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Local perceptions on the state of the fisheries and fisheries management in Uvira, Lake Tanganyika, DR Congo.

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66 Abstract

The fisheries of Lake Tanganyika play an important role in food security in Central and Eastern 67 Africa. Effective legislation, supported by local populations and resource users is needed to 68 69 support sustainable management of the valuable fish stocks. Knowledge of the perceptions 70 and an understanding of the concerns and struggles of stakeholders in the fisheries can 71 provide policy-makers with recommendations to adapt fisheries management. We 72 interviewed 1,019 stakeholders in one close-ended and three semi-open ended surveys. 73 Factor analysis revealed seven clusters of opinions. Linear-mixed effects models identified common grounds and differences in opinions between groups of stakeholders about 74 strategies in fisheries management. Stakeholders of the fisheries spoke of challenges due to 75 76 weather or climate variability, a noticeable decrease in fish abundance and size, and increase in price of fish on the market. Fishermen experienced a lack of safety on the lake, from 77 aggression and dangerous weather conditions, and hardly had access to safety gear and 78 79 infrastructure. Landing site officials, state employees who monitor the beaches, mentioned capture of juveniles and declining catch-rates as the biggest threats to the fisheries. None of 80 the groups of stakeholders attributed the problems in the fisheries to overfishing or 81 overpopulation. We found similarities in opinions over a wide range of stakeholder groups, 82 with many stakeholders asking for better and fair enforcement of existing legislation. State 83 84 employees were more positive than the other groups towards creating more strict regulation of the fisheries. The results presented offer focus-points for policy-makers to improve 85 management of the Lake Tanganyika fisheries. 86

<u>Keywords</u>: East-African Great Lakes, fisheries management, Lake Tanganyika, stakeholder
 perceptions, surveys, sustainable fisheries

89 Introduction

90 The inland fisheries of Africa provide a crucial and often under-estimated source of food and income for millions of people in some of the world's least developed regions (AUC-NEPAD, 91 2014; Fluet-chouinard et al., 2018). This certainly holds for the fishery in the world's oldest 92 93 and deepest tropical freshwater lake: Lake Tanganyika (East Africa, 03°20'-08°48'S/29°03'-31°12'E) (Coulter, 1991; Lake Tanganyika Authority, 2012; Poll, 1953; Roest, 1992). This 94 95 ancient lake is well known for its unique biodiversity and its high levels of endemism (Salzburger et al., 2014; Snoeks, 2000; Van Steenberge et al., 2011). It is shared by four 96 97 countries: the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Tanzania, Zambia and Burundi. Several large population centres are found along its shores, including Bujumbura (Burundi), Uvira 98 (DRC), Kigoma (Tanzania), Kalemie (DRC) and Mpulungu (Zambia). In the last two decades, all 99 100 of these urban centres have increased in population at an annual rate of 3-4% (Ogutu-Ohwayo 101 and Balirwa, 2006).

102 The fisheries of Lake Tanganyika target multiple species with multiple types of gear (Lindley, 103 2000). The pelagic fisheries, the main focus of this paper, are centred around three species: 104 two endemic clupeids: the Lake Tanganyika sprat Stolothrissa tanganicae Regan, 1917, and the Lake Tanganyika sardine Limnothrissa miodon (Boulenger, 1906), and their main predator: 105 106 the sleek lates, Lates stappersii (Boulenger, 1914) (Mölsä et al., 2002). Additionally, the littoral 107 fishery targets juvenile L. miodon and demersal cichlid species (Petit and Shipton, 2012). In 108 the North of the lake, clupeid and Lates fisheries use so called 'apollos'. These apollos consist of two wooden boats, connected with wooden beams, and are manned by a team of four to 109 six fishermen. These teams of fishermen fish at night using a lift-net, and use a light source to 110 attract schools of pelagic fish. In the littoral fisheries, fishermen mostly use beach seines, 111 gillnets and hook and line (Petit and Shipton, 2012). These littoral fisheries are often carried 112 113 out by women and children, and operate unregulated gear.

Fisheries legislation of the DRC is regulated top-down, dates back to 1981 and has not been revised since. In the Lake Tanganyika fisheries, all fishing activities need to be registered and fishermen are required to pay a registration fee of USD 20 annually. The minimum allowed mesh size for lift-nets is 4 mm, and it is illegal to discard fish catches. Industrial fishing, i.e. fishing with units whose combined length of fishing nets exceeds 2,500 m, is forbidden within 119 5 km of the shoreline (Petit and Shipton, 2012). Each landing site has four landing site officials, two of the department of fisheries, and two of the department of agriculture, who are 120 responsible for monitoring and enforcement of fisheries regulations. Compliance with 121 fisheries legislation is, however, low in the DRC. This is mainly due to a limited capacity for 122 enforcement and a lack of involvement of stakeholders in the formulation of legislation (AU-123 IBAR, 2016). Common illegal practices include fishing from non-prohibited landing sites, 124 fishing without a license, fishing with mosquito nets, and fishing too close to the shore 125 126 (McLean et al., 2014; Petit and Shipton, 2012). Fishing with mosquito nets is the only means 127 of access to the fisheries resource for a part of the population (Bush et al., 2017; Short et al., 2018), especially impoverished women (Short et al., 2020). However, this illegal gear targets 128 juvenile fish (Petit and Shipton, 2012), potentially contributing to food insecurity and 129 130 increased poverty (Jones and Unsworth, 2020). The illegal catch of juvenile L. miodon causes an estimated economic loss of USD 2.1 million annually (Mulimbwa, Sarvala, & Micha, 2018). 131

At several sites, littoral fish habitats are being disturbed by the extraction of sand and gravel. 132 Runoff, caused by the clearing of land for agriculture, and the extraction of wood for fuel and 133 134 building materials, has further affected the littoral zones by increased sedimentation 135 (Nkotagu, 2008; Plisnier, Nshombo, Mgana, & Ntakimazi, 2018). Additionally, untreated wastewater flows into the lake (Plisnier et al., 2018), depositing pollutants and causing 136 eutrophication (Nkotagu, 2008). Conversely, climate change has led to a warming of the upper 137 water layer and increased stratification (O'reilly 2005, Kraemer 2015), reducing productivity 138 and increasing transparency (Stenuite et al., 2007; Verburg et al., 2003). There are also reports 139 of decreased wind speeds, further increasing stratification (O'Reilly et al., 2003; Plisnier, 140 141 2000). All of the above changes can have negative effects on the fish stocks.

142 The territory of Uvira is situated at the northern end of the lake, and contains one of the lake's 143 largest population centers, the city of Uvira. Increased population pressure, increasing demand for protein, and a lack of employment, led to an increased number of fishermen, 144 both legal and illegal, intensifying pressure on the fish stocks (Mulimbwa, 2006; Petit and 145 Shipton, 2012; Van der Knaap et al., 2014). There are reports of a decrease in catch-rates (the 146 147 catch by weight per effort spent fishing) at the northern end of the lake of the larger latid species (van Zwieten et al., 2002) and the clupeid species (Mulimbwa, 2006; Sarvala et al., 148 149 2006). These decreases may be linked to increased fishing pressure and changes in climatic factors (Kolding and van Zwieten, 2012; O'Reilly et al., 2003). However, efforts to document
the total catch and catch per unit effort (CPUE) have been sporadic and inconsistent (Plisnier
et al., 2018), making assessment of catches and fisheries potential speculative (Kolding et al.,
2019).

154 Due to the economic and nutritional importance of the fish resources for the coastal population, proper management the fisheries of Lake Tanganyika is crucial. Proper protection 155 156 of the fisheries implies a clear definition of the management objectives and clarification of 157 management priorities. The objectives of management need to be chosen in relation to 158 (perceived) problems as voiced by local communities. Whatever objective is chosen to be 159 central, sustainable management requires the enforcement of effective regulation with the 160 support of the local communities (Van der Knaap et al., 2014). Involvement of local communities in environmental management is also one of the cornerstones of the Aichi 161 162 biodiversity targets, the United Nations plan of action for conservation of biodiversity (Convention on biological diversity, 2010) and is mentioned in the convention on biodiversity 163 of the DRC (MEDD, 2019). Formulating and implementing fisheries regulations without 164 165 considering opinions and concerns of fishermen and other stakeholders may have adverse 166 effects. Previous research (Branch et al., 2006) shows that, closed seasons can encourage fishermen to catch more during the open season, forbidding one type of gear can encourage 167 168 usage of new types of unregulated gear, and limiting entry into the fishery can encourage those who have entered to maximise their effort. 169

Differences in types of interaction with the resource lead to differences in viewpoints between 170 171 groups of stakeholders, which will influence their support for specific management measures. 172 Fisheries scientists and policymakers tend to emphasise a direct link between management 173 measures and fish stocks. Fishermen on the other hand put more emphasis on the 174 unpredictability of nature, and less on the effect management measures have on fish stocks (Verweij and van Densen, 2010). Fishermen will rely on information of a smaller time and 175 spatial-scale, being their own experience and that of colleagues and relatives, while scientists 176 177 and policymakers integrate information from larger time and spatial-scales, thus revealing patterns at those scales that are masked by variability at smaller scales (van Densen, 2001). 178 179 To improve gender equity in decision making, knowledge of the opinions and practices of both 180 men and woman is valuable. Perspectives might differ (Barclay et al., 2017), if for example regulations were formulated with mostly the interest of men in mind, men would be expected to be more positive towards existing legislations. Fisheries practices mainly carried out by women, like mosquito net fishing, might be overlooked and therefore not be included in the legal framework (Kleiber et al., 2015). On the other hand these practices might therefore remain under the radar of enforcement.

186 Interviews with stakeholders are a valuable tool to provide knowledge for conservation 187 purposes and fisheries management (Bergmann et al., 2004; Zukowski et al., 2011). They can 188 supplement other types of research such as monitoring of catch (Young et al., 2018). 189 Interviews can also be useful to understand human behaviour and motivations in the context 190 of conservation, especially when complex behaviour is involved (Cepić and Nunan, 2017), as 191 is the case in fisheries. They can further serve as a measure for public awareness and for the 192 willingness to support fisheries management strategies (Bodin et al., 2016; Pomeroy, 2016). 193 Stakeholders can provide information about changes that have occurred in an ecosystem (Martins et al., 2018), identify problems and suggest alternative solutions (Wilson et al., 2006). 194

195 To gain an understanding of the challenges that stakeholders of the fisheries of Lake 196 Tanganyika face, we asked them about perceived problems in the fishery as well as their views 197 on effective solutions to these problems. Through interviews we aimed to gather stakeholder 198 observations on the fisheries, related to changes in catches, abundance, and sizes of fish, as 199 well as changes in the ecosystem; their opinions about these observations; and related 200 conservation and management issues. We reveal motivations of fishermen to enter and 201 remain in fisheries. Regarding preferred management interventions we expected that 202 fishermen would have a less positive attitude towards stricter fisheries regulation than state 203 employees. As current regulations may have a gender bias we tested if men appreciate current 204 fisheries management measures more than women.

205

206 Material and methods

207 Data collection

Stakeholders of the fisheries were defined as those who are directly or indirectly influenced by the pelagic fisheries in territory of Uvira, through fisheries related employment, or regular consumption of fish. This implies that a large part of the inhabitants of Uvira were considered 211 as stakeholders. The interviewed stakeholders covered a wide range of interactions with the 212 resource, and encompassed different social and political positions (authority). We considered three groups of stakeholders: a broad group of all stakeholders of the fisheries, including but 213 not restricted to fishermen and landing site officials, a separate second group of only 214 215 fishermen, and a third group of only landing site officials (Figure 1). The broad stakeholder group was chosen to represent all those dependent on the fisheries. Additional interviews 216 217 were done with fishermen only, because of their large interest in and influence on the resource. Fishermen were defined as people who have pelagic fishing as main source of 218 219 income. Landing site officials are employees of the state who monitor fisheries practices and collect fisheries statistics on the different landing sites. Additional interviews were held with 220 221 these landing site officials because of their experience with the fisheries. To include all the 222 main markets and landing sites in the area, interviews were conducted at 25 locations in Uvira 223 (Figure 2, SM1). The study sites were chosen based on the expectation to find respondents, 224 and to achieve an optimal geographical spread to reduce various biases based on geography, 225 or location.

226

227 Four questionnaires were developed: one questionnaire with closed statements for all the 228 stakeholders of the fisheries, and three semi-open ended interviews, one for all the 229 stakeholders of the fisheries, one for fishermen specifically, and one specifically for landing 230 site officials (Table 1, SM2). Development of questionnaires was a participatory co-production 231 by researchers and officials connected to these fisheries, encompassing 25 scientists and students, 4 officials and 6 NGO representatives. Together they decided on the content and 232 233 formulation of questions, selected which groups of stakeholders would be interviewed and selected locations. In total, 32 interviewers interviewed stakeholders over a three-day period 234 235 in August 2018 and over a three-day period in October 2018. Each interview was conducted and recorded by two or three interviewers and notes were compared to increase reliability of 236 237 recording. The interviews were constructed in French, and interviewers asked the questions 238 in French or Kiswahili.

239

240 Opinions of all stakeholders on management strategies

A close-ended survey, consisting of Likert scale (1 totally disagree – 5 totally agree) questions
 about fisheries management and statements related to the ecosystem of Lake Tanganyika

243 (Table 2) was done with 562 stakeholders of the fisheries (187 female and 370 male). Respondents represented all stakeholders of the fisheries as described above (broad 244 stakeholders group). Respondents were grouped into six categories according to the 245 profession they indicated: fishermen (n = 233), merchants (n = 130), state officials (n = 31), 246 247 education (teachers and students) (n = 42), agriculturalists (n = 64) and other (n = 61). For an overview of professions included in each of the categories, see supplementary material (SM3). 248 249 We classified these groups in relation to the effect members can have on the fishery (influence) and to the importance of fisheries in the lives of the respondents (interest) (Figure 250 251 1). The purpose of this survey and subject population was to assess opinions of stakeholders on fisheries and lake related issues and possible management options, and to identify 252 differences and similarities in opinions between different groups of stakeholders. 253 254 Interviewees were chosen by addressing people on a successive encounter basis at landing 255 sites and at places where fish is bought and consumed, such as fish markets, hotels and restaurants. Additional sampling was done in the same way at government offices and at 256 257 schools to address state employees, students and educators.

258

259 <u>Semi-open ended questions for all stakeholders</u>

A second questionnaire aimed at the same group as the previous questionnaire: i.e. all of the stakeholders of the fisheries, consisting of semi-open ended questions, informed about observed changes in the ecosystem, observed changes in the quality and availability of the resource, and about the availability of fish as food source. There were 196 respondents, of whom 91 were men and 104 women; grouped according to main profession, we interviewed: 38 fishermen, 66 merchants, 9 state officials, 3 teachers and students (education), 38 agriculturalists, and 42 other.

267

268 <u>Semi-open ended questions for fishermen</u>

A semi-open ended questionnaire with 229 fishermen was used to: identify motives for choosing the profession of fishermen; identify their preferred management strategies; assess the economic importance of the fisheries to the fishermen; and record their perceptions of changes in the lake's ecosystem and fisheries output. All respondents were men.

274 <u>Semi-open ended questions for landing site officials</u>

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Uvira has 56 landing site officials at 14 landing sites, with each site hosting four officials, two 276 277 from the department of fisheries and two from the department of agriculture. Officials spend much time on the landing sites monitoring the fisheries. They are the link between fishermen 278 and the government and are well informed about difficulties faced by both fishermen and 279 monitoring institutions. We conducted group interviews with 38 landing site officials to learn 280 about perceived problems and preferred management options. In two group interviews, 21 281 282 officials from agriculture and 17 from fisheries, were interviewed separately at the offices of 283 their respective government departments. Each group was interviewed collectively and asked two questions: 'what are the current problems for the fisheries in Lake Tanganyika?' and 'what 284 285 are the solutions for optimal management of the Lake Tanganyika fisheries?'. Respondents 286 were given time to reflect on their responses and then stated their responses one after the 287 other. The responses to this questionnaire are illustrative of the problems and solutions proposed by landing site officials, rather than an exhaustive list. 288

289

290 Data analysis

291 For the closed statements, average Likert scores per question were calculated for the different categories of stakeholders. To visualize how different professional groups differ in their 292 answers to the questionnaire, a biplot based on principal component analysis (PCA) was 293 294 constructed using the Factoextra package in R (Kassambara and Mundt, 2017). Separation of 295 professions on the PC axes was tested with ANOVA (stats package in R, R Core Team, 2018). To identify differences between professions and sex, and interactions between sex and 296 297 profession on responses to the 26 statements, we used a linear mixed-effects model, following 298 the guidelines of Zuur and Ieno (2016), using the Ime4 package in R (Bates et al., 2015). We 299 modelled the scores on the 26 questions as a function of sex and profession and the 300 interaction sex*profession. To eliminate the influence different interviewers had on the 301 results, we added interviewer as random variable. The response variable was coded on a 1-5 Likert scale. We used a model assuming Gaussian distribution. The best model was identified 302 303 using backwards selection, retaining the model with the lowest cAIC, using the stepcAIC function of the cAIC4 package in R (Saefken et al., 2018). Fixed effects (sex and profession) 304 305 were tested using type III Wald F-tests (Kodde and Palm, 1986). If the F-tests indicated significant differences between the professional groups, multiple comparisons of means with
Tukey contrasts were used to find which pairs of professions differed significantly, corrected
for multiple testing with Benjamini-Hochberg p-value adjustment (Benjamini and Hochberg,
1995), using the multcomp package in R (Hothorn et al., 2008).

310

Factor analysis (FA) was used to group questions that were answered in a similar way. To find 311 312 the optimal number of factors, we used parallel analysis. This technique compared the eigenvalues of the data to eigenvalues of simulated random data, and returned the lowest 313 314 number of factors for which eigenvalues were significantly greater than those obtained from the simulated data (Horn, 1965). We used minimal residuals FA (Comrey, 1962), followed by 315 316 varimax rotation, an orthogonal rotation method that maximizes the variance of the loadings 317 for each question on the factors while keeping the factors uncorrelated (Kaiser, 1958). As a 318 quality check of the FA, we calculated the Tucker Lewis index, the root mean square residual (RMSR) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). The Tucker Lewis index is 319 an estimation of the discrepancy between the final FA, and a simulated null model (Tucker 320 321 and Lewis, 1973). A Tucker Lewis index of 0.95 or above indicates a good fit. RMSR is the 322 average square root of the discrepancy between the sample covariance matrix and the FA 323 covariance matrix. Values for the RMSR range from 0 to 1, with a lower measure indicating a 324 better fit of the FA with the data. Values below 0.08 are considered to indicate a good fit (Hu 325 and Bentler, 1999). The root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) is a comparable 326 measure, but with optimization of parameters. Here value below 0.06 indicate a good fit (Hu 327 and Bentler, 1999). These analyses were done using the psych package in R (Revelle, 2018). 328 Factors were interpreted by analyzing the statements in each factor, weighed by their contribution to the factor. To find the contribution of profession and sex on scores on the 329 330 factors, we used a linear mixed-effects model with interviewer as random variable, in the same way and with the same model selection process as discussed above. All analyses were 331 performed using R 3.5.2 software (R Core Team, 2018). 332

For the three open-ended questionnaires (Table 1), responses were coded into categories in a three-step process, following the protocol outlined by Bryman (2008). First, each response was coded into categories based on meaning. Responses that had the same meaning but were differently phrased were treated as the same. In a second stage, answers were merged into overarching categories. The number of times a response was given, and the percentage to the

total was calculated. In the last stage, answers were ranked according to occurrence, removing
all response categories that were less frequent than 3%. Analyses were performed in
Microsoft Excel.

341

342 Results

343 Opinions of stakeholders on management strategies

344 Average Likert score was calculated per question (Table 2, SM4). Overall, respondents agreed 345 most with the following statements: 'The government must teach better fishing methods to 346 the population' (Q19); 'Deforestation around the lake must stop' (Q03); and 'Scientists must gather more information on fisheries' (Q07). Respondents disagreed more with: 'There are 347 348 too many fishermen, which leads to overfishing' (Q09); 'There is overpopulation, which leads 349 to overfishing' (Q10); and 'The fishery should be closed a few months per year' (Q01). There was limited separation of the respondents on the first three PC axes (Figure 3), indicating a 350 high level of agreement between respondents on most of the statements. The first PC 351 correlated strongly to the 1-5 scale on the questionnaire. State officials, people in education 352 and the 'other' group scored higher on this axis (ANOVA, F (5, 555) = 13.59; p < 0.01), indicating 353 that in general, they agreed more with the statements than the other groups. The second axis 354 355 slightly separated fishermen from the other groups (F (5, 555) = 11.95; p < 0.01) (Figure 3A). 356 There is a slightly significant separation on PC3 (F (5,555) = 2.53, p = 0.03) (Figure 3B). Based on cAIC, for each question separately, each time the best was the model without the 357 interaction term: Response ~ Profession + Sex + (1| Interviewer). Reports of the regression 358 359 parameters of the model and the anova on the model for each question can be found in SM5 and SM6 respectively. Linear-mixed effects models revealed significant differences between 360 professions and sexes on eight questions. Differences that were significantly different after F-361 test (for sex, since we recorded only two levels for sex) or post-hoc Tukey contrasts (for 362 363 professions) are indicated in Table2 and SM7. State officials and people in education agreed more to the statements in the closed-ended questionnaire than fishermen and agriculturalists 364 . This difference was especially pronounced on the statements asking for more licensing and 365 more government control and for regulation of fishing gear (SM4, Table 2). 366

367

Parallel analysis grouped the questions into seven factors, together explaining 39% of the variance in the data (Table 3, Figure 4). Tucker Lewis index of factoring reliability was 0.89, 370 which is below the optimally suggested value of 0.95, (Tucker and Lewis, 1973). The RMSR was 371 0.03 and RMSEA index was 0.043 (90% CI: 0.035-0.048), well below the maximally acceptable values of 0.06 and 0.08 respectively (Hu and Bentler, 1999). Although the low Tucker Lewis 372 index might indicate a mismatch between the model and the data, it was still deemed 373 374 acceptable as the RMSR was below 0.06 (Hu and Bentler, 1999). Factor one explained 9% of the variance in the data. It grouped the statements about limiting access to the fisheries, by 375 376 closure of parts of the lake for fishing and by limiting the number of gear a fisherman can deploy. This factor also included statements asking for research to gather more information 377 378 on the fishery and about the potential alternative of aquaculture. The second factor (6% of variance) combined statements about more action from the government by increasing 379 380 cooperation between the four riparian countries (Q16), exercising more control over the 381 fisheries (Q15) and teaching better fishing methods to the population (Q19). This factor also 382 included statements about providing more staff and money for control institutions (Q06), and more involvement of local communities in resource management (Q11). The third factor (6%) 383 grouped statements about enforcement of existing legislation: regulations of fishing gear 384 385 (Q02), stricter measures against illegal fishing (Q05) and the catch of juvenile fish (Q14), and enforcement of the closing period (Q01). Each of the other factors explained less than 5% of 386 387 the variance. The fourth factor was about too much fishing activity, and the fifth factor 388 highlighted the negative effects of environmental degradation. Factor six combined 389 statements about a lack of alternatives for fishermen and the last factor consisted of a singular 390 statement about safety for farmers.

391

392 After backwards model selection, retaining the model with lowest cAIC, the model that was selected for each factor was the one with sex and profession as fixed effects, and interviewer 393 394 as random effect: Factor ~ Profession + Sex + (1| Interviewer). Significant differences were 395 found between different professions (Figure 4, SM10) and sexes in two of the factors (Table 3). Reports of the regression parameters of the model and the anova on the model for each 396 question can be found in SM8 and SM9 respectively. Men scored significantly more positive 397 398 than women on two factors: call for more action from the government (factor 2: ANOVA, F (1, 399 529) = 8.17, p < 0.01), and lack of alternatives (factor 6: F (1, 530) = 12.5, p < 0.01). There is a trend (p < 0.1) of men scoring more positive on factor five, negative effect of environmental 400 401 degradation. State employees scored more positive than the other professions on the call for 402 more action from the government (factor 2: F (5, 540) = 2.50, p = 0.03). On factor one (limiting 403 fishing effort) there is a trend (p < 0.1) of fishermen scoring less positive than the other groups. 404 On factor three, enforcement of existing legislation, there is a trend towards state employees, 405 people in education and people in the other group scoring more positive than the other 406 groups.

407

408 <u>Semi-open ended questions for all stakeholders</u>

In a questionnaire aimed at all stakeholders of the fisheries, we asked the respondents 409 410 whether they had noticed any changes in the lake, or the fish. The most frequent answers were linked to climate or weather effects (strong winds, more rain) and effects of 411 412 eutrophication (green color of the lake) (Table 4). Of the respondents, 23% said almost all species of fish on the market were becoming smaller. It was reported that fish quality was 413 414 lower than before (Table 4). When asked if it had become more difficult to buy fish for the family, compared to other food, 67% replied yes, 28% reported no differences and 9% replied 415 this fluctuated with the supply. 416

417

418 <u>Semi-open ended questions for fishermen</u>

419 Ages of respondents ranged from 18 to 78 with an average of 38.1 (sd +/- 13.3) and a median 420 of 35. Experience as a fisherman ranged from 0.5 to 52 years, with an average of 15.6 (sd +/-421 11.5) and a median of 12. The majority of the fishermen (57%) indicated having an additional 422 livelihood to supplement income from fishing. Most respondents (72%) also had other family 423 members active in the fisheries. As a motivation for becoming fishermen, 69% of the respondents reported a lack of a more profitable source of income (Figure 5A). The three main 424 problems reported by fishermen were theft of fishing gear and harassment by gangs (44%), 425 strong winds that caused dangerous waves (35%), and a decline in catch-rates (28%) (Table 5). 426 427 As proposed improvement to the fisheries, our respondents suggested receiving of or access to better, modern and regulated fishing gear (45 %), better enforcement of the current 428 429 fisheries regulation (39%), and assured safety for fishermen on the lake (27%) (Table 6). We also inquired about what limit of catch decline would be the turning point to leave fisheries. 430 Many fishermen (39%) replied that they would stop fishing when they would have no more 431 profit from the fisheries. Some fishermen (26%) replied they would only stop when they would 432 find different work or capital to finance a new profession. One out of five indicated they would 433

continue fishing no matter how low their catches would become (Figure 5B). When asked
what they would do after quitting the fisheries, 33% replied that they would do nothing, either
due to lack of alternatives or because of retirement. Agriculture was the most popular
alternative to fisheries (28%), followed by trade (19%) (Figure 5C). If our respondents would
receive money to invest in their next profession, most would use it to invest in (fish)trade (62
%) or fisheries (23%) (Figure 5D).

440

441 <u>Semi-open ended questions for landing site officials</u>

442 The most frequently reported problems by landing site officials were fishing in spawning areas 443 and capture of juveniles (n = 6) and a decline in catches (n = 5) (Table 6). Other problems 444 included a lack of post-harvest processing opportunities, making unsold fish rot and thus go to waste (n = 3), that fishermen had outdated gear and no access to more modern gear (n = 445 446 3) and that there was pollution from households and industry (n = 3). As possible management 447 solutions, landing site officials proposed a well-enforced closure of fisheries (n = 3), delimiting and closing spawning areas (n = 3) and streamlining fisheries legislation between the four 448 449 different countries (n = 3) (Table 6).

450

451 Discussion

452 <u>Opinions of stakeholders on management strategies</u>

After assessing the opinions of the various stakeholders of the fisheries in Lake Tanganyika, 453 454 stakeholders of different occupational groups showed similar opinions about management strategies, despite different involvement and interest in the fisheries. Our expectation that 455 456 state officials would be more positive towards restrictive measures than fishermen, was 457 confirmed. State officials also scored higher on the factors combining statements about strengthening government involvement in fisheries and increasing the enforcement of 458 459 existing legislation. Since the questionnaires were developed by fisheries scientists and state 460 officials, this might partially explain why these groups agree more with the statements. These state officials might have faith in the current rules and regulations because they have been 461 462 taught these rules during training, and have – ideally- been trying to enforce these. This faith in the current rules might partially explain why these groups agree more with statements that 463

464 are in line with existing legislation. The livelihoods of resource managers, contrary to those of 465 fishermen, are not directly affected by fisheries restrictions, which might also explain why the former were less opposed to restrictions (Mcclanahan and Abunge, 2016). As predicted, 466 fishermen agreed less than other stakeholder groups that fishing effort should be limited, and 467 468 indicated more than other groups that not enough alternative livelihoods next to fishing were available. None of the respondent groups agreed to the statements that overpopulation or 469 470 too many fishermen were causing overfishing. As expected, the factors where men scored significantly higher than women were those most associated with enforcing existing rules and 471 472 regulations, such as gear restrictions and a ban on catching juvenile fish, and with more government control. These statements relate to the littoral fisheries, often dominated by 473 474 women, which, if current legislation was enforced, would be eliminated. In the past legislation 475 has been based more on the experiences of men than those of women, and thus is better 476 adapted to the needs and perceptions of men.

477

478 Changes perceived by stakeholders

479 A semi-open ended survey assessed perceived changes to the lake ecosystem. We expected 480 that stakeholders would report changes in the lake ecosystem related to climate change. 481 Stakeholders indeed indicated changes in rainfall, and in the level and colour of the lake. 482 However, since these questionnaires were conducted at the start of the rainy season and after 483 an intense algal bloom (personal observation, August 2018; Ndayisenga, 2018), many respondents might have been referring to recent changes. As the questionnaires did not 484 485 specify a time scale for the observations, it was difficult to disentangle responses related to weather from those related to climate. It was surprising that respondents indicated more 486 turbidity since, as a consequence of climate change, productivity in Lake Tanganyika has 487 dropped, decreasing turbidity (Stenuite et al., 2007; Verburg et al., 2003). This is probably 488 489 caused by respondents referring to a local scale, corresponding to their day to day experience. In Uvira, which is a densely populated area, eutrophication may have increased productivity, 490 locally increasing turbidity. A similar phenomenon of locally increased turbidity around 491 populated areas has been observed in Lake Victoria (Hecky et al., 2010). The effects of 492 493 eutrophication would, however, be limited to the littoral, since cold runoff water would sink below the thermocline in deeper waters (Plisnier, 2000). In our survey, fishermen and other 494

495 stakeholders indicated an increase in wind, contrary to temporal recordings, which showed 496 no indication of any change in wind speed (Verburg and Hecky, 2009) or only a slight decrease (O'Reilly et al., 2003; Plisnier, 2000). Since these studies are more than a decade old, more 497 recent data on wind speeds is needed. Possibly, respondents in our interviews who reported 498 an increase in wind speeds witnessed these in the past months, as wind speeds are higher 499 during the dry season (May-September) (Plisnier et al., 1999). Regular surveys with fisheries 500 stakeholders can be used to better document this type of climate-variability.. Collecting this 501 502 data on larger time scales, and combining it with other measurements, will give a clear image 503 of changes on local and regional scales, on different time scales, and its effects on the fisheries.

504

Stakeholders indicated that fish on the market were becoming smaller and that larger species 505 506 were becoming rare (Table 4). They also reported that fish had become more difficult to afford 507 compared to other food items. This observation corresponds to the observations made by 508 fishermen, who indicated decreasing catch-rates, as discussed below. Since monitoring of 509 Lake Tanganyika fisheries has been scant and fragmented (Kolding et al., 2019; Plisnier et al., 510 2018), and the government's enforcement capacities are limited, future management will 511 benefit greatly of stakeholder involvement, to acquire information for stock assessment, and 512 to increase consensus on issues related to resource use.

513

514 Fishermen's concerns

515 Fishermen reported as their main problem that fishing gear was often stolen and that they 516 were often harassed by armed gangs. They reported a lack of safety gear such as life jackets, combined with dangerous weather conditions, such as high winds that cause waves. In many 517 518 African artisanal fisheries, bad weather conditions are one of the leading causes of accidents 519 for fishermen (Remolà and Gudmundsson, 2018). Due to a lack of weather warning systems 520 in and around Uvira, fishermen are on the lake even under suboptimal weather conditions. 521 Implementing an early warning system, such as in Lake Victoria, where a model predicts 522 thunderstorms based on satellite data (Thiery et al., 2016), can potentially save many lives. In addition, fishermen reported attacks by crocodiles and hippopotami. Fishermen do not have 523 524 radio communication, decreasing the chance of rescue after an incident (Ben-Yami, 2000). Landing site officials mentioned that the sites rarely feature shelter or sanitary facilities for fishermen, increasing the risk of contracting infectious diseases. Because of the high physical demands, fishermen need to be in good physical condition. Hence, the prevalence of infectious diseases might threaten their livelihoods (Béné and Friend, 2009).

529 As the third most often mentioned issue, about a quarter of the fishermen indicated a decline 530 in catch-rate as one of their biggest concerns. Our survey shows that 72% of fishermen 531 interviewed had multiple members of their families employed in fisheries. A declining catch-532 rate could have a serious negative impact on the incomes of these families, which are heavily 533 dependent on fisheries, since alternative employment is scarce. Previous research showed 534 perceptions of fishermen to be reliable indicators of changes in catch-rates (Rochet et al., 535 2008), although these perceptions are dependent on individual catch variability (van 536 Oostenbrugge et al., 2002). Seasonal fluctuations might have caused temporarily reduced 537 catch-rates, while the general trend remained steady (Kolding and van Zwieten, 2012; van Zwieten et al., 2002). The low season in the North of Lake Tanganyika falls between March 538 and June (Kimirei and Mgaya, 2007). Since interviews took place in August and October, when 539 540 catches are expected to be high, it is unlikely that stakeholders were reporting seasonal 541 declines in catch-rate and resource availability. Despite reporting declining catch-rates, fishermen in our survey did not report that there was overfishing or overpopulation. 542 543 Fishermen tend to see the fisheries as an unlimited resource. They do not attribute changes in catches to an increase in fishing effort, but to outdated gear, and to a switch to less bright 544 545 lights to attract the fish. Note that recent research however, showed that the new LED lights were more efficient, so should lead to an increase in catch-rates (Mgana et al., 2019). The 546 547 discrepancy between this finding and the experience of the fishermen merits to be examined. 548 We would expect fishermen to be in favour of management practices that are in line with the 549 perception they have of fish abundance. Indeed, in our survey fishermen do not support more 550 strict catch restrictions, corresponding to their viewpoint that there is no overfishing, so there 551 is no use for further restricting catches. They did show a large willingness to participate in existing fisheries management and asked for better and fair enforcement of existing fishing 552 553 legislation, especially to eliminate the unfair competition from fishermen that operate illegally. Fishermen wished for a reliable governance system that protects them against 554 555 aggressors, illicit taxes, harassment and theft, and fair enforcement of legislation.

556 The profession of many fishermen has an important historical and cultural significance and provides a high job satisfaction (Pollnac et al., 2001; Young et al., 2016). Indeed, many 557 fishermen in the survey indicated that fishing was their preferred occupation or that it is a 558 family legacy. They indicated not to be willing to leave the fisheries even if this would no longer 559 560 be profitable. When asked what they would do if they had access to funds, many fishermen indicated they would invest in fishing or fish trade again. This unwillingness to quit declining 561 fisheries has also been shown elsewhere. In Philippine fisheries, for example, half of the 562 563 fishermen that were interviewed indicated to stay in fisheries despite unprofitable catch-rates 564 (Muallil et al., 2011).

565

566 Landing site officials

Many issues raised by landing site officials indicated non-adherence to fisheries regulation, 567 such as fishing in closed areas and with illegal gear. Since it is part of the landing site officials' 568 569 tasks to monitor these practices and to confiscate illegal gear, it is not surprising that these practices gained their attention. The issues they raise often coincide with the issues presented 570 571 by fishermen, such as a lack of safety for fishermen, due to lack of safety gear, infrastructure 572 on the beaches and dangerous weather conditions on the lake. Both groups also report 573 declining catch-rates and a lack of good fishing gear. Landing site officials indicated problems 574 related to broad issues, like land use change, contrary to fishermen, who mainly reported 575 issues related to the lake, like safety issues and outdated gear.

576 The interviews were also intended as a platform for landing site officials to share ideas about possible optimisations to fisheries management. Some of the suggested solutions were aimed 577 at policy makers, such as closure of the fishery, closure of spawning areas and stricter 578 579 licensing. Some of the suggested solutions were related to awareness raising and educating 580 the fishermen. Others, such as construction of infrastructure, could be carried out by the communities. The landing site officials, just like the fishermen asked for more enforcement of 581 582 existing regulations. Both landing site officials and fishermen underlined the importance of 583 alternative livelihoods for fishermen.

584

585 <u>Conclusions and future research</u>

586 The fisheries of Lake Tanganyika serve a critical role in food security in one of the poorest regions of the world. To preserve these valuable fisheries, adequate and effective 587 management of the resource is indispensable. Knowledge of observations and opinions of 588 fisheries stakeholders are needed to identify priorities and possible strategies for sustainable 589 fisheries management. Through interviewing a wide array of stakeholders, we found that in 590 general, most groups of stakeholders had similar opinions about the fisheries of Lake 591 Tanganyika and the fisheries management. We showed perceived changes in fisheries 592 593 resources, such as declines in catch-rates, reduced size of fish and increased prices on the 594 markets. We gained insight into problems affecting fishermen in their professions, which are mainly health, safety and security concerns. We provided information on motivations for 595 596 decision-making in fishermen, who chose their professions mainly because of a lack of other 597 income, but also because they liked it, because of family legacy or because of good revenue

598

599 The results offer suggestions for prioritising management efforts, as voiced by the community. Fishermen and landing site officials overall made the same suggestions for better fisheries 600 601 management. An important call was made for safer working conditions, for example access to safety gear and hygiene services. Respondents agreed on the importance of better 602 603 enforcement of existing legislation (gear, licensing and closing times) and access to better 604 fishing gear and protection of the ecosystem of the lake. In our survey, most respondents 605 agreed with the suggestion to close nursery areas from fishing activity. In order to do so, more research is needed to correctly identify these nursery areas. There was also consensus that 606 607 fishing should not take place in the littoral zone. Besides potentially containing important nursery sites, the littoral zone also harbours a large part of the lake's ichtyobiodiversity (Van 608 609 Steenberge et al., 2011). Hence, its protection will also have a positive effect on a wide range 610 of fish species (Britton et al., 2017).

511 Since regular monitoring of the fisheries of Lake Tanganyika is difficult to organise, data is now 512 scarce and fragmented. This study demonstrated that stakeholders can make useful 513 observations about the ecosystem on limited temporal and spatial scales. Hence, besides 514 consistent monitoring of not only limnological and biological factors (Plisnier et al., 2018), 515 collecting the ideas, perceptions and opinions of stakeholders on a regular basis will be 516 valuable for sustainable (fisheries) management of Lake Tanganyika. However, some lessons

617 were learned in this survey that we advise to be taken into account in further studies. 618 Foremost, as no temporal and spatial frame was mentioned in the questions, we do not know whether respondents answered questions based on long- or short-term observations, or 619 whether they refer to local or regional patterns. We recommend that future surveys would 620 621 clearly distinguish spatial and temporal scales in the questions, related to age and experience of the respondents. Observations on catches should be recorded individually for different 622 623 fishing techniques and gears, and collected per species. Besides the pelagic fisheries discussed in this paper, there are also important littoral fisheries in Lake Tanganyika. These fisheries are 624 625 often carried out by women, children and fishermen who cannot afford a license, targeting littoral species or juveniles of pelagic species. Gears are often illegal and improvised, like 626 mosquito nets. Enforcement of restriction of these fisheries without offering proper 627 628 alternatives for these actors might have strong negative consequences in terms of food 629 security and poverty reduction. Future studies are needed to assess opinions, observations 630 and perceived problems by these fishermen as well.

631

632 Respondents acknowledge the need for better coordination of management between the four 633 countries surrounding Lake Tanganyika. Since clupeid stocks are shared between the nations (De Keyzer et al., 2019; Junker et al., 2019; Kmentová et al., 2020), collaborative management 634 between countries is needed. For successful lake wide management to take place, it is 635 necessary to have comprehensive knowledge of the opinions and preferred strategies of 636 stakeholders around the entire lake. Future research needs to look into how much willingness 637 638 there is for collaboration. To harmonise legislation, we suggest this type of study to be 639 repeated in time and space along the shores of all riparian countries of Lake Tanganyika.

640

641 Abbreviations

- 642 ANOVA analysis of variance
- 643 AU-IBAR African Union inter-African bureau for animal resources
- 644 AUC-NEPAD African Union commission New partnership for Africa's development
- 645 CPUE catch per unit of effort

- 646 DRC Democratic Republic of the Congo
- 647 PC principal component
- 648 PCA principal component analysis
- 649 LTA Lake Tanganyika Authority
- 650 MANOVA multiple analysis of variance
- 651 RMSEA root mean square error of approximation
- 652 RMSR root mean square of the residuals
- 653

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659

660 Author contributions

661 ELRDK, PMM, MPMV, JAMR, JH, FAMV and MVS conceived the study. All authors

662 contributed to making the surveys. ELRDK, GA, CMAM AMA, KA, PB, ABB, ARB, HB, CH, JKB,

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out the interviews. ELRDK, CETH, JAMR, LJM and MVS analysed data. All authors contributed

to writing the manuscript. ELRDK coordinated and finalised writing of the manuscript. LJdB,

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912 List of figures

Figure 1: Stakeholder groups included in the survey, which we ranked according to the interest in and influence we assume them to have over the fisheries of Lake Tanganyika.

915 Figure 2: Map indicating the locations of the interviews. Made with simplemappr 916 (www.simplemappr.net). Coordinates of the locations are displayed in SM1.

917 Figure 3: Biplot of the PCA conducted on the responses of the close-ended questionnaire.

918 Symbols indicate the six groups: agriculturists, fishermen, merchants, education, state officials

and other, and ellipses indicate the 75% confidence interval. With (A) PC 1 (19.7%) vs. PC2

- 920 (7.9%) and (B) PC2 *vs.* PC3 (6.3%). For an overview of the questions (Q1-Q26), see Table 2.
- 921 Figure 4: Results of the factor analysis on the close-ended questionnaire with fisheries
- stakeholders with mean response and confidence interval on the seven factors for each of
- 923 the six groups: agriculturists, fishermen, merchants, education, state officials and other.
- 924 Figure 5: Answers obtained in the semi open-ended questionnaire with fishermen. Responses

925 to the questions (A) "why did you choose the profession of fisherman?" (Number of

926 respondents = 241), (B) "If fisheries would no longer be profitable, when would you decide to

927 quit?" (number of respondents = 129), (C) "What activity would you do if fisheries were no

longer profitable?" (number of respondents = 239). (D) "If you would have money to create

929 your next job, what type of investment would you make?" (number of respondents = 152).

930 List of tables

- Table 1: Overview of interviews. Columns show which type of stakeholders were
- 932 interviewed, which type of questionnaires were used, the content of the questions and the
- 933 total number of respondents (n).

Table 2: Close-ended questionnaire with stakeholders of the fisheries: average score and
95% confidence interval per question for the different professional categories. n = number of
answers given. Significant differences (p < 0.05) in responses between sexes and groups of
stakeholders, tested with type III Wald F statistics, and post-hoc Tukey contrasts for
professions, on a linear mixed-effects model are indicated. Stakeholders are grouped into six
categories: agriculturists (a), fishermen (f), merchants (m), education (e), state employees (s)
and other (o). Sexes are male (M) and female (F).

- 941 Table 3: Factor analysis of the close-ended questionnaire with stakeholders of the fisheries:
- grouping of questions into seven factors and loadings for each question on their respective

943 factor. Significant differences (p < 0.05) in responses between sexes and groups of

- 944 stakeholders, tested with type III Wald F statistics, and post-hoc Tukey contrasts for
- 945 professions, on a linear mixed-effects model are indicated. Professions are grouped into six
- 946 categories: agriculturists (a), fishermen (f), merchants (m), education (e), state employees
- 947 (s) and other (o). Sexes are (M) male and (F) female.
- Table 4: Semi-open ended questionnaire with stakeholders of the fisheries: number of
- respondents is 195. n = number of times this response was given, % = percentage of this
- 950 response in the total group. Respondents were allowed to give multiple answers.
- Table 5: Semi-open ended questionnaire with fishermen: number of respondents is 158. n =
- number of times this response was given, % = percentage of this response in total group.
 Respondents were allowed to give multiple answers.
- Table 6: Semi-open ended questions with landing site officials: number of respondents = 38.
- 955 n = total number of times a response was given, a = number of times a response was given
- by someone from the agriculture department (n = 21), f = number of times a response wasgiven by someone from the fisheries department (<math>n = 17).
- 958
- 959

960 List of supplementary materials

- SM 1: List of sampling sites with coordinates. Sampling sites are ordered from North toSouth.
- 963 SM 2: Questions of the questionnaires with fishermen and with stakeholders of the fisheries.
- 964 Changes were made to some questions after evaluation of the questionnaires. Questions965 that were added after the evaluation are added in grey. Changes to the questionnaire are
- 966 listed.
- 967 SM 3: Professions that make up the six professional categories used in the analysis of the
- 968 close-ended questionnaire, as reported by the respondents. n = the number of respondents
- 969 who indicated this profession.

- 970 SM 4: Results of the close-ended questionnaire with fisheries stakeholders. Mean response
- and confidence interval of answers given per group for the 26 statements. Response
- 972 categories range from 1 (disagree) to 5 (agree) on a Likert scale. Symbols indicate the six
- 973 groups: agriculturists, fishermen, merchants, education, state officials and other.
- 974 SM 5: Estimated regression parameters, standard errors, degrees of freedom (df), t-values
- and P-values for the fixed effects of the Mixed-effects model on the 26 statements. The
- 976 estimated value for the random effect (σ Interviewer) is indicated.
- 977 SM 6: Results of Linear-mixed effects models that tested for fixed effects of sex and
- 978 profession, and the random effect of interviewer for the scores on the 26 statements.
- Significant effects (Type III tests, P < 0.05) are indicated in bold. Df = Degrees of freedom. Df
 res = degrees of freedom of the residuals.
- 981 SM 7: Results of Linear-mixed effects models post-hoc comparisons between professions for
- the scores on the 26 statements. Significant results (Tukey-Kramer adjusted P-value < 0.05)
 are indicated in bold.
- 984 SM 8: Estimated regression parameters, standard errors, degrees of freedom (df), t-values
- and P-values for the fixed effects of the Linear-mixed effects models on the 7 factors. The
 estimated value for the random effect (σ Interviewer) is indicated.
- 987 SM 9: Results from Linear-mixed effects models that tested for fixed effects of sex and
- 988 profession, and the random effect of interviewer for the scores on the 26 statements.
- 989 Significant effects (Type III tests, P < 0.05) are indicated in bold. Df = Degrees of freedom. Df
- 990 res = degrees of freedom of the residuals.
- SM 10: Results of Linear-mixed effects models post-hoc comparisons between professionsfor the scores on the factors. There were no significant results.

993 Table 1: Overview of interviews. Columns show which type of stakeholders were interviewed,
994 which type of questionnaires were used, the content of the questions and the total number of
995 respondents (n).

Respondents	Type of questionnaire	Type of questions			
All stakeholders	Close-ended	26 statements about management options	562		
All stakeholders	Semi open-ended	Observed changes in ecosystem and fisheries resources, importance of fish as food source	196		
Fishermen	Semi open-ended	Motives, economic alternatives, importance of fisheries, observed changes	229		
Landing site officials	Semi open-ended	Perceived problems and preferred management problems for Lake Tanganyika fisheries	32		

997 Table 2: Close-ended questionnaire with stakeholders of the fisheries: average score and 95% confidence interval per question for the different
998 professional categories. n = number of answers given. Significant differences (p < 0.05) in responses between sexes and groups of stakeholders,
999 tested with type III Wald F statistics, and post-hoc Tuckey contrasts for professions, after a linear mixed-effects model eliminating the effect of
1000 different interviewers are indicated. Stakeholders are grouped into six categories: agriculturists (a), fishermen (f), merchants (m), education (e),
1001 state employees (s) and other (o). Sexes are male (M) and female (F).

ID	Question	n	mean	Difference
Q01	The fishery should be closed a few months per year	557	2.96	
Q02	Fishing gear must be regulated	557	3.50	F < M; afm < e
Q03	Deforestation around the lake must stop	557	4.03	
Q04	Aquaculture is a good alternative to fisheries	555	3.91	
Q05	Stricter measures must be taken against illegal fishing	556	3.78	
Q06	Control institutions should receive more staff and more money	556	3.65	F < M; f < o
Q07	Scientists must gather more information on fisheries	556	4.03	
Q08	The number of people who can participate in fisheries must be regulated with a fishing license	557	3.03	afo <s; f<e<="" td=""></s;>
Q09	There are too many fishermen, which leads to overfishing	556	2.68	
Q10	There is overpopulation, which leads to overfishing	557	2.82	
Q11	Local communities should be involved in resource management	555	3.74	
Q12	Parts of the lake must be closed to fishing permanently	555	3.27	F < M
Q13	Spawning sites (river mouths, bays, etc.) must be completely closed to fishing and human activities	555	3.93	
Q14	Everyone must stop catching juvenile fish	555	3.67	F < M
Q15	The government must exercise more control over the fisheries	555	3.84	a <e< td=""></e<>
Q16	The four countries around the lake need to cooperate more in sustainable fisheries management	557	3.87	
Q17	Pollution of the lake (bags, plastic bottles, household waste) has a negative effect on fishing	557	3.88	
Q18	The exploitation of sand and stones has a negative effect on fishing	557	3.47	

Q19	The government must teach better fishing methods to the population	556	4.04	 m < e
Q20	The absence of alternatives increases the number of fishermen	557	3.88	F < M; ef < a
Q21	If there was easy access to practical education, people would have more alternatives for fishing	422	3.97	F < M
Q22	The number of fishing gear that each fisherman can use must be limited	420	3.01	
Q23	There is too much fish on the market that comes from outside the territory of Uvira	421	3.00	
Q24	If it were safer to farm, it would be a good alternative for fishing	421	3.66	
Q25	We must close or prohibit fishing in places which have potential for tourism	420	3.37	F < M
Q26	We must stop fishing in the littoral zone	412	3.31	

1004 Table 3: Factor analysis of the close-ended questionnaire with stakeholders of the fisheries: 1005 grouping of questions into seven factors and loadings for each question on their respective factor. Difference = the significant differences for these factors between professions and sex, 1006 1007 tested with type III Wald F statistics, and post-hoc Tuckey contrasts for professions, on a linear mixed-effects model with interviewer as random effect and profession or sex as test 1008 variables. Professions are grouped into six categories: agriculturists (a), fishermen (f), 1009 1010 merchants (m), education (e), state employees (s) and other (o). Sexes are (M) male and (F) 1011 female.

Factor		Questions and loadings on the factor		Difference
	Q26	We must stop fishing in the littoral zone	0.6	
Factor one:	Q25	We must close or prohibit fishing in places which have potential for tourism	0.5	
limiting fishing	Q12	Parts of the lake must be closed to fishing permanently	0.5	
effort (9%)	Q22	The number of fishing gear that each fisherman can use must be limited	0.4	
	Q04	Aquaculture is a good alternative to fisheries	0.4	
	Q07	Scientists must gather more information on fisheries	0.3	
actor two: call	Q16	The four countries around the lake need to cooperate more in sustainable fisheries management	0.6	
or more action	Q06	Control institutions should receive more staff and more money	0.5	F < M
from the	Q19	The government must teach better fishing methods to the population	0.5	aefmo < s
government (6%)	Q15	The government must exercise more control over the fisheries	0.4	
(0/0)	Q11	Local communities should be involved in resource management	0.4	
Factor three:	Q02	Fishing gear must be regulated	0.7	
enforcement of	Q05	Stricter measures must be taken against illegal fishing	0.5	F < M
existing legislation	Q14	Everyone must stop catching juvenile fish	0.5	
(6%)	Q01	The fishery should be closed a few months a year	0.4	
Factor four: too much	Q09	There are too many fishermen, which leads to overfishing	0.8	
fishing activity (5%)	Q10	There is overpopulation, which leads to overfishing	0.6	
Factor five: negative effect	Q17	Pollution of the lake (bags, plastic bottles, household waste) has a negative effect on fishing	0.5	
of	Q18	The exploitation of sand and stones has a negative effect on fishing	0.5	
environmental	Q03	Deforestation around the lake must stop	0.4	
degradation (5%)	Q13	Spawning sites (river mouths, bays,) must be completely closed to fishing and human activities	0.4	
	Q20	The absence of alternatives increases the number of fishermen	0.7	
Factor six: lack of alternatives	Q21	If there was easy access to practical education, people would have more alternatives for fishing	0.7	F < M
(4%)	Q23	There is too much fish on the market that comes from outside the territory of Uvira	- 0.3	
	Q24	If it were safer to farm, it would be a good alternative for fishing	0.6	

Factor	seven:				
safet	y for				
farm	ners				
(39	%)				

1014 Table 4: Semi-open ended questionnaire with stakeholders of the fisheries: number of

1015 respondents is 195. n = number of times this response was given, % = percentage of this

1016 response in the total group. Respondents were allowed to give multiple answers.

Question	Response of stakeholders		
	Change in water colour	80	41
Did you notice	Strong wind	69	36
	More rain	42	22
changes in the lake	Lake level higher	41	2
(wind, rain, colour,	No changes to report	27	14
algae)?	Yes (unspecified)	18	9
	Fluctuation in lake level according to seasons	11	6
	Rain brings garbage/ dirt to the lake	9	5
	Lower lake level	5	3
	No differences	54	28
	Almost all fish smaller	44	23
	All fish lower quality (rot fast)	23	12
Did you notice	Mikeke (adult <i>L. stappersii</i>) smaller	27	14
changes in the fish	Lumbu (adult <i>L. miodon</i>) smaller	11	6
(size, quality, taste,	Change in taste for fish caught with a gillnet	11	6
presence of worms)?	Less kuhe (Boulengerochromis microlepis) sold at market	7	4
In which fish?	Change in taste mikeke	6	3
	Karumba (adult <i>S. tanganicae</i>) smaller	5	3
	Ndagala* or nyamynyamu (Juvenile <i>L. stappersii</i>) smaller	9	5
	Kungura (Limnotilapia dardennii) tastes rotten	5	3

- 1020 Table 5: Semi-open ended questionnaire with fishermen: number of respondents is 158. n =
- 1021 number of times this response was given, % = percentage of this response in total group.
- *Respondents were allowed to give multiple answers.*

Question	Responses of fishermen			
What problems are currently	Theft of fishing gear and harassment by armed gangs	67	44	
	Dangerous winds that cause waves	53	3	
	Declining catch	42	2	
	Too many (illicit) taxes enforced by the army and the state	25	1	
affecting you in your profession as	Lack of (decent) fishing gear and clothing/ safety gear	22	1	
fisherman?	Attacks by wild animals (crocodiles and hippopotamus)	18	1	
noncernan.	There are no problems	8	5	
	The patron does not pay (enough)	5	Э	
	More and better/ regulated materials and safety gear	71	4	
	Enforce regulation of illegal fishing (gear)	61	3	
	Assure safety on the lake for fishermen + action against armed gangs	42	2	
	Financing through credit	28	1	
	Formation of fishermen in fisheries techniques (workshops)	17	1	
	Stricter fisheries legislation	13	8	
What is needed to	Financial support from government	13	8	
improve fisheries?	Forbid fishing of juveniles/ Forbid small mesh sizes	12	8	
	Reduce taxes and stop military/government harassment	9	6	
	Nothing/Idon't know	9	6	
	Better adapted and enforced closing period	5	3	
	Augmented catch	5	3	
	Better understanding between patron and fishermen	4	3	
	Services for fishermen on beaches (latrines, shelter,)	4	3	

1025Table 6: Semi-open ended questions with landing site officials: number of respondents = 38. n1026= total number of times a response was given, a = number of times a response was given by1027someone from the agriculture department (n = 21), f = number of times a response was given1028by someone from the fisheries department (n = 17).

Question	Responses of landing site officials	а	
	Fishing in spawning areas and capture of juveniles	3	
What are the current problems for fisheries in Lake Tanganyika?	Weak/ declining capture	2	
	Lack of post-harvest processing, making unsold fish rot	2	
	Fishermen have outdated gear and no better gear is available	2	
	Pollution from households and industry	2	
	Insecurity during fishing for fishermen (theft, threats, fear for life)	2	
	Fisheries services have difficulties controlling due to insecurity or lack of means	1	
	Closing periods are not respected		
	Strong winds cause dangerous waves, damaging fishing gear and boats	1	
	Some beaches don't have latrines so fishermen defecate in the lake, which can	1	
	contaminate the fish		
	Use of illegal fishing gear	1	
	Houses are built too close to the lake, reducing the beaches so that boats cannot land	1	
	No space to sell fish	1	
	Low oxygen in the water, fish asphyxiate	1	
	There is no shelter for the fishermen on the beaches	1	
	Fishermen are not experienced enough, so they do not catch enough fish		
	Extraction of sand and stones		
	Cutting of vegetation (like macrophytes), which destroys spawning areas		
	Lates are close to extinction		
	Close fisheries and enforce this closure	2	
	Delimit and respect closing of spawning areas	2	
	The four surrounding countries need to have the same restrictions in closing time and fisheries gear	1	
	Provide new fisheries material that is conform the law	1	
	Stop deforestation and start reforestation	1	
	Forbid import of forbidden materials, it is well known where they come from		
What needs to	Improve fisheries by giving a formation about the different techniques	1	
be done for	Awareness raising among fishermen so that they understand the importance of		
better fisheries	fisheries regulation		
in Lake	Stop building close to the lake, leave the littoral open	1	
Tanganyika?	Give credit to fishermen so they can buy new materials	1	
	Licensing for identification and reduction of number of fishermen	2	
	Construct cold chambers and equip fishermen with cooler boxes	1	
	Construct hangars for fishermen	1	
	Industrialization of fisheries will help catching bigger fish and will be easier to control	1	
	State should provide alternative livelihood so that people stop destroying the lake		
	Forbid the extraction of sand and stones		
	Make the neighbouring countries stop polluting the lake		