Introduction

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This book is about the way women's lives and gender relations within the world's fisheries are being shaped by globalization. The collection combines short, focused articles taken from *Samudra* and *Yemaya*, publications of the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF), with research done by activists and academics from around the world. The short articles give voice to the concerns of fisheries workers while the regional and national case studies scrutinize the links between changes in fisheries associated with globalization and the experiences of women who depend upon fisheries. They also address larger theoretical, cultural and social justice issues related to gender, globalization and fisheries.

The past three decades have witnessed major transformations within the world's fisheries. Locally and globally, an ecological revolution (Merchant 1989) is taking place. This revolution is reflected in the effects of overfishing, the spread of intensive aquaculture and the degradation of coastal and benthic environments. Shifts in knowledge production and in fisheries management reflect changes in the dominant legal, political and ideological frameworks that govern fisheries. Interacting with changes in the environment, and in these frameworks, are changes in patterns of ownership and control, in systems for the production and exchange of fish products and in household and community dynamics, as well as in relationships between those who produce fish products and those who consume them. The dynamics of this ecological revolution are being mediated by gender and by globalization. Women and men are differently represented at every level of the globalization processes and institutions, and the outcomes of this revolution are affecting women and men differently. Among different groups of women, the effects are uneven but substantial.

"Globalization" refers to the era of increasing integration of the world economy that began in the mid-1970s. Far from random, this integration has followed a neo-liberal model, with initiatives designed to "free" the exercise of economic activity. Such initiatives have included increased foreign direct investment (FDI) (Hart 1996), as well as "trade liberalization; the deregulation of production, the labour market and the market of goods and services; and the implementation of regional and international trade agreements" (Beneria and Lind 1995: 2). Triggered by the "debt crisis" of the 1970s and early 1980s, neo-liberal globalization has been associated with national and global level shifts in power and wealth from the poor and middle classes to the rich, as well as with the development and consolidation of enormous and extremely

powerful transnational corporations (TNCs). It has also been linked with an increase in the power of international financial institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) relative to the more democratic and socially concerned United Nations agencies, and with the development of new, rule-making international trade bodies like the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Khor 2001).

During the 1980s, the IMF began imposing structural adjustment programs (SAPs) on countries at risk of defaulting on their external loans. These programs required countries to devalue their currencies, privatize public agencies and industries, reduce subsidies to consumers and food producers, promote export production at the expense of production for local consumption and cut social programs like health and education (Friedmann 1999; Khor 2001; Madeley 2000). The WTO, established in 1995, is now playing a lead role in promoting neo-liberal globalization.

The recent history of the world's fisheries provides some interesting challenges to our understanding of neo-liberal globalization and its consequences for women, men and gender relations. In the mid-1970s, while many other sectors began to move in the direction of reducing constraints on economic activity, the world's marine fisheries were the target of new initiatives designed to constrain fishing investments and the related unfettered destruction of the world's fisheries. The introduction of 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs) and state-controlled fisheries management regimes would, it was hoped, rehabilitate fish stocks and fishing communities devastated by decades of over-exploitation associated with the development of the distant water fleets.

Twenty years later, many of the world's fish stocks continue to be overfished, and some of the largest and most important, such as the northern cod stocks off northeast Newfoundland and Labrador on Canada's east coast, are in a state of collapse. The serious and persistent problems of excess harvesting capacity and widespread poverty in small-scale fishing communities are signs of a global crisis, particularly in relation to wild fish stocks and marine ecosystems. Indications of the global crisis in fisheries include the large proportion of stocks worldwide that are overfished, dwindling landings relative to fishing effort and evidence that we are fishing down the food chain (UN-FAO 1998; McGoodwin 1990; Pauly et al. 1998; Pauly and Maclean 2003). Declining landings of wild fish and increased global demand are contributing to the rapid expansion of aquaculture production in many parts of the world (Bailey et al. 1996; Wilks 1995).

LeSann has described fisheries as "one of the most highly globalized economic sectors" (1998: 45). This can be seen in the high proportion (nearly 40 percent) of total global fish production traded on the international market, the trend towards internationalization of fishing and fish processing work and labour forces, the increasing vulnerability of fish prices to the effects of global trade in other commodities and the growing control

exercised by a small number of transnational corporations over global fish stocks, global trade and government policies. Another indicator is that fish exports play a key role in debt repayment for many countries of the South.

Within fisheries, globalization has been associated with an intensified export orientation and the spread of joint ventures between rich and poor countries. International organizations such as the IMF have pressured many debtor countries to exchange access to their fishery resources for access to foreign exchange, constraining their ability to limit external ownership and the export of resources and threatening local fishery employment and food self-sufficiency. Joint venture agreements offer large payments to national governments in exchange for access to fish, but they do little to ensure that those most affected by such ventures—coastal fishery communities—actually have access to this wealth (Gorez 1997). In Senegal, for example, joint ventures are eroding the ecological and economic bases for artisanal fisheries, encouraging fishers to invest more intensively in fishing technology, to fish farther afield and to sell their catches to international buyers. In India, small-scale and artisanal fishery people have been struggling against joint ventures for many years (Sharma 1996).

In countries of the North, small-scale fisheries and coastal communities face threats to their existence that are similar to the effects of joint ventures. In Atlantic Canada, for instance, overfishing of key groundfish stocks by corporate-owned trawlers resulted in stock collapse in the 1990s. Interpreted by government as the result of "too many fishermen chasing too few fish," the stock collapses have been used to justify steps to downsize fisheries, concentrate production and privatize access to fish resources, seriously jeopardizing the future of small-scale fisheries (Neis and Williams 1997). In countries of the North and the South, the expansion of intensive, corporate-controlled aquaculture—at the expense of other, extensive and locally controlled forms—is linked to global processes such as trade liberalization, increased foreign direct investment, technology transfer and the transfer of scientific and management regimes among countries (Bailey et al. 1996; Kurien 1996a; LeSann 1998; McGoodwin 1990; Shrybman 1999; Stonich, Bort and Ovares 1997).

Over the past two decades, globalization has been associated with increased imports of agricultural products from countries of the North into countries of the South. These imports have tended to drive down prices for local farmers, making it more difficult for them to survive (Madeley 2000). In the case of fisheries, fishing activity has expanded more in the South than in the industrialized countries of the North, and fish from developing countries of the South constitutes a growing share of the fish in global markets. Thus, Thailand, South Korea, Indonesia, China, Chile, Ecuador and Peru represented the leading exporters in the 1990s (LeSann 1998). Due to global shortages, fish tend to migrate from the South to the North in the global fish trade, as indicated by expanding fish consumption in the North,

where it was about three times higher in developed than so-called Third World countries in 1994. Roughly 50 percent of the fish that ends up as fishmeal or fish oil for livestock feed comes from countries of the South, but exports from these countries constituted 70 percent of international trade in these commodities in the 1990s (LeSann 1998). Unlike agriculture, where imports have affected prices for farm produce in countries of the South, fish imports have not affected prices to harvesters, traders and vendors of local fish to the same extent. However, a recent workshop in Thailand on the effects of globalization in fisheries identified this as one of the effects of globalization in some areas (Sharma, this volume). Local markets for fish may also have been affected by imports of alternative types of protein such as chicken.

Globalization is disrupting local fish harvesting and marketing networks and depriving fishery workers and other members of coastal communities of fish as a source of food and income (Fairlie et al. 1995). Fish is a vital form of food, the main source of animal protein for many peoples, particularly in Asia. As indicated by Madeley:

> Food is more than a commodity that is bought and sold. It is more than the nutrients that we consume. Food meets many kinds of human needs—cultural, psychological and social among them. It is *the* social good. "Food is a feeling; it's in the imagination; it binds people. Food is the point of reference which everyone can recognize and share." Lack of food is the ultimate exclusion. When people don't have food they are excluded from what the rest of society is doing regularly—eating. It is a human right, totally different from any other commodity. (2000: 25)

In most parts of the world, responsibility for finding, preparing and serving food falls to women, so food is also about gender relations. Fishing, fish processing and fish vending and trading are major sources of employment, particularly in regions and countries dominated by artisanal and small-scale fisheries.

Many of those who depend directly and indirectly on fisheries are women, and gender relations permeate fisheries at every level. Feminist research on neo-liberal globalization, although limited, covers a broad range of issues, with some distinct areas of emphasis. Some researchers have examined the impacts of SAPS on women in their roles as mothers, household managers, community carers and producers, as well as women's resistance to such programs (Brownhill et al. 1997; Elson 1992a and 1992b; Isla 1997; Sparr 1994). Others have highlighted the impact of globalization on the environment, on women's access to land and food and on their involvement in the design, control and output of food production systems (Barndt 1999b and 2002; Connelly et al. 1995; Mies 1997; Shiva 1994). These writers have

demonstrated how women's generally lower social, economic and legal status has reduced their capacity to cope with globalization's impacts or to reap the potential benefits of market liberalization and commodification. They have also drawn parallels between the experiences of women in both the South and the North with the so-called "McDonaldization" and "maquilization" processes.

McDonaldization, initiated in the North and spreading to the South, and maquilization, initiated in the South and now appearing in the North, are interrelated processes in the new global economy. McDonaldization is the model offered by the fast-food restaurant as a way to reorganize work in all other sectors. This model is based on efficiency, predictability, calculability or quantifiability, substitution of non-human technology, control and the irrationality of rationality. Central to the model is "flexible," part-time labour. Maquilization, originating in the maquila free trade zones of northern Mexico, now refers to a more generalized work process characterized by feminization of the labour force, extreme segmentation of skill categories, the lowering of real wages and a non-union orientation (Barndt 1999a).

Feminist and other research have emphasized neo-liberal globalization's role in transforming all aspects of everyday life, including food, into globally traded commodities, with very real consequences for women and gender relations (Friedmann 1999; Madeley 2000):

> These profound changes that have taken place in the international political economy of food have affected how people work and how they live their daily lives outside of work. What people do to get food, how they prepare and share food, what food they eat, when and with whom, are all influenced by shifts in the food chain. These in turn are intimately connected to the shape of family life. How people work and eat involves gender relations and family relations. Changes in women's and men's roles and in the family are a local counterpart to the global changes in the political economy of food. (Friedmann 1999: 48–49)

Some researchers have linked the commodification of food to the transfer of knowledge and resources from the control of women and Third World peoples to corporate control (Shiva 1997a, 1997b and 1999).

The negative impacts of globalization reflect a basic contradiction inherent in the term. "Global" refers not to universal human interest, but rather to the political space sought by a relatively small group with narrow, parochial interests—transnationals and their political and economic allies—who wish to impose global corporate control (Shiva 1997a and 1997b). International trade agreements allow corporate investments greater freedom of movement and also freedom from social, political or ecological responsibilities to workers, consumers, local communities and the environment

(Connelly et al. 1995; Woman to Woman 1993).

The interactions among relations of gender, race, class and sexuality mean that the effects of trade agreements will vary among different groups of women (Beneria and Lind 1995; Creese and Stasiulis 1996). The complexity of globalization requires more studies of specific globalization initiatives in different industries, sectors and regions (Beneria and Lind 1995), to inform our assessment of the relationship between globalization and gender. This book takes up this challenge by focusing on fisheries in different parts of the world.

Both the amount and quality of research on women and gender relations in fisheries have grown substantially since the 1980s (Davis and Gerrard 2000a and 2000b; Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988; Szala-Meneok 1996). Some local and regional research has explored the gendered consequences of recent fisheries changes, sometimes linking these changes to globalization-related international shifts (Binkley 2002; Díaz 1999; Dietrich 1997; Dietrich and Nayak 2002; Escallier and Maneschy 1996; Harrison 1995; Jansen 1997; MacDonald 1994; Medard and Wilson 1996; Munk-Madsen 1996 and 1998; Neis and Williams 1997; Overå 1993 and 1998b; Pratt 1996; Savard 1996 and 1998; Sharma 1996; Skaptadóttir 1996 and 1998; Vijayan and Nayak 1996; Williams 1988; Williams and Awoyomi, n.d.). In the late 1980s, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) organized a forum on women and aquaculture (Harrison 1995). There is now more interest in gender-based analysis of fisheries-related policy and development initiatives, and more frameworks are available for doing this analysis (CIDA 1999). However, gender issues still tend to be compartmentalized and marginalized within fisheries initiatives and research (Harrison 1995; LeSann 1998).

Since the early 1990s, researchers have joined with activists, development workers and community representatives in different parts of the world to develop feminist, gender-based analyses of the linkages between the dynamics of local fisheries and globalization. One outcome of this has been the formation of the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF), whose Women in Fisheries Programme set itself the task of producing a global analysis of the fisheries sector and tracing the way that changes in fisheries and the fish trade are affecting women's spaces in these fisheries. Women fish workers, activists and academics in "developed" and "developing" countries are involved in the Programme, and much has been learned from this work (Dietrich 1997; Nayak 2002; Sharma 1996). *Without Women in Fisheries, No Fish in the Sea* (Dietrich 1997), a report evaluating the Women in Fisheries Programme, attributes the continued survival of artisanal fisheries to the resourcefulness of women and children and to the resilience of nature, both of which have been undermined in recent years by ecological degradation and technological, corporate and policy initiatives.

The Norwegian Research Council has funded several projects related to

gender and fisheries in Africa. This research, and an international doctoral workshop in Norway on gender and fisheries, resulted in a special issue of *Women's Studies International Forum,* co-edited by Dona Davis and Siri Gerrard (2000b). Siri Gerrard also organized a series of fishery sessions as part of the Women's Worlds Conference in Tromsø, Norway, in June 1999. At these sessions, activist and academic participants from Canada, Russia, the U.S., Norway, India, Nigeria and Senegal presented papers, continued the development of an international research/strategy network and developed a more informed understanding of the Norwegian situation.

Research on gender and fisheries has highlighted the diversity of gender relations in fisheries around the world (Nadel-Klein and Davis 1988). This diversity is linked to ecological diversity, to variations in the extent to which local relations have been transformed by the penetration of corporations and commodification, and to differences in history, policies and the effects of resource and environmental degradation. It is also linked to cultural and class differences, as well as to differences in household structure related to life cycle phase and kinship structures, in relations between households and the larger community, and to variations in the sexual division of labour.

Despite this diversity, women's access to fisheries resources and the wealth they generate, as well as to ecological knowledge about those resources, is generally mediated through their relationships with men—fisher*men*, husbands and sons, male-dominated governments and male-dominated science and industry. Major state-initiated management programs tend, almost universally, to further limit women's direct access to fisheries and fisheries wealth, although other state programs may create spaces for women to resist this process. While women tend to be poorer and more vulnerable than their male counterparts, this is not always the case. Different groups of women can have substantially different experiences with macro-level social change.

Like men, women contribute directly to fisheries as workers, organizers and managers in fishing-based households, markets, credit systems, industries and communities. They have fishery knowledge and skills, and they depend on fish resources and industries for their livelihoods and, to some extent, for food self-sufficiency. As with fisher*men*, most of the women who rely on fisheries are concentrated in the coastal, artisanal fisheries and thus experience conflicts with larger fishing enterprises, creditors, governments and corporations.

Contributors to this collection come from different countries (see Figure One) and spheres of experience, including academic, government, labour and community activism. The contributions reflect a range of theoretical perspectives, including insights from feminist political economy as well as research focused more on ideology, discourse, social construction and eco-feminism, as well as on the social and cultural aspects of globalization. Overall, however, the collection adopts a feminist approach that seeks to be

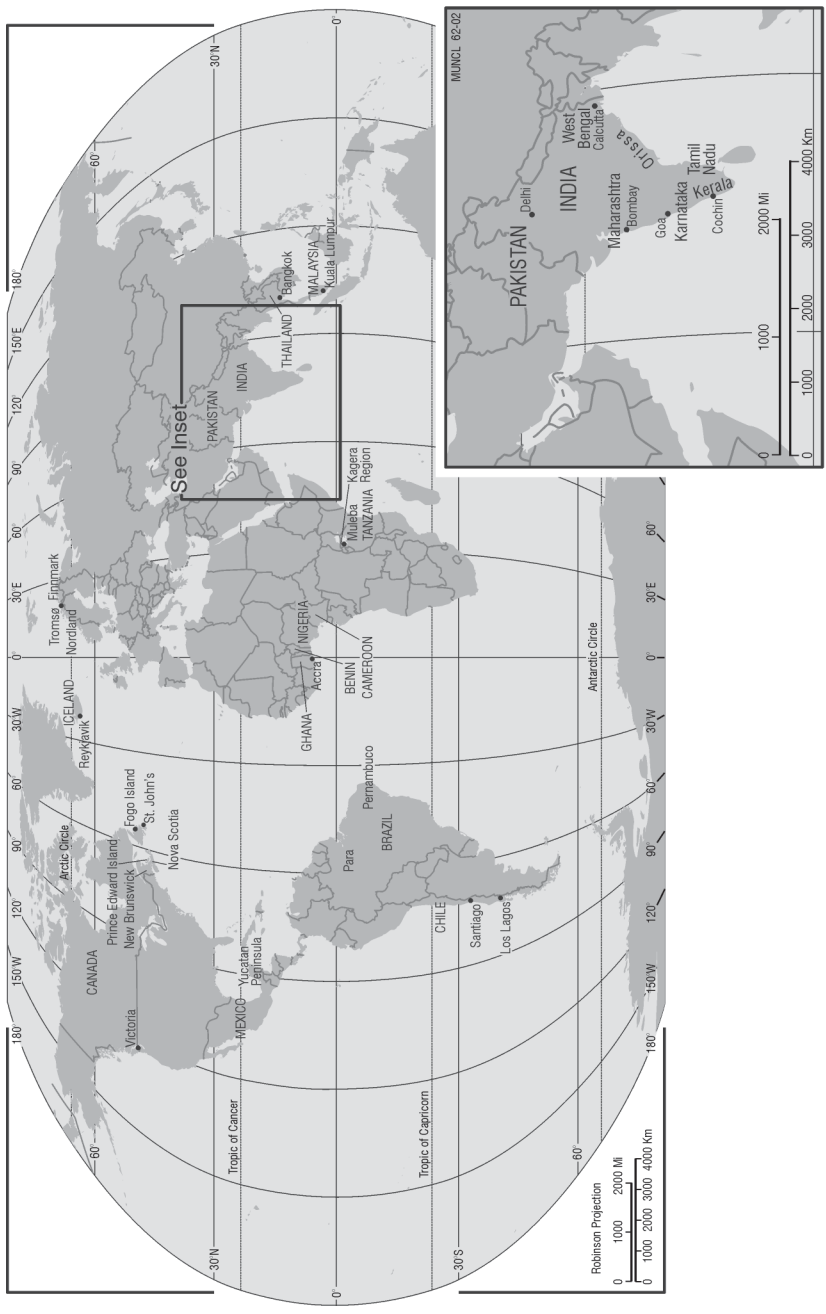
global, critical, holistic and integrative. Our larger goal is to contribute towards the development of a multifaceted understanding of gender, globalization and the fisheries that includes a focus on women in all their diversity, that is multi-centred, that takes into account the role of patriarchy and relations of power in the lives of women and men in fishing communities around the world and that is founded in a struggle to change the world for the betterment of women and all life.

Section One opens with "Globally Fishy Business," an article by Chandrika Sharma that summarizes the issues and concerns identified at a workshop on globalization and Asian fisheries held in Thailand in 2002. Following this, Martha MacDonald, a feminist economist, locates the central themes in the book within the larger literature on gender and fisheries and gender and globalization. She notes that fisheries provide an excellent vantage point for exploring the processes of capital accumulation and the relations of class and gender. MacDonald also reminds us that intersectoral and international collaboration are necessary in order to challenge the current globalization agenda in the fisheries.

Section Two uses regional case studies of fisheries from India, Brazil and Canada, and intensive shrimp aquaculture from Thailand, to explore the relationships between gender, globalization and fisheries. A short article by Nalini Nayak sets the stage for her longer article on India. Nayak, an Indian activist and researcher, represented the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) of Kerala, India, at a Public Commission on the impact of globalization on women workers. She describes the turmoil caused in Kerala by the Indian government's New Economic Policy and the imposition of SAPs. Nayak has played a key role in Indian fisheries struggles and helped to develop the Women in Fisheries Programme within the International Collective in Support of Fishworkers (ICSF). Her longer article, "Fishing for Need and Not for Greed," discusses the recent history of India's fisheries and the impacts on both women and men of the shift towards export-oriented production and joint ventures. She also describes the gender dynamics of India's powerful National Fishworkers Forum (NFF), a major social movement that has long fought to control the negative impacts of neo-liberal globalization on India's artisanal fisheries. Nayak's contributions are followed by a short article by Jasper Goss describing the difficult and poorly paid jobs associated with intensive shrimp aquaculture in Thailand, indicating that the challenges faced by women workers in India's shrimp fishery are shared by women workers elsewhere.

The next regional case study focuses on Brazil. It opens with excerpts from an interview with Joana Rodrigues Mousinho, president of the fishermen's *colonia* of Itapissuma in Pernambuco, Brazil, by M.G. Indu of ICSF's Documentation Centre in Chennai, India. Mousinho describes how women are becoming more active in the union, fighting the destruction of their fisheries habitats. This is followed by a contribution from sociologist

Figure 1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BENIN
CAMEROON
Tromso
Finnmark
Nordland
ICELAND
Reykjavik
Arctic Circle
Fogo Island
St. John's
Nova Scotia
Prince Edward Island
New Brunswick
CANADA
Victoria
MEXICO
Yucatan Peninsula
Tropic of Cancer
Pernambuco
Para
BRAZIL
CHILE
Santiago
Los Lagos
Tropic of Capricorn
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Maria Cristina Maneschy and political scientist Maria Luzia Álvares, both from Brazil. They describe the social roles of women in the coastal communities of Pará state in northeastern Brazil, exploring the effects on these women of structural adjustment programs in the fisheries. Traditional women's roles dictate their daily routines as they carry out unpaid domestic labour in households and the community. Their roles in the fisheries are more transitory. Although they perform paid work in both domestic and industrial settings, there are no mechanisms for granting them the identity of fisherpersons or fish workers, and they are largely excluded from social security programs and the full benefits of citizenship. This makes them particularly vulnerable to the effects of structural adjustment programs.

The third region of focus is Canada's Atlantic Coast. The collapse of groundfish stocks in the 1990s, and the resultant fishing moratoria, has decimated many Newfoundland coastal communities. Anthropologist Marian Binkley documents the ways restructuring in the fishery in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, in the wake of the collapse of the regional groundfish stocks in the 1990s has enhanced the importance of women's paid and unpaid labour, within household-based fishing enterprises and outside them. These women have willingly accepted the extra burdens because they recognize the needs of their households as legitimate and urgent. Binkley finds that women's social and emotional support and their labour are the "bitter end" for fishing-dependent households and for the coastal fishery in that they are essential to their survival, like the piece of rope fishers refer to as the "bitter end" which, when tied around a set of posts, hold a boat to the shore. They are also the "bitter end" in another sense as well because their support and labour are an indication of the demise of these households and the coastal fishery.

A chapter by Modesta Medard, a researcher at the Tanzania Fisheries Research Institute, is the fourth regional case study in the collection. Her chapter deals with gender patterns in the fishing industry in the Kagera Region bordering Lake Victoria in northwestern Tanzania. In this area, the shift from fishing for local markets to fishing for export and ecological changes that increased harvests of Nile perch have produced a dynamic industry and some serious challenges for local women. Medard describes the response of one group of women, the Tweyambe Group, to these challenges. This section ends with "Life and Debt," an excerpt from M.G. Indu's interview with a woman fish vendor from Kerala, India, who talks about her everyday life.

Section Three deals with the gendered and racialized processes associated with globalization today and in the past, including the issue of individual and collective "rights." It opens with "Migrating to Survive," an article by Laura Vidal about women crab processing workers from Tabasco, Mexico, who travel to North Carolina in the U.S. to process blue crab. The next contribution is from Alicja Muszynski, a Canadian sociologist, who uses the

history of salmon fisheries in British Columbia, Canada, to see if postcolonial theories can shed light on the gendered and racialized construction of cheap wage labour in fisheries. Muszynski challenges the failure of neo-liberal thinking to see the importance of history, and of race and gender, in globalization processes.

Neo-liberalism places strong emphasis on individual and corporate rights, but it often neglects the rights of workers. A short article, "Cleaned Out," by Donna Lewis, a shellfisher from Prince Edward Island, Canada, describes licensing regulations that are forcing women "cleaners" out of the oyster harvesting boats. A contribution from Bonnie McCay, an American anthropologist, closes out this section. McCay presents a case study of a human rights challenge by women fish plant workers who were laid off by a local cooperative on Fogo Island, Newfoundland, Canada. McCay writes about the dilemma associated with the need to recognize individual rights—in this case, the rights of women workers—where the urgent concerns of their communities and businesses seem to call for abrogating these rights. Ironically, it was a producer/worker cooperative that denied work and seniority to a group of women because their fisher husbands did not sell their crab to the cooperative.

Section Four focuses on the relationships between globalization, management initiatives within fisheries and gender relations. This section explores issues related to the management of fish resources and coastal environments, addressing risks to reproductive health among women in fishing communities and management issues related to quality control and occupational health within fish processing plants. A short article, "Are Women Martians?" by Ariella Pahlke, describes her experiences as a representative of Nova Scotia's Women's FishNet at a consultation about fisheries management organized by Canada's Department of Fisheries and Oceans. In the next contribution, Norwegian geographer Ragnhild Overå observes that whereas African women are usually portrayed as economically marginalized and hard-hit by globalization, the case of entrepreneurial women on the Ghanaian coast is more complex. In the 1970s and 1980s, joint ventures resulted in primarily foreign-owned industrial trawlers operating on this coast. Female traders, some of whom were "entrepreneurs," expanded their activities by supplying the trawler crews with food and, in exchange, the trawlers filled the women's canoes with fish that would have been thrown overboard. Overå examines the local impact of the trade that developed from this, a trade that takes place in the coastal borderland between local and global capital interests. She highlights the differences between the women entrepreneurs' experiences with globalization and those of the women they employ.

In their case study of Icelandic fisheries, Unnur Dís Skaptadóttir and Hulda Proppé, Icelandic feminist anthropologists, criticize the tendency in globalization literature to treat women as victims, cheap labour and bearers

of traditions. They note that a feminist perspective can be used to question the neutrality of gender-blind science and the resource management systems based on such science. They describe Iceland's Individual Transferable Quota system (a neo-liberal fisheries management strategy) and its impacts on women and men in Icelandic fishing villages. The description is timely, given the growing number of countries where this management system is being implemented.

The next contribution, "Not Amusing," comes from information provided by Sushila Cordozo of Mumbai, India, concerning the impact that India's first and largest amusement park is having on nearby fishing communities. Next, Katherine Savard, a Canadian social scientist, and Julia Fraga, a Mexican sociologist, provide an overview of fisheries management practices in the Caribbean. They show how technological change, resource depletion and the reduction of household incomes—all linked to globalization—are affecting the lives of women and men in this region. They then use a gender analysis to scrutinize a recent initiative to create a Marine Protected Area in Yucatan state, Mexico, exploring barriers to women's involvement in local fisheries organizations and fisheries management. They also document local efforts to overcome these barriers.

"The Power of Knowledge," an article by P. Balan of the Penang Inshore Fishermen's Welfare Association (PIFWA) in Malaysia, describes the way that drug addiction and the sexual practices of fishermen are putting their wives and children at risk. Marit Husmo, a Norwegian social scientist, offers a case study of the implementation of a quality assurance system in Norwegian fish processing in the early 1990s. The system was introduced in response to a new set of rules for the production of seafood for European Union markets. Imported from Japan, Total Quality Management (TQM) was supposed to motivate employees by involving them in designing and running production. Drawing on institutional theory, Husmo shows that in Norwegian plants, TQM acted to cement gender differences within firms, largely upholding the gender stratification system. In "We, Women, Are Out There," Mildred Skinner, a fish harvester in Newfoundland, describes some of the health risks confronting women who have gone fishing in Atlantic Canada in recent years in order to help sustain small fishing enterprises negatively affected by the collapse of groundfish stocks, by the erosion of Canadian social programs designed to reduce regional disparities and by recent fisheries management initiatives. Concluding this section, Estrella Díaz, a community-based Chilean researcher, completed a gender-based analysis of occupational health risks confronting women and men who work in fish and shellfish plants in one region of Chile. Most of these plants produce products from aquacultured salmon and mussels for export markets. International trade agreements are concerned, in part, with complementarity in labour standards among participating countries. Díaz documents serious occupational health risks for these workers, as well as

difficulty accessing compensation benefits. She contrasts the attention and investment that companies and the Chilean government are directing towards protecting food quality with their neglect of occupational health risks faced by the workers.

Section Five treats research as one face of globalization. The writers have important things to say about alternative approaches to research and the contribution that North/South research collaborations on gender, globalization and the fisheries can make to the development of alternatives to neo-liberal globalization. In the first piece, Norwegian anthropologist Siri Gerrard draws on Arjun Appadurai's (1996) analysis of globalization and culture to argue that research and knowledge building are important aspects of globalization. In its contemporary form, globalization is perpetuating inequalities in access to the resources required for learning, teaching and cultural criticism—resources vital to the development of democratic research communities. Gerrard draws on her research experiences in Norway, Tanzania and the Cameroon to argue for a research model based on the exchange of knowledge rather than the one-way transfer of knowledge, and for the importance of women and women's perspectives in fishery-related knowledge production. Nicole Power and Donna Harrison, two Canadian social scientists, use insights from a conceptual framework developed in India by feminist economist Bina Agarwal to interpret the history of Newfoundland's fisheries and the gendered effects of the stock collapse. In so doing, they seek to demonstrate that research in the North can benefit from insights developed in the South and that intellectual imperialism impedes the development of effective theory and action in strategizing against the global practices of capital.

Section Six, "Last Words," closes the book. It begins with a statement from the Gender, Globalization and Fisheries Workshop held in Newfoundland, Canada, in May 2000, that initiated the development of this collection. This is followed by a concluding chapter in which editors Maneschy and Neis return to the overarching theme of globalization, gender and world fisheries, highlighting some of the key findings from the contributions, identifying gaps in our knowledge and priorities for future work.