

THE REPRESENTATION OF FISHERIES IN AFRICAN POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGY PAPERS¹

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ABSTRACT

Poverty reduction and food security are key development concerns articulated through Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). This paper examines the fisheries sector's participation in these strategies. Adapting Oksanen and Mersmann's (2002) methodology for assessing the status of forestry in Sub-Saharan Africa, we evaluate the fisheries sector's representation in twenty-nine African PRSPs. The methodology considers four criteria: inclusion in documents; causal links between fisheries and poverty; fisheries-related responses and actions; and the sector's inclusion in policy formulation. Each criterion is evaluated on a four-point scale, and scores are aggregated to reveal the degree to which fisheries is represented in poverty strategies. While we identified examples of best practice, our analysis raises concerns about the representation of fisheries in development planning. Most policy documents acknowledged the sector and its economic and social significance. Many also express concerns about the sustainability of exploitation. While, linkages between fisheries and poverty were often absent or poorly articulated, as were the processes linking fisheries and development policies. Our analysis suggests that the sector's representation in and influence upon policy varies considerably between PRSPs. Moreover, there is in many cases no clear association between the integration into development processes and the economic and social significance of the sector. In conclusion, we suggest research priorities to facilitate the more effective incorporation of the fisheries sector into development planning.

Keywords: PRSPs; development; Africa; fisheries

INTRODUCTION

International concern over developing world food insecurity is manifest in recent years, encapsulated in the UN Millennium Development Goals and reflected in IMF and World Bank programs. Concessional lending by these institutions since 1999 has been conditional upon submission of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). Defining the nature and extent of poverty, PRSPs are expected to advance policies consistent with its reduction. PRSPs follow five core principles. They are:

- Country-driven – involving broad-based participation by civil society and the private sector in all operational steps;
- Results-oriented – focusing on outcomes that would benefit the poor;
- Comprehensive in recognizing the multidimensional nature of poverty;
- Partnership-oriented – involving coordinated participation of development partners (bilateral, multilateral, and non-governmental);
- Based on a long-term perspective for poverty reduction (World Bank, 2000).

Our focus is the extent to which fisheries are represented in these documents.

Fisheries are rarely viewed as an agent of rural development. However, FAO's Strategic Framework for 2000-2015 aims to facilitate the long-term sustainable development and utilization of world fisheries resources, embracing efforts to eradicate food insecurity and rural poverty (FAO, 2002a: 106). Regional programs, such as West Africa's Sustainable Fisheries Livelihoods Program (SFLP), address poverty alleviation and food security issues. However, while this and other programs have delivered notable welfare improvements, most African governments do not see fisheries improving food security and reducing poverty. The SFLP program addressed the sector's representation in consultative levels processes in eleven countries, and concluded that 'small-scale fisheries are rarely taken into account in PRSPs formulation (FAO, 2002b: ii).' This paper addresses this conclusion in the wider context of the whole fisheries sector in the 29 African nations that have submitted PRSPs. We evaluate

whether the integration of fisheries into poverty reduction strategies reflects the sector's economic and social significance.

The paper is organized as follows. First, we offer stylized facts about the sector's economic and social significance, examining its contribution to trade, consumption, and employment. Second, we undertake a content analysis of African PRSPs to enumerate the degree to which fisheries are represented in poverty reduction strategies. We subsequently compare these two analyses to consider whether the sector's representation within PRSPs reflects its importance. Our conclusions address how our findings contribute to our understanding of poverty within African fisheries and suggest potential avenues for future research.

GROUNDINGS FOR REPRESENTATION IN PRSPS

Fisheries are not automatically represented in PRSPs. The World Bank's *PRSP Sourcebook* suggests that poverty reduction strategies will reflect the economic, socio-political, structural, and cultural context of individual countries (World Bank, 2000: 7). We focus on three dimensions of fisheries economic and social importance as a guide to the extent that the sector might be incorporated into PRSPs. First, we consider the contribution to economic growth, concentrating on the role of trade, which is central to neo-liberal export-led growth policies, that privilege agricultural exports (Thrupp *et al.*, 1995). Fisheries trade has typically received less attention than agriculture, although developing countries' net earnings from fisheries trade in 2001 were US\$17.7 billion – a sum greater than for any other traded food commodity (FAO, 2003a). We argue that proportionately greater contributions to export earnings, expressed as a proportion of the value of agricultural exports, reveal the sector's capacity to accumulate capital. In our analysis, the contribution to trade is given by the value of fisheries exports as a proportion of the total value of agricultural exports (including fisheries) during 2000, the base year of this study.² Second, fish is often crucial to nutrition in developing countries, providing 15-16% of global animal protein consumed (FAO, 2003b: 5). We assume that fisheries are more likely to be represented in national development strategies when fish consumption is a significant. We illustrate the significance of fisheries to consumption using the average per capita fish protein consumption as a proportion of total daily animal protein, also at 2000 values.³ Finally, we focus on employment in the sector. If the consultation processes underlying PRSPs are open and equitable, then the degree to which fisheries are integrated into PRSPs should reflect participation in the sector. Labor force participation is straightforwardly enumerated. Since our specific focus is on poverty reduction strategies, we should ideally like comparable data on poverty within the fisheries sector, which is unfortunately unavailable.

AFRICAN FISHERIES: GROWTH, CONSUMPTION, AND EMPLOYMENT

Twenty-nine African nations have published full or interim PRSPs.⁴ There was considerable variation in fisheries production among these economies during 2000, the base year for this study: while Ghana and Senegal both produced in excess of 400,000 m.t., production was less than 20,000 m.t. in ten countries.⁵ Inland fisheries accounted for about 55% of their output, exceeding 90% in twelve countries.⁶

Table I provides stylized facts for the sector's contribution to trade, consumption, employment, and the level of rural poverty. Figures for African PRSP countries are compared with developing world averages (Thorpe, 2004); figures exceeding the average appear in shaded cells. These figures suggest that:

- Fisheries makes a limited or negligible contribution to trade, consumption or employment in Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Lesotho, Niger, and Rwanda.
- Agricultural export earnings are above average in nine countries, suggesting a high propensity to export.
- Trade is accompanied by above average consumption in Cape Verde, Gambia, Guinea, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, and Sierra Leone.

- Eight countries enjoyed above average consumption with below average contributions to export earnings, suggesting that the sector was oriented towards domestic markets. Of these, only Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia registered a surplus on their fisheries trade balance during 2000.
- Employment exceeds the developing world average rate in seven countries, and is greater than 1% in Madagascar and Sierra Leone.

In addition, we observe that four-fifths of these countries experience above average levels of rural poverty, a significant factor given that the sector is predominantly located in the rural economy.

Table I Trade, Consumption, Employment, and Poverty

Economy	Fisheries Exports: % of Agricultural Exports	Fish: % of Average Daily Protein Consumption	Fishers: % of Economically Active Population
Benin	1.5	18.3	2.2
Burkina Faso	0.1	5.0	0.2
Cameroon	1.1	32.0	0.4
Cape Verde	76.8	29.2	7.7
Central African Rep.	1.8	8.2	0.3
Chad	0.0	15.0	8.3
Congo, D.R.	1.4	43.6	0.5
Côte d'Ivoire	6.3	37.4	0.3
Djibouti	0.9	2.3	0.0
Ethiopia	0.0	1.6	0.0
Gambia	43.9	56.9	0.3
Ghana	12.3	65.8	2.4
Guinea	58.3	47.1	0.3
Guinea-Bissau	5.0	11.0	0.5
Kenya	3.7	11.0	0.4
Lesotho	–	1.4	0.0
Madagascar	18.7	17.3	1.1
Malawi	0.0	30.8	0.8
Mali	0.1	15.2	1.3
Mauritania	68.5	9.8	0.7
Mozambique	62.5	21.6	0.2
Niger	1.8	4.7	0.2
Rwanda	–	8.3	0.1
São Tomé and Príncipe	66.1	46.5	5.1
Senegal	60.4	44.8	1.3
Sierra Leone	67.9	63.1	1.1
Tanzania	10.8	29.9	0.5
Uganda	10.0	37.6	0.5
Zambia	0.9	22.5	0.5
Developing world average	18.5	19.4	1.3

Table I suggests that the fisheries sector makes a significant contribution to growth, consumption and employment in a number of African PRSP economies, and leads us to expect proportional representation in development plans and poverty reduction strategies. The following section examines the extent to which plans and strategies do incorporate the sector.

THE REPRESENTATION OF FISHERIES IN AFRICAN PRSPS

The extent to which the fisheries sector (or indeed, any sector) is incorporated into PRSPs depends upon specific economic, social and cultural factors, some of which are addressed in the preceding section. Here we turn our attention to examining the extent of such incorporation through a content analysis of full and interim PRSPs published to date. Our methodology adapts the approach of Oksanen and Mersmann (2002) who evaluated the extent to which forestry had been integrated within Sub-Saharan African PRSPs. Box I outlines the four criteria and four-point scale upon which the fisheries sector's representation in PRSPs was enumerated.

Box I Assessment Methodology

Criteria 1 – Issues: Were fisheries related issues included in the documents?

Criteria 2 – Causal Links: Were causal links between fisheries- and poverty-related issues analysed?

Criteria 3 – Responses: Were fisheries-related responses and actions defined?

Criteria 4 – Processes: Were links between document formulation and fisheries policy and planning processes detailed?

Each of the four criteria was given a numeric value where;

0 = no mention of fisheries.

1 = mentioned, but not elaborated upon.

2 = elaborated.

3 = best practice.

Average aggregate scores for each document range from 0 (fisheries are not mentioned) to 3 (best practice on all criteria).

Table II reports the results of the content analysis. Aggregate average PRSP scores varied markedly. Ethiopia and Lesotho failed to mention the fisheries sector and hence scored zero. The majority returned an average below 1.0. Six countries (Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania and Mozambique) offered good synopses in one or more of the categories to ensure an average between one and two. Five countries (Cameroon, Ghana, Guinea, Malawi and Senegal) give extensive representation to the sector in their respective PRSPs, reflected in an average of two or above.

Fisheries Issues

Twenty-two states (75.9%) mention fisheries issues, although in most cases (15 = 51.7%) the sector warrants nothing more than a short remark. Chad and Malawi documents allude to the economic importance of fishing and other primary activities in terms of either GDP, employment, or export earnings. The Côte d'Ivoire, Malawi, Mali and Rwanda papers hint at the sector's development potential, while the humanitarian crisis is blamed for the slump Sierra Leone's inland fisheries. The Ugandan PRSP Progress Reports note the impact of the EU ban on Ugandan fish exports, while sectoral responsibilities (Niger), national fisheries strategies (Tanzania), the need for private initiatives (Congo D.R.), and the optimal use of fish resources (Madagascar) also merit comment. Other fisheries-related issues are touched upon in the Rwandan and Zambian papers, namely the invasive nature of water hyacinth and its impact on fishing the risk of HIV infection for anglers and fish traders respectively.

Table II Representation in PRSPs

Economy	Issues	Causal Links	Responses	Process	Average
Benin	2	1	2	0	1.25
Burkina Faso	0	1	0	0	0.25
Cameroon	3	3	2	2	2.50
Cape Verde	1	0	1	0	0.50
Central African Rep.	0	0	1	0	0.25
Chad	1	1	1	0	0.75
Congo, D.R.	1	0	1	0	0.50
Côte d'Ivoire	1	1	2	1	1.25
Djibouti	0	0	1	0	0.25
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	0.00
Gambia	0	1	1	0	0.50
Ghana	2	2	3	1	2.00
Guinea	2	1	3	3	2.25
Guinea-Bissau	1	0	1	0	0.50
Kenya	0	0	1	0	0.25
Lesotho	0	0	0	0	0.00
Madagascar	1	2	2	2	1.75
Malawi	1	2	3	3	2.25
Mali	1	1	2	1	1.25
Mauritania	2	1	3	0	1.50
Mozambique	2	1	2	1	1.50
Niger	1	0	1	0	0.50
Rwanda	1	0	0	0	0.25
São Tomé and Príncipe	1	0	0	0	0.25
Senegal	2	1	3	2	2.00
Sierra Leone	1	1	0	0	0.50
Tanzania	1	0	0	0	0.25
Uganda	1	0	1	1	0.75
Zambia	1	1	1	0	0.75
Average	1.03	0.72	1.31	0.59	0.91

More emphasis is given to sector developments in the Ghanaian PRSP due to the depletion of marine fisheries, with increased surveillance and the promotion of inland fisheries and aquaculture identified as possible compensating measures. With the exception of a brief note in the Malawi PRSP, this document is unique in highlighting gender divisions within the sector. Fisheries revival also forms the thrust of the Senegalese document, with sector (vessel obsolescence, infrastructure and human capital inadequacies, low value-added, and poor quality) and environmental constraints identified, and the economic importance of the sector underscored. The Benin document also discusses importance – in terms of presently under-exploited potential, while commenting on inappropriate fishing techniques that have clogged inland waterways. The Guinean PRSP identifies the tasks necessary to conserve and enhance national fish stocks while highlighting the need for institutional reform.

While not ‘fundamental’ for Mozambique’s poverty reduction strategy, the sector is nevertheless assigned its own sub-section in the report that acknowledges the special needs of small-scale fishers. In contrast, while Mauritania’s document does not analyze fisheries issues separately, references are scattered through the text indicating tax treatment, projected growth rates, and the potential for industrial, artisanal and coastal fishing expansion. The exemplar, is the fisheries annex to the Cameroon PRSP,

which provides a succinct and thorough summary of the sector, the key points of which are nested in the main document, informing the overall development plan (*best practice*).

Causal Linkages

The poverty-oriented reference frames provided by PRSPs also account for the relatively strong showing of causal links between fishery-related topics and poverty-related issues in the documents of sixteen countries (55.2%). However, most documents (11 = 37.9%) simply allude – as opposed to either elaborating upon or analyzing – such linkages. The Gambian, Chad and Malian PRSPs, for example, simply state that average incomes are lowest (or that a disproportionate percentage of the poor are to be encountered) in agriculture and fisheries. Five PRSPs hint at the potentially empowering aspects of fisheries growth, seeing increased catches as a latent contributor to improved nutritional levels and livelihoods in Côte d’Ivoire, Sierra Leone, and Zambia, to food security in Guinea, as an ‘important sector’ in the struggle against poverty in Mozambique, and with revenues derived from fisheries favoring those most affected by poverty in Senegal. The Mauritanian document is more cautious; suggesting the impact upon poverty will depend on market trends for fish products and gaining improved EU Agreement terms. Conversely, Burkina Faso’s PRSP sees the lack of food security as heightening over-exploitation of local natural resources, including fisheries.

Environmental degradation, and its consequent effect in forcing the poor to rely on natural resources, is also highlighted in the Malawi PRSP, though this subsequently identifies fisheries development as an objective under Pillar 1 (*Sources of Pro-Poor Growth*) of its six-point program, given its importance to consumption (see Table I). The Ghanaian document identifies traditional fishers (together with rural agricultural producers) as extremely poor and vulnerable. Hence, the key policy issues are determined by the needs of these groups, although these are not elaborated specifically for fisheries in the main PRSP. The Benin and Madagascar documents emphasize the need to tackle links between poverty and fisheries, either by eliminating the use of inappropriate fishing capital and techniques that are identified as principal causes of poverty in the sector, or by enabling poor fishers to access credit.

Best practice with respect to causal linkages between poverty and fisheries is evidenced in Cameroon’s PRSP. Participatory consultations highlight links, with the document confirming the sector’s importance for enhancing food security and creating wealth. The paper highlights stagnation in the artisanal fisheries, suggesting that their growth could benefit the poor while recognizing the constraints upon increasing production.

Responses

While twenty-three countries (79.3%) recognize the need for a sectoral response, thirteen documents (44.8%) content themselves with unelaborated statements. These range from: basing the sectoral response on undertaking a preliminary evaluation (Congo D.R.); including fisheries within agricultural plans (Central African Republic); updating national legislation (Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau); long-term development programs (Djibouti); a wider water resources strategy (Ethiopia); facilitating fish marketing and processing (Kenya); advancing action programs and micro-credits (Gambia); supporting environmentally sound fishing (Chad); stocking ponds and fisheries (Niger); enumerating fishing incomes (Uganda); establishing community-based natural resource management programs (Zambia); or promising support for infrastructure development and a new fisheries code (Benin). More substance is found in other documents. Mali envisages developing new water-bodies and equipping women’s wholesale fish trading associations. Mozambique identifies objectives and measures to be taken with regard to traditional and industrial fishing, aquaculture and training requirements. Madagascar records a shift towards licensing for shrimp, maritime and inland fisheries, with five specific actions identified under the rural development program. Cameroon’s strategies for expanding artisanal

output and aquaculture are outlined in an implementation matrix. Finally, the Cote d'Ivoire PRSP outlines six steps necessary for fisheries development.

The best of the responses provide detailed commentary on strategies and activities, plus details of their costs and monitoring procedures. Although Malawi's PRSP does this on an aggregate basis via its Action Matrix (the 2003 Annual Review tracking progress to date), Mauritania's policy matrix identifies the actions and costs necessary to increase the sector's integration into the economy. Senegalese fisheries policy, emerging from consultation with industry interest groups, is tracked through a 2003-5 Matrix of Measures and subsequently costed under the Priority Action Plan. Ghanaian policy seeks to maximize economic benefits from rational use of fisheries, principally through a costed rehabilitation of its hatcheries program. However, the Guinean document establishes the standard of best practice. It identifies four priority fisheries objectives; each divided into tasks with indicative targets and costed over three years.

Processes

Finally, only ten countries included statements about processes in their PRSPs, about one-third of the total, significantly below the level for other criteria. In five cases (17.2%), the discussion was unelaborated, typically extending to no more than consultation with stakeholders in the sector. For example, the Côte d'Ivoire papers contained no obvious linkages between stakeholder demands and policy analyses or responses. The principal outcome of consultation in Mali and Uganda appears to have been the recognition that fisheries could be significant in combating poverty. The Ghanaian document committed the government to promoting greater stakeholder participation in future policy processes through organizational support. Documents from Cameroon, Madagascar and Senegal offered a more elaborate discussion of processes and were awarded a score of two on this criterion. In Cameroon, specific fishing communities were involved in the national participatory assessment of poverty, and their suggestions were reflected in the published PRSP. In Madagascar, unspecified capacity building in inland fisheries was linked to environmental decentralization and integrated coastal zone management proposals. And in Senegal, stakeholder participation identified the problems and proposed solutions for all stages of fisheries production. In each case, it is evident that participation by fisheries stakeholders helped embed the sector into policy documents. Best practice is exemplified by the Malawi and Guinean PRSPs. In Malawi case, contributions by fisheries stakeholders were channeled through an Environment and Natural Resources working group into the PRSP. More significantly, Malawi's PRSP offers opportunities for future participation through the creation of Community Based Natural Resource Management groups. Guinea commits itself to the development of maritime and inland-fishing villages, combined with plans to establish a national and regional fisheries information system, creating an appropriate administrative structure in the process.

COMPARING STYLIZED FACTS WITH REPRESENTATION IN PRSPS

Does the fisheries sector's significance in trade, consumption or employment aid mainstreaming fisheries into PRSPs? Figure 1 draws together the two analyses to offer some preliminary answers to this question. The horizontal axis represents the economic and social significance of fishing. Figures from Table I were coded, so that shaded cells equal one, and non-shaded cells equal zero. The position on the horizontal axis reflects the average of these three values. The position on the horizontal axis represents the average score from the content analysis from Table II.

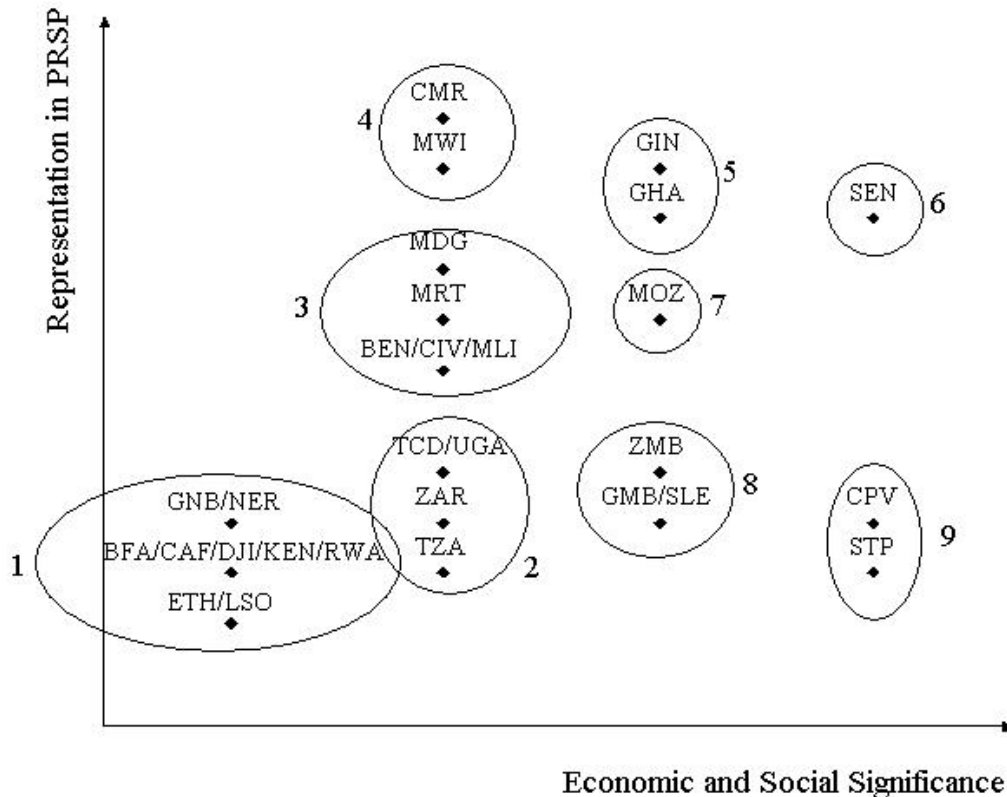


Figure 1 Economic and social significance against representation in PRSPs

Several countries are clustered near the origin of Figure 1 (Group 1), indicating that the sector is not economically and socially significant and receives little or no attention in the PRSP. About half these countries are landlocked, and only Kenya is a significant fisheries producer. A second cluster of countries (Group 2) are above average with respect to either trade, consumption, or employment, and have at least some mention of fisheries on one or more criteria. These countries contrast with those in Groups 3 and 4, in which fisheries are similarly economically and socially significant, but where the PRSP has a more detailed discussion of the sector. In the case of Cameroon and Malawi, it is evident that the sector's integration is greater than its significance would suggest, indicating that the PRSP process has effectively brought the sector into the mainstream of poverty reduction strategies. Fisheries have a similar level of representation in Ghana and Guinea (Group 5), and Senegal (Group 6), but the sector is noticeably more economically and socially significant. The level of representation is slightly lower in Mozambique (Group 7). Taking these economies collectively, our analysis suggests that the integration of fisheries into PRSPs is broadly consistent with the sector's economic and social significance. However, each falls short of best practice, particularly in the case of Mozambique. Finally, we identify two clusters of countries in the southeast quadrant of Figure 1 (Group 8 and 9), where the sector's representation in the PRSP is not consistent with its economic and social significance. This is especially noticeable in the case of Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, Small Island Developing Economies in which the sector's contributions to trade, consumption and employment are all significantly greater than the average for developing countries. There is clearly scope for extending the PRSP to the fisheries sector in these countries.

Comparing and contrasting representation in development strategies with stylized facts on fishing's economic and social significance highlights the possibility of coordination failures between the sector and national governments, and between governments and international donors. At the national level, failures may arise from the inability of poorly organized fishers to engage with fisheries administrations, who in turn may enjoy limited influence by comparison to other natural resource industries. The problems of organizing disparate fishing communities was recognized in several PRSPs.⁷ Finally, we recognize that governments may be reluctant to integrate fisheries into development plans if they are viewed as an insecure basis for development.

CONCLUSIONS

The increased international preoccupation with poverty has manifested itself in the emergence of PRSPs. Through consultation, poverty reduction strategies are expected to diagnose the nature and extent of poverty and develop policies for its alleviation. Strategies will acknowledge existing economic and social structures and what changes are necessary and possible to achieve certain goals. This paper has examined how fisheries are integrated in African PRSPs, comparing the degree of representation with stylized facts concerning the sector's economic and social significance. In this, it has been able to address the conclusion of the Sustainable Fisheries Livelihoods Program, that artisanal fisheries were inadequately represented in PRSPs. Our study has examined the entire fisheries sector for all African countries that have produced PRSPs, and has reached a different conclusion. Systematic content analysis of Africa's PRSPs suggests that the integration of fisheries into poverty reduction strategies varied considerably. While we found examples where fisheries received minimal representation, our analysis revealed instances of best practice. Given our wider remit to examine the entire fisheries sector over a larger number of countries, examining PRSPs published since 2002, we suggest that our findings do not necessarily invalidate the SFLP's conclusion, which may still be appropriate for certain fisheries in some countries.

Our assessment of the fisheries sector's representation raises a number of questions that warrant further investigation. We restrict ourselves to two main points. First, in the expectation that multilateral donors will continue to support PRSPs for the foreseeable future, there is a need to identify examples of best practice, both within Africa and beyond, to inform participatory processes. This will necessitate a fuller appreciation of producer organization and the structure of fisheries administrations, the extent of their dialogue, and how effectively stakeholders communicate issues to policymakers. Second, we acknowledge the problems that African states encounter when attempting to articulate fisheries issues and causal linkages between fishing and poverty. As recent surveys by Macfadyen and Corcoran (2002) and Béné (2003) have illuminated, the relationship between fisheries and poverty is complex, poorly understood, and complicated by conflicting evidence. Despite the considerable advances in our understanding, our analysis of PRSPs suggests that African governments require more information on the fisheries sector and poverty within fishing communities before they can begin to incorporate their needs more fully into poverty reduction strategies. Finally, we require a greater understanding of how neo-liberal economic programs influence fisheries development and management in the region, how pro-poor policies can be established alongside other management objectives, and how the sector's needs may be reconciled with the demands of trade, consumers, and the international community. These issues are unlikely to be unique to this sector or to Africa.

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ENDNOTES

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² All data are taken from the FAO website (www.fao.org), accessed during September 2003. The data on trade are taken from FAOSTAT. Information on consumption was obtained from Food Balance Sheets for individual countries. Figures for the size of the economically active population and fisheries employment were taken from FAOSTAT and Fishery Country Profiles respectively.

³ Food Balance Sheets were not available for Kenya and Sierra Leone; data from the World Resources Institute's EarthTrends Environmental Information Portal (http://earthtrends.wri.org/text/COA/data_tables/data_table1.htm, accessed 16 September 2003) were substituted.

⁴ Mauritania, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Uganda have also completed progress reports.

⁵ Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Niger, Rwanda, and São Tomé and Príncipe.

⁶ Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Rwanda, Uganda and Zambia.

⁷ See, for example, the Ghana and Guinea papers.