

Rethinking Marine Resource Management and the Livelihoods of Artisanal Fishers

Nassoro Rajab Kitunda

Assistant Lecturer, University of Dar es Salaam

nassorokitunda@gmail.com

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Abstract

There are many initiatives, programs and projects based on fishing resource management and improvement of fishing communities. Indeed, all are trying to introduce new forms of fishing as way of improving the marine industry. Nonetheless, there are many things that are either missing or misrepresented in explaining marine resources, especially fishing industry management and subsequent artisanal fishermen's livelihoods. Because such programs are incompatible and inapplicable, instead of conserving the ocean, they have implications for lives of artisanal fishers and their communities, as the activities displace them so as to access and use the ocean. The study was conducted through qualitative research approach, guided by in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, observation, and documentary review. The participants were artisanal fishers, their leaders and some government officials. The study employing the Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession as a new form of accumulation in the neoliberal era to understand implications of programs, projects, and policies of marine and/or fishing management including the way they dispose as well as provide abysmal poverty to artisanal fishermen.

Keywords: *marine resources, conservation, livelihood, artisanal fishermen, accumulation by dispossession*

1.0 Introduction

Tanzania is endowed with marine resources, with a lot of fish and other fishing products like marine finfish as well as shellfish (URT, 2018:2022). A study by the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock, and Fisheries holds that:

“Tanzania is endowed with rich marine and inland waters that yield a wide range of living aquatic resources,

providing livelihoods, food security, export revenues, and potential for further economic development” (URT, 2016).

Studies continue to show that Tanzania’s fisheries production has been flourishing in the range of 325,000 to 380,000 tons per annum (URT,2016). The URT (2018) showed that in 2018, almost 376,351 tons of fish were caught valued at 1.77 trillion Tanzanian shillings. Such figures justify how the fishing industry is important, noting that it employs millions of Tanzanians who are poor and engaged in artisanal fishing. According to the budget speech by the Minister of Livestock and Fisheries (2020/2021) in parliament, this exemplified over 95 percent of the fishing foods and products in Tanzania was contributed by small-scale fishermen (Artisanal fishermen). In this case, this sector contributes 1.71 percent to the National Domestic Product (NDP) and more importantly, the fishing industry grew up to 1.5 percent (URT, 2020).

Literature on fishing in Tanzania shows how the Government, through the respective ministry, undertakes programs, projects, and initiatives for marine management, including livelihoods like expansion of operations on illegal fishing, introduction of marine parks and reserves, introduction of single fishing licenses, conditions of fishing in deep water and taxation (URT, 2018, The Citizen,2020). These and others are efforts which, according to the assessments of many experts, they are intended to assist artisanal fishers. However, on the contrary, studies underpinned the concept of accumulation by dispossession to show how such practices disarticulate artisanal fishermen and fishing communities in utilization of fishery resources.

From the mainstream ideas on oceanic conservation, those who want to improve fishermen’s livelihoods believe that fishers do not understand the ocean and how to conserve as well as protect it and they also believe that fishers’ poverty is due to lack of education on entrepreneurship skills including continued use of traditional fishing methods (URT, 2016, 1994). Fishermen give clear socio-economic explanations from their experiences on the way they conserve and protect the ocean. In this study, it was unveiled that fishers used small canoes, traditional nets that are friendly to the oceanic environment by cleaning seaweed (called *mwani* in Kiswahili) in the ocean,

traditional norms and taboos prohibit catching some fish species like shark [(called in Kiswahili *papapotwe*)

Thus, fishers' experiences and concerns are aspects that will show how the process and/or mechanism of legitimization of accumulation by dispossession takes place in the marine industry through their worries and sentiments on marine management practices. The large-scale fishing dominates fishing areas over the small-scale fishing and thus, after dispossession beneficiaries are the state and other capitalist companies who use large vessels including owners of marine reserves and hostels, not small-scale farmers who are deprived (URT,1994.; Sigalla et al, 2011). This is attested by the budget speech of the Minister for Livestock and Fishing for 2023/2024 fiscal year in the parliament, which shows that the fishing authority in Tanzania provided licenses for 48 ships that included 45 ships from foreign investors and three for local fishers. The intention here is to expand foreign investment in the name of capital generation.

This paper takes into consideration artisanal fishermen's opinions and concerns as major aspects of the paper for discussion and interpretation. This study investigated two communities engaging in fishing activities in Tanzania. They encompassed those from Mwaboza and Petukiza fishing hamlets in Mkinga District, Tanga Region and Mafia District with fishing communities in Bweni and Kilindoni in Mafia District, Coast Region. These two districts depend too much on fishing and consist of a lot of artisanal fishermen in which most are youths. On the one hand, the most practiced methods are traditional notably, ring nets, traditional boats or canoes, which they call "*Mungu Niite*" because they depend on the wish-blessing and grace of God to sustain in the ocean. On the other hand, a few tertiary and mechanized engine boats are used, especially for those with better capital conditions who have invested in fishing industry.

2.0 Materials and Methods

The study used in-depth interview, focus group discussion, observation, and documentary review methods to understand the artisanal fishers' concerns and opinions so as to discern the implications of new policies and government statements on the fishing industry. Moreover, the paper employed qualitative

research approach under the exploratory design, purposively for catching people's opinions and concerns. Also, the study was carried out at two districts of Mkinga District in Tanga Region and Mafia District in Coast Region. The areas constitute large communities of artisanal fishers who work for subsistence for their survival. Also, the areas have the same features in terms of environment and fishing methods. Such measure facilitated room to compare the conditions from both sides. Therefore, purposive sampling was used to select artisanal fishermen in the field areas. Accordingly, 50 artisanal fishers were interviewed and involved in focus group discussions from both villages. This was very important so as to get detailed information from participants.

3.0 Conceptual Tool

The paper used the concept of “*accumulation by dispossession*” of David Harvey on explaining implications of fishing management and livelihood program (Harvey, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2014; Mugisha, 2018; Mukono, 2012; Senga, 2010). The concept exposes mechanisms of capitalism through capital and the way capital is accumulated at the same time displaces and dispossesses majority owning resources surrounding them into their social milieu. Accumulation by dispossession is a continuous process of primitive accumulation (Shivji, 2009). Harvey employed Marx's concept of primitive accumulation and Rosa Luxembour's proposition of continuation of the primitive form of accumulation (Mukono,2012). This concept of accumulation by dispossession in this work was used to explain on-going programs and initiatives in the fishing industry for the aim of managing the ocean and conservation but, on the other hand, expand capital through attraction of investors and displacing fishermen and/or artisanal fishers in their fishing activities, like establishment of marine parks and marine reserves. Other measures include introduction of fishing licenses, conditions of using fishing nets, and restrictions of fishing in low water tides. This is a reflection of operations and/or mechanisms of legitimization of accumulation by dispossession in marine resources. Such legitimization is also explained by Doer:

“The concept of accumulation by dispossession applied to fisheries would mean the separation of small-scale and

artisanal fishers from their fishing grounds via the enclosure of the oceans, forcing them to abandon fisheries and take one of the development pathways out of rural poverty: wage labor and migration” (Doeer, 2016:7).

4.0 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results from this study reveal how the process of accumulation by dispossession is legitimized and justified in the fishing industry. Therefore, the study revealed that accumulation by dispossession and/or displacement in fisheries was legitimized through (i) the introduction of fishing licenses under the supervision of the Beach Management Unit (BMU); (ii) the establishment of marine parks and reserves; (iii) the conditions of use of some fishing nets; (iv) Prohibition of fishing in low tides water; (v) the introduction of many taxes; and (vi) the commodification of fishing products. These are underlying manifestations that are influenced by invisible forces of privatization, commodification, monetization and markets.

4.1 Introduction of fishing licenses under supervision of beach management units (BMU)

The results from this study revealed the process of accumulation by dispossession on the ocean legitimized under the fishing license to artisanal fishers. Evidence from in-depth interviews with the fishers in Mafia and Tanga came unveiled how fishing licenses offset them to be out of the ocean and/or fishing because the ocean is not free for fishing. Thus, having fishing licenses determine permission fetching fish from the ocean. One of the fishers in Kilindoni, Mafia District, Coast Region had the following to say:

“The license is a critical issue and a very big problem. I see the license is not only there to provide revenue to the government but also it is a way of kicking fishers out from the ocean. Firstly, the license fee is so high, almost 25000/= Tanzanian shillings (Tshs) per year. In addition, if you disobey, a punitive fine is supposed to be paid, amounting to 50000/= Tshs” (IDI, Artisanal fisher, Kilindoni Mafia, 2019).

Also, the quotation was similarly disclosed by another artisanal fisher in Mkinga District, Tanga Region who said that,

“I can say that the license is something that has come to remove us artisanal fishers from fishing. Today, they came with a statement that ‘If you want a license, you’re supposed to be a member of the BMU.’ So, the BMU can decide who is eligible to get a license or not. Hence, this is a deliberate plan to reduce artisanal fishers. In the few coming years, we will see very few fishers being allowed to fish because of this system of licenses” (IDI, Artisanal fisher, Tanga, Mkinga, 2019)

The presented quotations from the fishers are a reflection of displacement of artisanal fishers from fishing activities. Millard Ayo (2019) reported that at Ferry in Dar es Salaam Region, small-scale fishers were arrested by patrols if they did not have licenses. This discourages small-scale fishers and opens up space for investors who are attracted to extract marine resources. This means that there is capital accumulation. A study by Doeer (2016) describes how fishing in East Africa is conducted and the way artisanal fishers are kicked out from the ocean. Therefore, automatically, small-scale fishers are expelled from the ocean and capital is accumulated as soon as small-scale fishers are kicked out. Harvey (2005) explains this in his introduction of commodification and privatization of marine resources as mechanisms of accumulation by dispossession.

5.0 Establishment of Marine Parks and Reserves

Tanzania has 15 special areas in the ocean and/or marine for reserves and three parks for the reason that the Government needs to conserve the ocean for sustainable development and increase the fishing crops (Mwaipopo, 2008; URT, 2015; URT, 2020, 2021). The special areas have an implication for the development of artisanal fishing because the Government places restrictions on small-scale fishers to fish in places with a lot of fish. The main target of reserves is not only for conservation but also for attracting tourism [(Capital-Money) URT, 2022]. This legitimizes the process of accumulation by dispossession thereby displacing small-scale fishers, while the state gains money from tourism in those protected areas (URT,2022). Also, it

discourages the fishing areas for artisanal fishers to fish. In-depth interviews with small-scale fishers in Kilindoni Mafia District justified this in this way,

“It’s true that areas which we often used for fishing, are decreasing each passing day due to the introduction of marine parks and reserves for tourism. Here we won’t fish in areas of Shungimbili and Jibondo since the Government has reserved them and set restrictive rules in near placards. It means that we are in bondage because these areas have plentiful of coral reefs where fish make sites for residence, breeding and in search for food” (IDI, Artisanal Fisher, Kilindoni, Mafia, 2019).

This was also attested by the speech by the Minister for Livestock and Fisheries Honorable Mashimba Mashauri Ndaki. His speech discloses the agreement between the Government of Tanzania and an investor called Thanda Tanzania Limited to build a five-star hotel on Shungimbili Island for tourism activities (Figure 1). This means that capital is going to be produced as the artisanal fishers will be disposed off from using that area (URT, 2022). Millard Ayo (2021) reported that it costs US\$10,000 for a tourist to lodge per night, which is almost 22 million in Tanzanian shillings.



Figure 1. Thanda Hotel at Shungimbili Island, Mafia, Tanzania.

Source: From the website of the Thanda hotel

Also, the study observed places for marine parks and reserves where fishers are not allowed to fish from. Another small-scale fisher from Mkinga District in Tanga Region also tried to corroborate presented small-scale fisher's opinions from Mafia as he reiterated that,

“I am just wondering. We are Tanzanians, but still we are not allowed to fish in some places. This is unfair. Besides, when they apprehend you fishing in these areas, you receive a heavy punishment” (IDI, Artisanal Fisher, Tanga: Mkinga, 2019).

Mwaipopo (2008) in her study of *Social Dimensions of Marine protected Areas in Mafia*, unveiled fishers' opinions on marine protected areas with one of the respondents in the study claiming that marine parks and reserves, also known as protected areas, are nothing but just ways of restricting places they have owned traditionally in communities. One respondent had the following to say:

“*Maeneo ya uvuvi ni madogo, na wavuvi ni wengi, kwa hiyo watu hawafaidiki na kufunga maeneo*” (“*The fishing areas are small, and there are too many fishers; therefore, people do not benefit from restricted and closed areas*” (ibid: 19).

A study by Malm et al. (2012) explained the process of enclosing water resources like lakes and other places for purposes of environmental conservation and sustainable livelihoods of flora and fauna, continuing to show the manner in which such processes displace others from access to lakes or oceans. Most of the groups who are affected by the said processes are artisanal fishers, although their livelihoods depend on such environments a hundred percent. Bennett et al. (2015) called parks and reserves ocean grabbing, which comes to deprive the small-scale fishers and dispossesses them, as well as undermines the historical access to the sea and/or oceans. Benjaminsen et al. (2012) in their paper based on Mafia reserves called the concept of blue grabbing of artisanal fishers. However, the right to create marine reserves is the right for communities to be removed to access marine resources. It distorts artisanal fishers' lives because the protected ocean is

attractive for hotel construction and large fishing in the name of investors. So, artisanal fishers are displaced while investors accumulate capital.

Harvey (2005) added that the process of accumulation by dispossession suppresses the rights of commons like artisanal fishers to use lakes or oceans. Hence, one side accumulates the resources while on the other side, the commoners are displaced and deprived, through the environmental conservation and sustainable development campaign(s). Doer (2016) corroborates Harvey's (2005) analysis of accumulation by dispossession through conservation, management, and livelihood. Through these forces, oceans are enclosed as well as land grabbing proceeds and hence, displacement of artisanal fishers ensues.

Mwaipopo (2008: 22) showed that dispossession of small-scale fishers in Mafia, in the way caused small-scale fishers' worries about alternative programs introduced to them with the intention to keep them away from marine resources. Introduction of entrepreneurship programs encompassed beekeeping, sales, handicraft activities and cultivation as alternatives to marine and/or ocean activities. Mwaipopo (2008) contends further that fishers' feeling was that they understood that they are being displaced from their historical and traditional resources of dependence on their incomes and living. Benjaminsen et al. (2012) supported Mwaipopo's explanation. Benjaminsen et al. (2012) asserted that introduction of community-based marine resource managements is a major and fundamental principle of accumulation by dispossession. Such community-based initiatives have alienated and estranged the villagers from their land. They affect the livelihood of the fishing communities' poverty persistence and confront them with poor nutrition of villagers due to food insecurity as portrayed by Doer (2016) for depletion of food in small-scale fishing communities.

6.0 Conditions of using some fishing nets

This also can be one of manifestations of how accumulation by dispossession is legitimized in the ocean. The changing of the criteria for use of fishing nets is for the aim of controlling development and growth of fish in the ocean or lakes (URT, 2020). The study observed that artisanal fishers in Tanga and Coast Regions created fishing nets so as to fit the ministry conditions because

there are a lot of reforms on using nets and burning of fishing nets, which do not comply with the requirements from the Ministry of Fishing, and fishing regulations (URT, 2020, 2021).

Focus group discussions with artisanal fishers in Mwaboza and Petukiza in Mkinga District, Tanga Region revealed that fishing nets are very expensive, but have no stable conditions for the fishing net criteria. This will affect them in conducting their fishing activities. One of the fishers in focus group discussions had the following to say,

“We have a debate on using ten millimetre (mm) or eight mm fishing nets. This also disturbs us. But besides, we use the ring for small-scale fish. Today we are highly prohibited to fish during the day. What is the meaning of this? This obstructs the artisanal fishers in the ocean” (FGD, Artisanal fisher, Mkinga, 2019).

Also, another focus group discussion with artisanal fishers in Kilindoni, Mafia District, Tanga Region expressed similar sentiments concerning the same story on artisanal fishers’ struggles in entering the ocean for fishing. One of the small-scale fishers within the discussion had this to say:

“You know fishing nets recommended by the Government restrict us as they have a lot of negative side effects. For instance, ring nets scrap ocean plants, which attract many fish to reproduce. But we are prohibited and this is a step in separating us from oceanic resources” (FGD/ Artisanal fisher/ Mafia/2019)

The above explanation was also as per endorsed by the new Fishing Principal Regulations of 2020, which prohibit fishing through ring nets during the day but within 50 meters of the ocean and allow catching fish for 1,000 meters from freshwater using a ring net (URT, 2020). The principal regulations and/or conditions continue accumulation but dispossess artisanal fishers of water resources. Ayo (2019) reported concerns of small-scale fishers from Kunduchi, Dar es Salaam Region who also expressed their worries to the

Deputy Minister of Livestock and Fisheries if the government wanted to refute the ring nets. One of the fishers said that,

“Honorable Minister, this fishing through ring nets if you restrict it, you will deprive many fishers here. And we heard our president, he doesn't want to see that citizens are crying within the country. Here in Kunduchi, we have 17 boats for ring nets for daily fishing, each boat carries 70 to 80 fishers. So, count for yourself if you take 17 boats times 70 people, you can get the answer. From there, after these boats return from catching fish there are people who provide services for boats, each boat needs five people. And these boast 80 percent based on sardines (Dagaa). And small-scale fish is fish that belongs to the poor, especially our mothers who need these fish for selling. So, if you remove ring nets you will dispossess all those people depending on the ring nets chain of work” (Ayo, 2019).

Although the government made reforms of the Fishing Regulations of 2020 and allowed some fishing matters like fishers to fish through ring nets during day time, there are worries of multiple reforms of using fishing nets. Because this is not a stable decision, it changes every day.

Such small-scale fishers' concern and opinions tell the authority that there is worry concerning the regulations, which tend to displace and dispossess them in utilizing marine resources and products. Such marine resources and products are needed by millions of Tanzanians for small-scale businesses and for consumption as food in their households.

7.0 Prohibition of fishing in the low tides water

There have been lamentations and sentiments from the artisanal fishers because of the Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries' demand that they should go and fish in deep sea rather than in the low sea [(Low tidewater) URT, 2020]. The study observed that vessels and canoes of artisanal fishers have less power to fish in the deep sea. This study found that through evidence during in-depth interviews with one of the fishers in Mafia, he claimed that,

“Due to the poor state of canoes of the artisanal fishers in Bweni area, Mafia District we call ‘Mungu Niite,’ it means that we just survive in the ocean because of God’s wish rather than canoes’ ability to handle movement in the ocean. It is very dangerous to use these canoes in the ocean or deep sea but only God saves them.”

This study also observed the same in Mkinga District, Tanga Region whereby artisanal fishers used poor and very dangerous canoes. What saves them is God, coupled with intensive power from their bodies. One of the fishers added that,

“Our vessels and canoes are not strong enough to reach the deep sea to catch fish. We have lost our colleagues in the deep sea because of our poor canoes. But the Ministry wants us to go there in the deep sea to catch fish without understanding our ability. This is another indicator that we artisanal fishers are not wanted to catch fish in the ocean. This is a strategy to allow large-scale fishing with large vessels to control the sea. I feel bad” (IDI, Artisanal fisher, Mkinga, 2019).

Another fisher added that:

“But also, you know that fish has a tendency of living in the deep sea, and come to low water just to visit. So, if we can go to catch fish there in the deep sea, we will kill fishing habits and eggs and at the end of the day, fish will be depleted in the ocean” (IDI, Artisanal fisher, Mkinga, 2019).

From the data obtained through observation and corresponding to the submitted quotations, during the meeting with villagers of Mbweni in Mafia, with the District Commissioner (DC), it was heard that, “Artisanal fishers in Mafia live poor life and use poor vessels and/or canoes. Most of them use ‘Mungu Niite’ canoes, which are poor and move just with the mercy of God. I encourage you to take these new loans from institutions so as to get strong and durable vessels that will enable us to manage to go into the deep sea to catch fish.”

Ayo (2020) and Mallya (2020) re-counted artisanal fishers' views from the ferry of Dar es Salaam Region in the meeting with the former Minister of Livestock and Fisheries whereby they rejected the new principal regulations of fisheries, which demand them to fish in the deep sea of 50 meters. Fishers contended that such principal regulations are not conducive for them because they are intended at prohibiting them from catching fish. Fishers use fishing tools that can never catch fish in the deep sea.

This situation reflects conditions of artisanal fishers. Therefore, any efforts and/or initiatives, which try to prohibit them to catch fish in low water is intended to dispossess them to catch fish and put such work only to large-scale fishers. Capital will be accumulated because the large-scale fishers will catch fish and get more money, but the artisanal fishers will be displaced and fishing communities will still remain in the poverty cycle.

8.0 Introduction of many taxes in fishing areas

The study revealed that this is one of areas in the fishing industry that has been faced with criticism from artisanal fishers. From Tanga to Mafia artisanal fishers were very angered by taxes found in the fishing industry. The study found many forms of taxes in the fishing industry like landing fees, fees for licenses, fees for vessels and canoes, and others. It was also found that such taxes reduce the number of small-scale fishers working in the ocean because they disturb fishing activities, especially for artisanal fishers. One of the small-scale fishers in Tanga had this to say:

“I don't see the importance of this work, and it is why I decided to sit here in the streets. Also, this is because the ocean is like a car that has a lot of taxes. Hence, a small-scale fisherman produces money but all money ends up in taxes. Therefore, we work for others and not for our development” (IDI, Artisanal fisher, Mkinga, 2019).

Another fisher claimed that:

“There are taxes, and those taxes exploit small-scale fishers because a fisher who catches fish after landing at the sea shore the Beach Management Unit gets Tshs 2,000. Also,

money after the auction is collected by the local government as tax at almost 10 percent of the total sales. So, we fishermen, after taking out all costs of fuel and the boss, we get peanuts” (IDI, Artisan Fisher, Mkinga, 2019).

During in-depth interviews with tax collectors in Mafia, they tried to oppose small-scale fishers’ concerns and claims on taxes. They said that “Tax in fishing is very important for the development of fishing, but it is true we need to improve the life of fishers for better success”

In focus group discussion with artisanal fishers in Kilindoni, Mafia District, they spoke emotionally on the way issues of taxes harm the small-scale fishers. One of them who later protested that he did not want any of his children to work in this job, as this is dispossession, had this to say,

“Frankly speaking, taxes within the fishing industry are not good. I see these taxes are just meant to impoverish us. And this causes many small-scale fishers to hate fishing as our lifelong historical occupation. I don’t want my children to involve themselves in this work of fishing, never. Fishing is agony, and I don’t want my children to work here” (FGD, small-scale fisher, Mafia, 2019).

But small-scale fishers look at taxes paid in the fishing industry not being fair to them, as this is not meant to assist the fishers but rather, to punish them. That is why their lamentations are many, including taxation in this industry occurs as a problem for development of fishing activities. Although the government has reduced some of the taxes that are unnecessary to development of fishers and the fishing industry, in general (URT, 2020), Benjaminsen et al. (2012) in their work of accumulation and dispossession in the name of blue grabbing and conservation contend that capital accumulation in fishing is through taxation organized by the state. But the process of taxes being collected in other parts contributes to violence and displacement of artisanal fishers.

9. Commodification of fishing Products

Introduction of commodity relations in the fishing industry is also one of the operations of accumulation by dispossession. Fishing activities now under commodity relations, meaning every fishing product is under the specter of buying and selling. It means, even small-scale fishers would not eat fish they catches, they are dispossessed and alienated from the very product they catch. Information from in-depth interviews with the artisanal fisher in Kilindoni Mafia disclosed that:

“I go to catch fish at midnight and come back to the shore in the morning. I catch a lot of fish, very big fish, but I won’t eat fish. Those who eat fish never go to catch in deep sea. Brokers or auctioneers and owners of vessels and canoes eat fish. I catch fish and I want to eat but social conditions force me to sell all the fish because I want to take my children to school, to pay taxes and to take my family to hospital. All these things need money. What I see is that I am separated from my fish and I don’t feel good at all. Even when I sell it, I get very little money that can never take or move me a step forward in my economic well-being in my life. Hence, instead of fish belonging to me, it just belongs to someone else. I don’t see the profit of this job. This is the truth” (IDI, Artisanal fisher, Mafia, 2019).

Harvey (2014) previously uncovered fishers’ sentiments by explaining underlying contradictions of capitalism and the way it dispossesses a worker from commodity he/she has produced. This leads to the small-scale fisher being separated from fish he/she has produced. This process of commodification of fisheries exhibits other exploitative systems in fishing, like a fish auction. Data from observation revealed that the fish auction also is a kind of thing that displaces fishers from fish they catch. The broker takes all responsibilities of selling fish with his own price-fixing after fisher’s land at the shore. Brokers and canoe owners enjoy fishers’ work and fishers remain in poverty because they can never decide the price of the fish they catch. Another fisher in Mkinga explained that, “I catch fish but the broker gets more fish and money than me. Brokers and canoe owners eat fish that I won’t eat.

Each fish I catch I sell because my life needs cash for compensating other expenses.”

This is a reflection that small-scale fishers through invisible forces are separated from the ocean and even products they produce and/or catch from the ocean. Therefore, these are manifestations of underlying processes of accumulation by dispossession in the world today because what happens at the national level is just a reflection of global fishery forces and moving factors that influence on local conditions of artisanal fishers. Sigall et al. (2011) showed influence of globalization like liberalization (Structural Adjustment Program) that situate Tanzania's oceanic resources in the international market.

11. Conclusion

The paper concludes that there is a need to rethink marine management, conservation and artisanal fishers' livelihoods. Since practices of marine management and conservation claim to provide livelihood and sustainable resource development in oceans, but instead, they displace and disarticulate artisanal fishers and fishing communities. The Government and authorities dealing with marine conservation should be aware that such practices not only lead to fishing development but also discourage manpower, especially the artisanal fishers who produce more than three hundred thousand tons of fish. Also, the Government should embrace artisanal fishers rather than introduce and embrace large-scale fishing. Accordingly, the study revealed some claims from fishers, indicating that they see some measures and practices as simply encouraging large-scale fishing rather than promoting them to be able to catch fish in a well-advanced manner for the reason for capital accumulation.

Therefore, the authority should cut off all mechanisms that legitimize accumulation by dispossession in fishing by rethinking laws and policies, even planning and strategies on fishing. Again, they should encourage local communities and/or fishing communities to be free in conserving natural resources and utilize them in a good manner. This is because the study found that artisanal fishers know and understand how they can conserve the ocean and the comprehend importance of conserving it. But the problem comes from

the management providing aspects that come to commodify and privatize resources and suppress fishing communities from ownership.

In a nutshell, these artisanal fishers are traditional fishing based on households. They depend on fishing for generating daily incomes for their households. Dispossession continues to be extended not only to fishers who are affected by displacements, but also their families are dispossessed, while state and investors in fishing accumulate profits from dispossession. Therefore, the initiatives should consider this chain of people who depend on fishing activities within fishing communities.

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