrating the details of issues regarding their social, production and exchange relations, and actively participated in their respective fisheries sections. When moderating these four intra-homogenous FGDs, I also shared with these participants the concerns and views that other actors and stakeholders in their homogenous FGDs had highlighted about actual capabilities, lacking capabilities and means for enhancing the capabilities of local actors, and then encouraged them to appraise such views and proposals. These intra-homogenous FGDs resulted in a better grasp of what were at stake with regard to the productive capabilities, agency and well-being of local actors in specific fisheries sections.

3.7.3 The stage of inter-stakeholder group dialogues

The third stage of data collection involved the use of inter-stakeholder group dialogue (i.e. heterogeneous FGDs). The dialogues and interviews of the previous stages were useful in explicating the current social, productive and exchange relations and practices in the respective fisheries sections, and in highlighting what were morally at stake with regard to the failure to facilitate the active and gainful participation of local people in their fishing sector. With the view to determine relevant pro-poor development initiatives in this fishing sector, I decided at this stage to engage participants in heterogeneous focus groups to discuss concrete actions and viable means to overcome the deprivation of capabilities of local actors and facilitate their active and gainful participation in their respective fishing sections.

²⁵ These critics view the CA as being too individualistic, in the sense that it emphasises more the individual capabilities and agency than the collective capabilities and agency. In particular, for Ibrahim (2006), this inherent inclination of individuals makes the CA better placed to underscore individual capabilities, but limited in unveiling the collective capabilities generated and expanded through collective action.

Participants from the categories of (i) local male and female actors, (ii) administrators, elected leaders and employees of the Ukerewe District Council, (iii) representatives of private companies and enterprises, and (iv) members of civil society organisations (CSOs) who had participated in the previous stages, were selected to take part in their corresponding heterogeneous focus groups.

The first type of heterogeneous FGDs involved local male and female actors. I formed and moderated two heterogeneous FGDs for the local men and women, one for the participants at Ukara Island and the other for participants at the main Ukerewe Island in Nansio. The heterogeneous group in Ukara comprised 10 participants, namely two fishing vessel owners, two fishing crew, two fish traders, one fish processor, one fish transporter, one seller of fishing inputs and one BMU leader. The heterogeneous group in Nansio constituted 12 participants, namely two fishing vessel owners, one fishing crew member, one traditional fish catcher, two fish traders, one fish processor, one fish transporter, two sellers of fishing inputs, one former BMU leader, and one current BMU leader. Of the 22 participants, 14 had participated in both the homogenous and intra-homogenous FGDs, while the other eight had participated in either homogenous FGDs or interviews. These local actors engaged in a chain of fisheries activities and generated some kind of interdependence, which some respondents identified as unfair and contributing to deprivation of the productive capabilities of certain other local actors.

The second type of heterogeneous FGDs involved administrators, elected leaders and employed experts in the tiers of local government. For this category, I formed and moderated three heterogeneous FGDs. The first heterogeneous FGD involved eight members of the District Council's Standing Committees. Of these eight councillors, three were members of the finance, administration and planning committees, three belonged to the social services and education affairs committee, and the two were members of the economy committee. Being members of the District Council's Standing Committees, these councillors participated in making decisions and allocating resources for the development of the socio-economic sectors of the local economy and the welfare of citizens in and throughout the district. Consequently, their roles were critical and decisive as far as the fates of the fishing sector and the people participating in it were concerned.

The second heterogeneous FGD involved nine members of the District Council Management Team (CMT). These nine members comprised heads or acting heads of the Departments of Finance and Economic Planning, Livestock and Fisheries, Community Development, Human Resources, Trade and Markets, Agriculture and Food Security, Land and Environment, Cooperatives Development, and Community Health. These heads or acting heads of departments engaged in the planning, budgeting and implementation of courses of action to facilitate local economic development and the provision of social services to community members in the district. Therefore, their roles were also critical and decisive as far as undertaking reforms and improvements in the fishing sector are concerned.

The third heterogeneous FGD involved eight members of one of the sampled Ward Development Committees (WDC). These elected leaders and officials at the village and ward levels were responsible for the daily governance and management of fisheries resources and fisheries activities. However, the study participants in previous stages had complained a great deal about some of the actions and decisions of these leaders and officials, and argued that these actions and decisions contributed to breeding conditions causing their deprivation of real freedoms and opportunities to participate actively and gainfully in fisheries activities.

The third type of heterogeneous FGDs involved members of the private sector. For this category, I formed and moderated two heterogeneous FGDs. The first heterogeneous FGD involved six representatives of microfinance banks and SACCOSs endowed with the potential to finance productive fisheries activities. The second heterogeneous FGD involved five owners or representatives of private companies and social enterprises with the potential to invest in fisheries infrastructure and facilities.

The fourth type of heterogeneous FGDs involved members of civil society. In this context, I formed and moderated one heterogeneous FGD involving three high-ranking leaders of the three active political parties and five directors of NGOs. These political parties and NGOs have the potential to facilitate the provision of services and public activism for policy changes in the fishing sector.

Drawing on the data on their roles, interests and values from the previous stages, I took the role of constructive critic when moderating these FGDs and creatively challenged the participants to think in terms of their individual and collective capacities what undesirable relations and practices in the fisheries sections they wanted to redress and how they could redress them. In particular, I challenged them to think about their individual and collective actions, attitudes, behaviours and values that had to change; alternative actions, values and strategies they had to adopt; and services and facilities they could provide to improve the active, responsible and gainful participation of current and future local actors in this fishing sector.

In addition to these heterogeneous FGDs, at this stage I was engaged in in-depth individual interviews with five key informants from the local government and fishing community with the view to clarify and/or deepen my understanding of specific issues. With (i) the District Executive Director (DED), I sought to explore, inter alia, the District Council's current and future plans for improving fisheries governance and investment in the fisheries infrastructure in the fisheries sections. With (ii) the District Fisheries Officer, (iii) the Ward Fisheries Officer and (iv) the District Council's Legal Officer, I sought to explore currently experienced policy and legal challenges and opportunities for facilitating democratic fisheries governance and the responsible participation of local actors in the fisheries activities. With (v) the local elite I sought to explore sociocultural and other societal conditions inhibiting the active, responsible and gainful participation of local actors in their fishing sector.

The successful moderation of these eight heterogeneous groups and five in-depth individual interviews generated two types of data. First, the heterogeneous FGDs generated exchanges and interactions of actors and stakeholders which suggested both strong correlations with their roles, values and interests; and strong agreement or disagreement on specific issues and choices of concrete actions for improving agency and well-being of local people participating in the fishing sector. Second, both the heterogeneous FGDs and in-depth interviews highlighted the content of and concrete actions for realising pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector of Ukerewe.

3.7.4 The stage of the stakeholders' workshop

The gathering of field data for this study culminated in a stakeholders' workshop²⁶ that took place at the Ukerewe District Council Hall on 23 March 2013. At this stage, I intended to engage representatives from all categories of actors and stakeholders in critical dialogical reflection and deliberation on the future fishing sector they wanted, and on the means to achieve or realise this. In doing this, I sought to expose the deep-seated assumptions underlying the choices for certain concrete interventions of key actors and stakeholders, and to explore the basis for the concrete working solutions they proposed to facilitate the active, responsible and beneficial participation of local people in their respective fisheries sections.

I selected and invited 100 of the 310 actors and stakeholders who had participated in the previous inter- and intra-stakeholder group dialogues, or in the interviews, to take part in this workshop. Eighty-three (83) of the invited 100, fairly representing the categories of (i) local male and female actors, (ii) administrators, elected leaders and employed experts in the tiers of local government, (iii) private companies and social enterprises, and (iv) civil society organisations, attended the workshop.

The workshop started with viewing the documentary film, *Invisible Possibilities*²⁷. This 26-minute-long film documents the experience of poverty in one fishing community along Lake Victoria and the struggles they undertake to overcome it through fisheries activities. The viewing of this documentary film and the facts it depicts about the poverty of the small-scale fishers and the extent of the participation of organisations of the government, market and civil society in redressing the challenges in that fishing community, contributed to stimulating the minds of the participants and setting a good tone for the workshop.

Drawing their attention to the specific experiences of poverty and efforts to combat it documented in the film, and encouraging reflection on their own experiences in the fishing sector of Ukerewe, I

²⁶ Following the reasoning and conceptualisation of Zuckerman-Parker and Shank (2008) regarding their town hall focus group 'as an ideal data collection strategy', I also view my stakeholders' workshop as a large-scale heterogeneous focus group.

²⁷ This English version is available at <http://www.cultureunplugged.com/play/5788/Invisible-Possibilities>. However, we used the Swahili version, *Fursa Zilizofichika*, in the workshop to ensure the participants' better comprehension.

proceeded systematically and creatively to engage these participants in visualising, debating and deliberating on the future fishing sector they wanted, and concrete strategies to follow to realise it. These participants debated respectfully and freely, and throughout the eight hours of the workshop, the dialogues remained alive and informative.

The successful moderation of the discussions at the stakeholders' workshop generated three types of data. First, the discussions generated exchanges between and interactions of actors and stakeholders that suggest a strong correlation with their roles, values and interests; and a strong agreement or disagreement on specific issues and choices of concrete actions for improving the agency and well-being of local people participating in the fishing sector. Second, the discussions highlighted the content of pro-poor development interventions and concrete actions for their implementation. Third, the discussions hinted at credible ethical values and principles likely to provide a moral basis and motivations for realising pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector of Ukerewe.

Overall, the stages of my progressively staged self-reflective inter- and intra- stakeholder group dialogues mentioned above provided the study participants with opportunities to reflect, debate and deliberate on concrete strategies for facilitating the active, responsible and gainful participation of local people in their respective fishing sections. It also served the purpose of triangulating and validating information provided by different members of the stakeholder groups, and to discern credible information about their fishing sector and envisioned pro-poor development initiatives.

All discussions and interviews were conducted in Kiswahili, the language that all participants spoke fluently and comfortably. While all sessions of the focus groups and interviews were voice-recorded, the discussions during the stakeholders' workshop were video-recorded. My research team, comprising of one trusted local informant who assisted with logistical issues, one research assistant who assisted with voice-recording and note taking, and myself, worked hard and meticulously to implement the research protocols for each stage of this empirical research. Both local actors and representatives of local government, private companies, social enterprises and civil society organisations were cooperative and helpful in all stages of the research. The government officials supplied me with relevant official records and statistics, with the exception of the official statistics on the people participating in the fish processing, trading and transportation sections, as this data was not available.

The successful operationalisation of this progressively staged self-reflective inter- and intra-stakeholder group dialogues eventually generated lots of useful information for this study. Figures 3.2 and 3.3 below respectively represent a conceptual model and diagrammatic presentation of the steps followed when undertaking critical dialogical ethical reflection on poverty and prosperity in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. In Appendix B, I provide schematic presentations of the research process that I followed, and the different elements and stages comprising it.

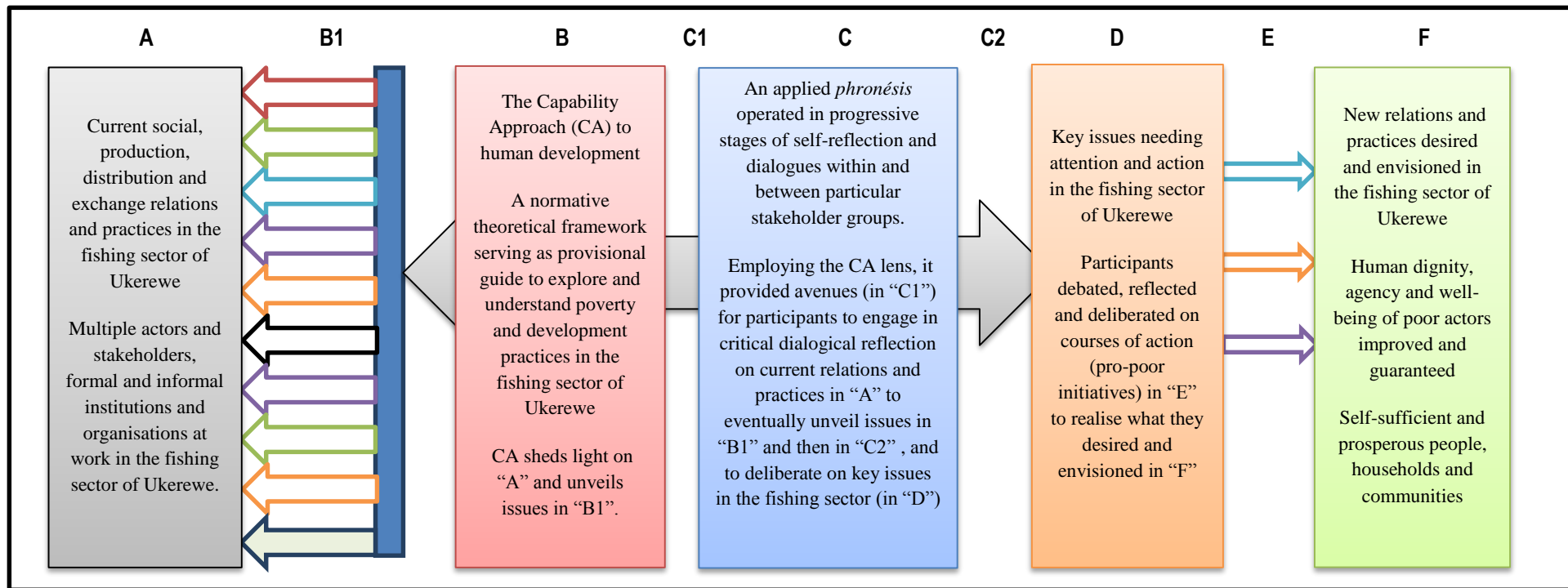


Figure 3.2: Conceptual model for doing ethical reflection in the fishing sector of Ukerewe District

NOTE:

Issues in "B1" included (a) real freedoms, opportunities and facilities that actors and stakeholders access, use and control, (b) freedoms, opportunities and facilities that actors and stakeholders lack, (c) freedoms, opportunities and facilities that actors and stakeholders want, (d) values, interests and maxims of actors and stakeholders, and (e) nature and causes of poverty. Others included (f) nature and causes of the marginalisation and exploitation of people, (g) nature and forms of harvesting and managing fisheries resources, (h) opportunities and possible strategies for change and improvement; (i) changes in the fishing sector that people need, and their reasons, and (k) actors and stakeholders capable of facilitating or hindering the envisioned positive changes and their reasons. In essence, the study moved towards understanding possible and preferred pro-poor development interventions and their ethical basis (in "E"). It sought to identify credible and contextualised ethical ideas, values and principles with the potential to powerfully inspire and guide capable actors and stakeholders to undertake responsible commitments to redress conditions constraining local actors to improve their lot in creating wealth through the productive fisheries activities they undertake.

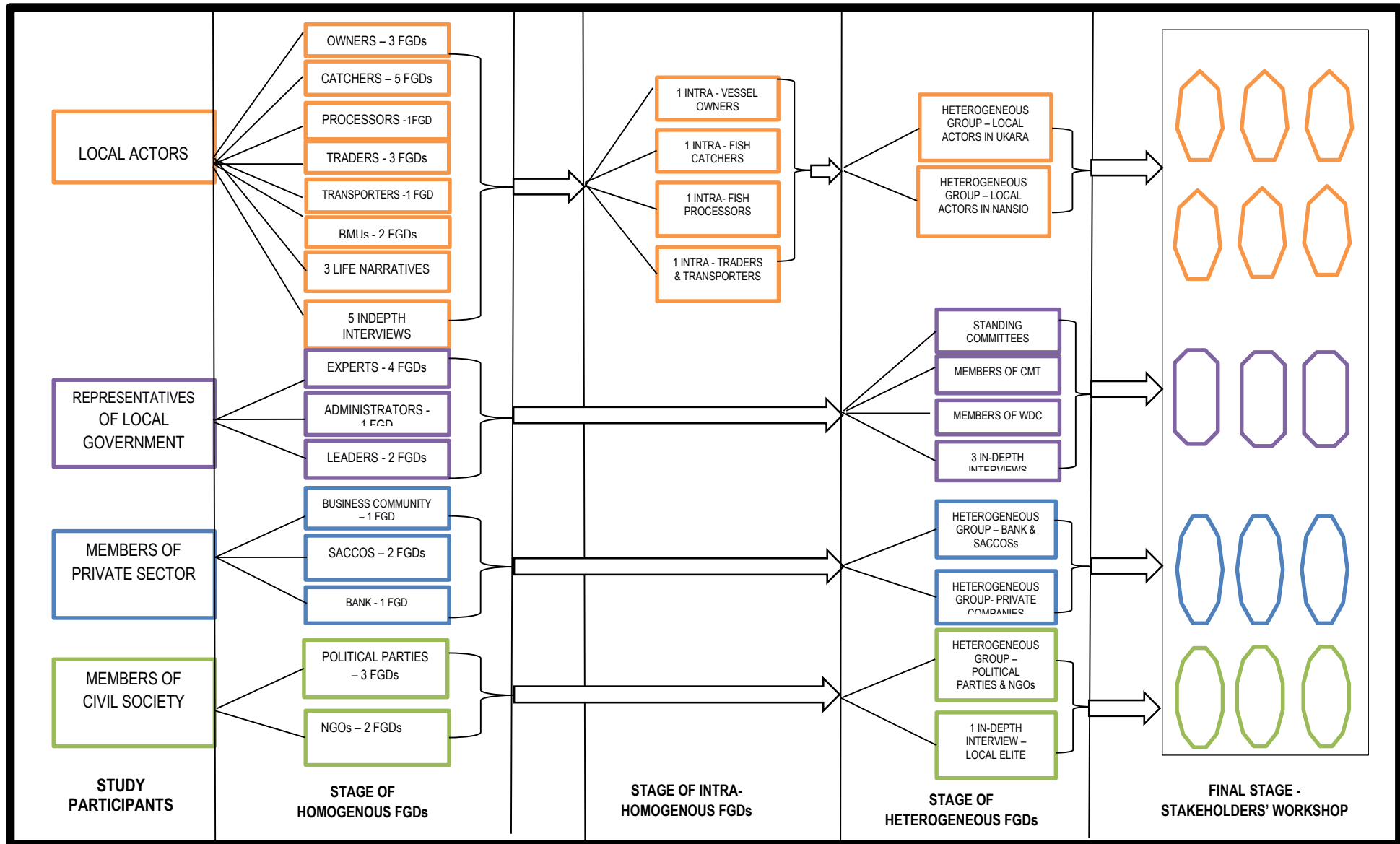


Figure 3.3: Overview of the process of critical reflection and dialogue within and between particular stakeholder groups

3.8 Methods for analysing field data

The analysis of the qualitative data involved transcription of field data and selection of quotations or excerpts from long transcripts that reflected a variety of answers, views and voices of key informants and/or group participants, and that met the purpose of the study (Vicsek, 2010). My analysis began with the verbatim transcription of field data generated through the FGDs and interviews. The verbatim transcription of the video-recorded stakeholders' workshop involved only a few selected sections.

Particularly, the verbatim transcription of data from the homogeneous and heterogeneous FGDs were done with the view to capture and highlight group interactions that contributed significantly to the emergence and shaping of ideas, opinions and evaluations of group participants with respect to the current and future social, production and exchange relations and practices in their respective fishing sections. With this goal in mind, I transcribed verbatim data from the FGDs and incorporated some significant non-verbal behaviour and reactions of the participants in these transcripts, as well as brief comments on their exchanges and interactions (Morrison-Beedy, Côte-Arsenault and Feinstein, 2001).

Thus, a complete transcript of each of my FGDs and interview data contains and illustrates what the participants said, some of their significant non-verbal behaviour, and my comments on their interactions in their respective stakeholder groups and interviews. My complete verbatim transcription of the 45 FGDs, 3 life narratives, 10 in-depth interviews and 1 complete set of extracts of video-recorded stakeholders' workshop produced 59 word-processed files in total.

Duggleby (2005) and Vicsek (2010) argue that methods for analysing qualitative data must be congruent with the research goals and the theoretical assumptions employed in the study. In addition, Vicsek (2010) emphasises that the selected quotations/excerpts have to reflect a variety of answers, views and voices of the key informants and/or group participants, and meet the purpose of the study. In line with the aforesaid, the overall goal and specific objectives of this study, as well as the theoretical insights of the CA I adopted, informed my selection of relevant methods and processes for analysing the field data.

Given that group interactions during FGDs and the stakeholders' workshop significantly contributed to the generation of data, I deliberated to employ methods of analysis that would capture not only what the participants said, but also how or through what interactions they delivered their views (Vicsek, 2010). Consequently, the methods of content or thematic analysis and conversational analysis presented themselves as effective methods to that end.

3.8.1 Content or thematic analysis

Content analysis is a systematic approach to analyse qualitative data that involves distilling information into categories or themes helpful in making sense of the data. It focuses mainly on what the key informants and/or group participants say with respect to the issues studied. In the context of

the analysis of focus group data, content analysis is helpful in examining the content of group discussions, and their meanings and implications for the research questions. In my re-reading and analysis of the 59 transcripts, I employed content analysis to highlight and capture the views and ideas of the participants on the following issues.

First, to highlight the views of participants on the productive fisheries activities that local actors undertake and their motivations for undertaking those activities; the productive resources and tools, knowledge and skills they possess, and real freedoms and opportunities they access and control; and the positive changes those fisheries activities have brought to their personal lives, household situations and general welfare of their communities. I coded and categorised the relevant views of the participants I selected from the FGDs and interviews as per the following thematic categories and sub-categories.

The first main category, “Motivations for engaging in productive fisheries activities”, constituted three subcategories, namely (i) social motivations, (ii) economic motivations and (iii) other motivations. The second main category, “Possession of entitlements and capabilities”, included four subcategories, namely (i) productive assets and tools, (ii) opportunities and facilities, (iii) knowledge and skills, and (iv) others. The third main category, “Positive changes (achievements)”, covered four subcategories, namely (i) personal, (ii) household, (iii) community, and (iv) others. The contents embodying these categories and subcategories, captured through a data-retrieving matrix presented in Table 1 in Appendix C, were relevant to my first specific research objective, which focused on determining the potential of the productive fisheries activities to contribute to improving the socio-economic situations of the local people undertaking them, and the general welfare of their fishing communities.

Second, to highlight views on the productive resources, knowledge and skills, socio-economic opportunities and facilities local actors lack, and the impact of this lack on the active and gainful participation of these local actors in their respective fisheries sections; and the conditions, mechanisms and agents responsible for those lack of productive capabilities. I coded and categorised the relevant views of the participants I selected from the FGDs and interviews as per the following thematic categories and subcategories. First, the main category, “Reasons for lacking entitlement or capability”, included five subcategories, namely (i) product or service not available in the market, (ii) limited purchasing power, (iii) lack of access or control, (iv) mechanisms and acts of deprivation, and (v) others. Second, the main category, “Impact of lacking entitlement or capability”, was subdivided into (i) impact on agency, and (ii) impact on the well-being of local actors. The content embodying these categories and subcategories captured through the data-retrieving matrix presented in Table 2 in Appendix C were relevant to my second specific research objective, which involved an exploration to

understand who the poor local actors participating in the fisheries sections were and to determine the conditions and factors constituting the different forms of poverty they experienced.

Third, to highlight the views of the participants on the social, production and exchange relations and practices in the fisheries sections requiring concrete remedying or enhancing actions to improve the agency and well-being of local actors. I coded and categorised the relevant views of the participants I selected from the FGDs and interviews into three main categories, namely (i) constraining conditions and factors, (ii) remedying or enhancement action(s), and (iii) remedying or enhancing actor(s). The contents embodying these categories captured through a data-retrieving matrix presented in Table 3 in Appendix C were relevant to my third specific research objective, which was concerned with a thorough investigation of possible and preferred initiatives for facilitating the active, responsible and gainful participation of local actors in the fishing sector.

Fourth, to highlight the views of participants on the motivations of capable individual and collective agents in the government, private sector and civil society to undertake specific and concrete measures to enhance the productive capabilities of local actors in the fisheries sections. I coded and categorised the relevant views of the participants I selected from the FGDs and interviews considering four main categories, namely (i) capable and interested actor(s), (ii) remediable constraints, (iii) remedial action(s), and (iv) reasons and motivations. The contents embodying these categories captured through a data-retrieving matrix presented in Table 4 in Appendix C were relevant to my fourth specific objective, which focused on identifying the ethics underlying preferred pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector.

The systematic analysis of contents on specific issues from the data generated through homogeneous FGDs and interviews that used standardised guides and themes enabled the counting and quantification of the coded qualitative responses of the study participants in their respective categories.

3.8.2 Conversation analysis

Kitzinger (1994; 1995), Duggleby (2005) and Halkier (2010) underline that group interactions are interactive processes that can reveal the perceptions, attitudes, thinking, frameworks of understanding, norms and values of group participants. Group interactions therefore are important sources of focus group data that should be analysed for effective interpretation and drawing of relevant conclusions about the views, ideas or experiences of participants (Wilkinson, 1998; Hydén and Bülow, 2003; Duggleby, 2005). The literature suggests conversation analysis as an appropriate method for analysing interaction data.

According to Halkier (2010), conversation analysis is concerned with actions and interactions as social phenomena. It studies talk in interactions and considers conversation as action taking place

between actors with a view to revealing and accounting for orderliness, structure and sequential patterns of interaction (Halkier, 2010). In the context of an analysis of focus groups, tools and techniques of conversation analysis can guide access to the construction of meanings and social actions being performed by group participants (Barbour, 2007) and, in turn, assist in the analysis of how the contents of norms are negotiated within the focus groups (Halkier, 2010).

I re-read my transcripts of the group interactions and employed conversation analysis techniques to highlight specific interactional events that embedded the ideas, comments and suggestions of participants with regard to the mechanisms and processes of deprivation and enhancement of the productive capabilities of local actors in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. I also sought to highlight specific interactional events that illustrate the deep-seated moral insights and convictions of some of the actors and stakeholders thereby suggesting their likelihood or unlikelihood to undertake certain concrete actions for redressing conditions affecting the agency and well-being of local actors in their respective fishing sections.

The analysis of group interactions involved the selection of excerpts from the transcripts of stakeholder group dialogues and the stakeholders' workshop to elucidate the following issues. First, it highlighted the processes of critical dialogical reflection through which the study participants discussed, negotiated and (re)constructed their perspectives on particular issues with regard to current practices, as well as their particular positions, roles, motivation and practical strategies for facilitating the agency and well-being of local actors in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. For example, one of the excerpts I selected from the FGD of the female Daga traders revealed the interactional event in which these participants boldly underscored their reluctance to use financing opportunities provided by certain financial enterprises targeting women, because they had noted that the credit policies of these organisations were designed treacherously to exploit instead of support women.

Second, it highlighted points of disagreement or agreement between participants with regard to the mechanisms and processes of deprivation or enhancement of the capabilities of local actors. From the transcripts of intra- and inter-FGDs, I selected those excerpts that unveiled specific stakeholders negotiating, moderating and/or planning to change their positions with regard to their contribution to the deprivation of the capabilities of local actors, as well as their practical suggestions for enhancing the capabilities of local actors in the fishing sector of Ukerewe.

For example, I selected an excerpt in which, contrary to numerous claims that fisheries officers contribute to impeding local actors, these fisheries officers renegotiated their positions and unveiled their commitment to helping local actors to engage in responsible and profitable fishing, because it was their main duty. I also selected an excerpt in which traditional fishers renegotiated their role as stewards and not destroyers of fisheries resources. In addition, I selected from the transcripts of the stakeholders' workshop those excerpts highlighting how particular stakeholders negotiated,

moderated and/or planned to change their interests, values and roles in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. For example, I selected excerpts in which representatives of NGOs, political parties, local government agencies, private companies and enterprises promised to engage more in redressing challenges and providing services in the fisheries sections.

Third, I elucidated specific ethical positions or inclinations of specific actors and stakeholders with reference to the moral basis of their justification for or disagreement on undertaking specific practical strategies to enhance the capabilities of poor local actors. I selected excerpts of transcripts of data from the heterogeneous groups and the stakeholders' workshop that articulated how specific actors and stakeholders negotiated, moderated and/or changed their interests, values and motivation with regard to facilitating their active and gainful participation in the fishing sector. I also selected excerpts that articulated an exchange of views pointing to specific ethical perspectives or positions to which the participants ascribed. For example, I selected excerpts from FGDs involving members of the CMT, microfinance bank and SACCOSs, the business community and insurance companies that explicitly or implicitly underscored the principles of justice, fairness, human rights and solidarity as the basis for their preferred remedial actions to enhance the productive capabilities of local actors in the fishing sector.

The careful transcription of the stakeholder group dialogues (FGDs) and interviews, and the complementary use of content and conversation analysis in the rigorous analysis of my voluminous qualitative data led logically and systematically to the emergence of the important findings of this study.

3.9 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have described the research strategy I followed to accomplish the main research tasks and meet the specific objectives of this study. I also described the methods and steps of analysis of my field data. In the next chapters, I present, discuss and evaluate the main findings of this study within the context of the broader scholarship on poverty and strategies for combating and overcoming it through economic and productive sectors such as the fishing sector of Ukerewe. Against this background, I then eventually draw conclusions and make recommendations regarding pro-poor policies that can be pursued in the Ukerewe District to facilitate the active, responsible and gainful participation of local actors in the fisheries sections.

CHAPTER FOUR

OPPORTUNITIES AND SERVICE ARRANGEMENTS IN UKEREWE FISHERIES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises the main findings related to institutions and organisations at work in the fishing sector of Ukerewe and the services they provide to local actors, as well as the involvement of local people in the fisheries activities and the states of being and doing they value and want to achieve. With the view to underscore the potential of the fishing sector to contribute to prosperity and/or poverty reduction, I report and discuss the productive fisheries activities that local people undertake, their motivations for undertaking those activities, and the contribution of those fisheries activities in providing these local actors with opportunities and resources to improve their lives.

I report on services arrangements in the fishing sector of Ukerewe in sections 4.2 and 4.3. I then report on the productive fisheries activities that local actors undertake, the valuable things local actors (individually or collectively) want to do and be as they participate in their fishing sector, and those valuable social and economic goals they have achieved in sections 4.4 and 4.5 respectively. While drawing on both the field data and empirical literature, I proceed in sections 4.6 and 4.7 to reflect on the potential of the undertaken productive fisheries activities to contribute to the poverty reduction and/or prosperity of those undertaking them and their communities. Concluding remarks follow in section 4.8 to end the chapter.

4.2 Service arrangements in the fishing sector of Ukerewe

Fishing and fish-related activities are important socio-economic activities carried out throughout the 38 islands of Ukerewe District. The Nile perch, Dagaa and Tilapia are the commercially important fisheries in the district. Following liberalisation and commercialisation in the fishing sector, which paved the way to huge investments in the fisheries sections, local people are increasingly participating in the harvesting, processing, trading and transporting sections of Nile perch, Dagaa and Tilapia and in the making, repairing and selling of fishing inputs (cf. section 4.4 for detailed descriptions).

There are formal and informal arrangements for guiding and facilitating the participation of different actors in the fishing sector. While the formal arrangements include the institutions²⁸ and organisations²⁹ of the local and national government, market and civil society, the informal arrangements include support groups and social networks, norms and unwritten rules to guide, support and facilitate the meeting of some needs of specific actors in specific fisheries sections.

²⁸ In this study and in particular with reference to the context of the empirical research in the fishing sector of Ukerewe, the term “institution” refers specifically to policies, rules and norms, codes of conducts and any other formal and informal regulations meant to guide the activities and relations of actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector.

²⁹ I use the term “organisation” to refer specifically to agencies, departments and units of the national or local government, private companies, social enterprises, political parties, FBOs, NGOs, CBOs and informal groups operating in the district.

4.2.1 Institutions and organisations of the government

As explained already in Chapter 3, the National Fisheries Sector Policy and Strategic Statements of 1997 and the Fisheries Act No. 22 of 2003 and its principal Regulations of 2009 are the important policy and legal frameworks guiding the undertaking of fisheries activities and the governance of fisheries resources throughout mainland Tanzania. In Ukerewe District, the Ukerewe District Council (UDC) is responsible for facilitating the governance and management of fisheries resources and productive fisheries activities by enforcing the National Fisheries Policy and related legal frameworks, and its locally enacted by-laws. The UDC fulfils the afore-stated duties in the fishing sector through its departments, units and agencies working throughout the district.

The departments and units of the UDC are staffed by employees who have vast knowledge, skills and experience for expediting socio-economic development. The presence of some key personnel and expertise was disclosed explicitly, for instance, during an FGD where officials stationed at the district headquarters said the following about themselves and the duties of their departments and/or units:

P#AGR: I am trained in agribusiness and work with the department of agriculture, food and cooperatives. ... We provide extension services to farmers in such areas as proper methods of farming, food production and storage and establishment and running farmers' cooperatives.

P#BUS: I am trained in marketing and business administration. I work with the department of trade and markets to facilitate establishment and management of trade and businesses in the district. We also register small and medium enterprises and train people in undertaking successful entrepreneurial activities.

P#FIS: I am a fisheries officer. We oversee the fishing sector by undertaking management measures to ensure sustainable fisheries and environmental protection.

P#CDE: I am in the department of community development and welfare. We facilitate people's participation in socio-economic development, and coordinate the district's HIV/AIDS initiatives.

P#ECP: I work with the planning department. We coordinate planning processes to ensure rational use of resources, provision of social services and promotion of local socio-economic development.

P#LND: I work with the department of land and natural resources. We plan and allocate land for different usages and enforce compliance with land use and management laws in the district.

P#CHE: I am a public health officer. ... We coordinate and oversee provision of quality public health services, environmental cleanliness and food quality.

The extracts above unveil some of the expertise of employees of the Ukerewe District Council. There are officials with expertise in fields and areas such as revenues and economic planning, fisheries, legal and policy issues, community development and empowerment, agriculture and food security, livestock development, land use and management, trade and markets, community health, cooperatives, and designing and implementing extension services. Officials stationed at the district headquarters and ward levels have the duty of providing expert facilitation to citizens working in socio-economic and productive sectors throughout the district.

With regard to participatory management of fisheries resources as per section 18 of the Fisheries Act No. 22 of 2003 and regulations 133 to 136 of the Fisheries Regulations of 2009, Beach Management Units (BMUs) had been established at all official beaches by 2011. Membership of BMU constitutes fishing vessel owners, fishing crews, supervisors of fishing camps, fish processors, fish traders, agents of industrial fish processors, makers and sellers of fishing inputs, and other fisheries-related organisations operating at the particular beach. BMUs are expected, inter alia, to conduct monitoring, control and surveillance of fishing activities in their areas to curb the incidence of illegal fishing practices, environmental degradation, and to ensure compliance with fishing regulations, especially those on vessel registration and fishing licences.

Given the available institutions and organisations of the government in the district, it would appear that the Ukerewe District Council is well placed to manage and facilitate socio-economic development in general and the development of the fishing sector and people participating in it in particular. Indeed, heads of departments and units, administrative officers and leaders in the tiers of the district government who participated in this study confirmed the presence of personnel at the district, ward and village levels with sufficient expertise for facilitating socio-economic development in general and productivity in fisheries in particular.

4.2.2 Institutions and organisations of the market

The decision of the government of Tanzania to embrace and implement open market and trade liberation policies in late 1980s and throughout the 1990s paved the way for the establishment of market institutions and organisations in the social and economic realms. Following that, several private companies have been established to engage in socio-economic enterprises in which free market rules prevail. In the district, private companies are actively participating in socio-economic sectors in general and the fishing sector in particular. These private companies undertake socio-economic projects on their own or in collaboration with government agencies within the framework and spirit of public private partnership (PPP).

On the one hand, there are private enterprises in the district that engage in the provision of financial, social security and insurance services, and modern communication services to entrepreneurs in specific socio-economic sectors and to the general public. The services of the financial enterprises such as the microfinance banks, savings and credit cooperative societies (SACCOS), and private financial lending companies are increasingly attracting local entrepreneurs. Social security and insurance companies offer life, medical and business insurance and other forms of micro-insurance to cover different risks. Modern communication and technological services are offered, for instance, by mobile telecommunication companies, which have covered almost 90% of the district with their mobile networks, facilitating easy and affordable mobile phone communications and money transfers.

On the other hand, there are private companies that participate in the fisheries sections as (i) makers and suppliers of fishing inputs and technology, (ii) harvesters of fish resources, (iii) buyers and processors of fish, (iv) transporters of fish and fish products within domestic and foreign markets, and (v) suppliers of credit to small-scale actors. In brief, organisations of the market operating in the district have the potential to contribute to the provision of socio-economic facilities and opportunities to large and small-scale actors participating in the chain of fisheries activities.

4.2.3 Institutions and organisations of civil society

Civil society organisations (CSOs), which in most cases are not profit-making organisations, are expected to represent the interests and concerns of the general community or those of specific vulnerable and muted community members. CSOs such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations (CBOs), faith-based organisations (FBOs), political parties and pressure groups set up and push agendas that promote citizens' human dignity, freedoms, rights and the welfare of the general society or of specific vulnerable groups.

With the re-introduction of multiparty democracy in the country in 1992, and the strengthened protections of human rights and democratic institutions, citizens are increasingly joining political parties, pressure groups and/or establishing CSOs with likeminded fellows to undertake joint initiatives to help and/or demand improvement of the human dignity, freedoms, rights and well-being of people in specific situations. Most CSOs are operated with members and employees who have knowledge, skills and, sometimes, funds for implementing projects to improve the capacities of vulnerable people and communities so that these beneficiaries in turn can help themselves.

There currently are six active political parties and several FBOs, CBOs and NGOs in the district. The FBOs, CBOs and NGOs work to address specific socio-economic and political challenges facing particular communities or social and occupational groups. NGOs represented in this study have expertise in issues of (i) gender, culture and development, (ii) environmental conservation and climate change, (iii) democracy and good governance, (iv) human rights and legal assistance, (v) socio-economic innovations, entrepreneurship and financial services, (vi) HIV/AIDS and community health, and (vii) human rights and freedoms of vulnerable social groups.

In redressing pressing socio-economic and political challenges of particular communities, social and occupational groups, these organisations do it on their own or in collaboration with the private sector and/or the local government. As such, formal CSOs operating in the district have the potential of contributing to effective management, support and facilitation of local economic development in general and the fishing sector in particular.

Besides formal institutions and organisations, local actors in specific fisheries sections have established their own norms, rules and leadership, support groups and social networks for redressing

those socio-economic and occupational challenges not easily addressed by formal institutions and organisations, and for the smooth running of their fisheries activities. Some respondents revealed that these informal arrangements have been instrumental in resolving conflicts and getting help in cases of difficulties in the operation of fishing activities and/or failure to meet social and economic needs.

4.3. Opportunities and facilities emerging from current service arrangements

In his writings, Sen (1999; 2010) argues that, with well-established social arrangements, society creates real opportunities and facilities that people can access and utilise to realise their valuable things and states in life. Sen (1999) groups such opportunities and facilities into political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, guaranteed transparent systems, and protective security. Further, Sen (1999) maintains that, in turn, real opportunities and facilities contribute to a set of capabilities of an individual for use to realise his or her valuable states of being and doing. In the same vein, respondents from organisations of the local government, market and civil society revealed that, in their individual or collaborative initiatives, they have sought to establish facilities and opportunities to enhance the capacities of local people to work and improve their performance and productivity in socio-economic sectors.

In the light of Sen's grouping referred to above, the established facilities and opportunities for enhancing the capabilities of local actors in the fishing sector as per the respondents are the following. In the category of *political freedoms* are (i) the legally established democratic institutions and processes for making decisions at the village, ward and council levels, (ii) legally established BMUs to enhance the participatory management of fisheries resources, and (iii) constitutionally established and respected human rights and freedoms to associate and participate in socio-economic and productive activities. Others are (iv) the protected rights and freedoms to elect and be elected into leadership positions, and (v) rights and freedoms to participate in village and BMUs' general assemblies.

In the category of *transparency guarantees*, especially in ensuring openness and fairness in making and implementing decisions, are (i) the established national policies and laws to fairly regulate socio-economic and political activities, (ii) the established procedures, fees and penalties for registering, licensing and re-licensing of fishing operations, and (iii) the established government agencies and officers for managing fishing activities. Others are (iv) the established procedures for logging complaints and challenging unfair decisions, and (v) established government organs (e.g. police, courts, etc.) to handle illegalities and un-procedural deliberations.

With regard to *economic facilities*, the respondents identified (i) fisheries infrastructure and facilities at fish landing sites and fish markets, (ii) financial services, especially savings and credit facilities, (iii) domestic, regional, national and foreign markets for fish and fish products, (iv) supplies of fishing inputs and modern technologies, and (v) provision of transport services for fish, fish products and

fishing inputs. In the category of *social opportunities*, the respondents identified (i) available formal and informal education training opportunities, (ii) private and government health services, (iii) supply of water and electricity, and (iv) improved mobile telecommunication networks and services. With regard to *protective security*, the respondents identified (i) the presence of social security systems for people working in formal and informal sectors, (ii) micro-insurance services for small and medium enterprises, (iii) established informal self-help groups and social networks, family and/or community-based support systems, and (iv) the established police force and community policing services.

From the above it would appear that institutions and organisations of the government, market and civil society are well established to provide enough opportunities and facilitate local actors to acquire and build entitlements and capabilities to become active, responsible and gainful participants in the fisheries sections. In next the subsections and in Chapter 5 I will provide a detailed examination of the extent to which these established opportunities and facilities contribute to enhance the agency and well-being freedoms of local actors in the fisheries sections.

4.4 Participation of local people in the fishing sector

Four important and interconnected fisheries sections and activities define the fishing sector in the district. These are (i) fish catching, (ii) fish processing, (iii) trading and transportation of fish, and (iv) the making, repairing and selling of fishing inputs. These fish-related activities provide local people with opportunities to invest, work and earn income and other resources for use to combat and overcome threats to their human dignity and to improve their personal and community well-being.

4.4.1 Fish-catching activities

The fishing sector provides local people with the opportunity to engage in fish catching. Fish catching involves two main categories of participants. The first category is that of the owners of fishing vessels and gear. Having invested capital to buy the fishing vessel and gear, these male and female owners of vessels and gear employ other people to do the catching of fish. These owners are commonly known as *matajiri* (i.e. the relatively wealthy persons). The second category involves people who do the actual activities of catching fish in the waters. These skilled, courageous and energetic people go into the waters to catch fish using modern or traditional gear and methods. Considered risky and labour intensive, fish-catching activities are more open to and attract more male than female participants. The fish catchers are grouped into those employed as fishing crew to catch Dagaa or Nile perch (known as *wajeshi*), and the traditional catchers, who catch mainly Tilapia and other mixed species.

The catching of Nile perch involves both small-scale fishers and large-scale fishers. While small-scale fishing is labour intensive and uses mostly non-motorised small boats and a few motorised boats, large-scale fishing operations involve huge capital, low labour, and the use of larger vessels with powerful outboard engines (Jansen *et al.*, 2000). The main fishing methods employed in harvesting Nile perch are gill netting, long lining, trawling and beach seining. The catching of Dagaa is carried

out at night when there is no moonlight. Before the dark of night sets in, the fishing crews go into the waters to set out their fishing lanterns (mainly kerosene pressure lamps - *karabai*) to which the Dagaa are attracted. Then, in the dark of the night, the fishing crews, using motorised or non-motorised boats, leave the beach and go to the waters where they work all night long hauling up the Dagaa, which have been caught by nets in the light of the lanterns (Jansen *et al.*, 2000: 116-117). Catching of Dagaa is generally labour intensive and requires energetic and physically fit people. The catching of Tilapia (*Sato*), which inhabits the shallow waters, involves mostly men who use both modern and traditional methods and gear. The methods used to catch Tilapia include angling rods, gill nets, trawling, hooks, and tycoon and fixed fishing traps made out of water reeds.

Fish catching has been attracting new entrants and investments since the liberalisation and commercialisation in the fishing sector in the 1990s. Records show an increase of fishers, fishing vessels and gear in the Nile perch, Dagaa and Tilapia fisheries. Frame Survey National Working Group (2000-2012³⁰) recorded a sharp increase in the number of fishers in the district, from 9 681 fishers in 2000 to 19 079 fishers in 2012. Records in Table 4.1 also show, for instance, that in 2012 there were 19 079 fishers who targeted different species such that 8 919 fishers (46.8%) targeted Nile perch, 8 345 fishers (43.7%) targeted Dagaa, 939 fishers (4.9%) targeted Tilapia and 876 fishers (4.6%) targeted other species.

Table 4.1: Number of fishers in Ukerewe District, 2000 to 2012

Year	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Fishers	9 681	13 584	13 586	18 147	18 115	18 112	19 079

Source: Extracted from Frame Survey National Working Group, 2000-2012

The Frame Surveys (2002-2012) recorded increased investment in fishing vessel (crafts) and gear. Table 4.2 below shows the number of fishing vessel, which have increased from 3 298 vessels in 2002 to 4 524 vessels in 2012.

Table 4.2: Investment in fishing crafts (vessels) in Ukerewe District, 2002 to 2012

Year	Crafts using outboard engines	Crafts using paddles	Crafts using sails	Total
2002	736	1 560	1 002	3 298
2004	1 521	1 235	596	3 352
2006	1 842	1 613	819	4 274
2008	1 396	1 785	878	4 059
2010	1 870	1 863	508	4 241
2012	2 183	1 797	544	4 524

Source: Extracted from Frame Survey National Working Group, 2002-2012

Quite interesting is also the increase in the purchase and use of modern crafts. Records in Table 4.2 above show that, in 2002, crafts that were mostly used in fishing were those using paddles (1 560

³⁰ These Biennial Frame Surveys conducted from 2000 to 2012 provide information on the composition, magnitude and distribution of fishing effort, available facilities and services in the fisheries sector of Lake Victoria. The Lake Victoria Fisheries Frame Survey National Working Groups and Regional Working Groups, drawn from the National Fisheries Departments of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, work under the coordination of the Lake Victoria Fisheries Organisation (LVFO) Secretariat and conduct these Frame Surveys.

units) and sails (1 002 units), whereas crafts using outboard engines were only 736 units. However, by 2012, the use of motorised vessels had increased from 736 units in 2002 to 2 183 units, with 1 797 units using paddles, while crafts using sails decreased to 544 units (from 1 002 units in 2002).

The increased investment in motorised vessels is attributed to the realisation of their efficiency in fish catching, given long distances that fishing crews travel to catch fish. Having examined fishing efforts, profit and economic rents in Nile perch fishery, Warui (2007) established that the increased use of motorised vessels was efficiency-based. Warui (2007) noted in particular that a manually paddled vessel deploying gillnets could catch on average between 5 and 10 kg of Nile perch per day, whereas a motorised vessel deploying the same gear could catch on average between 20 and 35 kg per day.

Table 4.3: Fishing gear in the fisheries of Ukerewe District, 2000 to 2012

Year	Gillnets	Small seines	Lift nets	Scoop nets	Long line hooks	Hand line hooks	Beach Seines	Cast nets	Basket/traps	Mono-filament nets
2000	28 512	5	1 046	0	247 217	1 128	1 231	11	100	-
2002	59 876	6	1 170	4	704 578	24 202 ³¹	278	0	24	-
2004	154 621	66	507	14	556 148	837	313	2	43	-
2006	56 015	77	1 476	0	723 529	3 257	509	0	5	-
2008	111 453	1 248	32	10	992 347	3 780	419	0	13	543
2010	35 117	1 904	32	1	1 238 773	2 431	289	0	17	138
2012	51 731	1 877	23	1	932 543	1 669	464	5	14	1 793

Source: Extracted from Frame Survey National Working Group, 2002-2012

Given the preference for using methods of gill netting, long lining, trawling and beach seining in fish catching, investment in fishing gear that suits these fishing methods has been increasing as well. Table 4.3 above shows that the number of gillnets increased from 28 512 units in 2000 to 51 731 units in 2012, and the number of small seines rose from 5 units in 2000 to 1 877 units in 2012. The number of long-line hooks increased from 247 217 units in 2000 to 932 543 units in 2012, that of hand-line hooks increased from 1 128 units in 2000 to 1 669 units in 2012, and that of monofilaments increased from 543 units in 2008 to 1 793 units in 2012. Besides, the number of beach seines, which are considered illegal gear and prohibited by the government, declined by 62% only, that is from 1 231 units in 2000 to 464 units in 2012.

The above data on the increased number of entrants and investments in fish catching illustrate the fact that fishing activities offer opportunities for people to invest and work to earn income and other resources. Indeed, field data on my study participants support this assertion well. The participants in the category of owners of fishing vessels have invested a lot in buying fishing vessels and gear. These 45 owners (39 men and 6 six women) reported to own in total 259 vessels, of which 102 vessels (39%) use outboard engines. Of the 45 owners, 10, who own 76 vessels, engage in catching Nile

³¹ Following the increasingly high prices of gillnets and fishing nets, as well as incidents of robberies of fishing gear during this period, most local actors with low purchasing power resorted to using the affordable hand line hooks, hence this increase.

perch; 15, who own 142 vessels, engage in catching Dagaa; 10, who own 23 vessels, engage in catching Tilapia; and 10, who own 18 vessels, engage in catching mixed or other fisheries. Of these 45 owners, 30 (67%) have operated fish-catching activities for one to 15 years, whereas the other 15 (33%) have been in business for a period of between 16 and 35 years (cf. subsection 3.6.1.1.1 in Chapter 3 for a detailed profile of these owners of fishing vessels).

These 45 owners appreciated the opportunity to invest in fish-catching activities and claimed that it had been a profitable investment. For instance, a female owner, with 10 years in business, recalling her decision to invest in Dagaa fishery, stated:

Previously, I worked as an accountant with a government agency but I was retrenched in 2002. Not getting a new job, and having heard that investing in fisheries pays, I decided to invest half of the money from my retrenchment pay into Dagaa fishery with the hope that I would get better returns and meet my personal needs and parental obligations. The beginning was hard but I persevered and learned the 'rules of this game'. Since then things are not bad, I am running the business ... and I do not complain. I am making some good progress.

Further, this female owner revealed that Dagaa fishery provided her not only with the opportunity to work and earn an income, but also to generate wealth. She stressed that her livelihood, which was at risk when she lost her job, was safeguarded through Dagaa-catching activities. She added that with her fishing business she has improved herself, her children's well-being and the household general welfare. She further hinted that she had managed to build two residential houses; one she used herself and the other one she rented out.

In a homogenous FGD, a male owner, 28 years in business, narrated his initial observations about investing in fisheries:

I started as a fishing crew in 1984, worked hard and faithfully for my employer. Observing the way my employer was making money, I knew that it is possible to make money through fishing and so I got determined to initiate own fishing operations. I started saving little income through my grandmother. Three years later, in 1987, I had saved enough to buy four kerosene pressure lamps (*karabai*) and a Dagaa net. With these four lanterns and Dagaa nets, and the vessel I rented, I started my Dagaa fishing. Since then, I have grown big and achieved more.

Currently, the above respondent owns 14 fishing vessels and gear, employs 56 fishing crews, four supervisors of fish-catching activities, four cooks and two camp managers to oversee all the operations at his two fishing camps. His current investment in fishing crafts is estimated at TZS 150 000 000. In addition, he owns and runs two fish-transporting vessels (*Karua*), a guesthouse and a stationery shop.

In the same homogenous FGD, another male owner, 18 years in business, also shared his story:

In early 1990s, fishers were making money. Therefore, I thought that if I also invested in fishing I could as well make money and improve my life but I did not have the required capital. I decided to embark on cotton farming upcountry. I did farming for four years consecutively and got some money that I used to buy the paddled vessel and nets, and started fishing Nile perch. Later, I changed to Dagaa. So far, I have found investing in fishing profitable and rewarding.

The above male owner currently owns 11 fishing vessels and gear, employs 45 fishing crews, four supervisors, four cooks and one camp manager. His current investment in fishing crafts is estimated at TZS 120 000 000. Besides, he owns and runs one general food store and two grain-milling machines. It was reported that, during the month that preceded this fieldwork, owners or investors in Dagaa catching earned net income ranging between TZS 700 000 and TZS 1 500 000 for each Dagaa-catching boat, which is indeed a good profit.

The 50 fish catchers said fish-catching activities provided them with the opportunity to work and earn income. Of the 50 fish catchers, 12 were involved in catching Nile perch, 16 in catching Dagaa, 12 in catching Tilapia, and 10 in catching mixed and/or other fisheries. Forty-two (84%) of the 50 fish catchers had worked for a period ranging between six and 30 years (cf. subsection 3.6.1.1.1 in Chapter 3 for a detailed profile of these fish catchers). In their homogenous FGD, some fishing crews explained their initial views that became the basis for joining fishing activities:

MJ#1: I saw that farming was no longer paying ... got little yields and low prices ... and not paid on time. On the other side, I observed that my friends who engaged in fishing were making money and their lives were improving. These friends offered me the opportunity to work as fishing crew. Wanting to improve my life, I took the offer very seriously and joined them, learned and acquired necessary skills. I am now getting some income and my life is getting better.

MJ#3: I could not continue with secondary education nor get a job. I heard fishers were getting good income, and requested our neighbour, who owns and runs fishing activities for the fishing crew chance. He offered me; I learned, acquired skills and became a competent fishing crew.

MJ#6: I am uneducated and can hardly get a job in government or private organisations. Living at the island with scanty farming land, I believed it is only fishing which can accommodate us the uneducated ... and so opted to look for the crewing position to make a living.

MJ#2: I did not pass my secondary exam and so I plan to redo it. My old parents can no longer afford paying for my school fees ... I could not get a part time job ... and so my relative offered me the opportunity to work as a fishing crew. I accepted and started learning to master fishing techniques. I am doing well now and earn some income ... I will continue working and return to school when I get enough money to pay for my education.

The above extracts illustrate the ideas, beliefs, motivations and hopes of new entrants in fishing activities. These entrants viewed fish catching as capable of providing them with opportunities to learn and acquire relevant fishing competences, and to work and earn income they badly needed to meet their financial obligations. During the month that preceded this fieldwork, the Dagaa-fishing crews had earned net income ranging between TZS 200 000 and TZS 700 000 each. Eventually, these entrants got the opportunity to work and some have remained there for quite a long time. Generally, both owners of fishing vessels and the fish catchers highly regard the opportunity to invest and/or work in fish catching and have enthusiastically and skilfully done their jobs to achieve the best for themselves, their communities and their local and national government. I will undertake a detailed discussion on these achievements in section 4.6 below.

4.4.2 Fish-processing activities

The fish-processing activities include collecting, handling and preserving raw fish in a manner that they later can be traded in local, national, regional and international markets. Local actors participating in fish processing can be divided into three groups. First, there are those men and women hired by individual investors or processing plants to do processing activities (e.g. collecting and icing, sun drying, smoking, etc.) for them. Second, there are men and women who own and run fish-processing activities by themselves. These buy raw fish and process them (with the help of hired individuals) before selling them to local and outside markets. Third, there are men and women who work as agents of other individual processors or processing companies and buy, collect and process raw fish before sending them further to various markets or fish-processing factories.

The processing of Nile perch involves hot smoking, sun drying, salting and drying, deep frying, icing and freezing of whole mature and juvenile Nile perch or its by-products, especially the skeletons, heads and trimmings (chips). The processing of Dagaa is mainly by sun drying, while the methods of processing Tilapia include smoking, sun drying, deep frying, icing and freezing. The fish-processing activities in the Nile perch, Dagaa and Tilapia fisheries have attracted local men and women.

During the fieldwork we met several people who engaged in these fish-processing activities, but we could not locate any official records indicating the number of local people working in the fish-processing section of the district fishery. However, study participants from this category amounted to 43 (19 men and 24 women), including 10 Nile perch processors, 12 Dagaa processors, 15 Tilapia processors, and 6 processors of mixed fisheries. Of the 10 processors of Nile perch, four (two men and two women) were self-employed, while six (all men) worked as agents of fish-processing companies.

The 12 Dagaa processors were all female. These female processors (known as *wasombangese*), who lived at or near the Dagaa landing sites, were hired by fishing crews on a daily basis to collect, sun-dry and pack Dagaa. In exchange for this service, these processors were offered Dagaa, which they could sell to get money. Of the 15 Tilapia processors, four (three men and one women) were running their own or family business, four (two men and two women) worked for the factory agents, while seven (all men) worked as agents of fish filleting factories. Four of the six processors of other fisheries (two males and four females) were self-employed, whereas the other two were employed or linked to owners of boats and gear or fishing crews. Out of 43 processors, nine had worked for less than one year, 28 had worked for between one and five years, and six had been in business for more than six years. A detailed profile of these fish processors is provided in subsection 3.6.1.1.2 in Chapter 3.

Fish-processing activities provide local people with opportunities to realise their social and economic goals and so it is highly regarded as well. In this regard, most study participants expressed their views about these fisheries activities, narrated their experiences in it and unveiled their achievements. During an in-depth interview, a male respondent, with 12 years' experience in smoking and salting Nile perch to sell in regional markets, commented:

I own fishing boats and gear, and have been catching Nile perch for the past 18 years. We sell our raw fish to the fish-processing plants, which take fish of certain sizes and quality and reject others. We noted that we could make some money if we smoked and/or salted such rejected fish. We gave it a trial and for the past 12 years, we have been doing this and selling to buyers from the nearby countries. With this, we have stopped losing money on the pretence of reject fish.

According to the above respondent, smoking and salting Nile perch rescued them from losing money. Likewise, a female respondent, wife of the boat owner, who had been smoking Nile perch for the past eight years, noted that the decision to undertake processing activities sought to curb a loss of money and increase profits for their fish-catching business. On this, the female respondent noted:

My husband and I have invested in Nile perch catching. However, sometimes we were not getting markets or we were offered low prices for our raw fish. When we learnt of other markets within and outside Tanzania that paid well for smoked Nile perch, we opted to smoke some of our catches to get better prices and make profits. We hire labourers to do the smoking and I do the supervision.

The opportunities presented by the processing of Dagaa were highlighted during a homogenous FGD with female participants engaging in the collection, sun drying and packing of Dagaa. In the extract below, these participants tell their stories and expectations with regard to engaging in the activity:

NGS#1: I am from the rural interior where life is very hard. As a single mother, and with no reliable sources of income, my life was miserable. One time I visited a friend, female fish trader, and shared my circumstances. In response, she suggested to engage in *kusombangese*.³² I was convinced and decided to come here. I am now working and hope to earn some income...

NGS#7: I lost my husband three years ago and I was left with the responsibility of caring for our children. Without support and any reliable income-generating activity, things became worse at home. Then I heard that women make money through *kusombangese*, I decided to come and join. It is now a year I am doing this and have been getting some income to support my kids.

NGS#3: I saw in Uzinza that women who engaged in *kusombangese* made money. When I returned to this island, I decided to join this activity and hope I will get capital to start my own business.

It is clear from the above extracts that these participants believed that Dagaa-processing activities offer alternative opportunities to work and earn income to improve their own well-being and the welfare of their dependents and/or households. In fact, it was reported that the *wasombangese* (the female Dagaa processors) had earned between TZS 80 000 and TZS 150 000 each during the month that preceded this fieldwork. Given this, the activity of collecting, sun drying and packing of Dagaa, which is carried out for about 20 days per month, is attracting women from within and outside the district. In section 4.6 below I undertake a detailed discussion of what these actors have achieved.

³² This is the fish processing activity that involves women in collecting, sun drying and packing of Dagaa and who in turn for their service receive Dagaa which they can sell and earn an income.

4.4.3 Fish trading and transportation activities

Other important fisheries activities involve the trading and transportation of fish, fish products and fishing inputs. The activities include (i) buying and selling fish and fish products to local consumers, wholesalers, processors, transporters and marketing agencies; and (ii) transporting fishing inputs, raw and processed fish and fish products to local, national and regional markets. These activities attract local people both as investors and as workers. Forty-two study participants were involved in fish trading activities, whereas four were involved in the transportation of fish, fish products and fishing inputs.

The 42 (30 men and 12 women) fish traders included 12 Nile perch traders, 15 Dagaa traders, 10 Tilapia traders, and 5 traders of other species. Twenty (20) of the 42 fish traders were running their own or family business, while the other 22 worked for independent fish-buying agents or as agents of fish-processing companies/factories and were paid salaries or commissions. These traders bought fish at landing sites and/or fish markets and sold them in different markets: 16 (38%) traded in the district's local markets, 5 (12%) traded in local markets in nearby districts, 12 (29%) traded in national and regional markets, and the other 9 (21%) sold their fish to processing companies and/or their agents. A detailed profile of these fish traders is provided in subsection 3.6.1.1.3 in Chapter 3.

The volume and effective operation of fish-trading activities requires working capital. Table 4.4 below shows that the working capital of the Nile perch and Tilapia traders that ranged from TZS 200 000 to TZS 15 000 000. At least seven (58%) of the Nile perch traders had working capital above TZS 1 000 000 with which they could buy about 250 kg of Nile perch (1 kg @ TZS 4 000) at one time. Five (50%) Tilapia traders had over TZS 1 000 000 working capital with which they could buy about 200 kg of Tilapia (1 kg @ TZS 5 000) at one time.

Table 4.4: Working capital of local fish traders in the Ukerewe fisheries

Fish trader category	Values in TZS and frequencies						
	50 000 , 100 000	100 000 , 200 000	200 000 , 500 000	500 000 , 1 000 000	1 000 000 , 5 000 000	5 000 000 , 10 000 000	10 000 000 , 15 000 000
Nile Perch traders (n = 12)	-	-	2	3	3	2	2
Dagaa traders (n = 15)	5	3	2	1	2	1	1
Tilapia traders (n = 10)	-	-	3	2	2	2	1
Mixed fisheries traders (n = 5)	1	1	2	1	-	-	-
Total (n = 42)	6	4	9	7	7	5	4

Source: Field data, 2012 – 2013

The working capital of the Dagaa traders ranged from TZS 50 000 to 15 000 000. About 11 (73%) Dagaa traders had working capital of less than TZS 1 000 000 with which they could buy less than 400 kg of Dagaa (1 kg @ TZS 2 500). The working capital of one third of Dagaa traders (five traders)

was below TZS 100 000, with which they could afford to buy about 40 kg to sell at local retail markets in the district. The traders in other fisheries had working capital ranging from TZS 50 000 to 1 000 000.

The 42 fish traders noted, however, that it was not easy to raise all the working capital they needed to run the business, but the potential of good returns motivated them to work out alternative means of raising initial working capital. In fact, petty fish traders reported earning net income ranging from TZS 60 000 to TZS 150 000 per month.

Moreover, local people have invested in fish transportation activities. Given that 90% of the district is water mass and that fishing activities are undertaken throughout the 38 islands, there are transportation crafts dedicated to transporting fishing inputs, raw and processed fish and fish products between islands in the district and to the nearby districts and regions. Consequently, investing in fish transporting craft has always been a profitable project. The Frame Surveys (2006 to 2012) recorded 118 fish transportation craft in 2006; 130 in 2008; 92 in 2010; and 97 in 2012, which sailed throughout and between the 38 islands and nearby mainland areas transporting fish, fish products and fishing inputs.

Apart from the craft owner, at least four other people are hired to run one transportation craft. Therefore, in 2012, about 388 people worked as crewmembers of the 97 fish-transporting crafts and each earned between TZS 100 000 and 150 000 a month. In this regard, three of the four respondents in the category of fish transporters worked as crew and got paid salaries or allowances per trip made, and the fourth was the owner of the transporting craft, who has been in this business for 15 years and revealed to be satisfied with his offering of transportation services. During his in-depth interview, this owner stated:

I own three transporting craft (*karua*) with which we transport fish to Mwanza, Musoma, and nearby countries of Kenya and Uganda. For the past 15 years, we have provided transportation services to fish traders. We thank God that we had not experienced accidents resulting to loss of lives and properties. We have thus provided good services and made money.

The above 46 study participants claimed that investing and working in fish trading and transporting provided them with the opportunity to realise some of their social and economic goals. Detailed reporting of the achievements of fish traders and transporters will be given in section 4.6.

4.4.4 Making, repairing and selling of fishing inputs

The activities of making and repairing boats, making and repairing fishing nets, repairing and servicing outboard engines, and selling of fishing inputs such as pressurised lamps, gear and related accessories, especially fishing nets, buoys, ropes, twine, hooks and lines, are very important for the functioning of people engaged in fishing activities. Several local people are engaged in these activities. Amongst the participants of this study, three were builders and repairers of fishing boats,

three were makers and repairers of fishing nets, two were doing outboard engine repairs, and five (three males and two females) were sellers of fishing inputs. These participants hailed the opportunities to work and earn income, which they used to meet their own and community needs. In line with this, a male respondent who had been building fishing boats for 10 years revealed:

I learned and acquired boat-building competencies from my father. Since then, I have constructed about 120 small and big fishing boats thereby getting on average net income of TZS 130 000 per boat. With this income, I have fulfilled some of my personal and family financial obligations.

Likewise, a male respondent who had been engaged in the selling of fishing inputs for 38 years proudly stated:

I started my first shop to sell fishing gear and related accessories at [X] island in the 1970s. When the business boomed I opened this wholesale shop and sold mainly to retailers who came from the islands. With the income I got I met my household needs in general and paid for my son's education from primary to college level. Luckily, he successfully graduated with a degree in business administration and now he manages his own business.

With this ongoing presentation, I have sought to highlight the participation of local people in the fishing sector by unveiling the productive fisheries activities they undertake. In this way, the real opportunities, motivations and hopes of local actors have been underlined. In the next part I report on and discuss central aspects of being and doing that local actors value and want to realise as they engage in their fishing sector.

4.5 Valued functionings of local actors in the fishing sector

The views and records of the study participants that I have presented so far in this chapter point to the fact that local people have consciously and purposefully chosen to participate in specific sections and activities of the fishing sector. In fact, the field evidence suggests that these local actors engage in fisheries activities to achieve specific social and economic goals. Conscious and focused as they are, it is certain that they also know and actually are determined to maintain or realise some aspects of their being and doing if they are to have a guaranteed realisation of their valued social and economic goals.

Given the foregoing, therefore, it was essential to explore states and/or aspects of being and doing that local actors value and want to realise as they participate in their fishing sector. However, in line with the purpose of this study,³³ I have selected and grouped these valued functionings into two sets, namely (i) to be active participants in the fishing sector, and (ii) to be gainful participants in the fishing sector. The former set of valued functionings relates to the valued aspects of the agency of local actors, whereas the latter set relates to the valued aspects of their well-being.

³³ Among other things, this study focuses on understanding both what constrains and what may improve the agency and well-being of local actors in their fishing sector. Hence, I have analysed and grouped the valued states of being and doing identified by local actors in terms of these two main categories.

4.5.1 To be active participants in the fishing sector

To be an active participant or to participate actively in the fishing sector was expressed in many and diverse forms by the study participants as one of their valued functionings. While acknowledging the numerous challenges they currently faced, these participants nevertheless emphasised that realisation of their dreams of improving their well-being and achieving prosperity through productive fisheries activities were dependent on the extent to which they moved from being passive to being active actors. They also observed that, in a situation wherein fisheries were increasingly becoming commercialised and attracting many people and huge investments, enhancing individual competencies and competitiveness was inevitable. In this regard, during a narrative interview, a relatively successful fisherman, with 27 years in fish catching, highlighted the kind of participation that currently matters in his fishing sector:

With the ongoing commercialisation in fisheries, the value of fish has risen; and so, fish is money; fish is wealth; fish is good life. Because of this, people are increasingly flocking into fish catching and so competition is increasing. Furthermore, with the decline of catches, better and effective methods and inputs are required to ensure good catches.³⁴ Consequently, we must make efforts to invest in better fishing methods and gear to be able to compete lest we are soon kicked out and turned into spectators as others become wealthy.

As emphasised in the above excerpt, it appears that, to be an active participant, entails in particular *to be able to compete*. The desire to become a participant who has the key productive resources and competences to compete successfully in fish catching was expressed during a narrative interview with a less successful fisherman with 37 years of experience in the fishing sector. In explaining the factors that had contributed to his lack of success, this long-time fisherman stated:

These days, fish are scarce and caught in deep waters. I do not own modern fishing vessels and gear. We use the paddled vessel with which we cannot go very far. Those who use motorised vessels can quickly go very far and do better catching than us. I believe, therefore, that my poor fishing inputs partly contribute to small catches, little income and little success ... I am hopeful one day I can also own a motorised vessel to compete effectively for a better share of fish catches.

The valued functioning, *to be able to compete successfully*, was also underscored by a male respondent and seller of fishing inputs when he disappointedly and coldly hinted:

We have lost our good customers who nowadays buy fishing inputs in Mwanza because there they are offered lower prices. I did not want to lose such good business but I am constrained. I do not have enough capital. If I get some money, I will be able to bring in bulk fishing gear and related accessories from Dar es Salaam, offer my customers the Mwanza price, and still make a profit. In this way, I will increase my competitiveness, get back my good clients and make profit. ... However, given that I cannot be easily financed this will only remain daydreaming!

Likewise, a female respondent with 13 years of experience in smoking and trading Nile perch, said:

With scarce Nile perch, competition is too stiff. In such situations, those buyers offering high prices get enough fish and other buyers have to wait. When I am unable to offer high prices, it

³⁴ I highlight these challenges to the environmental sustainability of the fish stocks and fish catches and the adapted coping strategies in Chapter 5 when reporting on and discussing the conditions and factors affecting the agency and well-being of local actors in their respective fisheries sections.

takes weeks or months to collect and process the amount of fish I need ... and this in turn affects negatively the running of my business and profit. I always wish to be a competitive buyer.

For a female boat owner with 10 years' experience in Dagaa fishery, vigorous and successful participation in fish catching depends, among other factors, on the ability *to hire and maintain competent, committed and hardworking fishing crews*. During her narrative interview, she illustrated:

I may own motorised vessels and modern gear but the fact that I depend on my fishing crews to do the catching I may still be limited if I do not employ the right people. I believe I am currently doing better because I have competent and motivated fishing crews. However, to be able to hire and maintain competent, committed and hardworking crews matters a lot and is too challenging.

In the set of the valued functionings, *to be an active participant or to participate actively in the fishing sector*, other owners of fishing vessels and gear included the *ability to get involved in the structures and processes of fisheries management and influence decisions*. In this regard, during an intra-FGD with owners of fishing vessels and gear, a male participant with 27 years' experience in fish catching unveiled his motivation to join local politics and leadership in this manner:

Having experienced several setbacks in my fishing activities that resulted from unfair decisions of our local leaders, and which contributed to a loss of my income, I felt the right thing to do was to stop complaining but get involved in decision making organs and processes and to try to positively influence some decisions. ... During my leadership tenure, I successfully fought for the abolition of many forms of unfair levies the local government collected from fishers and fish traders.

In the same vein, in an inter-FGD with local actors, a male owner of fishing vessels with 12 years' experience in Dagaa fishery remarked:

For many years, we fishers have been neglected and unsupported by the government and our huge contribution to the local and national economy in terms of revenues, employment and fish supply undervalued. Despite all these, we are not discouraged, we move on. What we need now is the ability to confidently relate with other stakeholders and negotiate our interests, rights and freedoms in the fishery sector.

The above views enlighten us on the importance of local fishers to be active participants both in the lake, to increase their share of catches, and outside the lake, in order to improve their social status and influence in decision-making processes and fisheries management structures.

The fish catchers expressed other forms of being active participants. Those forms of valued being and doing were disclosed during their FGDs, in which they discussed their involvement and main concerns in the fisheries sections. In an FGD with traditional catchers (*wakokozi*), a male participant with 20 years' experience in the activity, while supported by his fellows, complained emphatically:

We have been both fish catchers and protectors of fisheries for years now. We have some practical knowledge, skills and experience in utilising and managing fisheries in sustainable ways. We use traditional methods and gear to catch fish. However, quite strangely, nowadays, fisheries officers and the government regard our fishing methods and gear illegal and destructive, and so tend to confiscate our gear, burn them and/or penalise us. In this way, we are constantly in trouble with government authorities and fisheries officers who do not want to listen nor understand our perspective ... Much as we would like to be taken seriously and enabled to freely and rightfully use our practical knowledge, methods and gear to catch fish, we find ourselves ignored, weakened

and sometimes humiliated. ... What hurts most is that after all that we have done to conserve fisheries resources, we are now viewed as uncaring and destroyers of fisheries.

In one of their FGDs, the fishing crews (*wajeshi*) argued:

MJ#10: We enjoy fish catching but we are insecure when in the lake as armed robbers always target us to rob outboard engines and fishnets. We need to be able to overcome such threats.

MJ#13: Definitely, insecurity is a big issue. Theft of fishing inputs impedes our efforts. Since we are rightful participants in fishing activities, should we not be protected from all these?

MJ#16: Our business is to catch fish in the lake. Hence, our movements to search for good catches in the lake must not be restricted. We need to be able to move freely from one point to another to find and catch fish.

MJ#12: Besides, we do a difficult and risky work; I think we are equally entitled to better returns. We have tended to be price takers and this must change so that we can be able to determine and get better prices for our catches.

The above excerpts illustrate that the valued functionings of fish catchers include their ability to enhance and/or deal with those states and/or aspects of their being and doing that positively or negatively affect their active participation in fisheries activities. Indeed, the freedom *to acquire useful knowledge and skills*, and the right to use them, is destined to improve some states of being of these fishing folk, whereas the ability *to overcome threats and insecurities, to move freely in the lake waters to catch fish and to determine prices* for their catches enhances some aspects of their doing.

For other local actors, the valued functionings, *to be able to participate actively in fish-related activities* is linked to their ability *to overcome some constraining conditions*. Participants involved in fish trading and processing, when discussing their working environment and conditions and the impact they have on their agency and productivity, illustrated such a link. During an intra-FGD with fish traders, one respondent remarked:

We lack important facilities in this fish market ... no fish stores, no cold storages, no icing services, etc. This means we have no possibility of preserving raw fish for sale on the next days. Thus, when the evenings and nights come and one still has fish, one has to make a cruel choice of selling fish at a cheap price otherwise they will get spoiled and result into a big loss. Lack of such facilities impedes us a lot. If we were able to overcome these problems, things would have been different in terms of improving the quality of our services and profit making.

The female participants (*wasombangese*) who engaged in the collecting, sun drying and packing of Dagaa highlighted the hostile and impeding conditions they wished to overcome. During their FGD session, one participant noted the following with great concern:

Working as a *musombangese* is too frustrating and challenging. It seems the community and some fellow actors in fisheries do not approve of our work, as some think we are just covering up prostitutes who should not stay and work at fishing camps. We are given all bad names, insulted, humiliated and exploited. Strangely, people do not seem to know that not all of us are engaging in such immoral practices. ... While we like doing this job and get income, the hostility and humiliation towards us affect negatively on our personalities and work. We would appreciate support to overcome these forms of violence, humiliation and exploitation and attain our respect and freedom to work and earn fair income.

On his side, the long-time serving fisherman and member of an informal fishing group considered the *ability to acquire useful knowledge and skills for effectively running fishing activities* vital in ensuring active participation in the fishing sector. He explained:

Following my 29 years in the fishing business, I am noting changes in techniques and inputs for effective catching, processing and preserving fish, and in managing fishing businesses. These are some of the main determinants of success and failure of many actors in the fisheries sections. Hence, unless one is able to acquire some useful knowledge and skills for successful running of his or her fishing activities, his or her chances to make a break-even and succeed are very slim.

As previously indicated, local actors value the ability to participate actively in their fishing sector because such ability facilitates and guarantees the achievement of their valued social and economic goals. Thus, the set of valued functioning, *to be active participants*, included elements such as (i) to be able to fairly and successfully compete with fellow actors, (ii) to be able to hire and maintain competent, committed and hardworking persons, and (iii) to be able to get involved in the structures and processes of fisheries management and influence decisions. Other elements included (iv) to be able to relate confidently to other stakeholders and negotiate own interests, rights and freedoms, (v) to be able to freely and rightfully use own practical knowledge, methods and gear to catch fish, and (vi) to be able to overcome threats, insecurities and robberies. Others were (vii) to be able to move freely in the lake to find and catch fish, (viii) to be able to determine and get better prices for own fish catches, fish products and/or service, (ix) to be able to overcome constraining conditions, and (x) to be able to acquire useful knowledge and skills for running fisheries activities successfully.

Table 4.5: Valued functionings involving/relating to the agency of local actors

Valued functionings	Vessel owners n=45	Catchers n=50	Processors n=43	Traders n=42	Transporters n=4	Makers & sellers n=11	Total n=195	
To be able to fairly and successfully compete with fellow actors in the fishery section	33	42	32	29	02	06	144	74%
To be able to hire and maintain competent, committed and hardworking persons	27	12	06	10	01	04	60	31%
To be able to participate in decision-making structures and processes of the fishing sector in the district	19	23	05	12	01	02	62	32%
To be able to influence fisheries management decisions	23	35	05	19	01	02	85	44%
To be able to confidently relate to other actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector	38	43	36	39	04	08	168	86%
To be able to negotiate own interests, rights and freedoms in the fishing sector	33	29	25	42	03	05	137	70%
To be able to use traditional knowledge, methods and gear to catch fish	12	31	NA	NA	NA	NA	44	NA
To be able to move freely in the lake to find and catch fish	35	32	NA	NA	NA	NA	67	NA
To be able to determine and get better prices for own fish catches, fish products and/or service	45	49	33	38	04	09	178	91%
To be able to overcome constraining conditions and factors	38	45	33	39	04	05	164	84%
To be able to acquire useful knowledge and skills for running fisheries activities successfully	26	16	06	22	04	04	78	40%
To be able to access and use financing and social opportunities to improve performance and productivity	42	18	06	28	02	04	100	51%

Source: Field data, 2012 – 2013

Table 4.5 above highlights the functionings that the study participants endorsed as important for improving their personal and group agency in their fishing sector. Interestingly, the data highlight several forms of awareness of the local actors. First, they highlight the local actors' awareness of the presence of other actors and stakeholders who may have a negative or positive influence on their interests, rights and freedoms. Second, they highlight local actors' awareness of the need to negotiate for their own interests, rights and freedoms in the fishing sector. Third, they highlight local actors' awareness of the reality of stiff competition for fish and opportunities to invest and/or work in fisheries. Following their above awareness, 168 (86%) of local actors wanted to be able to confidently relate to others stakeholders in the fisheries; 137 (70%) of local actors wanted to be able to negotiate own interests, rights and freedoms in the fisheries; and 144 (74%) of local actors wanted to engage in fair and successful competition with other actors in their fisheries sections.

In addition, Table 4.5 above reveals that local actors are aware of the factors and conditions constraining their active and gainful participation, and of the fact that these constraints may be overcome through own initiatives and/or through the help of other actors and stakeholders. Thus, of the 164 (84%) local actors who wanted to be able to overcome their constraining conditions, 62 (32%) knew and wanted to deal with these constraints by getting involved in decision-making structures and processes of the district's fishing sector. The other 85 (44%) wanted to redress their constraining conditions through other means and strategies of influencing fisheries management decisions. In Chapters 5 and 6 I report on and discuss concrete actions and strategies these local actors want to use to influence the fisheries management decisions in the district in general, and the management plans to redress their constraining conditions in particular.

Table 4.5 above also reveals that 178 (91%) local actors who believed their agency and well-being would improve when they stopped being 'price takers' wanted to be able to determine prices for their own fish catches, fish products and/or services. Interestingly, out of these 178 participants, 38 were fish traders, whom other respondents complained of as determining and offering low prices to fish catchers. These 38 (90%) of the 42 fish traders want to be able to determine best prices for their fish, fish products and/or services, but seemed not to have the same concern for fish catchers to determine and demand better prices for their fish catches.

Furthermore, Table 4.5 shows that 78 (40%) and 100 (51%) local actors respectively considered enhancing their agency through knowledge acquisition and use of available financing and social opportunities. Of the 78 local actors who valued and wanted to be able to acquire useful knowledge and skills to successfully run their fisheries activities, 42 (54%) engaged in fish catching and 22 (28%) engaged in fish trading. The 100 (51%) local actors who valued and wanted to be able to access and use financing and social opportunities to improve their performance and productivity included 42 (93%) owners of fishing vessels, 18 (36%) fish catchers, and 28 (67%) fish traders.

Table 4.5 also highlights that, for other local actors in fish catching, active participation involves the freedom to use traditional knowledge and methods, and freedom of movement on the lake. Thus, 44 (46%) of the 95 fish catchers valued and wanted to be able to use traditional knowledge, methods and gear to catch fish, and 67 (71%) valued and wanted to be able to freely move from one point of the lake to another to catch fish. Moreover, 27 (60%) of fishing vessel owners believed their active participation was strengthened by the competent, committed and hardworking persons working for them, and so they wanted to continue being able to hire and maintain fishing crews of such quality.

Generally, the above-endorsed valued functionings are insightful and reveal what kind of actors the fishing folk of Ukerewe District want to be, and how they want to do their productive fisheries activities to achieve their valued social and economic goals. An interesting and important observation from the participants' views discussed above on being active participants, however, is the shifting of the local actors' focus and strategy from valuing the use of individual agency to using collective agency in their future initiatives to redress their constraints. In fact, Table 4.5 underscores that more than half of these local actors were considering engaging fellow actors and stakeholders in negotiating their interests, rights and freedoms and in influencing major decisions in their fishing sector.

4.5.2 To be gainful participants in the fishing sector

In addition to the set of valued functionings of being *active participants in the fishing sector*, local actors also value and want *to be gainful participants in their fishing sector*. The latter set of valued functionings relates to and captures states and/or aspects of well-being local actors value and want to achieve as they participate in their fishing sector. During their interviews and discussions, these participants revealed to *want to be gainers and not losers in their fishing sector*. In particular, during a stakeholders' workshop, one in which participants discussed, *inter alia*, *the fishing sector they want in the future*, an outspoken fisherman argued persuasively:

We fishers are making a huge contribution to the local economy and welfare. Through buying licenses and paying levies, we contribute to the District Council's revenues. However, it seems that the government is happy to collect revenue but does not care about us. In fact, the government and other stakeholders have neglected us for many years. We are constrained from accessing and using some financing opportunities to improve our performance and productivity but nobody is there to help. The prices of fishing inputs are increasing daily but the government is not helping with subsidies as it does to fellow citizens working in other sectors of the economy. We lack key fisheries infrastructures and facilities at fishing camps and markets but nobody is chipping in to help. We are constantly robbed of our possessions and our lives threatened by bandits in the lake but rarely are we helped. The naked truth is ... we are losing out a lot and we do not want to continue losing. We want to be able to enjoy the fruits of our hard work and flourish. The government and other stakeholders must help to overcome these challenges and facilitate our gainful participation in the fishing sector.

When discussing the fishing sector they want in the future, local actors illustrated many forms and mechanisms through which they had been made losers and insisted that they must now be helped to become gainers. These local actors underlined the fact that they had invested and/or were engaged in

fisheries activities (i) to be able to earn income, (ii) to be able to make wealth, and (iii) to be able to catch more fish and/or enjoy a fairer share of fish catches. They also emphasised that they wanted (iv) to be able to get better prices for their fish catches, fish products and/or services, (v) to be able to enhance their social and economic status, and (vi) to be able to enjoy the fruits of hard work and flourish.

Table 4.6: Valued functionings involving/related to the well-being of local actors

Valued functionings	Vessel owners n=45	Catchers n=50	Processors n=43	Traders n=42	Transporters n=4	Makers/sellers n=11	Total n=195	
To be able to earn income	45	50	43	42	04	11	195	100%
To be able to make wealth	38	25	10	21	01	05	100	51%
To be able to record a fair share of fish catches	32	39	NA	NA	NA	NA	71	NA
To be able to get better prices and/or payments	45	50	43	42	04	11	195	100%
To be able to enhance social and economic status	33	46	38	35	04	09	165	85%
To be able to enjoy the fruits of hard work and to flourish	45	50	43	42	04	11	195	100%

Source: Field data, 2012 – 2013

Table 4.6 above highlights specific functionings that local actors endorsed as being important for improving their well-being. Indeed, and as indicated in earlier sections, it is the securing of the opportunities to invest and/or work in the fishing sector and the accruing of income from fisheries activities that contribute to the realisation of the valued social and economic goals of local actors. Thus, Table 4.6 unveils that 195 (100%) of the local people who had opportunities to invest and/or work in the fisheries sections wanted to be able to get better or fair prices for their fish and fish products, and/or better payment for the services they offered in the fisheries sections. They also wanted to be able to earn income and to enjoy the fruits of their hard work and flourish.

Furthermore, 165 (85%) local actors wanted to be able to enhance their social and economic status in their communities. Included in these 165 were 12 female Dagaa processors (*wasombangese*), who experienced hostility, humiliation and exploitation from community members and other actors in the fishing sector. In addition, Table 4.6 above show that, 100 (51%) of the 195 local actors wanted to be able to increase their wealth. Most of these 100 local actors were those who claimed to have actually invested in fisheries activities. Local actors who worked for other people indicated they would be satisfied with better payment for the work they did and/or services they offered.

In general, local actors valued and wanted to be active and gainful actors in their fishing sector. In fact, they believed that if they were to realise their above-identified valued being and doing functionings, they would have attained most of their valued social and economic goals and contributed to improving the welfare of their communities and the health of fisheries resources. However, it is also important to report and discuss the actual achievements of these local actors,

which I will do in section 4.6, and the conditions affecting their agency and well-being, which I will do in Chapter 5.

4.6 Achieved functionings of local actors in the fishing sector

The states of being and doing that the local actors valued and wanted to achieve mostly cover their social and economic situations. Local people highly regard the opportunities to invest and/or work in fisheries sections to realise their specific social and economic goals. In fact, the field evidence presented above underscores well the belief of local actors in the potential of those productive fisheries activities to provide them with socio-economic resources for use to combat and overcome threats to their human dignity, agency and well-being, and thus the improvement of the general welfare of their households and communities. Given the aforesaid, then, it is important to take stock of the sets of valued functionings that the local actors have actually managed to achieve.

Table 4.7: Realised social and economic goals of local actors in fisheries sections

Social and economic goals	Vessel owners n=45		Fish catchers n=50		Fish processors n=43		Traders and transporters n=46		Makers and sellers n=11		Total n=195	
Got business and/or job	45	100%	50	100%	43	100%	46	100%	11	100%	195	100%
Improved social status, respect and influence in community	16	36%	23	46%	21	49%	36	78%	08	73%	104	53%
Provided service to community – inputs/fish /employment	34	76%	45	90%	14	33%	38	83%	11	100%	142	73%
Improved homes/built new houses	25	56%	21	42%	15	35%	13	28%	06	55%	80	41%
Got income and fully fulfilled personal & household basic needs	30	67%	23	46%	13	30%	24	52%	06	55%	96	49%
Got income and partially fulfilled personal & household basic needs	15	33%	27	54%	30	60%	22	48%	05	45%	99	51%
Got capital and invested in other activities (non-fishing)	12	27%	10	20%	08	19%	09	20%	03	27%	42	22%
Bought assets (land, livestock, car, motorbike, furniture)	26	58%	26	52%	06	14%	14	30%	05	45%	77	39%
Expanded business and/or started new fishing business	30	67%	12	24%	04	09%	09	20%	04	36%	59	30%
Contributed to government revenues	41	91%	05	10%	18	42%	35	76%	05	45%	104	53%
Contributed to sustenance of fishing and its benefits	16	36%	17	34%	13	30%	10	22%	07	64%	63	32%

Source: Field data, 2012 – 2013

4.6.1 Local actors' disclosure of own achievements

The local actors revealed the social and economic goals that they wanted to realise when participating in productive fisheries sections. These goals included (i) to start an income-generating activity and/or secure a job, (ii) to improve their own social status, respect and influence in the community, and (iii) to provide service to the community through employment creation, availability of fish and fishing inputs. Other goals were (iv) to generate an income to improve and/or build good houses, (v) to generate an income for use to fulfil personal and household needs and obligations, and (vi) to generate capital for investing in other income-generating activities. Further goals included (vii) to expand

and/or start new productive fisheries businesses, (viii) to generate income for buying other assets, (ix) to pay taxes/levies and contribute to government revenues, and (x) to contribute to the realisation of sustainable fishing and its benefits for the community. Table 4.7 above highlights the extent of the realisation of these valued goals.

4.6.1.1 Started income-generating activities and/or secured jobs

As stated previously, the fisheries sections provide local people with opportunities to invest and/or work. Thus, on the one hand, there are local people who have been able to start income-generating activities in fish catching, processing, trading and transportation or in the making and selling of fishing inputs. On the other hand, other local people have benefited from employment opportunities created in fisheries sections as they have secured jobs in established fisheries activities.

Table 4.7 above shows that 45 owners of fishing vessels, 12 owners of fish-processing businesses, 21 owners of businesses in trading and transporting of fish, fish products and fishing inputs, and the eight investors and entrepreneurs in the making and selling of fishing inputs have managed to start and run their own income-generating activities. It also shows that 50 fish catchers, 31 and 29 employed or working respectively in fish processing and fish trading and transporting sections, and the three employed or working in the making and selling of fishing inputs, have secured jobs in the fisheries sections from which they get regular income – which is by all standards a satisfying achievement. Consequently, all 195 (100%) local actors regarded their starting of income-generating activities and/or securing jobs in fisheries as an important achievement.

4.6.1.2 Improved social status, respect and influence in community

To be able to improve social status, respect and influence in the community was highlighted by the study participants as an important social goal. One form of improving social status and commanding respect is by engaging in legitimate income-generating activities and providing for one's own and family needs. This follows from the fact that adult and able persons in these communities are expected to work and to provide for themselves and their dependents, and become self-reliant instead of turning into 'parasites' to exploit and enjoy others' hard-earned proceeds. Thus, members of these communities view a jobless person as lazy and as an exploiter, and thus accord him/her low status.

Given the above social context, 16 (36%) vessel owners, 23 (46%) fish catchers, 21 (49%) fish processors, 36 (78%) fish traders and transporters and eight (73%) makers and sellers who felt that their social status, respect and influence in their communities had improved, attributed such improvements to productive fisheries activities they undertook and services they offered to their communities. Nonetheless, the respondents who felt they had achieved improved social status and respect mostly belonged to the fish trading and transportation section (78%), and the making and selling of fishing inputs (73%), rather than to the fish-catching and processing sections, where only 46% and 49% respectively expressed satisfaction with what they had achieved.

As such, more than half of the participants from these sections, that is 54% in fish catching and 51% in fish processing, hinted that, overall, they did not feel that their social status had improved, as they were constantly ignored, unsupported and humiliated by government officials, leaders and other community members. In particular, all 12 female Dagaa processors (*wasombangese*) boldly underlined the fact that they did not feel that the job or work they were doing contributed to raising their respect and social status in society. In fact, they revealed that such work contributed to the humiliation and exploitation they experienced.³⁵

4.6.1.3 Provided services to community members

More than half of the local actors articulated confidently and enthusiastically that, by engaging in productive fisheries activities they sought to achieve not only their personal well-being, but also to contribute to the well-being of others and that of the whole community. They maintained that an opportunity to invest and/or work in the fisheries sections challenged them to take up the duty to care for and provide services to the community and, consequently, to have provided such services is an achievement.

In line with the aforementioned, 76% of vessel owners, 90% of fish catchers, 33% of fish processors, 83% of fish traders and transporters, and 100% of makers and sellers of inputs (cf. Table 4.7 above) revealed that their activities and businesses had contributed to employment, and facilitated the availability of fish for local consumption and the availability of inputs to undertake fishing activities. Consequently, they underscored as their achievement the ability to have provided services to the community. The 33% of fish processors underscored as an achievement their service to the community, while the remaining 67% did not. Included in the 33% are owners of fish-processing businesses and/or those employed in the processing of Nile perch and Tilapia, whereas the 67% include the 12 female Dagaa processors, who believe most community members do not endorse their engagement in the activity.

In addition, although most vessel owners and fish catchers generally did not feel that government officials, leaders and other community members valued them and their contribution (cf. Table 4.7 above), they nevertheless remained committed to fulfilling their duty of providing services to the community. In fact, 76% of the vessel owners and 90% of the fish catchers regarded their ability to facilitate the availability of fish for local consumption and the creation of employment opportunities as their satisfying achievements. It was pointed out that at least four people work in one vessel, and so the 45 participants who owned 459 vessels created about 1 836 jobs for local people. About making

³⁵ This feeling is partly because the community members are not endorsing women's engagement in this activity, as it is associated with the practice of prostitution at the fishing camps. Given that *wasombangese* are mostly widows, divorced, separated or non-married women, and so command less respect in society in any case, their presence at the fishing camps is believed to be associated with the sex work for money business.

fish available to the community for consumption and trade, the records presented in Table 4.8 below are quite insightful.

Table 4.8: Weight and value of important fisheries caught for Ukerewe district, 2009 to 2012

Year	Nile perch		Dagaa		Tilapia	
	Weight in metric tons	Value in '000 TZS	Weight in metric tons	Value in '000 TZS	Weight in metric tons	Value in '000 TZS
2009	18 794.30	22 553 160.00	24 280.60	29 136 720.00	6 988.60	8 386 320.00
2010	17 437.60	43 594 000.00	32 340.60	80 851 500.00	6 758.60	16 896 500.00
2011	17 200.74	62 488 338.30	31 901.30	115 893 835.90	6 666.79	24 219 713.90
2012	17 064.10	62 777 027.00	31 650.30	116 429 222.00	6 614.30	24 331 584.00

Source: Extracted from Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries Development's Statistics

Table 4.8 enlightens us on the achievements of owners of fishing vessels and fish catchers in terms of fish catches for the 2009 to 2012 period. Increased investments in fishing vessels and modern gear made by the relatively rich individuals, and the skilfulness and hard work of fish catchers, resulted in the landing tons of fish, although the weight of caught Nile perch and Tilapia were declining slightly. Otherwise, there has been a steady 30% increase in the weight of Dagaa, from 24 280.60 metric tons landed in 2009 to 31 650.30 metric tons in 2012. The value of fish caught has also risen. The value of Nile perch rose by 178% from TZS 22 553 160 000 in 2009 to TZS 62 777 027 000 in 2012, and that of Dagaa rose by 300% from TZS 29 136 720 000 in 2009 to TZS 116 429 222 000 in 2012. The value of Tilapia rose by 190% from TZS 8 386 320 000 in 2009 to TZS 24 331 584 000 in 2012. Certainly, a big part of this fish catch was traded and/or consumed in the local markets, thus making it possible for local people to get food and nutrition, jobs and income.

4.6.1.4 Improved and/or built good houses

To be able to generate income and improve homes and/or build a brick and iron-roofed house is the most important achievement for most local actors. About 75% of the local actors reported wanting to generate income from fisheries activities to use to improve and/or build good houses. However, only 25 (56%) vessel owners, 21 (42%) fish catchers, 15 (35%) fish processors, 13 (28%) fish traders and transporters, and 6 (55%) makers and sellers of fishing inputs revealed having managed to improve or build good homes.

Table 4.7 shows that more than half of the local actors had yet to realise their valued goal of improving or building good houses. In fact, of those local actors who had invested and/or worked in the fisheries sections for more than five years, 16 (43%) of the 35 fishing vessel owners, and 12 (52%) of the 23 fishing crews reported not having generated enough income to build the good houses they dreamed of. Likewise, eight (42%) of the 19 traditional fish catchers, two (33%) of the six fish processors, 12 (54%) of the 22 fish traders, two (67%) of the three fish transporters, one (33%) of the three makers of inputs, and three (50%) of the six sellers of inputs revealed that they had not managed to build houses. In Chapter 5 I will report and discuss some conditions and factors that the local actors

identified as inhibiting them from generating enough income to realise their valued goal of improving their homes or building good houses.

4.6.1.5 Generated income to fulfil personal and household obligations

To generate enough income for use to meet personal and household financial needs and obligations was another important goal of the local actors. These respondents said they had invested and/or worked in fisheries activities to earn income for use to meet their needs and fulfil their obligations. All 195 local actors admitted to earning income that they used to pay for the education of their children; to buy food and clothes for themselves and their families; and to pay for health services for themselves and their families.

Nevertheless, 99 (51%) of the local actors indicated that the income they earned was not enough for meeting all their personal and family basic needs. In particular, 15 (33%) vessel owners, 27 (54%) fish catchers, 30 (60%) fish processors, 22 (48%) fish traders and transporters, and 5 (46%) makers and sellers revealed they were not earning enough income. Given the little income they earned, these 99 (51%) local actors revealed that they were unable (i) to meet all basic costs of their children's education, (ii) to provide all their family members with quality basic health services and clothing, and (iii) to supply their households with sufficient food throughout the year.

4.6.1.6 Generated capital to invest in other non-fish income-generating activities

Another important achievement is the ability to generate capital for investing in other income-generating activities. While the local actors wanted to generate capital to invest in income-generating activities, Table 4.7 shows that only 25% of the local actors had reached this goal. For instance, out of the 45 vessel owners, only 12 (27%) reported to have succeeded in generating capital for investing in businesses such as guesthouses, hotels, rental houses, taxis, etc.; and only 10 (20%) of the 50 fish catchers had secured capital and initiated other non-fish income-generating activities. Nonetheless, the tendency of most local actors who have generated good money from productive fisheries activities had been to expand their usual fisheries activities instead of diversifying their investments in other sectors of the local economy. In Chapter 5 I will report and discuss some factors contributing to this state of affairs of the relatively successful and wealthy fishing folk.

4.6.1.7 Expanded or started new fish-related business

Other local actors who had been running productive fisheries activities for some time recorded achievements in expanding their income-generating activities in the fisheries sections, while some of those once employed had managed to initiate their own productive fisheries businesses. Thus, Table 4.7 above show that 30 (67%) of the 45 fishing vessel owners revealed to have expanded their businesses by increasing the number of vessels and gear; and 12 (24%) of the 50 fish catchers had managed to purchase fishing vessels and gear and initiated own fish-catching operations. Likewise, four (9%) of the 43 fish processors, nine (20%) of the 46 engaged in trading and transporting of fish

and fish products, and four (36%) of the 11 makers and sellers of inputs reported having managed to expand or initiate other income-generating activities in the fisheries sections.

These claims on expanded and/or initiated new fisheries activities correlate with the data on increased investment in motorised vessels (cf. Table 4.2), fishing gear (cf. Table 4.3), and that on increased landing sites with facilities such as smoking kilns, drying racks, repair of boats, nets and engines, and shops selling fishing inputs that local entrepreneurs have started and operate.

4.6.1.8 Generated income to buy assets

Local actors also considered the ability to generate income to buy valuable assets as a notable achievement. Thus, 26 (58%) vessel owners, 26 (52%) fish catchers, 6 (14%) fish processors, 14 (30%) fish traders and transporters, and 5 (45%) makers and sellers of fishing inputs revealed that they used the income from their productive fisheries activities to buy valuable assets. These local actors reported having bought assets such as land, livestock, cars, motorbikes and several pieces of household equipment, and emphasised that these assets had positive impacts in their personal and family life.

4.6.1.9 Contributed to government revenue

Some local actors underlined very boldly their payment of relevant taxes/levies to contribute to government revenue as an important achievement. In particular, local actors in the catching section who have to (i) pay for fishing vessel registrations and (ii) buy fishing licenses every year; and those in fish trading and transportation, who have to buy trading licenses and pay fish levies, highlighted that they had been making an enormous contribution to government revenue. Thus, 41 (91%) vessel owners and 35 (76%) fish traders and transporters revealed that their ability to pay the required taxes/levies regularly to contribute to the District Council's internal revenue as an important achievement.

Table 4.9: Revenue collected from fishing activities for the District Council, 2006 to 2012

Revenue source	2006/2007	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011	2011/2012
Fishing licenses	33 442 200	34 894 900	44 914 000	126 020 550	138 636 500	203 450 000
Penalties & fines	300 000	-	1 170 000	1 322 000	233 500	24 031 000 ³⁶
Fish levies	338 810 000	405 849 640	327 178 750	414 218 000	384 419 800	414 493 750
Total	372 552 200	440 744 540	373 262 750	541 560 550	523 289 800	641 974 750

Source: Extracted from official revenue records of the Ukerewe District Council

Table 4.9 above shows that fishing activities are increasingly contributing to the internal revenue of the District Council. The registration of fishing vessel, issuance of fishing licenses, charging of penalties to violators of fishing regulations, especially fishers who fail to buy, re-new or fish without

³⁶ This sudden rise in the value of penalties and fines is a result of increased monitoring and enforcement of fisheries regulations throughout the district. With increased fisheries officers, from two to ten by 2010, who are stationed at ward level to monitor fisheries activities at the beaches and fish markets and the monthly monitoring and regulations enforcement patrol programme, more violators of fisheries regulations are increasingly caught and penalised.

valid licenses, and the collection of fish levies have steadily contributed to the District Council's revenue. In fact, an increased number of fishers, fishing vessels and fish catches, and improved efforts in collecting fish levies and enforcing compliance, resulted in revenue rising from TZS 372 555 200 in 2006/2007 to TZS 641 974 750 in 2011/2012, which is a 72% rise.

4.6.1.10 Contributed to sustainable fishing

Some local actors showed great concern about the decline of fish stocks and the increased use of unsustainable fishing methods and gear. Consequently, more than 75% of the 195 local actors claimed that to be able to realise sustainable fishing is one of their valued functionings, and that they were working hard to contribute to sustainable fishing. Table 4.7 shows that the 16 (36%) fishing vessel owners, 17 (34%) fish catchers, 13 (30%) fish processors, 10 (22%) fish traders and 7 (64%) makers and sellers of fishing inputs who actively participated in combating unsustainable fishing practices contributed to reducing gear and methods impacting negatively on the sustainability of fisheries resources. Other local actors hinted that their initiatives had met with enormous personal and community challenges and/or that they lacked the necessary capabilities to implement their plans. I provide detailed reporting of some of these personal and community challenges in Chapter 5.

Table 4.10: Outcomes of initiatives to combat illegal fishing in Ukerewe fisheries, 2008 to 2013

Illegal fishing gear and methods	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	Total
Beach seine nets	136	172	198	247	140	893
Monofilament nets	62	91	49	182	36	420
Gillnets (4 inches)	-	-	44	29	17	90
Small Dagaa seines (≤ 5 mm)	-	89	101	173	218	581
Use of poisonous chemicals	-	-	-	4	3	7

Source: Extracted from reports of the Fisheries Department, Ukerewe District Council

Table 4.10 above summarises the outcomes of initiatives to curb unsustainable fishing practices in Ukerewe between 2008 and 2013. The respondents indicated that collaborative initiatives of key actors and stakeholders (especially the responsible fishers through their BMUs, the fisheries officers and other law enforcers) to combat and overcome the use of illegal fishing gear and destructive fishing methods for the past five years had met with positive results. The positive outcomes included the arrest, confiscation and destruction of a total of 893 beach seines, 420 monofilament nets, 90 gillnets (4 inches) and 581 small Dagaa seines, and arresting and charging fishers involved in seven cases of use of poisonous liquids in catching fish. In Chapter 5 I report and discuss in detail the perspectives of these local actors with regard to what has impeded other forms of initiatives to realise the management of fish stocks, legal catches and protection of fish breeding grounds.

4.6.2 Perspectives of other stakeholders on the achievements of local actors

Participants from local government, market and civil society organisations unveiled their awareness of what local actors were doing and had achieved following their engagement in the fishing sector. For instance, during their FGD, members of the CSOs unveiled their perceptions of local fishers and their contributions to the general community welfare in this way:

CSO#P4: Fishers are courageous and hard workers. Some, especially owners of fishing vessels and gear (*matajiri*), are clever, determined and focused in their businesses. Although most of them are not educated that much, still some manage their businesses well and have become wealthy. They have good houses, good income, power and influences ... Some are so influential and hold political and leadership positions in society ...

CSO#P2:... although the fishing sector and fishers have been neglected and unsupported, they have not despaired. Instead, they have worked hard and improved their lives and communities. ... go around this town... most investments such as rental houses, guesthouses, hotels are owned by fishers. Ukerewe has a lot of educated people and high ranked civil servants and leaders but not many have dared to invest or even build simple good houses, as they fear of being bewitched. Nevertheless, the fishers have made it and the town looks beautiful with the modern buildings and facilities they have erected.

CSO#P5: I highly regard their contributions in society ... they make fish available, create jobs, pay levies to government ... mind you, revenue collected from fishing activities amounts to about 90% of internal revenue of our District Council ... they therefore have made a huge contribution to the society welfare and sustenance of the District Council.

In his in-depth interview, a highly placed district official also noted with appreciation the achievements and contribution of fishers. He said that most fishers had used their income to build good brick and iron-roofed houses and that there were more iron-roofed houses in the district, which made it the leading rural district in iron-roofed houses in Mwanza region by 2011. With regard to the power and influence of some fishermen and women, the highly placed official commented:

Some fishermen and women command good respects in society. Some hold political leadership as village chairpersons or ward councillors. Ninety percent of our councillors engage in fishing activities and so as interested parties, they become vocal and influential when discussing issues and agenda related to fisheries ... It therefore requires a lot of creativity and lobbying to move them to successfully make and implement some hard choices in the fishing sector.

Respondents from other local government agencies and departments also acclaimed the hard work and achievements of the fishers. These respondents reported on the fact that some fishermen and women had constructed good houses that were rented out to civil servants. In fact, nine civil servants who participated in this study were renting houses from these fishers and expressed their satisfaction with the quality of the houses. They also illustrated in many ways the importance of the fishing sector to the local economy and the financial well-being of the District Council (cf. Table 4.11 below).

Table 4.11: Contribution of fisheries to the District Council's internal revenue, 2006 to 2012

Revenue sources	2006/2007	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011	2011/2012
Fisheries	372 552 200	440 744 540	373 262 750	541 560 550	523 289 800	641 974 750
Others	53 236 571	88 680 823	91 659 997	120 062 342	91 906 570	103 994 616
Total	425 788 771	529 425 363	464 922 747	661 622 892	615 196 370	745 969 366
% Fisheries	87%	83%	80%	82%	85%	86%

Source: Extracted from official revenue records of the Ukerewe District Council

Table 4.11 above highlights the importance of the fishing sector as the main and important source of the District Council's internal revenue. The fishing sector contributes more than 80% of all internal revenue. In fact, and as was put by the highly placed official and CMT members, the fishing sector is the "backbone of the District Council's own financial well-being and sustainability", and "one without which the District Council becomes financially incapacitated". It follows that the roles and importance of fisheries activities should not be underestimated.

4.7 Wealth and poverty reduction potential of the productive fisheries activities

One of the basic assumptions of MKUKUTA II with regard to the fishing sector and poverty reduction is the belief that the productive fisheries activities embed a wealth creation potential and that the poor people participating in them, when enabled, may generate socio-economic resources to use to improve their life situations. Given the purpose of this study, it was essential to test the above assumption of MKUKUTA II. Therefore, the study participants had to respond to a question on whether they thought the productive fisheries activities that local actors undertook did or did not have the potential of providing them with important resources for use to combat and overcome their poverty situations.

Of all 310-study participants, 83% (257 respondents) replied in the affirmative and claimed that the productive fisheries activities had already contributed to improving the lives of those participating in them, and that with improved fisheries governance, many positive changes could happen. These 83% included 39 (87%) owners of vessels, 40 (80%) fish catchers, 35 (81%) fish processors, 35 (83%) fish traders, 4 (100%) fish transporters, 11 (100%) makers and sellers of inputs, 21 (75%) administrators and elected political leaders, 29 (72%) employed experts, 12 (80%) members of the private sector, and 31 (89%) members of civil society.

About 17% (53 respondents) of the 310 hesitated claiming that the presence of many challenges in the fisheries sections deprived local actors from opportunities to generate wealth, and then argued for the need to undertake technological and governance reforms in the fisheries sections to enable them to unleash their prosperity potential for those participating in them. These 17% (53 respondents) included six (13%) owners of vessels, 10 (20%) fish catchers, eight (19%) fish processors, seven (17%) fish traders, seven (25%) administrators and elected political leaders, eight (22%) employed experts, three (20%) members of the private sector, and four (11%) members of civil society. These respondents underscored the fact that those who currently benefited from the productive fisheries activities were the rich and powerful fishers and fish traders, while fishing crews who worked hard to catch fish in risky and challenging environments and those employed in other fisheries sections remained poor.

On the one hand, based on evidence on what local actors have managed to achieve following their participation in the productive fisheries sections presented in this chapter, I argue in support of the

83% of respondents above that productive fisheries activities have the potential to provide their participants with socio-economic resources to use to improve their lives. In fact, there is enough evidence to support the fact that local actors in the fisheries sections have been able to accrue income and other resources, which some local actors claimed could hardly be generated by other socio-economic activities, and which they have used to meet personal, household and community needs.

In fact, the records discussed above show, for instance, that, on average, local actors employed in fisheries sections earned income that was higher than the minimum wage that the government had approved for workers in socio-economic sectors.³⁷ For instance, the average income of TZS 200 000 that Dagaa fishing crews reported to earn per month in 2012 was higher than the minimum wage of TZS 70 000 per month approved and offered to workers in agricultural services. The average income of TZS 80 000 and TZS 60 000 that Dagaa female processors (*wasombangese*) and female petty fish traders earned per month respectively was higher than the minimum wage of TZS 40 000 approved and offered to domestic workers. Furthermore, the monthly income of TZS 100 000 of fish transporting crews and TZS 150 000 of Nile perch petty traders was higher than the TZS 80 000 approved and offered to workers in the private health services and private security services.

Other respondents reported and emphasized the fact that participation in productive fisheries activities had brought positive and good changes in their personal, family and social life, to the extent that if it were not for the resources they generated from their productive fisheries activities, their social and economic situations would have deteriorated for the worst. To these people, fisheries resources and the productive fisheries activities provide them with opportunities to access and utilise socio-economic resources to improve their human dignity, agency and well-being and, to use the words of one respondent, for such local actors “fish is wealth”, “fish is good life”.

On the other hand, based on the evidence of limited achievements and constraining conditions of the local actors highlighted above, I argue with the 17% of the 310 respondents who were not satisfied with what the fishing sector in Ukerewe had made possible for the local actors to achieve. In fact, it was reported that, while working hard and diligently, some local actors still were not earning enough income to meet their needs and that they were continuously exposed to loose ends. The above observation about the unfortunate situations of local actors in the fisheries sections is in line with the other assumption of MKUKUTA II. MKUKUTA II postulates the scenarios in which some local actors in the fisheries sections experience conditions that constrain them from creating wealth and then calls for undertaking pro-poor initiatives to redress these challenges and facilitate the poor actors to create wealth to use to overcome their poverty.

³⁷ These minimum wages were approved and enforced through the Wage Order No. 172 of 2010, published by the Minister for Labour and Employment on 30.04.2010. This Wage Order was in force from 01.05.2010 to 30.06.2013, when the New Wage Order No. 196 of 2013 repealed it.

These findings on the potential of productive fisheries activities to contribute to improving the social and economic situations of local actors and their communities match with those of Kulwijila *et al.* (2012). In their study to determine the impacts of artisanal fishing on the livelihoods of small-scale fishing communities in Ukerewe District, Kulwijila *et al.* (2012) found that local people engage in a portfolio of fisheries activities and that, in turn, these fisheries activities contribute to both their household income and reduction in non-income poverty.

In particular, Kulwijila *et al.* (2012) found that local people engaging in the harvesting of Nile perch earned on average a net income of TZS 2 180 500 per year, while those harvesting other fisheries earned a net income of TZS 1 032 500 per year. Those involved in the trading of Nile perch earned a net income of TZS 2 918 524 per year, while those trading other fisheries earned TZS 1 993 800 per year; and local people involved in the processing of Nile perch and other fisheries earned a net income of TZS 71 950 and TZS 50 000 respectively per year. Kulwijila *et al.* (2012) report further that these fishers, processors and traders used their income to improve their homes and to fully or partially cover their health, food and other socio-economic costs.

Nevertheless, Kulwijila *et al.* (2012) noted, *inter alia*, the persistence of food insecurity and the limitation of Nile perch to contribute positively and massively to reducing non-income poverty in the small-scale fishing communities of Ukerewe. They therefore recommended the design and implementation of pro-poor policies to promote and improve the welfare of small-scale fishers to enable them to become “price-makers and not price takers” (Kulwijila *et al.* 2012: 81).

Based on evidence presented in this chapter, and in the light of the observation made by Béné *et al.* (2010) on the poverty-reduction potential of small-scale fisheries, I hold that productive fisheries activities have the potential of providing local actors with opportunities to generate resources necessary for reducing their poverty and/or preventing them from falling into abject poverty. Consequently, I argue that these fisheries sections have the potential to accommodate local people who can then create the wealth necessary to combat and overcome some threats to their human dignity, agency and well-being. In Chapters 6 and 7 I examine in detail the necessary enabling conditions for making productive fisheries activities in Ukerewe District so that they unleash their poverty-reduction and prosperity potential for those poor local actors engaging in them and for their communities.

4.8 Concluding remarks

The purpose of this chapter has been to report on and discuss the Ukerewe fisheries and its service arrangements, the participation of local actors in their fishing sector and the potential of the productive fisheries activities they undertake to contribute to reduction of their poverty and their attainment of prosperity. The report has highlighted the three economically important fisheries and their main sections. It also focused on the established institutions and organisations of the

government, market and civil society that interact to govern fisheries operations. These institutions and organisations have the potential to guide and support multiple actors in their efforts to access, use and control essential entitlements and capabilities to function in the respective fisheries sections.

It is evident that local people participate in fish catching, fish processing, fish trading and transportation, and in the making and selling of fishing inputs. These local actors participate in these productive fisheries activities with the hope of realising their specific valued social and economic goals. The strong desire and belief in the possibility of realising those valued goals motivate local actors to persistently perform some risky activities and endure some difficulties. However, local actors have managed only limited achievements and report several conditions and factors that impede their performance and productivity in their respective fisheries sections. Consequently, for those productive fisheries activities to unleash to those participating in them enough socio-economic resources that can be used to combat their poverty and attain prosperity, established institutions and organisations have to support those actors in redressing constraining conditions and guarantee their agency and well-being freedoms.

In the next chapters I undertake to examine specific conditions in the fisheries sections that have a negative effect on the human dignity, agency and well-being of local actors, and the roles of the institutions and organisations of the government, market and civil society in undermining or improving the agency and well-being freedoms of these local actors.

CHAPTER FIVE

DEPRIVED CAPABILITIES AND COPING STRATEGIES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises the main findings related to specific conditions and factors constraining local actors from realising the aspects of being and doing they value when participating in the fisheries sections. Having noted the limited success of local actors in Chapter 4, I now undertake a detailed reporting on and discussion of the roots and mechanisms of their deprivation of specific productive capabilities. I do this with the view to establish a point of reference on the basis of which I will be able to highlight in Chapter 6 what can be understood as the “poverty” of local actors, and what possible remedial and capabilities enhancement actions could be taken to address this “poverty”.

Entitlements, capabilities and functionings are three interrelated elements in Sen’s Capability Approach (CA), which play important roles in improving the dignity, agency and well-being of human beings. Sen (1995:63) observes that entitlements generate capabilities, which, in turn, facilitate the realisation of functionings that people value and choose. Since entitlements are important means used to attain development and overcome poverty (Sen, 1995), arrangements for providing services should be designed in ways that facilitate people’s secured and guaranteed acquisition of entitlements to be used to function and to free themselves “from the enforced necessity to live less and be less” (Sen, 1984:510; Qizilbash, 1996:1211).

In fact, and in line with what was mentioned previously, Sen (1995; 1999; 2010) challenges societies to provide their members with the commodities and institutional resources necessary to realise a life of freedom (Crocker, 1995). In line with the above, I critically review the extent to which institutions and organisations of the government, market and civil society currently operating in the fishing sector of Ukerewe District have managed to facilitate local actors’ access to and utilisation of their services and opportunities to enhance their capabilities to function productively and responsibly in their respective fisheries sections. Therefore, in the next parts, I reflect critically on field evidence to underscore the types, sources and mechanisms causing local actors in Ukerewe to be deprived of essential entitlements and capabilities, and to highlight the constraining conditions emerging therefrom. I also shed some light on the initiatives local actors undertake to cope with or redress some of those deprivations and constraining conditions.

5.2 Types, sources and mechanisms of entitlements and capabilities deprivation

Entitlements in the form of commodities, assets and opportunities that are important for enhancing people’s freedoms and choices in life are conditioned, determined and regulated by the legal, political, economic and social systems prevailing in a specific society (Sen, 1985). Consequently, formal and informal policy and legal frameworks underlying societal arrangements in specific productive sectors

may support or obstruct individuals from entitlement acquisition and building (Gasper, 1993; Sen, 1995).

As reported in Chapter 4, there are institutions and organisations of the government, market and civil society currently operating in the fishing sector of Ukerewe that are expected to provide local actors with enough opportunities and facilitate their acquisition and building of entitlements and capabilities to become active and gainful participants in their respective fisheries sections. Given this, it was important to probe the study participants about practical policies, rules and regulations, actions and/or inactions of specific organisations of the government, market and civil society that support or obstruct local actors' efforts to acquire and build entitlements and/or enhance capabilities to function actively and gainfully in the fisheries sections. While acknowledging some positive roles of these institutions and organisations, these study participants nevertheless reported that most local actors experience deprivation of essential entitlements and capabilities, resulting in situations in which their performance and productivity in the fisheries sections are constrained. Table 5.1 shows specific conditions that the respondents identified as the main constraints facing local actors.

Table 5.1: Specific conditions and factors constraining local actors in the fisheries sections

Constraining conditions and factors	Local actors in the fisheries sections					Members of the organisations of the government, market and CSOs			
	Owners n=45	catchers n=50	Processors n=43	Traders & transporters n=46	Makers & sellers n=11	Administrators & leaders n=28	Employed experts n=37	Members of Private sector n=15	Members of CSOs n=35
Theft and insecurity	87%	72%	35%	78%	18%	89%	89%	80%	83%
High prices of fishing inputs	91%	52%	35%	39%	64%	68%	54%	93%	60%
Fragile markets and fish prices	78%	56%	26%	65%	18%	79%	68%	93%	91%
Decline in fish stocks and catches	47%	48%	49%	54%	82%	68%	41%	80%	71%
Limited govt. and CSO support	57%	38%	37%	50%	18%	29%	32%	33%	54%
Greedy and dishonest fish buyers	56%	60%	21%	41%	09%	75%	65%	67%	49%
Inadequate financing opportunities	49%	26%	30%	54%	45%	75%	73%	87%	60%
Exploitative employers and creditors	42%	26%	49%	41%	36%	64%	43%	80%	66%
Limited infrastructure and facilities	36%	20%	36%	41%	18%	89%	62%	93%	51%
Destructive fishing methods & gear	36%	26%	19%	37%	18%	86%	73%	67%	66%
Limited cooperation among fishers	42%	26%	14%	22%	18%	93%	49%	60%	74%
Lack of or limited competences	29%	20%	12%	35%	36%	89%	78%	80%	83%
Confiscation/destruction of inputs	33%	38%	07%	04%	09%	29%	27%	40%	37%
Bad attitudes and behaviours	13%	22%	12%	26%	36%	86%	86%	73%	83%

Source: Field data, 2012 – 2013

The detailed discussion of specific constraints is undertaken, along with their related deprivation in the sub-sections to follow, in which I examine how organisations of the government, market and civil society function and relate with local actors in concrete fisheries sections to highlight sources and mechanisms for depriving local actors of specific entitlements and capabilities.

5.2.1 Deprived of opportunities to acquire and control productive assets

To have opportunities and the ability to acquire and control relevant and efficient productive assets is paramount to ensuring active participation in productive activities. Local actors have to acquire, use and control important assets to function well in their respective fisheries sections. Whereas fish catchers, for instance, have to own and use fishing assets such as boats, outboard engines, gillnets, hooks and lines, and fishing nets for them to engage in fish catching, fish collectors and processors require fish containers, cold storage, dry racks and smoking kilns to store and process quality fish and fish products. At the same time, national fisheries regulations prescribe legal and illegal fishing gear and prohibit the acquisition and use of the illegal and destructive ones. Thus, local actors ought to know, acquire and use only the legal and non-destructive gear to comply with fisheries regulations.

Most fishing tools can be purchased from national and local markets. On the one hand, there are modern, safe and efficient fishing vessels and gear, and on the other are the traditional and less efficient fishing vessels and gear. Whereas the latter are affordable and easily acquired by local actors, the former are relatively expensive and unaffordable for most local actors. Given the current decline in fish stocks and long distances fishing crews have to travel to catch fish, it is the actors with modern and efficient fishing vessels and gear that make good catches. Hence, the capacity to function efficiently and compete successfully with fellow actors in the fisheries sections, which 144 (74%) local actors value and choose (cf. Table 4.5 in Chapter 4), requires of them to be able to acquire, control and use modern and efficient fishing assets.

Nonetheless, the high prices of fishing inputs poses great challenges to local actors interested in acquiring, controlling and using modern and efficient fishing assets. For instance, the respondents revealed that most owners of fishing vessels fail to graduate from using non-motorised craft to motorised ones because prices for the latter are too high, and therefore only relatively rich individuals can afford to purchase them. In fact, the records in Table 4.2 (cf. Chapter 4) show that, although investment in motorised vessels (those using outboard engines) has increased from 736 units in 2002 to 2 183 units in 2012, such increased investment constituted only 48% of all fishing crafts in the Ukerewe fisheries and the craft were owned by a few relatively rich individuals.³⁸ At the same time, there were 2 562 non-motorised craft (those using paddles and sails) in 2002, comprising 78% of all fishing craft in that year, and 2 341 units in 2012, constituting 52% of the total 4 524 fishing craft. This shows that a large number of local actors are still constrained from acquiring modern and efficient fishing vessels.

Likewise, high prices of fishing gear contribute to the problem of acquiring better and legal gear. For instance, whereas Nile perch are better caught using gillnets, some Nile perch catchers are resorting to

³⁸ Since the relatively rich owners own between 15 and 30 vessels, assuming 15 vessels as a minimal average number of vessels owned by one rich owner, then, on average, 145 people owned 2 183 craft using outboard engines in 2012.

long lines and beach seines because, unlike gillnets, which are reported to be too expensive, this gear is said to be affordable. With regard to gear for catching Nile perch, Table 4.3 (Chapter 4) highlights increased investment in both gillnets, from 28 512 units in 2000 to 51 731 units in 2012, and long-lines, from 247 217 units in 2000 to 932 543 units in 2012; and in the use of illegal beach seines that constituted 464 units in 2012. The situation in which local actors have limited purchasing power conditions them to opt for inefficient gear and consequently jeopardises their performance and productivity.

In general, because of both high prices and limited purchasing power, most local actors are failing to acquire, control and use important productive assets to improve their capacities to function actively and gainfully in their fisheries sections. The relatively rich individuals with the possibility of acquiring modern and efficient fishing vessels and gear are the ones who can function efficiently, enjoy the biggest share of fish catches and create wealth. Therefore, local actors need to overcome their limitation in acquiring relevant and efficient productive fishing assets.

Besides the acquisition challenges mentioned above, local actors experience deprivation of their hard-earned fishing assets. The respondents revealed that, with increasing armed robberies and the lack of or limited protection, local actors are robbed of their productive resources such as outboard engines and fishing nets, and when they fail to replace them due to limited purchasing power, their participation and productivity in the fisheries sections become highly constrained and their road to prosperity hampered. It is because of this background and understanding that the study participants identified high prices of fishing inputs, theft and insecurity in the lake and at the fishing camps, and confiscation and destruction of their fish inputs as the main conditions impeding their capacities to acquire and control productive assets. Below, while drawing on specific cases, I briefly discuss how these main constraints impact on the performance and productivity of local actors in the fisheries sections.

5.2.1.1 High prices of fishing inputs

Local actors identified high prices of fishing inputs as one of the main conditions constraining their capacities to acquire and control productive assets. This factor scored 55% overall and ranked as the second main constraint (cf. Table 5.1). It scored highly with fishing vessel owners (91%), makers and sellers of fishing inputs (64%) and fish catchers (52%). These respondents revealed that prices of fishing inputs such as outboard engines, fishing nets, lanterns and fuel (petrol, diesel and kerosene) have been rising rapidly, contributing to increasing their operational costs and consequently making it hard for them to run their fishing activities profitably. Further, it was reported that high prices of fishing inputs are a hindrance to local entrepreneurs interested in investing in the fisheries sections, as the required initial investment capital is considerably high, and those needing to replace their stolen

engines and gear may not have saved enough money, given the small profits they currently are making.

The respondents revealed, for instance, that one needs a minimum of about TZS 12 000 000 (about USD 7 235)³⁹ as initial investment to start a new fish-catching business in the Dagaa fishery. This money is for purchasing one new wooden boat (TZS 4 000 000), one outboard Yamaha engine (TZS 4 000 000), Dagaa nets and related accessories (TZS 700 000), six kerosene pressure lamps (TZS 510 000 @ TZS 85000), kerosene and petrol fuel (TZS 2 000 000), fishing licenses (TZS 200 000) and feed five fishing crew members for about 17 to 21 days (TZS 500 000).

The initial capital required to start a new Nile perch-catching business is about TZS 13 000 000 (about USD 7 838) to cover the costs of one new wooden boat (TZS 4 000 000), one outboard Yamaha engine (TZS 4 000 000), fishing nets and related accessories (TZS 1 500 000), petrol (TZS 2 000 000), fishing licences (TZS 200 000) and feed five fishing crew members for a month (TZS 1 000 000). Generally, the respondents maintained that raising TZS 12 000 000 to initiate a new fish-catching operation, or spending TZS 4 000 000 to replace regularly stolen outboard engines, and the increasing costs of fuel, were some of the challenges they face in the context of the decline in both their fish catches and prices for their catches.

Given the above situation, fishing crews reported that they failed to graduate to the level of ownership of fishing vessels, as raising TZS 12 000 000 is proving to be a ‘difficult hill to climb’, and those already graduated are increasingly forced back as they fail to raise enough income to replace their robbed gear. In line with this, during their intra-FGD, a senior Dagaa fishing crew member told of his misfortune:

I had previously worked for many years as fishing crew and luckily I got money and initiated my own operations. For two years things went well but later I lost everything when I was robbed of my engines and lanterns ... luckily we were not harmed ... I had saved money but not enough to buy new engines and lanterns. Having failed to resume own operations, I returned to crewing.

Other fishing vessel owners complained that the high prices of fishing gear hampered their initiatives to upgrade their vessels from paddled to motorised ones. In one of their FGDs, a recent graduate from crewing to the ownership of a fishing vessel elaborated on his current blockage:

I am currently operating a paddled vessel and would wish to have a motorised one. However, the new boat and Yamaha engine are too expensive. I cannot easily raise eight million ... it is too much ... and with the daily rising costs of petrol ... I cannot!

Generally, three (6%) of the 50 fish catchers revealed that they had owned fishing vessels but were forced back to crewing after failing to replace their stolen gear. Meanwhile, four (9%) of the 45

³⁹ Exchange rate on 25.07.2014:- 1 **TZS** = 0.000602954 **USD**, 1 **USD** = 1 658.50 **TZS**

owners of fishing vessels reported having returned into using paddled vessels after failing to replace the stolen or damaged outboard engines for the reason that these were too expensive.

The respondents from the local government, market and civil society also identified high prices of fishing inputs as one of the main constraints of local actors (cf. Table 5.1). This aspect scored highly with members of the private sector (93%), and the administrators and leaders (68%). These respondents argued that the high prices contributed to the increasing operational costs of fishers and, in the context of increasingly declining prices of fish, it was becoming an unbearable burden and constraint to their performance and productivity.

5.2.1.2 Theft and insecurity in the lake and at fishing camps

Local actors identified theft and insecurity in the deep waters of the lake and at the fishing camps as their other main constraint. Having scored 66% in overall, this aspect is ranked the first main constraining condition (cf. Table 5.1). It got high scores from fishing vessel owners (78%), fish traders and transporters (78%) and fish catchers (72%). These participants argued that incidents of robbery, which happened regularly, threatened the sustenance of the productive fisheries activities and the welfare of local actors because of the loss of life and/or severe injuries involved, and the being deprived of productive resources and income.

For instance, in their intra-FGD, fishing crews unveiled and summarised the extent of the problem and its effects on their activities and well-being in this way:

With regard to the issue of theft in the lake, it suffices to say that it is serious and widespread. We experience robberies almost every month and we can estimate that three of every 10 fishing crews in this lake have experienced some forms of robbery in which they got beaten and harmed, and engines, nets and sometimes fish were stolen. Incidents of armed robberies are scary, disempowering and life endangering. They result in some fishing crews leaving their jobs and losing regular income, but mostly contribute to them being deprived of fishing gear, such as expensive engines and nets whose replacements cost a fortune. Thus, robberies affect owners and us fishing crews and may end one's interest and participation in fisheries and thereby expose one to poverty.

All fish-catching participants were aware of regular occurrences of armed robberies on the lake and the related consequences for their agency and well-being. Six (50%) of the 12 Nile perch catchers revealed that they had been invaded and robbed of engines, nets and fish, five (31%) of the 16 Dagaa catchers reported having been kidnapped, beaten and robbed of engines, nets and fishing lanterns, and three (25%) of the 12 Tilapia catchers reported having been beaten and robbed of all Tilapia they had caught.

Likewise, during their intra-FGD, owners of fishing vessels and gear revealed concern about theft and insecurity and emphasised:

Theft and insecurity in the lake is a big problem that retards our fishing activities. When armed bandits invade, fishing crews cannot prevent them from taking whatever they want. They usually take outboard engines, nets, lanterns and fish. Other robbers end up beating and injuring the crews.

In other interviews and discussions, the owners of fishing vessels highlighted the fact that robberies deprive them not only their working tools (engines and gear, which are quite expensive and not easily replaceable), but also their loyal and competent fishing crews, who get scared and quit fishing or are killed or severely injured. These respondents emphasised that these robberies have a negative effect on their fishing operations and profits, as they have to use saved money to replace the stolen equipment. Furthermore, 10 (22%) of the 45 vessel owners reported having experienced incidences in which 13 (in total) outboard engines got robbed or stolen leading to a loss of about TZS 52 000 000 (@ TZS 4 000 000). Simultaneously, 3 (30%) of 10 owners in Nile perch fishery reported having experienced theft of fishing nets, and 7 (47%) of the 15 owners in Dagaa fishery having experienced theft of their Dagaa nets and lanterns.

Robberies of fishing gear particularly affected the active and gainful participation of women fishers. During an FGD with women councillors to discuss ways to heighten the participation of women in fisheries, a participant who previously owned fishing vessels and engaged in Nile perch catching told the story that led to her failure (bankruptcy) in order to highlight the challenges women owners of fishing vessels face that retard their progression to prosperity. She narrated:

I retired from civil service and got paid retirement money. Returning to Ukerewe, I invested in three fishing vessels and engines and filled them with enough nets. I hired fishing crews and supervised their operations. The first three months things went well and we got enough catches and money. Five months later, the first outboard engine was stolen. I had saved money and so I replaced it. Operations continued but this time with little catches and income. A year later the two engines and nets were stolen. I could not replace them. I had to continue the operations with the third one, which was also stolen a few months later. I did not have money and no lending institute would finance me to replace them. I was bankrupt in just two years of fish-catching operations and so I had to quit fishing. ... The moral of my true story is that both robberies in the lake and the lack of opportunities to finance fisheries activities will continue to impair women from operating fishing activities to improve their lives.

The respondents from the local government, market and civil society also identified theft and insecurity as among the main constraints facing local actors (cf. Table 5.1). It was mostly the administrators and leaders (89%), employed experts (89%), members of the private sector (80%) and members of CSOs (80%) who pronounced it. While noting the negative consequences that incidents of insecurity and robbery bring to fisheries activities, these respondents also elaborated on the challenges of undertaking effective policing and security measures to protect fishers and their properties. These respondents argued that the district's geographical positioning, one in which 90% of its area is surrounded by Lake Victoria's waters, the many and dispersed islands where fishing activities take place, and the limited human, financial and physical resources of the Tanzania Police Force, severely hamper effective implementation of security measures at the lake. With regard to the

latter, for instance, Magodi (2007) reports that the then Inspector General of Police (IGP) had admitted that the police force was failing to squarely address problems of piracy and armed robberies on Lake Victoria because it faces resource limitations.

The media and empirical studies increasingly report the problem of rampant theft and robbery of gear and engines, and the negative impacts of this on small-scale fishers on Lake Victoria. For instance, a journalist, Mobini Sarya, writing for the *Tanzania Daima* on 14.12.2012, reported that, between October and November 2012, armed bandits robbed small-scale fishers on the islands of Lake Victoria of more than 100 outboard engines. Further, writing what he calls *Ripoti Maalum Mauaji ya Kinyama Ziwa Victoria* (i.e. *Special Report on Massacre in Lake Victoria*) on 06.02.2007, the blogger Julius Magodi reported several incidents on the islands of Lake Victoria in which armed bandits invaded and robbed fishers of outboard engines, fishing nets and fish, and that sometimes fishers were injured or killed.

In the same vein, Onyango *et al.* (2012) and Kulindwa (2005), while discussing the fact that armed bandits usually target expensive fishing nets and outboard engines because their markets (at lower prices) are readily available in the region, nevertheless emphasise that the theft of fishing gear and engines affects and ruins the prosperity path of both owners and fishing crews. In particular, Kulindwa (2005) reports that incidents of robbery and insecurity have been the main reasons for some fishers to quit fishing, as they are afraid of loss of life or injuries and/or have been deprived of their only fishing gear, which they could not afford to replace.

5.2.1.3 Confiscation and/or destruction of fishing inputs

Local actors identified the confiscation and/or destruction of fishing inputs by fisheries officers and other actors as another main constraint with a negative impact on their capacity to control the productive assets they have acquired. This element scored 21% overall and ranked thirteenth in the list of constraints (cf. Table 5.1). It is the fish catchers (38%) and fishing vessel owners (33%) who mostly highlighted this.

While admitting that they sometimes violate fisheries regulations and thus become liable for prescribed disciplinary and legal actions, these respondents still complained that the confiscation and/or destruction of fishing inputs was too harsh a punishment, as it deprives them of the productive means for generating resources useful for meeting their basic needs and leading a decent life. These respondents revealed encountering such harsh punishment when caught using illegal fishing gear and methods or when fishing without licences.

Several local actors recounted having, at one time, their fishing vessels and/or gear confiscated and/or destroyed. Four (40%) owners in the Nile perch fishery, seven (47%) owners in Dagaa fishery, four (40%) owners in Tilapia fishery, and two (20%) owners in mixed fisheries have had their boats and

gear confiscated following their failure to renew fishing licences timely, and they only got them back after paying penalties and/or giving bribes to officials.

Furthermore, three (60%) owners in Tilapia fishery and two (20%) in mixed fisheries reported their fishing vessels and gear having been confiscated and destroyed following their failure to officially register them and/or for participating in what officers determined to be illegal and destructive fishing. In all these cases, these respondents complained that the actions of those officers and law enforcers were too harsh and robbed them of the productive means and income for meeting personal and household needs.

In line with the abovementioned, a long-time fish catcher who uses the legally prohibited beach seining gear and method complained how the actions of fisheries managers in confiscating and/or destroying his fishing gear contributed to retarding his progression to a good life tenable with his fish-catching activities. The extract from his narrative below highlights incidents of fishing gear confiscation and the impact of this on his work and income.

These fisheries officers and BMUs have been destroying my activities and life. In the past three years, they have caught me four times and eventually turned me into their 'goldmine'. The first time they caught and took my nets. I let them go and spent TZS 400 000 to replace them with new gear. Then, they returned the second time and took the nets and I had to replace them with another TZS 400 000. The third time when they caught me they demanded a TZS 150 000 bribe, but I gave them TZS 100 000 and got my nets back. The fourth time, other officers caught me and burnt my nets and wanted to destroy my boat, but I gave them a bribe of TZS 50 000 to rescue it. This time I had to spend TZS 500 000 replacing the destroyed nets. I was disappointed as I am continuously losing money that I would have used to improve my personal and family welfare. I had to befriend one patrolling officer who informs me in advance about the patrol so that I can hide my gear, but this costs me TZS 30 000 every time he informs. However, this is better than spending hundreds of thousands replacing gear or bribing officers.

The above extract unveils the reasoning of most local actors about the impact of the confiscation and/or destruction of their fishing inputs (some of which they highly contest to be illegal gear) on their fisheries activities and socio-economic benefits. Consequently, these respondents were demanding reconsideration of the fisheries regulations and/or penalties concerned.

Only 37% of the respondents from local government, market and civil society organisations identified confiscation and/or destruction of fishing inputs by law enforcers as one of the main constraints of local actors. In contrast, most of these respondents (in particular those in the local government bureaucracy) viewed it as a management measure to curb illegal and unsustainable fishing practices.

In line with the above, it is clear that local actors experience both the challenges of acquiring important productive assets and protecting their already acquired fishing tools. The study participants linked sources and persistence of these challenges to (i) the purposeful design of market institutions and powerful actors, (ii) the inactions and/or omissions of market and social enterprises, and (iii) the

negative actions, omissions and/or failures of government institutions and organisations expected to help and protect highly challenged citizens from participating in the fisheries sections.

With regard to the role of free market institutions in limiting local actors from acquiring modern and efficient tools for productive fishing, some respondents claimed that powerful and greedy individuals and private companies violate and/or misuse the principles of the free market to make huge profits at the expense of losses for other actors. For instance, some respondents argued that irresponsible traders, on the pretence of adhering to the demand and supply principle, and without a cost-related basis and due consideration of the limited purchasing power of their customers, raise the already high prices of key inputs when they notice shortages or a high demand in the market, so as to make super profits. These respondents (mainly from the categories of local actors and CSOs) also noted that powerful and rich fishers violate the principles of fair competition by undertaking initiatives that involve sabotaging the fishing activities of small-scale fishers. Long-liners in particular highlighted the tendency of rich fishers to sabotage their activities, and one of them, supported by his fellows, summarised the accusations:

The powerful and rich fishers humiliate, disempower and sabotage our activities. It seems they would wish that we fail and quit fishing and leave it all to them, but we cannot. We also have bought fishing licences and so are lawful fishers. While it would be wise to compete peacefully in fish catching, these rich fishers instruct their fishing crews to confiscate and/or destroy our long-lines and nets when they find them mingled with theirs. They also sponsor robbers to steal our tools to reduce competition in fish catching.

Two participants in the above FGD reported recent incidents in which their long-lines were destroyed by fishing crews of one rich fisher, and these cases were reported at the nearby police post. Other respondents underscored market flaws when it comes to economic facilities and opportunities for small-scale actors in the fishing sector. A respected political leader underscored this perspective during the stakeholders' workshop. While enjoying applause from other participants, he remarked:

We have embraced the free market but some of its rules are unfair. Why is it, for instance, that the powerful and rich fishers receive financial credits to acquire modern fishing tools while our small fishers who use poor and inefficient tools are denied loans from formal financial institutes? In addition, why is it that the rich fish traders receive working capital support, better deals and prices from fish-processing factories, while our small fish traders get low prices and limitations to improve their working capitals? This is not acceptable and must change. We have to help our people improve their fishing activities and prosper.

Members of the private sector noted with great concern some of the above observations and accusations, and acknowledged the fact of the presence of greedy and irresponsible entrepreneurs who violate the free market principles of responsible enterprise and fair competition. In fact, during their respective FGDs, and at the stakeholders' workshop, these members emphasised their commitment to contribute to socio-economic development by creating opportunities and supplying goods and services in society, as well as resources and opportunities to help solve some of the challenges of the small-

scale entrepreneurs. Specifically, during the stakeholders' workshop and in response to some issues raised, the leader of the local business community highlighted:

It is true some conduct by entrepreneurs is harmful to fishers, fisheries resources, business and the general community. We condemn such practices and demand their stoppage. Moreover, we must cooperate to solve the many challenges facing our fisheries. In particular, and with the help of the government, we must ensure responsible and fair conduct of business, and support and enhance the abilities of emerging small entrepreneurs instead of disempowering and hampering them.

Other respondents reported that government organisations were not doing enough to help citizens working in the fisheries sections. The owners of fishing vessels unveiled the double standard practices of the government in matters of supporting citizens in socio-economic sectors. They argued:

IN-MT#4: I believe the government has the capacity and duty to help redress our challenges. With increasingly high prices of fishing tools, the government could help us with subsidised tools just like the arrangements made to sell subsidised farming and livestock inputs to farmers and livestock keepers ...! The officers say such actions will disrupt free market principles and private enterprise. With such responses, one wonders whether those principles apply to fisheries only! With this double standard we are left to carry our heavy crosses alone.

IN-MT#1: I also think it is the responsibility of the government to ensure fair conduct of businesses. Nevertheless, when it comes to fisheries businesses it is as if the government does not exist. Now everything is left at the discretion of the powerful and rich traders, who are only interested in making super profits, even by exploiting others. I know that in other sectors there are boards such as the Coffee Board and the Cotton Board, which set indicative prices for the products of the farmers and protect them from exploitative buyers, but why is there no Fishery Board to play the same roles in fisheries? If the government were to establish a regulatory authority to oversee the conduct of fisheries activities and businesses, I think things would be better.

IN-MT#3: We also know it is the duty of the government to protect its people and their properties, but it is not doing enough in the fishing sector as it does with fellow citizens in other sectors. It has arranged for police to escort travellers endangered by pirates in some areas of this country, but does not do the same with endangered fishers in Lake Victoria. Why not? Why are we discriminated against? Furthermore, we recently heard that the government had to replace cattle of those citizens whose cattle died due to prolonged drought, but the same government does not replace our fishing gear when robbed by armed bandits following its failure to protect us. Why treat the citizens in other socio-economic sectors better but exclude us in the fisheries sector?

At the same time, fish catchers and fish traders argued that the actions of confiscation and destruction of fishing vessels and gear undertaken by fisheries law enforcers against violators of fisheries regulations were too harsh, displayed double standards and resulted in some actors forfeiting their hard-earned productive assets. At the stakeholders' workshop, some fish catchers and traders questioned the 'spirit' of such fisheries regulations, and one participant queried why such measures were different from those used to curb violators of laws in other socio-economic contexts. He argued persuasively:

We agree we have to comply with regulations, but some of them prescribe too harsh punishments for violators ... and it seems such bad regulations exist in fisheries only. We see, for instance, some violators of traffic regulations usually are notified, penalised and allowed to pay their fines

within a reasonable time limit, and we have never heard that their cars or bikes are stormed and destroyed. ... However, for the fishers, when we are caught we are fined and demanded to pay immediately. When we fail to do so, our vessels and gear are confiscated and sometimes destroyed. Why these differences, or is it intended to reduce the number of fishers?

An informant from the Fisheries Division⁴⁰ elaborated on the issue of subsidies in fisheries. He argued:

We know subsidies would help redressing some fishers' challenges, but it has severe and far-reaching impacts on fisheries resources. With subsidised fishing inputs, we will have more fishers chasing a few fish, resulting in overfishing and eventually the collapse of fisheries. So, we are challenged to make hard decisions: to either provide subsidies to help people overcome their challenges and improve their productivity, or not provide subsidies to limit entrants and fishing pressure to ensure sustainable harvesting. Given the current state of our fisheries, subsidising fishing inputs is not a good idea.⁴¹

When unpacking the above perspective, it would seem that the government's decision not to provide subsidies in the fisheries sections is a kind of a management measure intended to limit the acquisition of fishing productive tools and consequently limiting entrants into fishing activities to avoid overfishing. If that is the case, then it confirms the suspicions of those fishers who suspect that certain fisheries regulations embed a hidden agenda, such as reducing the number of fishers.

The field evidence discussed above suggests that the current legal, social, economic and political arrangements in the fishing sector to a great extent prevents most local actors from accessing and/or deprives them of those opportunities to acquire, control and use relevant productive assets. Besides, there are organisations of the government, elements of the market and civil society, powerful and rich individual actors who are reported to be capable of facilitating local actors' acquisition of important productive assets. It is also reported that some practical policies, rules and regulations of those capable organisations and individuals obstruct the efforts of local actors to acquire, control and use modern and efficient productive assets in the fisheries sections of Ukerewe.

5.2.2 Deprived of opportunities to access and use fisheries infrastructure

The establishment of fisheries infrastructure and facilities such as fish landing sites, fish markets, transport, communication, electricity, fish-processing facilities, storage facilities, cold chain facilities and water supply to be used by actors in the fisheries sections is key to facilitating and fostering the actors' guaranteed access to and building of their essential entitlements and capabilities to function efficiently. Local actors need such infrastructure, and efforts are under way to create or improve them.

⁴⁰ This informant works with the Fisheries Division at the Ministry headquarters and is not part of the 310 participants based in the Ukerewe. I interviewed him to gauge the general views of policymakers at the ministry level on subsidies

⁴¹ Despite this caution, and certainly due to its commitment to help small-scale fishers improve their performance and productivity as per MKUKUTA II, the government, through the MLFD's 2013/2014 budget, set aside TZS 1.9 billion as a revolving fund to support small-scale fishers to acquire modern fishing vessels, outboard engines, Dagaa seines and long-lines. With this arrangement under way since the beginning of 2014, and as per the recent public announcement made by the Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries Development, the government covers 60% of the total costs of eligible and approved projects, while the other 40% are borne by members of qualifying small-scale fishers' associations or cooperatives and BMUs (<http://habarimifugouvuvu.blogspot.com/p/blog-page.html>, accessed on 14.04.2014).

Table 5.2: Fish-processing infrastructure and facilities at the 78 fish landing sites, 2008 to 2012

Landing site facilities	2008	2010	2012
Landing sites with fish sheds (<i>bandas</i>)	03	08	04
Landing sites with working cold rooms	00	00	00
Landing sites with fish stores	01	00	05
Landing sites with smoking kilns	05	09	16
Landing sites with drying racks	06	09	11

Source: Extracted from Frame Survey National Working Group (2000-2012)

Table 5.2 above highlights the state of the fish-processing infrastructure at landing sites in Ukerewe District. It is shown that, between 2008 and 2012, landing sites with fish sheds (*bandas*) increased from three to four, those with fish stores rose from one to five, those with smoking kilns increased from five to 16, and those with drying racks rose from six to 11. While acknowledging and commending the efforts and initiatives of the government and private organisations to establish essential fish-processing infrastructure and facilities, some respondents still observed the lack, inadequacy and/or depletion of fisheries infrastructure and facilities in their respective areas. For instance, whereas all 78 fish landing sites ought to be equipped with infrastructure and facilities useful for curbing post-harvest losses, Table 5.2 above shows that, in 2012, 74 (95%) had no fish sheds, 73 (94%) had no fish stores, 78 (100%) lacked cold storage, 67 (86%) had no fish-drying racks and 62 (79%) had no smoking kilns.

Given the above situation, local actors identified limited infrastructure and facilities for fish processing and preservation as their other main constraint. It gained 30% overall and ranked ninth (cf. Table 5.1). It was highly stated by fish traders and transporters (41%), fish processors (36%) and fishing vessel owners (36%), who reported that their designated landing sites and fish markets had little or no infrastructure and facilities for use to process and store raw fish to curb post-harvest losses. Fish traders working at one of the main fish markets revealed that their fish market, for instance, lacked enough fish stores and cold storage and/or icing services. With those lacks of fish-preserving and storage facilities, fish traders were forced to sell their entire stock of fish daily, sometimes even at low prices to avoid further loss when the raw fish were spoiled.

In the same vein, Dagaa fishers and traders experience challenges in drying and storing Dagaa during the rainy season due to limited storage facilities at fishing camps, the consequences of which include spoilage of Dagaa catches and income losses. One Dagaa trader illustrated how limiting and destructive rainy seasons are:

One night, when I had purchased and packed about 25 big sacks (1 000 kg) of Dagaa, covered and kept them at the beach as I waited for the transporting vessel, it rained heavily. Being night and there being not many free shelters, we managed to rescue only a few of them. About half of the Dagaa rained wet and their quality deteriorated, thus fetching a much lower price than expected.

The respondents from the local government, market and civil society identified limited infrastructure and facilities for fish processing and preservation as another main constraint facing local actors (cf.

Table 5.1). It scored highly with members of the private sector (93%), administrators and leaders (89%), employed experts (62%), and CSOs members (51%), who pointed out that limited infrastructure and facilities contributed to post-harvest losses and deprived local actors of earning good income.

The problem of the lack of or limited infrastructure and facilities for processing and preserving fish, and its impact on the productivity and performance of small-scale fishers, is repeatedly reported in empirical fisheries studies. For instance, in their study on post-harvest fish losses on Lake Victoria, Mgawe and Mondoka (2008) estimated losses in the Dagaa fishery to be about 32 million USD per annum. Given this, Mgawe and Mondoka (2008) suggested the adoption of low-cost processing technologies and methods, such as the use of drying racks, smoking, and the production of value-added products like brined and salted-dried fish.

Whereas efforts to adopt some low-cost processing technologies and methods to reduce post-harvest loss challenges are under way, the results of the Frame Surveys still expose unimpressive achievements in this respect. For instance, the results of the 2012 Frame Survey (cf. Table 5.2 above) revealed that, of the 78 landing sites, none had working cold rooms for preserving and storing raw fish. They also revealed that only 4 (5%) had fish sheds; only five (6%) had fish stores; only 16 (21%) had smoking kilns; and only 11 (14%) had drying racks. With this lack of or limited fisheries infrastructure and facilities, these local actors will continue to experience post-harvest losses and declines in income.

The respondents argued that the lack of or inadequacy of important fisheries infrastructure and facilities, which impair the effective functioning of local actors and expose them to income loss, resulted from the following: First, the fact that the government was not doing enough to invest back in the fisheries sections despite accruing good revenue from them. Second, the fact that the responsible government agencies and personnel were not doing enough to support and coordinate private and social enterprises interested in and capable of investing in the fisheries infrastructure and facilities.

Most local actors argued that the government collected revenue, but did little to fulfil its duties of providing social services at fishing camps, landing sites and fish markets, and of creating a good environment to attract interested private investors. Meanwhile, 164 (84%) local actors who wanted to be able to overcome these constraining conditions and factors in their specific fisheries sections noted that the government alone could not resolve all the challenges and remove all the constraints they faced. These respondents argued, nonetheless, that some of their pressing challenges would have been redressed had the government been keen enough to create a supportive investment environment and coordinated capable individuals, private companies and social enterprises interested in investing in the fisheries sections.

In his contribution to the discussion about *the future fishing sector*, an outspoken fisherman, who spoke confidently at the stakeholders' workshop while enjoying a round of applause from his fellow fishers, persuasively argued:

To tell the truth, we currently have many problems in fisheries because our government has not been doing pretty well to support, coordinate and lead different stakeholders interested in fisheries. In fact, today we have discussed many constraining conditions and discovered many opportunities amongst stakeholders that we can use to improve fisheries activities and the welfare of fishers. What emerged very clearly from our discussions today is the fact that we need to unite, cooperate and coordinate our efforts. I therefore request government officials to take up their leading and coordination roles so that, in the future, they can effectively engage all those interested in contributing to the development of the fisheries and fishers in this district.

The councillors conceded that the district government had not been doing enough to invest back in the fisheries sections, despite accruing good revenue from them. Based on the previous budgets they had participated in preparing, debating and approving, these members of the District Council and its standing committees unveiled that, for the past three budgets, they had not allocated resources for investing back in the fisheries sections to improve fisheries infrastructure and facilities, nor for fisheries governance. When referred in particular to the 2013/2014 budget they had just passed, these council members regrettably noted that they had approved financial resources for facilitating the collection of revenue from fisheries activities, but not allocated any money to improve fisheries infrastructure. In retrospect, these councillors admitted that their decision was not too smart and fair as far as their duties to ensure the development of the fishing sector and the provision of services to actors in it were concerned.

In the same vein, members of the Council Management Team (CMT) admitted that, in preparing the District Council's 2013/2014 budget, they had not considered nor allocated financial resources for improving the fishing sector in general, or improving the specific conditions of some local people participating in it, but indeed had funds to facilitate the collection of estimated revenues. In further dialogue, the fishery officer⁴², in the spirit of self-criticism, highlighted that the District Council had for a long time focused on collecting more revenues without strategising and undertaking meaningful initiatives to improve the functioning of the sector and those participating in it, which in turn would lead to a situation where they would justly collect more revenues.

With regard to the claim that the government was not doing enough in attracting, supporting and coordinating the participation of the private and social enterprises in the fisheries sections, while admitting some limitation in fulfilling this duty, a highly placed official remarked:

⁴² This fishery officer also unveiled that his Fisheries Department was not allocated the requested funds to implement its activities and realise the goals of their 2012/2013 strategic plan. These goals included: (i) To improve fish-processing facilities and methods in order to increase the quantity of quality fishery products from 30 000 tons to 45 000 tons by 2015; (ii) To facilitate the establishment of fishers' associations and SACCOS in order to strengthen the financial capacities of the fishers in 23 wards by 2015; (iii) To strengthen BMUs in 73 villages by 2015 in order that they function efficiently to eliminate illegal fishing and business practices.

Our critics should not forget that we had many drawbacks too. For example, we did not have electricity and this drew back most potential private investors. Nevertheless, with the rural electrification project we are getting reliable electricity and already have invited and supported three investors. One of them will soon start an ice production plant to sell ice to fisheries processors and entrepreneurs, the other two will establish cold storage systems and engage in processing and packaging of quality fish products. With the TASAF⁴³ funds, we are building modern markets with ample fish stores and cold storage facilities in selected fishing communities. We have allocated land to VETA to start a technical college where people will learn and acquire skills and simple technologies for starting and running small-scale processing and packing activities. With LVEMP II⁴⁴ and some NGOs we are starting pilot projects targeting the improvement of the processing and packaging of quality Dagaa to enable fishers to curb post-harvest losses and fetch good prices. These initiatives and the fisheries extension services that will soon be carried out throughout the fisheries sections give rise to positive changes in the performance and productivity of our fishers.

It is clear from the ongoing expositions that access to and use of the fisheries infrastructure and facilities improve the capacities of local actors to participate actively and gainfully in their specific fisheries sections. However, while the government in general undertakes efforts to establish such infrastructure and facilities, the conscious and/or unconscious decisions of specific government agencies and officials have had consequences. In fact, the decisions of government agencies and officials not to invest back into the fisheries sections, and their limited support for and coordination of capable and interested private and social enterprises to invest in the establishment of fisheries infrastructure, eventually contribute to depriving local actors of opportunities and facilities to use to improve their performance and productivity.

5.2.3 Deprived of opportunities to acquire and control financial capital

Local actors need financial capital for supporting the operations of their productive fisheries activities and meeting personal, family and community needs. The opportunities through which local actors acquire financial capital include (i) systems of exchange or trading of their labour, services and products, (ii) personal and business loan facilities, and (iii) financial support/grants from individuals, families, social networks, government and private organisations. However, the study participants noted several conditions and factors that impede and/or deprive local actors from obtaining opportunities through which they can access and control financial resources. Such constraining

⁴³ TASAF is an acronym for the Tanzania Social Action Fund. TASAF was established in 2000 to facilitate and build the capacities of key actors and stakeholders involved in poverty-reduction initiatives. It funds community-driven socio-economic development projects with the view to empower poor individuals and vulnerable households to move out of poverty and meet their basic human needs. TASAF also funds the establishment and/or improvement of socio-economic infrastructure in the health, education, water and other productive sectors to enhance the well-being and capacities of the poor and vulnerable individuals and households to overcome their unfortunate poverty situations. TASAF operates throughout the country, supporting community-driven projects across all sectors, including agriculture, health, roads, education, irrigation, water, food security, HIV/AIDS and the environment. (<http://www.tasaf.org>, accessed on 05.06.2014)

⁴⁴ LVEMP II is the Lake Victoria Environmental Management Project Phase II of the East African Community designed to achieve broad developmental and environmental objectives in the five East African countries sharing the Lake Victoria basin. Through this trans-boundary project, the local communities dependent on the natural resources of the Lake Victoria basin are facilitated to reduce environmental stresses, and to improve and/or establish alternative livelihood sources and means. (<http://lvemp.eac.int/what-is-lvemp-ii/>, accessed on 05.06.2014)

conditions and factors include (i) fragile markets and prices of fish and fish products, (ii) presence of greedy and dishonest fish buyers, (iii) presence of exploitative employers and creditors, and (iv) inadequate financing opportunities.

5.2.3.1 Fragile markets and/or prices of fish

Local actors identified fragile markets and the price of fish and fish products as one of the main conditions constraining them from acquiring and controlling enough financial resources. The overall score for this aspect was 54% and it ranked third (cf. Table 5.1). It got high scores from fishing vessel owners (78%), fish traders and transporters (65%), and fish catchers (56%). These local actors expressed concern and frustration with regard to the fragile markets for their fish and fish products, and underlined the extent to which unstable and fluctuating prices negatively influence their operations and profits. In particular, Nile perch and Dagaa traders, although accepting the supremacy of market forces and especially the demand and supply principle, still held that market imperfections in the form of the deliberate actions of greedy actors contribute to the unpredictability of the prices of fish and fish products.

With regard to the fluctuation of prices and its impact on the agency and well-being of local actors, a Nile perch-buying agent remarked in a frustrated mood:

We enjoy free enterprise and a free market but it is delicate and unpredictable, leading to many frustrations. Imagine I had recently bought about 4 tons of Nile perch at TZS 2 500 per kilo and was hoping to get between TZS 4 000 and 5 000 per kilo at the factory. Surprisingly, when I got there, they offered me TZS 3 200 per kilo and about 15 kg of my fish was rejected as poor quality. This was a bad offer, but they said the price of fish fillets in Europe had declined too! This is frustrating and retards my efforts and progress.

Likewise, Nile perch petty traders (*machinga*) unveiled their frustration with the fragility of markets and fish prices. During their FGD, one participant recalled the trends of price fluctuations in 2012 and stated:

The months of January to April had good prices. We could buy 1 kg of quality Nile perch from fishers for between TZS 2 500 and 2 800 and sell to the factory agent (super-dealer) for between TZS 3 300 and 3 700, so we could make on average TZS 500 per kilo. However, between May and this October 2012, the prices are down. The factory agents offer TZS 2 500, whereas the fishers want about TZS 2 300 ... that means we get only TZS 200 per kilo. This is very bad news, indeed!

One Dagaa trader also unveiled his experience with fluctuating prices of Dagaa and narrated the following during an inter-FGD with local actors in the fisheries sections:

I buy Dagaa here and sell them at Kirumba, Mwanza. That market is unpredictable. In June 2012, I sold 100 kg Dagaa at TZS 250 000; in August 2012, the price was very good and I sold the 100 kg for TZS 400 000. Then in December 2012, the market was full of Dagaa and so I had to accept TZS 200 000 for the 100 kg. This February 2013, I am not sure of the offer I am getting.

The respondents from the local government, market and civil society also identified fragile markets and fish prices as another main constraint facing local actors (cf. Table 5.1). This aspect scored high with members of the private sector (93%) and those from CSOs (91%), but low with administrators

and leaders (79%) and employed experts (68%). These respondents argued that market imperfections leading to fragile markets and prices deny local actors the freedom to demand a fair price for their products and one that takes into account the relevant costs incurred in the production processes, instead condemns them to become takers of any available prices and so causes them to make huge losses.

The media and empirical researches also reported the fact of the fragility of the markets and prices of fish products and the impact on the fish catchers and fish traders. For instance, Deus Bugaywa, writing for the weekly newspaper *Raia Mwema* on 20 June 2012, reported the drastic decline in prices from TZS 5 500 to TZS 2 500 per kilo of quality Nile perch that filleting companies offered, and said that fishers and traders boycotted this price because it was too low when compared with their operational costs. Specifically, Bugaywa (2012) reports of a fish dealer who was forced to accept TZS 3 500 per kilo of Nile perch, a price that was lower than the TZS 3 800 per kilo he had bought them at and not taking into consideration the transport and other costs incurred.

Similarly, Onyango *et al.* (2012) reported that the instability of the market and fish prices was one of the main problems fishers in Lake Victoria fisheries identified, and that it would require urgent measures if their performance and productivity were to improve. Onyango *et al.* (2012) found that fishers believed that fish market instability and the general offering of low prices were consequences of the greedy and monopolistic tendencies of fish buyers and/or limited competition and/or a purposeful design of the filleting companies and their buying agents to exploit them to earn more profits.

Overall, local actors were aware of the impact of the fragile markets and/or prices on their operations and prosperity. They also were aware of some deliberate actions of filleting companies and their agents to exploit them through low prices, but still revealed that they could not do much to redress the problem of market fragility and price fluctuations. They were determined to continue demanding government intervention to set minimum prices and, when convenient, to boycott unreasonably low prices.

5.2.3.2 The presence of greedy and dishonest fish buyers

Local actors identified the presence of greedy and dishonest fish buyers as another main condition constraining their access and control of financial capital. It scored 43% overall and ranked sixth (cf. Table 5.1). It was the fish catchers (60%), fishing vessel owners (56%) and fish traders and transporters (41%) who mentioned it the most. These respondents reported the presence of some fish-buying agents who deliberately cheated fishers by offering lower fish prices than those recommended by the fish-filleting factories and companies. They also reported other fish-buying agents who faulted their fish-weighing scales with the view to cheat on the weight of the measured fish. In both these

cases, the purposeful actions of these greedy and dishonest fish buyers resulted in losses of the rightful income of the fish catchers.

All Nile perch catchers were fully aware of being cheated through tampered fish-weighing scales that most fish buyers used, but disclosed their inability to reverse the situation. In fact, during the intra-FGD, the fish catchers argued:

We know they steal about 2 to 3 kg on every 10 kg but what do you do when you do not have alternatives and/or the power to change things? Where else can we sell our catches? After all, everybody tightens his weighing scales. The government leaders and officials know about this but what have they done? These buyers have money, power and can do whatever they want. We have no option, we cannot leave our fish to rot and so we accept to be cheated though it hurts!

The presence of dishonest fish buyers was also underscored by petty Nile perch traders (*wamachinga*), who revealed during their FGD that they experienced the same trend and adopted the trick of tightening their fish-weighing scales to get extra free kilos. One of them remarked:

It is a bad behaviour but what should we do when the super-dealers also cheat us? When we send our fish to super-dealers, we lose about 1 kg on every 3 kg; how do we compensate this loss if we do not do the same to the fishers? Inasmuch as we are unable to change the situation, we must share the losses involved.

The respondents from the local government, market and civil society identified the presence of greedy and dishonest fish buyers as one of the main constraints of local actors (cf. Table 5.1). This aspect was scored highly by the administrators and leaders (75%), members of the private sector (67%) and employed experts (65%). These respondents argued that blindly embracing the free market, non-compliance with government rules, disregard of the values of fairness, and the lack of fishers' cooperatives contributed to the emergence of greedy and dishonest fish buyers. In this regard, one fisheries officer argued:

The root of the problem is that fishers are not united and organised; there are no associations or cooperatives to embrace the interests and welfare of fishers and fairly market their products. If there were fishers' cooperatives, they would have taken control of fish marketing and thereby determined favourable market terms for fishers. Now, fish buyers have all the freedom and control over fish prices and so they do what they want. Besides, BMUs, which could have done a good job, are weak; as a result, fish buyers choose to use their faulted fish-weighing scales instead of the right and authorised fish-weighing scales held by BMUs. Given all these, we need to convince fishers to form cooperatives and/or strengthen BMUs so that they can carry out their legal duties well.

Onyango *et al.* (2012) and Kulindwa (2005) also reported the problem associated with dishonest fish buyers and factory agents. With regard to dishonest agents, Onyango *et al.* (2012: 11) found that “there is a big communication gap between fishermen and processing plants”, and that these buying agents “always take advantage of this gap by lowering the prices of fish”. In addition, Onyango *et al.* (2012: 10) revealed that factory agents hide vital information on fish prices recommended by fish-filleting factories in order to eventually “buy fish at a very low price almost half or less than half of the price offered at the filleting plants”. On his side, Kulindwa (2005: 17), who observed and verified

tampering with fish-weighing scales in Ukerewe and Bukoba districts, found that “the scale in Ukerewe shaved off 15% of the weight, while that in Bukoba took off 25% of a kilogram”. Given the aforementioned, Kulindwa (2005: 17) concluded, “if weighing scales were to measure correctly the weight of fish bought ..., then we should expect more money to be collected and fishermen to get paid more even without a price increase”.

The respondents indicated further that, on top of low prices, fish catchers lost about 3 kg (worth TZS 10 000) on every 10 kg sold to dishonest fish buyers. Thus, the offering of lower prices than those recommended, and the cheating through tampering with fish-weighing scales, eventually led to losses and low earnings of local actors.

5.2.3.3 Presence of trickery and exploitative employers and creditors

Local actors identified the presence of trickery and exploitative employers and creditors as another important condition constraining them from acquiring and controlling financial capital. It was ranked eighth after receiving 39% in the overall count presented in Table 5.1. The fish processors (49%), fishing vessel owners (42%), and fish traders and transporters (41%) reported it most. These respondents revealed, on the one hand, that local actors employed in the fisheries sections get tricked and exploited by their employers and, on the other hand, that local actors owning fisheries businesses get exploited by tricky creditors. In both cases, these respondents argued that local actors are robbed of their rightful income. Regarding the former case, for instance, the fishing crews who acknowledged that the formula to share the profits between the employers (60%) and crews (40%) was fair and acceptable, still claimed that some employers inflated expenditure to decrease the amount of profits to be shared in the 60:40 ratio and, as a result, they were deprived of their rightful share. Other respondents employed in the fish-processing and trading sections reported underpayment.

Owners of fisheries businesses reported high interest and stringent repayment conditions for borrowing money and/or fishing inputs from individual creditors and fish-buying agents, creating situations in which their creditors overcharge and deny them other options to make money. A respondent who had just graduated from using a paddled fishing vessel to a motorised one highlighted this point succinctly:

With the help of the fish-buying agent, I got the outboard engine worthy 5 million on the condition that I repay slowly by selling my fish catches to him. The past three months we were fine but he has recently tightened his weighing scale and offers the lowest price. Given the terms of our agreement, I cannot run away from him to get a better price; I have to bear the loss until I finish repayment.

The respondents from the local government, market and civil society also underlined the fact that trickery and exploitative employers and creditors in the fisheries sections obstructed local actors from obtaining important social and economic resources for improving their agency and well-being. Thus, 80% members of the private sector, 66% members of CSOs, 64% of the administrators and leaders

and 43% of the employed experts (cf. Table 5.1) reported having heard of employers and creditors who, in different forms, exploit their own workers and customers, thus making it hard for them to enjoy the fruits of their hard work in the fisheries sections.

That some employers and creditors execute trickery and exploitative measures to benefit from local actors has been noted and reported in empirical studies and in the media. Onyango *et al.* (2012) reported about employers in the fisheries sections that are only interested in making money and are uncaring about the socio-economic benefits of those working for them. In particular, Onyango *et al.* (2012) noted that some employers did not care about their sick fishing crews as not only did they deny them paid sick leave, but also they did not cover their treatment costs.

With regard to the trickery and exploitation of creditors, Karugendo (2004) highlighted the vicious cycle of strings and stringent terms and conditions that owners of fish-filleting companies and fish-buying agents design to benefit from the weak and small-scale fishers and traders through the credit facilities they offer them. It follows that, in those webs of exploitation championed by the trickery of employers and creditors, most local actors who work hard and in difficult situations fail to accumulate and control enough financial resources from the productive fisheries activities they undertake.

5.2.3.4 Inadequate financing opportunities

Local actors also identified inadequate financing opportunities as one of the main conditions constraining their access to financial capital, and ranked it seventh at 40% in the overall ranking presented in Table 5.1 above. This constraint was highlighted mostly by fish traders and transporters (54%), fishing vessel owners (49%) and makers and sellers of fishing inputs (45%). These participants revealed that local actors in the fishing sector have limited financing opportunities compared to local actors in other economic and productive sectors, and that these situations limit their access to financial resources. For instance, during their intra-FGD, owners of fishing vessels and gear elaborated on the financing limitations they experience:

We have several financial institutes here. There is one microfinance bank, four microfinance-lending companies and SACCOSs⁴⁵. The bank and SACCOSs provide saving and microcredit services to entrepreneurs. Whereas the bank lends entrepreneurs a maximum of 50 million shillings against monthly repayments for up to 24 months maximum, a well-established SACCOS lends a maximum of 15 million. However, the microfinance bank does not provide credit to fishers because they consider fishing a risky business. SACCOSs lend to their members who engage in fisheries. Thus, the only open formal credit facility for fishers is with SACCOSs, although the loanable amounts have little impact in boosting fisheries activities, given the high prices of fishing inputs.

Similarly, during his in-depth interview, a seller of fishing inputs noted with disappointment:

With the trend of high prices of fishing inputs, I need to raise my working capital to about 100 million, but where do I get that? My microfinance bank can only loan me 50 million maximum and

⁴⁵ SACCOS refers to the Savings and Credit Co-operative Societies, the financial organisations established and managed communally through which registered members save and borrow money for meeting their different socio-economic needs.

not now, as according to their policies I am yet to graduate to this level and have to wait to meet their criteria. With these limitations, I miss opportunities to do business and make money.

On the other hand, fish traders not only noted limited financing facilities, but also doubted the dependability of the few available. In line with this, during their FGD, one of the petty Nile perch traders (*wamachinga*) unveiled their worries about SACCOS:

We lack enough working capital but are also no reliable formal organizations from which we can borrow. The commercial banks do not finance fisheries activities and SACCOS are not reliable. We heard that two SACCOS went bankrupt and their members lost money. We therefore do not want to lose the little money we have so far generated.

In the same way, women fish traders underlined the likelihood of losing money, with financing institutes targeting them. One of them highlighted this issue, supported by others, during their FGD:

Other financing companies claiming to empower women are quite dangerous. They are not facilitating women to improve their small businesses and lives, but exploiting the little they have. In fact, the credit policies and conditions of some of these organisations are deceitfully designed and difficult to comply with, thus one is likely to lose instead of benefiting from the services on offer.

The consequence of limited formal financing facilities for fishers include, inter alia, their being exposed to other informal forms of financing whose terms and conditions are quite severe. In line with the aforesaid, one owner of fishing vessels told his story:

I have been saving money with one commercial bank and developed some good relationships. One day when my fishing inputs got stolen and needing to replace them, I went to my bank to request a loan of 10 million. My application was rejected on the basis that the bank does not finance fishing activities. Desperate as I was, I decided to borrow from an individual creditor. I got 7 million and agreed to return 8.5 million within three months. I replaced my gear and managed to repay all money before the deadline. While it is true that the interest fee of 1.5 million for a three-month 7 million loan is too much, what is one to do when in such a difficult situation?

The respondents from local government, the market and civil society identified inadequate financing opportunities as one of the main conditions limiting the agency of local actors in the fisheries sections. This was stated by 87% members of the private sector, 75% administrators and leaders, 73% employed experts, and 60% members of CSOs (cf. Table 5.1). While noting that it is important that people access financial services and credit for improving their income-generating activities, these respondents nevertheless revealed that local actors in productive fisheries activities have limited financing opportunities.

In particular, the respondents from the microfinance and commercial banks who revealed the commitment of their financial organisations to financing promising income-generating activities of local people to eventually overcome poverty and improve well-being, nonetheless reported the fact that their micro-finance and credit policies excluded fishing activities and therefore these activities were not financeable or loanable. Nevertheless, these respondents conceded that, with the lack of or limited formal financing facilities open to them, local actors were deprived of opportunities to raise

working capital to improve their income-generating fisheries activities to get better earnings, and that they are exposed to informal financing arrangements, some of which entail severe terms and conditions.

Generally, the local actors expected to acquire and control financial resources through the exchange or trading of their own labour, services and products. In fact, all 195 (100%) local actors reported to engage in productive fisheries activities (as investors and providers of services or as employees selling own labour and/or providing services) to be able to earn enough income to fulfil personal and household basic needs (cf. Tables 4.6 and 4.7). However, most local actors revealed that they held the weakest positions in the current exchange/trade system and had limited freedom to determine their own fates in general, and the prices of their own products and services in particular, the conditions that affect their opportunities to access and control financial resources.

A respected and influential community member also shared such perspectives. When analysing the situation and fate of the local fishers versus those of the rich fishers and buyers during his in-depth interview, he remarked:

Long are gone those days in which the voices of the weak and poor were heard and supported. We are now operating in the system in which the rich and powerful do and realise whatever they want, while the weakest are surviving at the mercy of these powerful actors. The local fishers are weak and denied those things that give them power and freedom to determine their fate in their fishing sector. They are not respected and supported, but the rich and powerful fishers receive all the necessary support. They lack essential facilities to process and preserve their fish and fish products, but the rich and powerful fishers and traders are equipped with good facilities. They are not listened to, but the 'ears' of the system always hear the voices of the rich and powerful fishers. When fishers lack all these, they have no choice but to accept whatever is offered.

Most local actors argued that the exchange or trading systems, in which they were price takers, denied them opportunities to earn enough income and that it should change to guarantee fairness. Subsequently, 178 (91%) of the 195 local actors expressed the desire to regain their freedom and capacity to determine prices for their own fish catches, fish products and/or services (cf. Table 4.5).

Formal and informal opportunities to access personal and business loans are also main sources of financial capital. The respondents revealed, on the one hand, that local actors face limitations in accessing formal credit facilities to improve their productive fisheries businesses, and on the other hand that the informal credit facilities they have access to embed stringent terms and conditions, thus in both cases access to sufficient financial resources is not guaranteed. These local actors argued that the policies of most financial organizations guiding micro- and small enterprise loans were biased towards certain socio-economic sectors and upheld terms and conditions intended to exclude fisheries entrepreneurs and thereby deny them opportunities to access financial resources to improve their businesses and lives.

In particular, the local fishers argued that claims by most formal financial institutes that ‘fishing is risky business’ and the condition that ‘the business must be in owned or rented premises within the area serviced by the financial institute to be eligible’ are usually invoked and/or emphasised with the intention to exclude fishing activities, which operate in the lake waters. In addition, these respondents wondered why farming activities, which depend on natural rain and are just as risky as the fishing activities, are loanable and that there are special policies and products⁴⁶ designed to accommodate and serve the financial needs of entrepreneurs in agribusinesses. Most local actors, however, believe that financing policies, regulations and the actions of most formal financing organisations embed negative views about small-scale fisheries and fishers that perpetuate their marginalisation.

Respondents from the micro-finance and commercial banks and SACCOSs conceded that their organisations view fishing as a risky business, and that they have some reservations in financing those participating in productive fisheries activities. Thus, no policies and products had been developed so far to cater for the specific financial needs of small-scale fishers. In fact, respondents from one micro-finance bank highlighted that, with their micro- and small enterprise loans it was possible to finance, for instance, income-generating activities of fish processors, fish traders and sellers of fishing inputs, but not those of fish catchers. These respondents argued that the former tend to be in physically identifiable premises, whereas the latter activities are not conducted on permanent physical premises and involve regular migrations making it hard to locate them to recover the bank’s money in case of defaults.

Respondents from the SACCOSs exposed contrasting approaches to the financing of small-scale fishers. Of the two SACCOSs whose representatives participated in this study, one SACCOS did not issue loans to its members who participated in fish catching because of the risky and migratory nature of the activity, while the other SACCOS regularly issued loans to such members. The respondents from this latter SACCOS argued that members participating in fish catching like all of their other members, had the right to credit, provided they met set criteria.

Financial support received from individuals, families and social networks, as well as small grants from the local government and private organisations, were the other sources through which local actors accrued financial resources to run their productive fisheries activities. Some local actors revealed they had received financial support from relatives, friends and government organisations

⁴⁶ When discussing financing issues and opportunities for improving productive fisheries activities, these study participants frequently referred me to the innovative solutions and deliberate actions by the National Microfinance Bank (NMB) to support growth and wealth creation through agribusinesses and wondered why the same were not initiated in the fishing sector. NMB designed and implements an agriculture financing policy through which individual and group farmers, agriculture input suppliers, agro-processors, traders and exporters are able to access financial resources to improve their agribusinesses. NMB products designed specifically to meet the needs of actors in the agricultural sector include the warehouse receipt finance product, out-growers loan schemes, the NMB Kilimo Account, and short-term loans and working capital. (http://www.nmbtz.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=243&Itemid=242), accessed on 06.05.2014).

when they initiated or revived their fisheries businesses. For instance, the eight women Dagaa traders unveiled the following sources of their working capital: three had received financial support from their partners and/or relatives, two from self-help groups, and three had received small grants from the District Council's Women and Youth funds. However, the respondents noted both the inadequacy of the grants and their bias towards specific socio-economic sectors and gender.

With regard to bias towards economic sectors and gender, for instance, fish catchers and traders said they had heard that the District Council's Women and Youth Grants supported initiatives of women and youth engaging in farming, gardening and livestock keeping, but not in fishing activities. In response to these issues, a respondent from the department that hosts and issues these grants highlighted:

While the District Council is required to set aside 10% of internal revenues each year as revolving funds to support women and youth entrepreneurs, we get less than that and so are unable to meet the needs of all eligible people. Besides, these funds support the district's priority socio-economic sectors, which currently happen to be mainly agricultural activities to increase food production. The little funds and prioritised sectors then condition our current issuance of financial support to women and youth entrepreneurs.

Whereas current arrangements in the fishing sector encompass many opportunities through which local actors can acquire and control financial resources, there is evidence suggesting that local actors face several constraints in using those opportunities. Table 5.3 below highlights the knowledge and use of available opportunities to acquire and control financial resources by local actors in the fisheries sections.

Table 5.3: Local actors' knowledge and use of opportunities to acquire financial resources

Issues and services	Means and service providers	Catchers n=95	Processors n=43	Traders n=42	Transporters n=4	Makers & sellers n=11	Total n=195	
Save money	Use banks	26	12	10	02	04	54	28%
	Use SACCOS/VICOBA	14	10	06	01	02	33	17%
	Use self-help groups	20	25	12	02	04	63	32%
	Use trusted individuals and companies	12	06	06	01	01	26	13%
	Use a registered mobile phone account	23	19	32	04	08	86	44%
Borrow money	From banks	06	03	02	00	04	15	8%
	From SACCOS/VICOBA	14	10	05	01	02	32	16%
	From self-help groups	20	25	08	02	04	59	30%
	From trusted individuals and companies	23	16	21	04	06	70	36%
Mode of transfer and payment of money when distant	Use banks	12	07	13	02	02	36	18%
	Use mobile phone (M-Pesa, Tigo Pesa)	66	36	30	04	11	147	75%
	Use trusted individuals	08	06	14	02	04	24	12%
Means for raising capital to invest in fisheries activities	Borrow from a bank	06	03	02	00	04	15	8%
	Borrow from SACCOS/VICOBA	14	10	05	01	02	32	16%
	Borrow from fishing company and agents	19	08	18	00	04	49	25%
	Borrow from self-help groups	20	12	12	02	04	50	26%
	Own savings and/or selling off assets	13	09	23	04	08	57	29%
	Grants from government/private organisations	00	00	04	00	00	04	02%

Source: Field data, 2012 – 2013

Local actors exhibited awareness of the available formal and informal opportunities to save, borrow and transfer money. However, Table 5.3 shows that, despite having knowledge about the services provided by formal financial organisations, about two third of these local actors still opted to use informal arrangements to save and borrow money. Further, it reveals that local actors have adapted well to the technology of saving, sending and receiving money through mobile phones, as more people reported to have acquired mobile phones, registered SIM cards and increasingly using M-Pesa, Tigo Pesa and Airtel Money⁴⁷ accounts to save, send, receive and withdraw money.

It is further indicated in Table 5.3 that, although 54 (27%) of the 195 local actors used formal banks to save money, only 15 (28%) of these had had opportunities to borrow money from these banks to raise their working capital. In contrast, 32 (97%) of the 33 local actors who reported to be saving money with SACCOS/VICOBA revealed that they had had opportunities to borrow money from these organisations to increase their working capital or meet urgent financial obligations.

In addition, 129 (66%) of the 195 local actors reported turning to their self-help groups (59) and/or trusted rich individuals and/or fish-buying agents (70) to borrow money to meet their critical financial needs. Borrowing from formal financial organisations and lending companies is not local actors' favoured option and means for raising financial resources. In fact, 160 (82%) of these 195 local actors did not use formal financial organisations and lending companies to generate financial resources for investing in the productive fisheries activities. Instead, the investment capital was generated through own savings and/or income from selling assets (57), borrowing money and/or inputs from sellers of fishing inputs or fish buying agents (49), borrowing money from informal self-help groups (50), and grants received from the local government (4).

It is evident from the above that formal sources of accessing personal and business loans are not open to most local actors, and as a result these local actors turn to informal sources, most of which embed stringent terms and conditions. The former case results from the prevailing financial and credit policies of the organisations involved, which currently do not provide for opportunities to finance productive fisheries activities. With these two scenarios, local actors experience inadequate and/or limited opportunities to acquire and control financial capital.

5.2.4 Deprived of opportunities to acquire, enhance and utilise knowledge

Knowledge is vital for any meaningful and successful participation in socio-economic and productive activities. Accordingly, opportunities to acquire, enhance and utilise knowledge are critical for improving the performance and productivity of local actors in the fisheries sections. The respondents revealed that local actors have both limited competences and opportunities to enhance them.

⁴⁷ M-Pesa, Tigo Pesa and Airtel Money are facilities established by mobile phone operating companies through which people with formally registered mobile SIM cards can save, withdraw and transfer money. M-Pesa belongs to Vodacom Tanzania, Tigo Pesa belongs to Tigo Tanzania, and Airtel Money belongs to Airtel Tanzania.

Local actors themselves identified limited competences for the successful running of their fisheries activities as one of their main constraints. It was ranked twelfth, with 25% in the ranking in Table 5.1. The makers and sellers of inputs (36%), fish traders and transporters (35%) and fishing vessel owners (29%) mentioned it most. These respondents admitted to having limited entrepreneurial and business management skills; limited knowledge of national fisheries policy and regulations; limited knowledge on forming and managing cooperatives, trade unions and business partnerships; and limited knowledge about investment and banking.

Further, these local actors revealed that their limited competences eventually affect their productive capabilities and performance. In line with the aforesaid, the owners of fishing vessels discussed the competence-related challenges they faced, and one of them highlighted:

We are running these fishing activities and employ many people⁴⁸. These workers have different behaviours and interests and so good management skills and wisdom are required to manage them effectively. Given that some of us are not highly educated nor trained in human or business management, we use experience and/or rely on the advice we get from our camp supervisors, who sometimes fail us. Due to limited human management skills, we sometimes fail to deal with our skilled and hardworking but troublesome fishing crews and, as a result, we lose them.

Other local actors revealed other competence-related challenges that often expose them to a disadvantage when confronted by corrupt fisheries law enforcers. One respondent, supported by his fellows in their FGD, revealed:

Sometimes trickery and corrupt law enforcers take advantage of our ignorance of certain fisheries regulations to threaten us about taking stringent legal actions, or to demand a bribe. Not knowing the relevant regulations, we fail to challenge their corrupt intentions and negotiate for better outcomes for us and, as a result, we give in and offer a bribe to avoid legal action.

Fish processors and traders unveiled that their lack of knowledge about the availability and use of low-cost technologies and methods for processing and preserving raw fish had an impact on their efforts to produce quality fish and fish products to fetch better prices and/or secure new markets. In addition, fish traders admitted needing to learn and acquire better entrepreneurial and business management competences to confidently face and deal with increasing challenges in doing fisheries business. Table 5.4 below highlights the state of access to and use of expert advice by local actors in fisheries.

Whereas the District Council employs personnel with diverse expertise for managing and facilitating development of the fishing sector and the people participating in it, Table 5.4 below highlights that those officers and agencies were of little use in matters of providing current knowledge on the state of fisheries resources and expert advice on effective management of the productive fisheries activities. In fact, only 28 (14%) of the 195 local actors said they had actually turned to government officers and agencies to seek such knowledge and expert advice. Other local actors sought such knowledge and

⁴⁸ Each of these five owners employs between 40 and 70 people to do fish catching and perform other work at fishing camps.

expert advice from other sources – 22 (11%) sought advice from BMUs, 16 (08%) from CBOs and NGOs, 32 (16%) from leaders of political parties in the area, and 40 (21%) from media and organisations with specialized fisheries knowledge.

Table 5.4: Local actors' knowledge and use of institutionalised services in fisheries

Issues and services	Means and service providers	vessel owners n=45	Fish catchers n=50	Processors n=43	Traders n=42	Transporters n=4	Makers & sellers n=11	Total n=195	
Logging in complaints, dissatisfaction and illegality of implemented management measures	Through government officers and agencies	36	19	16	13	01	08	93	48%
	Through Beach Management Units (BMUs)	19	28	15	03	01	01	67	34%
	Through CBO and NGO representatives	11	02	08	05	00	06	32	16%
	Through leaders of political parties	21	10	16	03	00	05	55	28%
	Through respected elders and site leaders	23	36	16	09	01	02	87	45%
Seeking knowledge and expert advice on fisheries resources and effective management of fishing activities	From government officers and agencies	04	09	08	04	01	02	28	14%
	From Beach Management Units (BMUs)	08	05	04	02	01	02	22	11%
	From CBO and NGO representatives	02	07	02	04	00	01	16	08%
	From leaders of political parties in the area	05	02	10	13	00	02	32	16%
	From media and specialised organizations	11	16	05	02	02	04	40	21%
Seeking help to resolve business or labour-related disputes and conflicts	Through government officers and agencies	17	23	04	06	01	06	57	29%
	Through Beach Management Unit (BMUs)	07	31	03	03	01	01	46	24%
	Through leaders of CBOs and NGOs	01	03	02	02	00	02	10	05%
	Through leaders of political parties	15	19	13	11	00	03	61	31%
	Through respected elders and site leaders	26	39	14	23	03	06	111	57%

Source: Field data, 2012 – 2013

Eighty-nine percent (89%) of the administrators and leaders, 83% of the CSO members, 80% of the members of the private sector, and 78% of the employed experts also identified a lack of or limited competence as one of the main conditions constraining local actors from successfully running their productive fisheries activities (cf. Table 5.1). These respondents argued that most local actors use experience and common sense to run their productive fisheries activities and that they need to acquire basic competence in entrepreneurship, marketing and business management, quality control and value addition, sustainable fisheries practices, investment and financial management, and cooperatives.

At the same time, 78 (40%) of the 195 local actors who reported having great interest in acquiring useful knowledge and skills to successfully run their productive fisheries activities (cf. Table 4.5) also reported the challenges of securing opportunities through which they can gain the relevant knowledge, information and skills for improving their productive capabilities. The identified challenges include a lack of enough information about places and organisations endowed with relevant knowledge and services, unavailability of competent personnel and organisations to impart the required knowledge and skills, and the high cost involved in securing those opportunities.

With regard to the lack of adequate information, for instance, some local actors who wanted to formally register and/or insure their productive fisheries businesses did not have enough information on how to go about doing it, nor of the government and/or private agencies involved. Those who wanted to acquire low-cost fish processing and packaging technologies also could not locate the enterprises that develop or sell these technologies and related tools.

Regarding the unavailability of competent personnel and organisations, for instance, some fishing crews who wanted to educate themselves about the national fisheries policy and regulations, fisheries resources and the ecosystem, and sustainable fishing practices claimed that the fisheries officers and agencies with specialised fisheries knowledge were not reaching out to them to share the knowledge. Regarding the high cost of securing modern technology and enhancing competence, for instance, some fish catchers and processors who wanted to adopt modern methods of processing quality fish and fish products believed the costs of acquiring the knowledge, technology and related equipment to start up modern fish processing were too high to be borne by individuals.

The 95 (82%) of 115 respondents from the local government, market and civil society organisations who identified a lack of or limited competence as one of the main constraints of local actors underlined that the limited opportunities for local actors to improve their productive capabilities resulted partly from the failure of responsible and competent personnel and agencies to play their roles. In line with this, for instance, a participant in an inter-FGD of members of the civil society highlighted:

Our small-scale fishers are not progressing because they lack 'knowhow' and those who are supposed to impart such knowhow are not doing it. Several fisheries officers have been recruited, but we never hear about them visiting fishers to educate them on pressing fisheries issues. Instead, we regularly hear and read that they have confiscated and/or destroyed some assets of fishers caught in illegal and unsustainable fishing practices. Why do we expect fishers to comply with fisheries regulations and sustainable fishing practices when they are not educated about them?

Similarly, a highly placed official admitted to the fact of limited fisheries extension and said:

We have had good extension services in the agriculture and livestock sectors, but limited in fisheries. Now, with the increased number of fisheries staff we plan to strengthen the extension unit, to design and implement extension programmes to give small-scale fishers competence to undertake profitable and sustaining fishing activities. ... We are determined to improve the fishing sector and the lives of our people and so I have instructed my fisheries staff to gauge and engross the expertise and experience of other departments to design and implement relevant extension programs for actors in the fisheries sections.

In general, following the failure of competent and responsible persons and organisations of the government, market and civil society to establish opportunities for transferring knowledge, skills and technologies, most local actors become deprived of opportunities for improving their capacities to function better in the fisheries sections. In turn, these local actors remain with limited abilities to unlock wealth, make informed choices and become competent and responsible actors in the fisheries

sections. With these limited competences, other local actors naively continue to have a negative impact on the ecosystem, biodiversity and fisheries resources, and fail to negotiate for their rights and freedoms in the fishing sector.

5.2.5 Deprived of opportunities to acquire, enhance and utilise social capital

Membership of social and occupational groups and networks is in itself an asset and source of other socio-economic assets. Local actors require greater social capital to be guaranteed access to and control over other forms of resources required for participating efficiently in the productive fisheries activities. Consequently, opportunities to acquire, enhance and utilise social capital are important for improving the productive capabilities of local actors.

Most local actors revealed they practically learned and acquired relevant competence and useful information on running their productive fisheries activities and on general conduct and living from relatives, friends and colleagues in their social and occupational groups and networks, and that, in times of difficulties, they confidently turned to these groups and networks for support. Tables 5.3 and 5.4, for instance, highlight the roles of informal social networks in the work and life of these local actors.

While there are well-established formal systems that can be used to redress their socio-economic challenges, 111 (57%) of the 195 local actors revealed that they turn to respected elders and leaders in their networks to seek assistance to resolve emerging business or labour-related disputes (cf. Table 5.4). Also, 59 (30%) of the 195 local actors saved money with and in cases of financial difficulties borrowed money from informal self-help groups (cf. Table 5.3), and 50 (26%) borrowed from their self-help groups to raise capital to invest or re-invest in the productive fisheries activities (cf. Table 5.3), instead of saving with and borrowing from formal financial organisations.

Moreover, local actors exhibited a good understanding of the fact that social capital is nurtured and better enhanced through well-established and functioning social and occupational groups and networks. They also understood that these groups and networks played important roles in enhancing their access to and use of social, economic and political opportunities to expand individual and group capabilities, and in undertaking collective actions to promote their interests and agenda for improving the general welfare of their social and occupational groups and networks. These respondents nevertheless reported that they were constrained from establishing strong social groups and initiating collective actions to demand the redress of their pressing socio-economic and occupational challenges.

In line with the aforementioned, the local actors identified limited cooperation among themselves as one of their main constraints. This was scored highly by fishing vessel owners (42%), fish catchers (26%) and fish traders and transporters (22%). It was ranked eleventh, after scoring 26% in the overall

standings presented in Table 5.1. These respondents illustrated that the lack of strong unity and limited cooperation among them was in itself a main constraint and contributed to the emergency of other constraints. During their inter-FGD, for instance, one fishing vessel owner argued:

We fail to redress our challenges because we lack strong unity. We cannot influence government decisions and plans in the fishing sector if we do not unite and jointly push our agendas. Some of us have been embarking on fighting illegal and destructive fishing practices, but have we succeeded? No! We cannot succeed when we work in isolation. We need to be a big army! The elders' wisdom is 'unity is strength', thus unless we cooperate and form a strong union we will continue failing, and eventually fail our grandchildren who may not enjoy the same socio-economic benefits from these fisheries resources.

In their intra-FGD, the fishing crews, recalling their past failings in dealing with their challenges, unanimously supported the position of one respondent, who concluded:

Our 'witch' is disunity. We experience exploitation and humiliation because we are not united. Our indifferences and divisions are costing us. We must change!

On the other hand, the long-time serving fisherman and leader of an informal fishing group highlighted what preceded and underlay their initiatives to form their current fishing group and the envisioned big corporation of fishers.

My associates and I saw that the challenges in the fishing sector are too many and difficult to be handled by individual fishers. We chatted and resolved to join efforts to cooperatively deal with pressing issues such as costly fishing gear, insecurity and theft, exploitative buyers, and high operational costs. Having noted that we actually need each other, the rich fishers and we, the less fortunate fishers, agreed to support each other and so formed this partnership. With this cooperation, we make good arrangements to facilitate the less fortunate fishers' access to and owning of modern fishing gear to improve performance and productivity. They also have access to guaranteed markets and good prices of their catches, as we jointly collect, preserve and sell directly to contracted fish-filleting companies. We also share reasonably the operational costs and have jointly initiated armed security patrols to oversee and guard our properties and crews from bandits ... we hope more fishers learn the benefits of cooperation and sooner or later join us in order to form a big and powerful association of fishers.

The respondents from the local government, market and civil society also identified the lack of unity and limited cooperation among fishers as another main constraint of local actors (cf. Table 5.1). These administrators and leaders (93%), CSO members (74%), members of the private sector (60%) and employed experts (49%) held that disunity and a lack of formal representation denies these local actors opportunities to negotiate and jointly promote their interests and important agendas. Furthermore, these respondents noted that it was hard to meet and facilitate disorganised fishers to redress their pressing challenges, and urged for the formation of fishers' associations.

The media and empirical studies have also underlined the fact that disunity and/or limited cooperation among fishers exposes them to many disadvantages. For instance, having examined the strained relationship between small-scale fishers, owners of filleting companies and fish-buying agents, Karugendo (2004) determined that the bargaining power of individual fishers and fish traders was insignificant in influencing fish prices, and hence they had no option but to accept the lower prices

offered by filleting companies and their agents. Karugendo (2004) argues that such trends would change only when small-scale fishers form strong associations whose activities would include, *inter alia*, bargaining for better prices and marketing fish and fish products. On the other hand, Onyango *et al.* (2012), who found that fishers could not jointly protest against vividly unfair and exploitative practices by buying agents, such as offering low prices and intentionally faulting fish-weighing scales, established that the problem of a lack of cooperation amongst small-scale fishers is historical, but needs redress.

Given the importance that group membership and well-established and functioning associations play in enhancing their members' access to and use of social, economic and political opportunities to expand individual and group capabilities, institutions and organisations in the fishing sector are expected to improve and safeguard opportunities through which local actors access membership to the social groups/networks of their choice. Accordingly, these institutions and organisations have to protect and guarantee local actors in their efforts to access and utilise social and occupational group memberships to acquire and build the entitlements and productive capabilities they need to function efficiently in the fisheries sections.

Contrary to the above, local actors argued that relevant and competent personnel and organisations are doing little to provide them with the capacity to establish strong social and occupational groups, and that their membership in certain social and occupational groups and networks is turned into the basis for their exclusion from socio-economic opportunities and political processes. These respondents observed, on the one hand, that membership of most social groups related to fisheries worked against their advantage, partly because of the prevailing fisheries policy and legal framework, which marginalised and denounced some traditional fishing knowledge, methods and practices. On the other hand, these respondents reported that the behaviour and actions of other local actors and stakeholders severely undermined the ability of capable collective agencies to maintain their status quo and the benefits they currently enjoyed in the fisheries sections.

Local actors who openly conceded to having limited or no formal knowledge of forming and managing legal associations and cooperatives, claimed to have not been facilitated to establish strong social groups and networks by those with the expertise and official mandate to do so in the district government. These respondents noted, for instance, that the employed staff with understanding and expertise in cooperatives, trade unions and business partnerships were not reaching out and facilitating them with expert advice on forming, strengthening and even formalising the informal social and occupational groups and networks they currently were running. These respondents argued that, with their limited competence, it becomes difficult to convince and get committed people to join already formed groups or to initiate and run powerful associations.

In line with the above, for instance, new fishing vessel owners, while fully aware of the benefits associated with joining an already well-functioning informal fishing group, still unveiled their unpreparedness to join because of competence-related challenges, as one of the participants in their FGD hinted:

Joining a partnership like that of [X] helps to widen opportunities for growth but it can also lead to complete collapse ... We are currently afraid of joining them because we lack a good understanding of forming and operating business partnerships, and have limited skills to manage those powerful and wealthy fishers. We have to learn first.

Traditional fish catchers underscored the role of the current fisheries policy and legal framework in marginalising and weakening small-scale fishers and thereby depriving them of the capacity to establish and run strong fishers' associations. In their FGDs, these traditional fishers pointed out that, in a situation in which the existing fisheries regulations and management system regard and treat their fishing activities as illegal, it is difficult to establish meaningful and legal fishers' associations. In particular, one traditional fish catcher commented during their FGD:

The government label and treat us as illegal fishers, and since we are in constant confrontation with the fisheries managers and do not know our fates, we lose confidence and none of us gets interested in forming and running an association, believing the government will not allow it.

These traditional fish catchers claimed that, in a situation in which the fisheries managers continuously marginalise and denounce their traditional fishing knowledge, methods and fisheries resources conservation practices, and confiscate and/or destroy their fishing tools, they experience lowliness and powerlessness as individuals and an occupational group. They maintained that, since most people do not want to be associated with lowly social groups, it becomes difficult to attract and initiate solidarity among traditional fishers.

The local actors also disclosed cases in which their membership in the fisheries sections and groups worked against them. These respondents identified the case in which institutional policies and regulations explicitly deny small-scale fishers access to formal financial credit and insurance services, not based on an individual's incapacity and unworthiness of services, but based on group membership. They also identified the case in which female collectors and sun-dryers of Dagaa (*wasombangese*) are marginalised, bullied, mistreated and banned from undertaking such activities because of the general belief that they engage in prostitution. These respondents emphasised that such marginalisation and disrespectful treatment in both of the above cases have a negative impact on the human dignity of those individuals, and may destroy the spirit of occupational solidarity to the extent of obstructing individuals from identifying themselves with their fellows through joining or forming and running occupational groups and networks.

Other respondents argued that the behaviour and actions of some other local actors and stakeholders hindered the establishment of capable collective agencies and associations. Some respondents hinted that the deceitful and exploitative employers, buyers and creditors and those engaging in illegal and

destructive fishing are afraid that the establishment of strong and well-functioning occupational associations will eventually empower, engage and lead their members to overcome their socio-economic and occupational challenges from which they (the employers) are currently benefiting. Wanting to maintain the status quo, those actors and stakeholders make efforts to disrupt any initiative towards the establishment of strong and well-functioning associations. In their interviews and discussions, past and present leaders of BMUs highlighted the perspective referred to above when they cogently argued that the ineffectiveness of BMUs is mainly a result of sabotage by ‘bad’ people. An ex-BMU leader illustrated the case of this disruption and ineffectiveness of BMUs when narrating his experience:

We did a good job during our tenure. Gaining the trust and support of many actors and stakeholders, we did surveillance, monitoring and managed to reduce cases of the use of beach seines and poisonous chemicals in fishing. We banned the use of faulted fish-weighing scales, introduced and demanded the use of BMU-registered fish weighing-scales only, while ensuring that fishers are paid fairly and in time. We recorded and monitored the movements of fishers between beaches, thus reducing the movement of stolen fishing vessels and engines. We attended to labour-related complaints and ensured employees in the fisheries sections were paid their claims. We ensured peaceful co-existence and cooperation between fishers and villagers, and supervised cleanliness at the beach. Most fishers and villagers were happy with us, but other stakeholders were not. In particular, some fish-buying agents, employers, bureaucrats and political leaders were not happy with us. Claiming that we were too strict and a threat to their interests and positions, they successfully lobbied and campaigned against our re-election. The new BMU leadership has been ineffective since day one, and the use of illegal and destructive fishing, faulty weighing scales and other malpractices are back, with huge negative impacts on people and fisheries resources.⁴⁹

Other respondents stressed experiences of being cheated, exploited and sabotaged by fellow actors in the fisheries sections, and argued that because of the suspicion and mistrust amongst local actors, it was difficult for some people to confidently decide to be associated with those cunning individuals. Generally, these local actors argued that, with enhanced social capital, their access to and control of other socio-economic resources for improving their functioning would improve. They nevertheless were aware that, unless the prohibitive actions or inactions of some other key actors and stakeholders were brought to a halt, those actions and inactions would continue producing conditions that significantly hinder them from acquiring, enhancing and utilising social capital in their respective fisheries sections.

5.2.6 Deprived of opportunities to generate wealth and flourish

The local people viewed opportunities to invest and/or work in the fisheries sections as opportunities to generate wealth and contribute to personal and community prosperity. Table 4.6 points to the fact that all 195 (100%) of the local actors participated in the productive fisheries activities to be able to

⁴⁹ Indeed, when discussing BMU issues, the study participants in this area would recall the good job done by the past BMU leadership, denounce the current BMU leadership, and then argue that BMUs must take care of the interests of their members, especially the weak, instead of focusing on and fulfilling only the interests of the powerful and rich members or the government.

earn an income, to enjoy the fruits of their hard work and to flourish. In particular, 100 (51%) local actors, most of whom had invested in the productive fisheries activities, also wanted to be able to generate wealth and to prosper. However, for most of the local actors, becoming wealthy and prosperous entailed having the capacity to meet personal and household basic needs, to initiate and run several income-generating activities, and generally to become self-reliant or self-sufficient in essential human needs. Thus, local actors invested and/or worked in the fisheries sections with the view to earn enough income to invest in income-generating enterprises and important assets, such as livestock and land, and all these assets were likely to provide security for them in the future.

Notwithstanding the aforesaid, the reality as revealed by the real-life experiences of local actors and presented in Table 4.7 (Chapter 4), shows that rich fish catchers, processors and traders, as well as prosperous households and communities, have not yet emerged in the district. In fact, Table 4.7 reveals that only one third of the 195 local actors earned and saved enough money to undertake profitable investments. These included the 22% who invested in non-fish income-generating activities such as guesthouses, hotels, rental houses and taxi businesses, the 30% who expanded and/or started new fish-related businesses, and the 39% who bought valuable assets such as livestock, cars and motorbikes.

Furthermore, there were cases of local actors who had spent two or three decades working in the fisheries sections and yet had not been able, for instance, to realise their valued goal of improving and/or building good quality houses. In fact, given the many challenges they encountered in their productive fisheries activities, other local actors concluded that the fisheries activities were no longer offering them opportunities to generate wealthy and flourish, but rather only some form of minimal welfare. These respondents attributed the declining opportunities to generate wealth to the current trend of decline in fisheries resources and the limited support from government and civil society organisations to resolve some of their pressing challenges.

5.2.6.1 Decline of fisheries resources

The sustained and profitable operations of fish-related businesses depend on the constant availability and supply of fisheries resources (McGoodwin, 2001). In the context of the Ukerewe fisheries, the declining supplies of fisheries resources have a severe effect on the productive fisheries activities, and subsequently on the generation of wealth. Local actors identified the decline of fish stocks and fish catches as one of their main constraints. It scored an overall of 51% and ranked fourth in importance, as presented in Table 5.1 above. It scored 82% with the makers and sellers of fishing inputs, 54% with fish traders and transporters, 49% with fish processors, 48% with fish catchers, and 47% with fishing vessel owners. These respondents reported a sharp decline in the number and size of fish catches, and said that fish catchers currently spend more resources (e.g. fuel and time) to catch only a few fish.

In line with the aforementioned, for instance, Nile perch-fishing crews reported that they travelled long distances, used more fuel and spent many hours and/or days in the deep waters, only to catch three or four times less fish than they caught in the previous three years. The Nile perch-fishing crews illustrated the afore-stated fact during their FGD as follows:

We returned yesterday from the deep waters with 70 kg of Nile perch after spending three days of hard work and about 100 litres of petrol. In the past with 100 litres, we could catch about 500 kg.

Traditional fisher catchers (*wabigo* and *wakokozi*) were also experiencing a decline of catches. For instance, the *wabigo* revealed the following during their FGD:

Currently we do not catch many fish. For example, we used to have good catches of Tilapia in the months of February to May, when one could catch between 20 and 50 kg per day, but these years we catch less than 10 kg. With this catch, we do not make good money.

Fish processors and traders also experienced a decline in fish catches, which in turn had an impact on their performance, as a Nile perch-buying agent revealed:

It seems the lake's fish stock is in decline because fishers these days catch fewer fish than they used to in the past. It has been two weeks now and my 5 ton truck is not yet full. In the past, I could fill it in two days. In this way my business turnover goes slowly and I fail to meet my targets, while spending more time and money and in the end making small profits.

The decline in fish catches was also felt by and had an impact on the businesses of the makers and sellers of fishing inputs. These makers and sellers reported that they no longer received many orders to make boats and related accessories and/or sold a lot of fishing gear and related accessories, because fishers were reducing investments because of the small catches they were experiencing. These respondents emphasised that, with few orders and sales of fishing inputs their businesses are unstable and their income declines.

At the same time, while acknowledging that fish prices for Nile perch, Tilapia and Dagaa have improved recently in comparison to what they were in the past, most local actors believed that, with the current prices, they would make more money if they could only make good catches. However, a male respondent with 17 years in Nile perch fishery highlighted and cautioned:

Of course, in the past, we made good catches but the price was very low. We could catch 2 tons of Nile perch in 5 days but with the rate of TZS 1 200 per 1 kg, we could only earn TZS 2 400 000. With the current price of TZS 4 000 per 1 kg, if one catches 2 tons, he would earn TZS 8 000 000. Thus, it is not only the issue of more or less catches but also the fish prices on offer. When you count the operational costs, today it is more costly to catch 2 tons than it was in the past.

Respondents from the local government, market and civil society identified the decline of fish stocks and fish catches as another main constraint of local actors. Members of the private sector (80%), CSOs members (71%), administrators and leaders (68%), and employed experts (41%) (cf. Table 5.1) who claimed to have noticed a decline in fish catches in terms of weight, size and species, maintained that fishers were increasingly catching fewer and undersized fish, which did not fetch them good prices in the markets and consequently they were not making good returns.

That fish stocks and catches in Lake Victoria fisheries are declining is a truth that has been noticed and reported widely. With regard to the status of fish stocks in Lake Victoria, for instance, the Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization (LVFO) reports on its official web⁵⁰ page:

... The mean standing stock of Nile perch is observed to have declined from 1.29 million tons in 1999/2001 to 0.82 million tons in 2005/2006 surveys and its contribution from 59% to 39% of the total standing stock. ... mean standing stock of Dagaa is estimated to have increased from 0.48 to 0.83 million tons and that of other species from 0.37 to 0.47 million tons during the same period.

The fisheries statistics of the Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries Development (cf. Table 4.8 in Chapter 4) also expose declining trends in catches of Nile perch and Tilapia. The reports show that Nile perch catches declined from 18 794.30 tons in 2009 to 17 437.60 tons in 2010. In 2011, Nile perch catches amounted to 7 200.74 tons and 17 065.30 tons in 2012. Thus by 2012, the amount of Nile perch catches had declined by 1 728.90 tons (9%) from that of 2009. Likewise, the amount of Tilapia catches declined from 6 988.60 tons in 2009 to 6 758.60 tons in 2010. The Tilapia catches, which had reached 6 666.79 tons in 2011, declined to 6 614.30 tons in 2012. Therefore, by 2012, the amount of Tilapia catches had declined by 374.30 tons (5%) from that of 2009.

The respondents associated the problem of the decline in fish stocks and fish catches mainly with overfishing and increased use of destructive fishing methods and gear. With regard to the latter, the respondents reported increased use of destructive fishing methods and gear and use of poisonous chemicals in fish catching, and identified this as their other main constraint. It was ranked tenth after scoring 29% in the overall listing presented in Table 5.1. Fish traders and transporters (37%), fishing vessel owners (36%) and fish catchers (26%) reported it the most. These respondents maintained that some fish catchers, by themselves or through the influence and support of greedy fish buyers, were increasingly using fishing methods and gear that caught juvenile and spawning fish, thereby disrupting and sometimes destroying the breeding and feeding patterns of fish.

The respondents listed the use of undersize mesh, the use of poisonous chemicals, water beating (tycoon fishing), trawling and beach seining as destructive fishing methods, and beach seine and trawl nets, monofilaments, gillnets (4 inches), small seine nets (≤ 5 mm) and the traditional fixed fishing traps (e.g. *embigo*) as illegal and destructive fishing gear⁵¹. Traditional fishers (*wabigo*) highlighted the extent and impact of the use of poisonous chemicals and the water-beating method in fish catching during their FGD, in which one participant pointed out:

This area is rich in quality Tilapia. Therefore, almost every two months those people come here, pour out poison, and catch many fish but the effect of that poison lasts for about three weeks. During that period, we are unable to make good catches. In this way, they benefit while we do not.

⁵⁰ <http://www.lvfo.org/index.php/lvfo/lvfo-secretariat/6-state-of-fish-stocks>, accessed on 05.4.2014

⁵¹ However, most traditional fish catchers contested the treatment of beach seines and traditional *embigo* as illegal and destructive fishing methods and gear.

The administrators and leaders (86%), employed experts (73%), members of the private sector (67%), and CSO members (66%) also identified the rampant use of illegal and destructive fishing methods and gear as one of the constraints of local actors in the fisheries sections (cf. Table 5.1). These respondents underlined the high costs involved in buying the right gear, the presence of irresponsible, uncaring and greedy actors, the lack of political will, poor governance and management of the fisheries resources, and limited monitoring and surveillance measures as factors contributing to the increased use of illegal and destructive fishing methods and gear. The Frame Surveys (cf. Table 5.5) also reported on the use of illegal and destructive fishing methods and gear and confirm the previously mentioned claims of the respondents.

Table 5.5: Trend of use of illegal and destructive fishing gear in Ukerewe fisheries, 2008 to 2012

Year	Gillnets			Small seines			Beach seines	Monofilament nets	Basket/ traps
	Total gillnets	Gillnets <6''		Total small seines	Small seines ≤5 mm				
2008	111 453	103 005	92%	1 248	112	09%	419	543	13
2010	35 117	14 059	40%	1 904	97	05%	289	138	17
2012	51 731	24 145	47%	1 877	25	01%	464	1 793	14

Source: Extracted from Frame Survey National Working Group (2000-2012)

Table 5.5 above reveals that fishers have continued to use legally prohibited fishing gear. For instance, in 2008, fishers used 103 005 prohibited gillnets (under six inches) and this amount constituted 92% of all gillnets in use. By 2010, fishers used 14 059 illegal gillnets, constituting 40% of the 35 117 gillnets. In 2012, fishers used 24 145 illegal gillnets, which constituted 47% of all gillnets – an increase of 72% from the 14 059 illegal gillnets of 2010. In 2008, fishers used 112 illegal small seines (mesh size about or below 5 mm), constituting 09% of the total small seines in use. The years 2010 and 2012, however, recorded a significant decline in the use of illegal small seines, to 97 and 25 units respectively.

With regard to the use of legally prohibited beach seines, the records in Table 5.5 show that, in 2008, fishers used 419 beach seines. In 2010, fishers used 289 beach seines, which is a 31% decline from the 419 small seines used in the previous year. In 2012, however, there was a 61% increase in the use of beach seines from the number used by fishers in 2010. In addition, fishers used illegal and destructive 543 and 138 monofilament nets in 2008 and 2010 respectively. In 2012, fishers used 1 793 monofilament nets, which is a 230% increase from the 543 used in 2008. Fishers also used 13 basket/traps in 2008, which rose to 17 in 2010 and 14 in 2012. Generally, the trends of the decline in fish stocks and fish catches following overfishing and rampant use of destructive gear and methods is increasingly hampering opportunities for local actors to produce wealth and improve their lives through productive fisheries activities.

5.2.6.2 Limited support from government and civil society organizations

Local actors revealed an understanding of their many constraints and expressed their need for support to redress those constraining conditions that ruin their opportunities to generate wealth and become prosperous. These respondents, however, reported to enjoy only limited support from the government and civil society organizations in resolving their pressing challenges, and so regarded limited support as their other main constraint. It scored 44% in overall and ranked fifth in the list provided in Table 5.1. It scored 57% with fishing vessel owners, 50% with fish traders and transporters, 38% with fish catchers, and 37% with fish processors. While acknowledging to have received some assistance from government agencies, political parties, NGOs and CBOs, these local actors still contended that the received supports are minimal and not addressing their main challenges.

In one of their inter-FGDs, the fishing vessel owners, crews, processors, traders and BMU leaders discussed their relationship with the government agencies, political parties, NGOs and CBOs and illustrated how these organisations only minimally support or fail to support the realisation of the good life they dream about. With regard to this limited support from government and its agencies, some respondents noted:

P#1: We experience problems of piracy, illegal and destructive fishing, but it seems the government, which has the capacity to end these problems, is not interested in helping us. If it was interested to curb illegal fishing, for instance, it could do like what was done in country (X) ... exchange illegal fishing gear with legal gear ... in this way the government helps its people to get the right gear and consequently curbs unsustainable fishing practices.

P#5: With my 18 years in fisheries, I have learned that fishery is a neglected sector and so are fishers. I know the duty of the government is to create an enabling environment for its people to work and flourish, but such an enabling environment happen in other sectors and not in fisheries. It is obvious that most policies and laws that the government enacts to guide fisheries operations undermine instead of help fishers. For instance, they have declared illegal our traditional fishing methods and gear and such gear is constantly confiscated and destroyed. If the government were supportive just a little bit, it would either give us alternative gear or provide subsidised gear, instead of providing just nothing. They only humiliate and dispossess fishers of their hard-earned fishing gear.

P#2: We fishers are like orphan children; we only get minimal support from the government! We are not protected from all sorts of insecurities and the government leaders say there are not enough resources and police to undertake patrols on the lake. However, there are times we see government officers and many armed police cruising all over these islands to collect revenue from us, and therefore one wonders whether the said resources and police are only available for that job and not for our safety.

On the other hand, these respondents also made the following observations about limited support from non-governmental organisations and political parties.

P#4: NGOs and CBOs also help but mainly on health issues. They educate us on HIV/AIDS, etc. I also know that some of them promote good governance and human rights protection, but I have never heard them voice anything on the violated human rights and freedoms of fishers ... the right to work and get a fair income, the right to safety, freedom of movement in the lake waters, the right

to social and economic opportunities. I do not see them joining our struggles to redress these challenges.

P#8: We see politicians during their election campaigns when they come with fake promises and sometimes they mislead us and cause trouble in fisheries operations. For instance, last elections some contesters promised to take up our agendas in which we demand the government subsidise expensive fishing inputs and engage seriously in curbing illegal fishing practices. We gave them votes but so far, nothing has happened and not even feedback. They got what they needed and left us with our problems.

Respondents from the local government, market and civil society did not immediately identify their limited services and support in the fisheries sections as one of the main constraining conditions of local actors in the initial phases of this research. However, during later dialogues they conceded that the little services they offered, or the non-offering of the services that they actually were duty-bound or capable of offering, indeed had a negative impact on the productive capabilities of local actors in the fisheries sections. Members of CSOs also conceded not doing enough to support local actors, but noted that they actually had designed programmes and projects for improving the productive capabilities of local actors and the local governance of fisheries resources, but that had not secured funding for such programmes and projects.

Kulindwa (2005) also reports that government agencies do too little to redress the main constraints of the fishers. He noted, for instance, that despite their awareness of the problem of tightening fish weighing scales by dishonest fish buyers in the Ukerewe and Bukoba districts, the fisheries officers, BMUs and other law enforcers in these districts were not doing enough to end such illegal and exploitative practices. Besides, Kulindwa (2005) wonders why the government, if it was really interested in addressing squarely the problem of illegal and unsustainable fishing practices, was not opting to buy back the illegal and destructive fishing gear that fishers continued to use because they lacked the funds to purchase legal ones themselves. Given all this, Kulindwa (2005) concludes that government's efforts to redress the main problems contributing to depriving those fishers of opportunities to generate socio-economic benefits from the productive fisheries activities they undertake, are limited.

Whereas the actions of the government agencies and CSOs can redress some conditions and factors that constrain and deprive local actors of opportunities to produce wealth, these agencies and organisations are providing only minimal support instead of joining and coordinating the efforts of the local actors in tackling their main challenges. The results of such failures, however, include the persistence of many impeding conditions that rob the local actors of opportunities to unlock wealth and flourish through the productive fisheries activities they undertake.

5.2.7 Deprived of opportunities to access and use protective security

The inability to predict and control the decline in fish stock and catches, and the fragility of markets and fish prices, renders fisheries businesses susceptible to numerous risks (McGoodwin, 2001). The local actors revealed both their awareness of the risk profile of their productive fisheries activities and their readiness to adopting measures to reduce those risks. They reported the presence of informal and formal systems and services to mitigate their possible risks in the fisheries sections. While informal systems are sources of safety nets for most local actors, formal systems provide insurance services to cover for life, medical and business-related risks. Table 5.6 focuses on opportunities that local actors used to mitigate some risks.

Table 5.6: Local actors' knowledge and use of protection security

Issues and services	Means and service providers	Catchers n=95	Processors n=43	Traders n=42	Transporters n=4	Makers and sellers n=11	Total n=195	
Means to mitigate high costs for health services	Joined health insurance schemes	00	00	00	00	00	00	00%
	Increased own savings for health services	21	16	11	01	04	53	27%
	None	74	27	31	03	08	143	73%
Means to mitigate risks and potential loss of property	Joined insurance scheme	00	00	00	00	00	00	00%
	Increased own savings for restocking	21	16	11	00	04	52	26%
	None	74	27	31	04	08	144	74%
Means to mitigate risks and potential loss of business, job and income	Joined social security schemes	00	00	00	00	00	00	00%
	Joined self-help groups and networks	20	25	12	02	04	63	32%
	Strengthened family and community ties	44	10	19	03	06	82	42%
	None	51	19	07	01	01	79	41%
Means to mitigate potential thefts, robberies and piracy	Report to and engage with police force	62	29	33	04	08	136	70%
	Engage in community policing	72	39	36	04	08	159	82%
	Other self-protection measures (own a gun)	08	00	02	00	01	11	6%

Source: Field data, 2012 – 2013

Table 5.6 above shows that local people use mostly informal protection systems. In fact, none of the 195 local actors reported having joined formal social security and insurance systems to mitigate life, medical and business-related risks. In a context in which health services are very costly and taking substantial income from people, 143 (73%) of the 195 local actors reported doing nothing to mitigate the high costs of health services, and 53 (27%) were increasing their savings to be able to cover the high health costs.

With regard to risks involving loss of property, 144 (74%) of the 195 local actors reported doing nothing to mitigate them, whereas 52 (26%) reported having increased own savings to be able to restock property when lost or stolen. Regarding the risks involved in cases of loss of income, jobs and businesses, 79 (41%) of the 195 local actors reported taking no measures, whereas the remaining 116 (59%) had enhanced their safety nets. The latter includes the 63 (32%) who had joined self-help groups and social networks, and the 82 (42%) who had strengthened their family and community ties in the hope that these would provide them with support and favours in case of difficulties in the

future. With regard to security-related risks such as thefts, armed robberies and piracy, these respondents planned to report to and engage with the police force and/or community policing to effectively deal with these threats, whereas 11 (6%) had developed other self-protection mechanisms, including the use of guns.

Generally, most local actors did not know of the opportunities provided in the formal protection and security sector to mitigate risks. Indeed, the affordable health insurance schemes for people working in the informal sector and for non-working community members provided, for instance, through the Community Health Fund (CHF), and the voluntary social protection schemes of the state-owned social security provident funds, as well as the micro-insurance services to cover SMEs, were news to most of these local actors.

For instance, the District Council's Community Health Fund (CHF) offers unlimited basic health benefits to registered members and their dependents at TZS 20 000 in annual premiums. With TZS 20 000, CHF members have access to unlimited basic health services at health centres and dispensaries throughout the district. When we informed them of these unlimited health benefits from the CHF and asked if they would be interested in the CHF services, all 195 respondents reported being interested and able to afford the premiums. That means that, had they had better knowledge of the CHF, they would have joined to mitigate their high health costs.

In addition, about three quarters of the 195 local actors reported having no information on micro-insurance schemes and therefore were unaware of insurance policies to cover for the potential loss of property, income and business. The remaining quarter (which included owners of fishing vessels) reported having approached insurance companies, only to find out that these companies do not insure fisheries activities and fishing inputs.

Meanwhile, several local actors argued that opportunities to access and utilise protection security would help them mitigate most risks and improve their capacity to function. In particular, many owners of fishing vessels argued that opportunities to insure fishing assets would contribute to guaranteed protection of their already acquired assets, and in the long run contribute to the decline in the market for stolen outboard engines, as people would no longer buy them to replace their stolen ones but claim new ones from their insurers.

Nevertheless, other respondents argued that, whereas the insurance industry had grown big, with state and privately owned companies providing insurance services to cover, inter alia, for life, medical, property, work and business risks in small and medium enterprises in other economic sectors, there were no or limited insurance services to cover the same risks in the productive fisheries sector. These respondents attributed the lack of or limited insurance services in the productive fisheries to unfair government and market institutions and organisations, which marginalise small-scale fishers. At the

stakeholders' workshop, several owners of fishing vessels loudly voiced their frustration with this unfairness, and one of these owners, while facing and querying insurance providers present at the meeting, forcefully argued:

I do not know the deity who cursed us fishers because I notice that we are excluded in almost everything ... no credit, no insurance ... It is strange that, whereas laws compel insuring motor objects like cars and bikes, we fishers are denied insuring our outboard engines. Whereas other entrepreneurs in other economic sectors have opportunities to insure their businesses and properties from several risks, we in fisheries are denied such opportunities. What is wrong with us? Do you consider us immune from such risks or simply incapable of paying premiums? After all, is it fair?

The owners of fishing vessels also disclosed both their great interest in insurance services and their capacity to pay the premiums. In fact, these respondents hinted, for instance, that they would pay between TZS 100 000 and TZS 200 000 annual premiums to cover an outboard engine worth TZS 4 000 000. On the other hand, respondents from the insurance companies and social security funds conceded not having offered insurance services to small-scale fisheries, but revealed that they were researching the markets and products relevant to actors in the fisheries sections. The representative of an insurance company underlined this position when responding to the insurance-related issues that were raised at the stakeholders' workshop. He stated:

Although we have not been offering insurance services to small-scale fisheries, we nevertheless believe each person is entitled to some cover from unforeseeable and ever-increasing risks. We are working out an insurance policy for productive fisheries businesses and soon you will too have opportunities to insure your property and businesses.

While it is true that the productive fisheries activities are susceptible to several risks, it is also the case that, with opportunities to access and utilise protection security, local actors can reduce risks and mitigate the negative impacts brought by those risks in order to sustain their productive fisheries activities and the benefits accrued from them. On the other hand, the lack of or limited access to and use of life, medical and business protection opportunities exposes local actors to forms of deprivation of essential entitlements and capabilities to function actively and gainfully in the fisheries sections.

5.3 Concluding remarks

The reporting and discussion of field evidence in this chapter sought to highlight specific conditions that contribute to local actors' deprivation of essential entitlements and productive capabilities to function profitably in those productive fisheries activities they value and have chosen. I have established in this chapter that most local actors are experiencing numerous constraints, making it difficult for them to undertake the productive fisheries activities they have chosen and value and, in turn, they only manage to achieve limited socio-economic benefits from those activities. Most of the constraining conditions are the result of some practical policies, regulations, actions and/or inactions of individual and/or collective agents in the realms of the government, markets and civil society. The constraining conditions breed and eventually contribute to depriving local actors of those

opportunities, facilities and freedoms to access, control and utilise essential entitlements to enhance their capabilities to function profitably in the productive fisheries sections in which they engage.

At present, several individual and collective agents in the fisheries sections of Ukerewe are contributing to creating conditions that constrain and deprive most local actors of opportunities to acquire, control and use (i) appropriate productive assets, (ii) fisheries infrastructure and facilities, (iii) financial capital, (iv) important knowledge and skills, (v) social capital, and (vi) protective security. Following increased constraints and deprivation, most local actors are failing to generate enough socio-economic resources to improve their human dignity, agency and well-being. Furthermore, some of the coping strategies being adapted by local actors are exposing them to more risks and eventually will limit their freedom to choose, do and achieve what they value in their respective fisheries sections and in life.

On the other hand, the experiences of local actors of increasing forms of constraining conditions that deprive them of essential entitlements and productive capabilities happen amidst the organisations of government, market and civil society, which all have the essential capacities to redress some of the pressing challenges of these local actors. This reveals a scenario that is quite troubling from both a governance and ethical perspective. One wonders, therefore, whether it is fair and justifiable that local actors continue to experience the deprivation and constraints preventing them from accessing, controlling and using vital entitlements, freedoms and opportunities to do and achieve those things they value in their fisheries sections.

The responses of study participants to the above ethical question, and the search for their moral motivations for undertaking or not undertaking possible actions to redress the main constraints discussed above, and thus the question of how to enhance the productive capabilities of local actors, are the focus of the next chapters.

CHAPTER SIX

POOR LOCAL ACTORS, PRO-POOR INITIATIVES AND EMBEDDED ETHIC

6.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises the analysis of and reflection on the field evidence to highlight what the study participants established as the “poverty” of local actors and the relevant initiatives for combating and overcoming “poverty” in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. After the participants had established what the specific motivations, competences and constraints of the local actors in the fishing sector were, at one point I engaged them, in line with my second and third research objectives, in reflecting and deliberating on who the poor local actors are and what it takes to overcome their poverty. The main concerns of this chapter are deliberations of those respondents with regard to the “poverty” of local actors and the concrete actions they themselves resolved to undertake to address that “poverty”.

Given the foregoing, I proceed to analyse and systematise the field evidence to be able to underscore the basis on which those respondents established who the poor local actors were and the relevant pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. In my analysis and reflection, I invoke the insights of Sen’s Capability Approach to poverty and engage them in dialogue with those from other ethical approaches to throw more light on the motivations of the poverty-producing and poverty-reducing agents, as well as the mechanisms and processes of the production, perpetuation and reduction of poverty in this fishing sector.

I undertake the systematic analysis of the field evidence about “poverty” and the poor local actors in the fisheries sections in section 6.2, and discuss the remedial actions that the respondents revealed to be capable of undertaking to improve the capacities of local actors to function in section 6.3. In section 6.4 I reflect on the moral convictions and motivations of the main actors and stakeholders with regard to undertaking pro-poor initiatives in their fishing sector, and the ethical ideas, values and principles underlying their preferred concrete actions for enhancing the productive capabilities of local actors. Concluding remarks follow in section 6.5 to end the chapter.

6.2 Debating poverty and the poor actors in the fisheries sections

Given the overall objective of this study, and in line with the call of MKUKUTA II to key actors and stakeholders to design and implement pro-poor interventions in their fishing sector (URT, 2010), it was reasonable that I engage my respondents in a critical dialogical reflection to determine who the poor actors in their fishing sector are. That question was particularly relevant to the local actors who are the potential beneficiaries of the envisioned pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. Thus, during their FGDs, and in particular their two heterogeneous FGDs, I asked the local actors, considering their current circumstances and participation in the fisheries sections, whether or not they

considered themselves poor actors, and if so, what does that poverty entail and what concrete actions would be useful to combat and overcome it.

During their FGDs, the majority of these respondents openly and confidently discussed poverty-related issues in their fisheries sections and communities. While holding the view that ‘poverty involves states of inability and/or failure to perform and provide for own, family and community needs’, these respondents emphasised that they were physically and mentally healthy to perform any socio-economic and productive activity and so did not consider themselves poor, but rather constrained actors. Specifically, the aforesaid was unanimously underlined by the local actors who participated in the two heterogeneous FGDs of local actors. For instance, the local actors who participated in the Ukara heterogeneous FGD discussed poverty and concluded:

We indeed experience some forms of poverty but we are not that poor. We work and provide for our own needs. We are courageous and determined actors who are constrained in many ways from generating enough wealth...

The local actors who participated in the Nansio heterogeneous FGD emphasised that the poor are the disabled, sick and lazy, because they are unable to work and meet their needs⁵². Consequently, they emphasised:

We are physically and mentally fit. We are not lazy. We are self-reliant. We work hard to provide for our own and family needs. We are also not rich but we can become wealthy when helped to overcome our current challenges. The current ‘system’ fails and impedes us from flourishing and contributing to the prosperity of our communities.

Generally, throughout the stages of this research, these local actors revealed strong determination in performing their productive fisheries activities diligently to earn enough to improve their socio-economic situations, but highlighted numerous constraining conditions that impaired their efforts. Likewise, the respondents from the organisations of the local government, private sector and civil society acknowledged the fact that local actors experienced several conditions that constrained them from participating actively, responsibly and gainfully in their fishing sector. A detailed report of these constraints and their consequences for the agency and well-being of the local actors is provided in Chapter 5.

We can better appreciate the above position of the local actors, namely *we are not poor actors, we are constrained actors*, when we invoke the two main elements embedded in Sen’s conception of poverty. These two elements are (i) the idea that poverty involves states of unfreedoms and constraining conditions that negatively affect the capacities to function and lead a dignified life, and (ii) the idea

⁵² This position of the local actors in the fishing sector of Ukerewe on poverty was in line with the findings of Onyango (2011). Onyango (2011: 104) reports that the fishers of Nyakasenge along Lake Victoria that he studied did not perceive themselves as poor. These fishers claimed they were not poor because they had access to basic needs; could use their hands, heads and legs to engage in productive activities and provide for their own needs; and had relatives who were morally obliged to support in meeting their basic needs when they were unable to provide for themselves.

that poverty involves states of being deprived of entitlements and capabilities to function so as to realise valued goals.

The idea that poverty involves states of unfreedoms and constraining conditions is linked to Sen's understanding of human beings. Sen (1999; 2010) views human beings as essentially reasoning beings and free choosers in the sense that they are able to analyse their life situations, reason out and weigh up possible options, and choose what they value to be and do in life and in particular socio-economic and political settings. It is the freedom and capacity to choose and realise valued choices of being and doing that is central to dignified and humane living.

Sen (1999) underscores the centrality of freedom in human life and development processes and argues, on the one hand, that the attainment of freedoms must be the ultimate goal of meaningful human initiatives and, on the other hand, that the freedoms are the principal means of human initiatives to realise worthwhile human lives and goals. Thus, the life and human situations worthy of human beings are those situations in which the fundamental human freedoms that enable the realisation of their agency and well-being are respected, enhanced and guaranteed. In line with the aforementioned, therefore, the good life is a life of freedoms, while the bad life is a life of unfreedoms. Accordingly, poverty is about living a life devoid of economic, social and political freedoms, and the poor people are those who experience states of unfreedoms and constraining conditions (Sen, 1987; 1999).

The idea that poverty involves states of deprivation of the essential entitlements and capabilities to function to realise valued goals is linked to Sen's understanding of human agency and functionings. Understanding agency as "the freedom and ability of human beings to pursue valued goals and bring about achievements that they consider valuable" (Sen, 1985: 203-204), Sen (1999) proceeds to argue cogently that human beings, who are essentially reasoners and choosers, ought to be active and not passive agents. These human beings ought to be able to reason about their life situations, set their own goals, weigh up possible options, make their own choices, and confidently undertake initiatives to accomplish their valued goals. However, to become active agents, these human beings must have "capabilities" or "capacities to function" which, among other things, involve command over goods and services (Sen, 1984: 523; Nathanson, 2005: 372).

Every human being needs adequate capabilities to function in order to accomplish his or her valued goals in the socio-economic and political contexts and to lead a worthwhile life. Accordingly, situations in which human beings have limited capabilities are situations involving poverty. People remain less active because they have "less than what is required to function at minimally acceptable levels" in those situations (Nathanson, 2005: 373). In line with the aforementioned, to be poor, therefore, is to have fewer resources and little command over the goods, services and opportunities that are essential to enable functioning at acceptable levels (Sen, 1984; Nathanson, 2005).

On the basis of the field evidence regarding the social and economic goals that local actors want to achieve through their productive fisheries activities and the aspects of being and doing they value and choose (cf. sections 4.4 and 4.5 in Chapter 4), I argue that these local actors are cognisant and determined human agents. Actually, each of the local actors I engaged with during my fieldwork reported wanting to control their own lives and to have reasoned about and chosen to invest and/or work in the fishing sector because the sector seemed to provide him or her with better options for improving personal and household social and economic conditions. In addition, each of these local actors was conscious of how he or she wanted to be and do, as he or she engaged in specific fisheries sections (cf. sub-sections 4.5.1 and 4.5.2 in Chapter 4). As active human agents, the local actors were working hard to acquire and utilise resources, opportunities and services to improve their capacities to function and achieve better social and economic outcomes.

Notwithstanding the above positive experiences of freedom, the local actors also reported experiencing limited freedoms, constraints and deprivation that had a negative impact on their capacities to function to bring about their valued achievements. In other words, these local actors experienced limitations in what Sen (1985) calls ‘agency freedom’ and ‘well-being freedom’. The former refers to “one’s freedom to bring about the achievements one values and which one attempts to produce”, and the latter entails “one’s freedom to achieve those things that are constitutes of one’s well-being” (Sen 1985: 208).

In both cases of limited freedoms describe above, the local actors experienced limitations in deliberating on and undertaking initiatives to realise valued social and economic outcomes important for shaping positively their social, production, distribution and exchange relations and practices in their respective fisheries sections and communities. I undertake a brief discussion of the experiences of limited freedoms, constraints and deprivation and their impact on the agency and well-being of local actors in the following subsections.

6.2.1 Local actors and their experiences of limited freedoms and/or unfreedoms

The fisheries activities that local actors undertake have linkages to their lives and identities, and in turn contribute to determining their position, freedom and fate in the economic, political and social spaces. In contrast to the belief that the agency and well-being freedoms of local actors would be enhanced with their participation in productive fisheries activities (Sen, 1985; 1999), the findings of this study point to the fact that these local actors were increasingly experiencing limited freedom in utilising economic, political and social spaces to achieve their valued socio-economic goals.

Most local actors experienced limited opportunities and freedoms in initiating and profitably managing fisheries activities and in engaging in fair exchanges of their labour, products and services in the economic space. They also experienced limited opportunities and freedoms in the political and social spaces to influence structural and institutional processes and mechanisms that obstruct them.

6.2.1.1 Limited freedoms and/or unfreedoms in the economic space

Many local actors in the fish-catching, processing and trading sections experienced limited freedom to participate actively, responsibly and gainfully in the productive fisheries activities of their choice. In fish catching, for instance, the vessel owners and fishing crews were revealed to experience limited freedom of movement in the lake waters due to insecurity; limited freedom to engage in fair competition with powerful and/or large-scale fishers; and limited freedom to determine and demand reasonable prices for their fish catches, fish products, labour and services.

Traditional fish catchers (*wabigo*, *wakokozi*) revealed limited freedom to use traditional knowledge, methods and gear to catch fish because the current fishery management systems regard these fishing methods and practices as destructive and illegal. These respondents argued that, with these limited freedoms, they end up with a small share of fish catches, earning little income and failing to generate wealth and/or reaping enough socio-economic resources to improve their life situations.

Some local actors in the fish-processing and trading sections experienced limited freedom in engaging in income-generating fish processing and trading activities and in getting better payments for their labour, products and services. With regard to the former case, for instance, women engaging in collecting, drying and packing of Dagaa (*Wasombangese*) reported regularly receiving orders from civil authorities that ban them from participating in these activities because they are claimed to engage in prostitution and contribute to spreading HIV/AIDS. The Nile perch petty traders (*wamachinga*) experienced restrictions from undertaking their activities on the basis that they were involved in cheating fish catchers. Both forms of limited freedoms experienced by these local actors contribute to their low esteem, low and insecure income, and act as blockades on their path to prosperity.

6.2.1.2 Limited freedoms and/or unfreedoms in the political and social spaces

The local actors reported lacking power, unity, formal organisations and representations in the market, government and political structures, and that this contributes to their limited freedom to utilise the available formal political and social actions to negotiate for their own interests and rights in the fisheries sections and markets and to influence fisheries management plans and decisions. In particular, local actors involved in the fish-catching, processing and trading sections reported that they lacked power, freedoms and opportunities to challenge the unfair prices paid for their fish catches and fish products, the high interest rates and stringent terms from their informal creditors, the restrictive policy to access and use formal financing and social protection opportunities, and the unfair and harsh fisheries regulations. Even those local actors who currently served in the governance and political structures revealed that they experienced limited freedom in utilising political and social spaces to negotiate for meaningful improvement in the fisheries sections.

In the latter case above, for instance, we found that 80% of the members of the District Council, which has the legal mandate to debate, approve and oversee the implementation of plans and budgets

for facilitating socio-economic development in the district, invested in fisheries activities and therefore are interested parties in fisheries matters. In addition, whereas the fishing sector is the engine of local economic development, these 80% of councillors who would have utilised their political spaces to push for fisheries-related agendas through the District Council experienced limited freedom in influencing planning and decision making to orient these toward the development of the fishing sector and the redressing of the challenges facing small-scale fishers.

These councillors highlighted that they had little room to manoeuvre to modify national development priorities and plans to suit their local development contexts and priorities.⁵³ Citing the on-going implementation of national initiatives to revolutionise agriculture in particular, these councillors argued that had they had the freedom, they would have relinquished the *Kilimo Kwanza* (i.e. Agriculture First) initiatives and opted for revolutionising fisheries, because there is little farming in the district and fisheries activities are what matter most to expedite socio-economic development.

Likewise, the local actors participating in the leadership of BMUs argued that the structures of BMUs do not offer them a platform to push their agendas and resolve their pressing challenges. Describing BMUs as established organisations that serve mainly the interests of government, which spends billions of shillings to protect Nile perch instead of solving the pressing challenges of small-scale fishers, these respondents revealed that they lack the necessary resources and freedoms to use the BMUs' platforms to influence changes in the fisheries governance in the district.

Following their limited freedoms to utilise the available political and social spaces to their advantage, the local actors remain marginalised in most social, economic and political processes, and continue to experience limited freedoms to enhance their social and economic status, to access and utilise social and economic opportunities, and to enjoy the fruits of their hard work in the fisheries sections. In fact, in this situation, and as Sen (1999) has observed in other situations too, local actors' experiences of limited freedoms in the political and social spaces breed and/or re-enforce their limited freedoms in economic and productive spaces. Eventually, this breeding and/or re-enforcing of limited freedoms produces other forms of unfreedoms and constraints that affect the agency and well-being achievements of local actors in their respective fisheries sections and in their communities.

6.2.2 Local actors and their experiences of constraining conditions

In undertaking the fisheries activities they have chosen and value, local actors encounter conditions and factors that constrain and jeopardise their capacities to function and accumulate socio-economic resources and benefits from those productive activities. In Table 5.1 in Chapter 5 I summarised and

⁵³ With regard to this claim, I argue that it is only partly true. The central government still is exercising a lot of control and influence in the running of the local government authorities. However, it is also the case that most local authorities focus less on promoting local economic development. In fact, they are not yet becoming developmental local governments, as they seldom use the competence of their officers and administrators to facilitate key actors and stakeholders in redressing local challenges and/or enhancing opportunities for local actors to engage in and attain local economic development.

presented the main constraining conditions and factors experienced by local actors that have a negative effect on their agency and well-being achievements in specific fisheries sections (Sen, 1985). In general, within the contexts of increased constraints to improving their productive capabilities and accessing, controlling and utilising the relevant productive assets, most local actors end up failing to initiate and successfully run fisheries activities and/or underperforming and achieving only the minimum.

Moreover, the respondents reported that the constraints facing most local actors have a negative influence on their social status, as they increasingly experience low esteem when relating to other actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector and thereby failing to negotiate confidently for their own interests and rights. These constraining conditions also affect their ability to participate in and influence systems and processes of fisheries governance in the district. As shown in Chapter 5, these conditions and factors hamper the capacity of local actors to function actively and gainfully, resulting, for instance, in their failure to earn enough income to improve their personal and household well-being, to generate capital to invest in profitable activities, and to bring to a halt unsustainable fishing practices.

6.2.3 Local actors and their experiences of entitlements and capabilities deprivation

As highlighted in Chapter 4, most local actors were convinced that the fisheries activities they engaged in were opportunities for generating resources to improve their lives. Hence, they made efforts to acquire and build sets of resources and to utilise opportunities to improve their capacity to function well to achieve valued socio-economic outcomes. Nevertheless, some local actors experienced being deprived of opportunities, facilities and freedoms to access, control and utilise essential entitlements for enhancing their capabilities to function profitably, and for enhancing their freedoms to choose, do and achieve valuable socio-economic outcomes in their respective fisheries sections and in life. Following the lack of or limited productive assets, unavailability of or little command over the public goods, services and opportunities that are essential to enable effective functioning, most local actors enjoyed only limited freedoms to choose and do their valued fisheries activities and to lead self-reliant and dignified lives.

6.2.3.1 Being deprived of economic opportunities and entitlements

Most local actors experienced being deprived of various economic opportunities and entitlements that could facilitate their active and gainful participation in fisheries production and exchange activities. As shown in Chapter 5, most local actors involved in fish catching are deprived of opportunities to access, control and use modern and efficient gear to catch fish, whereas those in the fish processing and trading sections experienced being deprived of opportunities to access and use infrastructure and facilities for preserving and processing raw fish and fish products.

The fish catchers argued that, because of their poor and inefficient fishing gear, they become less active and can only catch a little fish, earn little income and consequently fail to generate wealth to improve their personal, household and community social and economic situations. The fish processors and traders underlined that the lack of or inadequate infrastructure and facilities for preserving and processing raw fish and fish products meant that they failed to curb post-harvest losses, which in turn leads to huge income losses. In both of the aforesaid cases of being deprived of productive assets and facilities, the local actors were highly challenged in performing their valued productive fisheries activities.

Local actors also experience being deprived of opportunities to access financial credit for use to invest or re-invest in productive fisheries activities. Local actors in fish catching are deprived of formal opportunities to access financial credit provided by formal financial organizations. With limited financing opportunities, these fish catchers experience limitations to investing in the fisheries activities they value, and in turn fail to grow their businesses to achieve satisfying outcomes.

In addition, the study respondents reported that current exchange and trading relations in the fisheries sections work against weak local actors, as exploitative, dishonest, greedy and powerful fish buyers, creditors and employers deny them their rightful payment for the labour, services and products exchanged. With little income, these weak local actors fail to meet their basic needs, buy assets, and improve their current productive fisheries activities and/or invest in new ones.

6.2.3.2 Being deprived of social opportunities and services

Local actors are aware of the fact that their improved competences can contribute to improving their performance and productivity in the fisheries sections. In fact, some local actors revealed their interests in acquiring useful information on the state of fisheries resources and ways to keep these resources healthy, practical knowledge and skills for participating effectively in productive fisheries activities, and for relating confidently with other actors and stakeholders. While the above-mentioned knowledge and skills could be imparted and gained through fisheries extension programmes, the local actors reported that they did not have fisheries extension services in their areas.

With the lack of or limited fisheries extension services, most local actors are deprived of opportunities to obtain credible information on the state of fisheries resources and to enhance their understanding of the ecosystem and biodiversity in the lake and ways to sustain healthy fisheries. They also fail to learn and improve their entrepreneurial and business management skills, to enhance their knowledge of the national policies and regulations guiding the undertaking of fisheries activities and businesses, to enhance their knowledge of cooperatives, trade unions, and business partnerships, and to enhance their understanding of managing finances, credit and banking. The respondents underscored that, with limited competences, local actors underperform, achieve the minimum, and fail to expand their freedoms and action spaces in the fishing sector.

Some local actors also experienced deprivation in terms of opportunities to enhance healthy and hygienic living and working conditions, resulting in susceptibility to health problems and production of low quality fish products that fetch low prices. Local actors living and working in the fishing camps and beaches reported living and working in poor environments with limited access to clean and safe drinking water, food, toilets and shelters. They also reported limited opportunities to access quality and affordable health services when in need of them.

In line with the aforementioned, the results of the 2012 Frame Survey recorded inadequate facilities to provide local actors with opportunities to enhance healthy and hygienic living and working conditions at the official fish-landing sites in the district. Of the 78 fish-landing sites in 2012, only nine had public toilets, only 24 had potable water, only 36 had a health clinic, only 45 had HIV awareness raising and HIV-VCT services, only 35 had HIV-ARV services, and only 25 had services for people with HIV/AIDS. In the context of being deprived of opportunities to enhance healthy and hygienic living and working conditions, most local actors are exposed to several health risks, which in turn deprive them of their active working potential and income that they have to spend to pay for costly health services.

6.2.3.3 Being deprived of protective security opportunities

The local actors revealed many risks to their fisheries activities and opportunities available to mitigate those risks. In Chapter 5 I reported the lack of social protective opportunities that local actors would have used to mitigate several risks associated with their productive fisheries activities. Most local actors, for instance, recommended effective policing and the provision of insurance services as measures to mitigate the risks associated with theft and insecurity on the lake and at the fishing camps. While most life, property and businesses-related risks experienced by local actors would be mitigated through effective policing and security measures and the provision of insurance services, the local actors had limited or no access to such protective opportunities.

In addition, the local actors experienced limitations to accessing and using social protective opportunities provided by the state and private owned insurance companies to cover for life, medical, properties, work and business risks in SMEs. Following these limited opportunities to protect their life, properties and businesses, most local actors lost much of their hard-acquired productive resources, income and other life risks, resulting in them becoming less active and inefficient participants in the productive fisheries activities. With limited competence for establishing and/or strengthening social and occupational networks, opportunities for local actors to enjoy social safety nets through these informal networks also decline, making it hard for them to accrue socio-economic resources to enhance their active and gainful participation in the fishing sector.

6.2.3.4 Being deprived of political opportunities and entitlements

Political opportunities and entitlements enable people to practise their civil and democratic rights and freedoms to influence decisions and plans for achieving socio-economic development (Sen, 1999). Some local actors revealed a good understanding of the importance of accessing and utilising political structures and spaces to demand redress of several challenges in the fishing sector and to improve the social and economic situations of people engaging in it. On that understanding, some local actors had joined political parties and hold leadership positions in political parties and in the local government structures.

Despite the aforementioned, and as highlighted in subsection 6.2.1.2 above, still most local actors experienced political marginalisation and/or limited freedom to utilise possible political spaces to bring positive changes to the fisheries sections. In fact, it is shown in Chapters 4 and 5 that most local actors are deprived of some vital political opportunities and entitlements, leading to their failure to take advantage of the available political spaces to question and demand changes in those institutions, organisations, practices and trends that constrain their efforts to create wealth and flourish through productive fisheries activities. They also fail to demand the establishment of social and economic opportunities that enhance their secured and guaranteed acquisition of productive resources and/or the availability of fisheries infrastructure and facilities, and those that expand and guarantee their freedom to invest, work and earn a fair income in the fisheries sections. Generally, following their limited political freedom and utilisation of political spaces, local actors are deprived of opportunities to effect positive changes and improve their secured and gainful participation in the fisheries activities.

6.2.3.5 Being deprived of guaranteed transparent systems and opportunities

Transparent guarantees include those opportunities that enable people to engage one another in open and trusted ways (Sen, 1999). In fact, transparent systems and processes have a better chance of guaranteeing fair relations and conduct in socio-economic activities and businesses. Accordingly, the established institutions and organisations in the fishing sector have to guide and govern the multiple actors and stakeholders transparently, and fairly protect each one's meaningful interests and rights in the production, exchange and consumption of fisheries resources and fish products. In contrast, however, most local actors experience a lack of or limited transparent guarantees in their dealings with fellow local actors and other actors and stakeholders in the fisheries sections.

Local actors experience a lack of transparency in exchange and trading relations in the fisheries sections. Some respondents stated, for instance, that dishonest and greedy fish buyers hide relevant information about the actual prices of fish and fish products, manipulative creditors hide information about interest rates and terms of loans, and exploitative employers hide information about actual operational costs with a view to cheating their customers and/or employees to reap more benefits.

Other incidents involve civil and political authorities that purposely hide information and/or internationally misrepresent fisheries regulations to solicit bribes from fishers, and irresponsible local actors who secretly engage in illegal and destructive fishing practices to achieve short-term personal benefits while harming the interests of the wider community of dependents and users of fisheries resources. The consequences of the increasing corrosion of trust and transparency in social relations and business dealings in the fisheries sections include the harming and/or violation of the interests, rights and freedoms of weak local actors, and the endangering of the hopes of those wanting to benefit sustainably from the fisheries resources.

6.2.4 Poverty and the poor actors in the fisheries sections: a synthesis

In the above subsections, I have sought to analyse and systematise the field evidence of the study participants to establish who the poor actors are in the fisheries sections. A thorough scrutiny of the field evidence uncovered the understanding of poverty that was instrumental in guiding local actors' assessments of whether or not they are poor actors in their fishing sector. Based on their understanding of poverty as involving states of inability and/or failure to perform socio-economic activities and provide for own, family and community needs, about two-thirds of these local actors deliberated that they were not very poor. These respondents underlined, however, that they experience some form of poverty in the sense of being constrained from performing their productive fisheries activities actively and gainfully, and could enumerate a list of constraints that negatively influence their agency and well-being.

Following Sen (1999), I have attempted a systematic analysis to underscore and situate my respondents' deliberation, namely, *we are not poor actors, we are constrained actors*, in the broader understanding of poverty as involving experience of limited freedom, constraints and deprivation in the social, economic and political settings. Indeed, the field evidence highlighted the presence of limited freedom, constraints and deprivation that contributed to trapping most local actors in situations of low production, low earnings, low savings and low investments. In addition, these experiences of limited freedom, constraining conditions and deprivation eventually limit the options of the local actors when manoeuvring to invest and/or work in the productive fisheries activities so that they can survive and participate meaningfully in community life (Jentoft and Midré, 2011).

As highlighted previously, local actors experience limited freedom, constraining conditions and being deprived of essential capabilities, partly because the institutions and organisations of the government, market and civil society that are expected to govern fair relations in the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of fish and fish products are, by design or by accident, failing to redress those diverse constraints and deprivation. In fact, these organisations are not interacting enough to create new opportunities and protect the socio-economic and political opportunities that enhance the

capacity of local actors to actively, responsibly and gainfully participate in their valued fisheries activities (Kooiman *et al.*, 2005⁵⁴; Kooiman and Jentoft, 2009; Jentoft *et al.*, 2010).

The aforementioned experiences are also the result of the failure of individual and collective moral agents to fulfil their duty of justice, which includes protecting all people from situations that harm their human dignity, agency and well-being (Aquinas, 1947; Singer, 1972; O'Neill, 1986; Brock and Reader, 2002; Pogge, 2007; Eskelinen, 2009; Sen, 2009; Dixon, 2010). Viewed through both the governance and ethical lens, these organisations of the government, market and civil society are not doing enough, nor do they take seriously their moral duty to solve the problems facing local actors to enable them to generate wealth through the fisheries activities they have chosen and undertake. Rather, these organisations are themselves consciously or unconsciously contributing to the production of some constraining conditions or the breeding of deprivation of entitlement and capabilities.

With regard to organisations contributing to producing constraining conditions instead of creating solutions, for instance, with a view to avoid potential risks, formal financial organisations have introduced restrictive financial credit policies to avoid small-scale fishers instead of engaging these potential customers in exploring options to overcome the perceived challenges of accessing and utilising financial credit. Given their expertise in financial matters, it would make sense for these financial organisations to contribute to searching for solutions to the challenge of limited financing of the local actors instead of shutting these local actors out. If these experienced financial officers and credit experts cannot help in redressing these challenges, who else could?

Other private companies, social enterprises and government agencies, while having relevant competence and resources, have also not been doing much to improve the local environment and conditions for undertaking profitable and responsible fisheries activities. With regard to contributing to breeding conditions of deprivation in relation to the entitlements and capabilities of local actors, responsible government agencies, political parties and NGOs have mostly remained indifferent, instead of raising alarms and/or taking action to change those unjust rules and systems of exchange in the fisheries sections, which place most local actors in disadvantaged positions (Pogge, 2007; Eskelinen, 2009).

Generally, based on the local actors' experiences of limited freedom, constraints and deprivation, which are important constitutive elements of poverty as described by the local actors themselves and by Sen (1999), I argue that poverty is widespread in the fisheries sections and that most people

⁵⁴ These authors theorise 'governance' as essentially comprising the solving of societal problems and the creation of opportunities in society. Within that perspective, governance is "the whole of public as well as private interactions taken to solve societal problems and create societal opportunities. It includes the formulation and application of principles guiding those interactions and care for institutions that enable them" (Kooiman *et al.*, 2005: 7).

participating in these fisheries activities are poor. Consequently, I argue that, without undertaking urgent pro-poor initiatives like those called for by MKUKUTA II to reverse the current social, production, distribution and exchange relations and governance practices in this fishing sector, most people participating in these fisheries sections and activities will remain poor and continue to experience life-threatening, life-restricting and life-disempowering situations (Dixon, 2010).

From the perspective of Sen's Capability Approach, meaningful pro-poor initiatives are those that aim to remove unfreedoms and remedy conditions constraining the agency and well-being of poor people, enhance their capabilities to function, and restore and/or expand their real freedoms for choosing to be and do what they have reasons to value (Sen, 1999; 2010). Given the aforementioned, individual and collective agents interested in designing and implementing pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector of Ukerewe have to identify and focus on removing unfreedoms and constraining conditions, remedying deprivation and enhancing the productive capabilities of local actors.

The moral motivations of and the extent to which individual and collective actors in the fishing communities, local government, market and civil society are interested and ready to engage in addressing problems and creating opportunities to facilitate the active, responsible and gainful participation of local people in the fisheries sections are the main subjects of the next sub-sections. There, I report and discuss the perspectives and moral motivations of the study participants on whether or not to undertake pro-poor initiatives. Furthermore, I discuss their perspectives, motivations and readiness to undertake relevant actions to remedy the deprivation and enhance the entitlements and capabilities of local actors in the fishing sector of Ukerewe.

6.3 Remedying deprivation and enhancing capabilities

Two main facts about the fishing sector of Ukerewe and the local people participating in it constantly emerged during the interviews and discussions with local actors and representatives of the organisations of local government, market and civil society. The first fact revealed the actual and potential contributions of the productive fisheries activities to the welfare of the people and communities, and the understanding that most local people have chosen and are enjoying their respective fisheries activities. The second fact underscored various crises and failures currently prevalent in the fishing sector that threaten the sector's potential to sustainably provide the socio-economic benefits to people engaging in it and their communities.

Regarding the former, for instance, while attributing the levels of socio-economic development thus far attained in the district to the role of fisheries activities, most respondents were confident that, when conducted well, fisheries activities have the potential to contribute significantly to the advancement of socio-economic development in the district. In particular, during the stakeholders' workshop, some respondents underlined that, when fisheries activities fail, all other socio-economic

activities also fail, and consequently they argued that the district could not afford to let fisheries collapse, as this would lead to the collapse of other socio-economic sectors and businesses.

Besides, and as reported in Chapter 4, most respondents from the local government, market and civil society viewed local actors in the fisheries sections as key players in making and enabling the fishing sector to unleash its abundant socio-economic benefits to the local communities in the district. In some cases, these respondents described local actors as knowledgeable, skilful, committed and hardworking persons who value and have chosen fisheries activities to provide communities with fish, fish products, job opportunities and socio-economic resources. Actually, most local actors themselves reported enjoying undertaking fisheries activities, and having spent two, three and four decades in the fisheries sections. Some of them conceded that fishing and its related activities had shaped them and become their way of life (Onyango, 2011; FAO, 2014). At the same time, most respondents highlighted several challenges that hindered the high performance and productivity of local actors in the fisheries sections and urged for their redress.

With regard to the second fact mentioned above, most respondents identified the crisis of fisheries resources, as well as market and governance failures, and then argued that these crises and failures threaten the sustainable reaping of abundant socio-economic benefits from productive fisheries activities. Regarding the crisis in fish resources, these respondents noted, on the one hand, the decline of fish catches in terms of size, weight and amount of fish caught, and on the other hand, the augmented 'race for fish', which also motivated the use of illegal and destructive gear (McGoodwin, 2001). In particular, the participants in the stakeholders' workshop expressed concern following the increasing trend of harvesting fisheries resources but undertaking few efforts to conserve them. They contended that, with limited efforts to curb current trends of 'racing for fish' and the use of destructive fishing gear and methods, the decline in fish resources will be on the rise, and eventually the lake will have only empty waters.

Regarding market failure, the respondents highlighted that the economic opportunities and financial services of the current market structures and exchanges are failing to enhance both the agency and well-being of local actors. They highlighted that local actors are constrained in benefiting from those market structures and exchange opportunities and, as constrained agents, they end up harming and/or misusing opportunities for prosperity provided to them through the fisheries activities they undertake.

The discussions at the stakeholders' workshop, for instance, resulted in an agreement that local market structures and exchanges have the potential to contribute to providing local actors with opportunities, resources and incentives for undertaking successful and responsible fisheries activities, and ensuring the sustainability of fisheries resources. Specifically, some respondents argued that market structures and exchanges have the possibility to provide local actors with resources (e.g. credit, knowledge and simple harvesting and processing technologies) and incentives for undertaking

efficient but sustainable fish catching, improving the quality of fish and fish products, and also guaranteeing fair prices for the products and services exchanged (McGoodwin, 2001).

With regard to governance failures, most respondents noted and commended several initiatives undertaken to improve democratic local governance in general, and co-management in fisheries in particular, which were enabled through the general policy of decentralisation by devolution and the public-private partnership (PPP) framework. They argued, however, that the existence of various challenges in the fisheries sections (some of which can be redressed easily) reveal limitations in engaging both public and private actors in solving societal problems and creating opportunities for improving the welfare of individual local actors and their fishing communities (Kooiman *et al.*, 2005; Kooiman and Jentoft, 2009; Jentoft *et al.*, 2010).

For instance, most respondents reported failures in fisheries governance in terms of which the actors and stakeholders who expected to participate in the conservation of fisheries resources and the control of unsustainable fishing practices through BMUs had stopped doing so and/or had contributed to weakening the initiatives of the BMU leadership. In addition, other local government departments had been less involved and actually left the role of governing fisheries to the Department of Fisheries, with only minimal resources to fulfil its duties. Furthermore, the respondents revealed that government agencies, private companies and CSOs were less involved in redressing the main challenges of local actors and enhancing their participation in fisheries governance.

Given the aforementioned, the participants in the stakeholders' workshop deliberated that, with declining trends of governance, it is unlikely that productive fisheries activities will contribute sustainably and significantly to the prosperity of those participating in them and that of the general community. Thus, the respondents argued for more involvement of the organisations of local government, market and civil society in learning and understanding problems in the fisheries sections and in devising solutions to resolve them so that the productive fisheries activities continue to contribute to the socio-economic development in the district.

In general, the debates at the stakeholders' workshop resulted in consensus that the crisis in fisheries resources, as well as market and governance failures, account for the production and perpetuation of different forms of local actors being deprived of entitlements and productive capabilities in the fisheries sections, as well as the obstruction of prosperity. While viewing the situations in which local actors experience being deprived of essential entitlements and capabilities to participate productively in their valued fisheries activities as unfair and unfortunate, these participants unanimously established that organisations of the local government, market and civil society have the duty to contribute to enhancing relevant capabilities for dealing with and overcoming those crises and failures. In the subsections below, I report on the concrete actions the key actors and stakeholders

were ready to undertake to remedy deprivation and enhance the capabilities of local actors to guarantee their active, responsible and successful engagement in productive fisheries activities.

6.3.1 Enhancing knowledge and skills acquisition

Most respondents argued that, with limited competence and opportunities to enhance them, local actors experienced challenges in conducting their productive fisheries activities and in engaging in fisheries governance. Of course, most representatives of the local government, market and civil society organisations accepted responsibility for partly failing to provide local actors with opportunities to enhance their knowledge and skills, and were determined to be more engaged in facilitating the acquisition of relevant competences to improve their participation in the productive fisheries activities and in fisheries governance. In line with the aforementioned, members of the Council Management Team (CMT) regrettably conceded their failure, as one of them elaborated:

... We have noted that while endowed with multiple expertise through which we could have initiated multi-discipline extension services in the fisheries sections to improve the productive capabilities of local actors, most of our departments are not engaged in supporting the fisheries activities. We left everything to the Fisheries Department, whose staff also do not offer extension services, but engage mainly in revenue collection-related activities. Given this, we agree we have failed our people and we will have to change.

A highly placed official also shared the above regrets and unveiled plans to remedy the situation.

... Now with the increased number of fisheries staff we plan to strengthen the extension unit, design and implement extension programmes to impart small-scale fishers with competence for profitable and sustaining fisheries activities. We want fishers to become conversant with basic fisheries regulations to increase their compliance, and become knowledgeable of low-cost but effective technologies and methods for fish processing and packaging to improve the quality of their fish products to get good prices. We also want to equip them with basic entrepreneurial and marketing skills to improve their business and access to markets that are more profitable. We want them to learn some of the basics of finance management, savings and investment. We are determined to improve the fisheries and the lives of our people ...

The local actors and stakeholders identified five main areas as requiring competence enhancement. These areas were (i) sustainable fishing practices and management plans, (ii) the use of improved and affordable technologies, (iii) entrepreneurship and business management, (iv) savings, credit and investment, and (v) civil rights, freedoms, duties and collective actions.

6.3.1.1 On sustainable fishing practices and management plans

Local actors revealed that they wanted to have opportunities to enhance their understanding of the state of the fisheries resources, sustainable fishing practices, as well as national and local fisheries management plans. Respondents from the local government departments (Fisheries, Land and Natural Resources, Community Development, and the Legal Office) reported to be knowledgeable, interested and capable of initiating joint educational programmes to train local actors in sustainable fishing practices, climate change, land use and other development activities that have an impact on the fisheries resources and ecosystem of the lake. They would also educate them on national policies and

laws governing fisheries activities and the co-management of fisheries resources. Besides, these respondents reported that they were aware and capable of engaging other government and private agencies with specialised fisheries knowledge when the need arises. The respondents from the environment and governance NGOs also revealed that they had interest in and the ability to initiate and run programmes to educate local actors on sustainable fisheries, national policies and laws governing fisheries operations.

6.3.1.2 On the use of appropriate modern technologies

Local actors reported having limited knowledge to be able to utilise improved and affordable modern technologies to catch, process and pack fish and fish products. The respondents from the local government departments (Fisheries, Trade and Markets, and Community Health) revealed that they were knowledgeable of and interested in training local fishers in the use of modern facilities and efficient methods to preserve and hygienically handle and pack quality fish and fish products. The respondents from the technologically specialised private companies and social enterprises reported having access to modern and efficient fish-catching equipment and technologies for improving the preservation and drying of fish and fish products. The latter respondents in particular named the new and environmentally friendly solar lanterns to use in Dagaa harvesting, the Dagaa drying racks, and icing containers, and showed determination to make them available in the local markets.

6.3.1.3 On entrepreneurship and business management

Some local actors reported lacking opportunities to acquire and/or improve their entrepreneurial and business management skills. The respondents from local government departments (Trade and Markets, Community Development, and Economic Planning) and NGOs specialising in enterprises and entrepreneurial development revealed having knowledge of and interest in designing and implementing training programmes to educate interested local actors in planning, starting and managing a business, as well as the registration and formalisation of a business. Other training areas include costing and pricing of products and services, marketing skills and strategies, record keeping, general work and business ethics.

6.3.1.4 On savings, credit and investment

Other local actors revealed that they lacked opportunities to enhance their understanding of savings, credit and investing. The respondents from the local government departments (Fisheries and Cooperatives) reported having some knowledge of and interest in initiating programmes to train local actors in savings and credit schemes and helping them to establish their own Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies (SACCOSs). The respondents from the SACCOSs, the micro-finance bank and financial lending NGOs reported having the capacities, interest and well-established programmes to educate people about savings, credit and wise investing, and revealed their readiness to extend this training to local actors in the fisheries sections.

6.3.1.5 On civil rights, freedoms, duties and collective actions

Other local actors reported lacking opportunities to enhance their understanding of their civil rights, freedoms and duties, and instituting collective actions to effectively utilise the available political and social spaces to improve their occupational and life chances. The Departments of Fisheries, Cooperatives, and Community Development, as well as political parties and specialised NGOs, revealed that they were capable of and interested in educating interested local actors about their civil rights, freedoms and duties related to the use and conservation of natural resources through the BMUs. In particular, the NGOs reported interest in educating and guiding local actors in understanding and utilising political and social spaces, and in establishing and managing fisheries associations and networks to eventually participate effectively in the governance of fisheries.

These respondents envisaged that the provision of opportunities for local actors to acquire and/or enhance their knowledge and skills in the main areas above mentioned that their performance and productivity in fisheries activities and their participation in fisheries governance would improve. While unveiling their enthusiasm to initiate the educational programmes suggested above, respondents from both the local government departments and NGOs noted, however, the challenge of securing enough funds to sustainably run these education programmes.

6.3.2 Enhancing access to and use of productive forces and fisheries infrastructure

Most local actors experienced challenges to access and efficiently use productive forces and fisheries infrastructure to improve performance and productivity in fish catching and the processing of quality fish and fish products. Most fish catchers reported having limited purchasing power to buy efficient and legal fishing inputs, and said that inefficient productive forces meant their performance and productivity were in jeopardy. Fish processors and traders reported a lack of or limited facilities for preserving and processing raw fish and fish products, and hence their inability to deal with post-harvest losses. Given the aforesaid, these local actors urged the government and other capable stakeholders to help in overcoming their challenges and facilitating their secured access to and use of modern productive tools and infrastructure to improve their performance and productivity in the fisheries sections.

Most representatives of the local government, market and civil society organisations registered concern about the fact that most local actors used poor, ineffective and illegal productive tools, and about the limited facilities for fish preservation and processing, and noted it as their duty to undertake improvement measures. During the FGD with members of the Council Management Team (CMT), for instance, one officer, who stressed that the district government had the duty to help local actors improve their access to and use of relevant fisheries productive tools and infrastructure, called for an attitude change in the way the Council dealt with the local actors in the fishing sector. She remarked:

We must stop thinking about and targeting revenue only. We equally have a duty to improve the working conditions and competences of the fishers. Fishers will confidently pay the required fees

when they see that revenue collected from them improves their situations too. If we do not invest to improve their functioning, they will continue fishing unsustainably and performing poorly, and when the fisheries collapse both the fishers and the local government will be in trouble. It is good wisdom to put fishers at the centre stage of our planning and budgeting, and to aim to help them overcome conditions constraining their productive fisheries activities.

In support of the change of attitude in planning and budgeting, another officer elaborated:

Now we should focus not only on revenue collection, but also on improving the functioning of fishers and on supporting the Fisheries Department to carry out extension services. We will have to allocate resources to improve the fisheries management and facilities for fish processing and packaging so that quality fish and fish products fetch good prices. We get lots of revenue from the fisheries, and we have to return on this by investing in essential fisheries infrastructure and services.

In principal, these members of the CMT, who acknowledged that their District Council had the duty to improve the fisheries infrastructure and facilities, underscored the possibility of using own (internal) revenue and TASAF funds⁵⁵ to improve infrastructure and facilities in the fisheries sections, as well as other social services at the fishing camps and fish markets. They further stated that in future budgets they will plan and set funds for improving fisheries infrastructure and for subsidizing local actors' purchase of efficient and legal fishing tools.

The councillors, political leaders and human rights NGOs reported wanting to take further the fisheries-related agendas and to demand that the local and central government consider subsidising fisheries productive tools and the improvement of facilities at the fishing camps and markets. Members of the local business community discussed opportunities to improve the availability of affordable fish preservation and processing facilities and technologies. These respondents noted that, with the current reliable electric power in the district, they were in a better position to contribute to the improvement of the preservation and processing of raw fish and fish products. They underscored that investment in ice production and other cold storage services was under way, and that they soon would be able to supply more fish bins to interested fishers at affordable prices.

6.3.3 Enhancing access to finance and credit facilities

While some fisheries activities require huge investment capital, most local actors reported to experience both limited capital of their own and access to affordable financing facilities. These local actors require enhanced access to capital and financial resources for (re-)investing in their fisheries activities. Members of the CMT proposed reforms of the District Council's Fund for supporting youth

⁵⁵ TASAF is an acronym for the Tanzania Social Action Fund. TASAF was established in 2000 to facilitate and build the capacity of key actors and stakeholders involved in poverty-reduction initiatives. It funds community-driven socio-economic development projects with a view to empowering poverty-stricken individuals and vulnerable households to move out of poverty and meet their basic human needs. TASAF also funds the establishment and/or improvement of socio-economic infrastructure in health, education, water and other productive sectors to enhance the well-being and capacities of poor and vulnerable individuals and households to overcome their unfortunate poverty situations. TASAF operates throughout the country, supporting community-driven projects across all sectors, including agriculture, health, roads, education, irrigation, water, food security, HIV/AIDS and environment (<http://www.tasaf.org>, accessed on 10.06.2014).

and women entrepreneurs in the district so that small entrepreneurs in the fishing sector also would have access to the funds to improve their fisheries activities.

Representatives of the micro-finance banks and SACCOS, who agreed unanimously that the fishing sector was key to local economic development, resolved that it was time for financial organisations to change some of their financing policies to better contribute to improving the capacities of local fishers. In this regard, a representative of one micro-finance bank remarked:

We understand and regard highly the important contributions of the fisheries activities to the local economy and our banking business. We do not finance fishers, but we know that the local economy and the SMEs we finance flourish when the fishers perform well. In fact, when the fisheries activities are paralysed, the local economy, including the banking business, also becomes paralysed. Aware of our potential and obligation to contribute to bringing about good impacts in the fishing sector, and in turn to the local economy, we have unsuccessfully demanded from our head office to approve some tailored products for meeting the financial needs of local fishers, but we will keep on exploring other options to this end.

The above respondent hinted further that micro-finance banks had other general services and products that small-scale fishers could use to access credit. She elaborated:

We know fish catchers make money, may have collateral and the ability to repay their loans, but with our current business loans policies they are ruled out. Alternatively, they can get personal loans if they hold personal savings accounts and use their savings as collateral, or may use group-lending facilities. We will make an effort to inform and encourage them to use these services.

The respondents from the SACCOS that issues loans to its fish-catching members reported that they were interested in educating more local fishers about opportunities to save with and borrow money from them. While arguing that the denial of credit facilities to the fishers, based on the risky and migratory nature of their fishing activities, did not make much sense, these SACCOS representatives held that fishers could be responsible borrowers, and that what matters was their informed commitment tenable through the mutual learning and experience within the SACCOS. These respondents showed, for instance, that their SACCOS, which at the time ran four branches in the district, had issued 154 loans to its 81 members participating in the fisheries activities (including 39 fish catchers). Furthermore, these respondents revealed that only 12 loans (5%) of the total 154 loans issued to finance fisheries activities turned into bad loans. Based on their experience with financing their members working in the fisheries sections, these SACCOS officers commented:

It is possible to successfully finance fisheries activities in general, and fish catching in particular, provided the borrowers as members of the SACCOS know, accept and comply with established financing policies and procedures. What is important is that the sense of belonging and ownership of the SACCOS is well entrenched in both the borrowing and guaranteeing of members who not only demand realisation of their right to credit, but also are committed to fulfilling their responsibilities to recover loaned money timeously.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ It should be noted that a SACCOS is a cooperative society whose members and therefore customers are also shareholders who participate in setting and approving different policies and regulations in the SACCOS.

Although these financing organisations have not yet developed specific financing policies and products to meet the needs of small entrepreneurs in the fisheries sections, they nevertheless have other financing options that small-scale fishers can use to increase their financial capacities. It is important that small-scale fishers learn about other financing options available at the micro-finance banks and SACCOs.

6.3.4 Enhancing access to security and social protection systems

Most local actors would like to see an enhancement of their opportunities to access and use formal protection security systems to mitigate various health, life, properties and businesses-related risks. Members of the CMT noted the recent established of the Community Health Fund (CHF) scheme in the district as a possible opportunity to enhance local actors' access to and use of quality and affordable basic health-care services. Convinced that most local participants in the fisheries sections can afford payment of the TZS 20 000 membership fee per year for them and their household members' access to unlimited basic health-care services, these CMT members resolved to promote and encourage local actors to join the CHF scheme. They further resolved to encourage members of the Council Health Management Team (CHMT) and the Ward Health Committees (WHC) to undertake regular public education seminars to provide education on CHF benefits and to mobilise local actors to join the scheme to enhance their access to quality basic health services throughout the district.

Another opportunity to enhance social security and protection is through the National Social Security Fund (NSSF). An informant reported that, at the time, the NSSF enrolled voluntary members from the informal sectors who have to make a minimum monthly contribution of TZS 20 000 and, from the third month after joining, these voluntary members can enjoy short-term benefits such as employment injury and health insurance benefits. The informant particularly reported on NSSF's interest in registering voluntary members from the fishing communities in the district, and urged the council management, political leaders and others community members to support the move by encouraging local actors to join so that they, in turn, could enjoy the fund's Social Health Insurance Benefit (SHIB).⁵⁷

When informed about the health benefits and social protection opportunities provided through the CHF scheme and NSSF, and asked whether they would encourage and support their employees to join either of these schemes, most owners of fisheries businesses replied in the affirmative. For instance, 16 (73%) of the 22 owners of Nile perch- and Dagaa-catching businesses revealed that they were capable and ready to pay the annual CHF membership of TZS 20 000 for their employees as an

⁵⁷ Indeed, at the time of this study, NSSF was encouraging people from the informal sector, in particular peasants, fishers, pastoralists, small-scale miners and entrepreneurs, to join it. It is reported that, in 2013, the NSSF was set to register 200 people from the fishing communities in the Geita region, who, having learnt of the fund's Social Health Insurance Benefit (SHIB) scheme, became interested and resolved to pay the minimum monthly contributions of TZS 20 000 (National Social Security Fund, 2013).

incentive following the good work they do. The other six (27%), who were attracted to the numerous benefits accompanying voluntary membership of the NSSF, and in particular the employment injury and health insurance benefits, revealed that they were capable, interested and ready to encourage, support and/or even pay the monthly NSSF membership contributions of TZS 20 000 for their committed fishing crews. In general, given their experience with the high cost of health services, these owners viewed it as cheaper and more manageable to pay the annual membership for the CHF and/or the monthly contributions for the NSSF to access health services for an insured person and four of his or her dependents.

Respondents from the insurance companies reported on the possibilities of enhancing local actors' access to and use of insurance services to mitigate the risks related to properties and business. One informant reported the opportunities available through the micro-insurance policies of some insurance companies to cover the risks involved in small and medium enterprises, and argued that small-scale fishers may use these opportunities to mitigate their property- and businesses-related risks. This informant specifically underlined the possibilities of his company to insure seaworthy vessels and outboard engines and promised to explore the involved modalities further.

With regard to the enhancement of the security and protection of small-scale fishers against armed robbery and piracy, a highly ranked official reported of the plans under way to increase the visibility of security and policing activities by initiating regular police patrols on the lake and strengthening community policing at fishing camps and beaches. The rich fishers revealed that they would continue supporting security and patrol systems by providing their own vessels or contributing funds to cover some of the operational costs.

6.3.5 Enhancing collective agency in the fisheries sections

As noted in Chapter 4, most local actors wanted to enhance their collective agency to be able to deal confidently with other stakeholders and efficiently redress their main challenges. With enhanced collective agency, these local actors expected to be able to better utilise the available economic, social and political spaces, and in turn to change their subordinate positions and improve their chances in production and exchanges. They also expected to enhance their self-governance to deal effectively with illegal and destructive fishing practices that threatened the collapse of fisheries resources. While holding that BMUs had the potential to enhance their collective agency had local actors and stakeholders been well informed and engaged during their initial establishment, some local actors underlined the need of reforming BMUs and/or establishing other legitimate, powerful and respected fishers' associations to guide responsible fisheries activities and the protection of fisheries resources.

Meanwhile, present and former BMU leaders discussed the importance of enhancing self-governance by revitalising BMUs and strengthening cooperation between civil and political leaders on the one side, and local actors and stakeholders on the other side. During their FGD, they emphasised:

BMUs are legally established entities. Being close to the main actors and stakeholders, BMUs can do a good job to stop illegal and destructive fishing practices. BMUs are currently failing because of a lack of support from government and political authorities in the village, ward and district. These authorities disrespectfully interrupt the functions of BMUs and sometimes use their authority and power to weaken BMUs to favour their allies, who violate the set rules. As a result of these constant interferences, BMUs become toothless. We can easily bring to a halt illegal and destructive fishing practices when BMUs receive all the necessary support. Let them empower us and give us the freedoms and support to establish 'real' BMUs. As soon as the village, ward and district leaders and authorities decide to respect, support and collaborate with BMUs, all those malpractices in the fisheries sections will end.

In line with the above claims, Onyango and Jentoft (2007) hold that BMUs were established for the protection of natural resources to ensure continued accumulation of economic benefits, but insensitive to the sociocultural issues so vital for facilitating the social interactions of local actors and stakeholders in the new fisheries management regimes. In addition, Onyango and Jentoft (2007) argue that, given that there was no proper preparation and socialisation of local actors and stakeholders in what comprises the implementation of the BMU regime, it has become hard for these local actors and stakeholders to negotiate their new social relations and enforceable morals to guide them in the BMUs. Consequently, there are no specified duties and incentives of individual BMU members, thus it is becoming hard to hold individual members accountable when things go wrong. Given the many pitfalls of BMUs, Onyango and Jentoft (2007) argue for the reorganisation of BMUs to fit into sociocultural contexts and to be enriched with the insights, incentives and enforceable morals of local actors and stakeholders.

CMT members noted the need to enhance the collective agency of local actors and cultivate good and fruitful cooperation between the local government and small-scale fishers. While agreeing that most BMUs were currently in shambles, these CMT members still noted the relevance of BMUs and revealed plans for their re-establishment and/or re-vitalisation to provide local actors with better opportunities to participate in fisheries governance. These respondents underscored that BMU membership, organisational structure and operational rules provided all local actors and stakeholders in the respective villages with opportunities to participate in the co-management of fisheries resources and in pushing their own local and occupational agendas.

These respondents highlighted, for instance, that, with the rules that distribute representation in BMU committee membership, 30% are owners of fishing vessels, 30% are fishing crews, 10% are fish traders, and 30% are fish processors, makers and sellers of fishing inputs, fish transporters and managers of the fisheries activities, hence each group of local actors and stakeholders is represented. These CMT members therefore argued that, with the re-establishment and/or re-vitalisation of BMUs, capacity-building programmes and other forms of supports, BMUs could become organisations that enhance the collective agency of local actors.

Respondents from the Departments of Fisheries, Cooperatives, Community Development, and the Legal Office who reported having knowledge of the approved national guidelines for establishing and running BMUs⁵⁸, also revealed that they were interested in and capable of educating local actors about BMUs and engaging them in drafting by-laws to guide their legitimate and responsible participation in fisheries activities and fisheries governances. Other civil and political leaders promised to support, engage and work closely with BMU leaderships in their respective villages and wards.

I have sought in this section to highlight what individual and collective agents in the government, market and civil society revealed themselves to be capable of doing to redress some of the deprivations and constraining conditions that have a negative impact on the agency and well-being freedoms and achievements of local actors in the fishing sector. Important, however, are the lessons on governance and morality of institutions and organisations in the context of combating and overcoming poverty in society.

For instance, while the fishing sector makes a huge contribution to the socio-economic development in the district, it is the most marginalised sector in the development plans of the District Council. And, while local actors experience several constraints and deprivation of opportunities, resources and freedoms to enhance their capacity to function efficiently and productively, most organisations of the local government, market and civil society with the relevant capacity to overcome these constraints, to remedy deprivation and to enhance the productive capabilities of local actors do not do so enough.

In both of the above cases, we learn that, in situations in which organisations of the government, market and civil society are not interacting and their undertakings are not well coordinated, they may end up failing to utilise their limited resources and opportunities to improve the socio-economic states of people and communities they serve optimally. In such situations, the adoption of the interactive governance approach is necessary to better engage capable actors and stakeholders in understanding societal challenges and designing solutions to redress these socio-economic and political challenges.

We also learned of the limited commitment of individual and collective agents in the search for the prosperity of others and of the general community. It is strange, for instance, that in their planning, the councillors and management team of the UDC are not very concerned with improving the fishing sector, which has many chances of contributing to the prosperity of local people participating in it, as well as to the prosperity of the District Council and the general community. Furthermore, like Kelly (1991), one wonders why these individuals and collective agencies in the civil, political and economic arenas of the district are not taking seriously the prosperity of their local people and communities by heightening the prosperity potential of the productive fisheries activities.

⁵⁸ These guidelines are available in Ogwang *et al.*, (2005)

Following the moral reasoning of Singer (1972), it would seem as if the moral systems of these individual and collective moral agents in the district are either blind, or do little to guide them to be concerned with the prosperity of the ‘other’. Otherwise, why would these individual and collective agents remain indifferent, while having the capacity to overcome threats to the well-being of those they are duty bound to serve? In other words, that these individual and collective agents are not feeling the duty to search for the prosperity of others and of their communities (Kelly, 1991) leaves a lot to be desired when considering the moral duty to improve personal, household and community well-being.

It is interesting to note, however, that key actors and stakeholders in the district have some capacity and have shown interest in undertaking initiatives to remedy the deprivation and enhance the essential entitlements and productive capabilities of local actors. The most important thing for these key actors and stakeholders is to co-operate and constantly engage each other in finding solutions to the socio-economic and political challenges that have a negative impact on the capacity of local actors to participate responsibly in their respective fisheries sections and to realise prosperity through sustainable fisheries. To do so, it is important for those key actors and stakeholders in the district to consider putting into practice the insightful remarks made by one of the highly placed district officers when responding to some of the issues raised at the stakeholders’ workshop. He politely stated:

While fisheries activities and fishing folk are important for the socio-economic development in this district, and must have been at the centre of the development thinking and planning of every individual citizen and organisation operating in this district, we have tended to marginalise them. Today, we have reminded ourselves of the huge contribution of the fishing sector to our socio-economic development and resolved never again to neglect the sector and the people participating in it. Each citizen, every government department and unit, political party, NGO and private company operating in this district must now give the fishing sector central place in their development initiatives and contribute to overcoming the conditions depriving fishing folk of essential opportunities and capabilities to participate responsibly to achieve their own prosperity and the prosperity of our district.

Building on the above insightful remarks, I now will explore the moral motivations of the key actors and stakeholders for undertaking initiatives to remedy deprivation and enhance the capabilities of local actors in the fisheries sections to highlight the kind of development ethic likely to facilitate a legitimate and dutiful search for prosperity through productive fisheries activities.

6.4 Motivations for undertaking capability enhancement actions

In their individual and collective capacities, respondents from the organisations of the local government, market and civil society exhibited various motivations likely to provide them with the moral basis for undertaking or not undertaking specific actions to remedy deprivation and enhance the specific capabilities of local actors in the fisheries sections. The motivations of these respondents stem partly from their “institutional and professional norms and virtues” (Flyvbjerg, 1993: 4), and partly from their personal moralities. I present a summary of what I gathered as being the main motivations

of the respondents from the main actors of the local government, market and civil society in Table 6.1 below, and then reflect on them in the subsequent sub-sections.

Table 6.1: Motivations for undertaking pro-poor actions in the fishing sector

Main motivations	Administrators & elected leaders n=28		Employed experts n=37		Members of private sector n=15		Members of CSO n=35		Total N=115	
To fulfil institutional and professional duties	12	43%	32	86%	06	40%	16	46%	66	57%
To contribute to capitalising on possible positive outcomes	23	82%	32	86%	11	73%	20	57%	86	75%
To contribute to preventing possible negative outcomes	17	61%	23	62%	11	73%	27	77%	78	68%
To show respect, fairness and solidarity with local actors	18	64%	12	32%	09	60%	22	63%	61	53%

Source: Field data, 2012-2013

6.4.1 To fulfil institutional and professional duties

The motivations of some respondents from the local government, private enterprises and civil society to engage in enhancing specific capabilities of local actors stem from their need to fulfil their institutional and professional obligations. A total of 66 (57%) of these respondents maintained that the mission, vision, values and duties of their organisations in general, and their own professional values and duties in particular, obliged them to undertake specific actions to remedy deprivation and/or enhance the capabilities of local actors in the fisheries sections. These respondents included 12 (43%) administrators and elected political leaders, 32 (86%) employed experts, 6 (40%) members of the private sector, and 16 (46%) members of civil society (cf. Table 6.1). Specifically, 12 (43%) administrators and elected political leaders and 32 (86%) employed experts showed understanding of their main duties and/or services they had to provide to local actors in the fisheries sections and maintained that justice demanded of them to fulfil such duties and/or provide those services to local actors. These civil rulers, political leaders and employed experts would undertake capability-enhancing initiatives with the view to realise their institutional and/or professional obligations.

The 6 (40%) members of the private sector, who described the facilitation of socio-economic development through the creation of opportunities and the supply of goods and services as their main duty to society, maintained that their commitment to realising that duty motivated them to engage in solving some of the challenges of small-scale fishers. These respondents argued that, if they had resources and favourable conditions, they would not hesitate to participate in the creation of opportunities to enhance local actors' acquisition of essential entitlements and productive capabilities.

The 16 (46%) members of civil society argued that their organisations envisioned human communities and systems of production and exchange in which human dignity, rights, justice, fairness, democracy, transparency and accountability were cherished and strongly upheld. Given this vision and the desire to actualise it, they were motivated to educate local actors about their human and civil rights,

freedoms and duties to eventually strengthen their capacity to collectively demand justice and fair production and exchange systems and engage in responsible fishing activities.

While entrenched institutional and professional norms and virtues would guide, enable and motivate those identifying with them to fulfil the duties of justice attached to them, such does not seem to be the case with about 43% of the respondents from the organisations of the local government, market and civil society. In fact, the need to fulfil institutional and professional norms and duties motivated mostly employed experts of the local government to undertake remedial and/or capability enhancement initiatives. That institutional and professional norms and virtues are not motivating more than 50% of the administrators and political leaders, members of the private sector and members of the civil society to improve the conditions of those whose human dignity, agency and well-being are threatened, leaves a lot to be desired when considering the role of institutions in poverty reduction.

6.4.2 To contribute to possible positive outcomes

Eighty-six (75%) respondents from local government, private enterprises and civil society would undertake specific remedial actions to enhance the capability of local actors because they want to contribute to and/or capitalise on possible good consequences. Twenty-three (82%) administrators and elected political leaders, 32 (86%) employed experts, 11 (73%) members of the private sector, and 20 (57%) members of civil society (cf. Table 6.1) would undertake actions that eventually contributed to making a difference in the lives of small-scale fishers, the fishing sector, their own organisations and society at large. Consequently, these respondents would undertake those actions that may enhance the capacity of local actors to function profitably and bring about prosperity in society.

In line with the aforesaid, for instance, the motivations of most fisheries officers are linked partly to their need to fulfil their professional duties, and partly to their general concerns about the fact that most local actors remain poor despite their huge investment and hard work in the fisheries sections. While arguing that they have the capacity and interest to help, but had not had opportunities⁵⁹ to educate small-scale fishers on undertaking profitable fisheries activities, these fisheries officers maintained they would be more than satisfied to do things that eventually enhanced the abilities of local actors to generate wealth through the fisheries activities they undertake. In fact, during their FGD, these fisheries officers discussed their role in contributing to overcoming poverty and facilitating the prosperity of small-scale fishers and maintained:

It is our duty as fisheries officers to protect fisheries resources to guarantee sustained harvesting of benefits from them, and to educate people on profitable and responsible fishing. We wish the harvesting of fisheries resources eventually will contribute to the prosperity of fishers and society.

⁵⁹ The lack of opportunities referred to here include undertaking fisheries extension services because of a lack of financial resources. As noted in Chapter 5, the Department of Fisheries was not allocated the funds they had requested to carry out the activities of their strategic plan, most of which involved training fish catchers and processors in improving their performance and productivity, and in engaging in responsible fisheries. These fisheries officers revealed their disappointment in reducing their role to that of collectors of revenue, thus making it hard for them to participate in educating small-scale fishers about profitable and responsible fishing.

We do not feel good seeing our small-scale fishers remain poor. We actually want them to benefit and flourish. We feel good when we see and hear about our successful fishers. When we see or hear about unsuccessful fishers, we feel we have not been able to help them. Within the limits of available resources, we will continue doing our best to help them improve their productivity.

From the above extract, it would appear that these fisheries officers are concerned with the fate of those participating in the fisheries activities and would do what they can to help them realise good outcomes. It follows that, with this attitude of care and concern for the fate of others and their prosperity, and given the opportunities and resources, these fisheries officers would comfortably engage in enhancing the capability of local actors.

Respondents from other departments of the local government would undertake competence enhancement initiatives because they observed and/or envisaged the positive multiplier effects that productive fisheries activities could have on the District Council and the general society. This was the view, for instance, of one officer, who commented the following during the FGD with the CMT:

In our local development planning, we have tended to focus mainly on enhancing agriculture production and agro-business, but with little achievement. Recently, with the view to heighten the production of sunflowers, we have sought and focused on exploring its value chain but the results are not that promising either. However, through this research, we have realised that fisheries activities and the fishers have significantly contributed to and will continue to have a huge positive impact on the socio-economic development of this district. This means fisheries activities and fishers are the most important for the prosperity of this district and its citizens. If we really want to make good progress, we have to focus on and make some significant investment in the production, processing and management of fisheries resources, and in enhancing the capacities of our fishers to improve their productivity and undertake profitable fisheries activities.

The respondent in the extract above and some others in the departments of the local government maintained that it was reasonable to invest considerably in people and socio-economic sectors likely to bring about huge returns to society. Consequently, in the context of Ukerewe, these respondents thought it reasonable to invest in small-scale fishers and fisheries activities because these have the potential of making huge positive impacts in the local communities and in the financial sustenance of the District Council. Accordingly, these respondents would undertake initiatives to enhance the capabilities of local actors in the fisheries sections because they envisage that these actors eventually will improve their functionings and bring about socio-economic benefits to them and to the community at large.

Respondents from the environmental NGOs revealed their interest in educating small-scale fishers on sustainable and responsible fishing and strengthening their collective agency because they believed that, when they acquire those competences, these fishers would become committed stewards of the environment and fisheries resources. Other respondents from other NGOs, political parties and departments of the local government were interested in enhancing the collective agency of local actors through BMUs, because they believed that BMUs would provide local actors with more opportunities

to engage in co-management of fisheries resources and, in turn, contribute to reducing destructive fishing practices. They also believed that, with BMUs, the freedom and collective actions of local people would be enhanced to utilise the available economic, social and political spaces to bring about their envisioned positive changes in their relations of production and exchange in the fisheries sections.

6.4.3 To contribute to preventing possible negative outcomes

Seventy-eight (68%) respondents from the local government, private enterprises and civil society would undertake actions whose outcomes included the prevention and/or overcoming of possible negative consequences for local actors, fisheries resources, the local economy and society. These respondents included 17 (61%) administrators and elected political leaders, 23 (62%) employed experts, 11 (73%) members of private sector, and 27 (77%) members of civil society (cf. Table 6.1).

In line with the aforesaid, respondents from social security and insurance companies reported being interested in contributing to redressing challenges facing local actors because they believed that, without some protective security measures, the social and economic welfare of these local actors would continue to be in jeopardy. In this regard, an informant from one insurance company noted:

Of course, when we engage in the provision of insurance services to address some risks of fishers we are definitely engaging in profitable business. The important thing is that we are contributing solutions to some pressing challenges of the fishers. We will make profit through creating these solutions while the fishers will benefit from the created opportunities. In the end, we both benefit.

Other private companies and social enterprises would be interested in undertaking specific initiatives because they envisaged that their initiatives would create opportunities that ensured both efficiency in production and reduction in some negative consequences for the environment and fisheries resources. For instance, respondents from technologically specialised private companies and social enterprises reported being interested in enhancing local actors' access to and use of legal, modern and efficient fish-catching and processing equipment and technology to reduce significantly the number of current fish-catching and processing equipment and practices that harm the environment and fisheries resources.

The CMT members and the councillors planned to set funds aside to finance small-scale fishers to buy legal fishing gear because they were aware of the fact that, without such help, some small-scale fishers would continue using destructive gear and impede sustainable fisheries. Similarly, respondents from formal financial organisations would explore alternative opportunities to finance small-scale fishers because, with the continued trends of limited or no support to access relevant productive forces, these local actors and their fisheries activities would become vulnerable and their negative consequences would multiply and reach other socio-economic activities and business in the district.

6.4.4 To show respect, fairness and solidarity

Sixty-one (53%) respondents from the local government, private enterprises and civil society would undertake actions to remedy deprivation and/or enhance capability in order to show respect, fairness and solidarity with local actors in the fisheries sections. These respondents included 18 (64%) administrators and elected political leaders, 12 (32%) employed experts, 9 (60%) members of the private sector, and 22 (63%) members of civil society (cf. Table 6.1). These respondents reported being interested in participating in capabilities enhancement initiatives because that was how they could show respect, fairness, solidarity and support for local actors who had made huge contributions to socio-economic development in the district. In that regard, for instance, one officer argued:

We have not been fair enough to fishers and the fishing sector in our previous budgets and plans. We have supported other socio-economic sectors while giving only minimal attention and support to the fishing sector and the fishers, who contribute immensely to our internal revenues. Given the many benefits that the district generates from the fishers and fisheries activities, it is just and fair that we re-invest a reasonable share to improve the sector and the competence and working conditions of those participating in it.

Some private enterprises and members of civil society would undertake capabilities enhancement initiatives to show solidarity with and support local actors in the fisheries sections. A respondent from one social enterprise, for instance, stated:

These small-scale fishers are determined and work hard to improve their lives. Unlike those citizens who wait for the government and benefactors to bring them development, these fishers work hard to bring about their own development. It is important to support them to overcome their challenges so that they can do better. These small fishers deserve some boost to advance further. We have to rework the local working and business environment for them to excel.

A representative of one SACCOS, who also appreciated the hard work and determination of small-scale fishers, urged the undertaking of actions to enhance their access to financing opportunities:

Fishers are hardworking and committed but lack some financial and business skills to do great things. We want to continue educating them. With improved understanding about savings, wise borrowing and investing, and improved access to sizable financing, they will make great advancement.

The attitudes of care, respect, solidarity and doing justice and fairness to others, and the concern for the consequences of their actions on local actors, fisheries resources, the local economy, own organisations and society, which stem mainly from personal moralities, are embedded in the motivations of most respondents from the local government, private sector and civil society. Consequently, while 53% of these respondents would undertake remedying and enhancement actions to show respect, fairness and solidarity with local actors, 75% and 68% of these respondents respectively would do so to contribute to bringing about more positive outcomes and preventing possible negative outcomes.

Nonetheless, showing respect, fairness and solidarity with local actors was not the motivation of about two-thirds of the employed experts. These respondents were motivated mainly by the need to

contribute to possible positive outcomes (86%) and prevent possible negative consequences (62%). That showing respect, fairness and solidarity does not motivate about two-third of employed experts who ought to be close to and provide key services and expert advice to local actors leaves a lot to be desired in the context of realising the duty of justice to poor local actors in the fisheries sections.

In general, based on the above moral convictions, motivations and justifications for undertaking pro-poor initiatives, there are big chances that civil rulers, political leaders, employed experts, and members of the private sector and civil society would participate assertively in most initiatives facilitating prosperity in the fishing sector. Nevertheless, given the blind spots of the current moral system of some individual and collective agents highlighted above, I argue for a more coherent, compelling and empowering development ethic to forcefully instil the ethical duty to combat poverty. Such a development ethic must also credibly underscore the legitimacy and imperative of individual and collective agents to search for their own prosperity, as well as that of others and the general community (Kelly, 1991).

6.5 Concluding remarks

Three objectives have informed the analysis of and reflection on the field evidence in this chapter. The first purpose involved an attempt to understand the poor local actors in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. Following local actors' revelation that they were constrained actors and based on evidence of their experiences of limited freedoms, constraints and deprivations in their fisheries sections, I established the existence of poverty and poor actors in the fishing sector of Ukerewe.

The increased failure of individual and collective agents to fulfil their duties of justice and redressing the challenges in the fisheries systems of production and exchange account for local actors to increasingly experience of limited freedoms, constraints and being deprived of essential entitlements and capabilities that are required for active, responsible and gainful engagement in the fisheries sections of Ukerewe District. These experiences of limited freedoms, constraints and deprivation eventually contribute to trapping most local actors in a bad situation of low production, low earnings, low savings and low investment in valued productive activities.

The second objective was to examine promising and favourable initiatives to facilitate the active, responsible and gainful participation of local actors in this fishing sector. Following the reasoning according to which poverty is a moral problem, I engaged key actors and stakeholders in critical dialogical ethical reflection on the state of limited freedoms, constraints and deprivation of local actors. Having learned and established that these situations of limited freedoms, constraints and deprivation breed and perpetuate further life-threatening, life-restricting and life-disempowering situations (Dixon, 2010), and viewing them as unfair and unfortunate situations, these key actors and stakeholders deliberated on remedial actions they are able to undertake to enhance the capabilities of these constrained local actors.

The main actions seek to enhance the opportunities of local actors to acquire relevant knowledge and skills; to have access to and use productive forces and fisheries infrastructure; to have access to and use formal finance and credit facilities; to have access to and use formal security and protection systems; and to enhance their collective agency in the fisheries sections and fisheries governances. With these enhanced opportunities, local actors could improve in acquiring and building their productive assets and in enhancing their productive capabilities to participate actively, responsibly and gainfully in their respective fisheries sections.

The third objective involved the exploration of the ethical ideas, values and principles embedding the preferred pro-poor initiatives. Having analysed the field evidence, I have noted that institutional and professional norms and virtues, as well as personal moralities, provide key actors and stakeholders with moral insights, inspirations and justifications for undertaking specific remedial and/or capability-enhancement actions. The main moral motivations included the need (i) to fulfil institutional and professional obligations, (ii) to contribute to possible positive outcomes, (iii) to contribute to preventing possible negative consequences, and (iv) to show respect, fairness and solidarity. These moral motives could provide key actors and stakeholders with moral inspiration and a basis for engaging in enhancing the productive capabilities of poor local actors in the fisheries sections.

Notwithstanding the moral convictions, inspirations and justifications of key actors and stakeholders identified above, I nevertheless have noted some blind spots in the moral system of certain individual and collective agents, which may continue contributing to their failure to realise some of their duties of justice in the context of combating poverty and facilitating prosperity in the fishing sector. Given this, I have argued for a more coherent, compelling and empowering development ethic to instil more forcefully the ethical duty to combat poverty, and the legitimacy and imperative of individual and collective moral agents to search for their own prosperity, as well as that of others and the general community (Kelly, 1991). I attempt to construct and propose such an alternative and contextualised development ethic in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FROM POVERTY TO PROSPERITY: WHICH DEVELOPMENT ETHIC?

7.1 Introduction

Key actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe who participated in this study resolved to combat the conditions that produce and perpetuate the poverty of local actors and the fishing communities. These actors and stakeholders resolved also to address the numerous challenges in the fisheries sections and let the productive fisheries activities contribute to the prosperity⁶⁰ of people participating in them and that of their fishing communities. In line with my fourth specific research objective, in this chapter I reflect on a development ethic⁶¹ with the potential to inspire and guide these multiple actors and stakeholders in their efforts to combat poverty to attain prosperity. Precisely, confining myself to the study findings and the history of the Ukerewe fishing sector⁶², I proceed to analyse, identify and suggest some of the ethical values and principles underlined implicitly or explicitly by the respondents as elements that constitute an alternative development ethic to guide the enhancement of the capabilities of the actors and fair social, production and exchange relations in the fisheries sections.

According to Garcia-Marzá (2013: 723), ethical values and principles are moral resources, which, like natural, physical, financial, human and social resources, allow the carrying out of actions and the coordination of plans for action with other individual or collective actors to improve human and societal situations. Garcia-Marzá (2013: 723) also contends that moral resources are rooted in our practical reason to inspire and guide us to “take on responsible commitments and act accordingly”. Generally, ethical values and principles have the potential to inspire and guide committed individual

⁶⁰ To date, people understand and interpret “prosperity” within the context of the sustainability of socio-economic processes that lead to an overall sustainable quality of life (in terms of material, cultural, ecological and spiritual aspects) for all people and thereby ensuring their well-being (Klimsza, 2014: 62-63). This understanding and interpretation of “prosperity” challenges human beings to undertake their wealth creation activities focusing on not only “to have more” but also “to be more” (Goulet, 1995: 6-7). In this study, I conceptualise “prosperity” as good fortune in terms of social and economic benefits that people achieve following their active and responsible participation in socio-economic and productive activities. This involves states in which people are gaining fair returns for the investments and/or services they offered, improved social status and respect, improved social and economic opportunities and facilities, enhanced protection of their freedoms and rights, healthy ecological environments and sustained natural resources. When explaining the attainment of prosperity in the context of the fishing sector, the respondents underlined that they wanted the productive fisheries activities they undertake to bring about a fair share of different forms of social and economic benefits to all participating in them and their communities, instead of a few individuals and private companies enjoying those benefits.

⁶¹ It is important to note the difference between “development ethics” and “development ethic”. Development ethics refers to an activity of thinking about ethical issues in theories and practices of development (Dower, 2008: 184). It involves critical and systematic thinking about experiences of development, about theory and about planning to achieve development (Gasper 2004: xii, 21–2). In contrast, development ethic refers to a set of values and norms chosen and accepted by a person or a group to inform and guide them as they plan and pursue development in specific socio-economic and political contexts (Dower, 2008: 184). In line with the aforesaid, we can say that development ethic is a product of development ethics.

⁶² This is in line with Flyvbjerg (1993: 4), who emphasises that value-rational questions need to be resolved “within the interpretive complexities of concrete circumstances, by appeal to relevant historical and cultural traditions, with reference to critical institutional and professional norms and virtues”. I therefore pay attention to the historical contexts of the conduct and practice of fisheries activities to uncover the socio-historical contexts and roots of the specific moral ideas, values and principles held by actors and stakeholders and to better interpret them and then to distil the relevant and credible ones to constitute an alternative and contextualised development ethic.

and collective actors to engage in socio-economic and productive activities to realise personal, household and community prosperity. Consequently, depending on the socio-economic and political contexts and the chosen developmental goals, individual and collective actors choose and/or ignore certain ethical values and principles to inspire and guide their development goals and initiatives.

The successful conduct of the critical dialogical ethical reflection during field research unveiled several ethical values and principles that underlie the current visions and actions of key actors and stakeholders on the one hand, and those that may inspire and guide their future development goals and initiatives in the fishing sector of Ukerewe on the other hand. The distilling and identification of alternative and contextualised ethical values and principles with the potential to forcefully inspire and guide these actors and stakeholders in their future undertakings are the main concern of this chapter. Thus, drawing on empirical evidence and the history of the Ukerewe fishing sector, I embark on theorising the role of specific moral resources in contributing to conditions that produce and perpetuate poverty on the one hand, and those facilitating the attainment of the prosperity of people, households and fishing communities on the other hand.

In section 7.2 I trace the roots of the current chosen moral resources of individual and collective actors in this fishing sector with the view to reveal those that inspire them only limitedly and those with the potential to inspire them powerfully to generate enough wealth to improve their personal, household and community conditions. In section 7.3 I reflect on the role of currently adopted moral resources in contributing to conditions that produce and perpetuate poverty, and then reflect on alternative moral resources with the potential to forcefully inspire capable actors and stakeholders to create favourable conditions for facilitating wealth creation to overcome poverty and guarantee prosperity in section 7.4. I summarise the elements I propose to constitute the alternative and contextualised development ethic in section 7.5, and end this chapter with concluding remarks in section 7.6.

7.2 Historical roots of moral resources of individual and collective actors

Wealth is an “admirable general-purpose means for having more freedom to lead the kind of lives we have reason to value” (Sen, 1999: 14). Wealth includes both economic and non-economic resources and goods important to serve human and societal purposes and needs. Enderle (2013; 2010) argues that wealth is created⁶³ through the innovative activities of capable and committed individual and collective actors who undertake those activities with a view to generate private and/or public wealth. In contrast, people, households and communities fall into situations of poverty when individual and

⁶³Enderle (2013; 2010) prefers to use the verb “to create”, which means “to make something new and better”, to highlight the innovative nature of the activities that capable individual and collective actors creatively and purposely undertake with the view to improve human and societal situations and/or to better serve people and the society at large. Consequently, for Enderle (2013), the notion of “wealth creation” underlines “a special form of increasing wealth” that makes the notion richer than both the notions of possessing and acquiring wealth.

collective actors in those households and communities fail to generate enough wealth for them and their members to meet their necessities and lead worthwhile lives.

In line with the aforesaid, in the next subsections I consider two historical periods in which the conduct of fisheries contributed to shaping the views and practices of key actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe, and in turn influenced their choice of specific moral resources to inspire and guide their efforts in creating wealth through productive fisheries activities.

7.2.1 Moral roots from the period of pre-commercialisation and monetisation of fisheries

For quite a long time, fishing in traditional Ukerewe remained a subsistence activity and fish trading involved a barter system. People residing on the islands of traditional Ukerewe valued fisheries activities because of their role in contributing to the availability of fish, which is a source of food, nutrition and well-being. While viewing the lake and its fisheries resources as God-given for all people to reap benefits from to meet their human needs, community members and traditional governance institutions and organisations guided and supported people to participate in productive fisheries activities to facilitate the availability of fish for food in their households and communities (Jentoft, Onyango and Islam, 2010; Onyango, 2013). Thus, people in these traditional communities were supported to learn skills from experienced others to be able to engage in fish catching, processing and trading and in making fishing tools. Capable people would then undertake those fisheries activities with a view to facilitate the availability of fish for consumption in their households and communities.

The traditional governance institutions and organisations played an important role in facilitating the production and distribution of fish. While established traditional governing institutions in the form of social values and norms guided the fair allocation of rights of access to and use of the lake and its fisheries resources, the traditional leaders (clan chiefs and elders) supervised the production and distribution of benefits reaped from those productive fisheries activities. The traditional governing institutions held the view that the lake and the fisheries resources in it belonged to everybody and charged the clan chiefs and elders with the role of custodianship of this common pool resource (McCay and Jentoft, 1998; Jentoft, Onyango and Islam, 2010; Onyango, 2013)

The traditional governing institutions and organisations established opportunities, incentives and support mechanisms to guarantee equitable participation of community members in utilising fisheries resources and in fostering their participation in the protection and conservation of fisheries resources. For instance, interested community members were facilitated to acquire relevant fishing competences through experienced others and were allowed to fish freely in the lake waters. In addition, the traditional leaders in specific areas allocated pieces of land for dedicated fish-related activities, identified and declared fish-breeding areas and demanded that no fishing activities should be undertaken in them, and declared closed seasons to allow for uninterrupted fish reproduction.

Traditional leaders also supervised the distribution of fish catches to ensure that each community member had secure access to fish for food and well-being. Concerning the freedom in fish catching and the distribution of fish catches in traditional Ukerewe, Onyango (2013: 73) observes:

It was also the case that fishers would travel long distances as they looked for fish, and they were not barred from fishing in those areas where they found fish. Fishers would come back home with their catch and hand the fish to the Chief or Elders, who would distribute the catch to clan leaders. Once distributed, the fish belonged to those clans and were no longer a common property. The different clans therefore claimed rights over the fish.

Highly concerned with issues of equity in accessing and using God-given fisheries resources for all people to meet their food and well-being needs, the governance institutions and organisations in traditional Ukerewe determined that every “clan member not only participated in the fishing activity in various ways, but also that each family gained a share of the catch” (Onyango, 2013: 80). Other community members also practically supported equitable access to and use of the lake and its fisheries resources for all people. For instance, owners of the land adjacent to the lake did not prohibit other community members from passing through their pieces of land; instead, they comfortably guaranteed them the right to pass to the lake and fishing grounds (Onyango, 2013). Generally, members of traditional Ukerewe and the established governance institutions and organisations supported those individual members who wanted to participate in productive fisheries activities in several ways.

The people of traditional Ukerewe continued to engage freely in subsistence fishing activities during the German era (1884 to 1917) and the British era (1917 to 1961), despite the fact that these colonial regimes declared all land and natural resources properties of the state. In fact, given that these colonial regimes maintained the traditional leadership as far as subsistence fishing was concerned, many traditional systems to guide and support fisheries activities remained unchanged. Thus, the clan chiefs and elders continued to administer (although this time under the authority of and on behalf of the colonialists) equitable access to and use of fisheries resources to meet the goals of food security and the well-being of people in their jurisdictions. In general, the colonial governments did not frustrate the traditional and small-scale subsistence fishing activities on Lake Victoria in general and in Ukerewe in particular, but undertook notable administrative and governance decisions and actions that had far-reaching and varied impacts on the fishing sector.

First, following several scientific reports on the state of fish species and their decline in the lake, the colonial government introduced fisheries management measures in the form of fishing gear restrictions, mesh sizes, allowed and prohibited fishing areas, closed fishing seasons, licensing and registration of fishing vessels (Onyango, 2013). In particular, the German colonial government enacted the Fish Protection Ordinance in 1908, which introduced licensing and boat registration rules for non-native Africans, whereas the British colonial government introduced laws on appropriate mesh size of allowable gill nets in 1933 to deal with the declining trends of fish stocks (Onyango, 2013). These administrative and governance decisions and actions became the foundation of future

fisheries management measures in Lake Victoria fishery. Second, with the view to boost the declining fishery, the British colonial government introduced new fish species into Lake Victoria in the 1950s and 1960s, namely Nile tilapia (*Oreochromis niloticus*) and Nile perch (*Lates niloticus*), which have turned into important commercial fisheries (Jansen *et al.*, 2000; Pringle, 2005a; Pringle, 2005b).

Between 1961 and late 1980s, the traditional and subsistence fishing activities of the people residing on the islands of Ukerewe operated without major interruptions from the new government of the independent Tanzania. While also declaring all natural resources government property, the new independent government nevertheless provided its citizens with freedoms and rights of access to and use of the lake and fisheries resources. Notwithstanding the freedom that traditional fishers enjoyed in reaping the benefits of Lake Victoria fishery, two important decisions and/or actions of the government affected the development of the fishing sector on the islands of Ukerewe.

First, with the abolition of the tribal chieftainship system in 1963 and the resettlement of people in communal villages in the mid-1970s, the traditional governance institutions and organisations that had been instrumental in guiding and supporting traditional subsistence fisheries activities and equitable distribution of fisheries benefits were highly impaired. Second, the implementation of the 1967 socialism and self-reliance policies⁶⁴ to guide local and national development by focusing on the production of enough goods and services for local consumption led, in the context of Ukerewe, to government support systems biased towards the agricultural sector to produce food and cash crops at the expense of the fishing sector. During this state-led development, the farming of food crops (cassava and grains) and cash crops (cotton and coffee) in Ukerewe received a boost from the government that provided farmers with subsidised inputs and technology and agricultural experts to educate them on modern farming and the establishment of co-operative societies which, among other things, ensured the timely availability of inputs and marketed agricultural produce.

Given the above-stated scenarios, the new government institutions and organisations operating in the villages of Ukerewe District overlooked the fishing sector on the basis that it made little or no significant contribution to the nation's economy. In both of the abovementioned decisions and/or actions of the independent government, the people residing on the islands were deprived of their legitimate governance institutions and organisations that guided and supported their efforts to

⁶⁴ In the socialism and self-reliance era, citizens were encouraged to focus on communal work and communal gains. In fact, as an adopted national philosophy to guide development initiatives and the building of an egalitarian society, this Tanzanian socialism prevented the accumulation of wealth to an extent that is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society. In this regard, Nyerere (1968: 340), who was the founding president and father of the nation, emphatically stated: "The objective of socialism in the United Republic of Tanzania is to build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live in peace with their neighbours without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual lives in luxury".

equitably access and utilise fisheries resources to meet the goals of food security and well-being in their households and communities.

The historical views and practices of fisheries activities discussed above embed several moral elements that are insightful in motivating and guiding individual and collective actors to engage in wealth creation through productive fisheries activities and in the protection and conservation of the lake and its fisheries resources. First, the strong belief that the lake and its fisheries resources are a valued “gift” that must be cared for in order for it to continue unleashing its benefits for all human beings underscores forcefully the moral duty to protect and conserve the lake and its fisheries resources to guarantee the availability of fish to feed present and future human beings.

Second, the belief that fisheries resources are a valued “gift” to all human beings to meet their food and well-being needs provides a strong moral basis for the claim of the right of every human being to benefit from the fisheries resources. Both the rights of all people to access, use and benefit from these fisheries resources and the duty of legitimate governance institutions and organisations to ensure the equitable reaping of benefits from fisheries resources and/or equitable distribution of the generated benefits are strongly underlined.

Third, the right of every human being to benefit from fisheries resources also serves as the basis for the establishment of the right of every capable and interested community member to engage in creating wealth (in the form of fish and other fisheries-related benefits) for realising personal, household and community prosperity. Besides, capable members have the duty to facilitate the less capable but interested members to acquire the relevant capabilities to engage in productive fisheries activities to reap their benefits. Thus, community members and organisations have to co-operate in enhancing the productive capabilities of interested individual and collective actors and in the generation of the wealth that is important for guaranteeing personal, household and community prosperity.

Fourth, the right of every human being to benefit from fisheries resources serves to establish the duty of legitimate governance institutions and organisations to take seriously the interests of the people under them and responsibly facilitate them to acquire essential entitlements and capabilities to actively participate in wealth creation and/or ensure equitable distribution of generated wealth. In fact, governance institutions and organisations are duty-bound to support those productive activities with the potential for contributing to generating enough public wealth and restrain from frustrating the subsistence activities of individuals or collective actors.

Fifth, the right of every human being to benefit from fisheries resources calls for the adoption of attitudes of cooperation, equity, solidarity, caring, self-sufficiency and sharing of wealth by all members of the community. In turn, those values play an important role in inspiring and guiding

individual and collective actors in the pursuit of their productive fisheries activities and in the generation of wealth.

7.2.2 Moral roots from the period of commercialisation and monetisation of fisheries

The Nile perch boom in the mid-1980s started the high level of commercialisation and monetisation of fisheries, and this in turn influenced the conduct of fisheries activities along Lake Victoria. The socio-economic and political reforms that Tanzania undertook from the mid-1980s also fuelled major changes in the conduct of fisheries activities. The reforms, which included, for instance, the adoption of liberal micro- and macro-economic policies and multiparty democracy, sought to provide conducive and enabling environments for fostering economic growth, democratic governance and the effective management of socio-economic and political institutions and processes (Ngowi, 2009).

Following the adoption of a market-led economy, Lake Victoria fisheries attracted huge private investment in fish production and processing that slowly transformed the traditional and subsistence fishing into an industry characterised by a high level of commercialisation and monetisation of fish in the local and global markets (Abila and Jansen, 1997; Jansen, 1997; Jansen *et al.*, 2000; Onyango, 2013). At this time, many individual and private companies increasingly participated in small-scale and large-scale fish catching, processing and trading of fish and fish products. During this period, Lake Victoria fisheries resources became not only the main source of food and well-being, but also of income, employment and foreign exchange earnings. In fact, during this period, the once traditional and subsistence fishing turned into an important commercial activity with the potential of contributing to private and public wealth in the fishing communities along Lake Victoria and the nation at large.

Nonetheless, the socio-economic and political reforms that were undertaken eventually influenced the roles and duties of the government and private sector in wealth creation through the fishing sector. Following these reforms, the government bowed out of controlling and investing in the economic and productive sectors such as the fishing sector to generate public wealth. In fact, that role was left to the private sector, which, viewed as the principal engine of economic growth and development, was expected to revitalise the processes of wealth creation.

The new role of the government involved the establishment of enabling legal and policy environments for the effective participation of capable individuals⁶⁵ and private companies in the economic and productive sectors to create wealth. In the context of the then lucrative commercial fisheries in Lake Victoria, the government, through the Fisheries Division and Local Government Authorities (LGAs),

⁶⁵ In the socialism and self-reliance era, civil servants and political leaders were prevented from engaging in businesses, as this was equated with engaging in the exploitative activities of the capitalists. Furthermore, given the then prevailing political propaganda and slogans such as *Upebari ni unyama* (i.e. Capitalism is inhuman), it was cogently argued that civil servants and political leaders, who were key players in building an egalitarian and socialist society, must restrain from inheriting those capitalistic behaviours and tendencies. However, unlike the previous context, this new socio-economic and political environment provided capable and interested civil servants and political leaders with the freedom to invest in economic and productive sectors to generate private wealth.

focused on protecting, conserving and guiding the rational exploitation of fisheries resources, and the collection of revenue in the form of fishing licenses, fish levies and other fisheries business-related taxes.

The above-mentioned historical account of the practices in the fishing sector during the period of the commercialisation and monetisation of fisheries and the socio-economic and political reforms that were undertaken embed several moral elements that underscore the rights and duties of individual and collective actors in wealth creation and the conservation of fisheries resources.

First, that fisheries resources are highly valued as a source of wealth, and consequently that individual and collective actors are entitled to participate in productive fisheries activities to generate private and public wealth. Second, that the duty to create wealth is that of resourceful individuals and private enterprises who must invest in economic and productive sectors to generate wealth (goods and services) for use by members of their households and communities. The duty of the government is limited to establishing a conducive legal and policy-related environment for entrepreneurs (individual and private companies) to engage in wealth creation. In particular, in the context of the fishing sector the government is duty-bound to undertake management roles by overseeing the proper conduct of fisheries activities, the protection of fisheries resources, the collection of revenue and the provision of basic social services and fisheries infrastructure.

In this section I have sought to trace the roots of the moral ideas, attitudes, values and principles of key actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. In the light of the abovementioned historical evidence, I argue that ethical ideas, values and principles currently chosen and/or used by key actors and stakeholders to inspire and guide them to combat poverty and realise prosperity through productive fisheries activities have their roots in the periods of pre- and actual commercialisation and monetisation of fisheries. In section 7.3, I illustrate how specific moral resources that individual and collective actors in government, market and civil society choose or ignore eventually limit them in establishing opportunities and providing services that expand the chances of local actors to create wealth. Then I reveal alternative moral resources with the potential to powerfully inspire and guide them to do so.

7.3 Moral resources and the poverty of persons, households and communities

Wealth in the form of income, goods and services is of paramount importance to overcome poverty and attain prosperity. The failure to generate enough wealth leads to states of poverty, while the generation of enough wealth leads to states in which individuals, households and communities are prosperous. Consequently, people who envisage overcoming their poverty and becoming prosperous ought to resolve and make an effort to engage in wealth creation. In the context of redressing poverty, the generated private and public wealth is useful for addressing the consumption and investment challenges of the individuals, households and communities involved (Enderle, 2013; 2010).

Enderle (2010; 2013) argues that the creation of public wealth (which eventually benefits all people) ought to be a responsibility shared between private enterprises and the government that operate interactively and combine their resources to produce goods and services that are useful to meet the consumption and investment needs of people in those communities. It follows that both the material and ideological commitment of private enterprises and government are important to facilitate individual and collective actors to create enough wealth to overcome poverty and realise prosperity (Enderle, 2013).

The local actors in the fishing sector of Ukerewe revealed their determination to generate wealth through the productive fisheries activities they undertake. Whereas 195 (100%) local actors said that they engaged in productive fisheries activities to earn income to attend to their personal and households needs, 100 (51%) local actors, besides wanting regular income to meet personal and household consumption needs, envisaged investing the generated wealth in income-generating activities to provide employment and services to other community members.

In addition, most local actors showed both an understanding of their right and duty to participate in productive fisheries activities to generate wealth, and a desire to use the generated wealth to serve their households and communities. In other words, aware of the fact that overcoming personal, household and community poverty requires sufficient income, goods and services (i.e. wealth), the local actors were determined to engage in productive fisheries activities, which in the current context of Ukerewe have a wealth-generation potential.

The organisations of the local government, market and civil society are also concerned with redressing the challenges of poverty facing people, households and communities in the district. The vision, mission and services provided by these organisations underscore their commitment to addressing poverty-related challenges and facilitating wealth creation initiatives in the district. Indeed, and as revealed in the previous chapters, government agencies, private companies and civil society organisations have adequate capabilities to support individual and collective actors in socio-economic and productive activities in stages of producing and distributing wealth to meet consumption and investment needs in households and communities.

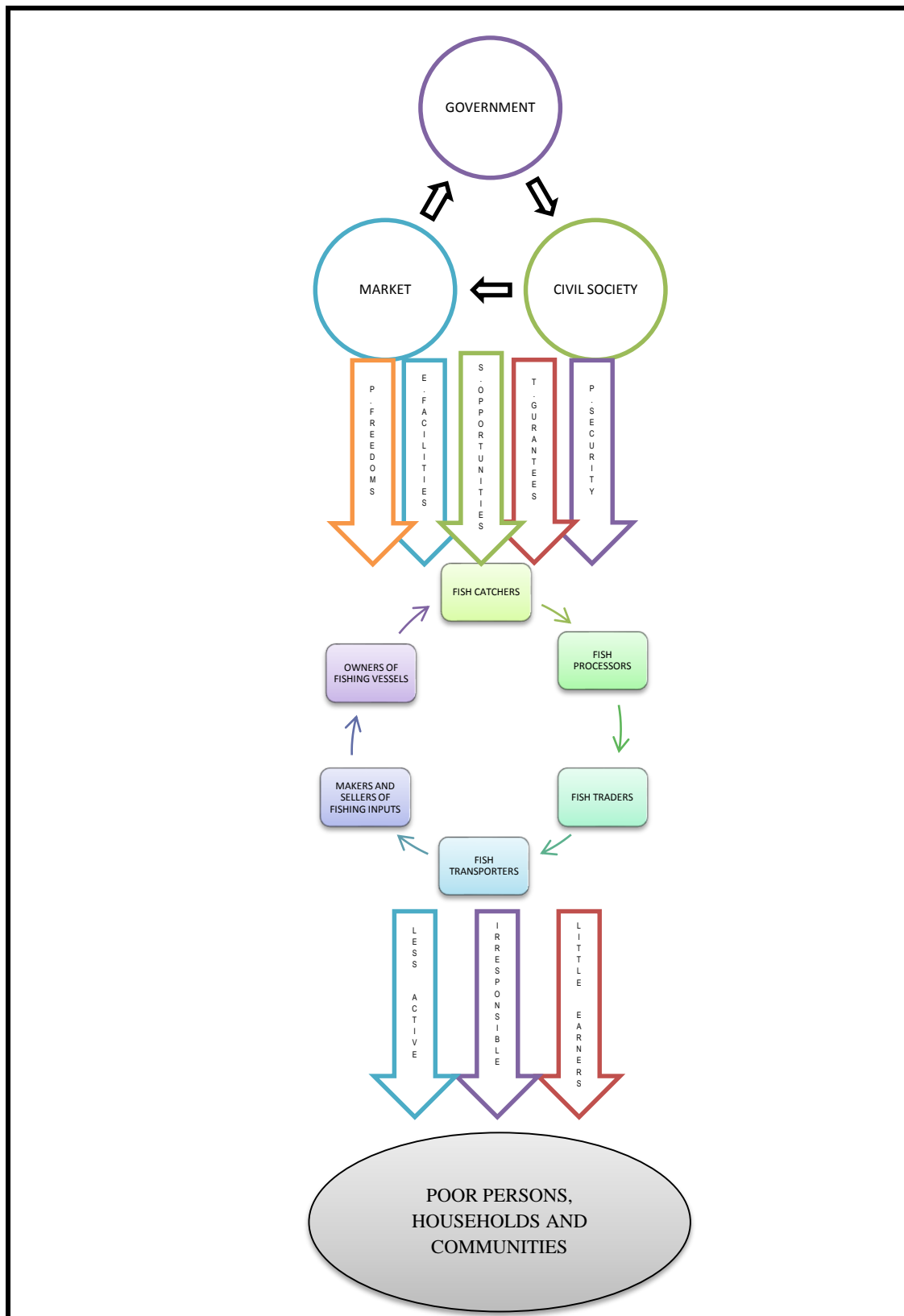


Figure 7.1: Theorising the production and perpetuation of poverty in the fishing communities

Figure 7.1 above shows that local actors and their households and communities experience different forms of poverty because they have not been able to generate enough wealth. They are less active in producing wealth in their fisheries sections and/or earn little. Besides, other local actors conduct their productive fisheries activities irresponsibly, thereby ruining their chances of earning enough income. Yet other local actors utilise the income they generate irresponsibly, thus failing to save enough to buy assets or invest in income-generating activities. Given the fact that they are less active, irresponsible and small earners, some local actors are unable to supply their households with enough goods and resources to meet their consumption needs or to invest in income-generating activities to provide services to the general community.

I argue that local actors become less active, irresponsible and earners of little benefits because organisations of the local government, market and civil society that ought to provide them with material and ideological support (i.e. the different instrumental freedoms and opportunities shown in Figure 7.1 above) are failing to do so. Indeed, it was reported in the previous chapters that local actors were only limitedly supported to acquire, enhance and utilise knowledge, to acquire and control productive assets, to access and use fisheries infrastructure and facilities, to acquire and control financial capital, and to acquire, enhance and utilise social capital and protective security opportunities.

The tendencies of government agencies, private companies and social enterprises to limitedly support and/or omit some of their duties in establishing opportunities and services to support local actors in the stages of generating wealth eventually pushes most local actors into situations in which they have inadequate freedoms, opportunities, facilities and competences to produce enough wealth. With limited opportunities, freedoms and facilities to enhance their productive capabilities and become active and responsible wealth creators, local actors remain constrained in generating wealth or obtaining a reasonable share of distributed wealth to meet the consumption and investment needs in their households and communities.

In the following subsections, I argue and illustrate (with the aid of Figure 7.1) the extent to which some chosen or ignored ethical values and principles have to a limited extent inspired and guided both local actors and organisations of the local government, market and civil society to engage responsibly and committedly in stages of the production and distribution of wealth through fisheries activities. I consider the stages of (i) before investing in or undertaking productive fisheries activities, (ii) actual undertaking of wealth-generation activities, (iii) distribution of generated wealth, and (iv) use of generated wealth, to highlight the role of specific chosen or ignored moral resources in breeding conditions that perpetuate poverty and limit the production and distribution of enough wealth.

7.3.1 Stage of before investing in or undertaking productive fisheries activities

Both successful investment and the undertaking of socio-economic and productive activities require a great deal of initial planning in which potential risks are evaluated and measures established to mitigate them. Thus, the stage prior to investing or actually undertaking productive activity is important to make informed decisions and, when properly taken care of, determines the chances of successes. Equally, at this stage moral resources play a significant role in informing the individuals involved and providing them with a moral basis for choosing specific ends and means.

I claim that the failure of most local actors to generate wealth starts at this stage, because they are not supported enough to understand the several risks involved in the fisheries activities they want to undertake and therefore are not equipped with relevant capabilities and options to mitigate those risks. In fact, most local actors revealed that they had limited competence for successfully running their fisheries activities. In particular, they reported engaging in fisheries activities while having limited knowledge of fisheries policy and regulations, limited entrepreneurial and business management skills, and limited knowledge of responsible investment. With these limitations, most local actors hardly engage in those productive activities legally and responsibly, resulting in them obtaining only limited returns on their investments or work (cf. Figure 7.1).

Two factors lead to the above-mentioned situation. First, local actors are too preoccupied with realising their right to access and benefit from fisheries resources, while doing little with their duty to acquire adequate capabilities to participate responsibly in their fisheries sections. Second, the governing agencies refrain from their duty to equip interested local actors with relevant competence to become active, responsible and gainful actors in the fishing sector. Unlike in the traditional Ukerewe period, when governing institutions and organisations guided and enhanced interested community members with the relevant competence to participate responsibly in fisheries activities and enjoy the benefits therefrom, currently neither local actors nor governing agencies take seriously the duty to acquire relevant capabilities to realise the right to access and benefit from fisheries resources.

Focused on benefiting from fisheries resources, for instance, local actors work hard to raise capital to invest in productive fisheries activities and buy licenses to legally undertake fisheries activities, but make little effort to learn to comply with fisheries regulations to avoid penalties and losing income, or explore options to mitigate risks likely to impact on their businesses. Likewise, wanting to generate enough revenue from fisheries activities through licenses and levies, the district local government registers and allows interested individual and collective actors to participate in productive fisheries activities, but does little to equip them with the relevant competence for becoming responsible actors.

That the local actors refrain from their duty to enhance their productive capabilities, and that the governing agencies fail to establish opportunities for enhancing the competence of interested local

actors, eventually breeds conditions that hamper the generation of enough wealth through the fishing sector. Consequently, to engage successfully in wealth creation, local actors ought to enjoy not only the right to access and benefit from fisheries resources, but also the right to adequate productive capabilities to function actively and responsibly. It follows that local actors have the duty to search for and acquire sufficient capabilities to use fisheries resources responsibly. Equally, the governing agencies ought to provide interested local actors with opportunities to enhance their productive capabilities to engage in creating wealth through fisheries in a committed and responsible manner.

7.3.2 Stage of the actual undertaking of wealth-generation activities

Successful wealth-generating undertakings require involved actors to be in control of and use essential assets and productive capabilities. To this end, the role of institutions and organisations of the local government, market and civil society includes supporting local actors to securely access, control and use essential assets and productive capabilities to produce wealth. In contrast, this study found that government agencies, private companies and social enterprises are far from doing so, resulting in most local actors facing limitations in acquiring, controlling and using appropriate productive assets, in accessing and utilising socio-economic services to improve their lot in wealth creation, and in dealing with unsustainable fishing practices.

7.3.3 Stage of distribution of generated wealth

Distribution of the generated wealth is an important dimension and stage of wealth creation. Enderle (2013) underscores the inherent interrelation between the productive and the distributive dimensions of wealth creation and argues for a fair sharing of the generated wealth amongst those engaged in producing it. Unfair distribution of the produced wealth (i.e. income and goods) is one form of being deprived of resources useful for combating poverty. Local actors who engage in productive fisheries activities to generate wealth reported cases in which they were paid unfairly or denied their rightful income. Some local actors avoided paying levies imposed on their fisheries businesses, thereby denying the government revenue that could be used to provide social services to the general community.

While traditional leaders (clan chiefs and elders) were duty-bound to oversee a fair distribution of the benefits reaped from fishing by ensuring that each community member received enough fish to meet his or her food and well-being needs, some key actors and stakeholders do not want government intervening in the systems of production, distribution and exchange. Claiming to respect market forces and principles, some key actors and stakeholders in the district fishery do little to curb forms of exploitation and unfair distribution of the generated wealth. With little or no intervention in the production, distribution and exchange relations in the fisheries sections, the violation of the right of just pay for the work done or services offered by local actors has escalated, depriving those local

actors of their rightful income and goods to use to combat the different forms of poverty they experience.

7.3.4 Stage of use of generated wealth

Determining how to use the generated wealth is significant, given the instrumental role of wealth in preventing one from falling into poverty and addressing poverty-associated problems. Enderle (2009: 289) argues that wealth is good and useful for meeting consumption and investment needs, but when used solely for consumption, “then the road to poverty is predetermined”. However, it requires certain competencies to make wise use of wealth to avoid falling into and/or remaining in poverty.

While most local actors reported using their income to fulfil their personal and household basic needs, buy assets and invest in income-generating activities, they nevertheless revealed that they were greatly constrained from making wise and profitable investments. While these local actors could acquire entrepreneurial knowledge and have their investment skills enhanced through public education and outreach programmes, capable and specialised government agencies, private companies and social enterprises were not yet doing so, partly because they did not believe they were duty-bound to do so, or were unaware of those needs. Following their limited entrepreneurial and investment knowledge and skills, some local actors, for instance, are failing to invest in non-fishing income-generating activities to diversify their wealth and/or mitigate the risks involved in productive fisheries activities.

7.3.5 Chosen and ignored moral resources

I contend that the limited commitment of capable and specialised government agencies, private companies and social enterprises to support local actors is rooted in the specific moral resources they choose to inform and guide them in dealing with at least four of their main concerns. These are (i) concerns over the duty to create public wealth, (ii) concerns over the role of government in economic and productive activities, (iii) concerns over the wealth potential of the fishing sector, and (iv) concerns over the duty to govern and manage fisheries resources.

7.3.5.1 Duty to create public wealth

Unlike in the traditional Ukerewe community, where members felt duty-bound to engage in or support undertakings to generate public wealth (in the form of fish for meeting the food and well-being needs of all members in their households and communities), most individual and collective actors currently feel duty-bound to engage in creating private rather than public wealth. In fact, most respondents from the private enterprises viewed the duty to create public wealth (in the form of public goods and services) to be a duty of the government rather than of individuals and private enterprises.

These individual and collective actors in the private sector engage in producing goods and establishing socio-economic services focused on making profit (private wealth) rather than public

wealth. They would engage in solving or supporting the solving of societal problems when they determined that creating those opportunities and services eventually would earn them profit, and would not do so, even if they had enough resources, if they determined they would not make enough profit. In particular, representatives of private formal financing enterprises revealed that they were not providing financial credit to local actors in the fishing sector because they viewed fisheries businesses as risky, and so did not want to make a loss. Convinced of having a lesser duty to generate public wealth, most individual and collective actors in the private sector are more motivated to maximise profit for themselves or their companies than for the sustained socio-economic benefits of the general community.

7.3.5.2 Role of government in the economic and productive sectors

Whereas traditional government (i.e. leadership involving clan chiefs and elders) established opportunities and incentives and oversaw the production and distribution of benefits earned from productive fisheries activities, the government's role within the liberalised market economy framework is limited to establishing a conducive legal and policy environment for individual and private enterprises to engage in the economic and productive sectors. Thus, the government does little to invest in economic and productive sectors to establish important socio-economic opportunities to support constrained local actors on the anticipation that private enterprises would do so.

In fact, respondents from the local government reported, for instance, that they had expected capable individual and private enterprises to invest in fisheries infrastructure and technology to address the problems of post-harvest losses and limited financial credit for entrepreneurs in the fishing sector. Thus, convinced of their lesser role in investing in economic and productive sectors, both the national and local governments have done little to establish socio-economic opportunities and services to facilitate local actors to access, control and use efficient, productive tools, financial capital, fisheries infrastructure, subsidised fishing inputs and technologies to improve their lot in producing wealth.

7.3.5.3 Wealth potential of the fishing sector

Individual and collective actors in the government, market and civil society prefer to invest in or support economic sectors and productive activities with the potential of contributing to generating private and public wealth. Whereas local actors perceived productive fisheries activities to have wealth potential, some key actors and stakeholders in the district have not comprehended the wealth and poverty-reduction potential of the fishing sector. For instance, this study found that the development plans and budgets of the Ukerewe District Council were biased towards the farming and livestock sectors at the expense of the fishing sector, partly because the wealth potential and economic multiplier effects of the fishing sector were not completely understood. In fact, reducing the fishing sector and its productive fisheries activities to only sources of revenue for government and

welfare for poor people and communities (Béné *et al.*, 2010; Nunan, 2014) has hampered investments in the fisheries sections and the support of local actors to enable them to produce enough wealth.

7.3.5.4 Duty to govern and manage fisheries resources

Effective governance and management of productive fisheries activities is paramount to guaranteeing the rational and sustained exploitation of fisheries resources and the equitable distribution of benefits from fisheries. Whereas traditional governing institutions and organisations established opportunities, incentives and mechanisms to foster meaningful participation of community members in the utilisation, protection and conservation of fisheries resources, most actors and stakeholders in the district perceived the protection and conservation of fisheries resources to be the sole duty of the government, and specifically of the fisheries department.

This study found that, despite the establishment of co-management plans in the form of Beach Management Units (BMUs), most actors and stakeholders still did not feel duty-bound to participate in the protection and conservation of fisheries resources, and some even reported that when they did participate they did so to ‘help’ the duty-bound fisheries officers.⁶⁶ It also found that members of other departments and agencies of the Ukerewe District Council were not actively involved in the management of fisheries and that they did not think they were blameable when fisheries resources collapsed due to poor management. Moreover, some local actors felt that they had less of or no mandate to control or prevent fellow actors from using illegal and destructive fishing methods and gear, while the illegal fishers reported worrying more about fisheries officers than fellow fishers and BMUs.

Convinced that they are not or less duty-bound to engage in the management of fisheries resources, some key actors and stakeholders failed to assist local actors in combating and overcoming destructive, illegal and unregulated fishing practices and businesses that ruin the chances of the fishing sector to sustainably contribute to food, nutrition, jobs and wealth in the district.

The deep-rooted moral convictions and attitudes that were discussed above underlie the limited action or inaction of most individuals and collectives in the government, market and civil society to the extent that they have a negative impact on their commitments to engage in wealth creation. Consequently, the limited investments in the fishing sector, which is an engine for economic growth in the district, and inadequate support of local actors to generate private and public wealth, have eventually led to the increased poverty of people, households and communities (cf. Chapters 1, 4, 5 and 6 for evidence of income and non-income poverty). Equally, redressing poverty requires a responsible commitment by key actors and stakeholders to engage interactively in producing and distributing enough wealth to meet the consumption and investment needs of individuals, households and communities.

⁶⁶ Onyango and Jentoft (2007) report that having performed the roles usually performed by fisheries officers, some members of the BMUs were considering to demand a salary from the local government.

7.4 Moral resources and the prosperity of persons, households and communities

With the production and distribution of enough wealth, personal, household and community poverty can be overcome and prosperity can be attained. Figure 7.2 below serves to illustrate the process of overcoming poverty and realising prosperity in the currently poverty-stricken fishing households and communities. First, it shows that overcoming poverty and attaining prosperity are possible only when local actors in the fisheries sections manage to produce and distribute enough wealth (i.e. fish, income, assets, goods, etc.) for meeting the consumption and investment needs of themselves and members of their households and communities.

Second, local actors must possess enough productive capabilities and function actively, responsibly and gainfully in their productive fisheries activities for them to generate enough wealth. Third, local actors can become active, responsible and gainful actors only when institutions and organisations of the government, market and civil society facilitate them with opportunities and services to acquire essential entitlements and enhance their productive capabilities. In other words, institutions and organisations of the government, market and civil society individually or co-operatively contribute to establishing opportunities and services through which poor local actors are facilitated to become wealth creators in their fisheries sections.

Given the aforesaid, this study engaged respondents in a critical dialogical ethical reflection to uncover alternative moral resources to inform and guide them in addressing their main concerns highlighted above and renewing their responsible commitments to redressing poverty-related challenges. Following intensive dialogues, informed debates and a thorough analysis of the evidence, the study participants resolved the following (cf. Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion).

First, that productive fisheries activities have a wealth and poverty-reduction potential, and that efforts are required to unlock such potential. Second, that it is reasonable that private companies, social enterprises and government agencies cooperate and support initiatives to generate wealth and govern fisheries resources to ensure a sustained reaping of benefits. Third, that certain capable individuals and collectives in the government, market and civil society are highly committed to support local actors to actively and responsibly generate wealth by establishing opportunities and services that enhance their productive capabilities and secure access to and control of productive assets. In addition, these key actors and stakeholders revealed that they were motivated to engage in enhancing the productive capabilities of local actors so that they could participate actively, responsibly and gainfully in the fishing sector.

While paying attention to what the respondents revealed to value and want to achieve, as well as their envisioned 'new' behaviours, roles and actions in their fishing sector, I proceeded to construct a development ethic with the potential to re-enforce a responsible commitment of actors and

stakeholders to combat poverty and realise prosperity in the district. I call this development ethic a **Sufficient Capabilities and Wealth Ethic (SUCAWE)**.

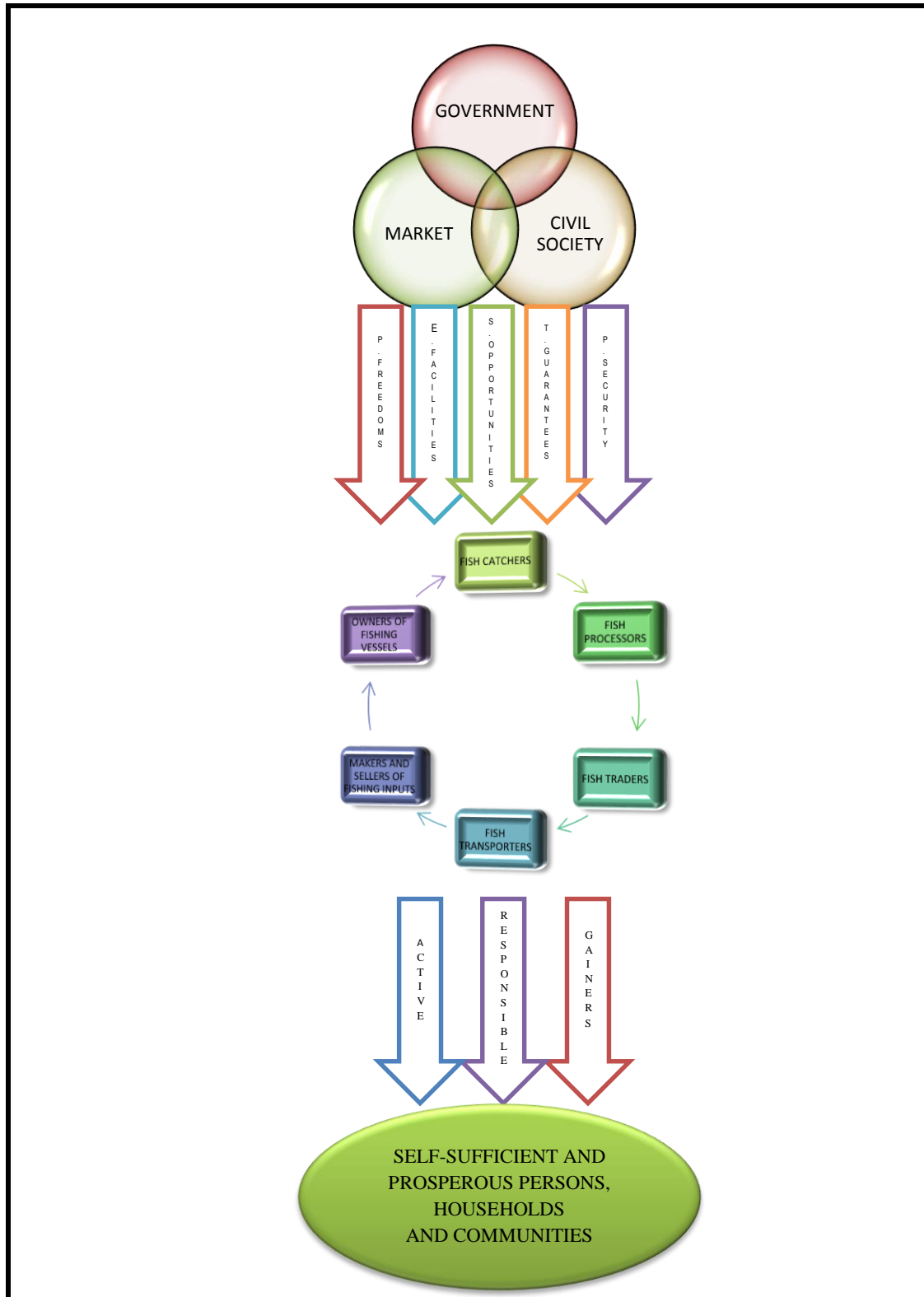


Figure 7.2: Theorising the overcoming of poverty and attaining prosperity through the fishing sector

7.5 Elements of an alternative development ethic

Like other ethical approaches to development, a Sufficient Capabilities and Wealth Ethic (SUCAWE) is comprised of three main components that specify (i) the goals or ends of development initiatives, (ii) the means to realise those development goals, and (iii) moral values and principles to inform the choosing of goals and means of development.

The first component specifies the goals of development initiatives. SUCAWE highlights the creation of wealth that is instrumental in preventing individuals, households and communities from falling into or remaining in poverty as an important goal of development initiatives. In so doing, it underscores very strongly the importance of wealth creation as well as the moral value and uses of wealth.

The study participants reported that different forms of poverty impact negatively on the dignity and freedom of individuals, households and communities. They also established that living in poverty is shameful and limiting. In this regard, for instance, local actors emphasised very strongly that they engaged in fisheries activities to be able to obtain income and other socio-economic resources to use to free themselves from their lack of basic needs and dependency on others. Hence, fisheries activities are valued because they provide them with resources to meet their needs to lead self-reliant lives.

Furthermore, most local actors were of the opinion that individuals have the right to be free from poverty and therefore must not be prevented from, but assisted to, utilise those socio-economic and productive opportunities through which they can attain prosperity. On the other hand, government agencies, private enterprises and CSOs, noting also the bad consequences of poverty for the human dignity, agency and well-being of local actors, resolved to undertake actions to enhance the capabilities of local actors to enable them become active, responsible and gainful actors.

Given the instrumental role of wealth in providing people with income, goods and resources to meet their human needs and enhance their lives with dignity and self-reliance, the right of people to participate in the production of wealth is important and requires protection. Thus, the right of people to engage in wealth-production activities is an important element of SUCAWE. It highlights in particular that poor people have the right to participate in productive activities to produce enough wealth to free themselves from poverty and a lack of basic needs, and calls for societal arrangements to realise this. Other social and economic actors have the duty to refrain from preventing people from engaging in wealth-creation activities.

The second component specifies the means to achieve valued development goals. It highlights the role of capable human beings in wealth creation and the importance of enhancing the productive capabilities of poor actors to make them wealth creators. While all human beings are potential wealth creators, only those with relevant and adequate competences, freedoms, opportunities and productive tools can innovatively engage in wealth production to generate enough wealth (Enderle, 2010; 2013).

For Sen (1999), enhanced human capabilities in the form of political freedoms, transparent guarantees, economic facilities, social opportunities and protective securities (cf. Figure 7.2 above) are a key to human beings being able to engage in wealth-production activities.

The study participants underscored the role of different capabilities in productive fisheries activities and resolved that local actors are entitled to adequate knowledge, skills and relevant efficient productive forces to participate responsibly in the production of wealth, and that they should not be deprived of but always facilitated in enhancing their productive capabilities. Given the instrumental role of human capabilities in the stages of wealth creation, the right of people to access the basic and adequate capabilities they require to perform socio-economic and productive activities must also be established and respected through societal arrangements. Similarly, human beings' right to basic and adequate productive capabilities (and in particular that of poor people) is an important element of a SUCawe and calls for capable organisations of the government, market and civil society to facilitate people to overcome conditions that hamper their different productive capabilities.

The third component comprises a set of moral ideas, values and principles that are useful to inspire and guide the behaviour and actions of individuals and collectives in the processes of redressing poverty and the stages of production and distribution of wealth. It embeds ideas and principles of sufficiency, which guide one to act with the awareness that “there can be enough and there can be too much” in every activity (Princen, 2005: 6). Further, Princen (2005: 9) contends that sufficiency “is a commonplace notion, self-evident, even intuitive, at a personal level” and “sensible at the organizational level”.

The ideas and principles of sufficiency are entrenched in the practices of some local actors in the fisheries sections and culture. In the context of Ukerewe, sufficiency implies “having enough” or “adequate”, “being satisfied” and “being moderate” in one’s own doings and dealings. Linked to the valued goal of being self-sufficient or self-reliant in life, the ideas of sufficiency are useful criteria to consider when making decisions with regard to fair social, production, distribution and exchange relations to eventually control and restrain oneself from harming oneself or others, and taking precautions to mitigate unintended consequences.

Given their being “sensitive to critical environment risks” and “to the needs of management and self-management” to mitigate such risks (Princen, 2005: 19), sufficiency ideas (‘enough-ness’ and ‘too muchness’) and principles (restrain, respite, precaution, etc.) are better suited to inspire and guide the self-management of individual actors and the general management of sustained wealth creation in the fisheries sections.

Based on and/or in light of the moral ideas, values and principles of sufficiency, we can establish appropriate concrete actions to realise the rights and duties of different actors and stakeholders in the context of wealth creation and the governance of fisheries resources, as follows.

First, given the many risks involved in productive fisheries activities, interested individuals have a duty to equip themselves with adequate competence prior to investing in or undertaking those productive fisheries activities to be able to mitigate the potential negative impacts on their capacities to create enough wealth. Accordingly, responsible governing agencies, in due consideration of possible consequences to the involved individual, other actors involved in productive activity and the source of wealth, have the right to take precautionary measures by prohibiting the participation of incompetent and irresponsible individuals in wealth creation. Thus, on the one hand, social arrangements must provide people with opportunities to acquire the relevant competences to become wealth creators, and on the other hand, when individuals irresponsibly fail to acquire adequate competences they ought to be prohibited from engaging in those productive activities to avoid further negative consequences for them and/or for other actors.

Second, when in possession of relevant productive forces and adequate capabilities, and having fulfilled the legal requirements, individual and/or collective actors ought to engage responsibly in wealth-generation activities. In fact, they have to undertake their wealth-production activities responsibly by (i) making moderate and manageable investments, (ii) taking precautionary measures against possible forms of capabilities deprivation, (iii) restraining themselves from depriving other people of their real opportunities to produce wealth, and (iv) restraining themselves from undertaking activities that harm sources of wealth. Thus, in view of ensuring sustained wealth creation in the fishing sector, for instance, actors have the duty to refrain from personally engaging in or supporting illegal and destructive fishing practices and to actively participate in initiatives to protect and conserve fisheries resources.

In the spirit of solidarity with fellow human beings (especially the needy), and in respect of their rights to participate in generating wealth, other actors and stakeholders ought to support and/or avoid preventing others from engaging in those productive activities unreasonably. Besides, and within the limits of their capacities, capable government agencies, private companies and social enterprises have the duty to support the redressing of the challenges of constrained actors to enable them to participate in wealth-production activities. At the same time, authorised government agencies have the duty to ensure equity and fairness in the production and distribution of wealth. In addition, with the view to attain sustained production of wealth, all actors and stakeholders have the duty to participate in the protection of sources of wealth, in this case the fisheries resources, by supporting protection and conservation initiatives and/or mitigating factors responsible for destroying those fisheries resources.

Third, the generated wealth ought to be shared fairly among the actors involved so that each gets his or her rightful share according to his or her role and contribution and without jeopardising the continuity of wealth-production activities, while also paying government taxes that are due. Wealth creators ought to refrain from depriving their partners of their rightful share of wealth and the government of its rightful revenue. The wealth gained ought to be used to meet the consumption and investment needs of individuals, households and communities.

In general, overcoming poverty and attaining prosperity in the fishing sector, as illustrated in Figure 7.2 above, requires key actors and stakeholders to embrace new attitudes, values and principles for self-management and the management of multiple actors and stakeholders. As shown above, the ideas and principles of sufficiency can serve as alternative moral resources to inspire and guide key actors and stakeholders in furthering their responsible commitment to combat poverty and enhance the capabilities of local actors to become responsible wealth creators in the fisheries sections.

7.6 Concluding remarks

The main objective of this chapter has been to attempt to reconstruct an alternative and contextualised development ethic with the potential to re-enforce the responsible commitments of actors and stakeholders to combat poverty and realise prosperity in the fishing communities of Ukerewe District. Paying due attention to what the respondents revealed that they valued and wanted to achieve, as well as their envisioned ‘new’ behaviours and roles, I have reflected on specific moral ideas, values and principles of the actors and stakeholders and their historical roots to determine those with the potential to powerfully inspire and guide them to generate wealth and combat poverty responsibly. In my reflection, I have illustrated the socio-economic and political contexts that necessitated the choosing and/or ignoring of certain moral ideas, values and principles and the impact these had on the responsible commitments of key actors and stakeholders to support the generation of wealth and combating of poverty in the fishing communities and on the governance of fisheries resources.

Based on empirical and historical evidence with regard to the role of the chosen moral resources in the production and perpetuation of poverty in the fishing sector, I have argued and illustrated that an alternative but contextualised development ethic in fact is needed to guide renewed efforts to combat poverty and attain prosperity in those fishing communities. Given the aforesaid, I proceeded to construct an alternative development ethic that underscores the importance of creating wealth, the role of human agency in wealth creation, and the importance of self-management in the context of wealth creation amidst the potential collapse of the sources of wealth. I have called this development ethic a Sufficient Capabilities and Wealth Ethic (SUCAWE).

A Sufficient Capabilities and Wealth Ethic (SUCAWE) embeds contextualised moral ideas, values and principles of sufficiency to serve as alternative moral resources to inspire and guide key actors and stakeholders in furthering their responsible commitments to combating poverty and enhancing the

capabilities of local actors to become responsible wealth creators. Focused on inspiring and guiding wealth creation and enhancing the capabilities of human beings to become wealth creators, and embracing the contextualised moral ideas, values and principles of sufficiency, I contend that a Sufficient Capabilities and Wealth Ethic (SUCAWE) has the potential to provide the relevant guidance to development initiatives in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. I therefore propose the Sufficient Capabilities and Wealth Ethic (SUCAWE) to be an alternative development ethic to guide initiatives to combat poverty and attain prosperity through the fishing sector of Ukerewe District.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Summary of the research issue, goal and approach

This study was prompted by the increasing vulnerability and impoverishment of the local fishing folk and fishing communities in Ukerewe District on Lake Victoria in the midst of the potential of the fishing sector to generate wealth, and in particular the potential of the many capable actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe to provide essential services and opportunities that can help the local fishing folk overcome their challenges and improve their lot in generating wealth. Considering the call made by MKUKUTA II to key actors and stakeholders to design and implement interventions that would improve the chances of poor actors to generate wealth, this study sought what would motivate those capable actors and stakeholders to do so.

Taking the view that some forms of poverty have their roots in the moral/ethical systems of the people, institutions and organisations involved, this study focused on exploring the ethical ideas, values and principles that prevent, and those that inspire, capable actors and stakeholders to redress conditions constraining local people from generating wealth. In general, the study asked whether there are values and principles that have the potential to inspire and guide capable actors and stakeholders to reconsider the fate of those constrained local actors, and to make responsible commitments to address their constraining conditions, as well as to determine how these ethical ideas, if any, can be explicated, formulated and implemented.

Therefore, this study was designed with the view to engage actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe in a process of critical dialogical ethical reflection on their actual relations and practices with a view to understanding the conditions that produce and perpetuate poverty, as well as practical strategies to combat and overcome that poverty. Its empirical research component involved a process of progressive stages of critical self-reflection within and between particular stakeholder groups. During these stages, participants reflected and deliberated on themes and questions regarding the wealth and poverty-reduction potential of their fishing sector, who the poor actors in their fisheries sections are, what constitutes their poverty, what it would take to overcome that poverty, and what would motivate capable actors and stakeholders to combat that poverty. I reported the findings related to these questions in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7.

8.2 Summary of findings

In Chapter 4 I showed that the commercially important fisheries of the district, namely Nile perch, Tilapia and Dagaa, provide local actors with opportunities to invest and/or work in their catching, processing, trading and transporting sections and in the making and selling of fishing inputs, which constitute opportunities to participate in wealth creation. The findings show that local actors invest in

and/or undertake productive fisheries activities to generate resources for use to improve their personal, household and community well-being. I presented evidence showing that local actors have actually used income they generated from productive fisheries activities to improve their homes and to fully or partially cover the cost of health, food, clothes and other socio-economic needs for themselves and their dependents.

In Chapter 5, I reported different conditions and factors that constrain and have a negative impact on the capacities of local actors to generate enough goods and resources in their respective fisheries sections. Constrained from acquiring and utilising relevant knowledge, acquiring and controlling productive assets, accessing and using fisheries infrastructure, acquiring and controlling financial capital, acquiring and utilising social capital, and accessing and using protective security opportunities, most local actors fail to generate enough goods and resources to meet their personal and household consumption needs and/or to invest in income-generating activities.

I reported the findings relating to the understanding of the poverty of local actors and the practical strategies to combat and overcome that poverty in Chapter 6. The findings show that the poverty of local actors entails states in which they lack the ability and/or fail to perform productive activities to generate goods and resources to provide in their own needs, and those of the family and community. I presented evidence showing that experiences of limited freedom in utilising economic, political and social spaces; deprivation of essential assets and tools through exploitation, robbery and other constraining actions; and limited opportunities to enhance productive capabilities contribute to the states in which local actors lack or have only limited capacity to generate goods and resources through productive fisheries activities.

In Chapter 6 I further reported on the concrete actions that local actors identified as relevant to overcome their constraints, and on the expressed willingness of capable actors and stakeholders to undertake certain actions that can remedy the deprivation and enhance the productive capabilities of local actors. These preferred pro-poor actions aim to expand the opportunities for local actors to acquire relevant knowledge and skills; to gain access to and use productive forces and fisheries infrastructure; to gain access to and use formal finance and credit facilities; to gain access to and use formal social security and protection systems; and to enhance collective agency. With these expanded opportunities, local actors could acquire and build their essential productive assets, as well as enhance their productive capabilities to participate actively, responsibly and gainfully in their respective fisheries sections.

I also reported in Chapter 6 on four types of motivation for capable actors and stakeholders in the government, market and civil society to engage in redressing conditions that generate the poverty of local actors. The first type of motivation stems from their need to fulfil their institutional and professional obligations. The second type stems from their interest in contributing to and/or

capitalising on possible good consequences in the life of small-scale fishers, the fishing sector and their own organisations and society. The third type involves their need to prevent and/or overcome possible negative consequences to local fishing folk, fisheries resources, the local economy and society. The fourth type of motivation involves their moral attitudes of care, respect, solidarity and doing justice to other human beings. In general, some institutional, organisational, professional and personal moralities would motivate and guide capable actors and stakeholders to reconsider the fate of poor actors and to undertake responsible commitments to address their constraining conditions and enable them to become active and responsible wealth creators.

I established in Chapter 7 that capable actors and stakeholders were aware of the challenges facing local actors, but that their ideas on the wealth potential of the fishing sector and the moral systems they adopt have only inspired them in a limited way to understand and fulfil their personal and collective duties to help combat the poverty of local fishing folk from within the fishing sector. First, private companies and social enterprises were cautious about investing in and/or supporting progress in the fishing sector because they were not hopeful of getting sustained socio-economic returns. Second, national and local governments did little to establish socio-economic opportunities and services to facilitate local actors to access, control and use efficient productive tools, financial capital, fisheries infrastructure, subsidised fishing inputs and technologies to improve their lot in producing wealth, because they believed they had a lesser role and duty in investing in the economic and productive sectors. Third, convinced that their main duty was not to generate public wealth, but rather maximum profit for themselves and/or their companies, some private investors avoided investing to support local people in risky fisheries activities because they would generate little or no personal profit.

8.3 Conclusions on specific findings

The specific findings presented and discussed in Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, and summarised in section 8.2 above lead to the following five specific conclusions. First, that the poverty existing in the fishing communities of Ukerewe is unwarranted. Second, that the institutional and professional apathy prevalent in most government agencies, private companies, social enterprises and civil society organisations operating in Ukerewe impedes responsible wealth creation in the fishing sector. Third, that enhanced capabilities to engage in responsible wealth creation and deliberate targets to remove constraining conditions in the fisheries sections would overcome the poverty of local actors and the fishing communities. Fourth, that regular critical review of moral resources (i.e. ethical ideas, values and principles) that inspire and guide individuals and collective agents in wealth creation and/or combating poverty are vital in reigniting pro-poor initiatives and actions in the fisheries sections. Fifth, that, realising the envisioned pro-poor initiatives for turning constrained local actors into active and responsible wealth creators in the fishing sector of Ukerewe requires an alternative development

ethic. I discuss each of these conclusions, along with a brief reference to the evidence on which they are based, in more detail in the following subsections.

8.3.1 Poverty existing in the fishing communities of Ukerewe is unwarranted

The income and non-income poverty that is widespread in fishing communities is unwarranted because the fishing sector and its productive fisheries activities currently offer adequate opportunities to produce income and goods to reduce personal and household income and food poverty and improve social services in the fishing communities. The findings presented in Chapter 4 revealed that the catching, processing, trading and transporting of Nile perch, Dagaa and Tilapia, and the making and selling of fishing inputs are opportunities in which local people invest and/or work with the view to produce income and goods to improve their personal, household and community's social and economic situations.

Productive fisheries activities in specific fisheries sections are thus sources of employment for local people, in particular local people who would not be employable in socio-economic services in the government and private companies because of their low education and competence levels, but who have secured employment in the fisheries sections from which they receive regular income. Evidence presented in Chapter 3 showed that 141 (73%) local actors who attained only primary education and therefore were unlikely to get employment in government and private companies had secured jobs in the fisheries sections. This evidence also showed that 93 (48%) local actors had left their previous non-fish income-generating activities (e.g. farming, civil service, domestic work, etc.) to invest in and/or undertake productive fisheries activities because they had noted that the latter produced better rewards (in terms of income) than the former.

Evidence presented and discussed in Chapter 4 showed that local people who invested in the fisheries sections have generated good income that they have used to improve their personal and household well-being, and some of them actually have become prosperous. Evidence also showed that local actors employed in fisheries sections have earned income that in most cases is higher than the minimum wage⁶⁷ approved and offered to workers in formal employment in government and private companies. Findings showed, for instance, that, in 2012, the average monthly net income for a Dagaa fishing crew was TZS 200 000, for a Dagaa processor was TZS 80 000, for a Nile perch petty trader was TZS 150 000, and for a fish-transporting crewmember was TZS 100 000. With this regular income, local people working in the fishing sector of Ukerewe had improved their purchasing power and could meet some of their personal and household needs. In fact, some of these local actors

⁶⁷ The Wage Order No. 172 of 2010, published by the Minister for Labour and Employment on 30.04.2010 and that was in force from 01.05.2010 until 30.06.2013, had approved the following minimum monthly wages: Health Services Sector - TZS 80 000; Agricultural Services Sector - TZS 70 000; Commerce, Industrial and Trading Sector - TZS 70 000, Domestic Services - TZS 65 000; Restaurants, Guest Houses and Bars - TZS 80 000; and Private Security Services - TZS 80 000.

claimed that if it were not for the regular income and goods they generated from fisheries activities, their social and economic situations would have deteriorated.

Considering the available opportunities to invest and/or work in the fisheries sections to generate income, it is plausible that, with better plans and through the strategic facilitation of local people to generate wealth responsibly, the income and food poverty rampant in the fishing communities of Ukerewe District would have been reduced, and the national basic needs poverty line of TZS 36 482 per adult equivalent per month would easily be surpassed.

The fishing sector and its productive fisheries activities are also an important source of internal revenue for the Ukerewe District Council. The District Council collects revenue in the form of fishing licenses, fishing vessel registration fees, fish levies and other fisheries business-related taxes. The findings discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 showed that the District Council generates more than 80% of its internal revenue from fisheries activities, and that this revenue is used to provide social services in the district. However, evidence in Chapter 5 unveiled tendencies among fishers, processors and traders to avoid paying fees and taxes that were due to the government, which meant that the District Council missed a good income stream. It follows that, with better revenue-monitoring and collection strategies, as well as by educating and involving key actors and stakeholders in fisheries management, the collection of revenue could improve, thereby increasing the financial capacity of the District Council to serve people and communities through the provision of better water, health, education, roads and safety services.

In general, evidence of positive changes in the lives of local actors following their participation in fisheries activities, as well as in the revenue generated by the District Council and used to provide social services in communities, suggest that, with better plans and strategies, more income and goods could be generated and used to reduce poverty and/or prevent fishing communities from falling into poverty. That this is not yet happening in the fishing communities of Ukerewe District is very unfortunate, unwarranted and shameful.

8.3.2 Institutional and professional apathy impedes responsible wealth creation

Successful production and distribution of wealth in the socio-economic and productive sectors requires institutional support and expert facilitation. With the support and expert facilitation from specialised government agencies, private companies, social enterprises and civil society local actors could improve their lot in generating wealth through the productive fisheries activities they undertake. However, evidence in Chapter 5 highlighted the fact of limited competences and the irresponsibility of some local actors in relation to generating wealth in the fisheries sections.

Besides, the findings presented and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 unveiled the prevalence of institutional and professional apathy in most government agencies, private companies, social

enterprises and civil society organisations with regard to supporting progress in the fishing sector and enhancing the capabilities of local fishing folk. Such institutional and professional apathy emanates from the lack of professional guidance and growth of responsible personnel in those organisations, and the lack of a critical institutional audit of the goals, activities, competences, performance and outcomes of specific government agencies, private companies and social enterprises in the context of the facilitation of wealth creation and reduction of poverty.

In particular, the findings reported and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 showed that institutional and professional apathy led to the marginalisation of the fishing sector in the development planning and support programmes of government agencies, private companies and social enterprises; inadequate involvement of fisheries stakeholders and actors in designing and implementing development initiatives in the district; and little investment to improve the fishing sector and support local people participating in it.

The findings presented and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 further revealed that, although the local economy had adequate potential to contribute to local development and a reduction in poverty in the district, the fishing sector was not a priority sector in the development plans of the District Council. Besides, small-scale fishing activities were excluded from the formal financial credit programmes of most financing organisations that claimed to support productive fishing activities with the potential to contribute to reducing income poverty with financial credit. Among the other findings in Chapter 5 it was revealed that some agencies and departments of the local government, private companies, social enterprises and civil society organisations failed to provide opportunities and services to local actors in the fishing sector, or did so only a little, even though they had the capacity to do so.

The evidence presented and discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 showed that local fishing folk and other fisheries stakeholders were not adequately involved in the processes of designing and implementing development initiatives in the district, and therefore could not share their insights on how the potential of the fishing sector could be exploited to expedite local socio-economic development. Limited involvement of the local fishing folk and other fisheries stakeholders, for instance, led to the design and implementation of ineffective fisheries management and operational plans, and poor revenue monitoring and collection strategies, which in turn had a negative impact on responsible production and distribution of private and public wealth in the fisheries sections.

In addition, the findings in Chapters 5 and 6 showed that, while benefiting from fisheries activities, the government, private companies and social enterprises did little to ensure the sustenance of the fishing sector and the associated socio-economic benefits. In fact, the local government, which generated more than 80% of its internal revenue through the fishing sector, did little to invest back in fisheries infrastructure, fisheries extension services and the co-management of fisheries resources. Capable private companies and social enterprises that benefited hugely from productive fisheries

activities did little to provide local actors with opportunities to enhance their productive capabilities and overcome their constraining conditions.

In sum, the findings reported on and discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 underscore that, because of the lack of opportunities to enhance their knowledge and skills to engage in sustainable fishing and the protection of fisheries resources, to use legal and improved fishing and processing inputs and technologies, to access affordable credit and social protection, to save, invest and manage fisheries businesses, local actors remained incapacitated to create wealth responsibly.

Instead of enabling the emergence of responsible wealth creators in the fishing sector, the evidence in Chapter 5 showed that some of the policies, regulations, actions and/or inactions of most of the individual and collective actors in the local government, market and civil society organisations contributed to constraining local actors from functioning responsibly and profitably in the fisheries sections in which they engaged. Consequently, it can be stated with confidence that the institutional and professional apathy prevalent in most local government agencies, private companies, social enterprises and civil society organisations operating in the district accounted for the unsuccessful production and distribution of wealth through fisheries activities in Ukerewe.

8.3.3 Removing constraints and enhancing capabilities are key to redressing poverty

Based on the understanding that the generation and distribution of enough wealth is a key to halting personal, household and community poverty, I emphasise that the poverty of local actors and fishing communities will be overcome through deliberate actions to remove constraining conditions in the fisheries sections and through the enhancement of capabilities to engage in responsible wealth creation. It follows that meaningful pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector must focus on turning poor and constrained local actors into active and responsible wealth creators on the one hand, and on overcoming institutional and professional apathy in government agencies, private companies and social enterprises on the other.

Turning constrained local actors into responsible wealth creators would require concrete actions to expand their freedoms, remove their constraints, end their deprivations, and enhance their productive capabilities. In line with the views of the study respondents discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, practical initiatives and actions must entail the remedying of rampant robbery and insecurity, the high prices of fishing inputs, fragile markets, declining fish stocks, destructive fishing practices, inadequate financing opportunities, limited fisheries infrastructure, limited fisheries extension services, unfair and exploitative relations, and limited collective agency.

As shown in Chapters 6 and 7, overcoming the institutional and professional apathy of personnel in the agencies and departments of local government would require initiatives to enhance their capabilities and revitalise their institutional and professional morality to provide high-quality expert

facilitation and coordination of other actors and stakeholders in the local economy. The training of these administrators and staff in areas such as democratic local governance; facilitating local development, entrepreneurship and job creation; ecosystem approaches to fisheries; and the involvement of key actors and stakeholders in fisheries governance would enhance their competences to secure and strike a balance between local interests and the interests of the government and outside investors in the fishing sector. Initiatives to educate and inspire individual and collective actors to engage in public wealth creation and the removal of legal and policy-related constraints would contribute to overcoming the institutional and professional apathy of personnel in private companies and social enterprises.

Turning poor and constrained actors into active and responsible wealth creators, and disinterested facilitators into responsible and committed facilitators of wealth creation, would certainly require the removal of the main constraints and the enhancement of the capabilities of both the fishing folk and the responsible personnel in public and private organisations.

8.3.4 Critical reviews of moral resources reignite pro-poor initiatives and actions

Moral resources (i.e. ethical ideas, values and principles) have the potential to inspire and guide individual and collective moral agents in specific socio-economic and political contexts to take on commitments to redress poverty and/or facilitate wealth creation. While certain moral resources powerfully inspire and guide individual and collective actors to combat poverty and realise prosperity, other moral resources do so to a limited extent. The findings reported and discussed in Chapter 7 revealed, for instance, that the moral ideas held by capable actors and stakeholders with regard to the duty of private enterprises to generate public wealth, the moral duty to protect common wealth resources, and the moral duty to combat poverty and realise the prosperity of the 'other', ironically contributed to their limited engagement in addressing conditions constraining local actors in the fisheries sections.

However, the critical reflection on the socio-economic and political contexts in which the poverty of local actors is produced and perpetuated that was reported on in Chapter 6, and the associated critical reflection on the personal and collective moralities of capable actors and stakeholders, eventually unveiled alternative moral ideas, values and principles that motivate them to choose and implement pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector. For instance, the findings reported and discussed in Chapter 6 showed that some of those capable actors and stakeholders would undertake pro-poor initiatives because they wanted (i) to contribute to possible good consequences in the lives of local actors and the general community, and (ii) to prevent and/or overcome possible negative consequences to the agency and well-being of local actors and the welfare of the general community. With these alternative moral motivations uncovered through a process of critical reflection on moral resources, some of those capable actors and stakeholders indicated that they would support the generation of

private and public wealth in the fisheries sections, and would contribute to combating the poverty of local actors.

In line with these findings, I emphasise that undertaking regular critical reviews of the moral resources underlying personal and collective development initiatives would reignite choices for, and implementation of, meaningful pro-poor initiatives.

8.3.5 Realising envisioned pro-poor initiatives requires an alternative development ethic

Following from the findings of this thesis, and considering the fact that some moral resources chosen by capable actors and stakeholders have inspired and guided them to a limited extent in matters of creating public wealth and combating the poverty of local actors, I conclude that renewed initiatives to eradicate poverty and realise prosperity requires an alternative, coherent, compelling and empowering development ethic. This alternative development ethic must instil more forcefully the ethical duty to combat poverty and powerfully inspire individual and collective moral agents to search for their own, others', and the general community's prosperity. Such a development ethic should also provide a better framework for understanding and evaluating possible pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector, and should provide better guidance for choosing and implementing those pro-poor initiatives with the potential of turning constrained local actors into active and responsible wealth creators, and turning disinterested facilitators into committed ones.

In line with the above, I have proposed the Sufficient Capabilities and Wealth Ethic (SUCAWE)⁶⁸ to be the alternative development ethic for the fishing sector of Ukerewe. SUCAWE highlights wealth creation and the enhancement of human capacities to create wealth as worthwhile goals to strive for in life. Given this, SUCAWE has the potential to inspire and guide individuals and collectives in choosing and implementing the goals of wealth creation and enhancing the capabilities of constrained actors.

In addition, SUCAWE embeds moral ideas, values and principles of sufficiency that have the potential to inspire and guide the mitigation of potential risks, the self-management of individual and collective actors, and the general management of sustained wealth creation in the fisheries sections. Given their sensitivity to different risks, the ideas, values and principles of sufficiency held in SUCAWE have the potential to inspire and guide capable actors and stakeholders to interact to create

⁶⁸ The elements of the SUCAWE are discussed in Chapter 6. In brief, SUCAWE highlights the following rights and duties of individuals and collectives in the context of wealth creation and combating poverty. The rights include (i) the right of people to participate in the production of wealth, (ii) the right to basic and adequate productive capabilities, and (iii) the right to a fair share of the generated wealth. The duties include (i) the duty to equip oneself with adequate competences prior to engaging in wealth creation, (ii) the duty to support others to acquire adequate productive capabilities, and (iii) the duty to prevent oneself and others from foreseeable risks. Hence, individuals and collectives ought to (a) undertake moderate and manageable investments to generate wealth, (b) take precautionary measures against possible forms of capabilities deprivation, (c) restrain themselves from depriving other people of their real opportunities to produce wealth, (d) refrain from depriving their partners of their rightful share of the generated wealth and the government of its rightful revenue, and (e) restrain themselves from undertaking or supporting activities that harm the sources of wealth.

solutions to the problems facing the fishing sector in general, and the conditions hindering the emergence of responsible wealth creators and committed protectors of fisheries resources in particular.

In general, realising the envisioned pro-poor initiatives for turning constrained local actors into active and responsible wealth creators in the fishing sector, so that they eventually attain personal, household and community prosperity, requires key actors and stakeholders to embrace new attitudes, values and principles for self-management, and for the management of multiple actors and stakeholders. The moral ideas, values and principles of sufficiency held in SUCawe could indeed serve as alternative moral resources to inspire and guide key actors and stakeholders in furthering their renewed commitment to combating poverty and enhancing the productive capabilities of local actors to create wealth in the fisheries sections.

8.4 Significance and contribution of the study

I now make some remarks regarding the significance of and contribution this study makes to the discipline of applied ethics in general and development ethics in particular. I generally view this empirical study as making important contributions to doing development ethics, using Sen's Capability Approach and Flyvbjerg's phronetic approach to understand and resolve moral issues involving poverty and development in concrete socio-economic and political contexts.

8.4.1 On doing development ethics

This study involved the first level of doing development ethics, namely undertaking critical and systematic reflection on the actual practices of development (Gasper, 2004; Dower, 2008). It engaged actual actors and stakeholders in a process of progressive stages of self-reflection and group dialogues within and between stakeholder groups, which provided them with opportunities to reflect and deliberate on their desired and/or undesired social, production, distribution and exchange relations and practices in the current and future fishing sector. Through systematic reflection, vigorous debate and reasoned deliberation, the different stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe gained more clarity about different courses of action that could be taken to realise alternative social, production, distribution and exchange relations and practices to create wealth on a sustainable basis.

The outcomes of this experiential ethical reflection included uncovering what local people value doing and being in their fisheries sections, the set of valued socio-economic goals, ethical values and principles that local actors and stakeholders want to follow, and preferred concrete courses of action to realise those valued goals, and states of doing and being, in their fishing sector. These outcomes provided elements that could be used to formulate an alternative development ethic for this sector. Having systematically engaged the study participants in a process of critical dialogical ethical reflection and deliberation about the actual relations and practices in their fishing sector, this empirical study offers an example of doing development ethics that involves experiential reflection on

the actual development processes occurring in concrete socio-economic and political contexts (Gasper, 2004; Dower, 2008).

In addition, this study contributes to offering an innovative approach to engaging people with different and even conflicting values and interests in a fruitful process of critical dialogue and ethical reflection and deliberation on moral issues in their development processes and practices. In fact, by following a process of progressive stages of self-reflection and dialogue within and between stakeholder groups, this study provided multiple actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector who held different and competing interests and values with opportunities to better understand each other and engage respectfully with one another through systematic and critical reflection, vigorous debate and reasoned deliberation.

Furthermore, through its findings about the societal processes and mechanisms that produce and perpetuate poverty in the fishing sector of Ukerewe, and through its analysis of the motivations of both poverty-producing and poverty-reducing agents (motivations that are rooted in the moral and ethical systems of those moral agents as they act individually as well as collectively), this empirical study makes a positive contribution to a critical understanding of the moral issues involved in the processes of both poverty production and wealth creation in the fishing sector of Ukerewe.

As such, this thesis also offers insights into possible ethical development policy and pragmatic interventions to enhance the prospects of constrained fishing folk to become wealth creators. The results of this study, and in particular the alternative moral ideas, values and principles of sufficiency it proposes, are inputs for “ongoing social dialogue and praxis” (Flyvbjerg, 2001: 139), dialogues which eventually may contribute to determining relevant development interventions to improve the social, economic and political conditions of fishing folk and the local fishing communities along the shores of Lake Victoria.

8.4.2 On using Sen’s Capability Approach

This study utilised Sen’s Capability Approach (CA) as a point of departure to understand poverty, poor actors and the functionings they value, as well as possible and preferred pro-poor development interventions in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. However, this study also offers an example of utilising the CA and some of its methodological insights in such a way that it overcomes what Stewart (2005), Ibrahim (2006), Robenys (2005, 2008) and Alkire (2008) perceive as the inherent limitations of the CA. Contrary to the views of the above-named critics, namely that the CA is not helpful in facilitating the unveiling of collective or group capabilities, agency and ethics, I found the CA to be useful in guiding the uncovering and underscoring of individual and collective capabilities, agency and ethics.

To overcome the limitations mentioned above, I utilised the CA mainly as a theoretical framework and integrated its insights and categories of understanding, evaluating and redressing poverty into

Flyvbjerg's value-rational questions. I then utilised the re-formed value rational questions to guide critical reflection, debates and deliberation during progressive stages of self-reflection within and between particular stakeholder groups.

During the stage of dialogue in homogeneous stakeholder groups, I explored *individual* local actors' interests, motivations, expectations and relations with other actors; practical strategies to mitigate and cope with his or her current challenges; and his or her actual and lacking capabilities and means to enhance those capabilities. I also explored the extent of the current involvement of specific organisations of the local government, market and civil society in the fisheries sections; as well as their capacities and motivations for future involvement in providing services to local actors in the fishing sector. This resulted in the uncovering of actual and lacking individual capabilities, agency and ethics.

During the dialogues in the intra-homogenous stakeholder groups, I explored relevant *collective* capabilities (i.e. freedoms, opportunities and facilities) that local actors have or lack, and the means to enhance those *collective* capabilities to facilitate their collective agency in specific fisheries sections. At this stage the actual and required collective capabilities, agency and ethics were unveiled.

During the dialogues in the inter-stakeholder groups, I also explored *what is at stake* in the current social, production, distribution and exchange relations and practices in the fisheries sections with regard to the agency and well-being of local actors. I then explored the concrete actions that can overcome the constraints and deprivation of local actors and facilitate their active, responsible and gainful participation in their respective fisheries sections. In doing this, I sought to uncover *individual* and *collective* actions that either constrain the creation of wealth in the fishing sector of Ukerewe, or could enhance and promote wealth creation.

The process of progressive dialogues culminated in a stakeholder workshop in which all the stakeholder groups were present in one room. This provided an opportunity to explore what the local actors and stakeholders involved in the fishing sector of Ukerewe wanted in the future, as well as the means they proposed to realising this. By so doing, I sought to establish a *shared vision, goals* and *values* for the fishing sector of Ukerewe. In particular, I explored the alternative forms of production, distribution and exchange relations and practices they desired and envisaged in their fisheries sections, and their practical strategies for realising them.

Operationalising the CA in the progressive stages of ethical dialogical reflection and deliberation eventually resulted in the uncovering and underscoring of individual agency, but also in moving beyond individual agency to collective agency, by moving beyond individual well-being to collective well-being, moving beyond individual capabilities to collective capabilities, and moving beyond an individual development ethic to a collective development ethic. Through this procedure, I certainly

overcame the perceived limitations of the CA, as the process of progressively staged self-reflection and dialogue within inter- and intra-stakeholder groups unveiled the status of the capabilities, agency, well-being and sets of moral resources of key local actors and stakeholders in their *individual* and *collective* capacities.

In addition, the experience of utilising the insights of the CA in the context of the fishing sector revealed that some capable and interested actors and stakeholders were constrained in different ways from helping to overcome conditions that had a negative effect on the performance and productivity of local actors. Thus, when utilising the CA to understand, evaluate and redress the poverty experienced by individuals and collectives in specific contexts, it is important also to assess the conditions that may be inhibiting possible poverty-reducing agents to redress some of the causes of poverty. This study therefore has offered examples of utilising the CA in examining conditions that limit possible poverty-reducing agents in the fishing sector of Ukerewe, and in so doing has contributed to expanding the dimensions of the capability approach for evaluating social arrangements inhibiting poverty reduction.

8.4.3 On using Flyvbjerg's phronetic approach

This study also adopted Flyvbjerg's phronetic approach to provide a design for undertaking a systematic and critical exploration, analysis and interpretation of the ethical ideas, values and principles underlying the current and future relations, practices and actions of local actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe. Drawing on his value rational questions and methodological guidelines, I creatively adapted his insights into the process of progressive stages of self-reflection and dialogue within and between stakeholder groups to execute my research tasks in the field sites.

Furthermore, wanting to highlight both the individual and collective values and actions of local actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector, I re-organised and/or expanded the dimensions of Flyvbjerg's phronetic approach. Thus, with a view to examining the *current* social, production, distribution and exchange relations and practices in the fishing sector, we reflected on value-rational questions such as the following: What is really happening? What is desirable and what is not desirable? Who gains, and who loses, through which mechanisms? Similarly, following but also expanding on Flyvbjerg's examples, and with a view to examining the social, production, distribution and exchange relations and practices that local actors and stakeholders *value* and *want to realise* in their fishing sector in the future, we reflected on value-rational questions such as the following: Where do we want to go from here? Is it desirable? How do we get there? Who will gain, and who will lose, through which mechanisms?

A systematic reflection and deliberation on questions such as these during the progressive stages of the ethical dialogue, reflection and deliberation within and between stakeholder groups eventually

highlighted what the participants, in their individual and collective capacities, value, do or could do to realise the goals of poverty reduction in the respective fisheries sections in which they are engaged. In this way, we moved from understanding the individual and specific group development ethic dominating the fishing sector of Ukerewe to uncovering constituents of an alternative development ethic for it.

This study, therefore, offers an example of using a phronetic approach to carrying out the empirical exploration of moral issues in actual practices and initiatives to overcome poverty and to bring about alternative policies, actions and practices that actually and substantively contribute to promoting human development. It also offers an example of integrating the phronetic approach with other normative theoretical frameworks such as the Capability Approach. Furthermore, this study offers insights and illustrations that are useful for the effective operationalisation of Flyvbjerg's phronetic approach in concrete socio-economic and political contexts.

Overall, following its utilisation of the applied case study approach to explore ethical issues and the moral dimensions of the processes of development and the production and perpetuation of poverty in the fishing sector of Ukerewe, this study contributes to a better understanding and operationalisation of applied ethics case study in concrete contexts.

8.5 Recommendation for further research

This study can be located within the first level of doing development ethics. Through engaging local actors and stakeholders in critical dialogue, reflection and deliberation it eventually uncovered, inter alia, a set of socio-economic goals, ethical values and principles that they valued and wanted to follow, as well as practical actions they would take to unlock the potential of the fishing sector of Ukerewe to create wealth for them. These findings would be an important contribution to the District Fisheries Development Programme that local actors and stakeholders want established in the district of Ukerewe.

Given the above, future research in this line (in the area of Ukerewe, but also elsewhere) could consider engaging key actors and stakeholders in systematic reflection and deliberation on how best to co-opt and integrate these already-identified, valued socio-economic goals, preferred courses of actions, ethical values and principles into their District Fisheries Development Programme. Such an engagement would operate at the third level of doing development ethics, and would involve a systematic reflection on and assessment of the designing and planning processes of district, regional and national government to ensure that they capture the goals, values and actions that people "on the ground" consider important in their lives and contexts. It would involve systematic reflection and the exploration of the extent to which any proposed development programme meets people's expectations and is implementable.

This study further confined itself to the fishing sector of Ukerewe and the actors and stakeholders based in the district, and deliberately did not engage with key actors and stakeholders at the regional and zonal levels. Future studies in this line could consider expanding their scope to cover either the fishing sector and its actors and stakeholders at the region level, that is the Mwanza region, or the fishing sector and its actors and stakeholders at the zonal level, that is the Lake zone.

This empirical research has underscored that most poor local actors desire radical changes in their socio-economic and productive sectors, but that they are unable to organise themselves to bring about those changes. The challenge lies in enabling these poor actors to become active and responsible change agents in their own contexts. Given this, further research could consider engaging poor actors and communities in exploring better strategies to enhance their collective capabilities and agency to bring about the radical changes they envision in their specific socio-economic and productive sectors.

This empirical research has also recorded numerous cases of institutional and professional apathy in the organisations of government, market and civil society in the context of facilitating public wealth creation and the reduction of poverty in communities. Future research could consider exploring the causes and extent of and strategies to overcome institutional and professional apathy in public and private organisations. In particular, future research could consider exploring the ethical culture of public and private organisations in order to determine those providing a breeding ground for institutional and professional apathy.

8.6 Final concluding remarks

The fishing sector is the backbone and engine of the local economy of Ukerewe and therefore is important for the local people, local communities and the local government in Ukerewe. It is the main source of food and nutrition, employment and revenue. In the words of the study participants, the fishing sector is the most important contributor to personal, household and community prosperity in the district, inasmuch as “fish is money”, “fish is wealth”, and “fish is good life”.

Currently, the fishing sector of Ukerewe offers adequate opportunities to generate wealth and overcome poverty. The improved lives of some fishing folk and improved social services in the district attest to the potential of productive fisheries activities to contribute to reducing income and non-income poverty, and/or to prevent local people and fishing communities from falling into abject poverty. It follows that the fishing sector and the productive fisheries activities are so important in the lives of the local people and their communities that they deserve a high priority in the development plans and initiatives of local government, private companies and social enterprises operating in the district. With commitments to engage interactively in creating solutions to the problems facing the fishing sector in general, and the conditions hindering the emergence of responsible wealth creators and committed protectors of fisheries resources in particular, government agencies, private

companies, social enterprises and entrepreneurial individuals would be contributing to augmenting the fishing sector to unleash its wealth and poverty-reduction potential.

The renewed commitment of the local government, private companies and social enterprises registered in the joint stakeholders' workshop at the culmination of my fieldwork is an important step forward. At this workshop, the commitment was expressed to eradicate the poverty of local fishing folk in the fisheries sections, and to realise the potential for prosperity in the fishing communities. However, this renewed commitment needs enrichment, nurturing and support to eventually lead to the undertaking of actual poverty-reducing actions. In line with the aforesaid this study offers the Sufficient Capabilities and Wealth Ethic (SUCAWE) to inspire and guide those key actors and stakeholders in nurturing and advancing their renewed commitment to combating poverty and enhancing the productive capabilities of local actors to create wealth in the fisheries sections of Ukerewe District.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: STANDARDISED THEMES AND QUESTIONS

Themes and questions for homogenous FGDs, life story and in-depth interviews (local actors)

1. Participation in the fishing sector

- 1.1 When did you start participating in the fishing sector? What interested you?
- 1.2 What fisheries activities have you been doing? Explain the activities and the people or organisations you work with. Who introduced you, and how were you introduced to these activities?
- 1.3 What is required of you (in terms of knowledge, skills, resources, etc.) for the effective undertaking of these activities? How, when and where did you get such knowledge, skills, resources, etc.? How difficult or easy was it for you to acquire such knowledge, skills, resources, etc.?
- 1.4 How important are the fisheries activities you undertake to you personally, and to your family and the community at large?
- 1.5 Dedication to fishing-related activities: what efforts and resources have you invested in these activities?
- 1.6 Considering the hard work and efforts that you have put into the activities you undertake, are you happy and satisfied with the outcomes/benefits you get from these activities? What have you achieved so far though the activities that makes you feel happy and satisfied? Is there anything that makes you unhappy and unsatisfied?
- 1.7 Are there some of your expectations that have not been realised through these activities? Which ones and what prevented their realisation?
- 1.8 How do you see the future of the fishing activities you are engaged in? Will they (activities) continue? Will they change? How will they continue or change?
- 1.9 Do you foresee that your children will make a living from fisheries activities in Ukerewe? If yes, why? If not, why not?

2. Conditions and factors constraining or enhancing active and gainful participation

- 2.1 Do you experience some difficulties or challenges in performing your daily fisheries activities? What kind of difficulties or challenges do you experience? What challenges or difficulties did you experience recently? How did they emerge? How did you solve them?
- 2.2 Is there any knowledge, skills, resources, etc. that you lack but that are important for your active and beneficial participation in the fisheries sections? Which ones, where and how can you obtain them? What hinders you from attaining them?
- 2.3 Are there other fisheries activities that you would like to participate in in the future? What interests you in these activities? What knowledge, skills and resources do you need to be able to engage in these activities? Do you have this knowledge, skills and resources? If not, where and how can you get them?

- 2.4 Who are the other actors (fisheries occupational groups, organisations, etc.) participating in this fishing sector? Which actors do you prefer working with? Why do you prefer them? How do you work with them? How important are they for your continued and successful activities?
- 2.5 Which actors (fisheries occupational groups, organisations, etc.) participating in the fishing sector do you consider a threat/obstacle to your continued activities and do you prefer not working with? How threatening are they to your activities?

3. Suggestions on addressing constraining/enhancing conditions and factors

- 3.1 Are there personally generated conditions/factors you think you urgently need to address to ensure your active and gainful participation in the fishing sector? Which ones, and how did they emerge? How do they impact on your active and gainful participation? Are you capable of addressing them? If yes, how would you address them? If no, where do you think you can get support to address them?
- 3.2 What three factors/conditions do you consider highly constraining and that must be addressed to ensure your active and gainful participation in the fishing sector?
 - 3.2.1 Factor/Condition 1 (most important) ... what is it? How does it emerge? Who (individual, organisation, institution, etc.) brings it about? How does it impact on your activities? How can it be addressed? By whom? Who do you think is capable of and interested in addressing it? Who is capable but not interested in addressing it? Why would they not be interested?
 - 3.2.2 Factor/Condition 2 (second in importance) ... what is it? How does it emerge? Who (individual, organisation, institution, etc.) brings it about? How does it impact on your activities? How can it be addressed? By whom? Who do you think is capable of and interested in addressing it? Who is capable but not interested in addressing it? Why would they not be interested?
 - 3.2.3 Factor/Condition 3 (third in importance) ... what is it? How does it emerge? Who (individual, organisation, institution, etc.) brings it about? How does it impact on your activities? How can it be addressed? By whom? Who do you think is capable of and interested in addressing it? Who is capable but not interested in addressing it? Why would they not be interested?
- 3.3 What three positive factors/conditions do you consider important to emphasise/focus on to move you forward towards ensuring your active and gainful participation in the fishing sector?
 - 3.3.1 Factor/condition 1 ... what is it? How does it emerge? Who (individual, organisation, institution, etc.) brings it about? How can it be strengthened/enhanced? By whom? Who do you think is capable of and interested in enhancing it? Who is capable but not interested in enhancing it? Why would they not be interested?
 - 3.3.2 Factor/condition 2 ... what is it? How does it emerge? Who (individual, organisation, institution, etc.) brings it about? How can it be strengthened/enhanced? By whom? Who do you think is capable of and interested in enhancing it? Who is capable but not interested in enhancing it? Why would they not be interested?

- 3.3.3 Factor/condition 3 ... what is it? How does it emerge? Who (individual, organisation, institution, etc.) brings it about? How can it be strengthened/enhanced? By whom? Who do you think is capable of and interested in enhancing it? Who is capable but not interested in enhancing it? Why would they not be interested?

Themes and questions for intra- and inter-focus group discussions (local actors)

1. The state of the fishing sector of Ukerewe

- 1.1 Important fisheries, main sections and activities in the fishing sector
- 1.2 Main actors – who participates in the fishing sector and how
- 1.3 The importance and role of the fishing sector to the local people and communities
- 1.4 The fishing sector at present vs. 10 to 20 years ago - How has it and what has changed (positively or negatively in relation to local actors and communities and, in particular, the role of cultural norms and values in guiding and governing different actors in the fisheries sections)?
- 1.5 What do you foresee will change (positively or negatively) in the next 10 to 20 years in the fishing sector, and how will it change?
- 1.6 What guides current relations and practices in the fishing sector (which policies, laws, regulations, etc.)? How and by whom are they made. How and by whom are they implemented. Who is included/excluded in their making and implementation, and why? What positive and negative impacts do these policies, laws and regulations, etc. have on the agency of local actors and their communities?

2. Trends of relations and practices in the fishing sector of Ukerewe

- 2.1 The current trends in the fishing sector and their impact on the local communities and the future of the fishing sector of Ukerewe:-
- 2.1.1 Trends in fishing practices vs. fish stocks, ecosystem, and biodiversity – What fishing practices are threats to fish stocks, ecosystem, and biodiversity. How did they emerge? By whom and how are they practised?
- 2.1.2 Trends in processing and trading of fish and fishing products vs. stable and reliable markets – What processing practices and trading systems impact negatively on the markets of fish products. How did they emerge? By whom and how are they practised?
- 2.1.3 Trends in management/governance of fish resources vs. stable and reliable fish catches – Which management/governance practices help to guarantee the stability and reliability of fish catches. How and why do they help? Which management/governance practices fail to guarantee the stability and reliability of fish catches? How and why do they fail?
- 2.1.4 Trends in production and exchange relations vs. active and gainful participation of local people – Which relations impact positively or negatively on the agency of local actors? How do they do so? Which relations impact positively or negatively on the potential benefits of local actors? How do they do so?

- 2.2 Who benefits from the current trends of relations and practices in the fishing sector? How do they benefit and through which processes and mechanisms?
- 2.3 Who loses from the current trends of relations and practices in the fishing sector? How do they lose and through which processes and mechanisms?
- 2.4 Specifically, how do local actors and their communities benefit? How do they lose and through which processes and mechanisms?
- 2.5 (In case they are losers), is it desirable that local actors/communities continue being losers in their fishing sector? Why not?

3. The future of local actors and the fishing sector of Ukerewe

- 3.1 What kind of fishing sector do you want for local actors and communities in the future?
- 3.2 What kind of production relations and practices do you want to avoid in the future fishing sector? Which ones and why? By whom and how should they be avoided/addressed?
- 3.3 What kind of production relations and practices do you want to see in the future fishing sector? Which ones and why? By whom and how should they be realised?

Themes and questions for discussions/interviews with representatives of local government

1. Basic information about the organisation (unit or department)

- 1.1 Status, vision, mission and objectives/goals of the unit/department

2. Participation of the unit/department in the fishing sector

- 2.1 What specific roles does your unit/department perform in the fishing sector of Ukerewe?
- 2.2 What services/facilities does your unit/department offer to other actors? Which service to which actors?
- 2.3 How important are these roles and/or services/facilities for the successful functioning of the fishing sector and people participating in it?

3. Participation of local actors in the fishing sector (specifically those served by the unit/department)

- 3.1 What kind of activities do local people undertake in the fishing sector?
- 3.2 What knowledge, skills, resources, etc. are required of such actors? From where and how do they acquire such knowledge, skills, resources, etc.?
- 3.3 What knowledge, skills, resources, etc. do you see them lacking?
- 3.4 How would you describe their attitude toward work, and toward fisheries resources and other developmental resources?
- 3.5 What do you consider the main factors constraining these local actors from active and gainful participation in their fishing sector?

3.6 How important are those fisheries activities to these local actors and their communities at large? What have they achieved through those activities? What have they failed to achieve?

3.7 Do you see local actors experiencing some difficulties or challenges in performing their daily fisheries activities? What kind of difficulties or challenges have you observed recently? How did these difficulties or challenges emerge? How did they solve them?

4. The unit/department and the agency of local actors in the fishing sector

4.1 Which of your roles and/or services facilitate the active participation of the local actors? Which role or service, and how does it facilitate?

4.2 Which of your roles and/or services do local actors consider opportunities and/or use for facilitating their active and gainful participation in their fishing sector? How are they opportunities? What differences do they make to local actors?

4.3 Which of your roles and/or services do local actors consider barriers and resist/avoid because of their negative impact on their active and gainful participation in their fishing sector? What are perceived to be “barriers” about them? How do they negatively affect local actors?

5. The unit/department and fishing sector of the future

5.1 Which of your current operational rules do you consider important in protecting and promoting the rights, interests and benefits of the local actors and their communities that you would like maintained in the future? Which rules for which rights or interests? How do these rules function (operate)?

5.2 Which of your current operational rules do you consider an obstacle and/or impacting negatively on the rights, interests and benefits of the local actors and their communities that you would like changed in the future? Which rule for which rights or interests? How do these rules function now? How would you like to change them or their operationalisation?

5.3 Which other ways do you think your unit/department may employ to facilitate the active and gainful participation of local actors in their fishing sector? Which way to facilitate what? What are the factors/conditions preventing you from doing this?

Themes and questions for discussions/interviews with members of civil society

1. Basic information about the organisation

1.1 Status, vision, mission and objectives/goals of the organisation

2. Participation of the organisation in the fishing sector

2.1 When did the organisation start operating in the fishing sector? What interested you?

2.2 What activities does your organisation undertake or services/facilities does it offer to other actors in the fishing sector? What service to which actors?

2.3 What knowledge, skills, resources, etc. are involved for the effective undertaking of these activities? Does your organisation have all such important knowledge, skills and resources?

2.4 How important are your roles and/or services for the successful functioning of the fishing sector and people participating in it?

3. Participation of local actors (specifically those served by your organisation)

- 3.1 What kind of activities do local people undertake in the fishing sector?
- 3.2 What knowledge, skills, resources, etc. are required of such actors? From where and how do they acquire such knowledge, skills, resources, etc.?
- 3.3 What knowledge, skills, resources, etc. do you see them lacking?
- 3.4 How would you describe their attitude toward work, and toward fisheries resources and other developmental resources?
- 3.5 What do you consider the main factors constraining these local actors from active and gainful participation in their fishing sector?
- 3.6 How important are those fisheries activities to these local actors and their communities at large? What have they achieved through those activities? What have they failed to achieve?
- 3.7 Do you see local actors experiencing some difficulties or challenges in performing their daily fisheries activities? What kind of difficulties or challenges have you observed recently? How did these difficulties or challenges emerge? How did they solve them?

4. The organisation and the agency of local actors in the fishing sector

- 4.1 Which of your roles and/or services facilitate the active participation of the local actors? Which role or service and how does it facilitate?
- 4.2 Which of your roles and/or services do local actors consider opportunities and/or use for facilitating their active and gainful participation in their fishing sector? How are they opportunities? What differences do they make to local actors?
- 4.3 Which of your roles and/or services do local actors consider barriers and resist/avoid because of their negative impact on their active and gainful participation in their fishing sector? What is perceived to be “barriers” about them? How do they negatively affect local actors?
- 4.4 Which of the factors constraining the active and gainful participation of local actors can your organisation help addressing? Which factors and how can you address them?
- 4.5 What opportunities in the future do you see your organisation providing for the facilitation of the active and gainful participation of local people in their fishing sector? What are these opportunities and how may they be realised?

Themes and questions for discussions/interviews with representatives of companies/enterprises

1. Basic information about the company/enterprise

- 1.1 Status, vision, mission and objectives/goals of the company/enterprise

2. Participation of the company/enterprise in the fishing sector

- 2.1 When did your company/enterprise start operating in the fishing sector? What interested you?
- 2.2 What activities does your company/enterprise undertake or services/facilities does it offer to other actors in the fishing sector? What service to which actors?

2.3 What knowledge, skills, resources, etc. are involved for the effective undertaking of these activities? Does your company/enterprise have all such knowledge, skills and resources?

2.4 How important are the activities your enterprise undertakes to local people and communities?

2.5 How important are your roles and/or services for the successful functioning of the fishing sector and people participating in it?

3. Participation of local actors (specifically those working with/served by the enterprise)

3.1 What kind of activities do local people undertake in the fishing sector?

3.2 What knowledge, skills, resources, etc. are required of such actors? From where and how do they acquire such knowledge, skills, resources, etc.?

3.3 What knowledge, skills, resources, etc. do you see them lacking?

3.4 How would you describe their attitude toward work, and toward fisheries resources and other developmental resources?

3.5 What do you consider the main factors constraining these local actors from active and gainful participation in their fishing sector?

3.6 How important are those fisheries activities to these local actors and their communities at large? What have they achieved through those activities? What have they failed to achieve?

3.7 Do you see local actors experiencing some difficulties or challenges in performing their daily fisheries activities? What kind of difficulties or challenges have you observed recently? How did these difficulties or challenges emerge? How did they solve them?

4. The enterprise and the agency of local actors in the fishing sector

4.1 Which of your roles and/or services facilitate the active participation of the local actors? Which role or service and how does it facilitate?

4.2 Which of your roles and/or services do local actors consider opportunities and/or use for facilitating their active and gainful participation in their fishing sector? How are they opportunities? What differences do they make to local actors?

4.3 Which of your roles and/or services do local actors consider barriers and resist/avoid because of their negative impact on their active and gainful participation in their fishing sector? What is perceived to be “barriers” about them? How do they negatively affect local actors?

4.4 Which of the factors constraining the active and gainful participation of local actors can your company/enterprise help addressing? Which factors, and how can you address them?

4.5 What opportunities in the future do you see your company/enterprise providing for the facilitation of the active and gainful participation of local people in their fishing sector? What are these opportunities and how may they be realised?

APPENDIX B: A SCHEMATIC PRESENTATION OF THE FIELD RESEARCH PROCESS AND GENERATED FIELD DATA

Stages and goals	Participants, research activities and methods	Generated data
The stage of homogenous stakeholder group dialogues (i.e. Homogenous FGDs). At this stage, I sought to explore and underscore mostly the roles, motivation, actual and lacking individual capabilities and agency of local actors and stakeholders in the fishing sector of Ukerewe District.	I formed and moderated 16 homogenous FGDs of local actors. These entailed three FGDs involving owners of fishing vessels, five FGDs involving fish catchers, one FGD involving women collectors and processors of Dagaa, three FGDs involving fish traders, one FGD involving makers and repairers of fishing vessels and inputs, one FGD involving transporters of fish and fish products, and two FGDs involving former and current BMU leaders. Besides the 16 homogenous FGDs, I engaged three informants in life story interviews to capture concrete cases of the deprivation or enhancement of their capabilities, and another five informants in in-depth individual interviews to better comprehend some conditions, mechanisms and processes of the deprivation or enhancement of productive capabilities of local actors in this fishing sector.	We generated data on (i) local actors' interests, motivations, expectations and relations with other actors and stakeholders, (ii) practical strategies used to mitigate and cope with frustrations and unfair relations in the fisheries sections, and (iii) actual and lacking capabilities and means to enhance them.
	I formed and moderated seven homogeneous FGDs to engage in critical reflection and discussion with participants from organisations of local government. These were four FGDs that involved employed experts and three FGDs that involved administrators and elected political leaders.	We generated data on (i) the extent of current involvement of the organisations of the local government in the fisheries sections, and (ii) their capacities and motivations for future involvement in providing services and facilities to local actors in the fishing sector.
	I formed and moderated five FGDs involving members of the private sector. These were two FGDs with representatives of two active SACCOSs, one FGD with representatives of a microfinance bank, one FGD with representatives of insurance companies, and one FGD with members of the executive committee of the local business community.	We generated data on (i) the extent of current involvement of private companies and social enterprises in the fisheries sections, and (ii) their capacities and motivations for future involvement in providing services and facilities to local actors in the fishing sector.
	I formed and moderated five FGDs to involve respondents from civil society. These entailed three FGDs involving members of the district secretariats of three active political parties, and two FGDs involving representatives of active NGOs.	We generated data on (i) the extent of current involvement of political parties and NGOs in the fisheries sections, and (ii) their capacities and motivations for future involvement in providing services and supporting productive activities of local actors in the fishing sector.

<p>The stage of intra-homogenous stakeholder group dialogues (i.e. Intra-homogeneous FGDs). This stage involved the use of intra-homogeneous FGDs to provide local actors with opportunities to reflect on their collective challenges and identify relevant collective capabilities and means to enhance them in facilitating their collective actions in specific fisheries sections.</p>	<p>I formed four intra-homogenous FGDs and engaged 20 local actors from (i) fishing vessel owners, (ii) fishing crews, (iii) fish processors, and (iv) fish traders and transporters in critical dialogical reflection on the current and envisioned social, production and exchange relations in the fishing sector of Ukerewe and their valued collective capabilities and agency.</p>	<p>These intra-homogenous FGDs resulted in (i) a better grasp of what were at stake with regard to the collective capabilities, agency and well-being of local actors in specific fisheries sections, and (ii) what was morally at stake with regard to the failure to facilitate active, responsible and gainful participation of local people in their fishing sector.</p>
<p>The stage of inter-stakeholder group dialogues (i.e. Heterogeneous FGDs).</p> <p>At this stage I engaged participants in heterogeneous focus groups to discuss concrete actions and viable means to overcome local actors being deprived of capabilities and to facilitate their active, responsible and gainful participation in their respective fishing sections. In particular, I challenged them to think about their individual and collective actions, attitudes, behaviour and values that they must change; alternative actions, values and strategies they must adopt; and services and facilities they could provide to improve the active, responsible and gainful participation of current and future local actors in this fishing sector.</p>	<p>I formed and moderated two heterogeneous FGDs involving 22 local men and women actors, one for the participants at Ukara island, and the other for participants at the main Ukerewe island in Nansio.</p> <p>I formed and moderated three heterogeneous FGDs involving administrators, elected political leaders and employed experts in the tiers of the Ukerewe District Council. These were one heterogeneous FGD involving members of the District Council's Standing Committees, one heterogeneous FGD involving members of the District Council Management Team (CMT), and one heterogeneous FGD involving members of one of the sampled Ward Development Committees (WDC).</p> <p>Besides these three heterogeneous FGDs, I engaged in in-depth individual interviews with the District Executive Director (DED), the District Fisheries Officer, one Ward Fisheries Officer, and the District Council's Legal Officer to clarify and/or deepen understanding of specific issues.</p> <p>I formed and moderated two heterogeneous FGDs involving members of the private sector. These entailed one heterogeneous FGD involving representatives of the microfinance bank and SACCOSs, and one heterogeneous FGD involving owners or representatives of private companies and social enterprises.</p> <p>I also formed and moderated one heterogeneous FGD involving high-ranking leaders of the three active political parties and directors of NGOs.</p> <p>In addition to this heterogeneous FGD, I engaged (one) local elite in an individual in-depth interview to explore socio-cultural and other societal conditions inhibiting active, responsible and gainful participation of local actors in their fishing sector.</p>	<p>These eight heterogeneous groups and five in-depth individual interviews generated two types of data. First, the heterogeneous FGDs generated exchanges and interactions of actors and stakeholders that suggest both strong correlation with their roles, values, and interests; and strong agreement or disagreement on specific issues and choices of concrete actions for improving the agency and well-being of local people participating in the fishing sector. Second, both the heterogeneous FGDs and in-depth interviews highlighted the content of and concrete actions for realising pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector of Ukerewe.</p>

<p>The stage of the stakeholders' workshop. During this final stage, I engaged representatives from all categories of actors and stakeholders in critical dialogical reflection and deliberation on the future fishing sector they want and the means to achieve or realise it. In doing this, I sought to expose the capable actors and stakeholders' deep-seated assumptions underlying their choices for certain concrete interventions, and to explore the basis for concrete working solutions they proposed to facilitate active, responsible and beneficial participation of local people in the fisheries sections.</p>	<p>Eighty-three (83) of the invited 100, representing fairly the categories of (i) local men and women actors, (ii) administrators, elected political leaders and employed experts in the tiers of the local government, (iii) private companies and social enterprises, and (iv) civil society organisations, participated in the stakeholders' workshop.</p> <p>I systematically and creatively engaged these 83 participants in visualising, debating and deliberating on the fishing sector they want in the future, and concrete strategies to follow to realise it.</p>	<p>The stakeholders' workshop generated three types of data. First, interactional data embodying the deep-seated values and interests of local actors and stakeholders, and which suggest their strong agreement or disagreement on specific issues and choices of concrete actions for improving the agency and well-being of local people participating in the fishing sector. Second, hints on the content of pro-poor development interventions and preferred concrete actions for their implementation. Third, hints on credible ethical values and principles likely to provide a moral basis and motivations for realising pro-poor initiatives in the fishing sector of Ukerewe.</p>
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APPENDIX C: DATA ANALYSIS TOOLS**Table 1: Data-retrieving matrix of motivation, actual capabilities and achievements of local actors**

Motivations for engaging in productive fisheries activities	Social	1.
		2.
		3.
		4.
		5.
	Economic	1.
		2.
		3.
		4.
		5.
	Others	1.
		2.
		3.
Possession of entitlements and capabilities	Productive assets and tools	1.
		2.
		3.
		4.
	Opportunities and facilities	1.
		2.
		3.
		4.
	Knowledge and skills	1.
		2.
		3.
		4.
	Others	1.
		2.
		3.
Positive changes (achievements)	Personal	1.
		2.
		3.
		4.
	Household	1.
		2.
		3.
		4.
	Community	1.
		2.
		3.
		4.
	Others	1.
		2.
		3.
		4.

Table 2: Data-retrieving matrix of lacking entitlements and capabilities of local actors

Lacking entitlements and capabilities	Description of specific lacking entitlement or capability	Causes and reasons for lacking entitlement or capability					Impact of lacking entitlement or capability	
		Product or service not available in the market	Limited purchasing power	Prevented from access or control	Mechanism and acts of deprivation (theft, confiscation)	Other factors	On the agency of local actors	On well-being of local actors
Lacking productive assets	1.							
	2.							
	3.							
	4.							
	5.							
Lacking opportunities and facilities	1.							
	2.							
	3.							
	4.							
	5.							
Lacking knowledge and skills	1.							
	2.							
	3.							
	4.							
	5.							
Others	1.							
	2.							
	3.							

Table 3: Data-retrieving matrix of remedying deprivation and enhancing capabilities of local actors

Constraining conditions and factors	Remedying or enhancement action(s)	Remedying or enhancing actor(s)
Limited access to and control of productive assets	1.	
	2.	
	3.	
	4.	
Limited knowledge and skills	1.	
	2.	
	3.	
	4.	
Limited infrastructure and facilities	1.	
	2.	
	3.	
	4.	
Limited socio-economic opportunities	1.	
	2.	
	3.	
	4.	
Other limitations and constraints	1.	
	2.	
	3.	
	4.	

Table 4: Data-retrieving matrix of motivation and remedial actions of capable actors

Capable and interested actor(s)	Remediable constraints	Remedial action(s)	Reasons/bases/motivation
A	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
	4.		
	5.		
B	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
	4.		
	5.		
C	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
	4.		
	5.		
D	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
	4.		
	5.		
E	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
	4.		
	5.		