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# **Title Page**

# Diagnosing 'access' matters in the governance of moored fishing aggregate devices (MFADs): a perspective for SDG14b from Malta and Guadeloupe

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#### Abstract

The United Nation Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) has elevated the profile of small-scale fisheries through SDG14b calling for the provision of 'access of small-scale artisanal fishers to marine resources and markets'. Together with the socio-ecological sustainability of the fishery, access to fishing grounds and territories is intrinsic to achieving SDG14b as the governance of these territories has a determinative role in the access to marine resources. This article seeks to contribute to the access debate by investigating the different elements of how moored fisheries aggregate devices (MFADs) fishing rights and territories are produced and maintained through processes of governance which determine harvesting, management and exclusionary rights. To do this, we examine legislative mechanisms and their socio-ecological access implications on small-scale fisheries in two distinct governance contexts, namely Malta, where MFAD access rights are determined through state-led procedures, and Guadeloupe where access is claimed through informal local arrangements. Both cases indicate concerns of justice and inequality emanating from governance gaps, with fishers owning relatively smaller boats and having less economic, social and political capital facing incremental marginalization to secure their access. In Guadeloupe this is resulting from informal territories established through de facto ownership patterns preceding both legitimacy and authority, while in Malta concerns surround the dominant concentration of fishing effort by large and powerful vessels. These patterns, owing to blind spots in policies, are fueling problems related to unjust access to MFAD resources, leading to illicit practices, tensions and ruptures within the fishing communities. Ultimately the article informs about governance responses, with the aim of showcasing what access mechanisms could be developed to enhance distributive opportunities of MFAD fisheries in a way that engenders both their ecological and socio-economic sustainability.

#### 1) Introduction

The United Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) has set a number of governance goals which ought to shape the policy trajectories for the next 20 years and beyond. Small-scale fisheries received specific attention through SDG14b which calls for provision of access to marine resources and markets (UN 2015), thereby positing the need for research on what access for small-scale fisheries means and how it ought to be achieved (Said and Chuenpagdee 2019). In this article, our focus is on the governance of 'access' in the context of territories of moored fishing aggregate devices (MFADs), and how this determines small-scale fisheries ability to benefit from MFADs fisheries. MFADs are a source of livelihood, food security and income for many small-scale and artisanal fishers all around the globe (Campbell and Hanich, 2016; Rey Valette et al., 2000; Taquet, 2013). As a fishery, MFAD is conducted through the use of a permanent, semi-permanent or temporary structure, made from floating material, such as palm fronds and leaves (Gatt et al., 2015), placed in the ocean using large stone slabs specifically to attract fish for capture (Dempster et al., 2006). MFADs could be deployed individually or in groups over a territory, or as a system of lines. The fish caught with MFADs, usually includes migratory pelagic species such as dolphinfish and/or tuna, and is harvested using trolling lines, long-lines, or nets (encircling or purse seine) (Taquet et al 2013).

Given the migratory and straddling nature of MFAD fish stocks, fisheries management policies are normatively defined at regional levels, through Regional Fisheries Management Organizations (RFMOs) with the agreement of Member States, who are then responsible to implement national policies for their fishing fleet (Aranda et al., 2012). These agreements also define how access is usually granted, such as through a 'fishing right' that allows fishers to participate in a fishery (Song and Soliman, 2019).

The process, of how the fishing right is allocated and maintained, is governed by a set of procedures which are implemented by state or non-state actors, who have control over how and what type of access measures are implemented (such as license, quota rights, territorial rights) and who has the right to 'access' and benefit from such fishing rights (Ribot and Peluso, 2003). The processes by which access to fishing rights for small-scale fishers is operationalized and governed, and their consequences on distributive justice and exclusion has drawn the attention of many social scientists, focusing on various fisheries governance topics including individual transferable quotas (Chambers and Carothers, 2016; Frangoudes and Bellanger, 2017; Guyader and Thebaud, 2001; Host, 2015; Kokorsch et al., 2015), territorial user rights systems (TURFs) (Viana et al., 2018), marine protected areas (Jones, 2009), and blue economy strategies (Cohen et al., 2019). However, the knowledge on access matters in the context of MFADs remains sparse, as the MFAD research remains mostly focused on the ecological and biological performance of fishery systems (Dempster et al., 2006; Taquet, 2013) with relatively less focus on the socio-economic and governance matters of MFADs (Bailey et al., 2016).

Hence new research is necessary to address such knowledge gap on access rights to territories and

resources, also in the context of informing policy insights and trajectories pertaining to SDG14b.

In this research we investigate the access rights as managed through MFAD governance systems in two EU islands Malta and Guadeloupe. Malta is a Mediterranean island-country, while Guadeloupe is a French-Caribbean outermost region, and both are EU member states signatories to the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP). Their MFAD fisheries, however, fall under different governance frameworks. Whereas the MFAD fishery in Malta is legally recognized and regionally-governed by the EC Mediterranean Regulation (EC1967/2006) and the General Fisheries Commission for the Mediterranean (GFCM), the one in Guadeloupe is defined by MFADs regulation (Rec /1994) at the island level, and falls under the regional governance of the Western Central Atlantic Fishery Commission (WECAFC) which has recently recommended the preparation (if relevant) of national level MFAD fisheries development and management plans (WECAFC/17/2019/21).

By analyzing the legislative mechanisms implemented, we decipher the sustainability of the fishery and its management, and the implications of these on the small-scale sector. Our focus is deployed specifically on MFAD territories and how these are defined, operationalized and governed to determine access to various players in the fishery. We provide empirical insights to showcase the access stories of MFAD fisheries in (i) Malta where MFAD access is regulated through a 'formal' permit-based territorial MFAD-line system, and in (ii) Guadeloupe where, in the absence of enforcement to implement formal MFADs, 'informal' territories have been designed by community members Through the narratives we show how the different policy environments (dis)enable different actors from gaining access to the MFAD fishery and through fishers' voices, illustrate how these are inflicting on the socio-ecological sustainability of the MFAD fishery. In the next section we explain the research methodology, followed by a detailed description of the governance of MFAD access systems in the two islands. We provide a comparative analysis of what seem to be governance gaps in allocation systems, and explicate how, in both islands, these are leading to concentration of resource benefits into the hands of few operators, triggering tensions within the sector, and jeopardizing of the continued sustainability coastal communities.

## 2) Methods

This article analyses the governance of access to MFAD territories to show how these interplay with the sustainability of fishing communities in Malta and Guadeloupe. It considers 'access' to MFAD fisheries from various dimensions, as defined by Schalger and Ostrom (1992), and build a typology to decipher the various legislative elements which determine access through harvesting, management and exclusionary rights as exercised by governance systems. We seek to operationalize this bundle of rights framework by classifying the various tools to describe how and when allocation is done, why, who, and for whom (see Table 1). To do this we use mixed methods, including an assessment of legal frameworks as well as fieldwork sessions in both case study areas (participatory observations and interviews) between 2014 and 2019, and an aerial surveillance of MFADs (specifically in Guadeloupe). Through this data we were able to contrast what is found in the legal framework, and what is actually happening in practice Field data was obtained by observers on board and by semistructured interviews with the fishing communities both in Malta (N=25) and Guadeloupe (N=30). The interviewees represent more than 20% of the fishing population in both sites, and the data collection process involved more than one interview, as participatory observations were also critical for collection of intangible, yet detailed data - such as conflicts at sea between owners of MFADs. The questions about the decision-making systems were constructed based on previous experience and the trust relationships with the fishermen (interview guide provided). The use of gatekeepers was essential for accessing different networks of fishers through purposeful snowballing. Ethical considerations in line with established Code of Ethics procedures were taken into account throughout the data collection process, especially during happenstance encounters for these elicited rather sensitive information. The primary data collected in the field was triangulated with other sources including Data Collection Framework information collected under EU obligation, as well as other sources of media (online forums, media articles) and national/regional rgulations, to provide a detailed assessment of the situation as it unfolds on the ground.

# 3) MFAD Governance in Malta and Guadeloupe

## 3.1) Malta

MFADs in Malta have been used since the 1950s, with the main species targeted being the Coryphaena hippurus Linneaus (Vella 1999), a migratory species that swims from the Mediterranean Sea to Atlantic regions in winter and return to spawn in spring (Ospina-Alvarez *et al.* 2019). It is considered as the second most important fishery for the Maltese islands both due to the traditional dependency on its supply during its season and due to the income it generates to fishers. The fishery in Malta is targeted

between 15th August and end of December as established in a GFCM Recommendation as a regional approach to sustainably manage the fishery (Morales-Nin.et al 2000). At the national level, the fishery is monitored by a management plan through a system of fishing authorizations, a catch logbook, a vessel monitoring system, as well as designated ports for landing and weighing of fish (MSDEC 2013). In terms of stock status at the Mediterranean level, Molto et al (2020) indicate that even though there is not a clear understanding of the stock of the common dolphinfish, available data indicates that the fishery is not in a risk of overexploitation. Ongoing efforts have been in place for the past 20 years through various projects, notably the FAO project 'Coordination to Support Fisheries Management in the Western and Central Mediterranean (CopeMed) (FAO CopeMed 2005c; FAO CopeMed 2016). Plans are in place for a stock assessment to establish the maximum sustainable yield of the fishery at the Mediterranean level. At the national level, long-term datasets demonstrate that the annual catch has fluctuated around an annual average landed volume of 350 tonnes indicating relative stability of the stock biomass (Figure 1).

#### (Figure 1 here)

The fishery in Malta is targeted by commercial fishers using MFAD in a stretch of sea-outwards area known as course lines which they select through an annual government-organized lottery that has been practiced for tens of years (Farrugia Randon 1995). A total of 130 course-lines are available (Figure 2), and each fisher that is granted a course line is endowed with exclusive fishing rights to the area. Here, they are permitted to deploy MFADs and harvest the fish aggregated in such territories. More than half of the vessels engaged in MFAD fisheries are between 6 and less than 10 metres (63%), while the rest range from 10 to 16 metres.

#### (Figure 2 here)

The catches of the different vessels fluctuate according to the fishing effort deployed which is determined by the total number of MFADs, days at sea and vessel capacity. The larger the vessel, the bigger the number of MFADs and the harvesting rate. The large vessel cohorts deploy an average of 200186 FADs netting around 2605kg of dolphinfish per season, while smaller vessels average at 100 FADs and 298kg of fish seasonally (MSDEC 2013).

#### 3.2) Guadeloupe

In Guadeloupe, MFADs were set up at the end of the 1980s to improve small-scale fishers' income and mainly to reduce fishing effort on the island' continental shelf (Diaz et al. 2002). The fishery expanded to 300 vessels in 2000 and stood at 205 vessels in 2017. Most of vessels are in the 6-10 metre cohorts, with marginal numbers in the<6 and 10-12 meters' ones. Unlike Malta, MFADs are

deployed and fished all around the year (Guyader et al. 2017). Fishing methods around MFADs include 115 trolling lines, drifting surface hand-lines and drifting vertical lines. The main target species are dolphinfish (Coryphaena hippurus) (61%), yellowfin tuna (Thunnus albacares) (18%), blue marlin (Makaira nigricans) (8%), triggerfish (Canthidermis maculatus) (7%) and other miscellaneous species (Reynal et al., 2015). In 2017, the total landings were estimated to 1372 tons for a landing value of  $\in$ 10.9 million. These commercial species are highly migratory and widely distributed in the Atlantic intertropical area, including the Caribbean Sea, for which Guadeloupe provides only a small proportion of the total catches, mostly through MFADs (Guyader et al. 2017).

#### (Figure 3 here)

MFADs are 'privately-owned' and placed by fishers along virtual lines, from 5 naut. miles from the anchor ports to offshore at distances up to 40-50 nautical miles from the coast (see Fig. 2). Fishers deploy between 1 and 40 MFADs, depending on the territory they occupy, the length as well as the number of lines claimed/owned by the fisher. In 2012, Guyader, Reynal & Bauer (2017) estimated that the number of MFADs anchored around Guadeloupe is 600, but since then, this number has probably increased. The governance of MFAD fishery falls under the regional Direction of the Sea (Guyader et al. 2013). Although there are various regulations in place to govern the fishery (Guyader et al. 2019) including an authorization system for MFAD setting, similar to the temporary occupation authorization granted to shellfish farming in continental France, and a total allowable catch framework for a number of species, there remains no regional scheme allocating to MFADs within territorial sea. Fishers interested to set up MFAD require an authorization of temporary occupation of Public maritime domain granted by Direction of the Sea of Guadeloupe (Article 47), and if authorized, they must inform the public authority about the exact MFAD coordinates and pay an annual fee. The rights to use the public maritime domain, with MFAD installation, is granted to fishers on an indefinite/ perpetuated basis and guarantees permanent and individual 'access'. Despite this rule, only few MFADs fishers claimed an authorization of temporary occupation and a substantial number of MFAD lines remains unregistered and unreported. Those without an authorization i.e. non-MFAD owners are permitted to fish on existing MFADs, by keeping a 500-meter radius from MFADs when MFAD owners are not fishing.

#### 4 Governance Gaps fueling Access Concerns in MFAD fisheries

#### 4.1) Malta

Whereas the national and regional efforts have focused on the sustainability of the fishery stock, access to the fishing opportunities remains rather contentious. It transpires that although the

access to fishing course lines is conducted through a transparent and fair process, securing access to fishing opportunities is a more complex factor due to the heterogeneity of the fleet. A common issue that has been mentioned by different fishers is the lack of spatial management of the MFAD territories which is leading to contestation between small (6 -8 meters) and large vessels, (10+ meters) as the latter tend to block the fish from entering the coastal areas (Table-Point 1.1). A fisher explained, "Small-scale vessels normally venture out to around 25-60 miles deploying between 100 and 200 FADs, whilst larger vessels can go up to 120 miles deploying around 400 FADs" (Fisher, 7-metre-vessel). This is mostly happening since owners of large vessels, legitimately through the lottery, are able to choose a MFAD course line next to small vessels (Table-Point 1.2), a management decision which was not allowed until a few years ago. A wife of a fisher explained that "from MFAD course line 1 to 29, until some years ago, was considered as the district for the 'smaller' vessels. Now it is the district of everyone" (Wife of fisher, 6-metervessel). The 'blocking' nature of large vessels is further exacerbated when their territories are extended in the offshore waters by "deploying MFADs just in front of the course-line of smaller vessels" to increase their fishing capacity, a practice which is noted to "reduce the available resources for the smallest vessels fishing within the 25-mile-zone, the only grounds where small vessels can operate due to navigation rules" (Fisher, 6-meter-vessel).

It could be argued that these 'illegitimate', yet not illegal, practices are triggered by the fact that MFAD territories are not defined as 'areas' but as imaginary course lines, which, to some extent give indirect flexibility to neighbors to extend 'unused' nearby territories in the offshore grounds which are not reachable by the smaller vessels operating next to them. Alongside the squeezing effect permitted by ambiguous spatiality policies which define the territories, are resource conflicts with recreational fleets which allegedly fish on the coastal commercial MFADs. This recreational activity has escalated in the past 6 years with a sudden policy change effected by the national administration in 2013<sup>5</sup>, stating that MFAD can only be deployed by commercial fleets (pers. comm).

Previously, recreational fishers were assigned a specific territory by the government, and through a joint venture, they would pool in for a group-owned set of MFADs which can only be fished using trolling lines, in line with the EC Mediterranean regulation (EC1967/2006). Without a specific territory to practice their recreation, leisure-seeking fishers have been trolling on commercial MFADs, affecting their catches and heightening conflict (Table-Point 1.3). Commercial fishers explain that 'the problem of recreational fishers is not because they take a fish or two from our MFADs, but because by trolling and taking one fish, they disrupt the entire shoal, which would mean us not finding fish around that particular MFAD' (Fisher, 8-metre-vessel). Such a practice is also illegal in line with Maltese legislation Cap 425, which prohibits non-MFAD owners from being within the 180-metre radius of the FAD. The sightings of recreational fishers on commercial

MFADs is reported by commercial fishers from time to time, however, enforcement to deter these practices has not been sufficient, and thus persists year after year "When we call the authorities to report that a recreational vessel is on our MFAD course-line, they tell us to take the vessel's registration number and file a report. This is impossible since the vessels would be far, and most of them are high speed boats which we cannot reach with our small engines (Fisher, 6-metre-vessel).

This indicates that restriction in access for recreational fisheries to a MFAD fishing ground has led to what seem to be invisible access-to-resources problems to small-scale fishers who are now competing with illicit recreational fishing on their MFADs. Access concerns are also an issue for the relatively larger vessels from the small-scale sector (>10metres) who fish in the high seas and compete for space and resources with even larger vessels from foreign countries, especially Tunisia. Allegedly, the latter pilfer dolphinfish catches from Maltese MFADs (Vella 2019), triggering conflict between the different fishers, which at times even escalate to violent threats. Such tensions are heightened when catches are low, and fishers' profitability is jeopardized by such 'theft' (Table-Point 1.8). The inability of Maltese large vessels to compete with what are even larger foreign vessels, forces them into becoming/ increasingly competitive in Malta's territorial waters where they feel protected, but consequently, they. Following new directorship at the Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture (2013) intensify higher competition on the local smaller vessel operators who are only able to fish in the coastal areas.

The various intricate access matters seem to be resulting from governance gaps emanating from the different regulations which do not reflect the needs of the various actors, especially those of the 'smallest' nature. This comes along the alleged lack of representation of actors in the decision-making process, which also maintain existing exclusionary issues (Said 2017). Fishers from the smaller fleet segment have argued that a review of the MFAD rules through proper spatial management is needed. For the high seas conflict, regional discussions to resolve the ongoing tensions between Maltese large and foreign vessels have been pursued within the General Fisheries Commission for the Mediterranean (GFCM 43/2019/1). Moreover, in 2020, plans for a revision of the spatial management framework of the FADs has been tabled at the administration level to address access matters of MFADs. The extent to which such plans will materialize to resolve the access conundrums of the heterogeneous fleet is predominantly determined by the participation of the sector in the consultation processes, and the representation of the various needs therein.

#### 4.2) Guadeloupe

Although Guadeloupe's MFAD governance story reflects a contrast from Malta's state-led

system, similar impacts are faced by a number of fishers due to unjust access to the fishery. The lack of management and enforcement of MFAD territories is the biggest problem, resulting mostly due to a lack of institutional direction and capacity to deploy effective monitoring and surveillance. This in turn is leading to overruling by powerful fishers who seem to have taken control over access arrangements of the MFAD fishery (Table-Point 1.2).

The existing lines have been established on a 'first come first served' basis and are now quasiprivatized permanent territories reinforced by informal local arrangements between a few fishers, but contested by others. Such local arrangements have created and maintained unmanaged territories, with increasing MFADs deployed by existing and new fishers from time to time. With no state-led management in place for a territorial allocation system (licensing and FAD numbers -Table 1), the first occupiers claim that their investment in MFADs gives them sole rights to the area. "Who have not made the investment do not have the right to fish on my [M]FADs" (Fisher Interview, 2013). By claiming that the areas are their own territories, fishers, locally referred to as 'Barons' or 'Lords', are propelling a situation of privatization of fishing grounds which are officially common property (Table-Point 1.2). In turn, those who came later and have not been able to benefit on an equal level playing field from the territories feel hard done by, and such situation incites constant struggle to access. Such confrontations have in some occasions escalated into 'wars'. This is happening mostly due to intensified fishing effort by MFAD owners who are

increasing their MFAD numbers by enlarging their historical territories and extending their area of operation on each side of 'their' original line by 2 or 3 parallel course-lines. This extension, which is implemented to optimize MFAD operation and rate of catches, is leading to 'overgrabbing' of the limited fishing territories. Problems of overcapacity and the need to control the numbers of FADs have been highlighted by many fishers, with one explaining that "In the beginning of the MFAD fishery [1980s], we caught similar or more catches with less MFADs, and thus the number of MFAD per fisher should be limited (Fisher Interview 2019). This perception is echoed by newcomers who are unable to start-up in the MFAD fishery due to the heightened exclusivity of the territory by the pioneer fishers. Newcomers, especially young fishers, are forced to set their MFADs in the offshore areas, beyond 45 miles. This means higher setting and exploitation costs due to sea-depth and distance from the coast, creating more financial and operational pressure on the younger generations who need to spend longer time and more fuel to reach their MFAD territories (Table-Point 1.8). This has pushed the younger generation away from joining the MFAD fishery, as one explained "it is almost impossible to become MFAD fisher as there is not any more space around La Désirade island, and this is why I am working on a netter [not MFAD] vessel" (Young fisher, 2013).

Resistance to the informal access arrangements have been sought through poaching by both commercial and recreational fleets. To reduce the conflict between owners and non-owners of MFADs new regulations have been implemented including a 3-species-per-day bag limit for large pelagic species for recreational fisheries, and controlled commercial and recreational fishing in areas which are at a 500m distance from the MFADs, however, both policies remain unenforced. As a result of overcapacity of non-regulated MFADs, and induced fishing effort from owners, non-owners and recreational fishers contesting the same fishing grounds, the catches have been high, with the result that market prices have been affected. The problems in Guadeloupe are likely to intensify given that the upcoming fisheries development plan for EU outermost regions foresees the development of the 10-12 meters segment to operate in the MFADs fishery in line with (2018/C 422/01) (Laisné et Viel 2018). It appears that plans are underway to increase the number of vessels in the MFAD fishery, which will probably intensify the existing access disputes affecting fishers. In this development plan, there seems to be a lack of consideration of the territorial problems and access realities that exist across the MFAD fishery. Instead, the focus is mostly on strengthening the economic pillar without carefully recognizing the existing governance gaps. Such missing links will deter any plausible investment unless present policies are adjourned and enforced to settle the MFAD territory matters.

	Malta			Guadeloupe		
Deciphering access in	Law / Policy / Regulation	Governance Gaps	Implications on SSF	Law / Policy / Regulation	Governance Gaps	Implications on SSF
MFADs						
	(i) In line with the EU	(i) The regulation does	Large vessels are allowed to	In line with French law,	(i) In Guadeloupe the	(i) These informal de
	Mediterranean Regulation, the	not define how the	fish in larger territories,	MFADs require a temporary	AOT rule for MFAD	facto territories gain
	Maltese authorities shall	distribution of MFAD	extending their fishing	occupation authorization	territories was applied	semi-permanent
	establish a total of 130 MFAD	course lines is done,	activity in offshore areas,	(AOT), to use the public	during the first period of	'tolerance' at
	course lines and allocate each	allowing small and large	and by doing so, blocking	domain. The AOT is issued by	MFADs deployment	communities' level, with
	MFAD course line to fishing	vessels to deploy MFADs	fish from entering coastal	the fisheries administration	initiated by the fisheries	existing users claiming
	vessels at the latest by that 30	next to each other.	zones (where SSF can fish).	after assessing potential	committee in 1987.	exclusive right of use
	June each year.	(ii) In the past, MFAD	(ii) In the past, smaller	interaction with other	Since this rule is not	and exclusion of others.
	(ii) The government governs	course lines were split	vessels benefitted from	activities (shipping, sub	enforced, no formal	
	the MFAD course lines	into districts for large	specific MFAD districts.	marine cables, etc) When	territories are	(ii) New fishers cannot
	through 11 districts linked to	vessels, and districts for		accepted, MFAD applicants	established.	practice this fishing.
	fishing ports.	small vessels.		provide the exact position of	(ii)Most of the	I and a gradient of the second s
				their concession and pay an	territories are informal	
1.1 Definition of				annual fee to the state for the	created by individual	
authorized areas				use of the MFAD territory.	fishers, and 'accepted'	
					by community	
					members. The AOT is	
					not applicable for fixed	
					installations outside of	
					territorial waters;	
	In line with national policy,	The lottery does not	During the lottery, large	Each fisher has an equal	(i) There is no capacity	(i) In practice good
	MFAD course lines are	distinguish between small	vessels tend to choose	chance to obtain an AOT	to enforce the law and	fishing grounds are
1.2 Allocation rules	assigned through an annual	and large vessels in the	MFAD course-lines	following application, and to	thus fishers are not	occupied by historic
(historical use-criteria,	lottery in different districts,	process, giving equal	neighboring smaller vessels	deploy MFAD in government-	applying for MFAD	ownership (first comers),
lottery,)	following application by	chance to all contestants,	as this will provide them	approved territories.	through the formal	
	commercial vessel owners.	despite the fact that larger	with higher opportunity to		system.	

		vessels inherently pose competition on smaller vessels.	have larger space where to operate.		<ul> <li>(ii) Fishers are taking a private decision without authorization, and engaging in an informal system of MFAD deployment.</li> </ul>	creating competition between MFAD fishers and other fishers. (ii) Current territories are based on the rule first come first served. An 'ocean grabbing' is observed.
1.3 Licenses/Authorizations to regulate the number and type of users (authorization, duration)	<ul> <li>(i) A commercial license and authorization is required for a fisher to apply for a MFAD Authorizations</li> <li>(ii) Since 2012, recreational vessels have been declined MFAD authorizations to practice leisure fishing through collective MFAD setting.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>(i) Since not all the 130 MFAD course lines are taken up by commercial vessels, there is space for a recreational collective MFAD.</li> <li>(ii) The recreational vessels are not equipped with monitoring systems and are engaging in illicit fishing on commercial MFAD.</li> </ul>	Recreational vessels are now fishing on MFADs of vessels in coastal areas, creating further competition for the inshore catches.	<ul> <li>(i) The MFAD fishery has no authorization in place to regulate the number and type of users.</li> <li>(ii)Recreational MFAD setting is forbidden, however recreational vessels can operate on the MFADs of commercial fishers if they respect the legal distance.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>(i) The lack of formal authorization led to an informal system of licenses. The informal system as is currently applied does not define any rules in relation to number of professional fishers allowed to deploy MFAD's and operate around them.</li> <li>(ii) MFAD owners forbid fishing by other commercial or recreational vessels around their MFAD.</li> </ul>	The lack of formal arrangement to regulate the activity through authorizations is leading to conflict and Contestation both between owners of MFADs, and with non- MFAD owners.
1.4RulesonTransferability ofMFAD territories	Following the lottery, vessel owners are allowed to swap MFAD territories with others	Informal non-legalized transfers of MFAD course lines has been	Informal transferability allows large vessels to shift to more opportunistic	According to the French Law, fishing right are not transferable but concessions	MFAD informal territories are not legally recognized, and	Within the informal system the selling or transfer of MFAD lines

	if both neighboring fishers	documented These	territories especially those	having legal recognition can	thus they cannot be	mostly happen between
	agree. Territories are not	happen without the	neighboring smaller vessels.	be sold following the rules	considered as	family members. New
	transferable through a market	agreement of both		established by the fisheries	transferable	fishers without the right
	and MFADs territories are not	neighboring vessels		administration (eg Shellfish	concessions However	contacts/ familial links
	divisible in sub-parts	Although government		farms)	Guadeloupe fishers	are not able to buy
	divisible in sub parts.	intervention took place		iums).	practice transferability	existing rights to
		some cases remain			and sell rights to	MFADs territories
		unresolved			MFAD territories	
		unicsorved.			(fishing grounds and	
					installed MFAD	
					devices).	
	Vessels are assigned territories	The minimum distance	Vessels in the 0.5-mile co-	According to French law non-	MEAD operators have	Those without
	parallel to each other with a	between users is not equal	habitation areas have less	MEAD owners (commercial	developed territorial	contact/friendship_with
	minimum distance from 0.5	between users is not equal	tarritory than those who	and recreational) are allowed	defense and/or	avisting MEADoporators
			terniory than those who	and recreational) are anowed		
1.5 Cohabitation rules	miles to 4 miles. (in that case,	vessels.	venture in 4 mile-territories.	to fish around MFADs	cohabitation rules which	and with a wish to fish,
(min distances between	it is more rules of placement)			keeping a distance of 500m	only allow specific	are unable to do so.
usars )				radius.	individuals to fish	
users,)					within their territorial	
					distances.	
	MFADs are recognized as a	(i) There is a lack of	MFAD Fishers find damage	There is no spatial planning	Lack of holistic spatial	Interactions with other
	spatial activity in Maltese	spatial management for	in their MFADs due to	regulation including other	planning defining	activities like marine
	waters together with trawling	co-existing trawling and	interaction with swordfish	activities especially shipping,	authorized and non-	traffic (commercial and
	zones which exist in the same	MFAD course lines.	long-lines or trawling,	recreational sailing.	authorized areas for	leisure) and sub-marine
	areas.	(ii) Swordfish fishing is	with cases of MFAD		MFAD deployment	cables leading to MFAD
1.6 Rules on Spatial	(ii) Swordfish Corridors have	allowed to take place both	devices lost.			devices lost
planning of MFADS	been established to allow	outside and inside the				
territories (parks)	swordfish fishing with no	swordfish corridor,				
( <b>F</b> == == 5)	MFADs allowed in these	leading to spatial conflict				
	corridors. Trawling zones and					

	MFAD intersect, using the same grounds.	between MFAD and swordfish long-lining.				
	In line with the Mediterranean regulation, MFADs are allowed only between 15 <sup>th</sup> August and 31 <sup>st</sup> December.	No effort allocation within the sector leads to larger vessels having the capacity to deploy higher effort affecting the catches of those with	The lack of fencing between different vessels leads to resource concentration into the larger vessels, and decreased catches by smaller vessels.	<ul> <li>(i) WECAFC recommends</li> <li>MFAD national management</li> <li>plan in relation with ICCAT</li> <li>and CRFM stock assessment</li> <li>(/17/2019/21).</li> <li>(ii) Regional TAC &amp; quota for</li> </ul>	(i) The recommendation of WECAFC is not always transposed into national laws, leaving major governance gaps.	<ul> <li>(i) The lack of holistic management on the fisheries is likely to maintain adverse effects on fisheries</li> </ul>
1.7 Harvesting rules (vessel quotas or effort limitations)		smaller vessels.		blue marlin are set up but this species is a bycatch system is implemented for a number of species.	(ii) Lack of quota system for dolphinfish is leading to bottleneck on dolphinfish markets	(ii) For fishers without MFADS and powerful vessels is difficult to catch these pelagic species. Old and young fishers cannot benefit from MFAD, leading to income inequalities.

	Neither the EU nor the	(i) The derogation	(i) The large number of	No specific rules at national	(i) Lack of monitoring	(i) The excessive
	existing national management	supports large-scale	MFADs deployed by the	and regional levels to specify	and MFAD's density	investment cost in
	plan specify rules on the	vessels for inshore	larger vessels affect catch	the maximum of surface or	remain ungoverned,	MFADs prevent fishers
	maximum number and	placement of MFADs,	rates of smaller vessels.	numbers of MFADs.	with overcapacity likely	without economic
	placement of MFADs.	with little regard to	Also smaller vessels are		to occur.	capacity to invest in such
	However a derogation for	impact on smaller	disadvantaged on bad		(ii)Fishers tends to set	fishing.
10	vessels larger than 12 meters is	operators.	weather days		their MFADs in more	(ii) If new fishers want to
1.0	in place such that they can	(ii) Placement of MFADs	(ii) In high seas, poaching		and more distant and	fish with MFADs, they
Rules on Maximum	place MFADs in coastal areas.	in high seas are not	by foreign fleets on Maltese		deeper areas often out of	need to have high
number and placement		protected by any law,	MFADs leading to		the EEZ.	financial capacity to
of MFADs		leading to wars between	declining catches.			invest in costly MFADs
		Maltese and foreign fleets				in deeper fishing
		especially Tunisian.				grounds

						(ii) The high cost of
						operation to offshore
						MFADs reduces the
						value added (wealth) for
						MFAD fishers.
Table 1. Investigating the	Table 1. Investigating the governance of MFADs access rights       Source: Authors; Methodology adopted from Schlager and Ostron				Schlager and Ostrom 1992	

## 4) Discussion

This article adds to the increasing literature about access concerns faced by small-scale fishers around the world (Said and Chuenpagdee 2019; Said et al 2020), with a specific focus on MFAD fishery. . By deploying an access theory lens in Malta and Guadeloupe, the article highlights that fisheries which involve territorial access through MFADs require specific governance attention if countries are to fulfil the goal of access to small-scale and artisanal fishers in line with SDG14b. Common access challenges emanating from gaps in the governance regimes in both islands include (i) overcapacity - excess number of MFADs and the concomitant blocking/barrier effects of resources; and (ii) over-grabbing by users occupying large fishing territories at the expense of others. Both issues seem to be underpinned by (un)intentional institutional drawbacks resulting from lack of political and/or administrative foresight to anticipate measures of ensuring fair access across the fishing segments. These include policy blind spots and lack of enforcement that enable fishers with a higher political and/or economic capital in the sector to claim or occupy bigger fishing territories and improve their catch rates at the expense of existing smaller operators, or potential newcomers.

The Maltese and Caribbean case studies indicate that the governance of MFADs requires specific attention in the access discussion as the allocation process be it 'formal', decided through governments and recognized through legislation; or 'informal', determined by communities through customary practices (Christy, 2000), brings forth an array of 'winners and losers' depending on how the allocation is defined and determined, especially in heterogeneous communities where allocation of MFAD territories has been proved to cause severe problems of distribution (e.g. in Malaysia, Yahaya, 1983).

Although the Maltese case might be perceived as more democratic and inclusive as access is based on a lottery that gives fishers an equal chance to choose their preferred course line in the fishing grounds, an in-depth analysis shows that the co-existence of large and smaller vessels suffocates the latter's activity and reduces their access to fish. Similarly, although the fishery in Guadeloupe could be defined as community-based and thus reflecting the needs of the fishing people, data shows that the system is perforated by exclusionary realities. In both scenarios, conflicts and tensions are inevitable, predominantly due to a consciousness of inequality that is shared by those on the 'losing end' (Fabinyi et al., 2014). We contend that governance gaps are creating and maintaining the disadvantages faced by a number of fishers, as they do not provide the different players with sufficient shielding to remain competitive against the 'giants' in the same fleet. It could be argued that this results from the fact that the realities, extent and frequency of access issues faced by fishers remain understudied, and also not catered for in the national management frameworks. This is especially given the fact that the lack of representation of fishers in community organizations including political associations or cooperatives which have power to influence policies has been also registered in other parts of the Caribbean (Montes et al., 2019), and in Malta (Said, 2017).

Moving forward in governing these fisheries requires context-oriented policies which recognize fishing communities as a heterogeneous and complex system embedded in politically and economically larger complex systems (Berkes 2006). This includes deciphering the various sub-elements of access rights that determine how resources are exploited, and by whom, along with explicit factors determining the rights of use, as well as implicit factors that although not known, are also driven by policy (or lack of it). Measures in Guadeloupe can include a management plan that addresses territorial governance of MFADs, by re-organizing the existing informal arrangements in a way that gives a level playing field to existing and new fishers and improve the role of the regional fisheries committees. In practice this could be through a fixed number of permitted MFADs and specific areas/course lines as is implemented in Malta. Access matters in Malta would require improved monitoring of territorial use, and of activity happening in offshore areas, especially the deployment of MFADs in front of the territories of smaller vessels. The management of recreational fisheries on MFAD could be resolved through the establishment of collective recreational MFADs in order to reduce the disturbance of fish shoals of coastal commercial MFADs.

At the national level, in both cases, the process requires an inclusive approach with the participation of the various actors such that the spatial arrangements, and fishing effort technical measures are constructed following constructive deliberations. The process could be formidable given the potentially opposing views between those benefitting and those 'losing out' from the existing system. Transparency in the decision-making system is key to ascertain the commitment and involvement of the array of users. If already marginalized individuals, such as the younger generations, are not incorporated in the decision-making of how to devise access measures for MFAD systems, and how to make them operational for the years to come, it is likely that any access system created will only be halfway new. The biggest governance challenge here is not only to implement a new plan for co-management of MFADs through improved equity and access, but to effectively incorporate the participation of marginalized fishers in the discussion process, a deeply-entrenched problem which is not always solved by practitioners of fisheries governance (Fabinyi et al., 2014). At the regional level, and mirroring the national processes could be reached through research efforts targeted at investigating access matters of MFADs in different contexts, and identifying ways of how to improve access in line with SDG14b. The regional conversation could also be brought into policy advice at the national level in parallel with ongoing biological stock assessments of the MFAD fisheries. In other words, the CopeMed project in the Mediterranean could deploy an equal focus on the social element to bring forth access-related scientific advice of socio-ecological nature. In Guadeloupe, this could form part of similar projects such as the MAGDELESA, and also recognized in the RFMOs work. This would also necessitate specific data collection schemes, in line with the social indicators developed for the EU Data Collection Framework, which could focus exclusively on access to fishing opportunities, including MFADs. From the governance perspective, access to MFADs would benefit from direct attention at CFP level as are other forms of fishing opportunities Article 17 of the CFP obliges Member States to assign fishing opportunities in line with social criteria. Extending the scope of fishing opportunities to cover territorial fishing rights and distribution of space could be explored to enable acquisition of SDG14b.

#### 5) Conclusion

With the UN SDGs paving the research and policy trajectories for the next decade and beyond, a discussion on the sustainability of small-scale fisheries engaged in MFAD fisheries is timely. In this article we focus on two case studies in Malta and Guadeloupe to present what are access concerns in MFAD fisheries. We highlight how investigating small-scale fisheries access to fisheries goes beyond what is defined as user-right, to showcase the interconnected invisible processes that have a role to play in determining access. We argue that access analysis for MFADs require indepth evaluation of the policy environments and how they (dis)enable different actors from gaining, maintaining and controlling access to the MFAD fishery, and how these inflict on the access for small-scale fisheries. The article underlines the importance of diagnosing economic and individualistic behaviors in MFAD fisheries including fishers' incentive to increase their territorial space and fishing effort, to bring out what are overcapacity and overgrabbing issues that restrict the flow of benefits from reaching other fishing players. We argue that both Guadeloupe and Malta would benefit from shifts in how MFADs are governed, not only to improve the access to different fishers disadvantaged by the current systems, but also to manage the socio-ecological sustainability of the fishery through monitoring of potential overcapacity. In principle, these measures could (i) manage the existing overcapacity issues that are increasing pressures on fishing stocks, (ii) minimize the existing conflicts fragmenting the fishing communities, and (iii) cater for the continued sustainability of the fishery through the recruitment of younger generations. This article signals the need for more focus on access research to understand how policies are interplaying with providing small-scale fisheries with opportunities to engage in fishing activities and earn their livelihoods from such fisheries. It is evidential that the research on the governance of MFADs still lags behind the focus deployed on other fisheries systems, such as quotas, which are regulated by access mechanism, and this study defines both a conceptual and empirical need for future research on this topic. Such knowledge could provide guidance for context-oriented governance regimes to be adopted for MFAD fisheries management, both at national and regional levels.

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VALUE PER KG (€000)

**Figure 1:** Dolphinfish catches in (kg) and monetary value (in €) between 2015 and 2019 in Malta. Data indicates increased catches and fluctuating price/kg over the years. (Source of Data: Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture, Malta 2020)



**Figure 2** Distribution of course-lines around the Maltese archipelago. Each course-line is allocated a specific number within each district. (Modified from map supplied by the Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture, Malta)

WEIGHT (KG000)



**Figure 3** Distribution of course-lines from representative harbors around Guadeloupe (Source: Guyader 2016, non published)

Graphical Abstracts

n/a