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1 Executive Summary

This third report on the inclusion of a gender dimension in the PERICLES H2020 project first presents results concerning the internal life of the project and the number of women and men involved in the project's actions. The last section presents the case of women's contributions to shellfish farming in Brittany, France. This example shows first what it means to 'do gender'" in intangible cultural heritage safeguarding and shows why it is important to re-examine fisheries and maritime activities considered as "male" by dominant ideology and those holding power in society.

2 Introduction

According to the academic literature, discourses on cultural heritage are linked to power and ideology. Heritage is often synonymous with the ideology promoted by the 'official powers' that extend their own principles and values (Schramm 20015). To avoid the domination of a singular ideology (in this case, that of men, masculinity and patriarchy) over our past and future cultural heritage, it is time to highlight the representations of the cultural heritage from diverse groups or social categories. The inclusion of representations of 'invisible groups' (e.g., women, working classes, ethnic groups) will illustrate that artefacts, sites or narratives of cultural heritage can always have different meanings for different groups and individuals (Rampley, 2012 in Schramm 2015). By bringing in different narratives and representations (e.g. women, ethnic groups, working classes), debates around heritage, ideology and power marked by male or colonial domination—at least as far as Western societies are concerned—can be changed (Blake, 2011).

The domination of 'official power' and relatedly male power is demonstrable in the first World Heritage Convention of UNESCO of 1972 (Colella, 2018). This convention, despite the fact that it emphasises on the concept of "common heritage" of humanity and stressed the notion of the "universal value" of heritage, did not attend to cultural communities and social groups. This convention, perceived as Eurocentric by many countries, did not have western monuments to listed by UNESCO nor did it share the a more universal definition of cultural heritage like that of Japan. These non-western countries lobbied for the introduction of other values regarding heritage corresponding to their own ideology. These lobby actions resulted to the introduction of the Convention on the Protection of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), in 2003, which in contrast with the previous convention assigned a central role to cultural communities, social groups and, in some cases, individuals, on whom the ability and willingness to preserve heritage depends. However, although social groups and cultural communities are explicitly included, the ICH convention did not take into account the gender dimension (De Vido, 2017).

Since then, thanks to women's groups and others lobbying, the principle of gender equality has become an objective of UNESCO and other institutions, such as the Council of Europe and the European Union, by broadening cultural heritage to the role of women in the conservation and transmission of tangible and intangible heritage. The European Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century of the Council of Europe (Le Pape, 2018) has gender equality as main objective. European countries are calling to introduce and implement the gender equality principle in heritage policies.

According to the Council of Europe, gender equality in the field of cultural heritage requires a profound transformation of our societies because cultural heritage tells us stories about the people and society of the past and its relevance to the present. These stories inherited today have been mainly created, identified, privileged and transmitted according to criteria defined by those who hold power, namely men. Thus, in many countries' history, art, law, politics, patriarchal values dominate. To address these historical and institutional inequalities, it is necessary to understand whether the process of creating, identifying, interpreting, conserving and managing heritage is inclusive and participatory and does not reproduce or promote stereotypical gender roles. Such efforts recognise heritage and creative expression as means to empower women and girls, not only socially, civically and politically, but also economically.

To achieve these objectives, a gender analysis should be integrated in projects or research regarding cultural heritage dealing with its identification, safeguarding, management and governance. And especially when a participatory approach is used. It is within this logic that one of the multiple objectives of PERICLES project was to include gender equality at least in regions where partners had the competency to ensure this task. For example, French partners (UBO and PNRGM) dedicated two DEMOS exclusively to this objective. In order to identify what each team, not having a specific DEMOS dedicated to gender, done we decided to conduct a survey assessing their contribution to this issue. The survey was composed of three parts, one about the internal life of the project (i.e. how many men and women work for the project, age, employment status, which position each one holds, etc.), the second about the number of participants to our activities (i.e. how many men and women), the third sought to identify whether project partners noticed any differences between men and women in their discourses, activities and positioning regarding cultural heritage during meetings or interviews. The following report presents what the project realised on gender equality.

First, we present the results of the surveys and then the results of specific actions dedicated to women.

3 Gender dimension in PERICLES Project

The stakeholder surveys consisted of three parts:

- Composition of the research teams (number of women and men working in the project, their age, employment status, and position)
- Number of women and men participating in public meetings, actions, interviews, etc at case region and European level.
- Identification of differences between men and women in the discourses, visions and interactions with cultural heritage.

3.1 Gender and employment

The variables of the surveys were sociological in nature, along a traditional gender approach: number of people involved in the project, sex, professional status, age, working time devoted to the project (full-time, part-time or occasional) and how each of their positions were financed (i.e., PERICLES or not).

During the first years of the projects 54 people were directly involved in the PERICLES project. The gender distribution in employment was almost the same during all periods of the project with 61.1% of consortium members being women (compared to 60% the first year) and 38.2% men (compared to 38%). 11 other women were indirectly associated to PERICLES project by realizing mainly financial and administrative tasks. During the highest period of project activity 65 persons were directly or indirectly involved, of which 16.9% were involved in administrative and financial assistance. 70% in leadership positions were held by women (coordinator, manager of the project, work package leaders, deliverables, etc.) with an average age between 30 and 40 years old. Thus, PERICLES project can be seen as "women-friendly," or supporting women's employment.

The distribution by age group was changed throughout the life of the project, participation of the youngest colleagues was more important during the two first years, with less of their involvement during the last year. But the project's internal participants were mostly "young" as only 5.5% of the people working were over 60 years old. This percentage didn't change throughout the life of the project. Furthermore, it seems that PERICLES contributed to the reduction of precariousness of graduates by creating jobs.

3.1.1 Participation in PERICLES activities and actions by gender

Following the first year, the gender expert member of PERICLES scientific committee recommended that "doing gender" means that we need to:

- Highlight existing gender differences that have a negative or positive impact on the promotion of sustainable management of maritime heritage and the preservation of identity;
- Take into account gender dimensions in the implementation of measures for spatial planning, sustainable development, local governance, etc.

- Bring visibility to women's participation in maritime activities usually considered as 'male' such as fisheries, oysters farming, etc.

Thus, partners adapted their research work in a way to take into consideration these points. Our second report on gender brought more information about the gender dimension in cultural heritage than the first one. From the second year of the project the gender dimension had more central place in the project work. However, this shift was slowed by the COVID-19 pandemic as our physical public meetings, interviews, and other actions were cancelled. The response of PERICLES to this crisis was the organisation of online events and publication of newsletters, such as those in France. Webinars allowed us to open our project to a larger audience, even persons outside of Europe.

From May 2020 PERICLES organised 5 webinars, of which 4 had women as speakers. The fifth was run by one woman and one man. The last important project event realised online was the MARE Policy Day on "Coastal and Maritime Cultural Heritage" organised on June 28, 2021 within the frame of the MARE conference. From the five panels organised during this policy day three were led by women and two by men and we had 12 men and 11 women as panellists. One of the panels, "Intangible Cultural Heritage Knowledge" had exclusively 4 female panellists.

3.1.2 Gender dimension at case regions

In the Brittany case region, the answer to the constraints of the Covid-19 crisis was the publication of monthly newsletters (see <https://www.pericles-heritage.eu/case-region-brittany/>). The newsletter's main objective was to maintain the contact with the French PERICLES network. Two of the newsletters, n° 5 and n° 6 featured issues related to gender equality and cultural heritage. The issue n° 6 was exclusively dedicated to gender equality and cultural heritage (https://www.pericles-heritage.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Lettre-dinformation-PERICLES_Novembre.pdf).

At the end of the lockdown in May 2020 different interviews with women and men working at maritime activities were realised in Gulf of Morbihan and Finistère, Brittany, France. The data coming from these interviews were used for multiple products: publication of a book about the evolution of fisheries activities in the Gulf of Morbihan with a specific focus on women called, "*Savoirs en Mer*", an indoor exhibition of the same name and outdoor picture exhibition. This work was realised in cooperation with the PNRGM and the fisheries and shellfish farmer's committees of the area and benefited a complementary financial support from the EMFF and the Bretagne region. The book was given to fishers, shellfish farmers and shellfish harvesters.



Photo 1: *Savoirs en mer* Book, pages 55, PNRGM

Lastly, different videos were also produced showing women and men practising these jobs. Since the indoor exhibition's inauguration on 19th September at Arradon municipal media library, the exhibition is now at the Saint Philibert municipality and will be on display for the entire winter 2021-2022.



Photo 2, 3 : "Savoir en Mer" indoor exhibition, Arradon 19th of September.

A focus group regrouping women working in fisheries, shellfish farming and shellfish harvesting on foot was organised at Sené in Gulf of Morbihan (FR) the 28th of October 2020. 12 women discussed the difficulties faced by women practising these jobs and the differences between men and women.



Photo 4: Focus group with women shellfish farmers and gatherers on foot on 28th October 2020 at Sené, France.

Interviews were also realised with women and men involved in seaweed harvesting on foot in Finistère district (FR) and also women selling fish at market. A series of 12 videos called, “Women and Men of the Sea in Brittany” was made. Five of the 12 videos show women working in fisheries and seaweed value chains. The videos presenting the seaweed activity were realised in collaboration with the Union of seaweed harvesters and the Union of Seaweed processing industries “Chambre Syndicale des algues” (<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLGq2idFGMwiRBgh8CKJ9fHnku2J2JMqsj>).

A document developing the “Seaweed value chain in Finistère” realised by UBO pays a particular attention to women participation to the harvesting. (Henry et al., 2021)

Wadden Sea Case Region: An ethnographic documentary made by Loes Witteveen and Pauline van Tuyll (WU) called the *The Whalers’ House. Stories of cultural heritage on Texel*. The documentary tells the story of how the Whalers’ House on Texel became a valuable contribution to the maritime cultural heritage on Texel, one of the islands in the Dutch part of the Wadden Sea. The film reconstructs how two individual quests for the story behind the house came together. The film portrays the owners of the house, Annetje Capitain- Bendien and Ineke Vonk, the former an historian and the latter the wife of a fisher. From their stories it becomes clear that the house with the old boxbeds and beautifully decorated blue tiles on the wall, was not a pilot house, as commonly thought, but had been inhabited by the whalers Claas Daalder and Simon Walig in the eighteenth century. The two women were able to reconstruct the history of the house together. The house is now part of the cultural heritage of Texel and can be visited in small groups. The documentary also mentions the role played by men as fishers at sea and the women as wives of fishers on land. Fishers typically spent several months at sea while the women fulfilled all the tasks ashore and in the community. (see: <https://vimeo.com/417106242>)

4 How to 'do gender': from oyster farming to degustation, evolution of women's role

To illustrate how partners in the PERICLES project incorporated gender dimensions into case demos, we use some of the work carried out in the Golfe du Morbihan (France) concerning the intangible heritage of marine activities such as fishing, oyster farming and shellfish harvesting on foot. This work takes a particular look at the transmission of knowledge while emphasising the role of women. The choice to examine the gender dimension of these activities is based on the fact that these jobs are perceived by society as "masculine. Thus, the study of gender roles in the transmission of knowledge, the division of labour between women and men could contribute to changing this general image and make visible the role of women in this intangible heritage.

Forty-two interviews with oysters' farmers (12 women and 30 men) and fishers were conducted between February and October 2020. During interviews questions related to women's contributions in these activities were asked to all interviewees. All interviews were transcribed and analysed with SONAL software. All the collected data related to gender was then analysed activity by activity. In the following sections you will find the results concerning oysters farming only. A male and female vision concerning the practice of this activity will be presented. For further detail, French-speakers can consult the book "Savoirs en Mer" (Vanlaer, 2021) at the following link:

<https://www.umr-amure.fr/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/20210520-LIVRET-VF-light.pdf>

Since the early days, oyster farming in the Gulf of Morbihan and the role of women in this activity has been of considerable importance to its development. However, women's engagement in this sector has changed considerably over the decades and this evolution has occurred simultaneously with the transformation of the place of women in Western societies and of course due to the transformations of the practices of oyster farming.

4.1 Male vision of women's participation in oyster farming in Gulf of Morbihan

In the early days of oyster farming in France and in the Gulf of Morbihan, women were involved in all tasks, both in production on the beds and in the farm, and in selling the oysters at the markets. The women occupied a multipurpose position complementing that of their husbands, most of whom were fishermen and therefore spent a large part of their time at sea.

"For me, oyster farming has always been carried out by women, in the 1900s until 1960s they went to the beds, they sorted, they graded, they went to the markets to sell. So, women touched the oysters. Since the 1970s, 1980s, oysters farming enterprises are not any longer the same, and women fewer. Not even enough. They are still on the shore, they are selling oysters on the markets, but they are also involved in the administrative part". (interview with male oyster farmer 1)

With the professionalization and masculinisation of oyster farming, the role of women has changed. The tasks linked to production on the shore, which are considered to be particularly physically demanding, were then largely carried out by men. Women, who showed a dexterity and finesse in sorting and grading—considered superior to that of men—gradually saw their place returned to the land, in the oyster shacks.

*"When you look at postcards of Cancale [city well-known of its production of flat oysters (*Ostrea edulis*) beginning of 20th century] you see mountain of oysters on the foreshore surrounded by women, standing, crawling or kneeling whom sorting oysters. There were no shacks, they arrived later. So women graded oysters, put them in wicker baskets and then went to sell them. Meanwhile, the boys were on the shore. Afterwards, women also went to the shore, but it was the boys who were the labourers and the women who were the sorters". (interview with male oyster farmer 2)*

"At first, men spent more time at shore and the women on land. When I started this job, it was still the same because the girls mainly worked in the oyster shacks and went to the shore from time to time to do specific tasks. Men also worked in oyster shacks, but they were the ones who went out to shore" (interview with male oyster farmer 5)

However, with the mechanisation of oyster farming, particularly through the use of sorting belts, the tasks that were once assigned to women were almost entirely automated. Progressively, and in line with this evolution, the number of female oyster workers has largely decreased. Nowadays, many oyster enterprises hire mainly men who *"are able to realize all type of tasks"*. In this approach, the power and strength of the male body becomes the main, if not the only justification.

"Nowadays, there are far fewer women in oyster farming than there used to be. More men are now entering into this job. Until 2005, I employed 7 women for 8 men. Because women are better at sorting, at grading. Since, these tasks are mechanised. So we don't longer grade by hand". (interview with male oyster farmer 1)

Faced with these developments and changes of oyster farming, the role of women was reoriented towards another activity, the direct sales. Women returned to what they always knew selling oysters.

"My great-grandmother went to the market in Auray twice a week to sell her oysters and clams. So she would go with her wheelbarrow to Port Anna, in Séné, and from Port Anna she would take a boat to Le Bono. And from Le Bono she would walk with the wheelbarrow to Auray to sell her shellfish". interview with male oyster farmer 7)

Mechanization of the activity and 2008 oyster's crisis (oyster's mortality) contribute to the investment of women in retail sales, on markets or at work sites. Nowadays, this activity is perceived as a woman's job. In addition to selling activities are the *"degustation"*¹ of oysters and tours of the oyster shacks are usually performed by women.

"My wife manages her supplies better than men, the preparation of the markets, their progress. It's clear that she does her utmost for her customers. I have seen people come to the "degustation" or to our selling point only on the days when she is present. I think the customers come as much for the quality of the product as for the quality of the person selling the products". (interview with male oyster farmer 3)

Women seem to have better skills to establish and maintain relations with clients and their performance in managing the quantities of products to sell are recognized by husbands and other male farmers. In

¹ Since the crisis of 2008, oysters' farmers diversified their activity by receiving tourists and others for an « oysters' degustation » at their farms. This activity offers an additional income to them.

combination to the selling and degustation activities women are also ensuring the administrative tasks of enterprises during the low season.

“My wife takes care of the commercial activity in winter and from April onwards the tasting at the shacks while I concentrate 100% of my time on the production. Producing oysters is one thing, going to sell them at the market or a restaurant is another job and I am not good at both”. (interview with male oyster farmer 1)

The above quotation shows that thanks to the women practising direct sales, the production of the family business is better valued. Selling oysters at a good price is of course at the core of the business.

Women, and in particular wives, also play an important role in the administrative part of oyster farming enterprises. An important number of oyster farmers' wives, who also have another job in other sectors, have been gradually involved in the family businesses. Women were oyster workers, accountants, co-managers of the business, sellers of oysters or seasonal workers, “degustation” hosts and managers, etc. They invested themselves in these different tasks before they became a full or part-time salaried activity.

According to the oyster farmers who work with their wives, *women bring a new vision to the business, which is viewed as feminine*. Wives, having another activity in the past, brought to oyster farming business and also to the family a certain balance just because they give equivalent importance to business as to social/family life and allow men *“to catch their breath from a very time-consuming and intrusive activity”*. Without this feminine vision they would not be able to cope because, *“men used to take on more responsibility than women. But now I see that when responsibilities are shared between men and women it is clearly a plus for the enterprise and the family”*. (interview with male oyster farmer 5)

4.1.1.1 Feminine vision of oyster farming and of obstacles to overcome

The male vision on the changing role of women in oyster farming does not correspond to the reality experienced by women oyster farmers owning their own enterprises. Usually, these women manage their oyster businesses on their own and usually produce smaller volumes and have a smaller number of employees', and oftentimes are originated from oyster farming families. In this sense, it seems that the gendered division of labour also depends on the size of the enterprise. The more employees a company has, the more specialised their activity tends to be. It should be noted that this specialisation follows the contours of a gendered division of tasks based on a certain relationship to the body. However, these boundaries are porous and never always true. Women sometimes go to the shore just as men do, and sometimes do the bookkeeping, although the former seems to be more frequent than the latter.

Although not all the women oyster farmers agree on how men oyster farmers are viewing their work, but they do agree on "you have to prove yourself" to earn the respect of your peers. While this need to prove oneself concerns both women and men starting out in this profession, several women oyster farmers stated that this step is longer and more difficult when you are a woman.

“Yes, it was difficult to integrate this job. I was not credible in the eyes of the majority of the male oyster farmers (...); as a woman you have to prove yourself twice. But as soon you are well organised you are

respected. But it took me a few years. Now I'm here. After fifteen or twenty years, it's good. I've held on despite the difficulties we've encountered". (interview with female oyster farmer 4)

Gender discrimination in oyster farming takes various forms, in addition to the division of labour, it is also found in the shellfish farmers' committees (shellfish farmer's representative organisation) and in the way customers perceive oyster farming. A woman oyster farmer explains well the differences between men and women within organisations:

"When I started my activity in 1998, I participated in union meetings where I observed the self-confidence of men. There was a certain machismo. They were sure of themselves, they expressed themselves easily and their views were observed, whether on site or in the committees... In politics, trade unions and so on, women don't have much power. It was impossible to present our point of view. In order to express yourself, you also need to have responsibilities within representative organisations, otherwise it's difficult. We can speak out, but we wouldn't have much weight". (interview with female oyster farmer 3)

Another woman spoke about the comments of her clients while she is selling fish at the markets. *"I see it at the market for example. If my brother goes there, he will sell better than me, because I don't have the head of an oyster farmer. A woman can't produce oysters! So, for that I would have to put pictures to show that I produce them myself".* For her these comments show well that society does not easily accept that women produce oysters.

4.1.2 Gender and bodies in oyster farming

The positions of women and men in oyster farming are legitimised by a certain relationship to bodies. For example, the division of labour in oyster farming is essentialized by considering men's muscular capacities as more suitable for the tasks related to oyster production in the oyster beds and more resistant to the difficult conditions in which these tasks are carried out (cold, wind, etc.) than those of women, through a gendered conception of the female body, considering it to be more intuitively suited to tasks requiring gentleness and dexterity.

"A woman is obviously better at sorting, but when it comes to lifting loads, she is inferior. So, we try not to make a woman carry loads". (male oyster farmer interview 7)

However, some women consider that the physical difficulty of the tasks in oyster farming is not the weight of the oyster bags. Because their bodies, like those of athletes, get used to lifting and turning the oyster bags, and it is no longer a problem.

As conclusion it can be said that women's role in oyster farming in the Gulf of Morbihan and in France has been very important since its beginning. It seems that women contributed with their work to its further development. However, the transformation of the industry due to mechanization or natural crisis (mortalities) modified women's contributions. The evidence shows that women's contributions were accepted and appreciated at the first ages of the industry, but they were almost forbidden during oyster farming's glory days, and then again became acceptable during its crisis period. Such a pattern suggests a marginalisation of women and their contributions in periods of success, but an easy acceptance of their invisible or non-commodified labour. They are once more appealing to accomplish

the tasks linked to their “natural capacities” selling oysters and running “degustation” enterprises and caring for their husbands’ wellbeing.

5 Conclusions and Outlook

The integration of the gender dimension into research programmes in general—and particularly those dealing with maritime cultural heritage—is necessary but it needs to be well incorporated from the project’s outset to achieve it. Integration of this dimension should be double within the project and its activities (demographical data, research team composition) but also be part of the research work. Teams wishing to “do more gender” within research projects should pay particular attention to the gender relations throughout the life of the project, not only in one or two case study as PERICLES has done. However, studying gender does not come naturally and capacity needs to be developed. Familiarising the whole team on how to “do gender” is likely necessary, requiring gender experts to train other colleagues on ways to search for gender differences in tasks, positioning, visions between women and men, and then how to analyse such data. Despite this criticism, PERICLES realised a significant work towards gender equality and understanding gender dimensions in cultural heritage and its (under)representation. The PERICLES products (documentary, videos, books, digital tools) highlighting the role of women in tangible and intangible maritime cultural heritage, making visible their role preserving and enacting cultural heritage. The Whaler’s House documentary shows the contributions of two women in rectifying our understanding of the past and local history. The demos in France document the perceptions and realities of women’s participation in oyster farming. All together these demonstrate that the project was not only “women friendly” internally but externally as well.

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