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## Empowerment and National Fisheries Policy Implementation in Uganda

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*The Uganda National Fisheries Policy was introduced in 2004 to guide fisheries development. Essentially, the policy was designed to achieve sustainability and ensure economic and social development within fishery communities. However, since its inception, there has been increasing concern over the declining fish stocks and poverty within fishery communities. These lingering problems continue to raise concerns about the implementation of the National Fisheries Policy in Uganda since these are what, among others, the policy is meant to address. Indeed, the Uganda Peoples Defense Forces (UPDF), continue to employ coercion, dominance and authoritarianism in their enforcement of this policy, with marginal and mixed results. In this regard, the inability to tackle these challenges continues to threaten the sustainability of fisheries as a major economic activity upon which entire communities depend. This study addresses these concerns by answering the question: what is the role of empowerment in fisheries policy implementation? The study was qualitative. It utilized 14 interviews and five focus group discussions as its data sources. Findings suggest that “Kantian” power, support, and information can facilitate fisheries policy implementation and should therefore be engaged.*

**Keywords:** *Structural empowerment, Uganda, policy implementation, fisheries policy, structural empowerment theory.*

**D**eveloping nations cannot afford to disregard effective implementation of the public policies they formulate. This is because effective policy implementation enhances the pace of development (Ugwuanyi & Chukwuemeka, 2013). Policy implementation is the process of putting policy decisions into effect. Policies are routinely rolled out in developing nations with little regard as to whether those policies are achieving their desired results (O'Toole, 2000; Kellermann & Jones, 2013; Muhammad, 2014; Nadgrodkiewicz et al., 2012). Effective policy implementation is used to judge government competence. Previous studies show that policy implementation in developing countries use coercive power with little success and little regard to structural empowerment (Kanter, 1993; Grindle & Thomas, 1990). Kanter (1993) defines empowerment as the ability of an individual to independently make decisions, utilizing available resources to accomplish the necessary goals.

Kanter's empowerment model involves mobilization and use of information, power, resources, support, and maximizing ability among others to execute policy. In fact, empirical evidence continues to suggest that empowerment generates positive outcomes even in fisheries policy implementation, although some policy implementers view power as retaining control which, incidentally, facilitates the loss of control of the policy implementation process given the

resistance that it generates. If this tendency persists in the developing world, policy implementation will continue to have little success (Manojlovich, 2005). In this study, information is conceptualised to mean practicing open communication and knowledge on policies, decisions, goals and data that increase the ability to make good decisions. Support means receiving interactive feedback from peers, subordinates, management, and others. Power is the expertise and ability to influence others to believe and behave in ways that their job requires. Resources are the personnel, materials and time to get work done (Kanter, 1993).

Uganda's National Fisheries policy (NFP) adopted in 2004 was in line with vision 2025 and the broader government frameworks designed to spur development. The NFP was intended to improve the livelihood of the people resident in the affected communities and alleviate the poverty levels of the fishing communities through sustainable fisheries management. However, the rural areas in Uganda where fishing takes place constitutes 89 percent of national poverty (Uganda, 2019). NFP implementation continues to be challenged by increasing encroachment and overfishing, which have led to declining fish stocks. Fish catches in 2018 were only a quarter of what they were in 2006 (citation). Poor landing sites, environmental degradation, food and nutritional insecurity, job insecurity, and conflicts across all major Ugandan lakes, namely Lake Victoria, Albert, Edward and Kyoga all contribute to the crisis (Kayiso, 2009; Naluwairo, 2005). This study was done on Lake Victoria, which is the largest lake in Uganda.

The NFP is implemented within a decentralized framework. Implementation was decentralized to Local Governments through Beach Management Units (BMUs), which were legally institutionalized as community institutions with a co-management function to develop, conserve and sustain fishery resources. However, the BMUs have made little contribution to policy outcomes, as evidenced by tremendous reductions in fish stock (Akroyd & Lawrence, 2007; Bene, Bjørn, & Edward, 2010; Mcghee, 2015). While the NFP has existed since 2004 to regulate the fisheries sector, there has been a significant decline in fish stock, to a level unlikely to sustain the growth rate of demand (Reykjavík, 2015; UBS, 2010). As a result, three of sixteen processing factories around Lake Victoria closed and the rest operate at reduced capacity (Taabu, 2004). The ineffective implementation of the NFP can partly be attributed to deficient empowerment and abuse of power (Neiland, 2005), although Neiland (2005) is limited in demonstrating the forms of power necessary in effective fisheries policy implementation.

In a bid to control fishing, BMU's attempted to coerce fishers and that led to aggression, violence, and loss of lives. The fishers retaliated by pelting stones and drowning the BMUs officials. This extreme form of reaction forced the President of the Republic of Uganda to abolish the BMUs' activities during the 2005 presidential campaigns. The BMUs were replaced with the Army Fisheries Protection Unit, with the purpose of managing and overseeing fishing on the lakes (Taabu, 2004). However, that did not resolve the problem, as the activities of the army immediately became controversial. Fishers complained about the army's continuous oppression and use of force. It is evident that if authority continues to be practiced in the form of power, coercion, and oppression, the NFP may not achieve its goal of ensuring sustainability of fisheries in Uganda (Mugambwa et. al., 2017).

The purpose of the present study was to examine the effect of empowerment on the implementation of the NFP in Uganda. The following research question guided the current study: What is the effect of empowerment on NFP implementation in Uganda? The study draws from Kanter's (1993) structural empowerment theory. The subsequent sections deal with literature review and research question development, followed by the methodology employed in the study, results, and discussion. The article concludes with the implications of the study.

### **Structural Empowerment and NFP Implementation**

The belief that Fish stocks are common assets which should be exploited led to lack of willingness by fishers to follow the rules of engagement. This resulted in rampant illegal fishing and over-exploitation of the fish stock in Uganda (Onyango, 2000, 2004). At the same time, co-management of fisheries in Uganda under the BMUs was undermined using coercive power and selective application of the law by regulatory officers, including failure to reprimand and prosecute high-level illegality (Nadiope, 2010). Also, conflicts between law enforcement officers and the fishing community have claimed many lives on the water (Muzige, 2009).

Indeed, the fisheries sector is characterized by insufficient support, power, information and resources that have led to laxity and ineffective monitoring of the lakes (Muzige, 2009). Most studies do not consider sustainable power forms useful during policy implementation, while others (such as Cohen, 2014; May, Johnson, & Finch, 2016; Staley, 2006; NaranjoGil, 2016) give provide only a partial account (Cohen, 2014). In addition, many of the studies (e.g., Dodds & Butler, 2010; Hallam, 2009), are from the developed world and, are therefore, not fully applicable to a developmental situation. Governments in the developing world are currently suffering from unclear empowerment mechanisms for policy implementation (Williamson, 2003). The approach to the implementation of policies in the developing world is dominated by coercion and authoritarianism with mixed results. The authoritarian approach sometimes backlashes, causing loss of lives and fish depletion (Bressers, Klok, & O'Toole, 2000). Similar scenarios and studies can be pointed out elsewhere in the world. Glaser, Devlin, Lambert, Villegas and Poinatte (2018) pointed to the involvement of the military to control illegal and unreported activities and to promote peaceful fishing communities in Tanzania. Russell, Dobson and Wilson (2008) investigated the role of the Regulatory Police Force in Malawi fisheries. Using China's Maritime Militia to crack down on companies and fishers engaged in illegal fishing is documented by Hongzhou (2015). In all the examples mentioned above, force and military action are used to control illegal fishing.

Structural empowerment is aimed at gaining access to systems in the work environment with support, information and resources. It gives the opportunity for actors to participate in decision-making processes, enhance decision-making authority, and strengthen the execution of policy tasks (O'Brien, 2010). Structural empowerment provides an ability to do challenging work, a chance to gain new skills and knowledge of the job through training (Lachinger et al., 2001).

Empowerment is achieved formally and informally by team participation in decision-making processes, which promotes policy enforcement. Bogaert et al. (2016) and Laschinger et al., (2014) have established a relationship between empowerment and implementation. Structural empowerment has been studied in the health, community development, and education sectors, but mostly in the developed world. Previous studies such as Wanjiku, Gachunga, and Kabare (2016) and Hammam (2015) focused on empowerment in organizations and little on public policy implementation. Some other empowerment research has focused on empowering socially excluded communities (Asal et al., 2008; Bogaert et al., 2016; Kabeer, 2001). The present research differs in that it explores structural empowerment and fisheries policy implementation in a developing country.

Kanter (1993) defines empowerment as the social mechanisms in the workplace that make it possible for workers to be happy and more productive at work. Formal power is found in environments that promote flexibility, visibility, and creativity. It is achieved by having

employment that is recognized as valuable and indispensable. On the contrary, informal power is developed from inter-collaborative relationships with peers, followers, and superiors within and outside the work environment (Kanter, 1993). Empirical evidence shows that mobilization produces positive outcomes for policy implementation activities. Nevertheless, policy makers see power as having control or supremacy only if they lose control of implementation. Chandler (1992) believes that dominance is the product of relationships, not just parcelling out of sight, authority, and influence. If this mind-set continues, policy makers will continue to struggle with questions of power and empowerment.

There are three areas of expertise that fisheries policy makers need to be able to make their maximum contribution: control over the quality of the procedure, control over the context of the practice, and control over competence. The persistent absence of these three power spheres in policy implementation indicates that power remains elusive (Manoylovich, 2005). Accordingly, the following question emerged from the literature reviewed:

**Research Question:** What is the relevance of structural empowerment to national fisheries policy implementation in Uganda?

### **Theoretical Underpinning**

The present study anchors on Kanter's 1977 structural empowerment theory (SET). The SET states that power, support, resources, opportunity, and information, are critical structural conditions for empowerment that must be available to subordinates within the organizational structure. As Kanter (1993) notes, power is developed from structural conditions and not from personal characteristics or from socialization effects. The employees who are empowered, can have control over their work conditions. Power can be both formal and informal. Formal power allows for discretion in decision making. Informal power is derived from alliances that the individual makes (with superiors and peers) and with contacts outside the work place. Access to empowerment structures is facilitated through formal and informal power systems. Formal power is derived from job activities. Kanter (1993) identified the following dimensions of structural empowerment: opportunity, information, support, and resources. Despite its relevance and applicability, the literature suggests that structural empowerment theory has been used sparingly in policy implementation (Pritchard, 2009). The structural empowerment theory emphasizes how empowerment obtained from structures, can facilitate policy implementation. However, the structural empowerment theory in policy implementation does not give guidance on who is responsible for providing empowerment or the relevant systems that empower—mechanisms that are relevant in achieving empowerment, including the influence of institutions in the empowerment framework (Durlak & DuPre, 2008; Faeth, 2004; Falbe, 1992; Kanter, 1993; May & Finch, 2009; May et al., 2016).

### **Methodology**

The present research used a cross-sectional narrative design, where interviews and focus group discussions (FGD) were adopted to get an in-depth understanding of the role of empowerment in fisheries policy implementation in Uganda. Narrative research designs are not new in fisheries policy implementation research (Barclay et al., 2017). In narrative research design, the researcher studies the lives of individuals who tell stories about their lives (Cresswell, 2011). In narrative research design, stories are data that are collected and analysed as a means of understanding lived and told experience. It is used to study experiences since humans lead story lives. Savin-

Baden and Van Niekere (2007) state the rationales of the narrative inquiry as follows: first, it is relatively easy to get people to tell stories since most people are pleased to share a story about themselves. Secondly, narrated events give an in-depth description of events and reflection of accounts. Comparable to the current study, the narrative research design was used by Muzige (2009) and Silas (2003) to study experiences in fisheries in Uganda and India, respectively. According to Cresswell (2011) and Denzin (1997), information is retold by the researcher in a narrative chronology. The metaphors inherent in the stories are examined. In the current study, stories from respondents were recorded and handwritten by the researcher.

### **Respondents, Data Management and Analysis**

The study was based on information from 14 respondents (see Table 1), followed by five Focus group discussions (FGDs). Data were collected between June and November 2018. Each FGD involved seven (7) people: three (3) fishermen, a local council member, a community member, a sub-county chief and a fisheries officer. The FGDs took 55 minutes each and were helpful in validating the interviewees' responses. Each FGD consisted of members selected from two sub-counties where the study took place. The saturation point for the interviews was arrived at on fourteenth key informant. We followed Nelson (2016) who indicated a saturation point as a point at which analysis of additional interviews led only to aspects that had already been mentioned in the previous conversations which did not result in new information, when further coding was no longer feasible. These respondents were selected to participate in the study because of their expertise and experience in policy implementation.

The interviews lasted between 30 to 50 minutes. These were conducted to ascertain the role of empowerment in fisheries policy implementation among policy implementers at the sub-county level. A sub-county was chosen because it is the lowest governance level that implements policy under the decentralization system in Uganda (Uganda, 1997). The study adopted a rigorous data management and analysis model. First, the interviews were audio recorded and responses written manually in a note book as a backup strategy. Secondly, the responses were transcribed to obtain emerging themes through the three linked process methodology suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994)—namely, data reduction, data display and drawing of conclusions. The audio recorded stories were transcribed by the researchers. Nvivo version 9 was used to analyse the data. The post interview analysis of the transcripts involved searching for emerging themes in the data. A comprehensive coding system was developed intuitively from the initial transcripts studied to facilitate issue and theme identification emerging from analysis of the transcripts as recommended by Parker and Roffey (1997).

Additionally, in line with Miles and Huberman (1994), matrices and templates were used to summarize the data and themes that emerged from the interviews and FGDs. The development of codes was informed by both deductive and inductive approaches. This was useful in identifying cross-case patterns in the data with predominant ones becoming evident partly by mapping the relative occurrence of different codes. This was also useful in identifying codes from literature review and emerging codes. Furthermore, field notes, memos, interview summaries and post-interview analysis were studied and analysed together with the matrices and templates. A framework analysis was used for the study. Finally, a secondary analysis of themes was conducted to reveal the role of empowerment in the national fisheries policy implementation in Table 2.

### **Validity and Reliability**

Data were subjected to triangulation to ensure reliability and validity. Triangulation overcomes the limitations of a given methodology by complementing its weaknesses with the strength of other methods (Brewer & Hunter, 1989). This study employed both data source and investigator triangulation to ensure accuracy, credibility, and validity. Information was obtained from both the policy implementers and policy recipients. The policy recipients were the fishermen, community members, and fish traders while the policy implementers were sub-county chiefs, fisheries officers, parish chiefs, regional district commissioners, policy analysts, local councils, principal fisheries Inspector, and a commissioner of fisheries. Views from the policy implementers were validated by views from the policy recipients. The FGDs were further used to validate the interview data.

### **Results**

The study covered 10 fishing sub-counties on Lake Victoria in Uganda (Nama, Nakisunga, Bugaya, Busamuzi Bweema, Nairambi, Sigulu, Mugoye, Bujumba and Koome), which formed the unit of analysis. These sub-counties were chosen because they experience high rates of illegal fishing. Fourteen study respondents were purposively sampled from the study sub-counties as listed in Table 1 and five focus group discussions. At least one respondent was selected from each sub county for interview. All the respondents were adults of more than 30 years of age and had obtained formal education. Thus, the respondents could read, understand and interpret the information regarding policy implementation. Most of the technical officers had worked in their current positions for periods ranging from 6 years to 10 years. Most of the respondents being in the range of 1-10 years on the current job, suggested that the respondents provided informed responses regarding the study.

The study was designed to establish the role of empowerment in fisheries policy implementation in Uganda. In Table 3, the frequencies of major patterns are arranged in descending. We borrow from the quantitative reasoning that every factor above 50% is reliable. Field (2009) argues that while undertaking a factor analysis, a value close to 1 indicates that correlations are relatively compact while Kaiser (1974) recommends greater than 0.5. In the same vein, Nunnally (1978) recommended an acceptable minimum alpha of 0.7. From Table 2 analysis, we considered empowerment factors with frequencies of 9 and above (9 out of 14 equals 0.6) to have a more relevant role in the implementation of national fisheries policy in Uganda compared to those of 13 and below. In Table 2 a further secondary analysis resulted in Kanter's empowerment forms (Resources, opportunity, Information, Resources, Support, and Power) and the revealed themes in fisheries policy implementation (Tables 2 and 3).

Results indicated that there was a common perception among interviewees that structural empowerment was useful in fisheries policy implementation. The FGD concurred with the interview respondents that each of the dimensions of structural empowerment was relevant to policy implementation. Results presented relate to the interview and focus group discussion points. The following section presents results in view of the specific research questions.

### **Question 1: What is the relevance of information in fisheries policy implementation on Lake Victoria?**

One interviewee said:

*“ [...]Fish dealers and fish mongers come and tell us where illegal fishers are [...] and they ask questions during sensitisation meetings that help them understand what to do and what not to do[...] we are also assisted on deciding what to do next [...]. It is our routine to sensitize fishers on fish sustainability and loss for the community when immature fish is caught... this has facilitated compliance and positive change of behaviour [...] (Interviewee12).*

**Table 1 Description of the Respondents**

<b>Interviewee</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Education level</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Tenure in Policy implementation on work (in years)</b>
Interviewee 1	41-50	M	Bachelors degree	Sub-county chief	6
Interviewee 2	31-40	F	Primary	Fisher man	10 years
Interviewee 3	41-50	F	Bachelors degree	Fisheries officer	15
Interviewee 4	31-40	F	Diploma	Commissioner	13
Interviewee 5	51-60	M	Masters	Chief Administrative Officer	22
Interviewee 6	41-50	M	Masters	Principal Fisheries Inspector	19
Interviewee 7	41-50	F	Bachelors	Parish Chief	37
Interviewee 8	51-60	M	Masters	Chief Administrative Officer	22
Interviewee 9	31-40	M	Diploma	Fish Trader	8
Interviewee 10	41-50	M	Secondary	Fisher man	21
Interviewee 11	51-60	M	Diploma	Local council	18
Interviewee 12	51-60	M	Masters	Resident District Commissioner	9
Interviewee 13	41-50	M	Masters	Policy analyst	15
Interviewee 14	31-40	M	Primary	Fisher man	6
5 FGD	31-60	M&F	Mixed	7 informants	6-20

Source: Primary data

**Table 2: Thematic Analysis of Forms of Empowerment in Fisheries Policy Implementation****Question asked:** How do different forms of empowerment affect the fisheries policy implementation?

Sample quotes from respondents	Emerging themes	Empowerment forms	Frequency
<p>“[...] Sensitisation has enabled people understand what is and is not required on the lake (Interviewee 2).</p> <p>“[...] our routine sensitization of fishers on fish sustainability and loss for the community when immature fish is caught [...] this facilitated compliance and change of behaviour” (FGD 4).</p> <p>“Fish dealers and fish mongers come and tell us where illegal fishers are [...].” ( Interviewee7)</p> <p>“Consultations and meetings take place to share information. We sensitize actors and strengthen capacity such as inspection of fish”( Interviewee4)</p> <p>“A good pay can reduce chances of corruption among the officers... When someone is corrupt, he allows anything unacceptable to be done [...]” (Interviewee 3).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Understand what is and is not required</li> <li>• Behaviour change towards compliance</li> <li>• Reporting and disclosure</li> <li>• Sensitization of actors</li> <li>• Capacity building</li> <li>• Meetings</li> <li>• Consultations</li> <li>• Reducing corruption</li> </ul>	Information	93%
<p>“Fish need to get to the destination as fast as possible. They can easily get spoiled. So, the iced boats, and refrigerated cars help in ensuring that our fish buyers get the fish while it’s still fresh” ( Interviewee 7).</p> <p>“Fisheries department at Kiyindi sub-county has an engine but without a boat, we rely on fishermen who you are going to arrest“ (Interviewee 1)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fast delivery mechanisms</li> <li>• Icing facilities</li> <li>• Need for monitoring facilities</li> </ul>	Resources	71%
<p>“ADB and Smart fish (donor agencies) have helped in improving the landing sites to prepare fish for export. NARO installed a smoking kiln which helps in smoking quality fish” (Interviewee 5)</p> <p>“Facilities at the landing sites have been improved on landing sites that export fish”(Interviewee 2)</p> <p>“Police officers are given training on fisheries co-management to safeguard fish. The training helped in prosecution and apprehending illegal fishermen[...].” (FGD 2)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improving facilities at the landing sites</li> <li>• Value addition</li> <li>• fish export</li> <li>• fish quality improvement</li> <li>• Improving facilities at landing sites</li> <li>• Export promotion</li> <li>• Appointment letters</li> <li>• Prosecution skills</li> </ul>	Support	78 %
<p>“The army has helped to increase fish stock in terms of quantity and size. ... the army was trained and has done commendable work [...]they were given speed boats, allowances for good work[...] as a result of a Presidential directive[...]but the army coerces people sometimes to death” ( Interviewee 5)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Appointment</li> <li>• Presidential authority</li> <li>• Availing facilities</li> <li>• Training</li> <li>• Competence</li> </ul>	Power	86%
<p>“We frequently have meetings as the technical committee at the sub-county where we decide how best we can achieve the goals and objectives of the fisheries sector [...].”(Interviewee 12).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevance of formal appointment</li> <li>• Mobilisation capacity</li> <li>• Professionalism</li> </ul>		

Source: Primary data

**Table 3 Transcript analysis of forms of empowerment from the interviews and FGD responses**

Kanter's forms of empowerment in emerging themes	Frequencies
Information	13 (93%)
Power	12 (86%)
Support	11 (78%)
Resources	10 (71%)

Source: Primary data

Another said:

*"[...] Consultations and meetings take place to share information. We sensitize actors and strengthen capacity such as inspection of fish. Police officers have been trained on prosecution and apprehending illegal fishermen. We use sensitisation meetings and workshops to train and build capacity of the technical officers and fishers - to bring them more or less at the same understanding to continuously monitor fish quality. Sensitisation has enabled people understand what is and is not required on the lake [...]" (Interviewee11).*

This means information provides both a learning opportunity and evidence for specific policy implementation decisions and actions. Moreover, it obtains answers to specific implementation questions. The following interview responses further buttresses this outcome:

*"[...] information determines the choice between alternatives. Issues cannot be clear-cut [...] advice informs these decisions [...] and actions must be built on strong sufficient information. We have to make sure policy implementation ideas and actions are backed up by solid evidence and information quality analysis [...] we learn from the past." (FGD 5)*

*"[...] some of us who appreciate the work sometimes disclose our colleagues who are illegally fishing [...] then fish continues to accumulate [...]" (Interviewee 2)*

*"[ ....] some landing sites in this sub-county for example have been closed with factual information that they host illegal fishers and that the inhabitants practice open defecation [...]" (Interviewee 9)*

Findings indicate that sufficient information aids policy implementation actions and limits policy implementation challenges.

### **Question 2: What is the relevance of power in fisheries policy implementation on Lake Victoria?**

One response says: *"All fisheries officers are expected to have a degree in Fisheries [...]. They are expected to submit a report for any court case involving fish to proceed [...]. They have*

*controlled the fishing effort [...]”* FGD 4. This means that professional training is essential to enable fisheries officers’ function effectively in policy implementation work.

Another respondent said: “[...] *you must know how to treat the fishermen if your opinion is to be taken. They listen to your views if you work with them....you must understand the real fishing environment [...]”* (Interviewee3). This response suggests that coping with the environment generates support useful in policy implementation. Power helps actors to play significant roles in implementation and to mobilise new knowledge.

Expertise and experience are different, but both are needed for success in policy implementation work as well. Listen to one respondent: *“We attend workshops frequently which helps us to improve our understanding [...] this adds to the understanding we get in the field. We then give relevant advice to the fishermen and wherever we need to give professional opinion [...]. These workshops are sometimes facilitated by experts from the Ministry of Animal Industry and Fisheries [...]”* (Interviewee1).

Another interviewee said: *“Police army officers have been trained on prosecution and apprehending illegal fishermen [...]. The army is able to do a commendable job because they participate in trainings, use creative ideas from experienced people, they have fast boats which help them get to distant islands easily, they are usually recognised by the President, paid well, given bonus when a job is well done and are given intelligence information [...] 4 fish processing factories have re-opened in the country”* (Interviewee13).

This implies that the utilisation of expert advice, experience and continuous training enables fisheries officers to deliver in policy implementation work.

### **Question 3: What is the relevance of support to fisheries policy implementation on Lake Victoria?**

The following interview responses were obtained: *“ADB and Smart fish (donor agencies) have helped in improving the landing sites to prepare fish for export. NARO installed a smoking kiln which helps in smoking quality fish [...]”* (Interviewee 4)

*“If only we could get supported with new technology like camera drones [...] it would be useful in controlling illegal fishing”* (FGD 3)

*“Whenever we meet the fishers, they give us advice on how to improve in controlling illegal fishing [...]. The regular technical officer’s meetings help us in giving each other feedback as got from the field that is used to improve in controlling illegal fishing”* (Interviewee 4)

This implies that support from partners may be helpful in facilitating fisheries policy implementation.

## Discussion

This study suggests that Structural empowerment facilitates the policy implementation process. Accordingly, sub-counties with structural empowerment are more likely to achieve success in fisheries policy implementation. Based on our results, the key empowerment factors that influence fisheries policy implementation on Lake Victoria in Uganda appear to be information, power, support and resources. The three empowerment forms with the highest frequency in Table 3 are discussed in view of the themes that emerged from the interview and FGD responses. We discuss these factors under three emerging themes, as follows:

- a) Information enables fisheries policy implementation
- b) The role of power in fisheries policy implementation
- c) The role of support in fisheries policy implementation

### Information Enables Fisheries Policy Implementation

Information was conceptualized to mean knowledge on policies, decisions, goals and data and offers a sense of meaning and purpose, increasing the ability of the worker to make decisions and judgments (Kanter, 1993). Knowledge on policy objectives and plans for implementation, encourages and emphasizes events that are useful for the mobilization of participation. This provides a sense of meaning and intent, which enhances the worker's ability to make decisions and to make judgments (Laschinger et al., 2014).

Information guides policy implementation, decisions and clarifies issues such as the purpose of the fisheries policy to the destination community. Information also includes knowledge of job roles and responsibilities, policy objectives. Citizens' perceptions of policy knowledge can be gained through collaboration, communication and cooperation with key stakeholders. Data on policy implementation processes guarantee efficiency and effectiveness (Peters et al., 2013). In the current study, the fishermen benefited from awareness-raising meetings to obtain answers to their questions. Fish dealers and fishmongers gave details on illegal behavior, hence a reliable source of data needed for effective fisheries policy implementation. What is acceptable was shared at sensitization meetings, which facilitated compliance and positive behavioral change.

The study noted that frequent feedback clarifies problems and enhances policy implementation behavioral changes. The study also indicated that sub-counties use a variety of media to disseminate and obtain information, such as plenary hearings and discussion meetings. Supplementary means of information sharing were: informal discussions, television, chat shows, notice boards, magazines, meetings, conferences, radio announcements, press interviews and exhibitions. Specific guidance on the potential priorities and objectives of the fisheries policy was provided by fisheries officers, to members of the different actors in the fisheries sector. The flow and importance of knowledge to policy implementation was described as crucial. Data improve awareness and efficiency, such as inspection and control of fish quality and prosecutions.

The interviews and reviews made it possible to explain details that were overlooked or missing. Feedback was received from fishermen on a regular basis at formal and informal meetings. Information was provided on a routine basis to fishers in groups, who could not be completely reached via widely used data sources such as radios. The study noted that most fishers did not have time to listen to radios when operating on the lake. Considerable efforts were made to ensure that the knowledge and training provided was in a language that everyone could

understand. Dissemination of information was either formal or informal. Informal sessions responded to complaints outside official working places and outside working hours. Relevant and timely information helped to reduce illegal fishing. Some fishers, however, who lacked knowledge on the goals and future impact of policy implementation, continued to fish illegally. Some incorrect information was offered in some cases, such as the view that the policy was in favor of the elites who owned fish processing factories. Knowledge was collected on and from technologies, people and processes for enforcing fisheries policy. The use of mobile phones on the lake was very significant since almost everyone owned a mobile phone set. Continuous, accurate and consistent information on the progress and follow-up of the monitoring approaches was collected and used for the implementation of the fisheries policy. Daily communications and exchange of information between fishermen and sub-county officials included visits to landing sites and lake waters.

This study noted that information can be collected through observation, consultations, meetings, reading of reports, and collaborative analysis of events and actions. Capturing and analyzing the information provided for performance assessment, assessing the extent of consistency between the objectives and outcomes of the fisheries policy and facilitating the strengthening of the systems. The integration of information within and between the sub-county administrative units on the implementation of fisheries policy was crucial. A timely examination of the information with facts and advice was found to be helpful in decision-making. Some landing sites for instance were closed due to timely information on illegality at the site, such as illegal fishing and open defecation.

As such, adequate information supports policy implementation initiatives and reduces policy implementation challenges. It was recognized that policy implementation can be accomplished if there is sharing of information, sensitization. Information sharing is likely to explain the boundaries of priorities and change of policy implementation behavior needed.

In line with the findings of this study, Peters et al., (2013) noted that, even in the most resource-intensive settings, educating stakeholders and using knowledge to direct decision-making is essential to successful implementation. Reliable information may be collected from expert advice where there is a need for expertise and advice. Nevertheless, several people may claim to have expertise, but without enough knowledge of scientific literature. Such forms of guidance include; funded work where a research piece may be contracted externally or research by internal departments, and scientific advisory bodies. In some countries, the Parliament itself can encourage the sharing of information through interaction between science and policy implementation. Political discourses, which are public debates, often affect policy decisions. Transparency, clarity and consistency of policy implementation are improved by accessible information. Official information can be made available to the press which publishes it for public consumption and consequent usage in policy implementation.

### **The Role of Power in Fisheries Policy Implementation**

Power in this study refers to the competence and ability to perform policy implementation tasks. Power was found to be essential for fisheries policy implementation. Conger and Kanungo (1988), identified power forms, such as legal, coercive, remunerative, normative and expert power. The definition of expert control, described as the ability to influence others by having knowledge or skills that are useful to others, is of interest to this study (Kubsch, 1996). Authority is important to control groups or individuals (Leiter & Laschinger, 2006; Kanter, 1993).

Power in relation to fisheries policy implementation is discussed in three areas: the content of the practice, the control of the context of the practice and the control of the competence of the fisheries policy implementation practice (Kubsch, 1996). Content management allows policy makers to work more effectively independently. In Uganda, Fisheries officers are supposed to have a professional degree and to play a significant role in court cases. A case may not proceed without a report from the fisheries officer. The fisheries officers provide evidence in court cases involving fish. These professional efforts, which are a form of power, are used in controlling the fishing effort. It was generally noted that appointment, competence, mobilization capacity, training, authority, and work facilities enhance policy implementation.

The present study findings are backed by results from previous studies which found that policy implementation can be enabled through identifying the area of expertise, gaining influence and freedom to act on what one knows according to one's experience and judgment (Page, 2004). Further, Manojlovich (2005) noted that most professionals use their vocational training, which focuses on autonomous practice and independent decision-making in policy implementation.

Power provides an enabling atmosphere in terms of collegial ties and the ability to influence decisions in the workplace. In this respect, the interviewees agreed that they had to understand the fishermen and their environment so that they could act on their opinions. In the current study, appointment letters, prosecution skills, authority, mobilisation capacity, training were demonstrations of power. Power allows actors to actively participate and play important roles in implementing and mobilizing the generation of new ideas. With power, players engage and influence other players. This means that understanding the fishing context is important for the target group, the fishers in this case, to be understood and taken seriously.

This finding is reinforced by Fainstein (2000), who noted that participation, competence, recognition, working relations, understanding of context and participatory decision making are motivating for policy implementation. Fainstein further observes that control over competence is retained through the creation of knowledge acquired through education and expertise. However, skills and experience are different, all of which are required for the success of policy implementation work. They can be obtained from workshops, advice from professionals and experts to help improve understanding. The utilization of expert advice, experience and re-training enables fisheries officers to deliver in policy implementation work. These findings are further still supported by a study by Apker, Ford, and Fox (2003), which provides empirical support for the results. These scholars also found that power over the content, context and competence of the practice of implementation of fisheries policy contributes to feelings of empowerment and the resulting practice of implementation of fisheries policy. This observation is additionally confirmed by previous studies (e.g., Benner, 2001; Raphael, 1996; Kramer & Schmalenberg, 1993). These studies noted that training is the basis for allowing the management of competence.

It was noted in the study that coercive power has its limits. The interviewees stated that the Beach Management Units (BMUs) misused their power and mistreated illegal operators. BMUs have been heavily involved in money theft, bullying fishers, sinking vessels, canning and beating of illegal fishing operators instead of investigating and prosecuting them in the courts of law. But, the army that replaced the BMUs after abolishing them in 2005 was able to improve the quantity of fish at the cost of people losing their lives because of violence and coercion. Landing sites are deliberately torched to scare the people away. Coercive power stems from the Fish Act, which requires officers to capture and destroy any vessel and to prosecute criminals.

However, sometimes this power is misused by extortion, by beating the suspects without bringing them before the courts. While recent reports credit the army for the increase in variety and quantity of fish, there are concerns about the brutality of the operations. Sometimes coercion leads into violence from the fishermen which limits fisheries policy implementation (Mutaizibwa, 2018; Awori, 2018).

### **Support and Fisheries Policy Implementation**

Structural empowerment includes providing support for policy decisions to be made. Support in the current study is the feedback and guidance received from superiors, peers, and subordinates, and others. Support involves comments to help one improve, problem solving advice, help in a work crisis, as well as rewards and recognition. Support encourages innovation and the adoption of new strategies and methods to better meet policy needs and to make important decisions. Support from the African Development Bank and Smart Fish (donor agencies) helped to improve landing sites to prepare fish for export. The National Agricultural Research Organization set up a smoking furnace that helps to smoke quality fish. Similarly, previous studies (e.g., Rantala & Paloniemi, 2016; Trisoglio, 1996), have shown that, when actors are supported, they get the capacity to implement policies.

Findings demonstrated that most fishers get to the Lake as a last resort when they have no skills in fishing. So, they relied on support from colleagues who are more experienced to learn what is expected of them as they fish specific fish sizes. Fishers and fisheries officers who felt they were supported by peers and fisheries management, put in more effort in work which facilitated actualisation of reducing illegal fishing. Support helped in fish export promotion, fish quality improvement, value addition, improving facilities at the landing sites which are concerns of the fisheries policy.

In line with the current finding, the study by Baer (2012) found that support predicted implementation. Considering the importance of support towards implementation of tasks. This study advances the argument that it is important to consider the employees capacity to support other than their numbers. Support is a powerful motivating force shaping innovative behaviour for policy implementation. Workers who are supported are more productive and happier than those who are not supported, they consequently contribute effectively towards policy implementation. Staff members who feel they are supported by management have a greater stake in the operational activities and can be more productive and happier to implement policy effectively (Kanter, 1993). Support helps in adjusting to the change expected during policy implementation.

In line with the general findings of this study, Bressers (2004) found that the flow of information and power and resources had an impact on policy implementation processes success. Similarly, Paynevandy (2016) has described support, preparation, structuring, engagement and participation as motivational strategies that can contribute to motivation and job satisfaction and eventually improve policy implementation.

### **Conclusion, Implications and Suggestions for Future Research**

The national fisheries policy implementation is characterized by several challenges that risk fish extinction in Uganda. The present study concludes that “Kanter’s” structural empowerment is essential in policy implementation. Information, support, resources and power play significant roles of ensuring continuity and putting into effect the fisheries policy in Uganda. Aspects of power such as the control over competence, context, and content can be obtained from relations

with actors and institutions (Smith, Sainsbury, & Stevens, 1999). Therefore, policy implementers must be empowered and meaningfully involved in implementation by visiting the landing sites, and surveillance of the waters for illegality to gain control over the context of practice (McClure & Hinshaw, 2002).

A major implication of this study is that the policy implementation structure should encourage involvement and participatory decision making within the destination community, the fishers. The use of force and coercion is destructive in some situations. It leads to BMUs' suspension and violence by policy recipients. Educational preparation and training, visiting of work venues/landing sites, recognition for excellence, expert advice, coaching, feedback, retraining, and support with funds, materials and modern technology should be done in view of enhancing structural empowerment to facilitate policy implementation.

We recognize the limitations of our study. Policy implementation is both a short- and long-term phenomenon. Therefore, traceability of long-term changes in policy implementation may need a longitudinal study. However, this study was cross-sectional. Moreover, policy implementation may have social-cultural biases that warrant comparative studies in other settings to reconfirm study results. We further recommend a quantitative study to replicate the present findings.

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