



The waters where women fish: an analysis of the invisibilities and inequalities in fishing activity in the oil-producing municipalities of the Campos Basin¹

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Abstract

Starting from the expanded concept of artisanal fishing, which includes all the activities necessary for the capture of fish, for the collection and/or cultivation of seaweed and seafood, and for the commercialization of all fish, the presence of women in artisanal fishing, in Campos Basin, is undoubted. However, in this segment of the labor market, there is a strong sexual and social division of labor, although women exercise fundamental activities at all stages of the production chain, women's work is marked by great invisibility and devaluation by the category, the market and the State. This work seeks to understand the specificities of women's invisibility in fishing, in the context of oil-producing municipalities in the Campos Basin and, for that purpose, analyzes the differences between men and women in artisanal fishing, in three dimensions - labor market, home life, and political participation - based on data from the Pescarte Census. The results show that there is great gender inequality within the artisanal fisheries labor market in the Campos Basin and point out the need to implement gender policies that can change the power structures and gender relations that take place within communities and the fishing labor market, to give the women in fishing greater visibility and prominence.

Keywords: Gender Inequality. Job market. Women. Artisanal fishing.

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As águas onde pescam as mulheres: uma análise das invisibilidades e desigualdades na atividade pesqueira nos municípios produtores de Petróleo da Bacia de Campos

Resumo

Partindo do conceito ampliado de pesca artesanal, que inclui todas as atividades necessárias para a captura do peixe, para a coleta e/ou cultivo de algas e mariscos, e para a comercialização de todo o pescado, a presença de mulheres na pesca artesanal, na Bacia de Campos, é indubitável. Porém, nesse segmento do mercado de trabalho, há forte divisão sexual e social do trabalho e apesar das mulheres exercerem atividades fundamentais em todas as etapas da cadeia produtiva, o trabalho feminino é marcado por grande invisibilidade e desvalorização pela categoria, pelo mercado e pelo Estado. Este trabalho busca compreender as especificidades da invisibilidade das mulheres na pesca, no contexto dos municípios produtores de petróleo da Bacia de Campos e, para tanto, analisa as diferenças entre homens e mulheres na pesca artesanal, em três dimensões - mercado de trabalho, vida domiciliar e participação política – a partir dos dados do Censo Pescarte. Os resultados mostram haver grande desigualdade de gênero no interior do mercado de trabalho da pesca artesanal na Bacia de Campos e apontam a necessidade da implementação de políticas de gênero que possam alterar as estruturas de poder e as relações de gênero que se processam no interior das comunidades e do mercado de trabalho da pesca, de forma a dar maior visibilidade e protagonismo às mulheres na pesca.

Palavras-chave: Desigualdade de gênero. Mercado de trabalho. Mulheres. Pesca artesanal.

Las aguas donde pescan las mujeres: un análisis de las invisibilidades y desigualdades en la actividad pesquera en los municipios petroleros de la Cuenca de Campos

Resumen

Partiendo del concepto ampliado de pesca artesanal, que incluye todas las actividades necesarias para la captura de peces, para la recolección y / o cultivo de algas y mariscos, y para la comercialización de todo el pescado, la presencia de mujeres en la pesca artesanal, en Cuenca de Campos, es indudable. Sin embargo, en este segmento del mercado laboral, existe una fuerte división sexual y social del trabajo, y a pesar de que las mujeres ejercen actividades fundamentales en todas las etapas de la cadena productiva, el trabajo de las mujeres está marcado por una gran invisibilidad y devaluación por parte de la categoría, el mercado y el Estado. Este trabajo busca comprender las especificidades de la invisibilidad de las mujeres en la pesca, en el contexto de los municipios productores de petróleo de la Cuenca de Campos y, para ello, analiza las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres en la pesca artesanal, en tres dimensiones: mercado laboral, vida familiar. y participación política - basado en datos del Censo de Pescarte. Los resultados muestran que existe una gran desigualdad de género dentro del mercado laboral de la pesca artesanal en la Cuenca de Campos y señalan la necesidad de implementar políticas de género que puedan cambiar las estructuras de poder y las relaciones de género que tienen lugar dentro de las comunidades. y el mercado laboral en la pesca, con el fin de dar mayor visibilidad y protagonismo a la mujer en la pesca.

Palabras clave: Desigualdad de género. Mercado de trabajo. Mujeres. Pesca artesanal.

1 Introduction

Artisanal fishing – an activity of subsistence, low productivity, and small scale, that makes use of rudimentary technology and requires low investment – has social and economic importance to an expressive number of individuals that reside on the Brazilian coast and is responsible for an expressive amount (around 45%) of all fish produced in the country (SILVA-GONÇALVES; D’INCAO, 2016).

If we consider artisanal fishing as the entire set of essential activities for the capture of fish, for the collection and/or cultivation of seaweed and seafood, and the commercialization of all fish, we are admitting that even though women do not take part in catching the fish on high seas, they do fish (Motta-Maués, 1999). Motta-Maués (1999), Di Ciommo (2007), Fassarella (2008), and many other researchers also checked the involvement of women in fishing.

Concerning the expanded concept, Diegues (1983), Woortmann (1992), Alencar (1993), Motta-Maués (1999), Goes (2000) and Azevedo (2012) have shown us that, indeed, artisanal fishing extrapolates the act of capturing the fish in itself. All of the aforementioned authors consider the activities of pre-capture, capture, and post-capture when discussing the theme. Azevedo (2012) draws attention to the invisibility the State grants to many fishing workers, mainly women, as it adopts a stricter concept in the current Brazilian legislation that regulates the political relations and the fishing activity, which is restricted only to the actual capture of fish.

Equally, like in other sectors, the intense sexual and social division in labor marks the fishing market. However, in this case, with rare exceptions, these marks are hefty (and strict). Researchers of artisanal fishing and more specifically of women's participation in it – such as Motta-Maués (1999), Diegues (1995), Goes (2008), Fassarelo (2008), and others – explicit this matter as they note the male exclusivity in high seas fishing, while women occupy themselves with shallow water fishing or with collecting and processing shellfish and fish.

As said by Zhao, Tyzack, and Anderson (2013), the intense gender division of labor contributes to women's social invisibility, given that society recognizes them as supporters, helpers, or merely as fishers' wives. We believe that women also enhance their own invisibility, as they do not recognize themselves as fishers.

These reflections, in conjunction with the knowledge that the space women occupy in the labor market, domestic life, and in society is a result of culturally settled asymmetric power relations that vary from one society to another, have attracted our attention to the specificities of women's invisibility in the fishing market in Campos Basin – the second biggest petroleum producer in Brazil.

Studies developed by researchers from Darcy Ribeiro State University of Northern Rio de Janeiro prove that the intense offshore mining activity in Campos Basin's northern Rio de Janeiro extension has direct and indirect negative impacts on artisanal fishing, compromising the subsistence of many families. Therefore, we ask ourselves, "Which factors contribute to the invisibility of women in the fishing market in the Campos Basin context?" note that, as in the majority of cases studied and referenced in this present work, we assume that female invisibility is a certainty.

In the sense of answering the aforementioned question, our objective is to analyze the differences between men and women in artisanal fishing in three dimensions, namely, the labor market, living conditions, and political participation. We believe that this analysis makes it possible for us to comprehend the social processes that establish the condition of invisibility.

Thus, the present work analyzes the gender inequalities of the artisanal fishing activity in the following municipalities: Arraial do Cabo, Cabo Frio, Campos dos Goytacazes, Macaé, Quissamã, São João da Barra and São Francisco do Itabapoana. All of these, except for São Francisco do Itabapoana, belong to Campos Basin's Main Production Zone of petroleum and natural gas.

This article contains six sections in addition to the present introductory one. In the second section, we present a brief revision of literature to enable the discussion of gender inequality in the three aforementioned dimensions, given that the following sections analyze the gender inequalities in those aspects in the context of the considered fishing communities. In the third, we elucidate the materials and methods utilized in data treatment that supported the analyses, with a focus on clarifications about the Pescarte Census and the procedural methods applied for the results' analysis. Still in this section, we present the studied population. In the fifth, we analyze the participation of women in fishing, intending to comprehend gender inequalities in this specific section of the labor market. In the sixth, there are some considerations about the gender division of work for the execution of domestic chores in day-to-day life, and in the seventh, about the political participation of 'women in fishing'. In the seventh, we present some final considerations in way of conclusion.

2 Labor Market, Division of Domestic work and Political Participation: Theoretical considerations about Gender Inequality.

There have been indications of the increased female participation in Brazil's labor market for a while now. Many researchers have pointed this augmentation out; among them, we highlight Lavinias (1997). According to the author, between the 80s and the 90s, the activity ratio increased uninterruptedly among women of all age groups, getting close to the male pattern of activity per age. According to Lavinias, "regardless of the overall economical conjuncture and their marital and family situations, women continue to look for jobs" (LAVINAS, 1997, p. 2; my translation). Wajnman (2016) confirms the consistent tendency of increased female participation in the job market as long-term, despite the reduction of its growth rhythm over the last few decades, and of its actual reduction in the 2009-2012 period. According to the author, this behavior aligns with the studies about other Latin American countries and labor markets of more developed countries. As we see it, the abovementioned tendencies confirm the affirmation of many other researchers, including Cristiana Bruschini, that the inclusion of women in the labor force is an irreversible phenomenon. Wajnman (2016) points out, still, the tendency for the reduction of participation disparities between men and women in the Brazilian labor market. Foguel and Russo (2019) confirm this same tendency. According to the authors, the female participation rate in 2015 was 61,6%, and it should reach 64,3% by 2030. On the other hand, the male rate has a probability of reducing from 83,5% to 82,7% within the same time frame. Regardless of this reduction, the participation disparities between men and women in the labor market continue to be substantial.

Lavinias (1997) stresses that despite the persistent increase in women's participation in the job market; female employment tends to retract more rapidly during economic downturn moments due to the entry barriers for women in traditionally masculine branches of industry and occupations, and to the narrow competition between men and women in gender-segregated sectors. The author highlights the persistence of performance differentials between men and women in the labor market, which Santos (2005) considers happening not only in Brazil but also in almost all countries.

Bruschini (2000) also points out the income gap between sexes through an analysis of two opposite centers of activity: domestic labor - representative of less favorable and more unsteady positions -, and engineering/architecture/medicine/law workers – representing the more favorable positions regarding the employment bond, income, social protection, and working conditions. According to the author, “throughout all the analyzed jobs, the common ground is the lower level of female profit when compared to male” (BRUSCHINI, 2000, p. 101; my translation). Leone and Teixeira (2010), state that the persistence of the declining yet elevated income disparities between genders in Brazil is evident by controlling age and level of education. According to the authors,

[...] the income gap between sexes is big in every type of work position: high management jobs, high-level professional occupations, technical and administrative services, service provision, sales, manual labor in the production of goods, and maintenance and repairing services. (LEONE; TEIXEIRA, 2010, p. 4; my translation)

Lavinas (1997) had already pointed out the reduction of the pay gap between men and women, which she considers “tends to diminish, but at a slower pace, which requires decades to be definitively annulled” (LAVINAS, 1997, p. 6; my translation). The United Nations (ONU, 2016) reinforces this affirmation through a report that proves that the reduction of the wage gap in Brazil between 2004 and 2014 was negligible and the high disparity is still persistent.

Still providing observations about gender disparity in the labor market, Lavinas (1997) and Bruschini (2000) touched on the female presence in elementary occupations, highlighting domestic labor – a type of labor marked by precariousness (long work hours, informality, ascending social immobility and low income). Both authors recognize the increasing female participation in higher prestige niches of occupation, with reduced working hours, respecting legislation rules, formal work linkages (CLT or civil servant), high income, and the possibility of career-oriented vertical mobility. Bruschini (2000) even suggests the existence of a feminization process in some professions, such as architecture, odontology, medicine, and juridical occupations.

Until the present moment, there has been a discussion about three dimensions of gender disparity – participation, income, and occupation - in the overall Brazilian labor market. However, given the objective of this article, our major interests are peculiarities of the fishing labor market, a segment in which workers’ invisibility is a significant characteristic. On the one hand, with men, the invisibility originates *from outside in* (the State and the capital); on the other hand, with women, besides the previously mentioned origins, there is also *inner invisibility*, given that their communities often do not recognize them, and they do not recognize themselves as fishing professionals (MOTTA-MAUÉS, 1999; MARTINS; ALVIM, 2016).

The inevitable combination between domestic and productive work in conjunction with the lack of knowledge on the women’s part about the plain operation of the market are other factors that, from Martins and Alvim (2016)’s perspective, contribute to female invisibility in this segment on some places of the country. Therefore, for the authors, the failure to recognize the role women play in fishing should not be a general situation, given the existence of communities – such

as Ilha do Beto, on Sergipe's countryside – in which women own their boats, fish with other women in rivers and/or join their husbands on deep-sea fishing. It is important to note that the authors acknowledge that in the majority of communities “women are not allowed in fishing boats due to the belief that it brings bad luck, or because the fishers determine that the boat and the sea are exclusively male spaces, in which women are not welcome” (MARTINS; ALVIM, 2016, p. 385; my translation).

According to Maneschy *et al.* (2012), women have many responsibilities in this segment of work. Judging by the work women perform in the fishing sector and fishing communities from the North and Northeast of Brazil, and in other countries and regions, the authors identify female presence: (1) in the weaving and patching of fishing nets; (2) in bait and line preparation; (3) in the fishing, collection or cultivation of seaweed and seafood; (4) as members of the crew (in this case they are normally married to the boat's owner, included in the team as a strategy for reducing costs and increasing profit); (5) in unloading, processing and selling fish; (6) in the capture of fish (in this case, mainly in shallow waters); and (7) in sewing canoe sails and working clothes. In the same sense, Maneschy *et al.* (2012) and Mendes and Parente (2016), also consider the diversity of activities performed by women and claim that they build up practically all the activities of artisanal fishing.

Maneschy *et al.* (2012) deem that not all of the work performed by women is financially compensated and they usually execute the unpaid work at home. That is because, looking at the household context, people assimilate female participation as mere help in most cases. Another explanation for this is the fact that women put themselves in supporting roles when performing artisanal fishing with their husbands, partners, or other members of the household, thus contributing to the normalization of male dominance over female dominance (MENDES; PARENTE, 2016). However, Mendes and Parente (2016, p. 191; my translation) argue that women deserve a highlighted role given that their work “contributes to the progression of fishing, for leisure and for the family's livelihood, as much as the fishermen's role”. Souza *et al.* (2017) and Woortmann (1992) also asserted that women's role in this segment of the labor market is crucial for the social reproduction of fishing communities.

Maneschy *et al.* (2016) and Mendes and Parente (2016) highlight that when paid, women's income is still lower than men's income. This is, in part, an echo of the gender pay gap in the labor market, as seen at the beginning of this section, and in part, an echo of the lack of women's social recognition – and own recognition [MOTTA-MAUÉS, 1999; ALVIM, 2016] – for the work they perform in the fishing world, which is substantiated by difficult access for professional registry. The disparity of income – and the female work invisibility in the fishing world – also explain themselves, according to Neto *et al.* (2010) and Souza *et al.* (2017), through the division of labor within the sector. Even though women are present throughout the entire artisanal fishing chain, Neto *et al.* (2010) deem that the capture of fish in itself is predominantly masculine, which makes it women's duty to perform the activities related to the processing of fish. Through Souza *et al.*'s (2017) perspective, women work in complementary activities while men work on the actual production activities. Martins and Alvim (2016) also pointed out the social division of labor when asserting that

Usually, the division of labor defines itself between land and sea. Fishing is men's duty, while women are responsible for collecting seafood, shellfish, seaweed, shrimp, and other products found at the shore, and around rivers, lakes, and mangroves. Processing the fish their partners or themselves capture is also of their entire responsibility, as is the repair of fishing instruments. (MARTINS; ALVIM, 2016, p. 381; my translation)

Beyond the work world, gender disparity is also present in day-to-day life as well as in the political sphere. Mendes and Parente (2016) highlight that women combine fishing activities with many domestic ones, including caring for their children and organizing their home lives. Many women also supplement income by working in agriculture and performing domestic chores for others. Motta-Maués (1999) and Martin and Alvim (2016) pointed out the gender asymmetry in the performance of domestic activities present in fishing communities, which corroborates Goldani (2014)'s assertion that for most women, the increased participation in the labor market implies in double – sometimes triple – shifts and not in an equal task division between men and women in their home lives.

Regarding political disparities, GOLDANI (2004) draws attention to women's continuous limited presence in decisive spaces despite the increase in their overall participation, conquered over the last few decades.

According to Sacchet (2009), women's participation in decision-making processes is low all over the world, and within Latin American countries, Brazil has the lowest rates of female representation in legislative positions despite its highlight as one of the countries with the largest feminist movement in the continent. The author points out cultural, social, and institutional aspects as determining factors for the abovementioned low rate of female participation in politics.

Sacchet also states that the female and male forms of political involvement are very distinct in Brazil. Men tend to participate more than women do in political parties, sports clubs, and unions, while women's participation is present in religious and relief aid groups, as well as health and education councils. It is important to note that “to properly comprehend the impacts of gender relations, the associative differences between men and women need to be contextualized instead of being seen as a matter of personal opinion” (SACCHET, 2009, p. 327; my translation).

3 Materials, methods, and a brief presentation of the studied community

PEA-Pescarte's coordinator kindly provided us with the Pescarte Census data, which were the main source utilized in this article's development.

The Pescarte Census was held within the scope of Pescarte, um Projeto de Educação Ambiental (a Project of Environmental Education) (PEA-Pescarte²). Petrobras, in conjunction with Darcy Ribeiro State University of Northern Rio de Janeiro (UENF), developed the aforementioned project through shared management under IBAMA's supervision. This development was carried out in compliance with a legal requirement for environmental licensing of Petrobras's offshore oil and natural gas exploration and production ventures in the municipalities of Arraial do Cabo, Cabo Frio, Campos dos Goytacazes, Macaé, São João da Barra, São Francisco do

² For more information on PEA-Pescarte, consult the website <http://www.pea-bc.ibp.org.br>

Itabapoana and Quissamã. The Pescarte Census is an exclusive for collecting data about the population that gets its living off fishing activities and reside in fishing communities within the municipalities above, and about their socioeconomic conditions. With this purpose in mind, the population in question answered to a questionnaire, divided into ten different sections, as follows: (1) socioeconomic characteristics and demographics, (2) family characterization, (3) public services' evaluation (housing, sewers, water, and electricity), (4) public equipment and services' evaluation (health, education, social work, culture, and communication), (5) labor and professional journey, (6) fishing activity characterization, (7) social capital and weak bonds, (8) gender, (9) environmental education characterization and (10) nutritional survey. Men and women who make their living off fishing answered the questionnaire in which they provided socioeconomic information about all of the residents in their houses³.

Questions in the first section analyzed socioeconomic characteristics, asking about the population's level of education, the labor market situation, and their level of income. The data in the eighth section of Pescarte's Census subsidized the female participation in fishing analysis, which is crucial for inferences about gender disparity in this segment of the market.

Pescarte has identified thirty-six fishing communities located in the previously mentioned municipalities. Table 1 shows the total population living in each of those communities. The same table notes the total residing population – as estimated by IBGE – in the selected municipalities as a whole in 2016, information found in the website <https://sidra.ibge.gov.br/tabela/6579#resultado>. According to estimations, the overall population within all of the analyzed municipalities was 1.067.272 inhabitants in 2016 and, according to Pescarte, there were 10.082 people living in fishing communities, which represents only 0,94% of the population (Table 1). As is noticeable, the population living in fishing communities is relatively small in all municipalities, but is more significant in São Francisco do Itabapoana (7,41%), Arraial do Cabo (3,77%) and in São João da Barra (3,65%).

³ For further clarifications regarding PEA-Pescarte's data collection methodology and Pescarte Census's level of reliability, consult MESQUITA, P.S.B; TIMÓTEO, G. M. Mapeamento da pesca artesanal na Bacia de Campos – RJ: confiabilidade da pesquisa. In: TIMÓTEO, G. M. (org). Educação ambiental com participação popular: avançando na gestão democrática do ambiente. Campos dos Goytacazes, EdUenf. 2019.

TABLE 1: Selected municipalities – Total population and fishing communities' population (2016)

Selected Municipality	Total Population ⁽¹⁾	Population living in Fishing Communities ⁽²⁾	% Population living in Fishing Communities
Arraial do Cabo	29.077	1.096	3,77
Cabo Frio	212.289	1.738	0,82
Campos dos Goytacazes	487.186	1.643	0,34
Macaé	239471	841	0,35
Quissamã	23125	437	1,89
São Francisco do Itabapoana	41.240	3.055	7,41
São João da Barra	34.884	1.272	3,65
Total	1.067.272	10.082	0,94

Source: (1) <https://sidra.ibge.gov.br/tabela/6579#resultado>; (2) PETROBRAS/IBAMA/UENF - PEA Pescarte (2016)

Among the total population living in fishing communities, Pescarte identified 5.569 men (55,2%) and 4.153 women (44,8%). Overall, this population's education level is very low, as is noticeable in Table 2⁴. Despite the generally low number of illiterate people, the percentage of individuals who have received only middle school education (complete or incomplete) is high. The number of people with a high school education (complete or incomplete) in these communities is relatively low and even lower regarding higher education.

TABLE 2: Selected municipalities – Education level of the population living in fishing communities (2016)

Selected municipalities	Can't read or write	Middle School	High School	Higher Education	Total (%)
Campos	9,9	69,6	18,7	1,9	100
Macaé	5,2	68,2	23,0	3,6	100
S.F.Itabapoana	9,3	68,7	18,7	3,4	100
S.J.Barra	10,4	65,6	20,0	4,1	100
A.Cabo	2,8	58,7	31,1	7,5	100
Cabo Frio	2,2	60,3	29,7	7,8	100
Quissamã	6,5	69,6	20,5	3,4	100

Source: PETROBRAS/IBAMA/UENF – PEA Pescarte (2016)

The results above are compatible with those Alencar and Maia (2011) found in the study titled: 'Perfil Socioeconômico dos Pescadores Brasileiros' (Socioeconomic profile of the Brazilian fishermen). The study was carried out using information from the 'Registro Geral da Atividade Pesqueira' (General Registry of Fishing Activity)

⁴ We only considered people aged 20 years or older with their last school year concluded with a passing grade for the making of this table. Unfortunately, as the information was clustered by age group, it was not possible to calculate these populations' average level of education.

(RGP) by Brazil's Ministry of Fishing and Aquaculture, in which they point out that approximately 83,6% of Brazilian anglers have not completed middle school. Additionally, Table 2 is also compatible with Silva-Gonçalves and D'Incao's (2016) work, in which they determine that 77% of fishermen, 46% of children, and 48% of wives of pink shrimp artisanal fishers, have not complete Middle School In Tramandaí (RS).

The matter behind the low level of education is that artisanal fishing in particular is not a capital-intensive sector; therefore, it does not require extremely qualified workers when it comes to formal education. This sector's workers need to know the art of fishing, which older generations normally pass down to younger generations. However, it is important to note that the low education level is a limiting factor for this workforce's cross-sectoral transfers in the labor market.

Regarding the População Economicamente Ativa (Economically Active Population) (PEA), Table 3 makes the prevalence of autonomous workers evident. In Brazil, autonomous work for this level of education usually relates to unstable income conditions and/or precarious labor conditions. Moreover, the data in Table 3 highlights the low percentage of workers with registered and regulated jobs and the high number of individuals that declared themselves as unemployed at the time.

TABLE 3: População Economicamente Ativa (Economically Active Population) (PEA) living in fishing communities, according to the labor market situation by municipality (2016)

Selected Municipalities	Employed					Unemployed	Other	Total
	Registered jobs	No registered job	Autonomous worker	Apprentice Intern Scholar	Retired Pensioner			
Campos	7,5	3,2	59,0	2,3	6,2	21,5	0,3	100
Macaé	15,3	7,3	43,8	0,6	3,1	24,5	5,4	100
S.F.Itabapoana	5,6	9,0	43,1	1,4	8,1	31,6	1,1	100
S.J.Barra	11,3	5,8	43,7	0,4	9,2	29,3	0,3	100
A. Cabo	15,5	10,0	43,0	0,7	12,1	17,2	1,5	100
Cabo Frio	17	8,5	41,2	3,1	11,9	17,5	0,9	100
Quissamã	7,6	5,2	43,3	4	10,7	28,4	0,9	100

Source: PETROBRAS/IBAMA/UENF – PEA Pescarte (2016)

Finally, Table 4 presents the relative distributions of economically active populations in fishing communities according to the income range and selected municipality. For this calculation, all individuals who stated they earn income by performing their main occupation were considered. Additionally, this work made use of specific income ranges – up to ¼ minimum wage; more than ¼ up to ½; more than ½ up to 1; more than 1 up to 1 ½; more than 1 ½ up to 2; and more than 2 minimum wages – with the purpose of better identifying the relative variations.

As is noticeable in Table 4, the 'População Economicamente Ativa' (Economically Active Population) (PEA)'s earned income in fishing communities is overall very low: 69,7% of Campos dos Goytacazes's population living in fishing communities earn up to one minimum wage. For São Francisco do Itabapoana, this

percentage was 59,4%; for São João da Barra, 53,0%; for Quissamã, 49,79%; and for Arraial do Cabo, 46,5%. The economically active populations living in fishing communities in Macaé (28,5%) and Cabo Frio (38,2%) were in a better situation.

TABLE 4: FISHING POPULATION – income range in the minimum wage by municipality (2016)

Municipality	Up to 1/4	More than 1/4 up to 1/2	More than 1/2 up to 1	More than 1 up to 1 1/2	More than 1 1/2 up to 2	More than 2	Total (%)
Campos	11	14,6	44,1	23,9	3,8	2,7	100
Macaé	0,4	1	27	25,8	15,7	30,1	100
São F. Itabapoana	4,8	9,1	45,5	25,3	8,4	7	100
São João da Barra	1,6	8,7	42,7	30,9	7,3	8,9	100
Arraial do Cabo	1,3	3,8	41,5	32,4	11	10,2	100
Cabo Frio	0,6	1,2	36,4	40,4	9,7	11,8	100
Quissamã	1,3	3,4	45,1	30,2	11,1	8,9	100

Source: PETROBRAS/IBAMA/UENF – PEA Pescarte (2016)

In regards to the previously mentioned difference, it is important to note that until the present moment, in this work, we have been working with the population living in fishing communities with no filter related to their occupations. In other words, we are not considering workers who make their living solely off fishing. It is necessary to consider that 1.699 workers living in these communities (16% of the working PEA) do not work in fishing. The municipalities that presented a different situation than others – Macaé and Cabo Frio – are the ones in which the labor market situation is the most diversified and has the most opportunities: in Macaé, this is due to the oil and petroleum industries, and in Cabo Frio, it is due to the tourism sector. As the aforementioned communities also have low levels of education, likely, the workers who have shifted from one activity sector to another continue to perform jobs that require low professional qualification, but they earn, on average, more than those who remain in fishing.

4 Women's participation in fishing: analysis of the disparity in the labor market

As previously highlighted, 4.513 women make up the female population residing in fishing communities. Among these women, 920 are children from ages 0-14; 3.344 (74,1%) ages go from 15 to 64 years old; 248 (5,5%) are elderly women. Within the total female population, 3.968 (87,9%) were of active age (População em Idade Ativa) (Active Age Population) (PIA, which appertains to ages 10 and upwards).

Among the women of active age, Pescarte identified 2.235 economically active ones (female PEA), which results in an activity rate – calculated by the quotient between PEA and PIA – of around 56%, lower than the one Foguel and Russo (2019) found for the country as a whole. Among economically active women, 1.185 (55,5%) declare activities performed within the fishing chain of production as their main occupation. In other words, considering the amplified concept of fishing, the presence of women in this segment of the market is, indeed, relevant. Pescarte Census's data, supporting Maneschy *et al.* (2012), Mendes and Parente (2016), and

Fassarella (2008)'s researches, indicates a larger involvement of men in capturing fish, while women's involvement is more present in post-capture activities.

Table 5: Number – absolute and % - of workers – and average income men and women earned in the fishing market, according to their main occupation (2016)

Main occupation or Profession in fishing chain	Number of Workers (Absolute and %)				Average income (R\$) by sex		Ratio M/F
	Men	%	Women	%	Male (M)	Female (F)	
Fisher (does not own boat)	1940	59,0	370	30,0	1.116,83	599,42	1,9
Master	180	5,5	0	0,0	1.555,74	...	...
Collector	36	1,1	56	4,5	790,73	426,52	1,9
Fish farmer	9	0,3	1	0,1	1.044,00	...	...
Boat maintainer	34	1,0	3	0,2	1.885,82	400	4,7
Boat owner who does not fish	81	2,5	5	0,4	2.174,88	750	2,9
Boat owner and fisher	301	9,2	12	1,0	1.881,98	2.113,60	0,9
Freezer	13	0,4	0	0,0	1.988,73	...	...
Shellfish farmer	25	0,8	302	24,5	669,88	353,06	1,9
Peeler	13	0,4	144	11,7	610	416,06	1,5
Filleter	18	0,5	129	10,5	947,6	572,37	1,7
Fishing boat's cook	15	0,5	12	1,0	1.357,33	...	...
Canoe fisher	373	11,4	106	8,6	746,37	479,1	1,6
Middlemen	39	1,2	9	0,7	2.144,41	1.075,00	2
Maintainer of fishing gear	36	1,1	11	0,9	1.138,36	319,71	3,6
Fisher on leave	136	4,1	46	3,7	1.282,30	728	1,8
General Services of Fishing Commerce	34	1,0	22	1,8	1.534,73	474,55	3,2
Tide watcher	1	0,0	0	0,0	1.000,00	...	...
Administration of the village/association	2	0,1	5	0,4	600	632,4	0,9
Total	3286	100,0	1233	100,0	1.225,70	504,19	2,4

Source: PETROBRAS/IBAMA/UENF – PEA Pescarte (2016)

The first information referring to female participation in fishing in Campos Basin suggests an unfavorable scenario for women. More than 60% of women inserted into the fishing chain, as Pescarte pointed out, declared themselves as autonomous workers (a condition that, as previously said, evidences the precariousness not only in employment bonds but also concerning payment, social protection, and labor conditions); 18,5% declared themselves as unemployed; 3% were workers who were formally and regularly employed.

As discussed in section 2, an important indicator of the historical and persistent gender disparity in work relations refers to the gap in income levels between men and women. Pescarte not only confirms gender disparity in the fishing labor market but also makes it possible to infer that, in the present case, the difference between men's and women's average income is significantly higher than

the national average. According to Pescarte, while a fisherman’s average income is R\$1.225,70, fisherwomen earn around R\$504,19 (Table 5). In other words, fisherwomen’s average income is around 60% lower than fishermen’s monthly earnings. Fassarella (2008), advises that, among other determining factors for the income gap between men and women in the labor market, “low compensation for a woman’s work in fishing relates (...) to the domestic charge that the activity of processing receives, and the place it holds within the local fishing cycle” (FASSARELLA, 2008, p. 189). In the same light, Di Ciommo (2007) observes that the activity of cleaning the fish – many times performed at home – is not paid.

Note that only in two main occupations – boat owner and fisher, and administration of the village/association – the female average income surpasses the male. Furthermore, observe that for some occupations, there is no registry of female income. This lack of information does not mean that there are not women performing these activities, but that there probably is no compensation for them in these lines of work. In this sense, it is safe to infer that women working in some occupations are not considered workers, and their work is not accounted as a production cost for the fish.

Another pivotal element in the gender discussion within fishing refers to recognition of activities performed, which relates to access to specific documents that regulate the fishing activity, such as Carteira de Pescador Profissional (Professional Fisher Card) (CPP) and Registro Geral da Pesca (General Fishing Registry) (RGP). The possession of said documents not only represents political and social recognition for fishers but also makes it possible for these workers to have social benefits. Besides that, these documents allow the workers to recognize themselves as fishers, that is to say, it gives them the feeling of belonging to a social class.

To estimate the percentage of anglers who have each of the previously mentioned documents, the population to which the question did not apply⁵ was extracted from the denominator. Implicitly, we assumed that the main respondents who did not check these options do not have the documents or do not have access to the unemployment insurance social benefits. Table 6 summarizes the results of each of these questions.

TABELA 6: Possession of professional fishing worker documents according to gender (2016)

Document	Women			Men			Total		
	N	Access	%	N	Access	%	N	Access	%
Social Benefit									
CPP	317	194	61,2	1.889	1.812	95,9	2.206	2.006	90,9
RGP	338	93	27,5	656	376	57,3	994	469	47,2
Unemployment									
Insurance	837	450	53,8	2.835	1.470	51,9	3.672	1.920	52,3

Source: PETROBRAS/IBAMA/UENF – PEA Pescarte (2016)

2.206 professionals answered the questions about the CPP possession, among which 2.006 (90,9%) declared its possession. However, differences between men and women are noticeable: 95,9% of men declared their CPP possession, while this

⁵ These questions were only asked to the main respondent. For the rest, these questions do not apply.

percentage among women was only 61,2%. The high number of women who don't have the CPP suggests that many of them do not recognize themselves as fishers and end up contributing to female invisibility from within the community, as discussed in section 2. Given the context, it is interesting to consider Di Ciommo (2007)'s observation that women's self-identification as fishers tends to be developed more in those who work in capturing shrimp, octopuses, crabs, and other seafood; while those who work only in cleaning the fish have a harder time recognizing themselves as fishers.

The RGP possession is of particular importance, given that this document is fishers' identity card, and through it, men and women fishers have access to some social benefits. These benefits include filing for social security as a specially insured worker; the right to participate (when they issue an aptitude document for the National Program for Strengthening Family Agriculture; PRONAF– DAP) in programs such as Pronaf and the National School Feeding Program (Programa Nacional de Alimentação Escolar; PNAE), among others. Despite its importance, the low percentage of workers who affirm they have the RGP is noticeable in Table 6. In this aspect, it is important to highlight that access to this document is, to this day, restricted to workers who act directly in capturing fish. Another factor that explains the low number of workers with access to an RGP is the fact that, since 2014, the Brazilian federal government has suspended the emission of new registries. The aforementioned situations confirm, in men's case, the invisibility conferred by the state (from outside in) and besides it, in women's case, the invisibility from within, given that even the ones who work in capturing fish do not identify themselves as fishers (they see themselves as supporters) and therefore do not seek out registry.

The unemployment insurance is one of the financial benefits provided to artisanal fishers registered to the Ministry of Fishing and Aquaculture for at least three years and who can prove the exclusive and uninterrupted performance of artisanal fishing as a source of income. Given the data in Table 7, it is possible to infer that in the context of the studied fishing community, there are no significant differences in gender when it comes to the access/non-access to unemployment insurance: 53,8% of women and 51,9% of men stated they receive this benefit. These results also reveal the invisibility from outside in, since a higher percentage of workers should have access to the benefits, as they are fishers' social rights.

5 Sexual division of labor: the responsibility of home life management

The data in the gender section of PEA-Pescarte's (2016) Database was the source for analyzing the sexual division of labor in the fishing market and the household context. It is important to highlight that the economic activity does not represent the fisher's individual project, but an economic life project supported by family structure. Thus, the social division of labor in the fishing market is present in the social relationships experienced at home as well as in the market relations in themselves.

The initial data is about the organization of domestic chores such as cooking, caring for the children and the elderly people at home. The last information is relevant given that the demographic composition of the fishing communities indicates an aging population.

Results show that, among all of the fishing communities within the selected municipalities, 79,0% of women stated that other members of the family cook; 65,0% have help from members of the family with childcare; 54.9% count on other members' help for eldercare; 82,8% have help with cleaning the house; and 16,3% count on other members to perform small repairing services.

Overall, data confirms the existence of labor division inside the homes, which is most likely structured by gender and age. In other words, even though women tend to assume a central role in the organization and structure of domestic chores, they share these with other members of the family. However, as Fassarella (2008) points out, women themselves assume the responsibility for domestic chores as their own. Therefore, they end up reinforcing the division of labor inside their homes and the perspective of the house as being a resting place for men and a working place for women; and normalizing the roles performed by men and women in and out of the domestic sphere.

Data about the assignment of responsibility for the livelihood of the household are important to shed light on the matter of social division of labor in the fishing market. The results indicate that 61,5% of women who answered the questionnaire are married⁶. Among these women, 58,5% responded that their spouse (or partner) was the main provider for the household. 30,3% said that they and their spouse are equally responsible for the family's livelihood, it is important to note that the equitable division of expenses is relatively bigger when it comes to common-law marriage. 8,6% declare themselves as the main provider; in this case, there can be other providers (more common in households in which the father-in-law or the mother-in-law are considered the main provider because of their retirement pension).

216 unmarried women responded to the gender section in the Pescarte questionnaire (38,9% of the total number of women who responded). Among them, 76,3% said they divide their expenses equally with other residents and 16,1% informed that another resident is responsible for providing financially for the house. The number of women who are head of the household is significant; however, in most cases, the female leadership is tied to unmarried women.

When it comes to relationships within the family, one of the main gender equality/disparity dimensions resides in the power of decisions over household matters. According to Pescarte's (2016) data, within married women or women who have a partner, the prevalence of unilateral female decisions on children's school schedule and the purchase of home appliances is noticeable. The decisions on leisure tend to be made by the couple (53,1% of women marked this option), while 49% of women informed they decide it alone, and 34,1% share decisions about daily purchases for house supplies (Table 7). Within the unmarried, the unilateral female decision is predominant in all household activities. These results highlight the normalization, as previously mentioned, of women's role in a domestic environment. Once more, women reinforce this matter as they assume that this relative autonomy over expenses "has been positively marking their history, even among the hardships

⁶ Pescarte considered all women who declared to live in any type of partnership (common-law marriage, civil union, civil and religious marriage, civil marriage, religious marriage) to be married and all single, divorced/separated, and widowed women to be unmarried

posed in the day-to-day of family and community life” (FASSARELLA, 2008, p. 188; my translation).

Table 7: Women in Fishing Communities: Decision on domestic matters, between married women and their spouses and between unmarried women and other residents of the house (2016)

MARRIED or PARTNERED						
Domestic matters	Women more	Spouse more	Both equally	Other	Total %	N
Children’s school	57,5	3,1	38,2	1,2	100	254
Daily expenses	49,0	15,7	34,1	1,2	100	337
Children’s schedules	65,1	3,6	30,1	1,2	100	249
Purchase of home appliances	85,1	2,1	11,3	1,5	100	195
Leisure	33,2	11,2	53,1	2,5	100	322
UNMARRIED						
Domestic matters	Women more	Another resident more	Equally with other residents of the house	Other	Total %	N
Children’s school	86,9	0	10,3	2,8	100	145
Daily expenses	83,5	0	10,3	6,2	100	194
Children’s schedule	87,2	0	9,5	3,4	100	148
Purchase of home appliances	85,1	0	11,3	3,6	100	195
Leisure	83,3	0	12,8	3,9	100	180

Source: PETROBRAS/IBAMA/UENF – PEA Pescarte (2016)

Combining the domestic sphere with the economic sphere, which is a central dimension in the social division of labor in the fishing market, Table 8 presents data about the participation of female income in the composition of family income, according to the marital status of the interviewed women.

TABLE 8: WOMEN FROM FISHING COMMUNITIES: Participation in Family income composition, according to marital situation (2015-2016)

Marital status	The only source of income	Contributes with half or more than half of income	Contributes with less than half of income	Does not contribute at all	Total %	Absolute Total
Married or partnered	5,6	43,7	45,4	5,3	100	339
Unmarried	58,3	25,0	13,9	2,8	100	216
Total	26,1	36,4	33,2	4,3	100	555

Source: PETROBRAS/IBAMA/UENF – PEA Pescarte (2016)

Overall, the results show that women’s income is an important source for the family’s income, considering that 62,5% of interviewed women that responded to this question said they were responsible for at least half of the family’s budget. According to marital status, 58,3% of unmarried women and only 5,6% of married/partnered women declared that they single-handedly provide for their family as their sole

source of income; 33,9% of married women said they contribute to half the family's budget, and 23,6% declared that they contribute little to their families income composition

6 Gender disparity in political participation

Overall, political participation – measured by female participation in membership institutions or organizations – was relatively low: from a total of 383 women who responded to this question, 43,1% said they participated in a membership institution, while 56,9% said they did not. Observe that political participation is significantly bigger among married women (52%) in comparison to unmarried women (30,4%).

Surprisingly, married women's political participation is high in a society as traditional as the fishers' society. In the face of this observation, it is important to note that this result possibly mirrors a supporting role (wives joining husbands in meetings) and not an autonomous political attitude. On the other hand, the smaller participation of unmarried women can relate to the bigger domestic workload and the more responsibilities for their house's maintenance.

The low political participation of women in fishing was already expected, given Goldani (2004) and Sacchet's (2009) considerations presented in section 2 of this work. In the fishing context, Di Ciommo (2007)⁷ and Fassarella (2008)⁸ have also observed the low female participation. This becomes clear in the following passage from Di Ciommo's article (2007, p. 156; my translation): "even if measures are taken to guarantee women participate more, there are no certainties about a deeper expression of their problems, which is explained by the amount of time they have available and their social permission to speak".

TABLE 9: WOMEN FROM FISHING COMMUNITIES: Participation in Membership Organizations, by marital status of the respondents. (2015-2016)

Participates in a membership organization	Married		Unmarried		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes	117	52	48	30,4	165	43,1
No	108	48	110	69,6	218	56,9
Total	225	100	158	100	383	100

Source: PETROBRAS/IBAMA/UENF – PEA Pescarte (2016)

In the sense of better understanding female political participation, we analyzed the matter referring to the type of institution/association these women

⁷ The author stated that in the communities she studied "only 20% of the participants attended the meetings of the Associação de Pescadores (Fisher's Association) or meetings with RESEX's representatives, which are political spaces attended mainly by men, where women have restricted possibilities to speak their mind"

⁸ The author observed that "Men fish, market the product and participate directly or indirectly in the decisive processes related to fishing in the locality or region (...) while women act more effectively in post-capture, having no access to the collective instances of participation (FASSARELLA, 2008, p. 187)

attend: 95,1% of the respondents declared they participate in Fishers' Colony and Association; 3,7% in Cooperatives; 1,2% in Political Parties; 0,6% in Neighborhood Associations and 0,6% in Shellfish Workers/Collectors Associations. The majority of these women participate solely as listeners (81,3%) and, as suspected, don't have political prominence (Table 9). Despite this result, the data allows the inference that even though the physical space of these institutions is not closed to women, the political space – which involves the processes of decision-making and active participation – is predominantly male. Furthermore, is possible to infer that there is an incipient political mobilization – given the existence of the association of shellfish workers/collectors, even if with low participation – in favor of women's recognition in fishing within the studied fishing communities.

TABLE 10: WOMEN FROM FISHING COMMUNITIES: Way of participating in respondents' membership organization (2016)

Way of participating	N	%
Active and direct participation	24	17,9
Only as listener	109	81,3
Other	1	0,7
Total	134	100

Source: PETROBRAS/IBAMA/UENF – PEA Pescarte (2016)

Regarding the frequency of this participation, the results show that despite most women participate in political life – 57,8% informed they participate in all or almost all meetings – they do it virtually as listeners.

7 Final Considerations

Overall, the results presented in this work indicate that fishing is also a female activity, even though in this segment of the labor market, as in many others, there is a significant selectivity when it comes to gender: the number of men working is much bigger than the number of women.

The division of labor is clear: women insert themselves, mainly in post-capture occupations, and men work primarily in pre-capture and capturing occupations. This division seems normalized in the selected communities, and it is possible to consider it as one of the barriers to the development of an identity as fishers for women.

Regarding average income, overall low, the differentials, according to gender, are enormous: fisherwomen's average income is around 60% lower than fishermen's income. With this in mind, it is important to note that the female income is far from being an insignificant component of the families' livelihood.

As discussed, the income gap between men and women is restricted to each segment of the market but can be observed in the Brazilian labor market as a whole. However, when it comes to fishing, besides the traditional elements that explain the income gap, there are also domestic obligations attributed to the activity, given that women perform their work at home most of the time. In addition, fishers and other members of the fishing community have normalized the perception of female labor as help (invisibility from within); and the State and the fishing market devalue women's work in fishing (invisibility from outside in). The State and market's

position, which does not recognize female activities in the fishing cycle, reinforces endogenous power structures that are already present in this segment of the labor market, the gender disparity in fishing communities, and female labor as secondary. In other words, they reinforce women's subordinate role not only in the context of the market but also in the social and household context (SCOTT; QUADROS, 2018).

In the household context, the responsibilities for performing day-to-day activities – cleaning the house, caring for the children and the elders, among others – are normally assigned to women, even though they count on the collaboration of other residents of the house. Furthermore, it is important to highlight women's prominent role in making decisions about family expenses.

Even though a relatively high number of women has declared political participation, they participate as listeners: no political prominence, even though the physical political spaces are open to female presence.

In the studied fishing communities, the differences between men and women are highly significant and lead to the conclusion that gender equality is still a utopia. The data make it clear that there is a need for the implementation of politics that contribute at least to reduce gender disparity in this segment of the labor market, in a way that guarantees that fisherwomen have the same – already limited – rights as fishermen. These politics can alter the power structures and gender relations that develop within fishing communities and the fishing labor market, as to make women in fishing visible – or less invisible.

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