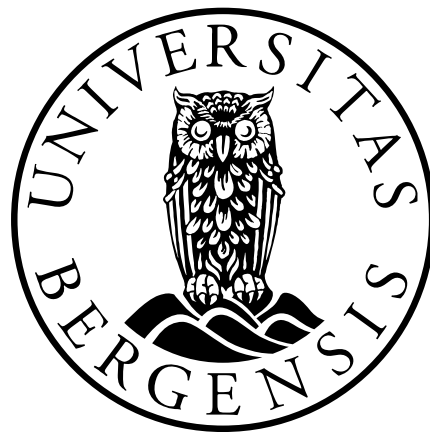


# **FISHING COMMUNITIES: GENDER, ECONOMIC LIFE, AND WELFARE REGIMES**

**Verónica Delgado\_Gustavson**



Master of Philosophy in Gender and Development

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**Faculty of Psychology**  
Department of Health Promotion and Development

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## INTRODUCTION

The gender division of labour in fishing communities is usually noticeable. Fishing is an economic activity that tends to be dominated by men, while women typically labour as seafood processors, teachers, health carers, commerce, or other services. Fishermen often travel deep-sea for extended periods of time, and so, are `absent` members of the community. Therefore, women manage most of the household work, childcare, and community issues. This thesis describes the intertwinements between the femininities and masculinities, the division of labour by gender and the influence of public policies on women's and men's position within fishing communities. This thesis is a descriptive endeavor of the gender arrangements of the fishing communities of Bulandet (Norway) and San Jose (Peru). The dual goals of the comparative dimension of this thesis are to identify the gendered trends common to fishing communities and to observe the gendered differences between fishing communities that form part of two divergent sociopolitical approaches. Norway is categorized as a social democrat feminist state where the one-and-a-half earner model and the egalitarian orientation prevail. On the other hand, Peru is classified as a conservative state where the male-breadwinner model and the hierarchical arrangements predominate.

The main motivations of this thesis are to unravel the patterns that contribute towards a gendered labour market in (fishing industry and) fishing communities. It aims to understand how and why women are absent in fishing. How do two different public welfare approaches work with regard to gender equality within communities where the main economic activity is not only almost exclusively dominated by men, but is one of the key sources of socioeconomic capital and communal identity? How gender policies contribute (or fail) for women's empowerment even though they do not work towards the ungendering of fishing as a socioeconomic activity? Finally, being Norway ranked second in the Global Gender Gap Index (2010)<sup>1</sup>, while Peru is number 60 on the same list; women's stance from the two fishing communities is expected to be different. Nevertheless, Bulandet and San Jose share a common trend. In Bulandet and San Jose women are absent from fishing. Why do residents of San Jose and Bulandet regard fishing as a male profession without substantial inquiring?

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<sup>1</sup> See: [www.weforum.org](http://www.weforum.org)

The first analytical chapter describes how women's and men's roles and experiences from the fishing communities of Bulandet (Norway) and San Jose (Peru) are mainly structured according to gender and age group which results in disparate accumulated social, economic, and cultural capitals. The next chapter explores the embeddedness of the gender division of labour to social relations and discourses of gender distinction linked to characterizations of occupations. The last chapter focuses on the access and benefit of Bulandet's and San Jose's residents from social policies; and how the sociopolitical approach towards universal, gendered, or work-related welfare coverage cooperate (and are practiced) towards gender inequality or encourage a stance of gender equality.

# 1. BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

## 1.1 Literature Review

Fishing communities have attracted the interest of social scientists from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 'Argonauts of the Western Pacific' (1922) Bronislaw Malinowski describes rituals and myths within different communities in Papua New Guinea that guide and organize fishing, and explains them in terms of their purposes beyond 'native' or 'subjective' eyes. Even though Malinowski leaves out a direct analysis of gender and fishing, he expresses a general concern on how relations between social institutions reinforce the stated hierarchy, and reproduce exclusion based on age and gender. Similarly, Raymond Firth in 'Malay fishermen: their peasant economy' (1946) provides an ethnography on the economic organization of fishing communities in two Malaysian's states. Malayan fishing (and peasant) economic organization is not straightforwardly stipulated as gendered; nevertheless Firth points out that women are traders and also cooperate with men for seafood processing. Moreover, on the chapter 'The system of distributing earnings', Firth identifies women as managers and decision-makers of the household economy; although men are (main) the earners. Thomas M. Fraser's 'Rusembilan: a Malay fishing village in Southern Thailand' and 'Fishermen of South Thailand: the Malay villagers' (1960, 1966) explore the relations of a fishing-and-peasant community, as a religious and linguistic minority, within the broader socioeconomic context and to state authorities. In these detailed ethnographies, Fraser's concern about women in the village is solely related to his analysis of kinship. Malinowski's, Firth's, and Fraser's ethnographies are the first descriptions of the social organization of fishing communities; nevertheless women tend to be visible as wives, daughters, and sisters; and not as economic agents.

Women's participation and contribution within the socioeconomic organization of fishing communities has become an explicit focus of social scientists and developers since the 1970s and until now. Davis and Nadel-Klein's (1988) literature review on maritime anthropology and women's studies concerned with gender in fishing communities identifies two main patterns: a) the division of labour varies across cultures, and b) women are usually involved in activities related to fishing, usually in

the processing and commerce of seafood. Nevertheless, there is no society where women fish and men stay home. Moreover, it has been documented that fisherwomen do not fish in the same prestigious way as men; and that women's positions are generally secondary and subservient in relation to their male partners. However, researchers also identify women's significant role and status as independent managers of 'burdened' households with absent partners that depend largely on women's work ashore (Ellis, 1984; Thompson, 1985; Davis and Nadel-Klein(ed.),1988; Davis, 1986; Robben, 1989; Illo and Polo, 1990; Brøgger, 1992; Gerrard, 2000; Crabtree, 2000; Yodanis, 2000, 2002; Bennett, 2005; Kusakabe, 2005; Kulyanyingi, 2005; Takanene, 2006; Samuel, 2007; R. Coull et al., 2008). Furthermore, as a result of the expansion of public services and the market, women nowadays have alternative options of employment in education, health care, tourism, and services. Yet these changes do not directly entail a transformation of the traditional roles of women or her empowerment in the management of resources. On the contrary, sometimes their work in these economic activities is regarded as a prolongation of their roles as housewives and carers. The variations in the position of women (and men) are rooted in the changing historical socioeconomic organization and ideologies. Therefore, research must include the analysis of the mutual changing relationships between men and women in specific contexts. (Thompson, 1985; Sutherland, 1986; Carsten, 1990; Crabtree, 2000; Binkley, 2002; R. Coull et al., 2008; Fagertun, 2009).

Carrie Yodanis and Anette Fagertun offer valuable discussions about the gender-based work organization in fishing communities. Carrie Yodanis (2000) does a detailed analysis on femininities of women in fishing communities. She shows how communities and families, in fishing villages at the eastern coast of U.S.A., discourage girls to become fishers, and how women's work in fishing is often invisible or always seen as 'help', being ascribed a subordinated status compared to men's work. The organization and daily practices in the communities build the notion of 'man' as 'the one who fishes' and 'woman' as 'not a fisher'. The social construction of gender in fishing communities is strongly supported in gender segregation in fishing. Gender boundaries are marked through fishing. Yodanis observes that even women who fish do not want to be called fishers and perceived their labour as collaborations with their husbands' work as a 'good mother and wife' would do. Most women do not want to confront the gender boundaries. Biological differences, women's preferences, and the difficulty to adjust to



a 'male environment' are the given reasons for women's exclusion from fishing. Yodanis concludes that while women gain status and power through the roles they do perform, they are (almost) blocked from fishing. Therefore, she speculates, the current 'elopement' of women from the community can be interpreted as their response to the lack of attractive opportunities within the communities. In addition, the pervasive effect of gender-based work segregation not only stops at economic inequality but reproduces beliefs that sustain the overall system of gender inequality. Similarly, Anette Fagertun (2009) explores the ways in which gender structures the local social organization of domestic, ritual and wage work in two fishing villages on Jimbaran Bay (Indonesia). For Fagertun, the economic system in the fishing villages continues and changes through the material and symbolic gender practices, structured and reproduced through social institutions. Women's structural subordination to men on the Bay is embedded in kin, neighborhood relations, and the notion of complementariness. Fagertun explains that due to the patrifilial and virilocality pattern, women are at disadvantageous position within the family, and maintain fewer and weaker social relations than their male partners. What is more, women and men are perceived to be in a complementary relationship giving the illusion of equality. Women and men are necessary for each other. Nevertheless, the view of complementariness of women and men conceives them as different and in a hierarchical order where men are valued over women in the labour market, property rights (which within fishing communities implies the costly marine equipment), and local politics. What's more, women's roles as mothers and wives are perceived as 'destinies'; while men's roles as family breadwinners and labourers are conceived as a duty. These gender 'moralities' are the base for and product of the gendered social networking and division of labour. Women in Bay have a triple burden as they are in charge of the domestic and ritual work, plus for the past decades women are extensively included in recently feminized wage work. Nevertheless, men's work is conceived as mandatory, while women's work is 'collaboration' into the household economics. Women are still conceived primarily as carers, and therefore their work should not impede them from their family obligations.

Historical accounts and ethnographical descriptions regarding the fishing industry and fishing communities in Peru (Cushman, 1954; Tovar de Albertis, 1964; Amaya, 1978; Nuñez, 1991) are inclined to overlook the gendered features of fishing, as well as,

women's roles within the fishing industry and the community<sup>2</sup>. I obtained access of three social studies of the fishing industry in Peru<sup>3</sup> that focused or included gender analysis. Hammel and Hasse's article 'A survey of Peruvian fishing communities' (1962) describes the technological and social changes of fishing villages along the Peruvian coast from Ica to the Ecuadorean border. Hammel and Hasse identify the economic transformation of former agricultural and fishing households (usually engaged in a dual residence pattern) towards the concentration on fishing or agricultural activities. Nevertheless, the social relations (formed and reinforced by marriage and *compadrazgo*) between fishing and agricultural villagers continue. Hammel and Hasse's analysis includes a brief segment on the common patterns of the sexual division of labour within coastal Peruvian fishing communities. The authors identify a domination of fishing by men; while the commerce of fish is managed by women (except on major scale, where men dominate). Both, women and men, attend the cleaning, drying and salting of fish. Moreover, women are in charge of the household chores and sometimes help mending nets or do minor fishing from ashore. Hammel and Hasse comment that fishermen, as main breadwinners, gain some authority over women; nevertheless '...Women were observed, in general, to have a strong, and frequently exercised, veto power over their husbands' intended actions and sometimes to initiate action themselves.' (222p.). Next, Mary Schweitzer de Grys's article 'Does absence make the heart grow fonder or only the influence stronger? Women in a Peruvian fishing village' (Davis and Nadel-Klein, 1988) discusses women's paradoxical circumstances within the fishing community of San Jose. Women, she argues, are between the practical daily life that encourages their independence (since their husbands, brothers and sons are frequently absent), and the ideological association of femininity with passiveness and reclusion which is rooted in '*machismo*'. Schweitzer de Grys asks herself how fishermen manage to control women even though they are away. She identifies the '*machismo/marianismo complex*', the organization of the fishing community and the kinship pattern as the core base for men's domination over women. The '*machismo/marianismo complex*' portrays men as physically strong and morally weak; while women should stay home and embody '*morality*'. Men, contrary to women, are

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<sup>2</sup> The concerns over the socioeconomic organization of the fishing industry focus on its articulation to the national (pre-colonial, colonial, or republican) level and their way to economic development by a perfection of the fishing organization itself.

<sup>3</sup> I should mention another relevant publication, which I did not get a hold of: '*Autoestima en las relaciones de género en parejas de esposos de la pesca en Chimbote*' by Elian Arce Prado (1993).

seen with the strength, courage and knowledge to fish. Therefore, women are excluded and exclude themselves from fishing. Finally, the virilocal residential pattern for the first years of marriage and the relation between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law make possible the control of women. Mothers-in-law control their sons earning while they live in the parents' home and until the expenses made for the wedding are paid. Mothers-in-law are also responsible to `teach` their daughters-in-law on the ways of her new family; and therefore, mothers-in-law are entitled to give commands to their daughters-in-law. On the other hand, when the new family lives on their own, it is women who usually `hold the purse strings`. Women are the household managers, and their role as decision-makers is acknowledge (and even admired) by women and men within the community. Schweitzer de Grys concludes that San Jose women are aware of the `machismo complex` and somehow choose to act along or against it. Women appear subordinate but, due to their husbands' absence, are often the decision-makers and have control over resources. Amelia García Carhuayo's article `Gender in artisanal in fishing in Peru` (Género en la pesca artesanal del Perú (2001)) is an analysis of gender arrangements in fishing communities (focused on women) as well as a document with political aspirations. The research involved three-days of intense fieldwork for each fishing village (14 in total) along the north, central and south coast of Peru. According to the `Latin-American Centre of Fishing` (Centro Latinoamericano de Pesca) women's participation in fishing is extremely rare (5%); nevertheless fishermen comment to García that women's labour is fundamental for the daily life of the village. Women, fishermen say, do household chores, commerce the catch, assist with fishing-related tasks, and are involved in local politics in petitions for the fishing industry and the community. García's identifies that in most fishing communities women are associated with the management of the household and the caring of their members, while men are link up to fishing and family income security. However, García says, gender relations vary among fishing communities. García registers diverse degrees of women's participation in the fishing industry, as well as, of their control and use of resources. Moreover, gender roles tend to be flexible in the daily life practice. Women cooperate with their male kin when fishing goes through a `crisis`; and men usually `help` women on `her` daily household and childcare chores. Furthermore, women are often involved in aid organizations like `Common Kitchen` (Comedores Populares) and `A Glass of Milk` (Vaso de Leche) and usually participate in politics through their social relations and influences. Nevertheless, women do not participate in fishers organizations,

although they are not banned from them. García's research also focuses on public policies related to gender in fishing communities. In 1991, the Ministry of Fishery (Ministerio de Pesquería - MIPE) in cooperation with the Federation for the Integration and Unification of Artisanal Fishers of Peru (Federación de Integración y Unificación de Pescadores Artesanales del Perú - FIUPAP) starts the first initiatives on women's development within fishing community. García observes that the 'Ladies Committees' (Comités de Damas) and 'Artisanal Women Groups' (Grupo de Mujeres Artesanas) established by these first initiatives, are not active since their motive of existence and coverage of local needs appears unclear for the local inhabitants.

Historical studies<sup>4</sup> enlighten us on the technological revolutions and policy changes that produce the industrial, corporate, and export-driven Norwegian fishing industry that underwent the early 90s 'cod crisis' and is nowadays confronted by the oil industry (Pinard, 1976; Apostle, 1998; Wayne, 2005; Asgeirsdottir, 2008)<sup>5</sup>. Jørgen Ole's ethnography 'Coping with distances: producing Nordic Atlantic Societies' (2007) provides an historical analysis of fishing as base for organization and source of identification for the Nordic Atlantic societies. Ole describes the networking around fishing, the role of migrants in fisheries, and the cultural life of Norwegian fishing societies (among others). These societies characterize themselves as fishing societies, without stepping on the principle of 'sameness' that governs the Norwegian nation. The labour of fishing and the circulation and accumulation of capital required by it form and reinforce social networks, (not necessarily bounded to a territory), which are intertwined with other networks (transport, tourism, etc.) and social transformations. Also, migration flows are increasing in occurrence and significance. The youngsters of fishing communities are hardly ever working in fish processing. Then, the fish processing industry relies on the labour of wives from cross-border marriages and periodic migrants. Moreover, Ole observes the intertwined relation between the economy, the community organization, and gender (with an analytical focus on networks): 'Gender relations are performed interdependently, taking the form of reciprocal, emotional, bonds beyond the realms of efficiency. However, such relations are not performed in a social vacuum, but are inscribed in wider networks of kin, the economy, and

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<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, researches published only in Norwegian are excluded as background knowledge of the Norwegian fishing industry and fishing communities.

<sup>5</sup> Maritime literature has also focus on the fishing activities of Saami populations, their customs and their rights (Nyseth and Pedersen, 2004; Ørebech, 2005)

communities of friendship and business.' (146p.). Women's networking of society and heritage ashore through health associations, local rescue team, local church group, handicrafts' centers, women's association and their participation in the community hall is fundamental for the existence and perception of 'stable' communities. Ole identifies that it was women who mobilize as a group in response to the crisis in the fisheries and the loss of fish quotas, while men tended to cope individually. Women not only mobilize for fishing, but for their exclusive interests in the tourism business as well. Therefore, women's role in the community goes beyond the women-centered household and into politics. Nevertheless, fisherwomen are still rare, and the few fishing couples spotted by Ole included 'fisherwomen' as 'land-man', mainly dedicated to the mending of nets. While Jørgen Ole's ethnography included 'the role of women in fisheries' within a holistic approach, Siri Gerrard's articles centers on gender and women in fishing communities. 'When women take the lead: changing conditions for women's activities, roles and knowledge in North Norwegian fishing communities' (Gerrard, 1995) explores Finnmark women's strategies before and after the implementation of the Cod Moratorium in 1989, the withdraw of governmental support for the fish processing industry, and the quota system in 1990. The named policies led to crisis and the social security system did not covered for the 'unemployed' fishermen (and their families). Along with the economic restrains, men's identity –intrinsically related to fishing- was challenged. Women grouped and mobilize to create production alternatives, to claim for social services, and to provide 'work-to-do' to their frustrated husbands. Nevertheless, women's mobilization had only an indirect effect over policies, and their productive initiatives where often disregarded as based on non-scientific knowledge. For Gerrard, women's roles and organization before the cod crisis serves as explanation of their strategies and the responses from authorities. At the time, women's heavy housework and work for the boat (clothes, meals, cleaning) had decreased due to modernization of towns and expansion of commodities. While women's 'help' in fishing decreased, their role as breadwinners has become more significant. In the fish processing industry, gender segregation prevails. Men are leaders, administrators, and identify to machine managing; while women do the most mechanical work, are called on busy days, and usually as part-timers. Besides fish processing, women's work opportunities from the 1970s and 1980s on included the health care, education, and tourism sectors. Moreover, women entered political parties in from the 1970s on. Women's formal and informal associations were several and acquired support in the 1980's to start projects.

Nevertheless their work as members of associations and politicians was usually related to the welfare of the whole community, rather than focus on 'women's challenges'. Also, women rarely participate in unions. Lastly, women became, by the middle 1980s, visible subjects of political discussions in terms of their importance for the biological reproduction of the gradually more deserted coastal communities. Therefore women's initiatives to cope with the cod crisis had an indirect impact mainly because the final decision-makers (male) did not support them. Women knowledge was in conflict and subordinated to the scientific knowledge managed by the public offices. Nevertheless, women's organizations progressed into wider contexts and got support from different groups and women. Lastly, in the article 'The gender dimension of local festivals: the fishery crisis and women's and men's political actions in North Norwegian communities' (2000) Siri Gerrard wonders about women's new forms and arenas of participation in the community and their inclusion in local politics. Gerrard observes continuities as well as changes. Even though women are almost never fishers, there is a decrease in gender segregation in community organization, fish handling jobs (but managers are mainly men), and local politics which is expressed in the festivals organization.

As revealed in Fraser's, Hammel and Hasse's, and Gerrard's ethnographies, fishing communities are not isolated populations, and their socioeconomic organization is constituted in relation to and interaction with the broader national context. Steel and Gerrard argue that states often fail to recognise women's unpaid work in fishing, housework and childcare (Steele, 1991a; Gerrard, 2000). Policies that are gender-blinded can be discriminatory, as Steele declares: *"Even though governments have not intentionally set out to discriminate against women, we can not ignore the negative effects upon women of some economic initiatives."* (Steele, 1991a:38). Workshops, conferences, and FAO recommendations around the world have been organized to formulate proposals on the economic and organizational structures of fishing communities as a crucial sphere to intervene in order to accomplish gender equality<sup>6</sup>. Development projects usually attempt to improve women's economic positions in fishing through technical assistance, resource allocation, and organizational initiatives

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<sup>6</sup> For example: 1) Workshop: People, society, and Pacific Islands Fisheries Development and Management; 2) Changing traditions: a summary report on the first global look at the gender dimension of fisheries; 3) Women in Fishing Communities: A special target group of development projects (FAO Guidelines).

in fishing (that traditionally was done by women), seafood processing, commerce, and non-fishing sectors (Steele, 1991b).

In the end, as stated earlier, fishing economies tend to be combined or connected to agricultural ones and to the broader socioeconomic organization. The fishing industry portrays a sometimes (in)flexible division of labour. Also, women and men from fishing villages tend to acquire prestige and power in different ways; nevertheless women are structurally subordinated in relation to men. The local and regional arrangements that 'cooperate' or 'undermine' women's subordination are usually the kinship and residence pattern; the intrinsic relation between the notions given to a specific labour (within and outside the fishing industry) and gender identities and 'moralities', with their material and symbolic imbrications that structure and reproduce gender inequality; and the illusion of equality through the notion of complementariness. Most of these statements are shared by the literature reviewed, and are the core basis for my research inquiries and analysis.

The reviewed researches provide noteworthy insight into the structural and flexible daily practiced socioeconomic and ideological gendered arrangements within fishing communities. I will like to cooperate with the general analysis of gender arrangements within fishing communities through a cross-cultural perspective. The specific interest on gender-based work and public policies as potential shapers of gender (in)equality resulted from the reviewed literature and my first year of residence in Norway.

## **1.2 Research Questions and Objectives**

The present research explores the ways in which members of fishing communities understand and interpret their daily life activities, their positions within the community and within their household. Furthermore, it analyses how the opportunities and limitations of women and men in fishing communities may be influenced by how and why public social benefits are given. Social public policy frameworks may sometimes rely on traditional gender arrangements, and they may promote changes in gender structures. Thus, the following questions are central: What characterizes gender arrangements in fishing communities in Norway (Bulandet) and Peru (San Jose)? How

are such gender arrangements related to their local institutional and organizational contexts? How is gender organization in fishing communities influenced-by or linked-to their policy frameworks?<sup>7</sup>

*Objectives:*

1. Compare gender arrangements in fishing communities within different sociocultural and welfare contexts: Bulandet (Norway) and San Jose (Peru).
2. Describe and compare the social policies exercised in the two fishing communities and their significance for local gender arrangements.

### **1.3 Analytical Framework**

The analysis of gender arrangements in fishing communities is intrinsically intertwined to the understanding of their economic life<sup>8</sup>. The extremely gender segregated labour organization predominant in fishing communities can be (un)intentionally encourage to transform or continue by their policy regimes.

#### *1.3.1 Social Theory of Economic Life*

During the 1960s, one of the central concerns of economic anthropology was to understand why economies were similar or different. The formalists postulated the principle of economizing as a universal explanation of human behavior within every culture and society. The substantivists that economies diverge according to which culture and society they are inscribed in. Substantivists do not assume a universal principle that guides rationality, and observe the intertwines of the social and the economy (Balazote, 1998). Karl Polanyi, a substantivist icon, argued that two concepts related to the economy should be distinguished in order to recognize different

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<sup>7</sup> It is relevant to acknowledge how states display general conditions for interrelations, but also how it is molded by its citizens –or population in general- through daily practice.

<sup>8</sup> Economic life is understood as in the general approach from economic anthropologists: 'Economic life is the activities through which people produce, circulate and consume things, the ways that people and societies secure their subsistence or provision themselves. It is important to note, though that 'things' is an expansive term. It includes material objects, but also includes the immaterial: labour, services, knowledge and myth, names and charms, and so on. (Carrier, 2005:3-4)



rationalities: economy and economic. The economy is connected to how societies assure survival and their livelihoods; while economic refers to a (not `the`) logic of valuation of means to an end.

Polanyi used the concept of embeddedness to point out that economic systems are permeated by or depended upon their social contexts<sup>9</sup>; while some economies are dominated by market relationships, other economies are based on institutionalized social arrangements: 'The economic system was submerged in general social relations; markets were merely an accessory feature of an institutional setting controlled and regulated more than ever by social authority.' (Polanyi, 1944:87). Later on, Granovetter (1985) popularized the concept of embeddedness in economic sociology but with a different meaning than Polanyi's institutional perspective. Granovetter builds a concept of embeddedness focused on social networks. He argues for an analysis focus on '...the historical and structural embeddedness of relations.' (2001:55). Granovetter's concept of embeddedness is useful to portray the linkage of economic participation through systems of social relations such as kinship, gender, and social ascription.

While Granovetter focuses in social relations, Gudeman's approaches from a broader perspective to the relations between economies and cultures. Gudeman's theorization on embeddedness remarks again on the possibility of economies being embedded or disembedded (Gudeman, 2009:17-8). Gudeman's concepts of (dis)embeddedness stimulates further reflection on the significance and ways of embeddedness '...so that there are no pure economic structures and structures being socially infiltrated, but different modes of interpenetration of the economic and social environment to which they belong.', as proposed by Gomez Fonseca (2004). Such *modes of interpenetration* can be understood by the examination on the elaborations, relations, and shifts between diverse scripts and models: 'Gaining a livelihood might be modeled as a causal and

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<sup>9</sup> 'The market pattern, on the other hand, being related to a peculiar motive of its own, the motive of truck or barter, is capable of creating a specific institution, namely, the market. Ultimately, that is why the control of the economic system by the market is of overwhelming consequence to the whole organization of society: it means no less than the running of society as an adjunct to the market. Instead of economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system. The vital importance of the economic factor to the existence of society precludes any other result. For once the economic system is organized in separate institutions, based on specific motives and conferring a special status, society must be shaped in such a manner as to allow that system to function according to its own laws. This is the meaning of the familiar assertion that a market economy can function only in a market society.' (Polanyi, 1944: 57)

instrumental act, as a natural and inevitable sequence, as a result of supernatural dispositions or as a combination of all these.' (Gudeman, 1986:47). Gudeman elaborates a grounded analysis on (dis)embeddedness and challenges the dichotomical view where either societies are ruled by economic rationality or by a non-economical rationality.

The concepts of (dis)embeddedness will be used to identify which are the patterns and connections between social (gender) and economic order within fishing communities. Nevertheless, such relations and configurations are not simple, coherent or static; they are reproduced and transformed through a dialectic process of structured daily practices (Ortner, 2006).

Following another perspective, Bourdieu's (2001) concepts of economic capital, cultural capital and social capital will be helpful to identify patterns of life that build and are built upon certain (pre)conditions intertwined to capitals. The economic capital entails the goods and the material and finance assets; the cultural capital refers to assets such as formal education or knowledge, which are potential resources even though they are not material; and the social capital refers to the resources that can be held through social relations and social organization. Through Bourdieu's concepts of capitals culture, institutions and social relations are seen through the lens of economics. Moreover, capitals are related to each other:

*'...capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligation ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility' (Bourdieu, 2001:98).*

### 1.3.2 Gender and Economic Life

Our center of attention within social order is on gender, therefore, this section gives account on the feminist critique to the study of the relationship between economics and culture, and portrays a brief overview on the theories of the labour division by gender,

which includes some theorizations on the origins of the labour division by gender, as, the critique on how futile is the search for the '*original moment of sin*'.

An early (1970s) critique of economic theory from feminists is organized in the Domestic Labour Debate. The economic role of domestic labour was made visibly by feminist economist through a critique to Marx's value theory. However, this was only one perspective within the domestic labour debate (Gardiner, 1997:82-99). Marxist feminist sociologists develop a theory of women's subordination where the relationship between domestic labour and capitalism is inherently of exploitation. The main collaborations from the domestic labour debate for the matter of this thesis refers to their portrait of the concept of household as a unit of production and consumption; where the domestically produced goods and services are part of the '*standard of living*'. The domestic labour debate also identified the relationships between macro (society) and micro (household) economic organizations and the transfers of labour and resources between them.

In contrast to the patriarchy<sup>10</sup> debate (Gardiner, 1997:100-126), the questions posed by the domestic labour debate excluded the *why* of the division of labour. Feminist concerns with the division of labour by gender and inequality in relation to the concept of patriarchy were concerned by the origins or prime basis of such unequal order<sup>11</sup>. Yet, as Gardiner concludes, 'Patriarchy offers a historically grounded rather than universal explanation of male dominance.' (1997:126). The main inputs of the patriarchy debate – in relation to this thesis's concerns- were to dismiss the black-box concept of household, and highlight the conflictive relationships and inequalities on agency and resources between the members of a household, especially between women and men. Moreover, using Marxist concepts, they argue that men extract labour from women, which in itself helps them perpetuate their privileges. In critique to Marxist theory, they included the sphere of reproduction in the analysis of gender inequality.

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<sup>10</sup> Patriarchy may refer to unequal power arrangements where men control women, and/or women's economic subordination, or an ideal stance. During the 1970s feminists mainly used '*patriarchy*', while during the 80s it switched to '*patriarchal relations*' to incorporate the notion of class. (Gardiner, 1997:100-126)

<sup>11</sup> The explanations on patriarchy could rest on economic instances, psycho-cultural factors, the social relations and organizations of human reproduction and childrearing, or attempt to draw biological explanations through the notion of men's capacity to rape or women's biological reproductive role as a characteristic that limits or to control, or historical combinations of factors. (Gardiner, 1997:100-126)

Finally, the theories on gender roles and socialization explain that the gendered behaviors and organization of society is constructed during our daily interactions since childhood. In relation to labour, since each gender is brought up in its own way and in different spheres, women and men choose different occupations. The socialization perspective is useful against biological determinism. Nevertheless, the socialization in a period of life should not be conceived as a determinant of behavior and conditioning of individuals' choices. The gender role theory usually blurs the permeability of gender boundaries in daily life (Davies, 2002:282). Therefore, the perspective of socialization into gender roles needs to be complemented with other explanations.

As pointed out by Woodfield, the question of the origins of the division of labour by gender becomes unfruitful when we realize how references for gender adscription, the differentiation of bodies and conceptualization of what is natural are constructed in context and history:

*'One issue linked to the emergence of the 'gender as process and performance' model is its chronological and analytical relationship to the decline of grand narratives. ...Many researchers in the newly emerged stream do not explicitly stake their colours to the mast when it comes to identifying the origins of male privilege. There is an emphasis on developing multi-faceted frameworks that can best account for the complex of intermediate causal agents, including, in some cases, an eclectic mix of biological, individual and social factors because, 'recent developments in our understanding of human learning processes suggest that asking whether gender differences are caused by socialisation or biology is unhelpful as it is almost impossible to disentangle the two.'* (Skelton & Hall 2001:5). (Woodfield, 2007:49)

Also the question for the origins presupposes a unique cause throughout history, rather than an unfixed process: *The main reason why it has been difficult to grasp the historicity of gender relations is the persistent assumption that a transhistorical structure is build into gender by the sexual dichotomies of bodies.* (Connell, 1987:64). Rather, I will focus on how the division of labour by gender is reproduced and transformed in dialectic relation to economic-cultural-social capitals and its (dis)embeddedness on the gender order, and as argued in the next section, to the (un)gendered policy framework and its derived practices coming from the state and exercised by gendered agents.

I understand gender as a sociocultural and historical construction that refers to biological sex perceived differences to distinguish women and men. Gender is an element of organization of societies. The gender arrangements or gender order refers to the organization of the daily life and institutions around the constructed gender differences (Connell, 2009).

### *1.3.3 Gender and State*

There are mainly two standpoints on the discussion about the relation between the State and the gender order. One of them sustains that the State is inherently patriarchal; while a more benevolent approach proposes to evaluate the state through case-by-case analysis (Charlton et al., 1989:8). I will ascribe to the latter –so the state can be an allied in the transformation towards gender equality- and analyze how State constitute, reinforce and sometimes challenges male dominance; while taking into account, as well, in relation to the economy, that ‘The logic of state economic policy, then, is the logic of power rather than the logic of the market.’ (Brumfiel, 1994:2). The State is sustained and sustains the gender order; and therefore is crucial to understand how states are part of the process of gender configuration that results in women and men having differential access to economic resources, political power, and social value (Charlton et al., 1989). The ‘... complex of rules and norms that create established expectations about gender relations, allocating different tasks and right to women and men’ is defined by Sainsbury (1999:5) as a ‘gender regime’.

With such contributions in mind, Ann Shola Orloff’s (1993) analytical framework is useful as a guide to comprehend how gender arrangements in fishing communities form or are influenced by state social (and economic) provision. Orloff focuses on the articulation of state-market-family welfare provision, and on how claims for state social provision are requested, how state social provision affects gender hierarchies, and how the interlocking relation of state, market and family enables or constrains the life paths and choices of gendered citizens. In addition, Orloff points out that the gender-neutral social citizenship and decommodification analysis invisibilizes care and unpaid work. Therefore, Orloff includes these missing elements by adding a focus on access to paid work and capacity (from women) to form and maintain an autonomous household.

## 1.4 Research Methodology and Techniques

The present comparative ethnographic research of the fishing communities of Bulandet and San Jose is intended to favor a holistic and inductive perspective for the analysis of gender arrangements (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999). In order to be able to compare the research techniques where planned considering the broad similarities and differences between the two fieldwork contexts. The research techniques used for the generation of data are semi-structured interviews, informal conversations and participatory observation. The use of semi-structured interviews assures consistency and stability within and between case studies, while allows in-depth exploration of subjects and the emergence of new ones (Eisenhardt, 2002). The engagement in casual discussions and local experiences as part of daily life came along with my temporary residence in each community.

Bulandet and San Jose are small towns loosely connected to the nearest city. Both of them are communities where the fishing industry is the main source of labour and communal identification, nevertheless fishing is done in small scale in comparison to their national context. During the period of fieldwork in Bulandet (19th May – 5th July, 2010) and San Jose (12th July – 28th August, 2010) informal conversations were held with different members of each community generally about fishing, politics, entertainment, romantic and sexual relationships, and who does what and why. The perspective from young members of each community was usually gathered through informal conversations. In addition, it was possible to observe and learn through participant observation<sup>12</sup> in the communities' weekly activities, households' social life, and fishing industry activities.

The main sample consists of six to eight household cases for each community. A 'household case' is build upon an active or retired fisherman and his family members<sup>13</sup>. For each household case selected two members are interviewed. The variation of

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<sup>12</sup> The realization of participant observation favors insight and data triangulation enrichment (Musante, 2002:102).

<sup>13</sup> A household is understood as kinship relations, and production and consumption of resources.

household constitution and the inclusion of household cases without-a-fisherman-as-a-member illustrate the diverse situations within the communities<sup>14</sup>. The variation within household cases aims to illustrate the diverse situations according to age, gender and life course within the communities. Similarly, widows, bachelors and youngsters perspectives are included through informal exchanges of opinions and practices.

Local representatives of state's institutions and community's organizations were interviewed at both settings. They are incorporated in the sample in order to provide an account of their institutions' standpoints, as well as, comment the community's circumstances.<sup>15</sup> The interview with Askvoll Municipality (Bulandet) provided socioeconomic statistical information and an insight on pending projects and awareness of local dilemmas. In the case of San Jose, the Mayor was unavailable due to his campaign duties for reelection. The interviewees (done separately) with the Harbor Master's Office, Chalaneros' Association, Maritime Association, and Chinchoreros' Association provided me of information about the organization of the fishing activity, the conflicts between groups of fishermen, and the significance of a dock to ameliorate the circumstances under which fishing is done.

The core informants are grouped in 'Household Cases' according to their belonging to a household unit. The Household Cases are primarily distinguished in view of the presence or absence of a fisher as a member. The main informants (interviewees from household cases) for the case of Bulandet are between their twenties and forties; most of them are married and have none to four children. The majority of them have formal education until secondary school; two studied until primary school; and the others either followed college, technical school or university studies. Most of interviewed men are fishermen and the interviewed women work in housework, childcare, teaching, state services and/or social work.

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<sup>14</sup> The selection of cases is related to the analytical processes, theory building and definition of the generalization of conclusions (Eisenhardt, 2002:12-13). One couple per community who did not have fishing as an occupation were interviewed in order to provide a kind of 'outsider' perspective of each fishing community.

<sup>15</sup> Documents were also recollected for such purposes: socioeconomic report of Bulandet (Askvoll Municipality), and newspaper section's about San Jose's authorities performance.

NORWAY: BULANDET							
HC <sup>16</sup>	Fictional Name	Gender	Age Interval	Formal Education	Economic Activity	Marital Status	N° Children
1	Aaron Nikøy_Olsen	Male	40s	Complete Secondary School + Survival and Safety Courses	Industrial Fishing	Married	1
	Kaela Hersfold_Aardal	Female	40s	Nursery School	Housework and childcare	Married	1
2	Eliza Frøyøy_Nørdheim	Female	40s	Complete Secondary School	Services part time	Married	2
	Dylon Olsen_Fløy	Male	40s	Complete Secondary School + Safety and Aid Course	Industrial Fishing	Married	2
3	Giovanna Gautur_Hansen	Female	20s	College + studying online	Housework and childcare	Married	1
	Baldur Fløyøy_Nikøy	Male	20s	Technical Institute: Engineer +Safety Courses	Industrial Fishing	Married	1
4	Edgard Fedøy_Nørdheim	Male	40s	Aquaculture and Navigation School + Survival and Safety Courses	Art&Ind Fishing +Seafood processing	Married	4
	Kasandra Frøyøy_Landøy	Female	40s	College	Industrial Seafood Processing	Married	4
5	Alexandre Nikøy_Olsen	Male	40s	Complete Secondary School + Survival and Safety Courses	Industrial Fishing	Living together	0
	Laila Pedersen_Olsdatter	Female	40s	University	Social worker	Living together	1
6	Abbie Thisdel_Nikøy	Female	40s	University	Teacher	Married	2
	Hudson Hillersøy_Nørdheim	Male	20s	College	Seafood processer	Single	0

In the San Jose's case, the main informants are between their twenties and fifties; most of them are married and have one to seven children. Nearly all have formal education until primary or secondary school, and just one followed to technical school. Most of interviewed men are fishermen and the interviewed women work in seafood processing, commerce, and cooking; and/or are engaged with housework and childcare.

<sup>16</sup> Household Case



PERU: SAN JOSE							
HC	Fictional Name	Gender	Age Interval	Formal Education	Economic Activity	Marital Status	N° Children
1	Alonso Sánchez_Fiestas	Male	30s	Complete Primary School + Navigation and Safety Courses	Artisanal and Industrial Fishing + Local transport	Married	4
	Gisela Flores_Loro	Female	30s	Incomplete Secondary School	Housework and childcare	Married	4
2	Alicia Fiestas_Bao	Female	50s	Complete Primary School	Seafood processing and selling	Divorced	4
	Manuel Fiestas_Fiestas	Male	20s	Incomplete Secondary School	Artisanal Fishing	Living together	1
3	Gustavo López_Mayo	Male	20s	Complete Secondary School	Artisanal & Industrial Fishing	Married	2
	Carla Sánchez_Loro	Female	20s	Complete Secondary School	Housework and childcare	Married	2
4	Aurora Cruz_Flores	Female	40s	Complete Primary School	Cooker, housework and childcare	Married	7
	Fidel Llenque_Meza	Male	50s	Incomplete Secondary School + Navigation and Safety Courses	Industrial Fishing	Married	7
5	Clemente Loro_Fiestas	Male	40s	Complete Primary School + Navigation and Safety Courses	Artisanal & Industrial Fishing	Married	7
	Cristina Mayo_Fiestas	Female	40s	Incomplete Primary School	Housework and childcare	Married	7
6	David Ruiz_Calderón	Male	20s	Complete Secondary School	Artisanal Fishing + Selling fish	Living together	3
	Patricia Ortega_Chávez	Female	20s	Complete Primary School	Housework and childcare	Living together	3
7	Gabriela Flores_Llenque	Female	30s	Complete Primary School	Seafood processing and selling	Living together	3
	Fermin Meza_López	Male	40s	Complete Primary School + Navigation and Safety Courses	Artis&Ind Fishing	Living together	3
8	Héctor Galán_Rodríguez	Male	30s	Complete Sec. Sch.	Artis&Ind Fishing + Selling fish	Married	1
	Laura Gómez_Bao	Female	40s	Nursery Technical School	Housework, childcare, store (house)	Married	1

As a researcher multiple roles are performed during fieldwork. (LeCompte et al., 1999b) During the fieldwork period at Bulandet (19th May-5th July, 2010) and San Jose (12th July-28th August, 2010), I was always considered an outsider. At Bulandet, I was identified as a student which characterized me as 'educated'. In addition, they were patient with my social mistakes since I am a foreigner. Their understanding gave me the opportunity to ask for 'obvious' practices. At San Jose, I was observed as a student which also characterized me as 'educated'; and as someone from the country's capital with probably better life opportunities. Furthermore, due to the intricacies arising from

the language barrier a voice-recorder was used for every interview at Bulandet<sup>17</sup>. That was not necessary for the San Jose case. The voice-recorder for Bulandet`s interviews allow me to pay more attention to the participants reactions and expressions, therefore, the interview follow up was easier. On the other hand, San Jose`s interviews were only noted. The presence of a voice-recorder made the first San Jose interviewees very shy and skeptical about my purposes, therefore the interviewees were only noted to transmit a sense of confidentiality. For both communities, interviewees` identity is secured through the replacement of names and characteristics that could identify them.

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<sup>17</sup> Bulandet proved to be challenging in such a way due to the language barrier between participants. Even though most of the community speaks English as a second language, sometimes the interactions suffer from communication difficulties. Nevertheless, it has been important to pay attention to what spontaneous joke or comment was translated.

## 2. SAN JOSE AND BULANDET: FISHING COMMUNITIES

Fishing communities are villages where fishing industry<sup>18</sup> activities are a central source of provision and livelihood. In fishing communities, the fishing industry is an element of social order and identification; nevertheless it is not the only one. Therefore, fishing communities are to be studied within their specific contexts of history, political economy, and gender ideology (Nadel-Klein and Davis, 1988:6). This section is an effort to introduce and contextualize the fishing communities of Bulandet and San Jose.

### 2.1 Bulandet

The village of Bulandet is constituted by 365 islands located in the western-most coast of the Municipality of Askvoll within the County of Sogn of Fjordane. The territory which now belongs to the Municipality of Askvoll was scenery of many battles throughout history. According to the Askvoll Fylkesarkivet (County Archives), the King Olav personally expelled Vikings from this area during the I century. Christianity expanded in Norway. After the middle age era, the union with Denmark and the concession to Sweden, Norway became an independent monarchy in 1905. It is reported that by that time agriculture<sup>19</sup> and fishing were the most important industries in Askvoll. The next highlighted period is the cooperation of Bulandet, as well as other coastal communities, with the British during World War I and II. The Culture House in Bulandet has a permanent exposition on the war and the local heroes. Nowadays, while fishing industry remains (struggling) as the main economic activity in Bulandet, the fall of agricultural prices in the mid 1990s induce households to sell their animals. At the present time, there are only a couple of farms located in Melvær (BulanDET). Finally, the most significant development in Bulandet in the past decades is the construction of the roads that interconnect Bulandet`s islands<sup>20</sup> and connect Bulandet to Værlandet.

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<sup>18</sup> The fishing industry includes any industry or activity concerned with taking, culturing, processing, preserving, storing, transporting, marketing or selling fish or fish products (FAO).

<sup>19</sup> In 1974 the legal control of the farms changed from 'the eldest son' to 'the eldest child' as part of a set of policies for equal rights between men and women.

<sup>20</sup> The two Bulandet`s islands which are not connected by road have progressively become only summer places for non-permanent residents.



*County of Sogn og Fjordane*<sup>21</sup>

The Municipality of Askvoll, before parish, was established in 1838. The number of residents in the Municipality of Askvoll has been decreasing over the past years. By the year 2009, Askvoll has 3031 inhabitants and a notorious scarcity of women and men in their late 20s or 30s. The number of employed residents in 2007 is approximately of 1600, from which around 1300 are employed by the Municipality. The fishing and agropecuarian industry are the second important providers of employment after health and social services sector. Askvoll residents also work largely in mining and hydrocarbon industry, manufacture industry, services and minor commerce, transport, construction, and education<sup>22</sup>. Furthermore, the Strategic Plan of the Municipality of Askvoll reports that even though the statistics on education are slightly lower than the national mean, most of Askvoll's residents have basic and technical formal education<sup>23</sup>. Since there are no technical institutes within the Municipality of Askvoll, students usually go to Dale or Førde for academic specialization in health and welfare, industrial production and engineering, or construction and transport service (Askvoll Kommune, 2009).

<sup>21</sup> Source: [www.tfts.no](http://www.tfts.no) (May, 2011)

<sup>22</sup> From the total of workers, 21% work in health and social services; 16% in agriculture; silviculture and fishing industry; 13% in mining, hydrocarbon and manufacture industry; 12% in hotels, restaurants, and minor commerce; 10% in transport; 8% in construction, 7% education, 5% in administration, defense, and social security; 4% in real states; 2% in culture; 1% in finance; and 1% in utilities. (Askvoll Kommune, 2009:15)

<sup>23</sup> The 2007 statistics report that 38% of Askvoll residents have achieved basic education (primary and secondary school or 'grunnskolenivå'), 46% engaged in further technical studies (technical institute, high school, or 'videregående skole-nivå'), 14% studied in a university for less than 3 years, and finally, 2% did university studies for 3 years or more. (Askvoll Kommune, 2009:14)

The village name of `Bulandet` was inspired by the presence of numerous shore-cabins (`bu`). Bulandet is connected to Værlandet by 5km road with bus service, and to Askvoll (through Værlandet) by ferry. The population in Bulandet is of 270 permanent inhabitants. Families in Bulandet often live in a two-floor house with all basic utilities, and own a small-boat (small yachts, sailing boats or dinghy with outboard motor), a car, and sometimes a boat-house (`bua`). The village has galleries, a Culture House-Museum, a Church, an ambulance (managed by a group of trained volunteers), several cabins for tourists, and a service center which contains a grocery and souvenir store, a café, and post office and bank points. People in Bulandet often travel to Askvoll and Førde for shopping and other services.

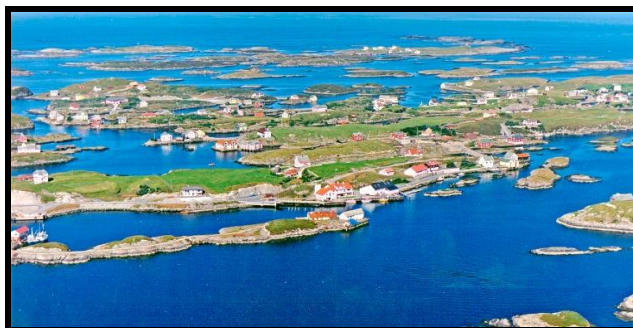


*Municipality of Askvoll: Værlandet and Bulandet<sup>24</sup>*

Even though there is an increasing number of Asian and European as permanent residents (yet still a minority), Bulandet is traditionally protestant. The protestant church group in the community is an organizational platform for welfare and social activities. There are other traditions still working, like crashing a bottle of wine to the new boat as blessing and `good luck`, and the portrayal of the main community problems in the celebrations for 17 of May (National Day). In 2010, a picture of an island and a tower of houses with the church on the top was designed as a protest to the hundred meters of untouchable shore law that impedes residents from building new houses.

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<sup>24</sup> Source: Google Maps



*Aerial view of Bulandet Village*<sup>25</sup>

Before 2004, Værlandet and Bulandet had separate schools. Today, the unified school is located in Bulandet. The school, the post office and the Fishing Factory are the main (almost the only) spaces of occupation for women. The Fishing Factory (Bulandet Fiskeindustri) is the 6<sup>th</sup> most important enterprise within the Municipality of Askvoll (Askvoll Kommune, 2009). Nevertheless, fishing is still the best paid activity and is largely held by men<sup>26</sup>. The industrial fishing boats are the workplaces for men in Bulandet.<sup>27</sup> In 2010 a purse seiner and its fishing quota was sold to outside fishers<sup>28</sup>. Today, four boats (2 purse-seiners and 2 long-liners) are owned by residents in Bulandet, as a personal asset. Fishermen working at purse seiners tend to come and go for frequent short periods between sea and land, while long-liners' fishermen stay away from the community for most part of the year. Purse seiners usually are friendly and cooperate with each other during herring season, and become secretly and competitively during parle season. The changes in fishermen's attitudes are directly related to the abundance/scarcity of the specimen. In any case, every time two or more men gather, 'fishing' emerges as one of the central topics for discussion, even if there are non-fishers present. These casual conversations work as a system of daily news about fishing. Fishing is also a common area of socialization for men.

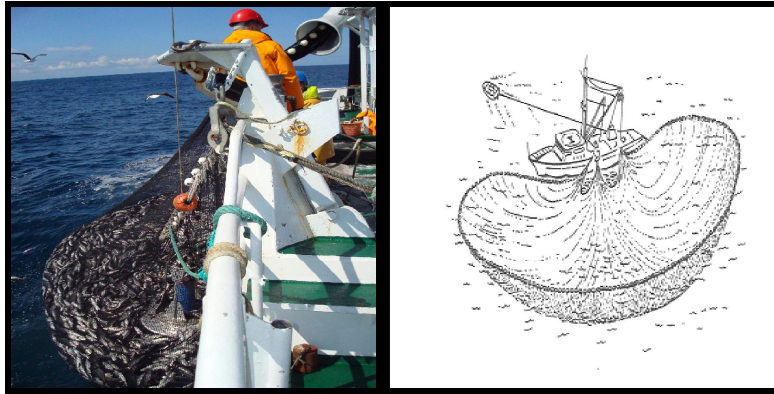
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<sup>25</sup> See: [www.firda.no](http://www.firda.no) (May, 2011)

<sup>26</sup> Some women and men work at oil platform. A worker at an oil platform can earn as much as a fisherman, nevertheless sometimes their work is perceived as a 'relaxed' job.

<sup>27</sup> Artisanal fishing has become an entertainment activity for personal consumption.

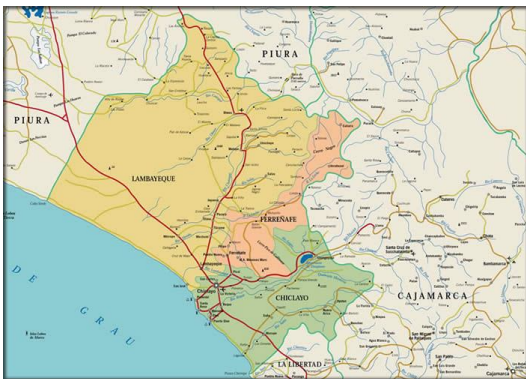
<sup>28</sup> In the past decades, the increase of the value of boat and fishing quotas, plus government incentives, have encouraged fisher owners (especially those near their retirement) to sell the boats abroad and their fishing quotas to large fishing companies.



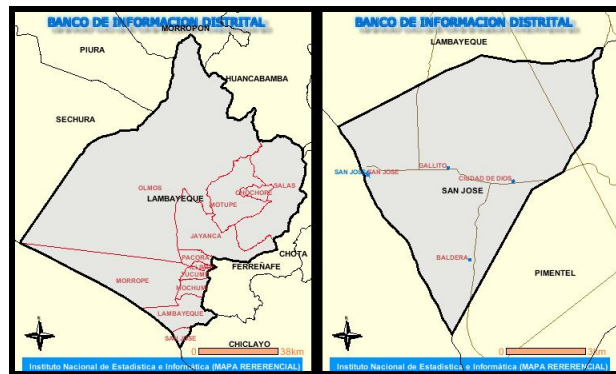
*Bulandet's Purse Seiners*

## 2.2 San Jose

The village of San Jose is located at the northern coast of the District of San Jose, Province of Lambayeque, and Region of Lambayeque. During the Colonial period, 1694, the 'caleta' or fishing village of San Jose was formally established. The legend says that Sechura fishermen occupied San Jose while looking for new fishing sites. In 1826, already in republican times, San Jose is enabled as a minor port, and in 1874 it is transformed into a mayor port. Unfortunately, in 1883 San Jose returned to its original situation as a 'caleta' since all industrial boats were restricted from disembarking. Today, San Jose remains as a 'caleta' while the neighbor fishing villages have become minor or major ports.



*Department of Lambayeque<sup>29</sup>*



*Province of Lambayeque*

*District of San Jose*

<sup>29</sup> Source (December, 2010): [http://milusuarios.iespana.es/tumi/galfot/lamba\\_mpa.jpg](http://milusuarios.iespana.es/tumi/galfot/lamba_mpa.jpg)

At the present time, the District of San Jose has 12,078 inhabitants, from which 3,461 are working in fishing, agropecuarian activities, commerce, manufacturing industries, transport, construction, education, public administration, or services<sup>30</sup>. Most of San Jose's workers lack health insurance, and are self-employed or form part of a microenterprise<sup>31</sup>. Even if 60.7% of San Jose's (district) population between 6 and 24 years old attends an educative institution; there is a high drop-out rate in secondary school (National Census 2007). Consequently, nearly half of the labour force (40.5%) has finished secondary school at best.

San Jose is the capital of the District of San Jose and has a population of 8,355. San Jose is classified as an urban area, and holds public and private education institutions, a primary health care facility, a local market, a police station, as well as several restaurants, bars, and billiards. Most households in San Jose have water supply, electricity, and sanitary facilities; nevertheless the water is restricted to a couple of hours per day and the drainage channels are collapsing. According to the Village Survey (1993)<sup>32</sup>, 10% of San Jose's population is illiterate –most of them women- and while the attendance to primary school is increasing (55%); going to secondary school (14%) and further education (4%) is still rare. San Jose is connected by paved road to the city of Chiclayo<sup>33</sup>, and by dirt road to the city of Lambayeque. Therefore, even though San Jose is one of the twelve districts of the Province of Lambayeque, the Sanjosefinos travel by car, taxi, or bus to the city of Chiclayo (Province of Chiclayo) to buy goods and to entertain themselves.

Moreover, the region is traditionally catholic; but on the past decades the number of evangelists is growing<sup>34</sup>. In June, the village celebrates the saint and guardian of San Jose's fishermen: San Pedro. They adorn the sculpture of San Pedro and take it for a trip on board. All women, men and children are invited to follow the procession on the sea

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<sup>30</sup> According to the 'National Census 2007 – Peru' within the District of San Jose the economic activity rate of the PEA (Economically Active Population) is 43.3. From the total of workers, 22.6% labour in fishing; 16.3% in agriculture, farming, hunting or forestry; 15.6% in commerce; 13.5% in manufacturing industries; 8% in transport; 5.1% in construction; 2.9% in education; 2.3% in public administration; 1.9% in hotels and restaurants; 2.4% in others.

<sup>31</sup> The rate of self-employment or microenterprise work is of 73.1; and 78.1% of workers lack health insurance.

<sup>32</sup> 'Estadísticas de Centros Poblados: San Jose' (1993) - INEI

<sup>33</sup> Chiclayo is one of the busiest cities from the northern coast of Peru.

<sup>34</sup> The National Census 2007, (XI of Population and VI Housing - INEI), the 81% and 12.5% of the Department of Lambayeque declared themselves to be catholic or evangelic, respectively.



aboard the 'chalanas' (small-boats). Furthermore, after the construction of a boat is finished and before their first trip, every boat is blessed. The catholic boat-owner gathers a godfather and godmother who will help to prepare and finance the ceremony of inauguration. In the selected day, family and friends assemble around the boat, and after some words of blessing, holy water is poured to the boat, and everyone shares a glass of liquor. The celebration moves to the boat-owner's home to share a meal, drinks, and words of gratitude for the good wishes given. On the other hand, the evangelic version of the boat inauguration includes a 'pastor' who gives a speech and spills some oil on the boat as a sign of the given blessing. The festivity follows the same pattern as the catholic one; nevertheless 'cola' is shared instead of liquor.

In San Jose (village) most households are engaged in fishing (men) and seafood processing (mostly women), while the population from the rural surroundings is dedicated mainly to agropecuarian activities. One of the predominant income gaps within the population is between fishing and non-fishing households<sup>35</sup>. Moreover, the economic disparity between agriculturists (and others) and fishers has widened with the increasing participation of San Jose's fishers in industrial fishing. As stated above, San Jose is defined as a fishing village or 'caleta'. In San Jose, there is a Fishing Terminal, a large Seafood-Processing Workstation as well as several disperse small seafood-processing workstations, several boatyards, and a Captaincy<sup>36</sup>. The techniques of artisanal fishing done by San Jose's fishermen are gillnetting (or 'pesca con redes de cortina'), and shore trawling (or 'chinchorro')<sup>37</sup>. There are 125 small-boats ('chalanas') with less than five tons storage capacity, and 50 boats ('lanchas') with five or more storage capacity<sup>38</sup>. Each 'chalana' and 'lancha' has a name and a regular crew of three to six men. Crafts or boats, nets and fishing apparels are owned by an individual or group of relatives. The use of each item in fishing receives compensation. 'Salaries' and compensations vary according to the value and amount of fish caught<sup>39</sup> in each trip.

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<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, most of the land belong to the Peasant Community of San Jose (Comunidad Campesina).

<sup>36</sup> Local post of 'Instituto del Mar del Perú' - IMARPE..

<sup>37</sup> The shore trawling is in process of elimination for the preservation of the fish population. It is a simple fishing usually done by agropecuarian households.

<sup>38</sup> According to DIREPRO-Lambayeque. (See: Sanguinetti, 2010)

<sup>39</sup> In San Jose's artisanal fishing, crew members are allowed to set their own nets and retrieve the catch from them.

In San Jose, the absence of a dock compels fishermen to push and pull the 'chalanas' in and out of the sea<sup>40</sup>, and to use 'chalanas' as an intermediate transport from 'lanchas' to the shore. Since, fishing tends to be a 'whole-day' job, San Jose's fishermen usually sell their catch to wholesale buyers that come to the village<sup>41</sup>.



*Satellite view of San Jose Village<sup>42</sup>*

In San Jose, fishing during spring and summer is continuous and tiring, but profitable. Fishermen are in high spirits due to their incomes coming from their work at artisanal and industrial fishing; even though there is barely any time to talk and fool around. Every time fishermen return to San Jose after industrial fishing, they get together with their friends and celebrate. The gathering involves sharing anecdotes, meals and alcohol at local bars. Along autumn and winter, fishing is discrete, tiring and provides just or below subsistence requirements; but a lot of 'free time'. Fishermen meet every morning<sup>43</sup> to discuss if they will venture into the sea that day or not. They frequently hang out along the day to chat, joke around, gossip, and play soccer. As fishing varies, the seafood processing activities fluctuate as well. Nevertheless, in general, women tend to spend their free time at home or visiting kin and female friends.

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<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, local owners of bigger boats must fish outside San Jose.

<sup>41</sup> The Ministry of Production identifies 9 permanent and 15 casual buyers in San Jose Village. (Sanguinetti, 2010:5)

<sup>42</sup> Source: Google Earth

<sup>43</sup> On Sundays fewer active fishermen go to the plaza, however retired fishermen meet.



*San José's gillnetters*<sup>44</sup>

Finally, for San José's fishermen, industrial fishing is a desired job since it is a profitable activity that provides of larger incomes in comparison to artisanal fishing and other available economic activities within the community. San José's fishermen usually work as industrial fishers in Paita (Piura)<sup>45</sup> for one to three months each year. In the community, industrial fishing produces another economic and status differentiation between San José fishers (besides skipper and regular fisher): fishers who manage to participate in industrial fishing and the ones who do not. Even though, San José's fishermen experience industrial fishing as brief periods of intensive work and expressed discomfort about the behavior of industrial fishing's skippers<sup>46</sup>; the sizeable pay is enough of a good reason to travel to Paita.

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<sup>44</sup> Sources: FAO, 1985 (image); San José, July 2010 (photograph).

<sup>45</sup> The most common destination for San José's fishermen is the harbor of Paita, then Chimbote (Ancash), and rarely Callao (Lima).

<sup>46</sup> The chief for a boat crew is the skipper, while the skipper's supervisor is the owner of the boat. It is usual in industrial fishing that the owner of the boat is not the skipper, contrary to artisanal fishing.

### 3. LIFE LEARNING AND EDUCATION

The depicted life courses of interviewees include accounts on formal education and life learning and on variations within expectations from themselves and their families. Their individual and family life descriptions provide insight about community and broader social life. Patterns of roles and experiences identified within interviewees' life courses are mainly structured according to gender, occupation (mainly in chapter 4), and age group<sup>47</sup>.

All interviewees studied at local primary schools by the age of six or seven years old. After following two years of formal education, completing primary school, or going all the way to secondary school, college, or further; they contributed with household's necessities through outer labour and/or increased their share of housework. Then, they met a partner with whom they had children and started living together. While the men grew to become fishers<sup>48</sup>; the women became seafood processors, vendors, cooks, entrepreneurs, teachers, post-office workers, or full time housewives and carers.

#### 3.1 San Jose's Boys

In San Jose, children learned about fishing while playing. From a young age, boys and girls are usually taken to the seashore by their parents. There, they play with the sand between the stranded boats. As they grow up, girls accompany their mothers to bring snacks, beverages and clothes for their relatives; while boys engage little by little in fishing itself. Boys and girls learn about types of seafood, and become familiar with the dynamics of fishing: technical supervision of craft and nets, fuel provision, departure to sea, come back from fishing, disentanglement of seafood, counting and weighing of catch, payment to craft-pullers, seafood sale at the beach, and finally, distribution of seafood to the maritime terminal. However, boys and not girls are those who begin to perform such tasks. First, boys learn how to push a craft into the sea, and to disentangle seafood from nets. Boys are called to be part of a crew depending on the perceived

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<sup>47</sup> The distinction of interviewees according to class is unfeasible. There are no consistent and unambiguous differentiating elements between interviewees' socio-economic positions.

<sup>48</sup> The similarity of occupation between male interviewees is an outcome of the recruitment process.

skills by senior fishermen. Every fisherman is in charge of the cooking during their first years of deep-sea fishing. They stop cooking when another trainee joins as a new crew member, and when they learn how to prepare a good meal. It is through socially transmitted knowledge and experience that San Jose's fishermen have learned the techniques and tricks, and acquired the skills essential for their profession. Alonso, Fidel, Fermin and Manuel followed the path described above. David and Clemente<sup>49</sup> became regular fishers after turning eighteen. Until then, David and Clemente fished during summer vacations.

From the divergence within elections on learning channels and effort allocations, a question arises: which circumstances and motivations influenced the life path followed by San Jose's fishermen? Do boys engage in fishing as a result of individual/household necessity, or/and, because it is the model of life to go along and their preference? Do values, motivations and preferences change across generations? The explanations given by interviewees (who are today fishermen), their life paths, as well as their expectations for the present and future of their own children enlightens the inquiry on how and why - for boys- learning to fish since young age is chosen rather than enrollment into secondary school, or vice versa.

The emergence of discourse, of opinions and arguments about what was previously unquestioned, implies the co-existence of competing 'possibles'." (Kabeer, 2009:46). The 'competing possibles' for San Jose's boys (and some girls) are the participation in fishing itself (or seafood processing) versus engagement in formal education.<sup>50</sup> Involvement in fishing itself during childhood and youth does compromise formal education. Fishing and school schedules compete. Fishing trips can prolong for four or seven days. Even one-day fishing trips last ten or eleven hours. Therefore, the full engagement in fishing means and has implied withdrawing from school. Alonso, Fidel, Fermin and Manuel became part of a fishing crew at the age of ten, twelve or thirteen years old. All of them, except Manuel, dropped out from school.<sup>51</sup> At the time, Manuel

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<sup>49</sup> Hector followed the same course as David and Clemente. But since he spent his childhood at Chimbote, he is not included for now.

<sup>50</sup> The circumstances and motivations of seafood processor women are described later in the chapter. Yet, the following discussion does include some of their dilemmas as well.

<sup>51</sup> Gustavo also dropped from school at an early age. But he did not engage into fishing right away. He worked at a local store in order to contribute to his household's incomes.

did 'chinchorro' fishing<sup>52</sup>. The chinchorro technique demands work at seashore early in the morning and late at night, but it does not require spending days at sea. Therefore, Manuel's fishing schedule did not compromise school hours. And so, Manuel was able to take part in both activities.

For Fidel, now in his fifties, the circumstances were slightly different. He started fishing after one year of secondary school. After his godfather offered him to become a crew member at his craft, Fidel decided to take the opportunity and joined the crew. He perceived it as his chance to make a living. Fidel's father did not oppose. Fidel enjoyed and enjoys fishing. Today, Fidel is an industrial fisher and his sons are artisanal and industrial fishers. The four oldest brothers studied until primary or first year of secondary school. When they were younger, they engaged in artisanal fishing at San Jose. Fidel's last son is enrolled at secondary school, and simultaneously, works in artisanal and industrial fishing.<sup>53</sup> Fidel wishes for his sons to continue towards the same direction. For Fidel, being a fisher, despite the risks of getting injured or drowning, is a desirable and dignifying occupation. Fishing demands a lot of courage, endurance and strength. Moreover, since fishing is the activity that provides Fidel with the incomes to sustain the household, fishing for him, grants a feeling of fulfillment.

In the case of Fermin, being the eldest son, he helped his father cover household expenses as soon as he completed primary school, by working as an artisanal fisher. Fermin became a crew member at his father's friend craft. Today Fermin is in his forties and expects to be fishing for twenty more years. Nonetheless, he desires his sons would not grow to be fishers, since one often confronts cold winds, sleepless nights and can even drown. His eldest son is an engineer student, while his youngest son is in secondary school. Fermin encourages his sons to pursue university studies, and to engage in office jobs.

Alonso has always liked fishing. As soon as he completed primary school, he dedicated himself to fishing, even though his father opposed. Alonso not only loved fishing, but

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<sup>52</sup> The variety of fishing techniques performed by San Jose's fishermen is described in chapter two.

<sup>53</sup> The difference between him and his brothers is that at a young age he is engaged in a kind of artisanal fishing with defined time periods - 'pota' - so it does not compete with his school time.

found school was boring. At the present, Alonso is in his thirties and he will be fishing until his retirement. Being a parent as well, today, Alonso experiences remorse for his father's suffering. He considers that now he is paying for the anguish given to his parents. His other two youngest sons are still at primary school, but his fifteen years old son is engaged in fishing; against his will. Regarding his dilemma, Alonso affirms that fishing is a risky profession and in anytime can turn to be a tragedy. He says: 'a piece of my wife's heart and mine are with my son on that craft every time he leaves'.<sup>54</sup> Alonso wants his children to get higher education, and preferably, to get an office job. He discourages his sons from becoming fishermen, but if they insist on being fishers, they are free to choose.

Fidel, Fermin and Alonso's experiences and statements communicate diverse attitudes towards school and fishing. For them, school can be seen as a place of boredom and loss of time, or as a place of learning and a vehicle for success. Meanwhile, fishing is taken as a source of livelihood and prestige, or/and a fun and social activity. On the other hand, for Clemente and David formal education was encouraged, by a parent and/or ego, at the expense of the possibility of greater cooperation in household.

For instance, after Clemente completed secondary school, he enrolled at a technical institute in Chiclayo. His parents stimulated him to do so and paid the fees. Unfortunately, he found it very difficult to keep up with the study program and quit. Afterwards, he redirected his efforts towards fishing. Nowadays, Clemente is a fisher in his forties and will be a one for many years to come. Despite of that, he encourages his sons to be professionals and get office jobs. Moreover, although he has just built a medium-sized vessel, he denies the idea of any of his sons fitting a position as crew. All of his sons, accordingly to their own wishes, are studying engineering. He reports that being professional is also what his sons want. Like most of San Jose's youth, according to Clemente, his sons do not want to be fishers, since it is a profession that demands a lot of time and energy. A wage-desk job is considered a more comfortable and reliable option.

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<sup>54</sup> Original oral statement: 'Ahora mismo se ha ido a pescar por dos días, y uno sufre. Parte de mi corazón y el de mi esposa se han ido con él.'

Likewise, David enrolled secondary school in Chiclayo after completing primary school. He wanted to continue studying to become an artist, but his parents refused to support him on the grounds that a painter is a lower or non-income profession. Out of anger, David joined the armed forces; but was soon persuaded by his parents to withdraw<sup>55</sup>. So, without the possibility of studying painting and no job options, he decided to go into fishing as a regular fisher. He worked in 'chinchorro' fishing with his father and still does, but now in 'chalana' fishing<sup>56</sup>. David, who is in his late twenties, does not know if in the future he will continue being a fisher or will manage to open a small business. In the second case, David would transform from fisher to craft's administrator. In the same line of thought as Clemente, he wants his sons to have university degrees, and perhaps be employees at a public office. He frequently stressed that his eldest son does not like fishing.

What is different about fishermen who completed secondary school is their reported desire to attend college and become professionals. Those projects were not achieved whether by the lack of self confidence or support from relatives. For Clemente and David, fishing is not a given, even though their parents were fishers. Fishing emerges as the 'alternative option' to earn their living in San Jose.

### **3.2 San Jose's Girls**

The involvement in seafood processing, as on the case of fishers, influences enrollment in formal education. Women are predominant at seafood processing activities, and among the research interviewees, only (two) women -and no men- are involved in seafood processing. Gabriela and Alicia are seafood processors since the age of twelve years old. During their early days, Gabriela and Alicia frequently helped their mothers<sup>57</sup> wash, crack, peel, cut and salt seafood. In this way, they acquired the knowledge and skills for seafood processing. After completing primary school, they began to cooperate with the family business as regular seafood processors. Even though Gabriela and Alicia had and have mixed feelings about withdrawing from school, they regard their

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<sup>55</sup> At the time David joined the armed forces, the war between Peru and Ecuador started once more.

<sup>56</sup> See chapter two for types of fishing.

<sup>57</sup> A couple of husbands are also engaged in seafood processors, and some help their wives with seafood processing tasks during their spare time.



occupation as the means by which they have accomplish their present lifestyles. The seafood processing business for them is a source of family sustain and independence.

Aurora and Cristina life paths illustrate other motives and circumstances in which girls drop out from school. Aurora and Cristina<sup>58</sup>, who never worked as seafood processors, did not enroll in secondary school. They were asked by their mothers to stay at home to take care of their sibling and be responsible for part of the housework. By the time they were children, collecting water and cooking were time-consuming and laborious tasks, since there were no private water pipes.<sup>59</sup> Everyday women would stand in cue to collect water from the communal fountains. As it is today, the water only came two hours in the morning and another two hours during the afternoon. Women filled several containers of water to be able to bathe, cook, clean and do laundry. Additionally, cooking was done using firewood instead of the modern gas stove version. They would use pieces of wood that remained from constructing crafts, or cut some algarrobo<sup>60</sup> branches. Subsequently, housework was loaded. Yet, housework –along with childcare– is still regarded as a time-consuming and laborious activity. Female and male interviewees discussed other reasons for female withdraw from secondary school.

Interviewees stated that parents –sometimes their own parents– withdraw their daughters from secondary school so that they learn how to cook, do laundry and embroidery properly. Parents, and especially mothers, want their daughters to be prepared to become housewives. Mothers are preoccupied by the future well-being of their daughters<sup>61</sup>. Similarly, the recurrent motive for female withdrawal from school refers to the imagined future of female teenagers. Interviewees and other community members reported that older generations (and present generations, but not them) did not want to spend money in women's education. Parents projected that their daughters will get married at a young age and become mothers and housewives, which 'naturally'

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<sup>58</sup> Patricia also discontinued her school studies as a result of her mother's pressure. Her mother asked her to start helping with housework and field shores. Nevertheless, since she was born and assisted to school in Cutervo, her childhood period is not included for the topic of education.

<sup>59</sup> The water pipes were installed in San Jose during Fernando Belaunde Terry second administration. !?!

<sup>60</sup> Algarrobo is a tree that became scarce due to its common use by San Jose's residents.

<sup>61</sup> As experienced by Gisela, Alicia, Aurora, Cristina and Laura, mothers-in-law can be demanding. During their first years of marriage, their mothers-in-law reprimanded and ordered them around. Once Gisela, Alicia, Aurora, Cristina and Laura moved away from their in-law's house, the relationship between them and their mothers-in law ameliorated.

excluded their participation in labour market. Moreover, they said, daughters enrolled in secondary school or institutes are exposed to be seduced by the opposite sex. And there was always an example in mind to prove the statement. Therefore, their parents thought it was better to keep close vigilance over them or their sisters.<sup>62</sup>

On the contrary, interviewees and other community members reported that they want their daughters to complete secondary school and perhaps continue studying. Their explanations described above express their parents' or others' way of thinking. The discrepancy can be regarded as an indication of value transformation among generations. From all interviewees, only Alonso doubts on spending on her daughter's education since he considers her too distracted by social relations. Nevertheless, Gisela –Alonso's wife- declares that her daughter is dedicated and that she will definitely enroll into institute.

Another sign that suggests the transformation of standards is the generation gap in formal education<sup>63</sup>. While our female interviewees who are today in their fifties and forties enrolled into primary school; Carla and Gisela, who are in their twenties and thirties respectively, finished secondary school. Laura is the exception for the senior generation. She completed secondary school and enrolled into infirmary school for a year.

Finally, female education and participation in labour market have an inverse relationship. Women's involvement in labour market through seafood processing has affected their enrollment at formal education. Inversely, the number of years of formal education has not translated into an increment or decline of their participation in labour market. Laura, Carla and Gisela who finished secondary school –as well as Cristina and Aurora who did not engage in secondary school- became housewives and never had a paid job<sup>64</sup>; while Gabriela and Alicia who dropped out from school, have been working for most of their lives.

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<sup>62</sup> This explanation was frequently discussed during interviewees and through informal conversations with interviewees and other San Jose's residents.

<sup>63</sup> The index of national school enrolment shows not significant difference between women and men; nevertheless women from rural areas are less likely to continue and finish secondary education. The central gap in access to education is between rural and urban areas.

<sup>64</sup> Even though Laura is San Jose's female interviewee with the largest numbers of years of formal education, she occupies herself at an unskillful job. She implemented a 'bodega' at her house, and

### 3.3 Bulandet`s Girls

From the six female main interviewees` only two have been raised in Bulandet: Eliza and Abbie. They represent two main trends of women`s engagement into formal education. Eliza finished secondary school, and as she started living together with her present husband, she started working at the local store. On the other hand, Abbie followed five years of formal education after secondary school in order to become a teacher. After completing her degree, she returned to Bulandet and got married. Unlike San Jose, completing secondary school was and is a given. There are no `competing possibilities` for Bulandet`s females. Even for women now in their fifties, helping with housework and with farm work by the time they were children never compromised their enrollment in formal education. Nonetheless, it is significant to remark that for residents now in their fifties and forties local secondary school finished at the age of fourteen. Nowadays, students finish secondary school by the age of sixteen and then move outside the community to do two years of general studies (college) and more.

So, is there a change regarding formal education and/or labour market participation valuation among generations? While among thirty years old and more female community members there is variety of degree of formal education and patterns of labour market engagement; female teenagers declared an expected common path for their future. They want to complete secondary school and then continue their studies in a technical school or university<sup>65</sup>. Teenagers, female teenagers, are not only actively encouraged to continue their studies by their teachers, but by their parents as well. There is a new step in the desired path (to follow) of formal education.

Through Eliza and Abbie`s life courses it seems like a higher degree of formal education favors the engagement into a better paid and stable job. Eliza who completed secondary school has worked in a series of unskilled jobs; while Abbie, who has a teaching degree, was been a teacher at the local school for more than twenty years already. Nevertheless, if Kaela, Giovanna, Kasandra and Laila`s recent work histories is included the relation between degree of formal education and labour participation seems

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employs all her free time taking care of it. In the case of Gisela, she finished school and then never thought about working. Finally, Carla is pleased to be a fisher`s wife, because his salary is enough to support them. Therefore, she does not need to work.

<sup>65</sup> Their career choices sometimes are influenced by the labour possibilities within Bulandet.

similar to San Jose. Female education and participation in labour market have a loose relationship. Kaela and Laila followed technical school and university studies respectively, however Kaela does not work and Laila was until recently working at an unskilled job. Due to the lack of specialized jobs within the community, Kaela and Laila have almost the same opportunities in the local labour market as Kasandra and Giovanna who completed two years of general studies.

### **3.4 Bulandet`s Boys**

In Bulandet, children are free to go around and venture into the borders of the islands. Very few children are afraid of the sea. When the sea is calm, fathers usually take their children, and especially their sons, in short fishing trips around the islands. The father will teach his son how to recognize different species of fish and seafood; and will encourage him to touch them, and to fish. Girls are not excluded from these trips, but usually, they are not as encouraged as their brothers. As in San Jose, Bulandet`s boys start participating in commercial fishing during their summer vacations from school. After they have finished school, they are called to be part of a crew if there is a position available and depending on their relation with the skipper of the boat. Sometimes they decide to continue studying in a technical occupation related to fishing, so they have to move away for a couple of years. Unlike San Jose, Bulandet`s juniors in fishing do not have to pass a period as cooks of the boat. Each fisherman has an assigned set of tasks. In Bulandet, fishermen learned the techniques and tricks of the sea and the occupation through socially transmitted knowledge and, increasingly, by formal education. Aaron, Dylon, and Alexandre followed the path described above which after basic school, they became full-time fishers between the age of fourteen and seventeen. Baldur and Edgard continued their studies in technical schools outside the community. And finally, Hudson has taken an alternative path, he does not fish. Hudson represents the lack of job opportunities for men if they dislike fishing.

I posed the same question for Bulandet`s boys as for San Jose`s boys: which circumstances and motivations influenced the life path followed by Bulandet`s fishermen? Do values, motivations and preferences change across generations? As in San Jose, the relation between life learning and formal education is transforming from

one in which they were competing 'possibles' (Kabeer, 2009:46) to their accommodation to each other in what seems to be a sequence: fathers teach their son in spare time, and encourages them to study and finish secondary education. This pattern is favored and reinforced by the increasingly professionalization of fishing. Nowadays, the new fishermen are required to have technical degree to acquire the fishing certificate. The new generations are engaging in higher education.

Aaron and Dylon, now in their forties, started fishing at the age of fourteen. At that time, secondary school finished at the age of fourteen, so they started fishing after finishing school. Both of them have worked with the same skipper(s) for their whole lives. Nevertheless, since Aaron and Dylon are related (kin), they chose to work in separate boats. Usually men from the same family who owns a boat chose to work together as a family enterprise. On the other hand, some fishermen like Aaron and Dylon, who work for a skipper prefer to reduce risks and conflicts by working in different boats. Each of them remained in the boat they started doing summer fishing trips in their teenage years. Aaron and Dylon enjoy fishing and their tasks in the boat, and would like to continue fishing until their retirement; nevertheless they show a little anxiety for the progressive reduction of fishing boats owned by someone in the community. Aaron has one young son, and he thinks he will support his son in whatever occupation he chooses to work in. Dylon has a teenage daughter who wants to become a hairdresser, and a son who wants to become a fisher. Both of them are encouraged by Dylon to enroll in high education as part of creating life opportunities for themselves.

Likewise Alexandre, started fishing after finishing secondary school. During the summer he used to work for a skipper, but then a senior friend of his called him to join his crew. Alexandre has stayed in the same boat for more than twenty years now. He is also anxious about the possibility of loosing local boats, but does not think it will become a problem. If he cannot be a fisherman anymore, he can work in any kind of boat as a seaman. Through the decades Aaron, Dylon and Alexandre have been engaged in fishing, they have been able to purchase houses and live a comfortable life.

Similarly to San Jose, Aaron, Dylon, and Alexandre followed a similar path, but express diverse attitudes towards school. For Aaron and Dylon the school can be seen as an interesting place of learning and bonding; nevertheless they will fill the need to follow

their fathers if they saw him, through one of the school's window, getting ready for a fishing trip. While for Dylon, school was boring. Moreover, the difference on level of education between fishermen is connected to the generation they belong to. The three eldest fishermen of the sample, Aaron, Dylon, and Alexandre, withdraw from education or waited until the basic education was completed and immediately engaged in fishing because they loved it so much. Two of the youngest fishermen of the sample, Baldur and Edgard, engaged in higher education, since they thought of formal education as an option to rely on if fishing became scarce.

Baldur, is now in his late 20s, and has a degree as a boat engineer. He used to go in fishing trips for the last two summer of secondary school. By the time he finished secondary school, he decided to study engineer first, and then, return to Bulandet to stay fishing permanently in a boat, and with the same crew. Baldur has a little baby daughter, and he thinks is important to teach her about fishing, and he will be delighted to take her into a commercial fishing trip when she gets older. Likewise, Edgard is the only interviewed fisherman who combines commercial fishing with artisanal farming and seafood processing. After secondary school, he studied aquaculture for two years, while he was doing military service. He applied his knowledge in aquaculture to manage a business of fish farming and seafood processing during his spare time from industrial fishing. He is very interested in developing new variations in the process of seafood processing, and would like to expand his business over the time. He has three boys and a girl. Edgard is very happy that at least one of the boys decided to become a fisherman as well. And, while his not opposed to the idea of his daughter doing artisanal fishing, Edgard thinks that she enjoys the trip more than the catch.

Finally, Hudson is his twenties, and is one of the few males who is not a fisher but manages to live in the community. As jobs are scarce, (and even more so after the selling of the farm animals), he has tried almost every job available in town in search for an alternative. He is now working temporarily as a seafood processor. Even if he is not a fisherman, he is also involved in the daily discussion on fishing.

### **3.5 Towards the Formal Education Path**

Engaging in fishing before finishing school entails a withdrawal from school or a significant absence during the school year. In later years, boys dropped out from school and started full-time fishing, rather than fishing only during summers. The progressive professionalization of fishing (through fishing licenses, certificates, or cards) has encouraged San Jose's boys to finish secondary school, and Bulandet's boys to follow technical high education. Learning through life experience or learning through formal education, once `competing possibles`, tend now to be presented as a drawn path. Nevertheless, in San Jose, some boys still drop out from school in order to start fishing, usually to be able to earn an extra income for the family. Due to the degree of formalization and control over the activity, (and lack of economic necessity), fishermen in Bulandet start as full-time fishers after finishing secondary school.

The situation between San Jose's women and Bulandet's women is even more far apart. San Jose's women are often encouraged by their parents to drop out from school and do housework. The enrollment of girls into school is not perceived as valuable, it is seen as an unnecessary expense, an opportunity for their daughters to be seduced, or a withdrawal from helping (and learning) in seafood processing. In San Jose, formal education as a path to follow is valued in relation to its economic repercussions according to each gender and their occupation. Women's main available occupation is seafood processing which does not require following formal education; while men's main available occupation is fishing, and major benefits come with their transformation into formal fisher which entails finishing secondary school. Nevertheless, some families are very encouraging into the enrollment of their daughters in basic and high education, since it is seen as a source of labour opportunities. The trend is an increase in the participation of women in formal basic education. Ironically, the life courses of the interviewed women in San Jose show that female formal education and participation in labour market have an inverse relationship.

Even if Bulandet's women main opportunity of labour within the community is also seafood processing, they engage in basic education and sometimes follow into high education. This spells about the difference in the general value of education and the gender relations between Bulandet and San Jose. In Bulandet, the performance of their

roles as daughters, wives and mothers were adjusted to their enrollment in formal education.



## **4. OCCUPATIONS AND COLLABORATIVE INITIATIVES**

Fishing, seafood processing and full-time housework-childcare are the core economic activities of interviewees. The following segment recounts the entry and fluctuations in occupations through out interviewees` course of life, along with their valuations of the activities. Moreover, this section explores how working in groups, grouping into associations, and/or establishing relationships with key people is sometimes a precondition for the exercise of the occupation, and therefore, the embeddedness of the activities in social relations. Social networks open and enable the participation into fishing and seafood processing, as well as, improve possibilities for household management. Networks fostered within the labour sphere influence and are useful in further areas of social life; and vice versa.

Since occupations are gendered, this section explores how social networks built by women and men during their course of life are divergent. Similarly, it gives account on how full-time housework-childcare, fishing, and seafood processing are internally structured according to seniority and access to resources.

### **4.1 Fishing**

San Jose`s and Bulandet fishermen are primarily dependent on fishing. All interviewees started their fishing experiences by working at a relative or friend`s vessel. In the case of San Jose`s fishermen, Hector, Fermin, David, Clemente, Fidel, Gustavo, Manuel and Alonso, they began as artisanal fishers, and then came into industrial fishing. Alonso, Gustavo, Clemente, Fermin and Hector work nowadays in artisanal and industrial fishing. The engagement in both types of fishing simultaneously along a year is possible. Industrial fishing has two seasons over the year with defined time boundaries. So, all the periods outside industrial fishing are dedicated mainly to artisanal fishing. Manuel and David are currently dedicated to artisanal fishing, nevertheless, at some point in their lives, they ventured into industrial fishing. Manuel and David decided to step out of industrial fishing since they perceived that industrial fishing`s skippers were unnecessarily rough and rude in their interrelations with the crew. Lastly, Fidel, is the only San Jose`s interviewee who is now engaged exclusively at industrial fishing. Fidel

worked in artisanal fishing for most of his life and acquired his own craft. He drew back from artisanal fishing when a business misunderstanding provoked the destruction of his craft.

At Bulandet, artisanal fishing is done as a hobby<sup>66</sup>. Aaron, Dylon, Baldur, Edgard, and Alexandre catch seafood from time to time for pleasure. They frequently go along with relatives and friends, usually male companions. It is a bonding time they have enjoyed since childhood and that they (will) share with their children, especially with their sons. The catch is stored for long term provision and shared among family and friends as a prideful offering. Fishing as an economic activity in Bulandet is industrial fishing. During Aaron, Baldur, Edgard, and Alexandre first summers and/or years of industrial fishing, they form part of different crews. Then, for the following years as fishers, they worked consecutively at one or two vessels<sup>67</sup>. In this regard, Bulandet`s industrial fishing and San Jose`s artisanal fishing employment patterns are similar. In both activities, fishers tend to work for long periods at the same vessel; and therefore, with the same crew. Fishers of both communities talked about the other crew members as a close family with whom they not only shared countless experiences, but their lives outside fishing as well.

Fishing as an economic activity, and not for recreation, is never done by one man. Fishing is practiced as a group activity. Relatives and friends, who are fishermen, are potential and regular channels of employment into industrial and San Jose`s artisanal fishing. As a result, mobility into and within occupation is somehow restricted. In San Jose`s artisanal and Bulandet`s local industrial fishing<sup>68</sup>, the fishing crew is primarily conformed by consanguine and affine kinship, and then, by friends and neighbors<sup>69</sup>. Even if interactions between crew members are lively and playful; there is a strict positioning and order of command during fishing justified on the promptness and accuracy required in the set up and towing of nets. In addition, the property of material goods not only outlines crew members` scopes of authority, but also earning

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<sup>66</sup> Bulandet`s artisanal fishing is an activity primarily done for recreation rather than economic profits.

<sup>67</sup> All of them stopped fishing in order to do their one-year military service during their early twenties.

<sup>68</sup> In other words, boats owned by community members.

<sup>69</sup> Industrial fishing crew constitution for San Jose fishermen varies from artisanal fishing. Industrial fishing is performed outside the community. Boat owners employ crew members by recommendation or contract skippers along with their established crew. Nevertheless, family members rarely work together in industrial fishing. It might be a strategy of control from the boat owner or an outcome of limited job spots.

distribution. Each skipper<sup>70</sup> makes decisions among the group on when, where and how to fish. Even though other crew members' opinion is considered, especially of seniors, skippers have the final word. Senior fishermen advise and instruct other fishers, who usually listen.

Cooperation between fisher crews varies according to fishing seasons. In San Jose, collaboration and assistance is prevalent when fish is abundant (summer and spring); while fishing spots are carefully kept in secret during scarce seasons. Likewise, in Bulandet, cooperation is needed during herring season, is present while catching mackerel, and is non-existent for 'parle' season. Regarding fishermen's trading actions, Bulandet skippers sell the catch at 'standardized' prices according to the number of hours between time of first catch and time seafood is delivered<sup>71</sup>. There is a gap for discussion between seller and buyer on the matter of perceived seafood quality. Conversely, for San Jose's fishermen, the commercialization of the catch is a subject of concern. Their partial cooperation is extended for selling and marketing seafood. They work as an unorganized group establishing standard prices to pay for fish. Few fishermen sell their catch outside San Jose. There are middlemen who own cooling truck(s). These traders purchase seafood from fishermen and transport the merchandise to intermediate markets. A relationship of 'cooperation' exists between fishermen and traders. Fishermen are certain to get free-interest loans from middlemen if the past-present-future catch is sold to them; and vice versa. Traders have extensive control over fish prices due to their role as links between San Jose and other markets. Therefore some fishermen sell their catch directly in Santa Rosa's market<sup>72</sup>.

## **4.2 Seafood Processing**

San Jose's artisanal seafood processing denotes the small-scale production of dried and salted seafood. The procedure is made manually with simple infrastructure and instruments. As fishing, seafood processing is organized as collaborative work and entails a close relationship between social networks and work. Relatives play the

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<sup>70</sup> Craft and boat owners and skippers are usually the same person.

<sup>71</sup> This rule applies for Bulandet's boat where there is no technique of 'preservation': dragging fish outside the boat or allotting fish into ice cubes.

<sup>72</sup> Those fishermen hardly get any sleep hours.

primary role in such social networks. Similarly, agreements between dried-and-salted seafood traders and workers are verbal and comprise relations of kin, friendship, and/or trust. Artisanal seafood processing in San Jose operates predominantly through female social networks. Seafood processors, as mainly female-kin group, interact with other seafood processors, providers at Santa Rosa's market, and costumers at Mochoqueque's market. Market trading is customarily dominated by women. Therefore, social networks that seafood processors build through their occupation are for the most part female.

Women, and some men, start working as seafood processors by belonging to a family group of seafood processors. In San Jose, Gabriela and Alicia are engaged in artisanal seafood processing since young age. They went through marriage and childcare without renouncing to their work as seafood processors. Their engagement in seafood processing is independent of their husband's activities and labour regime. Gabriela continued working even though her husband's salary from industrial fishing grew to be higher than average and is considered by the couple as a sufficient amount (and extra) to sustain the family. For Alicia, seafood processing became the sole income after her divorce, allowing her to sustain herself and her young daughter. Notably, seafood processing is not considered by processors, their relatives, or the community as a hobby.

Seafood processing demands networking and physical stamina, whereas it provides larger incomes than other female-predominant activities like Laura's small-shop or Aurora's cooking business. Additionally, incomes from seafood processing are more stable than from fishing<sup>73</sup>. Thus, residents perceive it as hard work and source of economic security<sup>74</sup>. Conversely, even if seafood processing is perceived as an appealing occupation, non-processor women did not express desire to join seafood processing. Such apparent contradiction could be explained by the perceived difficulty to gain a place within seafood processing and the amount of initial investment required to start in a seafood processing business. As in fishing, ownership of resources and work done in San Jose's seafood processing decide how earnings are divided within the

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<sup>73</sup> The product may be stored for months. Contrary to fresh seafood, immediate sales are not necessary.

<sup>74</sup> Turning to recent escalations of the activity, San Jose's residents stated that PRONAA's interest in buying dried fish during the nineties made seafood processing an attractive business. Then, seafood processing, a traditional female occupation, is intensively included into the formal market.

group. Two or three families<sup>75</sup> can work together, but one of them will be the main holder and administrator of the business<sup>76</sup>.

San Jose's seafood processors cooperate and compete in the purchase and commerce of seafood. Processors travel together by bus to Santa Rosa's market three to seven times a week, at four in the morning. During negotiations with merchants at Santa Rosa's market seafood processors compete for the available goods<sup>77</sup>, to then group again for their return to San Jose. Seafood processors transport to San Jose all the purchased raw seafood in cooling truck(s). Competition predominates again for the allocation of the dried and salted production, even if sometimes seafood processors belonging to different business group travel together to Mochoqueque's market.

In San Jose, a minority of men participate in seafood processing. Those men are husbands from female seafood processors. Most of them work as slicers, and some are in charge of getting supplies and allocating production. Notably, a 'newcomer' male seafood processor is performing as the leader of Seafood Processing Association.

By contrast, the increasingly scarce artisanal seafood processing in Bulandet is done mostly by male. As in San Jose, artisanal seafood processing is a family business; nevertheless male family members are the main collaborators during the seafood processing itself and the allocation of products. Edgard is one of the few Bulandet residents that nowadays elaborates and commercializes smoked seafood. Edgard and his wife, Kasandra, slice the fresh fish. Edgard acquired the skills from a young age through his father's smoked seafood business. Kasandra learnt to slice fish by working besides Edgard and from her employment at the Fish Factory. After being sliced, the fish is smoked by Edgard. Then, Kasandra and Edgard pack it. Finally, Edgard and his sons load the ice and products to the boat, and finally, part to sell it to other towns along the coast. The main allocation strategy is the advertisement from mouth to mouth as a result

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<sup>75</sup> Newcomer families and traditional local families are involved in seafood processing and sometimes work in the same business group.

<sup>76</sup> The leading family is also the main investor. The right of use of slash-and-salt cubicles and to-dry slatted frames, as well as, the raw material (fish) and bags of salt are managed as a group. Moreover, Slash-and-salt cubicles include wash wells and wood buckets and tables. The right of use of a slash-and-salt cubicle build by PRONAA is central for negotiations within the group, since at the present there are no available ones. Some families build independent slash-and-salt cubicles. On the other hand, knives are owned individually.

<sup>77</sup> Even more during scarce seasons.

of tourist visits or acquaintances. Remarkably, Kasandra states that she has to remind Edgard and herself to teach Kari, their daughter, as they `naturally` do with their sons. Kasandra says that they should not forget Kari just because she is a girl. Kari enjoys going to sell smoked seafood with her father, but is more interested on visiting other towns than on the seafood processing activity itself.

Artisanal seafood processing in Bulandet is perceived as a complementary occupation, sometimes as a notable hobby, and the profits are considered as extra income<sup>78</sup>. It is an activity that renders prestige by technique execution and circulation of the scarce delicious product. Regarding the relations between Bulandet`s artisanal seafood processors, competition is predominant. Each of them purchases fish from the Fish Factory or Fish Farm, catches it by themselves, or fosters fish and crabs on their own farms. Then they process the fresh seafood in their own accommodations. The competition is tangible when searching for allocation networks and comparing their production.

Industrial seafood processing is solely present in Bulandet. At the local factory, the Fish Factory, large-scale and partially mechanized production of frozen seafood requires collaboration as work in chain<sup>79</sup>. Also, the Fish Factory activity, and thus the employment of fish processors, depends on the fishing boats diligence<sup>80</sup>. Doing seafood processing at the Fish Factory is perceived as a really, really hard work. The contact with freezing products, the long hours standing up and the continued repetition of movements produces muscle and tendon pains, hand arthritis and varicose veins. Sometimes women and men looking for employment at Bulandet refuse to work at the Fish Factory due to its required endurance. The majority of production workers and administrative staff are women. Among production workers, men occupy the positions

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<sup>78</sup> The demanded and offered production of smoked seafood is unelevated, therefore artisanal seafood processing at Bulandet is not as time demanding as in San Jose. The processing tasks are accomplished during the spare time left by other activities. Thus, artisanal seafood processing can be practiced in combination with other jobs.

<sup>79</sup> Within the production chain, assistance between workers is recurrent, relieving each other from accumulated fish to slice or pack. During spring and summer, the busiest seasons, around half of the workers are temporary workers from abroad. The coexistence of workers with different nationalities sometimes produces lack of cooperation within the chain of production.

<sup>80</sup> The captains of fishing boats call the Fish Factory to report the available catch to unload. After examining the quality of the fish, a price agreement is made between the factory manager and the fishermen. Administrative staff and fishermen from Bulandet`s boats are friends or family since both belong to Bulandet`s traditional families.

in the production chain that demand the most use of strength. Female administrative staff has work as seafood processors for ten and more years. As in San Jose's artisanal seafood processing, even though industrial seafood processing in Bulandet is predominantly female, a man labors as the main manager.

Among female interviewees in Bulandet, Kasandra and Krystal work four days a week at the Fish Factory. Kasandra started working at the fish factory when she married Edgard and moved to Bulandet. At the time, the income from Edgard's work was hardly enough to sustain the family. Kasandra stopped working at the Fish Factory with every newborn, when other jobs were available, and during a failed attempt to start a small shop business. Now she says she has gotten used to seafood processing work at the factory. In the case of Krystal, she intercalated her work at the Fish Factory and her work at the local school as a teacher or teaching assistant. During the past decade she was forced to quit teaching due to lack of teaching certificate. Then she got involved solely at Fish Factory work. For Kasandra and Krystal, work at the Fish Factory initiated as an open temporary job that required of no specialized education. In the future, Kasandra and Krystal expect to continue working at the Fish Factory until their retirement.

### **4.3 Housework and Childcare**

Household management and child raising, in both communities, are mainly done by women. Among interviewees, Gisela's, Carla's and Cristina's daily concerns and schedules revolve primarily around cooking, housecleaning, grocery shopping, and watching over their children. Gisela and Carla fully occupy themselves with household labour after finishing secondary school; on the other hand, Cristina was withdrawn from primary school by her mother in order to learn how to do housework. The three of them consider raising their children and doing house chores as their main responsibilities, while their spouses' obligation is to earn enough to cover the family needs. For Gisela, Carla and Cristina not working is something natural and even desirable.

In the course of their lives nearly all of female interviewees go in and out of full-time childcare (and housework) according to childbearing. Aurora and Eliza, who nowadays

are a cooker and a saleswoman respectively, started working after their children were already grown up. On the contrary, Patricia and Kaela stop their work as saleswoman and nutritionist, correspondingly, due to their desire to fully engage into raising their children, as well as, the lack of job opportunities. Patricia and Kaela plan to start working again when their children go to primary school or to college. Furthermore, Laura and Giovanna combine childcare and work by working at home. Laura began a small-shop business at home. She attends the shop while doing household chores and looking after Hector and Victor, her husband and twelve year old son. Likewise, Giovanna wants to become a web designer and work from home so she will enjoy of a flexible schedule and could take care of Haldis, her newborn daughter, without depending on her in-laws. Altogether, each pattern of going in and out of full-time childcare (and housework) is present within interviewees of both communities. On the relationship between childcare and work engagement, the preference is to be stay-home mothers at least until their children turn five.

For Laila and Abbie, who are teachers at Bulandet, marriage and childbearing did not mean a significant change of relationship with their jobs. They ceased to work during late months of pregnancy and one year after giving birth. They carry on with their regular activities due to the support given by childcare centers, relatives, and female friends<sup>81</sup>. Sometimes they could continue with their former jobs, other times they engage in new ones.

Differences between some San Jose and Bulandet's female life path suggest divergent attitudes and given relevance towards female inclusion in the labour market. The divergence between communities is on solely-childcare-and-housework and almost-never-stop-working cases. Gisela, Carla and Cristina, from San Jose, never worked and do not plan to start working after their children grow up. While Bulandet's residents, Laila and Abbie, made arrangements to be able to keep working while spending the desired family time. Such contrast also illustrates how opportunities to engage in part-time jobs apparently favor women's inclusion in the labour market. At Bulandet, the main provider of female part-time specialized (nurse, teacher, bureaucrat) and untrained (post-office, caregivers) jobs, besides seafood processing, is the State. While at San

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<sup>81</sup> As described in the above section, female interviewees working in seafood processors at Bulandet and San Jose made a similar arrangement.



Jose, the State is the main provider of female part-time specialized (nurse, teacher, bureaucrat) jobs; but not of untrained jobs. Therefore, most of female labour at San Jose depends on the private sector since women usually do not follow college.

Housework and childcare involve social networking with relatives, friends, neighbors, market merchants, and school personnel. Female relatives, friends and neighbors help each other by watching over the children, and cooking a cake or doing embroidery work for a special occasion<sup>82</sup>. Male relatives, friends and neighbors help each others to build or modify their houses. Both are potential channels of advice or temporarily loans in case of need. Nevertheless, social networks can also be restrictive. At Bulandet youngsters leave home when they are sixteen or in their early twenties, before marrying. When married, they will usually form a neolocal home. Even though parents from one or two sides probably live near by, there is a frontier of privacy. On the contrary, at San Jose, daughters and sons usually move out from parents' house when they get married. During their first years of marriage, wives reside at their in-laws house. There, daughters-in-law follow the instructions of their mothers-in-law. The extents to which newlyweds and their parents live proximately influence the relations between senior-junior housewives. How and when housework and childcare are done by juniors, and therefore their possibilities of action, is highly determined by cohabitant female relatives<sup>83</sup>.

Grocery shopping and school matters can also involve social networking. For San Jose's housewives, a friendly and faithful relationship with local market merchants –mostly female- favors cheaper prices and the possibility of purchasing groceries on credit when needed<sup>84</sup>. Finally, at schools there are small day-to-day negotiations between teachers (largely female) and parents; and between parents, mostly mothers. Women (pre)dominate at school meetings and daily issues at San Jose even more than at Bulandet; nevertheless due to the constant absence of fathers, the difference is not large. School negotiations include the agreement on the extra stipends per children's activities.

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<sup>82</sup> Female at Bulandet usually contribute with homemade cakes for birthdays, school events, and community gatherings; likewise women at San Jose share their embroidery work especially when getting married.

<sup>83</sup> This remark does not imply that at Bulandet families do not get involved in each other matters.

<sup>84</sup> It does not apply for Bulandet since there is no market, but a store.

#### 4.4 Gendered Occupations

The reconstruction of interviewees' occupational opportunities and preferences along their lives portray linear and nonlinear career developments. Marriage and childrearing influence what, when and where socioeconomic activities are done. Their impact is notably significant in female interviewees' occupational engagement<sup>85</sup>. In addition, an extended tendency prevails: women can be off-work without or with modest social reproach (or are even encouraged to do so), while men cannot, unless they are impeded by illness. Occupational chances and choices are shaped by the embeddedness of economic activity in social relations, and by the values and capacities related to each socioeconomic activity. It is also shaped by how each gender portrays some occupations as 'possible' or 'unattainable/undesired' options.

An element of contextualization and explanation for the differences between gender arrangements in San Jose (Peru) and Bulandet (Norway) is the historical construction of society based on sameness or hierarchy, and in relation to the character of their respective feminist movements from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. The Peruvian society tends to perform by hierarchical principles (Hudson, 1992) and shows a pronounced degree of inequality<sup>86</sup>. Moreover, it is a conservative society, strongly influenced by traditional sectors of the Catholic Church. Despite of the conservative background, women have managed to articulate and express themselves through a variety of organizations<sup>87</sup>. Nevertheless, the feminist movements have had a restricted influence which is manifested in the transient and discrete participation of feminists in the state apparatus (Cevasco, 2000). Moreover, even though women's situation as workers has experienced deep changes over time, it has always been conditioned by patriarchal cultural and ideological patterns (Cerna et al, 1997). Over the past decades the focus of the women's movement in Peru has been securing family welfare and reproductive rights. Therefore, women's reproductive functions continue to mark their identity. The Peruvian state favored the expansion (rather than the diversity) of women's traditional roles from the domestic to the public sphere under a politicized patronage scheme which required women's organizations to adhere to the government's speech and political action. In the

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<sup>85</sup> Although house management and childcare tasks are somehow shared between husband and wife, the major responsibility is still taken by the wives.

<sup>86</sup> Distribution of family income - Gini index: 49.6 (2009) and 46.2 (1996).

<sup>87</sup> During the second wave of feminism (1970s), the feminist movement established a relationship with the popular women movement (Cevasco, 2000)..

end, women are welfare recipients characterized as clients rather than citizens (Cevasco, 2000).

Conversely, the Norwegian society is characterized as driven by egalitarian principles of sameness. Norwegians deemphasize differences between social classes in daily interactions. The principle of sameness was extended by the romantic movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Norwegian nationalism glorified the simple ways of life of the countryside (Askvoll Fylkesarkivet-County Archives; Gullestad, 1991)<sup>88</sup>. Furthermore, the emergence of the Norwegian Welfare State after World War II ensured a minimum of economic provisioning for every citizen, and the increased internal migration favored a nationalization of lifestyles and social heterogeneity (Gullestad, 1991). The character of Norwegian politics has contributed to the constitution of women as citizens rather than politicized clients. The democratic and anti-authoritarian social and political context in Norway positively influenced the relation between women's and feminists' movements, and their articulation with the state.

The women's movements during the 1960s and 1970s demanded improved conditions for women on the basis of their difference, and managed to undergo a process of institutionalization of their demands (Halsaa, 2002). It is important to remark that in this process the demands of women's movements including feminists' movements were included<sup>89</sup>. Moreover, women's movements started to question men's responsibilities which became an area of accord between 'domestic feminist' and 'radical feminist' (Blom, 1982). Even though nowadays Norway faces insufficient childcare services and a persistent division of labour by gender, the articulation of women's and feminists' movements with state institutions and women/gender studies has influenced the process

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<sup>88</sup> Gayle R. Avant and Karen Patrick Knutsen (1993) also try to explain the emergence of Norwegian 'sameness'. Avant and Knutsen argued that the two centuries of socioeconomic struggles due to the major reduction of population caused by the Black Plague (based in T.K. Derry, 2000), and the principle of 'janteloven' promote the ideals of sameness and egalitarianism that resulted in 'no obvious poverty neither blatant opulence' in Norwegian society (Avant and Knutsen, 1993).

<sup>89</sup> The political context favored the institutionalization of feminist ideals: 'The social democrats, having lost their absolute majority during the 1960s, were desperate to attract new voters, and listened seriously to the articulation of radical feminist demands. This was possible due to Norway's remarkable tradition of peaceful integration of new political groups into the political system. The tradition of pragmatic and extensive negotiations between opposing groups was there to be applied to negotiations with the new feminists.' (Halsaa, 2002: 355)

of diversification of women's roles based on the reconciliation of family and work life through the shortage of daily working hours and paid parental leaves.

#### *4.4.1 The complementarity allegation and gender inequality*

Interviewees often rationalized the division of labour between wife and husband as 'gender complementarity' perceived in a positive lens as some sort of gender equality. However, the gender complementarity seen as gender equality omits questions of power relations and conflict (Perrin and Perruchon, 1997; Boyle, 2011), and disregards the divergence in the accumulated economic, social, and cultural capitals according to performed activity, and therefore, gender. The understanding of gender equality as gender complementarity can work as a 'black box' under which gender inequalities remain hidden.

Norwegian women are no longer conceived as solely housewives and mothers, and many Norwegian men are embracing their roles as carers. Even though, in practice, the emphasis of women as carers and men as breadwinners is unveiled by the rate of women workers who perform as part-time workers and in less paid jobs, in comparison to their male counterparts; and by the difference in the amount and type of household chores women and men do. In the cities, the lack of sufficient childcare services promotes women's withdrawal from work and engagement in full-time childcare. In fishing communities like Bulandet, the lack of jobs for women produced by the gender division of labour and the constitution of fishing as non-female job gives the illusion that women are choosing between two equal options: stay-home mothers (pay-for-care) or working (public childcare).

In Peru, the ideal family model with stay-home mothers for the 'better rearing' of children (usually until they finish secondary school) hides the lack of incentives and facilitators for a further inclusion of women into the formal labour market, the persistent pay-gap, discrimination of women, and the assumption of an equal distribution among the members of each family. The assumption of a male-breadwinner model reinforces women's lack of social benefits which is already made difficult by their dependence on being a worker, and by the preponderance of an informal labour market.

#### 4.4.2 *Fishing: an opportunity only for men*

As described above, occupations within the fishing industry are significantly, if not mainly, structured by gender: men fish, women do not; women do seafood processing, some men also do seafood processing. Fishing and seafood processing are 'inherited' occupations, since the main recruitment route is through social networks, and primarily kinship. Social networks developed by women and men during their course of life are divergent and hardly gender mixed. They are predominantly male in fishing and mostly female in artisanal seafood processing in San Jose and industrial seafood processing in Bulandet. Moreover, the economic resources that circulate through fishermen's social networks are more valuable than in seafood processing since the investments and profits are higher; not to disregard that fishing renders a distinctive status and prestige for men. I argue that the base for an 'accentuated' unequal gender organization within fishing communities relies on how the horizontal labour segregation by gender works in a space where fishing is –by far- the main source of capitals and economic activity. Therefore, if females do not participate as fisherwomen, they lose the major source of income, prestige, assets and power available within their community.

In a fishing community, fishing is the occupation that manages and produces the major socioeconomic capitals. Therefore, in analyzing gendered structures we ought to ask: Why are men perceived as able to become fishers and women are excluded from the activity? As Carrie Yodanis argued, fishing in such communities is a tool to define and structure gender. Yodanis shows how women in fishing communities are defined (and defined themselves) as women by being non-fishers; and men, by their possibility of becoming fishers. The exclusion of women and the inclusion of men in fishing are intrinsically connected to the ideas of what a man and a woman are. Therefore, a first analytical step is to unravel the perceptions around fishing as an occupation.

Fishing is defined as a dangerous and laborious economic activity performed in different conditions than other land economic activities. Around five years ago, in San Jose, a crew of eleven fishermen parted for the first fishing trip of "Ana María", a 40 tons wood boat build for artisanal fishing; after some days at sea the crew managed to fill up the boat with fish; nevertheless the boat collapsed with no one around to help.

The following days, some fishermen from the community volunteered to look for the bodies and found that two fisher had tried to survive by tying themselves to a part of the boat. The bodies of the rest of the crew where found by the shores of Pimentel during the following week, and a month later the body of the owner-skipper arouse. The group of fishermen who narrated these tragic events in detail explained to me why this happened: it was the result of a rushed fishing trip (there was no previous testing-trip), excessive enthusiasm over the catch, and an uncooperative weather. For fishers in San Jose tragedies can be avoided, but one must never be over-confident at the sea, since a mistake can cost many lives. In the case of Bulandet fishing is not considered a live threatening task anymore, (and it was never included as a reason why women are out of fishing), since now it is performed in steel boats which give a sense of security. Nevertheless, there are stories about tragedies where the roughness of the sea stroked small artisanal boats by surprise and took some lives away. In both cases, tragedy not only arrives to the family members of the deceased, but to the whole community. The whole community goes through the shock, the pain, and the emotional and material coping. Such stories about lost lives during fishing are part of the history of the community and are remembered by their members. They are memories that show how dangerous being at sea can be.

Furthermore, fishing was described as 'hard work'. While fishing, one has to get used to the continuous movements that produces seasickness (Bulandet`s and San Jose`s interviewees) and to the cold winds (stated by San Jose`s interviewees). It is required that one overcomes such difficulties and performs the tasks. Even more, fishing is perceived as a laborious activity in two other ways: it requires a great use of physical strength, especially during throwing and picking up of the nets; and endurance of days of work –or even weeks- with few hours available to rest or sleep.

The work of fishing is characterized by `male attributes`. Fishing is an occupation defined as male because of how it is characterized, and conversely, fishing is also a significant source of male identity and gender boundaries. I will elucidate how the absence or exclusion of women from fishing is sustained by discourses on femininity and masculinity. The reasons given for why women do not fish are similar to daily argumentations on why men do tasks women do not or cannot do. To explore the boundaries between male and female occupations I asked the interviewees: 'Can you

imagine exchanging occupations with your partner? ´ It was also an indirect way to ask ´Why are women excluded from fishing?´<sup>90</sup>

In San Jose, where fishing seems to be perceived as a dangerous activity, interviewees declared that women should avoid danger and (that kind of) hard labour since they have male kin to do it. Fishing as a dangerous activity is characterized as men’s work. Men are seen as beings with the ability to die while women are characterised by giving life. According to Beauvoir, men’s ability to risk their lives rendered them with prestige, while women's ability to gestate and breastfeed makes them subjects to care. The relation of fishing-danger-men suggests a subtext of value of life according to gender. In San Jose, mothers (as women are firstly defined) are identified as the irreplaceable emotional and caring centre of every family, and thus, their lives should not be risked<sup>91</sup>.

On the other hand, fishermen acquire certain local prestige by being in the position of risking their own lives while working. Moreover, interviewees of San Jose and Bulandet sometimes implied that men can go through the experience of seasickness and ´harsh` circumstances while women can avoid it. During their first fishing trips, almost every fisherman experiences seasickness. With time, they become accustomed and learn how to prevent seasickness. For the case of women, the presence of seasickness is perceived as a barrier and a reason for their absence in fishing. Some interviewees from both communities made explicit mention of seasickness as a reason for themselves (woman) or their partners not to enter fishing. Aurora and her husband recalled that one time she went into a ´fishing´ trip for the Fiesta de San Jose, she felt so bad, that she never wants to do it again. In Bulandet, Aaron and Kaela remarked that she (Kaela) gets very seasick when being on a boat; and therefore, she does not like to go fishing, not even on small boats.

Likewise, endurance, along with the long working hours and few hours of sleep required during fishing trips were also frequently cited as reasons for women’s absence in fishing. Hector, a San Jose’s interviewee, stated that fishing is too much of a hard work for encouraging his wife to participate in it. Similarly, Laura (Hector’s wife)

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<sup>90</sup> I think, even with follow up questioning, it might have influenced the given answers since –to my surprise- nobody replied that somebody has to stay home and take care of the children.

<sup>91</sup> However, the declarations about women’s valuable lives conflicts with the frequently informally reported violence of fathers and husbands against their daughters and wives.

perceives fishing as a hard work she would not like to do, even more since she is scared of the sea. In Bulandet, Kasandra also perceived fishing a hard job with many waking hours. She thought that maybe she would not be able to manage it, even though she considers her own work at the Fishing Industry as hard work. Another interviewee, Giovanna, did not question if her participation in fishing was possible or not, she just does not want to work in such difficult conditions. In addition, the use of strength is also a reason given as to why they or their wives do not participate in fishing. More interviewees in San Jose (Alicia, Carla and David) than Bulandet (Alexandre) referred directly to the perceived difference of strength between genders.

In San Jose, the exposure to cold winds due to the structure of `chalanas` is an additional reason given for the absence of women as fishers. For example, Carla has never put her foot in a boat. Carla said that she could not be a fisher because it requires the use of strength, exposes oneself to cold weather, and she is afraid of the sea and the wind. Her husband also thinks that she could not endure a fishing trip, not even for one night. Another interviewee, Clemente, said that for his wife the most difficult thing about fishing will be the cold weather, she would not endure it.

In both communities, Bulandet and San Jose, fishing is considered a male occupation. San Jose and Bulandet interviewees shared most of the explanations given as to why women cannot be fishers<sup>92</sup>. Female and male interviewees' explanations concurred<sup>93</sup>. Nevertheless, some interviewees (women and men) formulated `progressive discourses` that portrait women's participation in fishing as possible. In San Jose, Gabriela stated that she could become a fisher since fishing is much easier than housework. In Bulandet, Eliza thought of fishing as an opportunity to travel, even though she found it challenging to live in a relative small space with six other people. Eliza said there was no reason why women could not be fishers. And Baldur, when asked if his wife could do his job (fisher), he gave an exceptional response:

*`Yes, she can do it; women can have the same job. It is a physical job so she will need to use some strength, but also there are more technical things... and some about environment, they have to adapt to be in a male environment. I think there*

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<sup>92</sup> The explanations were usually given on the elaboration of the question: Can you imagine exchanging occupations with your partner? Why?

<sup>93</sup> And the few times conflict appeared it was not on what he said or what she said, but a difference of opinions no matter the gender.



*is no problem just that it hasn't been done yet, it just follows a tradition that men should be on boats. And maybe it is tradition too that women do not think about being on boats, they do not think it as an opportunity.*

Finally, between San Jose and Bulandet there is certain variation as to why men are involved in fishing. In both contexts, fishing is sometimes perceived as an income possibility and as an enjoyable activity. Nevertheless, the slight difference about which reason for fishing is emphasized could be associated to their living standards. In San Jose, fishing is highlighted as an activity to earn living and provide for the family. For example, when asked about what would he changed about his daily life, Manuel said: 'Nothing, it is one's task (as a man) to go out and work'. So their local prestige relies on being and being portrayed as the only or main bread-winners of the family. Even more, in San Jose fishermen are perceived as breadwinners that risk their lives for the wellbeing of their families. On the other hand, in Bulandet, fishing is highlighted as an inherited activity to enjoy and that in present times renders great economic surplus. Therefore, while in San Jose, fishing is a means to (try to) escape from economic precariousness; in Bulandet, (poverty is not in the picture) fishing tends to be a matter of choice and identification.

## 5. GENDER AND SOCIAL POLICY

This chapter describes the interlocking effects of principles of entitlement, gender regimes, and public welfare organization in fishing communities. The interrelationship between schemes of entitlement, public provision of services, and the organization of the labour market is significant in the structuring and transforming of gender relations (Sainsbury, 1999). The implied or explicit gendered standpoints and programmes conveyed in state initiatives may influence whether existing gender relations are reinforced or transformed, and whether gender inequalities are strengthened or counteracted. The state is not only a central institution for the structuring and transformation of different models of gender relations, but is also the main responsible for achieving gender equality in relation to the economic, social and cultural rights. The Peruvian and Norwegian States have the legal obligation to respect, protect and fulfil economic, social and cultural rights and are expected to take "progressive action" towards their fulfilment regardless of the economic situation in the country. The Peruvian and Norwegian States are bounded to ensure minimum subsistence for their citizens and equal use and access to the available resources.

Therefore, governmental decisions on how to allocate resources and how their interrelations with the gender order and the socioeconomic organization of fishing communities are key subjects to scrutiny. A Welfare Regime classification has been developed in accordance with patterns of principles that states follows for citizens' entitlements and distribution of benefits. The welfare regime of a state can be classified as a Conservative, Liberal or Social Democrat (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1999; Sümer, 2009). Nevertheless, coherence and harmony within the institutions of the state is not guaranteed. Sometimes, state institutions incline for a stance contrary to the dominant trend. The typology of state welfare regimes, after the feminist critique (Sainsbury, 1999; Orloff, 1993), recognizes that each type of welfare regime entails gender models of social policy. The Peruvian State is revealed as a conservative and familialistic welfare regime that assumes a male-breadwinner pattern, while the Norwegian State is depicted as a social-democrat and defamilializing welfare regime based on a one-and-a-half earner model.

## 5.1 Engendering the Peruvian Welfare State

In Peru, the distribution of the national budget through public policies is ruled by the principle of efficiency in the provision of social coverage. The main intention is to avoid poverty. The involvement of the Peruvian state in the economy and social services is limited. The liberalization of the economy has been accompanied by significant public expenditure directed to specific populations at risk. In theory, public expenses are aimed to cover food, education and health among the poorest, but succeed only partially (Herrera, 2001; Dammert and Valdivia, 2001)<sup>94</sup>. Therefore, the Peruvian welfare regime is guided by the `subsidiary principle` that leaves as much social coverage as possible in the hands of families and civil society. The approach of social policy supports social class (and gender) differences since the social-insurance model is based on work performance and stipulates that benefits should correspond to contribution through paid-labour. The principle of self-securing the family's needs is the ideal by which families are (self) categorized. The public support aimed to secure the basic needs of the citizens is sometimes perceived as a burden rather than as rights.

Moreover, public policies are frequently influenced by the Catholic Church and ideals of the traditional family even if the Peruvian state is defined as a secular state by the constitution. Given the characteristics described above, the Peruvian state is classified as a conservative welfare regime (Sümer, 2009:21). The conservative welfare regime intertwines with a familialistic approach to work- and family-related tasks. In a familialistic approach, the reconciliation between work and family is only a private issue and parenthood policies are undeveloped (Sümer, 2009:112-113). The male-breadwinner notion prevails, as women provide care in the home and do voluntary work, while the gender segregation in labour and the gender pay gap work in detriment of women.

Paradoxically, women who engage in formal market work, and become mothers, can access benefits as carers. The interlocking of the subsidiary principle, the male breadwinner assumption, the social-security schemes based on work, and the extended family responsibilities of care for children and elders mainly done by women reinforces

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<sup>94</sup>Gasto Social Peru` seen on February 2010 in [www.gestiopolis.com](http://www.gestiopolis.com)

traditional gender relations and tends to strengthen gender (and class) inequalities (based on Sainsbury, 1999: 254-256). In Peru, many feminist and social scientists have identified some basic initiatives to achieve gender equality (Dador, 2006<sup>95</sup>; Ruiz-Bravo, 1996). Those initiatives are: the elimination of poverty and inequality, universal coverage of women's health, an increase in women's education and labour market participation, as well as, an active promotion of gender equality values. Nevertheless, such goals do not interrelate without conflict. Too often the Peruvian state –knowingly or unintentionally- reinforces gendered roles and gender inequality in order to accomplish `general` well-being.

As stated above, public policies are usually aimed to target specific fragile populations. Fishing communities, like San Jose, are entitled to fish freely for subsistence and small commerce. The National Fund for Fishing Development (FONDEPES<sup>96</sup>) is the main financial public institution that carries out development projects for the fishing industry. Most of their initiatives are solely concerned with fishermen and not with women in fishing communities. On the other hand, the Ministry of Women and Social Development (MIMDES) is the main responsible for the achievement of gender equality through public policies. The attempt to achieve gender equality is tightly connected to the combat of poverty and alleviation of women's workload. The Cooperation Fund for Social Development (FONCODES<sup>97</sup>) under MIMDES elaborates diverse projects for basic social services with mayor investments in infrastructure, material implementation, and in capacity improvement projects, with a significant inclusion of the female population.

The Ministry of Women and Social Development (MIMDES) is also in charge of the public provision of childcare options from an early age (INABIF centres and Wawa Wasi), basic food coverage for the extreme poor and children enrolled in school (National Program of Food Provision – PRONAA and Milk of Glass Program), and cash payouts for fragile population (JUNTOS Program<sup>98</sup>). Moreover, minimal health coverage is obtained through the General Health Insurance (SIS<sup>99</sup> - Ministry of Health),

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<sup>95</sup> `Política Social en Igualdad de Géneros – Perú` seen on February 2010 in [www.gestiopolis.com](http://www.gestiopolis.com)

<sup>96</sup> FONDEPES is a fund institution who works under the Viceministry of Fishing, Ministry of Production.

<sup>97</sup> FONCODES has an office in Chiclayo-Lambayeque, and is for sure active in the region.

<sup>98</sup> It seems that Lambayeque Region is not targeted by JUNTOS Program.

<sup>99</sup> See [www.sis.gob.pe](http://www.sis.gob.pe) (March, 2010)

the only requirement for which is to be classified as 'poor' by a socioeconomic evaluation and not be affiliated to any other health insurance.

## 5.2 Social policies in San Jose

In San Jose there are several public (and private) education facilities from kindergarten to technical institutes. Education is compulsory from kindergarten until secondary school education, and it is free in state institutions. Nevertheless, many San Jose's parents still withdraw their children from school usually to engage them in work. As stated in chapter 3, nowadays boys tend to finish secondary school since it became a requirement for the Artisanal Fisherman Card. Conversely, despite the continued withdrawal of girls from school (especially during secondary school) there is no local incentive policy to ensure and promote formal education for women. The National Fund for Fishing Development (FONDEPES) provides free courses<sup>100</sup> in technological innovation, management techniques and business management for micro-enterprises in the fishing industry. For instance, the fishermen of San Jose usually attend courses given by the Training Center in Paita (Centro de Entrenamiento Pesquero Paita – CEP PAITA). The courses also cover accommodation and food costs for students.

FONDEPES also provides loans to fishermen, but the access to such credits requires fishermen to be formal fishermen, which works as another incentive for completing secondary school. The credit programs<sup>101</sup> are aimed and used to acquire power engines, outboard motors, insulated trucks, fishing boats, sonars, navigators, radios, nets, long lines, and others. Other initiatives for economic development have incorporated women. The seafood processors in San Jose, mostly women, benefited from the construction of the Seafood Processing Center by FONDEPES. Also, during the 1990s, the seafood processors were articulated with the National Program of Food Provision (PRONAA, under MIMDES). Most of the production was bought by PRONAA in order to supply

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<sup>100</sup> Specifically: Construction Program Vessels; of a revival of artisanal fishing vessels, of Artisanal Fisheries Diversification; of Artisanal Fishing Vessels equipment; Support Inland Water Fisheries; for the Promotion of Aquaculture, Seafood Products Marketing; of Insulated vehicles for the transport of Seafood Products, and Emergency and Survival Program (FONDEPES).

<sup>101</sup> For loans above 1000 USD beneficiaries must provide guarantees to cover 130% of the total amount of credit. Fishing vessels and urban land can be presented as guarantees. For smaller loans, beneficiaries only require a personal guarantee (Judiciary Declaration) and a copy of valid ID. The small loans in Artisanal Fishing add up to 1000 USD and in Aquaculture to 2000 USD (FONDEPES).

the Common Kitchen Program. Nevertheless, San Jose's seafood processors reported that PRONAA's demands have lessened significantly and increased the challenges to allocate their products in the market. Another development project that targeted women was the implementation of 'Ladies Committee' which unsuccessfully attempted to organize women into making traditional arts crafts for sale. The project only provided women with a room and did not assess the participants in the logistics of micro-enterprising.

As previously mentioned, the health coverage provided by the state depends on an economic evaluation. Patients who live in extreme poverty or poverty are granted with full or partial (S/.12000 per year) coverage of basic procedures concerning preventive, recuperative and rehabilitation interventions through the General Health Insurance (SIS) regime. Peruvians who are not poor should pay a public (ESSALUD) or private health insurance. The insurance of dependent workers, domestic workers, construction workers, dock workers, and (industrial and artisanal) fishers should be paid by their employer. Nevertheless such obligation is enforced only within the formal economy. San Jose's fishermen reported that during the months when they work as industrial fishers they have health insurance and special coverage against accidents. However, most of the months of the year, in which they are engaged in artisanal fishing, San Jose's interviewees did not have health insurance or accident insurance.

Theoretically, artisanal fishers are covered by ESSALUD; nevertheless a regular payment (S/.40 per month) should be done in order to be affiliated. The 'Fisherman Insurance' involves a life insurance (S/. 16,000-20,000), a health insurance (ESSALUD), and covers basic burial expenses. However, the 'Fisher Insurance' requires that the skipper (or boat-owner), the fisherman and the buyer contribute a certain percentage (50%, 15% and 35% respectively) of the total cost. The complex format of affiliation often results in no payment and many fishermen without insurance. From the interviewed fishermen, Clemente is in many ways an exception. Clemente is a permanent worker in an international company of industrial fishing. The company (Austral Group S.A.A) pays for his life and health insurance (which benefits his children as well), makes the correspondent deposits to his pension fund, and for paid vacations. Clemente is the only interviewed fisherman in San Jose who has all the social benefits he is entitled to by law.

On the other hand, most women in San Jose are housewives or work as seafood processors in small-enterprises based on kin. None of the interviewed women (except Cristina, Clemente`s wife) had health insurance. Since most fishing households are not considered to be extremely poor or poor, the only health service covered by the state that the women interviewed reported (and used) was pregnancy and childbirth care through the SIS system. The Peruvian state tends to be interested in decreasing the birth rate. Therefore, there are no parenthood policies meant to incentive procreation. Besides the pregnancy and childbirth care, interviewed women and men in San Jose have not exercised any other benefit related to parenthood. Even for Clemente, who has experienced all the social benefits he is entitled, becoming a father did not make him subject of significant benefits coming from the state. In Peru, fathers are only entitled to 3 days of paid leave around the childbirth date. Therefore, since Clemente travels frequently due to his work, his presence during childbirth depended more on luck. Conversely, women in formal full-time work are entitled to 30 days of paid maternal leave. Nevertheless, the interviewed women who work did so through self-employment or family enterprise. None of the interviewed women received paid maternal leave.

Similarly, the granting of a pension and its amount depends primarily on the condition of being engage in formal full-time paid work. At a national level, some fishermen were subscribed to the Benefits and Social Security Reserve for Fishermen (Caja de Beneficios y Seguridad Social del Pescador - CBSSP), but it became insolvent and finally dissolved. In the case of the fishermen interviewed, none (except Clemente) reported to be entitled to a pension. In San Jose, when fishermen are 60 years old and up they can affiliate to the Elderly Fishermen's Association through which PRONAA provides them of occasional food supplies. Since most women in San Jose do not work, they are not entitled to a pension at all.

Finally, San Jose receives food provision from the state through the Glass of Milk Program and Common Kitchen Program. The beneficiaries of Glass of Milk Program are the pupils attending public schools. In the case of the Common Kitchens, food given by the state (and is sometimes partially self-financed) is cooked under a rotation scheme. During the last decades the Common Kitchens were basis for women's organization and their participation as political actors. The main objective of Common

Kitchens' movements has been to ensure family welfare. Today, the women of Common Kitchens in San Jose do not seem interested in politics, and local politicians do not seem interested in Common Kitchens. Also, interestingly, the women interviewed (mostly wives of fishermen) declared that in times of economic precariousness it is best to handle the food provision as a private matter rather than attending a Common Kitchen. This is because it is considered embarrassing to attend the Common Kitchen, and also, the best meals are cooked at home. The absence of arenas of organization among women can be seen as an impediment for women's empowerment in San Jose.

## **5.2 Engendering the Norwegian Welfare State**

In Norway, public policies cover an extended notion of basic services conceived as rights. The main intention is to sustain universalistic programs that promote egalitarian ideals and results. Therefore, the access to most social benefits is not dependent on work performance, level of income, or the private market. At the same time, public policies target specific populations according to ethnicity (e.g. Sami's entitlements), gender (e.g. quota regimes and parental leaves), location (e.g. economic incentives), and others. The mixture of universalistic and policy schemes pursues an egalitarianism that attempts to recognize the diversity within the civil society. Even though Norway is a kingdom and has appointed the Lutheran Church as the State Church (and even a Ministry of Culture and Church Affairs), the monarchy and religious ideals do not hold significant power over public policies.

As stated above, the Norwegian state is characterized as a social democratic welfare regime. Social rights based on citizenship weaken the influence of the market and the family; thereby defamilializes social rights and combats a gender differentiation in entitlements (Sainsbury, 1999:260). The social democrat welfare regime intertwines with a defamilializing<sup>102</sup> approach work- and family-related tasks. The relation between work and family life and responsibilities is conceptualized as a public issue, and public policies attempt to reconcile them through the provision of public childcare services and

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<sup>102</sup> Sometimes Norwegian public policies are also consider as refamilializing due to the shortage of work hours, the parental leaves, and the 'cash-per-child' scheme.



paid parenthood leaves<sup>103</sup> (Sümer, 2009:112-113). The social democratic regime has a complementary logic with the individual earner-carer<sup>104</sup> regime in that both individualize rights (Sainsbury, 1999). The individual earner-carer regime also individualizes responsibilities, so each individual is encouraged to be involved in care and work. In practice though, Norway shows a tendency to have one-and-a half earners since women usually engage in part-time jobs. The interlocking of the universalism principle, the work-family reconciliation policies, the social-security schemes based on citizenship, and the shortage of family responsibilities for care for children and elders mainly done by women favors gender (and class) equality and the transformation of traditional gender relations (based on Sainsbury, 1999). Nevertheless, while mothers receive social benefits close to their before-parental leave incomes, for fathers the gap is usually wider. The fatherhood cash benefits depend on the mother's entitlement to work-related benefits and its benefit level (which may entail a significant difference to his regular salary). The significant income gap between salary and fatherhood cash benefits is one of the explanations for why the `daddy quota` initiative has been reticent to fully succeed (Sainsbury, 1999: 264-266).

In accordance with the universalistic tendency of Norwegian public policies, fishing communities like Bulandet are regarded differently only in terms of remote communities with a small population of residents which demands increased public expense in education, health, and transport. The Ministry of Fisheries and Coastal Affairs is concerned with fishing fleets and fisheries issues rather than with fishing communities. The Ministry of Children, Equality, and Social Inclusion (in cooperation with the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Labour) is in charge of the gender equality initiatives. Norwegian gender equality policies tend to include men as well as women and focus on parenthood benefits, same pay for same job, including fathers in childcare, broadening women's opportunities of combining work and care, and supporting each gender where they are a minority (quotas). Some boundaries persist, for example, in the labour market a strong gendered-career/occupation prevails as well as a gendered distribution between public and private enterprises, and women's propensity to work part-time (Sümer, 2009: 58-62).

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<sup>103</sup> In order to collect daily cash benefits during maternity leave, the mother has to have worked six out of the ten last months before the birth.

<sup>104</sup> A regime that attempts to ensure the circumstances by which both, women and men, are carers and earners (Sainsbury, 1999:264-266).

Finally, the Municipalities (articulated with the Ministry of Health and Care Services) are responsible for primary health care which includes health promotion, prevention and treatment of illness, nursing care and preventive maternity care. Universal health coverage regardless of personal income is the guideline and 'All population groups in Norway are treated in the mainstream health care system' (Johnsen, 2006)<sup>105</sup>. Fishermen do have access to a special accident insurance due to the risks of industrial fishing. Conversely, on the matter of labour market regulations, fishermen are not entitled to unemployment insurance which applies for all workers except fishermen, whalers, sealers, civil servants, domestic servants, self-employed persons, salesmen, and agents.<sup>106</sup>

#### **5.4 Social Policies in Bulandet**

In Bulandet all the education institutions is provided by the State. Nowadays, in Norway, education is compulsory from kindergarten to secondary school, and local facilities are available. The older fishermen interviewed attended school until secondary school and then engaged full-time in fishing. The new organization of fishing requests that fishermen follow technical education, usually as skippers or engineers, in order to acquire the Fisher Certificate. Also, periodic courses of safety and survival (every 6-8 years) are mandatory for fishermen throughout their lives at sea. Therefore, nowadays boys who might become fishermen are encouraged to follow college and technical education. Girls are also encouraged to follow higher education, as part of the general trend in Norwegian education. There are scarce opportunities to make use of such education (through job) within the community. College, technical, and university education is not available in Bulandet; therefore, students must move away for a couple of years. The Norwegian state gives a cash support to students who need to move away to continue their studies.

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<sup>105</sup> See <http://www.euro.who.int/document/e88821.pdf>

<sup>106</sup> See <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Europe/Norway-SOCIAL-DEVELOPMENT.html>

Similarly, the health coverage provided by the state is broad and universal<sup>107</sup>. Bulandet's residents usually travel to Askvoll or Førde for medical care. Many residents follow First Aid courses to be prepared in case of an emergency, since there are no health providers in the community. Even a Heart Group has been created in order to apply the heart starter if necessary. Women in Bulandet have engaged in First Aid courses through their work at the post office or at school, or have volunteered for them. Most men, fishermen, get the First Aid knowledge from the Safety and Survival Courses. Also, interviewees reported that in case they become ill or suffer an accident, a paid leave will apply. In the case of fishermen, they do receive economic compensation in the form of 'illness money' from insurance according to their level of income.

Parenthood benefits are given to women and men; but depend on the mother's engagement in work and her level of income. The paid parental leave apply only if the mother has worked six out of the ten last months before the birth of the child. The parental leaves sets aside three weeks before and six weeks after delivery as exclusively maternity leave, while the remaining weeks (44/54) can be used by either parent. It is usual for parents to take some hours of parental leave, work, and receive some cash from the state. Moreover, following the paid parental leave, each parent is entitled to one year of unpaid leave without risking their jobs (Ellingsæter, 2006).

Fathers are given two unpaid weeks of leave around the time of birth, and six weeks of a separate parental leave called 'daddy quota' that aims to encourage fathers in childcare work. In Bulandet, some young fishermen have started to use the 'daddy quota' (only Baldur among the interviewees). Nevertheless, how the 'daddy quota' is used by them does not result in additional time spent at home. A crew of fishermen is usually stable and all members are necessary and not easily replaceable. It is therefore challenging for fathers to take an effective 'daddy quota' without compromising the fishing trips or the organization of work at the boat. Moreover, since the payment entailed in 'daddy quota' depends on women's level of income, it is usually significantly less than a fishers income. Therefore, Bulandet's fathers do not choose to withdraw from work in order to take the 'daddy quota'. Fishermen are either full-time at

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<sup>107</sup> There is a cost-sharing ceiling for expenses in medicine and medical consults, after that, the attention is free.

work or full-time at home, so they take the `daddy quota` on the time spent at home between fishing trips.

Moreover, the full coverage for childcare services is a political goal towards the inclusion of women in the labour market; nevertheless, the demand for childcare services exceeds by large the capacity available (Ellingsæter, 2006). Fortunately, for women in Bulandet, sufficient childcare services are available. Women in Bulandet prefer to combine work with extended parental leaves or pay-for-care, rather than a full engagement in work and full usage of childcare services, since the availability of jobs is restricted within the community. Also, sometimes the close birth of children to one another results in a continuous withdrawal of women from work based on parental leaves. Kasandra had her three first children close to one another, therefore, her parental leaves transformed into a long absence from work, and then, into her resignation. On the other hand, the cash-for-care policy gives a cash benefit to parents of small children who do not attend public childcare. If parents choose to use some hours of public childcare services (until 32 hours per week), the cash benefit is reduced proportionally. In Bulandet, women who were not engage in work by the time of their pregnancy (like Kaela and Giovanna) preferred the cash-for-care policy with a restricted use of public childcare. In addition, a subsidy (around 1000 NOK per month) for every child is given until she/he turns 16 years old, no matter what parenthood policy was chosen (Ellingsæter, 2006).

What is more, Bulandet`s residents have obtained support from the state (through Innovation Norway) for their own economic projects. Innovation Norway<sup>108</sup> is a state-owned company that provides loans, grants and guarantees for the promotion of development of Norwegian enterprise and industrial. Innovation Norway provides competence, advisory services, promotional services, network services, and financial means to enterprises. The institution searches to combine local industry knowledge, international networks, and enthusiastic and imaginative entrepreneurs, especially in rural areas. Innovation Norway also offers a financing program directly for industrial fishing which provides loans for the purchase of fishing quotas, improving the boat, the

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<sup>108</sup> Since 2004, Innovation Norway assumed the functions of the Norwegian Industrial and Regional Development Fund (SND).

purchase of equipment and tools, and in some cases, for the construction of new vessels. To access the loans, the beneficiary must demonstrate financial security.

According to interviewees' statements, in Bulandet, Innovation Norway support has been used only for fishing-related project even though the institution also offers assistance with non-fishing related initiatives. Innovation Norway supported Edgard's artisanal seafood processing business through 'friendly' loans. Also, Hans<sup>109</sup>, an active fisherman, told me that during the 1980s he and his brothers owned a boat thanks to the financial support of the state. Furthermore, two of Bulandet's interviewed fishermen, Baldur and Edgard, commented on 'GarantiKassen' as a policy which used to provide economic help to fishermen when fish was scarce; nevertheless it was discontinued.. A similar policy be implemented from July 2011. Fishermen will have an unemployment insurance based on income level, as in the regular unemployment benefits scheme under the National Insurance Act<sup>110</sup>.

Finally, the pension regime follows a universal and social insurance system. The state provides a minimum secure pension (from 67 years old<sup>111</sup>) independent of life income and contributions paid. The minimum secure pension has benefited elderly women who engaged in unpaid care for most of their lives. All of Bulandet's men are employed, and most of Bulandet's women are on-and-off part-time jobs. Some women who work part-time manage to work for enough hours that they become entitled to occupational pensions, rather than the minimum secure pension. Occupational pensions are mandatory and respond to the earnings-related principle. Other pension regimes are also at work. For example, supplementary pension is given to persons who take unpaid care of children under 7 years of age and of disabled, sick and elderly. In the case of fishermen, there is a supplementary pension that allows them to stop working at the age of 60 since fishing is considered hard work. Fishermen over 15 years old are compulsory members of the Pension Insurance for Fishermen and must pay a premium. Fishermen are entitled to the supplementary pension when they reach the age of 60 and have paid premiums for a minimum of approximately 15 years (Ministry of Labour,

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<sup>109</sup> During an informal conversation.

<sup>110</sup> See: [www.fish.no](http://www.fish.no)

<sup>111</sup> Interviewees usually said that they will retire at the age of 62 years old under the flexible pension scheme.

2010). Even though the seafood processing work is hard labour, seafood processors have not been included in the scheme of supplementary pension that benefits fishermen.

## **5.5 The Gendered Difference of Welfare States**

An arena where the Norwegian and Peruvian states have influenced is in the gendered approach to education from residents of Bulandet and San Jose. The transformation of fishing towards its modernization and the professionalization of the participants encourage men to finish secondary school and sometimes follow further education. On the other hand, formal education is a 'wasted asset' for most women living in fishing communities. Most women from Bulandet and San Jose do not work; but their circumstances are different. In Bulandet women do not work or work in activities for which they are overqualified. The lack of job opportunities is connected to the difficulty of displacement (geography), the invisibilization of fishing as an available job for women, and the restricted appeal of seafood processing as a permanent occupation due to the hard work it entails. The lack of women's jobs is an explicit and continuous preoccupation for the Askvoll Municipality.

In San Jose, formal education is a 'wasted asset' in the sense that formal education is provided by the state but several women drop out. For women who achieved high education, it was relatively easy to find a job in the near city of Chiclayo; while women with secondary school (or less) hardly ever managed to enter the formal labour market, and are occupied in 'simple' technical or services jobs. Conversely to the position of Askvoll Municipality, San Jose's authorities and politicians were not concerned about the lingering pattern of parents withdrawing their daughters from school before they had completed their secondary education; or about the need to engage women in jobs<sup>112</sup>. Even though, in the arena of education, the states approaches in Bulandet and San Jose constitute education as a basic right and provide for it.

The Peruvian and the Norwegian state start to diverge regarding public health coverage, pension schemes, and parenthood benefits. Norway, in accordance with the social

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<sup>112</sup> The period of fieldwork in San Jose was months before the Municipal elections of 2010.

democratic and sameness ideals, emphasizes the provision of public health, pension, and parenthood benefits for the sole characteristic of being a citizen. So, even if women are out of work in Bulandet, or work part-time; they are ensured of a basic well-being. In contrast, Peru, following the combine scheme of neoliberalism and a conservative populism<sup>113</sup>, allocates efforts to accomplish rights and benefits according to the targeted population and their role in the economy. The conservative populism uses the families and families`s (women) work as a base of allocation of gifts and their transformation into benefits. Public programs like PRONAA increase women`s responsibilities under the pretext of ameliorating family welfare (as a black box).

The public health access, the entitlement of a pension, and parenthood benefits are highly work-related, and what`s more, benefits vary also according to the degree of formality of the job. Since the participation in paid formal labour is predominantly male, and women usually engage in temporary jobs in the informal market or with lesser salaries; the public provision given is highly different according to gender, and in detriment of women.

The principles of entitlement of public policies are a significant influence in women`s and men`s benefits from state. As explained above, Norway and Peru diverge regarding the basis of entitlements and how this interrelates with the gendered organization of societies. The Norwegian and Peruvian states have allocated efforts for the development of the community. In both contexts, states tend to focus their resources to fishing-related projects, and then to the fishing industry as a whole, and finally, as communities. Fishermen in both communities, Bulandet and San Jose, through their lives as fishers, become involved in further training provided by the state and access credit opportunities by public entities. Seafood processors are also targeted by local and national initiatives, but in a lesser degree.

The Norwegian and Peruvian states have a participant role in the structuration of family-work relations, and on ideas of family, parenthood, masculinities, and femininities related to parenthood. The Norwegian and Peruvian states give parenthood that benefit women differently if they are engage in work or off work. Nevertheless, the

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<sup>113</sup> A conservative populism uses the families and families`s (women) work as a base of allocation of gifts and their transformation into benefits.

intertwinements with the gender division of labour and the extension of the policies provides with complex results. Most women in Norway are engaged in work under the parameters of the requirement to apply for parental leave or pay-for-care. Conversely, women in Peru usually work in the informal market, under `flexible schemes`, or do not work. Under the parameters of parental leave in Peru, most women do not qualify, and therefore are not beneficiaries.

So, in Bulandet, the gender division of labour and the absence of women from fishing do not produce a significant loss of public benefits for women; while in San Jose, the intertwines of public policies and gender division of labour (vertical and horizontal) do place women in a fragile position which is very different from their males partners.



## CONCLUSIONS

Commercial fishing is the major asset in Bulandet and San Jose. Fishing is a male occupation, not only is it performed almost exclusively by men, but it is perceived as a male domain. My argument is that one of the reasons why women are absent in fishing is due to the embeddedness of the activity in social relations, in discourse of femininities and masculinities, and the general gender blindness of public policies regarding fishing itself. The positions in fishing boats are transmitted through male kin, friends and neighbors. Almost the same goes for seafood processing, which is predominantly female, although in San Jose it relies mostly in kin relations, while in Bulandet wives from cross-boarder marriages and periodic emigrants are also included.

Through their participation in fishing, men acquire ships, fishing equipment, 'high' incomes, and access finance. Through fishing, fishermen also get involved in social relations, they confirm social networks and reinforce their kin and village friendships; and build their personal and male base of prestige. What is more, fishermen accumulate formal and informal knowledge of fishing and the fishing industry, and become familiar with other communities through their frequent journeys. The absence of women from commercial fishing excludes them from these economic, social and cultural capitals. The interlock exclusion of women from fishing-related capitals (in a fishing community) results in a more precarious position of women in relation to men, and very often, in the economic dependency of women on men. On the other hand, seafood processing is mostly done by women. Nevertheless, even though women in seafood processing can perform any task; the few men involved are often managers or operate the 'heavy equipment' and 'strength tasks'. The male dominance and women's absence in fishing (horizontal gender segregation) and the male dominance in powerful and prestigious positions in seafood processing (vertical gender segregation) within the fishing industry is part of the structure of gender inequality. As stated by Saltzman '*...gender power inequity and gender division of labour- constitute the starting point for an analysis of the coercive aspects of gender system maintenance...*' (1990:45).

In Bulandet and San Jose, fishing is an organizing element of gender identity. The gendered organization of the fishing industry involves practices and discourses of differentiation and segregation. Women's and men's occupational chances and choices

are shaped by the values and capacities related to each socioeconomic activity (and their gender). Girls and boys learn about fishing when children, but only boys are encouraged to engage further in fishing. The hardships of fishing, the `male-strength` (entailing a difference in strength according to gender), and fishing as traditional male environment (where a woman would be uncomfortable) are the reasons given by interviewees who tried to explain women's absence and the male character of fishing. Unexpectedly, housework and childcare were not pointed out as reasons for women's absence in fishing. Men and women's evaluations of whether women could enter this occupation were solely based on women's capabilities, not on their use of time.

The gender segregation within the fishing industries is also embedded in the gender division of labour and the overall gender system. In both, San Jose and Bulandet, childrearing and housework is mainly done by women; and their marriage and childrearing activities tend to influence which socioeconomic activities women engage, and how. Men tend to experience almost no disruptions in their careers due to marriage or child breeding. Men's identity as husbands is intrinsically connected to their roles as main breadwinners and collaboration with the `heavy` housework. At the same time, women as well as men, are usually proud to `help` their partners with housework (for men); and with income (for women). In both communities, women and men imagined that men could do housework and take care of the children. Nevertheless, men tend to characterize such work as simple but tedious, or plainly boring but demanding patience with children. On the other hand, women and men rarely pictured that women could become fishers. So, men (husbands), unlike women (wives), can cope with their partners' chores. To some extent, men and women prefer not to (visibly) cross over the gender boundaries of the distribution of paid and unpaid labour, and even less to cross the gender boundaries within the fishing industry's sectors.

There are crucial differences between the gender arrangements in San Jose and Bulandet. These differences respond to the interrelations between the gender system, the socioeconomic conditions, and the existing gender and welfare policies. In general terms, Bulandet's women are better off than their San Jose counterparts. The differences between some San Jose and Bulandet's females' life paths imply more favorable attitudes towards female inclusion in the labour market in the Norwegian context. San Jose's and Bulandet's women's roles as housewives and mothers are usually highlighted

and praised, nevertheless, some women in San Jose are effectively impeded from continuing their education or engage in paid labour by their families. The difference between San Jose's and Bulandet's women's participation in the labour market can be explained by the divergent position women are given in Norwegian and Peruvian societies. The parenthood policies, although are important in structuring gender relations, should mainly be analyzed as an expression of their societies. In San Jose, even if public care for babies is provided by the Peruvian government, it is not available in the community. Moreover, paid maternal leave (90 days) is hardly implemented since most women work in the informal sector, and paternal leave (3 days) is trivial. On the other hand, Bulandet's women can choose between sending their babies to the local kindergarten, take cash-for-care, or even combine these in the degree of their preference.

So, is the glass half-full or half-empty? For women, the gender division of labour and the dynamics of fishing favors their positions in relation to their independence. The male-kin becomes dependable on women since fishermen spend most of their time at sea. Fishermen expressed admiration for women's capability to cope with all the housework and childcare by themselves. Then, women's position is regarded as prestigious in their own way. Nevertheless, women are usually economically dependent on men, and their absence/exclusion from fishing restricts their accumulation of the more prestigious cultural capitals, most profitable economic and social capitals, and social benefits coming from the state towards fishing.

In the case of men, their absence from home influences their participation in family life. Sometimes, fishermen are perceived by absent fathers, which especially bond with sons through their shared interest in fishing. Nevertheless, public policies in Norway have started to acknowledge their rights as carers; while in Peru almost do not exist. Furthermore, men benefit largely from their dominance of the most profitable economic activity in town. They also gain access and use the economic policies directed to fishing. Finally, fishermen are able to engage in fishing by relying on women's work in households and in the community.

### ***Recommendations***

The major inclusion of women as fishers can incentive a renegotiation of gender structures and identities, and include women in circuits of economic, cultural and social capital which were before inaccessible for them. In the case of the fishing community of Bulandet it appears as a viable change. Bulandet`s residents usually show an encouraging and constructive attitude towards reconfigurations of gender relations; and the feminist framework of the Norwegian state could easily include this initiative.

In San Jose, the inclusion of women as fishers is a long term goal. The first step for women in San Jose is to actively fight against the tendency toward women`s seclusion at home, women`s forced withdraw from secondary education; and to incentive women`s inclusion into the local or nearest city (Chiclayo) labour market. In addition, in a context of economic precariousness, San Jose`s men could be more reticent than Bulandet`s men to have a significant increase in the competition for job opportunity within the community. For men in San Jose (and Bulandet) fishing is their main job opportunity with since fishing is perceived as the main and almost only job opportunity (in town) for men.

Finally, in Bulandet and San Jose, men`s further engagement in housework and childcare should be encouraged. In Norway, the `Daddy Quota` policy promotes the ideal of a caring and nurturing fathers. Nevertheless, it has not been `adjusted` to the local circumstances, and therefore, it is not used as a real withdrawal from work. In the case of Bulandet`s fishermen, a creative option which includes the rearrangement of the crew and organization of labour in boats is needed for a successful implementation of `Daddy Quota`. In Peru, the debates and policies around men as carers are not postulated as problematic (outside the academia). Men, especially fathers, need to be a topic of public debate in Peru in relation to their roles as fathers and `houseworkers`. Targeting housework division of labour with marketing to stimulate men`s involvement in housework, and fatherhood leaves (for more than 3 days), should be a first step on the way to their increased participation in childcare and housework, and their own questioning about their roles as carers outside the model of breadwinner.

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