



**HAL**  
open science

# From Tensions to Integrations: Development and Conservation Coalitions in Fijian Coastal Fisheries Management

Léa Riera

► **To cite this version:**

Léa Riera. From Tensions to Integrations: Development and Conservation Coalitions in Fijian Coastal Fisheries Management. Geography. Université Paul Valéry - Montpellier III; University of Bremen, 2022. English. NNT: . tel-04680375

**HAL Id: tel-04680375**

**<https://hal.science/tel-04680375v1>**

Submitted on 28 Aug 2024

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/364936790>

# From Tensions to Integrations Development and Conservation Coalitions in Fijian Coastal Fisheries Management – Lea Riera PhD Thesis

Thesis · June 2022

DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.25632.25605

---

CITATIONS

3

READS

179

1 author:



Léa Riera

Institute of Research for Development

14 PUBLICATIONS 89 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Délivrée par  
**l'Université Paul Valéry Montpellier III**  
et par l'**Université de Brême**

Préparée au sein de l'école doctorale  
**ED60 - Territoires, Temps, Sociétés et Développement**  
et de l'unité de recherche  
**SENS - Savoirs Environnement Sociétés**

Spécialité : Géographie et aménagement de l'espace

**Par Léa Riera**

**From Tensions to Integrations:  
Development and Conservation Coalitions  
in Fijian Coastal Fisheries Management**

**Soutenance le 23-06-2022 devant le jury composé de**

Simon Batterbury, Professor, University of Melbourne	Rapporteur
Annette Breckwoldt, Senior Scientist, ZMT	Co-directrice
Marie-Christine Cormier Salem, Directrice de Recherche, IRD	Présidente de jury
Elodie Fache, Chargée de recherche, IRD	Examinatrice
Michael Flitner, Professor, University of Bremen	Directeur, Rapporteur
Marion Glaser, Senior Scientist, ZMT	Examinatrice
Alexander Mawyer, Associate Professor, University of Hawai'i	Examineur
Estienne Rodary, Directeur de recherche, IRD	Directeur



# Abstract

This thesis explores past and current dynamics of coastal fisheries management regimes in Fiji, South Pacific. In particular, it seeks to better understand the evolution of discourses and practices of advocacy coalitions of actors defending the prioritization of either economic development or biodiversity conservation objectives. Going back as far as 1890, it examines how these coalitions have proposed over time to frame, organize and control subsistence and artisanal fishing activities in Fiji, and exposes the progressive and multi-scalar encounter of ‘development’ and ‘conservation’ coalitions. Indeed, in recent years, in the face of growing calls for the sustainable and integrated management of oceans and coasts, this encounter has given a momentum to a new, collaborative, integrated management regime in which coastal fisheries hold a central place.

The study relies on a multi-sited ethnography complemented by archive and policy reviews, and is based on a conceptual framework fed by political ecology and policy analysis approaches. It brings the concept of ‘hybridity’ into play to understand evolving discourses, practices and power relations in this movement toward the emergence of an ‘integrated’ moment and its plural materializations. In particular, it questions the consequent processes of (re)distribution of roles and responsibilities between state and non-state actors, as well as the growing articulation of their coercive and voluntary approaches in different management regimes.

This work demonstrates how management, taken as what Foucault called a regime of practices, is a multifaceted object shaped, adapted or circumvented by actors defending different and fluctuating interests. In the management regimes identified, fisheries have been problematized as a behavioral, techno-scientific or political issue, while fish and fishers have been qualified in diverse ways (e.g. for the former, as holding economic, aesthetic, cultural, nourishing or intrinsic value; and for the latter, as participants to the national economy, guardians of the sea or holders of political claims). However, to participate in the new integrated (and thus hybrid) regime, state and non-state actors must, more than ever before, demonstrate flexibility and mobilize simultaneously developmentalist, environmentalist, and localist discourses and practices. I finally show that, under the promise of a (re)conciliation of conservation and development objectives, processes of negotiation which are constitutive of management are made invisible rather than elucidated. When framed under such win-win discourses, the integrative rhetoric encompasses risks of de-politicizing questions addressing human-nature relations, which are, in many ways, highly political.

# Résumé

Cette thèse explore les dynamiques passées et contemporaines des régimes de gestion des pêches côtières à Fidji (Pacifique Sud). Elle vise à mieux comprendre l'évolution des discours et des pratiques des coalitions d'acteurs défendant la priorisation d'objectifs de développement économique ou de conservation de la biodiversité. Remontant jusqu'en 1890, j'interroge la manière dont ces coalitions ont proposé au fil du temps d'encadrer, d'organiser et de contrôler les activités de pêche vivrière et artisanale à Fidji, et j'expose la rencontre progressive et multi-échelle des discours et des pratiques mis en avant par ces coalitions de développement et de conservation. En effet, face à des incitations locales et internationales pour une gestion durable et intégrée des océans, cette rencontre a conduit à la formation d'un nouveau régime de gestion collaborative et intégrée dans lequel la pêche côtière occupe une place centrale.

L'étude s'appuie sur une ethnographie multi-sites complétée par l'analyse d'archives et de politiques publiques, et repose sur un cadre conceptuel alimenté par des approches de *political ecology* et d'analyse des politiques publiques. Elle met en jeu le concept d'« hybridité » pour comprendre l'évolution des discours, des pratiques et des rapports de force en jeu dans ce mouvement vers l'intégration et dans ses matérialisations. En particulier, cette thèse questionne les processus de (re)distribution des rôles et des responsabilités entre les acteurs étatiques et non-étatiques, ainsi que l'articulation croissante de leurs approches coercitives et comportementales dans les différents régimes de gestion.

Ce travail montre comment la gestion, considérée dans la lignée de Foucault comme un régime de pratiques, est un objet multiforme ; façonné, adapté ou contourné par des acteurs défendant des intérêts différents et changeants. Dans les régimes de gestion identifiés, la gestion des pêches est problématisée comme une question technoscientifique, comportementale, ou de gouvernance, tandis que les pêcheurs sont considérés comme des acteurs de l'économie nationale, des « gardiens de la mer » ou comme un groupe porteur de revendications politiques. Les poissons, quant à eux, sont porteurs d'une valeur économique, nutritive, culturelle, esthétique et/ou intrinsèque. Aujourd'hui, les coalitions doivent plus que jamais être flexibles et mobiliser simultanément (et donc hybrider) des discours et des pratiques développementalistes, environnementalistes et localistes. Je montre enfin que, derrière la promesse d'une (ré)conciliation des objectifs de conservation et de développement, les processus de négociation – constitutifs de la gestion – sont invisibilisés. Cette promesse, lorsqu'elle est formulée et promue par des discours « gagnant-gagnant », participe alors à la dépolitisation des questions relatives aux relations entre l'humain et son environnement, pourtant hautement politiques.

# Zusammenfassung

In dieser Arbeit wird die vergangene und aktuelle Dynamik des Küstenfischereimanagements in Fidschi im Südpazifik untersucht. Insbesondere wird versucht, die Entwicklung von Diskursen und Praktiken von Interessenvertretungs-Koalitionen von Akteuren besser zu verstehen, die entweder die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung oder die Erhaltung der biologischen Vielfalt als vorrangige Ziele verteidigen. Diese Analyse geht bis ins Jahr 1890 zurück und untersucht, wie diese Koalitionen im Laufe der Zeit vorgeschlagen haben, die Subsistenz- und handwerkliche Fischerei in Fidschi zu gestalten, zu organisieren und zu kontrollieren, und zeigt die fortschreitende und vielschichtige Begegnung von "Entwicklungs"- und "Schutz"-Koalitionen auf. In den letzten Jahren hat dieses Zusammentreffen angesichts der zunehmenden Forderungen nach einer nachhaltigen und integrierten Bewirtschaftung der Ozeane und Küsten einen Impuls für ein neues, kooperatives, integriertes Governance-System gegeben, in dem die Küstenfischerei einen zentralen Platz einnimmt.

Die Studie stützt sich auf eine ethnografische Untersuchung an mehreren Standorten, die durch Archiv- und Politikauswertungen ergänzt wurde, und basiert auf einem konzeptionellen Rahmen, der sich auf Ansätze der politischen Ökologie und der Politikanalyse stützt. Sie bringt das Konzept der "Hybridität" ins Spiel, um die sich entwickelnden Diskurse, Praktiken und Machtverhältnisse in dieser Bewegung hin zum Entstehen eines integrierten Moments und seiner pluralen Materialisierungen zu verstehen. Sie hinterfragt insbesondere die daraus resultierenden Prozesse der (Neu-)Verteilung von Rollen und Verantwortlichkeiten zwischen staatlichen und nichtstaatlichen Akteuren sowie die zunehmende Artikulation ihrer zwanghaften und freiwilligen Ansätze in verschiedenen Managementregimen.

Diese Arbeit zeigt, wie das Management als das, was Foucault ein Regime von Praktiken nannte, ein facettenreiches Objekt ist, das von Akteuren, die unterschiedliche und schwankende Interessen vertreten, geformt, angepasst oder umgangen wird. In den identifizierten Bewirtschaftungsregimen wurde die Fischerei als verhaltensbezogenes, technisch-wissenschaftliches oder politisches Problem thematisiert, während Fische und Fischer:innen auf unterschiedliche Weise qualifiziert wurden (z. B. für erstere als Träger von wirtschaftlichem, ästhetischem, kulturellem, nahrhaftem oder intrinsischem Wert; und für letztere als Teilnehmer der nationalen Wirtschaft, Hüter des Meeres oder Träger politischer Ansprüche). Um an dem neuen integrierten (und somit hybriden) Regime teilzunehmen, müssen staatliche und nichtstaatliche Akteure jedoch mehr denn je Flexibilität zeigen und gleichzeitig entwicklungspolitische, umweltpolitische und lokalistische Diskurse und Praktiken mobilisieren. Schließlich zeige ich, dass unter der Verheißung einer (Wieder-)Versöhnung von Schutz- und Entwicklungszielen Verhandlungsprozesse, die für das Management konstitutiv sind, eher unsichtbar gemacht als verdeutlicht werden. Die integrative Rhetorik birgt das Risiko einer Entpolitisierung von Fragen der Mensch-Natur-Beziehung, die in vielerlei Hinsicht hochpolitisch sind, wenn sie unter solchen Win-Win-Diskursen formuliert werden.

# Statement of authenticity

I, Léa Riera, hereby declare that:

1. the work has been prepared without unauthorized outside help;
2. no sources and help other than those indicated have been used; and
3. the passages taken verbatim or the contents from the works used are identified as such.

## **Certificat d'authenticité**

Je, soussignée Léa Riera declare ici que:

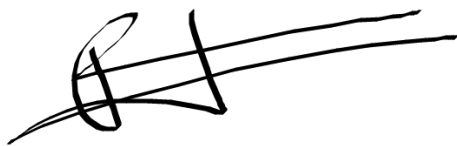
1. le travail a été préparé sans aide extérieure non autorisée ;
2. aucune source ou aide autre que celles indiquées n'a été utilisée ; et que
3. les passages repris textuellement ou le contenu d'ouvrages utilisés sont identifiés comme tels.

## **Erklärung zur Echtheit**

Ich, Léa Riera, erkläre hiermit, dass:

1. die Arbeit ohne unerlaubte fremde Hilfe angefertigt ist;
2. keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel benutzt wurden, und
3. die den benutzten Werken wörtlich oder inhaltlich entnommenen Stellen als solche kenntlich gemacht sind.

A Montpellier, le 17/05/2022

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized initial 'L' followed by a horizontal line and a vertical stroke, all connected by a single continuous line.



# Remerciements

Je remercie tout d'abord Simon Batterbury et Michael Flitner d'avoir accepté d'être les rapporteurs de cette thèse, ainsi que Marie-Christine Cormier Salem, Marion Glaser et Alexander Mawyer pour leur participation en tant qu'examineurs et examinatrices à mon jury.

J'adresse de grands remerciements à Estienne Rodary, Elodie Fache et Annette Breckwoldt grâce à qui j'ai bénéficié d'un cadre de travail stimulant et bienveillant tout au long de cette thèse. Je les remercie pour leur confiance et leur encadrement à trois voix, si complémentaires depuis le début de ce projet. Des remerciements donc à Estienne pour son suivi et sa rigueur intellectuelle qui m'ont poussé à toujours mieux expliciter ma pensée et affirmer mes idées, et pour nos cafés et les discussions passionnantes qui les accompagnaient, que ce soit au sujet de ma thèse ou de bateaux ; à Annette pour son accueil toujours chaleureux à Brême, son énergie et sa passion communicative, et aussi pour nous avoir emmené avec elle sur son terrain de thèse, à Gau, 10 ans après – ce fut une parfaite introduction à la vie fidjienne ; et puis à Elodie pour son accompagnement et ses encouragements qui ont ponctué ces presque quatre années, pour ses relectures toujours pertinentes ainsi que pour avoir réfléchi maintes fois avec moi aux chemins que je souhaitais emprunter avec cette thèse.

Cette thèse a été réalisée au sein des UMR GRED (2018-2020) et SENS (2021-2022) et je tiens à remercier les directeurs de ces unités, Bernard Moizo et Philippe Méral, ainsi que tous les collègues avec qui j'ai partagé les bureaux de Saint Charles pendant ces quelques années. Dans le monde académique, je remercie plus largement les chercheuses et chercheurs qui m'ont aidé à cerner, penser et structurer progressivement mon sujet de thèse: Joeli Veitayaki, Eberhard Weber, Catherine Sabinot, Gilbert David, Simonne Pauwels, Pierre-Yves Le Meur, Victor David, Matthias Kowasch et Stéphanie Carrière notamment. Votre soutien scientifique, pertinent et encourageant, a également permis à cette thèse de murir doucement. Merci à Auréa Pottier, pour les vendredis passés ensemble pour la réalisation des cartes présentées dans cette thèse, toujours dans la bonne humeur. Je suis particulièrement reconnaissante à Kelera Kuli de m'avoir accompagné et d'avoir échangé longuement avec moi sur les îles de la Province de Kadavu ; à Susan et Rosie pour leur accueil ; et à Sera

Lewanuya qui a participé au pied levé à la collecte de données à Fidji pendant la période difficile de la pandémie de Covid-19. Un grand merci à Sarah Zwicker pour son accueil à Brême et pour son rôle de traductrice improvisé ! Merci aux doctorant.e.s de GRED et de SENS, notamment à Juliette Kon Kam King, avec qui j'ai partagé les hauts et les bas de la thèse, entre Montpellier, Suva (lieu de tests culinaires non-concluants), Nouméa, et Brême ; et à Mathilde Lagrola avec qui le partage de nombreux temps de travail aura aussi donné lieu au partage de fêtes, de balades et surtout de bons repas.

Je remercie également toutes les personnes qui, en France, à Fidji et en Nouvelle-Calédonie ont accepté de prendre de leur temps pour discuter avec moi, répondre à mes questions et participer à la réalisation de ce travail d'enquête. En particulier, je remercie celles et ceux qui m'ont laissé les accompagner dans leur quotidien, les gardes natures et la ZCO de la Province Sud de Nouvelle Calédonie, l'ONG Pacific Blue Foundation à Fidji, et les pêcheurs et pêcheuses qui m'ont permis de les accompagner dans leurs activités, sur leur bateau et jusque sous l'eau.

Et parce qu'on n'en a pas souvent l'occasion, je souhaite également remercier les rencontres, ami.e.s, proches qui m'ont accompagnée ces dernières années. Parmi elleux, une pensée reconnaissante aux Toulousaines pour être toujours là, aux copaines de Montpellier pour les apéros Salins/apeyrous/apéros plages/apéros rivières, bref les apéros ; à mes supers colocs qui ont contribué à rendre mon nouveau nid très douillet à base de douraks et de bons petits plats ; à Aline pour les évasions épistolaires ; à Rémi pour les partages musicaux ; à Emma pour nos retrouvailles trop rares mais toujours aussi joyeuses. Quelques non-humains tout de même, pour le réconfort et l'énergie qu'ils m'ont apportés, Possession, Soundcloud, Mélomane, Côtes du Rhône, Caracole, et bien sûr, Catzo et Moon.

Je remercie mes parents Isabelle et Philippe pour tant de choses, notamment pour m'avoir transmis le goût du voyage qui m'aura finalement amené jusqu'aux îles du Pacifique. Merci d'avoir été, tout au long de mon parcours, toujours présents et encourageants, quel que soit le chemin choisi.

Enfin, merci à Esteve, tout simplement pour sa présence à mes côtés. Maintenant, on vogue !





# Table of contents

Abstract	1
Résumé	2
Zusammenfassung	3
Statement of authenticity	4
Remerciements	5
Table of contents	8
List of Acronyms	10
List of Figures	12
List of Tables	14
List of Boxes	14
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>PART I. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Chapter 1. A research at the crossroads of political ecology and policy analysis</b>	<b>30</b>
1.1. Environmental and fisheries management in public policies	31
1.2. Conservation-development tensions in political ecology	35
1.3. Management as a mode of governing fish and fishers	50
Conclusion of Chapter 1	57
<b>Chapter 2. Research context and methods</b>	<b>60</b>
2.1. Research context and settings	61
2.2. Fijian context and study sites	71
2.3. Mixed ethnographic methods to explore coastal fisheries management	83
2.4. Literature review and document analysis	102
2.5. Analysis of collected data	103
Conclusion of Chapter 2	106
<b>PART II. DIVERGENCES. THE CONSTITUTION OF TWO REGIMES OF PRACTICES</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>Chapter 3. Management-as-development to make fish and fishers manageable for state development</b>	<b>112</b>
3.1. Territorial management and the insertion of fisheries into Fiji's economy	113
3.2. Censuses, licenses, maps: introduction and support of western fisheries management	129
3.3. A management-as-development to make fish and fishers legible and productive	139
Conclusion of Chapter 3	143
<b>Chapter 4. Management-as-conservation to protect coastal fisheries with community-based management</b>	<b>146</b>
4.1. The constitution of a Fijian conservation coalition on CBFM matters	148
4.2. FLMMA's CBFM: model, stakeholders and instruments	155
4.3. Management-as-conservation: (re)connective and hybrid propositions	167
Conclusion of Chapter 4	177
<b>Conclusion of Part II</b>	<b>180</b>
<b>PART III. CONVERGENCES. THE EMERGENCE OF A HYBRID COALITION</b>	<b>186</b>
<b>Chapter 5. The reforming of coastal fisheries for an integrated, Fijian blue growth</b>	<b>192</b>
5.1. Appropriation of blue growth discourses in the Pacific region and in Fiji	194
5.2. Philanthropic conservation donors shift for a more integrated management	207
5.3. Challenges of and limits to initial integration attempts	220
Conclusion of Chapter 5	223

<b>Chapter 6. Thinking beyond the fish: a marine and multi-scalar ‘livelihood turn’ in CITES policies</b>	<b>226</b>
6.1. Making fish matter	229
6.2. Making livelihoods matter	234
6.3. Multiscalar exploitation-conservation governance reconfigurations in the South Pacific	238
Conclusion of Chapter 6	247
<b>Conclusion of Part III</b>	<b>249</b>
<b>PART IV. INTEGRATIONS. TOWARD A HYBRID REGIME OF PRACTICE</b>	<b>253</b>
<b>Chapter 7. Behavioral change for individual and collective environmental responsabilization</b>	<b>258</b>
7.1. Introduction to behavioral change and to cChange campaigns	259
7.2. The implementation of behavioral change strategy in Fiji	266
7.3. “It’s not just about the fish”: incremental change for a new environmentality	282
7.4. Change in practices and responsabilization	289
Conclusion of Chapter 7	298
<b>Chapter 8. Conservation instruments, state appropriations and hybrid fisheries policies</b>	<b>302</b>
8.1. Three policies and three approaches of the coastal fisheries reform	303
8.2. From conservation instruments to hybrid policies	313
8.3. (Re)distribution of roles and responsibilities	324
Conclusion of Chapter 8	335
<b>Chapter 9. Characterization, successes and limits of the hybrid regime of practice</b>	<b>338</b>
9.1. Diversifying instruments and evolving problematization and qualification processes	339
9.2. Parallel trajectories of development and conservation coalitions to achieve integration	346
9.3. Integration as concurring to a neoliberal <i>flexibility</i> and to an Oceanian pluralism	356
<b>FINAL CONCLUSION</b>	<b>364</b>
Retrospective	364
Perspectives	366
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>370</b>
Bibliography	370
Online sources	388
<b>Appendices</b>	<b>390</b>
Summary of the thesis in English	408
Résumé de la thèse en français	430
Zusammenfassung der Dissertation auf Deutsch	454
Detailed table of contents	480

# List of Acronyms

<b>CBM</b>	Community-Based Management
<b>CBFM</b>	Community-Based Fisheries Management
<b>CFWG</b>	Coastal Fisheries Working Group
<b>CFRO</b>	Customary Fish Resource Owner
<b>CBD</b>	Convention on Biological Diversity
<b>CI</b>	Conservation International
<b>CO</b>	Conservation Officer
<b>CITES</b>	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
<b>CROP</b>	Council of Regional Organizations in the Pacific
<b>DoF</b>	Department of Fisheries
<b>EEZ</b>	Exclusive Economic Zone
<b>FAME</b>	Division of Fisheries, Aquaculture and Marine Ecosystems (SPC)
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agriculture Organization
<b>FFA</b>	Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency
<b>FLMMA</b>	Fiji Locally-Managed Marine Area Network
<b>FSA</b>	Fish Spawning Aggregation
<b>FSPI</b>	Foundation for the People of the South Pacific International
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>GIZ</b>	Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
<b>HoF</b>	Heads of Fisheries
<b>IAS</b>	Institute for Applied Science
<b>ICM</b>	Integrated Coastal Management
<b>IGO</b>	Inter Governmental Organization
<b>IUCN</b>	International Union for Conservation of Nature
<b>LEK</b>	Local Ecological Knowledge
<b>LMMA</b>	Locally-Managed Marine Area Network
<b>LOIS</b>	Large Ocean Island State
<b>LSMPA</b>	Large Scale Marine Protected Area
<b>MACBIO</b>	Marine and Coastal Biodiversity Management in Pacific Island Countries
<b>MoF</b>	Ministry of Fisheries
<b>MPA</b>	Marine Protected Area
<b>MSG</b>	Melanesian Spearhead Group
<b>NDF</b>	Non-Detrimental Findings

<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organization
<b>PICTs</b>	Pacific Island Countries and Territories
<b>PIF</b>	Pacific Islands Forum
<b>PM</b>	Prime Minister
<b>RFMO</b>	Regional Fisheries Management Organization
<b>RTMCF</b>	Regional Technical Meeting for Coastal Fisheries
<b>SDGs</b>	Sustainable Development Goals
<b>SIDS</b>	Small Island Developing States
<b>SPC</b>	Pacific Community
<b>SPREP</b>	Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme
<b>SSF</b>	Small-Scale Fisheries
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNCLOS</b>	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Programme
<b>UNEP</b>	United Nations Environment Programme
<b>UNOC</b>	United Nations Ocean Conference
<b>USP</b>	The University of the South Pacific
<b>WCS</b>	Wildlife Conservation Society
<b>WWF</b>	World Wide Fund for Nature
<b>YMST</b>	Yaubula Management Support Team



# List of Figures

<b>Figure 1.</b> Fijian Ministry of Fisheries logo since 2018 with its “Sustain, Manage, Protect” banner ....	24
<b>Figure 2.</b> Schematic representation of the conceptual framing of fisheries management .....	35
<b>Figure 3.</b> Map of the South Pacific showing PICTs and neighbor countries' EEZ .....	73
<b>Figure 4.</b> Zoom on Fiji's EEZ including territorial waters and its neighbor countries and territories ..	74
<b>Figure 5.</b> Map of Fiji's largest islands indicating visited islands and cities as part of 2019 fieldwork.	75
<b>Figure 6.</b> Photos of different fishing activities observed in Kadavu .....	80
<b>Figure 7.</b> Map of Kadavu Province in Fiji indicating study areas .....	82
<b>Figure 8.</b> Map of Suva indicating the main stakeholders and places of interest.....	82
<b>Figure 9.</b> (left) A bundle of yaqona roots before the sevusevu ceremony with Kadavu Province's Roko Tui; (right) preparation of the kava drink.....	86
<b>Figure 10.</b> With Kadavu Provincial Office staff, loading of the boat in Matasawalevu .....	87
<b>Figure 11.</b> Presentation of my research to the members of the Aije Aro customary area in Bourail ....	88
<b>Figure 12.</b> Naiqoro Passage marine protected area .....	90
<b>Figure 13.</b> Learning Fijian weaving of dried pandanus leaves in Matasawalevu, Kadavu .....	96
<b>Figure 14.</b> Participant observations taking place at sea.....	99
<b>Figure 15.</b> (a) Short interview with children following the drawing session in a school of Nouméa and (b) examples of children drawings .....	101
<b>Figure 16.</b> Current process to obtain a fishing license .....	117
<b>Figure 17.</b> Programs developed by the Fisheries Division under the Development Plans 8 and 9 .....	127
<b>Figure 18.</b> Map picturing Fijian iqoliqoli (traditional fishing grounds) boundaries.....	133
<b>Figure 19.</b> FLMMA's suggested improvement for MoF services on coastal fisheries .....	161
<b>Figure 20.</b> Representation of a LMMA with small managed areas and a permanent closure .....	165
<b>Figure 21.</b> Extract from a report to the World Bank of fishery scientist Gillett (1999) .....	183
<b>Figure 22.</b> The 17 commitments of the Fijian Government at the UN Ocean Conference in 2017 ....	219
<b>Figure 23.</b> WWF Shark Programme Manager (left) and Fiji Fisheries Director (CITES 2016) .....	244

<b>Figure 24.</b> 4FJ campaign poster figuring rugbyman Waisale Serevi.....	264
<b>Figure 25.</b> cChange communication material to support the 4FJ campaign.....	267
<b>Figure 26.</b> 4FJ campaign: support of iTaukei chiefs to the kawakawa and donu ban .....	268
<b>Figure 27.</b> 4FJ campaign: support of the Methodist Church of Fiji to the kawakawa and donu ban ..	269
<b>Figure 28.</b> Public notice for the 4-month ban enacted by the Ministry of Fisheries .....	271
<b>Figure 29.</b> Facebook comments on a 4FJ post on the kawakawa and donu ban .....	276
<b>Figure 30.</b> SPC posters showing good practices to release unwanted fish.....	281
<b>Figure 31.</b> Extract from the 2018 kawakawa and donu fish guide .....	295
<b>Figure 32.</b> Extract of the Public Notice for the kawakawa and donu ban .....	305
<b>Figure 33.</b> 4FJ campaign: Fiji Minister of Fisheries Semi Koroilavesau and a fishermen from Ra ...	306
<b>Figure 34.</b> SetSize campaign poster indicating the new recommended minimum fish sizes .....	326
<b>Figure 35.</b> Representation of the hybridization processes at stake in the three policies.....	336

## List of Tables

<b>Table 1.</b> Theoretical tools to characterize coastal fisheries management subsystem .....	59
<b>Table 2.</b> Annual fisheries and aquaculture harvests in Fiji (based on the work of Gillett 2016).....	79
<b>Table 3.</b> Interviews conducted in Fiji, in New Caledonia, in France or online .....	93
<b>Table 4.</b> Types of documentation investigated and sources .....	103
<b>Table 5.</b> Sum-up of the arguments for conservation philanthropic donors to focus on CBFM.....	156
<b>Table 6.</b> Management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes.....	181
<b>Table 7.</b> List of concerns and objections for the listing of marine species on CITES Appendices .....	231
<b>Table 8.</b> Characterization of the three regimes of practices identified in the study.....	347

## List of Boxes

<b>Box 1.</b> Post-colonial theory .....	46
<b>Box 2.</b> Fiji's political moments following the 2006 coup .....	78
<b>Box 3.</b> Re-weaving the ecological mat.....	97
<b>Box 4.</b> Dual tenure and legal systems in Fiji.....	117
<b>Box 5.</b> Introduction to CITES .....	227
<b>Box 6.</b> Seasonal fishing bans in the South Pacific .....	262
<b>Box 7.</b> Groupers (kawakawa) and spawning aggregations areas (FSAs).....	265



# Introduction

## Conservation and exploitation ‘integration’ in fast changing oceans

Oceans and the fast transformations they endure are increasingly discussed in local to international public spaces, contrasting the long political silence to which they were previously subjected. In parallel, the voices of the people directly confronted with these transformations, and who demand more consideration, justice and action, are getting louder. Consequently, oceans have gained a central place on global and national political agendas in recent years, as illustrated by the adoption in 2015 of the 2030 United Nations Agenda and its Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 14 aiming to “*conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development*”.<sup>1</sup> More recently, the commitment made by 84 countries to protect 30% of oceanic areas by 2030 at the 2022 One Ocean Summit as well as the emphasis put on ocean’s role in the last Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reports (IPCC 2022) have also participated in this advent of maritime concerns in international negotiations as well as in public spaces.

These international dynamics have been largely supported by Pacific Island Countries and Territories (PICTs) which have an existential interest in ensuring the sustainable management of their coveted offshore and coastal spaces and resources (Le Meur et al. 2018). PICTs are highly dependent on the ocean and its resources for their food security and economy, as well as in terms of sovereignty, identity and culture but they are also particularly exposed to the severe threats the Pacific Ocean is facing, including but not limited to the decline of both fishery stocks and biodiversity. The Pacific Ocean has been facing for the past decades an important ‘rush’ for its spaces and resources which have led PICTs to put forward the tight interlacing of climate, biodiversity and ocean stakes on international stages (Fache et al. 2021), and thus to become important stakeholders of new advocacy coalitions tackling environmental issues. Drawing on deep and vivid cultural and economic connections with the ocean, PICTs have actively reframed their identity as Pacific Large Ocean Island States<sup>2</sup>; an identity from which sovereign rights

---

<sup>1</sup> SDG 14. United Nations (online). Available at <https://www.un.org/en/conf/ocean/background.shtml> (accessed on 10/05/2022).

<sup>2</sup> References to either Pacific LOIS, PICTs, or Pacific ‘Small Island Developing States’ – PSIDS (but also ‘Pacific Islands’ or ‘Oceanian states’) are commonly found in the literature on the South Pacific and these expressions encompass slightly different meanings and presupposes. PSIDS appeared in the 1992 Earth Summit as a group of

over the ‘Blue Pacific’ ensue (Bambridge et al. 2021). This dynamic contributed to the advent of a geopolitical turn toward a Pacific regionalism in which an ‘Oceanian Sovereignty’ rooted in deep relationships to the ocean has been key to weave together the histories, presents and futures of PICTs (ibid). The significant progress of their leadership in the global ocean governance in recent years relies notably on the voicing of a regional vision of integrative and sustainable ocean management and governance, based on their common historical and fundamental connections to the ocean (Pratt and Govan 2010).

While such vision is unique and reflects South Pacific idiosyncrasies, it is embedded into more global discourses mobilized by a variety of stakeholders, from intergovernmental organizations (IOs) to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), scientific and civil society actors who have been advocating for sustainability and integration in environmental management and governance since the 1992 Rio Earth Summit. As sectoral modes of governance were increasingly shown to be poorly equipped to respond to the complexity and multi-scalar character of coupled social and environmental issues, the concept of integration gained ground in various fields and sectors. Integration is generally understood as a movement toward more connections, between scales (to connect regional, national and local practices and norms), spaces (to connect land and sea, inshore and offshore), times (to connect today’s uses of oceans with future generations’ needs and wellbeing), or actors (to connect different sectors and different stakeholders). In the marine environment in particular, previous ‘silo-structured management’ focusing on single sectors or resources has been increasingly presented as insufficient and inappropriate against the more widespread recognition of the interconnectedness of the world-ocean and of its ecological, social and economic dimensions (Aswani et al. 2018, Mazé et al. 2017). Accordingly, calls to produce and adopt more holistic approaches have consolidated over recent years with various and partly overlapping models such as ecosystem-based management, marine spatial planning or integrated coastal zone management. These ‘integrated’ propositions are shaped by, and shape in return, new coalitions

---

nations sharing similar and unique concerns and advocating their views of the Pacific Ocean and its resources. The concept of Pacific Large Ocean Island States (Pacific LOIS) emerged to better translate the geopolitical and cultural importance of marine spaces for these countries and territories. PICTs is the most commonly found expression in the scientific and grey literature and present the advantage of including overseas territories of non-Pacific countries. It is for instance the term used by regional institutions like SPC, SPREP as well as the Ministry of Fisheries. In this thesis I predominantly refer to ‘PICTs’ to discuss regional dynamics, but will also discuss the more geopolitical term ‘Pacific LOIS’.

of actors that propose new discourses and practices. These propositions represent attempts to sustainably organize oft-competing claims over marine spaces and resources with new modalities of access to, use of, and control of these spaces and resources as well as new avenues for the planning of human activities across the marine realm.

Fisheries and marine biodiversity conservation sectors have been particularly urged to reconcile their views and practices toward a common, integrated vision. Such reconciliation is often presented as arduous given that, on the one hand, fisheries management has historically been shaped to serve national development goals that require the continuation or increase of human uses of ecosystems with the aim of meeting present human needs (FAO 2015, World Bank 2015, Hills et al. 2019), while on the other hand, conservation, in its historical and strict sense, requires the limitation (or the drastic minimization) of human uses of ecosystems for the benefit of both present and future generations (CBD 2011, IUCN 2011). For the latter ambition to befall, a worldwide system of conservation guidelines has been established by the international community, and typically targets the quantitative implementation of marine protected areas (MPAs) as a response to increasing global and local threats to marine and coastal ecosystems. MPAs are regarded by many marine scientists and conservation practitioners as the principal management tool needed to tackle both fisheries collapse and continued loss of marine biodiversity (Caveen et al. 2013). Consequently, fishing is the human activity most affected by MPAs known as “marine reserves” or “no-take areas” which bans all forms of fishing (Pauly 2018). The irruption of conservationists in the marine realm has indeed largely relied on the denunciation of fishing activities’ unsustainable practices, starting with a 1998 article by marine biologist Daniel Pauly (Pauly et al. 1998). On the other side, the strain of MPAs’ detractors has come mainly from fisheries scientists like Ray Hilborn who argues that “*a community of belief has arisen whose credo has become ‘fisheries management has failed, we need to abandon the old approaches and use marine protected areas and ecosystem-based management’*” (Hilborn 2006:535). These conflicting views on MPAs have generated at the global level tensions between two epistemic communities informed respectively by marine conservation and fisheries sciences (Stokstad 2009). Indeed, tensions remain vivid due to the unique histories, epistemologies, cultures, values and techniques of marine conservation and fisheries sciences, and the oft-divergent objectives of the institutions and organizations these scientific fields inform (Salomon et al. 2011).

Reconciliations<sup>3</sup> between fisheries and conservation activities in marine management and governance therefore appear as pragmatically, conceptually and epistemologically complex. Yet, as part of the global integrative trajectory, articulations between the two sectors multiply, chiefly through two parallel and multi-scalar movements: (1) the mainstreaming of conservation discourses and practices in fisheries management activities (Friedman et al. 2018), and (2) the unfolding by conservation organizations of ‘developmentalist configurations’ and their increased engagement into fisheries management activities (Hart et al. 2006, Rodary 2008). Conservation mainstreaming into fisheries management operates through “*the progressive, interactive process of recognizing the values of biodiverse natural systems in the development and management of fisheries, accepting full accountability for, and effectively responding to, the broader impact of fishing and fishery related activities on biodiversity and related structure and function of ecosystems*” (Friedman et al. 2018:209). As a result, fisheries management, both offshore and coastal, and from global to local scales, is increasingly reformed to accommodate stocks sustainability and biodiversity conservation objectives (De La Croix and Mitroi 2020). This ecologization<sup>4</sup> of management practices has been facilitated by – and have facilitated in return – the arrival of new actors in fisheries management activities, and has greatly impacted how marine resources are used, managed and governed. Conservation NGOs in particular have increasingly been involved in fisheries management arenas and, to do so, have adapted their discourses, practices and modes of functioning, both internally and in the ways they engage with other actors (e.g. state agencies, local communities, fisheries organizations).

These two parallel movements have been poorly documented and the adjustments and tensions they generate are, overall, poorly understood (see however Hart et al. 2006; Salomon et al. 2011, De La Croix and Mitroi 2020). In numerous case studies, the search for ‘win-win’ strategies that allow to simultaneously meet ecosystem integrity and human needs, often

---

<sup>3</sup> According to the first definition of the word by Chaucer in 1386, to ‘reconcile’ means “to reunite in harmony, concord, agreement; to bring back into favor; to fit or adjust to make smooth an inequality; to make compatible in fact or in one’s mind” (Oxford English Dictionary, 1386). This idea of making compatible is central to this research and will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis.

<sup>4</sup> I refer here to the definition of Ginelli (2017:2) who sees ecologization as an “*enterprise of cognitive and normative reframing - a change in the way of thinking and judging a social behavior - aiming at a more or less strong ecological inflection of the standards (legal or implicit) and social practices in force in the considered field*” (my translation from French).



through more-or-less participative approaches, is presented at best as challenging, and otherwise as having limited or no effects on either fish or human populations (Stöhr et al. 2014, Bennett 2015, Chaigneau et Brown 2016, Brockington et al. 2018). More often than not, the recourse to vaguely-defined sustainable and integrative logics that ignore real-world trade-offs and negotiations (e.g. between exploitation and conservation goals) is deplored. It is precisely such trade-offs and negotiations underlying the concepts of sustainability and integration in environmental and fisheries management that are at the core of this study.

### **Toward an integrated coastal fisheries management in PICTs and in Fiji**

The tropical reefs, mangroves and lagoons of PICTs offer a rich context to explore these entanglements between conservation and fisheries in the management of coastal and marine ecosystems. These ecosystems represent both a major repository of global biodiversity and a main pillar of national economies and local livelihoods. Yet, they are today particularly threatened by the overexploitation of resources, pollution, deep-sea-mining projects, coastal urbanization, ocean warming and acidification, and to a large extent, by growing commercial fishing activities (Gillett 2014). In the last decade, the large diversity of stakeholders involved in the multi-scalar management of marine spaces and species have increasingly faced the arduous task of maintaining productive activities for local livelihoods and national economies, while ensuring the integrity of rich ecosystems and marine biodiversity. Such entanglements are well acknowledged by institutions that shape the regional environmental governance landscape (SPC 2015, SPREP 2016, PIF 2017).

Along with offshore fisheries, tourism and mining, coastal fisheries<sup>5</sup> represent one of the most important sectors in the economy of PICTs – increasingly so since the Covid-19 pandemic (Ansell et al. 1996, Gillett and Cartwright 2010, Walters et al. 2021). These (non-industrial) fisheries are often designated into two components: non-commercial (i.e. subsistence, the catch is for home consumption or given away to friends and relatives but not sold) and commercial

---

<sup>5</sup> Coastal, inshore, nearshore or small-scale fisheries are diverse and plural, and therefore difficult to define but are generally contrasted to offshore, industrial, highly commercialized fisheries. I refer here to the definitions provided by Gillett et al. (2014), in which coastal fisheries encompass both commercial and non-commercial small-scale fisheries and include a large variety of fishing techniques in diverse ecosystems.

(i.e. artisanal, all or a part of the catch is sold)<sup>6</sup> (Gillett 2014). Even though coastal waters represent on average less than 1.5% of the waters under PICTs' jurisdiction, coastal fisheries represent about half of fisheries' contribution to PICTs' GDP, while largely contributing to protein supply, livelihoods, income and employment (Govan 2018).

Moreover, strong ties connect oceans, coasts and their inhabitants (both human and non-human), and coastal fishing activities in particular are embedded into a large web of environmental, social and cultural connections. PICTs' indigenous and local communities retain deep and constantly evolving knowledge and practices related to fish and fisheries, which involves a way of life, a way of being-in-the-world, as well as practical skills (Johannes 1978, Breckwoldt 2007, Nolet 2018, Fache and Pauwels 2020). In the 1970s, anthropologist Robert Johannes (1978) drew the attention of researchers and politicians to the erosion – and even the predicted soon demise – of these millennial knowledge and practices, following colonization and westernization processes. Yet, he reported in the 1990s an “*upsurge*”, a “*revitalization*” and overall a “*renaissance*” of community-based marine resource management in the South Pacific, based on “*growing perception of scarcity, the re-strengthening of traditional village-based authority, and marine tenure by means of legal recognition and government support, better conservation education, and increasingly effective assistance, and advice from regional and national governments and NGOs*” (Johannes 2002:317). This renaissance, often largely supported by external actors from the conservation sector (i.e. NGOs but also funders) is characterized by a growing resort, since the 1990s, to customary marine institutions to protect and manage inshore marine territories and resources.

Despite their economic, cultural and social importance, the means deployed for coastal fisheries management at the national and regional levels have remained largely inferior to those mobilized for the management of more lucrative, offshore (in particular tuna) fisheries (Gillett et al. 2014). Consequently, these activities are largely underreported and undervalued. Even in Fiji, where coastal commercial fisheries are larger than in any other PICT, coastal fisheries management has been stamped by the lack of political will to allocate adequate resources for

---

<sup>6</sup> In Gillett's categorization, catches from recreational fishing are considered as production for home consumption, and therefore as a component of subsistence fisheries.

effective management, which has historically consisted in the development of local and national fishing capacities (Veitayaki et al. 2003, Gillett et al. 2014).

Over the past decade, a large number of policies have been developed to improve the management and governance of coastal fisheries in the South Pacific (Karcher et al. 2020). For instance, with the launch in 2015 of the *New Song for Coastal Fisheries – pathways to change*, also called the Nouméa Strategy (SPC 2015), representatives from the Pacific Community (SPC), the Council of Regional Organizations in the Pacific (CROP), coastal communities and NGOs asked for a complete rethink of fisheries practices and methodologies, a ‘new song’ of change for small-scale coastal fisheries. The Nouméa Strategy emphasizes the need for “*a coordinated approach*” that “*brings together initiatives and stakeholders with a shared vision of coastal fisheries management*” (SPC 2015:14). Integrated coastal fisheries management is also a core objective of the *Framework for a Pacific Oceanscape’s* vision of “*a secure future for Pacific Island Countries and Territories based on sustainable development, management and conservation of our Ocean*” (Pratt and Govan 2010:56). In the South Pacific region, the global integrative dynamic described above is therefore particularly vivid and is currently reshaping regional ocean governance institutional and policy landscapes as part of what Quirk (2018) has qualified as a new ‘integration’ phase. According to Quirk, this phase follows periods of institutional ‘atomization’ (isolated arising of agreements, organizations and conventions, 1947–1979), ‘competition’ (e.g., between organizations as well as between division/departments, 1980–1989) and ‘specialization’ (e.g. of each organization in its own field, 1990–2009).

Management and governance of the rich natural resources and biodiversity of the region have historically been conceived and deployed based on western practices and narratives, reflecting a vision of the world and of the ocean that, in many aspects, contrasts with Pacific relational ontologies (Bambridge et al. 2021). This historical trend experienced a recent impulse with the ‘new scramble for the seas’ particularly vivid in the South Pacific (Fache et al. 2021), in which privatization and planning of the seas, as well as projects of enclosure of marine spaces and life, are erecting new frontiers based on naturalist views of the world that separate nature and culture (Descola 2005, McCormack 2021). Questions of leadership in ocean governance and management is getting all the more crucial with new ‘blue’ policies (e.g. Blue Growth, Blue

Economy) being increasingly favored and installed in the region (Midlen 2021). Largely developed and promoted by international actors like the World Bank, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), these blue policies benefit from important uptake by a wide range of South Pacific stakeholders involved in ocean activities (e.g. states, private actors, development organizations). For instance, a Blue Growth agenda endorsed by Fiji in recent years is presented as a way toward new forms of regional and national sovereignty (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014). This “*home-grown*” Blue Growth<sup>7</sup> is embedded in a broader attempt to increase the recognition of PICTs and other island countries and territories worldwide as ‘custodians of the ocean(s)’ as well as to install Fiji as a leader of the “new pacific diplomacy” (Fry and Tarte 2015). Notably, Fiji’s role in the emergence of an ‘Ocean Pathway Partnership’<sup>8</sup> as a follow-up to its presidency of COP23 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), as well as its hosting of the First United Nations Ocean Conference (UNOC) in New York in 2017, have contributed to make PICTs’ histories, issues and needs more visible on the international stage.

This integrative moment is also reflected in Fiji’s national institutions and policies. Since 2018, the main objective of the Ministry of Fisheries (MoF) is to “*coordinate and facilitate the implementation of national policy and strategies concerning fisheries conservation, management, development and sustainable use*” while its banner becomes the tryptic “*sustain, manage, protect*” (**Figure 1**). This communication choice is not neutral: it is instructive on the current dynamics and articulations between conservation, development and fisheries management. As such, it has constituted in 2018 an initial interrogation to start the research work presented in this thesis. In regional and national institutions and policies, notions of sustainability, development, management and conservation thus exist side by side, but are not explicitly articulated with each other, which contributes to hinder potential contentions and necessary trades-off between some of these objectives.

---

<sup>7</sup> “Opening Address at The PM’s Green Growth Framework Summit” *Fijian Government* (online, 12/06/2014) Available at <https://www.fiji.gov.fj/media-centre/speeches/english/rear-admiral-j-v-bainimarama-opening-address-at> (accessed on 23/03/2022).

<sup>8</sup> Fiji launched the Ocean Pathway Partnership to integrate oceans within the climate change agenda of the UNFCCC. COP23 (online, August 2018) Available at <https://cop23.com.fj/the-ocean-pathway> (accessed on 28/03/2021).



**Figure 1. Fijian Ministry of Fisheries logo since 2018 with its “Sustain, Manage, Protect” banner**

## Research questions and outline of the thesis

The general objective of this thesis is to understand:

- the past and current transformations of coastal fisheries management activities in Fiji, in particular in its encounter with conservation norms and policies;
- the evolution of the discourses and practices of the coalitions of actors who partake in these transformations.

In this thesis, I argue that by defending the prioritization of either economic development or biodiversity conservation objectives, or by partaking in the weaving of exploitation and conservation objectives for sustainable and integrated oceans, these multi-scalar coalitions of actors have historically shaped distinct coastal fisheries management regimes in Fiji. Out of this initial stance, two main research questions have guided my analysis:

- how are economic development and biodiversity conservation policies currently articulating with one another to form an ‘integrated’ coastal fisheries management regime?
- how does the operationalization of an ‘integrated’ management agenda transforms power relations between stakeholders, chiefly between state and non-state actors involved in management?

In Part I, I detail the theoretical and methodological frameworks I have mobilized as part of my investigation of these different questions. In the first chapter, I propose to address these questions by combining political ecology’s attention to power dynamics in environmental

management arenas and policy analysis tools to unravel how coalitions of actors form over the constitution of a management regime of practices. Relying on a constructivist and historical perspective, I show how fish and fishers have been enrolled in regimes of practices characterized by different qualification and problematization processes. In the second chapter, I detail the methodologies used for the different phases of this research, which is based on empirical, inductive and multi-scale approaches. These methodologies include a multi-sited ethnography that allowed me to collect data before, during and after a fieldwork period in Fiji in 2019, notably to ‘follow the policies’ that have been deployed in recent years in Fiji and, more generally, in the South Pacific region. I also expose the different obstructions caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, first and foremost the cancellation of my second phase of fieldwork in 2020, as well as resulting methodological adjustments.

In Part II, I propose a genealogy of two distinct regimes for coastal marine resource management, namely the management-as-development and the management-as-conservation regimes. In Chapter 3, I unfold the insertion of coastal fishing activities into the colonial and postcolonial economy and politics in Fiji and demonstrate how developmentalist discourses shaped the contours and contents of fisheries management, then in construction. I show how this management-as-development regime was in the 1980s challenged by growing overfishing signals that pushed for the integration of environmental concerns into state-led fisheries management. In Chapter 4, I explore the constitution of the management-as-conservation regime that has offered, since the mid-1990s, an alternative to state-led fisheries management endeavors by making management synonymous with decentralization and participation under a community-based fisheries management (CBFM) model. I describe the forming of a new coalition led by conservation actors (incl. U.S. philanthropic donors and NGOs) advocating for the implementation of Locally Managed Marine Areas (LMMAs), an instrument that has embodied first fisheries management and conservation hybridizations in the 2000s.

In Part III, I question how dynamics of integration emerged in Fiji and challenged (and eventually transformed) both the management-as-development and the management-as-conservation regimes to propose a “Fijian coastal fisheries reform” (Prince et al. 2020). Chapter 5 describes the establishment of a new coalition of state and non-state actors following the convergence of two trajectories: (1) the adoption and appropriation of the Blue Growth agenda

by the Fijian Government, as part of renewed regional and national ‘blue’ environmental and economic ambitions; and (2) the strategic decision of philanthropic donors to shift conservation practices toward a new *follow-the-government* funding rationale. As part of these two trajectories, coastal fisheries have represented a key sector on which previously disconnected coalitions have built a ‘sustainability bond’. This encounter preceded the constitution of a new, integrated and thus hybrid regime for coastal fisheries. Connecting this regime to global dynamics, I explore in Chapter 6 major trends in the evolution of the scope and functioning of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) over the past decades, namely the inclusion of both exploited marine fish and of human livelihoods considerations in its preservationist discourses and practices. I then propose to question how this trajectory challenges previous institutional and normative frameworks, while reshaping previous sectoral delimitations between biodiversity conservation and fisheries management, within the organization itself but also for regional and Fijian agencies involved in CITES.

In the last part (Part IV), I propose to explore in details the management propositions that emerged out of the coastal fisheries reform initiated under the hybrid regime. I build on the analysis of hybrid instruments and policies to show the increasing collaborations between state and non-state actors as well as the redistributions of roles and responsibilities that have ensued. In Chapter 7, I retrace the design and implementation phases of several fisheries management campaigns developed in Fiji since 2014 and based on behavioral change approaches to conservation. Beyond a mere advocacy for a change in the practices of fishers and consumers, new governmentalities are formed based on the ambition to create new social norms and to foster individual and collective responsibilities toward the environment. In Chapter 8, I expose three key policies developed by the MoF in recent years, and show that hybridity is most visible in the way conservation instruments and approaches (namely social marketing, MPAs and CBFM) are re-appropriated and transformed to make them compatible with state-led practices. In this process, hybridity appears as a mechanism deployed to (re)assemble practices and norms that previously entailed incompatible views on how to use coastal and marine resources and spaces (i.e. management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes of practices). New governmentalities as well as a new ‘geography of competences’ (Akrish 1991) emerge, as roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders are redefined in the hybrid regime.

Chapter 9 finally provides a discussion of the different results obtained in order to further characterize this ‘integrated moment’ in the making. I show how, under the new hybrid regime, fish becomes a plural and multiform entity that can take part in relations with humans based on multiple and overlapping values (e.g. economic, aesthetic, symbolic, nourishing, intrinsic), while fishers can be all at once key actors of the national economy, guardians of the sea/ocean, and holders of rights and political claims. This integration of previously incompatible qualification and problematization processes epitomizes with behavioral change approaches and the importance they provide to environmental *action and practice* rather than the cultivation of an environmental *concern*. Therefore, to conclude this thesis, I argue that as part of the integrated moment, *aggregation* of values, practices, norms and discourses seem to prevail over a proper *reconciliation* of previous dualisms in which the conservation/exploitation tension was embedded. In this view, antagonisms are concealed rather than erased, which contributes to a depoliticization of management under the idea that integration will provide win-win solutions that may satisfy all human and non-human stakeholders.



# **Part I**

## **Theoretical and methodological frameworks**



# Chapter 1. A research at the crossroads of political ecology and policy analysis

This chapter touches upon the theoretical foundations of this demonstration and proposes frameworks that attempt to address both ‘politics’ and ‘policies’ dimensions of coastal fisheries management, through (interconnected) political ecology and public policy approaches.

I will firstly introduce the work of different scholars anchored in these approaches and show how they provide relevant conceptual, analytical and methodological tools to investigate the research questions developed in the introduction. I also expose the benefits I see in combining political ecology’s attention to discourse and power dynamics and policy analysis’ integration of cognitive dimensions in environmental management. Anchored in a constructivist and historical approach, my proposition allows a greater understanding of how fish and fishers are enrolled in evolving forms of management, which I see as taking part in the government of human-nature relations. I will present the general approach I have developed to tackle fisheries (and more broadly natural resources) policies and management matters before presenting the manifold contributions of political ecology works to my investigation of conservation-development tensions in ‘fishery’ politics. I will finally highlight how I analyze the modalities of elaboration and implementation of public policies within pluralist political contexts. In what I believe constitute an original framework, I articulate the proposition of policy scientist Sabatier (1998) to follow the evolution of advocacy coalitions defending different belief systems with concepts of environmentality and hybridity developed by Agrawal (2005). This conceptual encounter allows me to propose a model that accounts for both power/interest and cognitive/subjective dimensions deeply entangled in policy change and governing practices.

## 1.1. Environmental and fisheries management in public policies

### 1.1.1. Public policies to address societal matters of concern

In political sciences, public policies represent a multiform and complex object, and as such, many definitions and approaches can be found in the literature. A public policy can for instance be broadly defined as a “*purposive course of action followed by [...] a set of actors in dealing with a problem or a matter of concern*” (Anderson 2014:9). Anderson proposes to consider a public policy as an object developed by actor(s) and institution(s) over some time to achieve specific objectives, to provide responses to what has been identified as a public matter of concern, which can span over a large range of issues and scales, including those related to environmental matters. In this thesis, I adhere to this ‘loose’ view of public policies, with actors and institutions designing and implementing them not being limited to governmental bodies and officials but including international organizations, non-governmental agencies, civil society groups, religious groups, business groups and other interest groups that have stakes in the definition and adoption of certain policies. The passing from public policies as the product of state action to the product of a plurality of actors can be seen as parallel to the passing from ‘government’ to ‘governance’ that has shaped environmental policies and politics in the past decades (Boyer 1990). Indeed, governance marks a shift away from state-centric and territorial-based power and “*acknowledges that a plethora of forms of social organization and political decision-making exist that are neither directed toward the state nor emanate from it*” (Dingwerth and Pattberg 2006:191). I mobilize in this thesis the notion of governance to account for the participation of non-state actors (e.g., private companies, NGOs, civil society groups and movements) in ‘government’ (understood in its Foucauldian sense, see p55) activities. This shift from state-led governance involves the creation of new scales of governance as a simultaneous scaling up and scaling down of environmental governance occurs (Himley 2008).

Public policies are also approached as responses to “*those claims for action or inaction on some public issues made by other actors, private citizens, group representatives, or legislators and other public officials upon government and officials agencies*” (Anderson 2014:9). The idea of considering both action *and* inaction is particularly interesting as it also brings the analysts’ attention to what has been proposed, debated but not adopted, what has been – officially –

deemed not suitable to deal with the identified problem. Likewise, in this thesis I pay attention not only to what has been formalized as public policies, but also to what has been purposely left out, and the proposed rationale for such dismissal.

In this study, it is the actions and inactions undertaken by various actors to frame, organize, control the access to and uses (deemed legitimate or not) of coastal fish resources that are of particular interest. As part of the broader “*purposive course of action*” elaborated to deal with matters of concern related to fisheries and environmental issues (i.e. fisheries and environmental public policies), these framing, organizing and controlling activities constitute the core of *management* activities.

### 1.1.2. Fisheries management as a regime of practices

Lockwood and Davidson (2010) propose to understand natural resource management as a regime of practices, constituted through *qualification* and *problematization processes*. Qualification occurs through processes that delineate the object itself—what constitutes it and what does not—while problematization delineates the issues it entails (e.g. for fish stocks, their potential for depletion, or the effects of their exploitation on biodiversity).

With the notion of regime of practices, Foucault completed his concept of ‘discursive formation’ in order to include practices as producers of meaning:

*The target of analysis wasn't “institutions”, “theories”, or “ideology” but practices, with the aim of grasping the conditions that make these acceptable at a given moment; the hypothesis being that these types of practice are not just governed by institutions, prescribed by ideologies, guided by pragmatic circumstances—whatever role these elements may actually play—but, up to a point, possess their own specific regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence, and “reason”. It is about analyzing a “regime of practices.” [...] To analyze “regimes of practices” means to analyze programs of conduct that have both prescriptive effects regarding what is to be done (effects of “jurisdiction”) and codifying effects regarding what is to be known (effects of “veridiction”) (Foucault 2000:225, my emphasis)*

There are multiple ways of considering the relation between how fish and fishers are known (i.e. *qualification* processes) and the management practices and policies elaborated to organize how they should interact with each other (what is to be done). I highlight in this thesis the historical processes of (re)qualification of fish and fishers, and relate these processes to what *managing fisheries* involves for stakeholders. Looking at these processes help illuminate the ways different actors delimitate the contours of management and identify the instruments it entails, or in other words: what is to be managed and how.

In this view, fisheries management can be seen as a process of ordering views and solutions to a situation, in order to “*reduce the cognitive polyphony of social worlds*” and to “*create a convergence of representations which will allow the organization and ‘disciplinarization’ of activities*” (Maugeri 2002:26, my translation from French). Negotiations between different views on management priorities and objectives take place as actors (e.g. state/non-state, managers/managed) mobilize various discursive registers (e.g. scientific, economic, political, juridical) to promote their modes of qualification and problematization. From these formal and informal negotiations, a dominant rationality emerges, based on how actors propose to articulate techniques, norms, knowledge and procedures to form a regime of practices and to frame collective action (Lascoumes and Le Galès 2004). Fisheries management regimes of practices explicit various rules that organize the place and activities of humans (fishers) and non-humans (fish) and specify their ways of interacting with each other (for instance, through which fishing instrument, in which area, when...). These rules can be seen as proposing a new socio-political organization between these groups (i.e. fishers and fish), which generates specific modes of legitimation and exclusion.

### **1.1.3. Decisions on ‘how to manage’: an instrument-based approach**

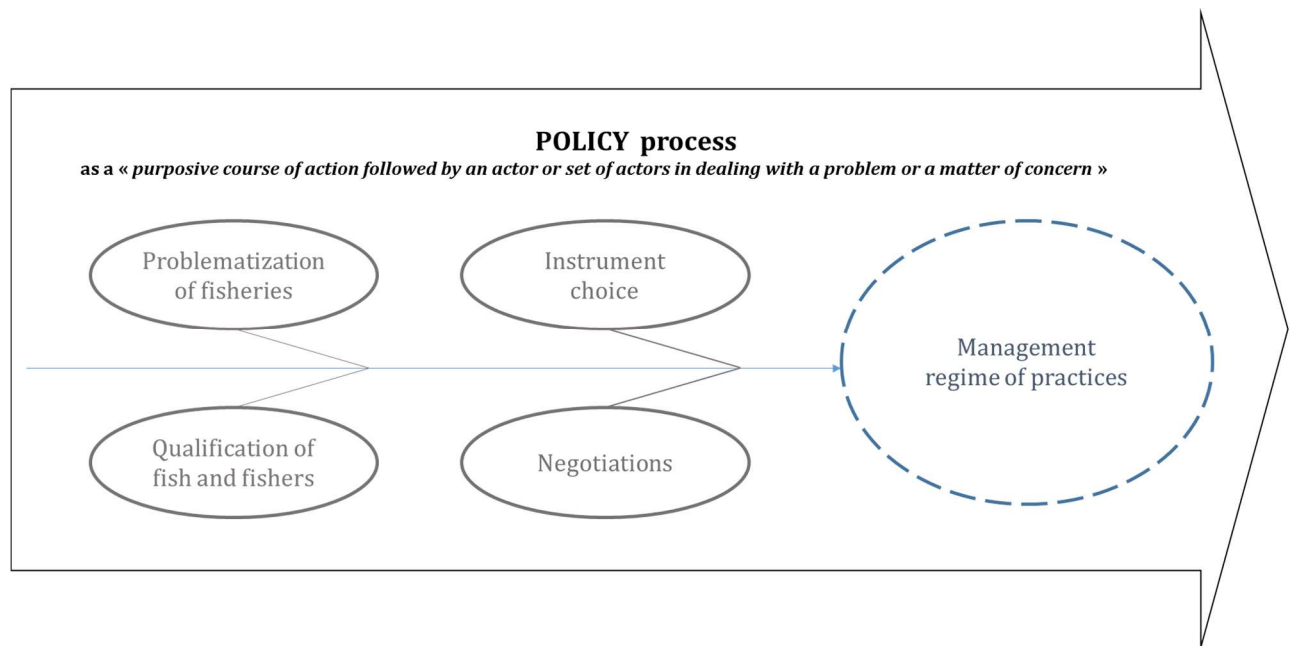
To delve more deeply into the construction and the implementation of fisheries and environmental management, the sociology of management has been of great inspiration, especially the work of Lascoumes and Le Galès (2004) on environmental public policies. Their approach to environmental public action suggests to look closely at management instruments, which they defined as “*a more or less coordinated set of rules and procedures to govern the interactions and behaviors of actors and organizations*” (Lascoumes and Le Galès 2004:15,

my translation from French). They highlight the need to “*pass over functionalist approaches that are interested in the objectives of public policies to rather consider public action from the angle of the instruments which structure these programs*” (Lascoumes and Le Galès 2004:13, my translation). I embrace this instrument-focused approach, which does not attempt to assess the social-ecological effects or (in)efficiency of (fisheries) management instruments. Indeed, I do not look at instruments with a normative view, nor do I seek to identify and promote ‘better instruments’ (Lascoumes and Le Galès 2004). Instead, I attempt to distinguish instruments’ internal properties (e.g. their technical constraints and underlying rationales) and to identify the expected and unexpected effects of their appropriation and implementation. I am interested in unravelling how management instruments suggest different modes of qualifying and problematizing fisheries, or in other words, how management instruments materialize a given regime of practices. For instance, I see legal (hard) instruments as embedded in a conception of a state of law that orientates social norms through sanction and coercion, while I consider soft instruments - such as communication campaigns and behavioral change approaches explored in Chapter 7 - as embedded in more liberal logics of a ‘public democracy’ (Simard and Lascoumes 2011).

Inspired by Foucault’s critical approaches, Chiapello and Gilbert (2013) propose a sociology of management instruments that explores how techniques of discipline and of government materialize in the elaboration of management instruments. They develop the concept of ‘circulating forms’ of instruments, which refers to the dynamic nature of models and norms across wide geographical and sectoral contexts, and which differs from ‘inscribed’ and singular forms which are so many variations from the initial normative form. Chiapello and Gilbert consider instruments as an assemblage of different contextualized versions that makes them become operational (‘acting’) in a given context. Embracing this vision, I intend to explore how stakeholders assimilate these circulating forms of management instruments (through international policies, commitments, agreements...), inscribe those in the South Pacific and Fijian contexts, and use them to legitimize their action.

I propose in **Figure 2** a schematic representation of the different concepts introduced in this first section to circumscribe how I tackle fisheries management in this thesis. I will now develop political ecology’s contribution to my theoretical framework and discuss the different tools and

approaches this field of research has provided me to explore the (political) interlacing of development and conservation objectives in fisheries management.



**Figure 2.** Schematic representation of the conceptual frame designed to tackle fisheries management: a regime of practices constituted by processes of qualification and problematization, followed by the choice of management instruments and negotiations between actors.

## 1.2. Conservation-development tensions in political ecology

### 1.2.1. Political ecology of conservation, development and fisheries: state of the art

In this thesis, a large body of literature from political ecology research has fed my theoretical, methodological and analytical reflections, in particular to examine conservation-development dynamics entrenched in the use, management and governance of fisheries.

#### a. Introduction to political ecology

Political ecology is an interdisciplinary approach to the relationships between societies and their environment (taken here very broadly in a sense that encompasses ecological issues and socio-political questions related to natural resources, biodiversity, climate) that blends together “*the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy*” (Blaikie and



Brookfield 1987:17). It is often approached as “*empirical, research-based explorations to explain linkages in the condition and change of social/environmental systems, with explicit consideration of relations of power*” (Robbins 2011). Power here designates the capacity of agents to have recourse to the advantages they dispose of (e.g. authority, technical expertise, knowledge...) with the intent to achieve their goals and reinforce their position. Overall, political ecologists contest the idea that environmental degradation is the result of objective problems which could be solved by science and technique (e.g. for instance by environmental engineering). Instead they show that ecosystems are entangled in socio-political relations, and attempt to look at ‘nature’ as always embedded in human historical and geographical contexts.

On the topic of natural resource access, control, and management, political ecology emphasizes the interplay of multiple actors (human and non-human) at multiple scales and over time, with particular attention to the influence of both political and biophysical relations on human-environmental change dynamics (Bryant 2015). It is not uncommon for political ecologists to explore complex arrangements of elements historically approached separately in other fields such as territorial organization, natural resources exploitation, modern science authority or colonial heritage (Bryant 2015). They propose to analyze tensions between groups of social actors competing for access to and use of natural resources, as well as the various forms of control and domination such struggles can generate. Since its development in the 1980s from neo-Marxist-oriented geography, political economy, and anthropology fields, political ecology literature has provided numerous case studies that have allowed to explore theoretical alternatives to neo-Malthusian or tragedy of the commons inspired models (Hardin 1968), which put the blame for ecological degradation on unlimited use of commons resources (such as forests or pastures) by profit-maximizing individuals.

Due to their common attachment to the role of political actors (understood in its widest sense) in environmental action, and their common acknowledgment of its spatial and territorial dimensions, political ecology and political geography obviously share strong conceptual and methodological ties, as for instance illustrated by their attention to issues and concepts of scale, territory and power (Bryant 2015, Chartier and Rodary 2016). But when political geography

provided much of its attention to the role of the state, political ecology called for a de-fetishization of the state, seen as a socio-environmental actor among others.<sup>9</sup>

In the last 30 years, there has been many publications from political ecologists on questions of conservation and exploitation, but only a small proportion has addressed marine/maritime topics. According to Bennett (2019), despite an increase of interest in marine and maritime political ecology, publications in these fields still represent less than 10% of general political ecology research. Among this corpus, very few case studies have specifically touched upon fisheries. I will now brush a rapid panorama of the subjects and concepts developed by political ecologists as part of what can be labelled as the fields of political ecology of conservation, political ecology of development, and political ecology of fisheries.

#### b. Political ecology of conservation

The conservation sector has become a central analytical focus in the social sciences, among which political ecology has brought extensive contributions (Dumoulin and Rodary 2005, Aubertin and Rodary 2011, Vaccaro et al. 2013, Bryant 2015). The increasing importance given to conservation actors, actions and effects in political ecology has gone hand in hand with a parallel increase of the social and political significance of biodiversity conservation concerns in the general public. More often than not, the implementation of conservation policies is seen by political ecologists as a paradigmatic example of how conservation actors (i.e. donors, agencies, NGOs, associations working towards conservation goals) take part in the competition for access to and control of resources and how they thus participate in defining what these resources should be and the associate legitimacies, rights and uses (Bryant 2015). Protected areas, in particular, have received much attention as they contribute to establish jurisdictions and borders that define exclusionary rights (West et al. 2006, Aubertin and Rodary 2011). Following the multiplication of case studies exploring the modalities of deployment as well as the impacts of conservation initiatives (Adger et al. 2001, Berkes 2004, Neumann 2005, West et al. 2006, Brockington and Duffy 2010), attempts to create a general framework for

---

<sup>9</sup> These works on the place and role of the state build on a literature that passes over the field of political ecology and geography. I note for instance the importance of socio-anthropology works on natural resource management and governance, which have also paid attention to the practices of the state, statehood and political articulations in resource governance (Olivier de Sardan 2021).

understanding conservation action and its effects emerged in political ecology, with an emphasis on the connections between environmental processes and socio-political contexts (Blaikie and Brookfield 1987, Zimmerer 2000, Neumann 2005). In countries of the global South, anthropologists and geographers interested in the conservation sector have largely fed political ecology literature by investigating how conservation approaches, practices and objects (e.g. protected areas, protected species, ecosystems) interrelate with the lives and actions of local groups of stakeholders (West 2006, Cormier-Salem 2014, Brockington and Wilkie 2015, Brockington et al. 2018).

Rodary (2019) proposes an historical framework of analysis that describes the evolution of the ‘conservationist industry’ following three main phases: 1) a fortress conservation based on the creation of nature parks; 2) a participative conservation based on self-management or co-management ideals; and 3) a neoliberal conservation and its market-based propositions. With regard to this third phase, it is often argued that neoliberalism has driven conservation to operate a ‘return-to-barrier’ movement with new ‘quasi-fortress’ models that favor capital concentration (Vaccaro et al. 2013). These three phases of modern conservation emerged in different historical moments but often coexist locally, sometimes led by different coalitions of actors. Moreover, Aubertin and Rodary (2008) have demonstrated how, through all three phases, protected areas have historically deployed under different forms and have, as such, represented a key instrument for conservationists. We will see throughout the different chapters of this thesis that the historical trajectory of Fijian coastal fisheries management practices and policies resonates with, but also contradicts, various elements of the ‘conservation genealogy’ established by these authors.

What strikes on the research work on conservation in Fiji and elsewhere is the limited attention that has been provided to conservation funding bodies, despite their key role in defining conservation agendas and priorities (Gruby et al. 2021). Philanthropic foundations are pivotal supporters of conservation networks, policy initiatives, and projects around the world, and yet, their influence on conservation agendas, geographical foci, and knowledge production orientations have received little scholarly attention (Gruby et al. 2021, Verissimo et al. 2018,

Holmes 2015).<sup>10</sup> Existing research on global philanthropic conservation in political ecology has unravelled its link with neoliberalism and capitalism (Holmes et al. 2012, Brockington et al. 2018, Ramutsindela et al. 2018), a link that Holmes (2015) takes further with his conceptualization of ‘philantrocapi-talism’. For this author, philanthrocapi-talism gives neoliberal orientations to international aid in various domains, including poverty alleviation, education, health or environment domains, notably through the transfer of philanthropists’ business (often IT or finance) approaches, techniques and strategies into their foundations (Holmes 2015).<sup>11</sup> The main criticism that emerges from political ecology is that philanthrocapi-talists’ vision of conservation places market and privatization approaches as solutions to a wide range of environmental issues, while masking the environmental and social impacts of these approaches (for instance land grabbing and poverty, see Bennett et al. 2015, Brockington and Wilkie 2015). Such entanglements of capitalism and conservation are often characterized by the devolvement of biodiversity conservation (and more broadly of environmental management) responsibilities from state to markets and users (Brockington and Duffy 2010). I explore the role of philanthropic donors in the definition of new conservation strategies in Fiji in Chapters 5 and 6, and reflect on the effects of such ‘responsibility shift’ in Chapters 7 and 8.

### c. Political ecology of development

Political ecology scholars have also abundantly engaged in development studies to investigate development ideologies, projects and practices, as well as the socio-political drivers behind those (Roe 1991, Escobar 1995, Mansfield 2001, Neumann 2005, Li 2007a, Rocheleau 2008). Authors generally approach development as an ideological positioning that has been a hegemonic discourse for more than half a century and that has shaped numerous global and national policies as much as it has conditioned the individual behavior of people. Political ecology notably approaches development through the conceptualization of state

---

<sup>10</sup> Rebecca Gruby’s research team has immensely contributed to explore this topic as part of their project “Philanthropic Legacies: Understanding the Role of Foundations in Marine Conservation” Available at <https://sites.warnercnr.colostate.edu/rebeccagruby/wp-content/uploads/sites/13/2020/10/ProjectSummaryPhilanthropic-Legacies.pdf> (accessed on 22/10/2021).

<sup>11</sup> For instance, the funding of multiple small projects, among which some will eventually grow into larger programs if they adopt the right modus operandi, recalls the “plant a 1000 seeds” strategy introduced by conservation NGOs to implement community-based management in Fiji (see Chapter 4).

developmentalism. For Cho (2003:34), developmentalism is a foundational political approach “*that ideologizes exploitation and the utilization of the natural environment and, by so doing, fosters activities for technological, economic and industrial development and associated values*”. From the 1990s, developmentalism has been combined with neoliberal thinking stating that the improvement of human welfare can best be achieved by allowing maximum individual freedom in the market.

Both political ecology and policy analysis studies provide elements of interest to fuel my reflection on the Fijian adoption and transformation of sustainable development, integration and blue growth discourses in marine management and on the consequent blurring of previous sectoral/ideological frontiers between conservation and development. Concepts such as *sustainable development* following the 1992 Rio Earth Summit and *green economy* (and the associated term of green growth) following the 2012 Rio+20 Earth Summit and their associated practices constitute somehow legacies of this past developmentalist ideology, following a complex history that other scholars have well retraced (Rocheleau 2008, Rodary 2008, Eikeset et al. 2018). Defined by the World Bank as “*a range of economic and related policies that together determine whether the use of the oceanic resources is sustainable*”, blue growth “*seeks to promote economic growth, social inclusion, and the preservation or improvement of livelihoods while at the same time ensuring environmental sustainability of the oceans and coastal areas*” (World Bank 2017: 6). Presented as a way to reconcile the exploitation and protection of the seas, the blue growth paradigm is based on a diversification of maritime sectors through the development of sectors like deep-sea mining, marine renewable energies, biotechnologies, tourism or aquaculture. The growing interest in this concept of this concept and of its associated discourses and practices have provided political ecologists with a stimulating field of research in recent years (Silver et al. 2015, Winder and Le Heron 2017, Dornan et al. 2018, Midlen 2021).<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> This was notably visible in two conferences I attended: the biannual political ecology network conference POLLEN in 2020 and the MARE People and the Sea Conference in 2021, the later being dedicated to the thematic ‘Limits to Blue Growth’.

d. Political ecology of fisheries: unbalancing the weight of fisheries sciences in management

As part of these numerous investigations of conservation, development and sustainable development fields, there has been a limited (although growing) interest of political ecology in fisheries activities, whether industrial, artisanal, or subsistence fisheries (De La Croix and Mitroi 2020). De La Croix and Mitroi (2020) argue that the under-representation of fisheries in political ecology reflects the limited attention paid to marine ecosystems in broader social sciences. Indeed, political ecology has historically been developed to analyze terrestrial environmental issues like soil desertification, deforestation, water access and to investigate the effects of conservation policies on local agro-forest systems and social groups (De La Croix and Mitroi 2020). Yet, as activities based on the extraction-exploitation of natural resources and affecting broader environmental features (e.g. bycatch species, habitats alteration, pollution), fisheries are intrinsically nested into conservation-development tensions that political ecologists have scrutinized in the past decades. Small-scale fisheries are notably often depicted as both ecologically destructive and of pivotal socio-economic importance for many coastal societies throughout the world. Under both narratives, they represent a particularly relevant focus for environment-focused social sciences, in particular for political ecology approaches (Cormier-Salem 2020).

Among the limited body of work on fisheries *management*, research has mostly consisted in contesting the discourse portraying oceans and coastal environments as favoring a ‘tragedy of the commons’ scenario (Hardin 1968), in which economic actors extract common resources until their overexploitation. As part of her work on US Pacific fisheries, Mansfield (2001) showed how national policies, territorial state control, social relations and fishers themselves all participate in resources overexploitation through deeply intertwined processes. Tracing back over 50 years of expansion of neoliberalism on oceans and coasts, she showed how property regimes related to fisheries have led to the enclosure of the ocean (Mansfield 2004). On a similar note, Holm associated the origins of fisheries management to capitalist production systems that have allowed for the domestication of ‘nature’ (Holm 1996). He sees management as a way to control processes and people in order to create value, and therefore associates management to the emergence of—often colonial—capitalistic enterprises at the beginning of the 20th century.

At that time, the role of the manager emerged as central to understand and coordinate flows of goods and money in accounting systems (Holm 1996).

While the influence on fisheries sciences of diverse disciplines such as biology, economics, geography and even sociology is unarguable, their unequal influence on the practices and discourses developed in fisheries management is just as evident. Several studies describe with precision the processes of ‘biologization’ of fisheries sciences in relation to its association to development priorities (Holm 1996, Acheson et al. 2000, Mansfield 2001, Loring 2017, Cormier-Salem 2020, De La Croix and Mitroi 2020). They have shown that through processes of rationalization, modelization or classification, fisheries sciences have since the second half of the 19th century produced hegemonic knowledge systems, connected to power dynamics in both political and scientific arenas.

Articulations between politics and ecological sciences have been at the core of a large body of political ecology studies (Forsyth 2015). These questions have also been discussed within the field of Science and Technology Studies (STS) about how ‘nature’ and ‘society’ have been divided over time in social representations. Beyond the mere debate on what is natural (and beyond human influence) and what is social (the realm of political debate), political ecologists and STS scholars have shown that there is a need to unravel how these distinctions shape environmental policy discussions and how they allocate roles, responsibilities and blames (Latour 1993, Hajer 1997). Indeed, the scientific-technical framing of natural resource management (such as the framing of fisheries management by fisheries sciences) has allowed designated experts to delimit and shape interventions and to exclude everything that is not part of a technical repertoire. This “*rendering technical*” (Li 2007b:270) of management also interprets social or political conflicts as technical issues and tend to make invisible their socio-historical roots as well as socio-political parameters. To conclude, political ecology proposes to put back these socio-political parameters (and associated frictions such as conservation/development ones) into the management equation and therefore to re-politicize fisheries management.

## 1.2.2. Political ecology tools and approaches – Constructions, discourses and scales

### a. To understand the making of fish as a ‘natural resource’

I propose to question different approaches and definitions that have emerged as part of ‘fisheries management’ ambitions through a constructivist perspective of how fish and human-fish relations have been defined over time. A constructivist approach relies on the idea that each actor, object, discourse or knowledge must be understood and analyzed as a social process rather than an inherent, ‘natural’ element, it therefore suggests to look at the genesis and transformations of knowledge and practices over the long-term. This historical stance allows notably to better understand processes of emergence, installation and erosion of different logics and practices related to the framing of human-nature relations such as those embedded in both exploitation and conservation activities. For this study, I see the exercise of retracing the genealogy of the ways activities at seas have been organized in Fiji as a way to make sense of the infrastructures, institutions and practices that remain effective today or those that have been abandoned along the way.

Scholars have analyzed natural resources through this constructivist view, as shown by the unequivocal title of De Gregori’s article (1987): “*resources are not, they become*”. This is also the approach of Kébir (2010) who details processes underlying the turning of material and immaterial objects into *resources*. She shows that these processes rely on a relational process, situated in space and in time, between an object and a production system. Following these works, this thesis is based on the premises that *resources* don’t pre-exist but rather are the result of a social construction by actors with specific (often scientific, commercial or ideological) goals. Similar construction processes have been at stake in the formation of the concept of biodiversity, for which the production system has been conservation science (Devictor 2015). Fisheries management has rarely been approached with an openly constructivist perspective (see however Steins and Edwards 1999, Gorris 2016). I argue that such perspective allows to pass over common techno-scientific definitions and approaches and to reconnect fisheries management with social, cultural and political processes that define what is to be managed, by whom and how. Moreover, I believe that to acknowledge that resources and biodiversity are



social constructions allows to explore the articulation of pluralist views and meanings associated to these objects and concepts in public, political and scientific arenas.

This doesn't mean however, that these objects and concepts should be reduced to a mere 'social constructivism' (Latour 2007). Indeed, as explained by Latour, the notion of constructivism gave rise to numerous critics: *"To say that something was 'constructed' in their minds meant that something was not true. They seemed to operate with the strange idea that you had to submit to this rather unlikely choice: either something was real and not constructed, or it was constructed and artificial, contrived and invented, made up and false"* (Latour 2007:90). In this view, to assemble the historical and social facts that made an object emerge as it is (here 'marine resources', 'biodiversity' or 'resource management' for instance) is not the same as telling it is not a 'real' object. Through processes of 'deconstruction', the researcher rather investigates *"the conditions in which ideas about the environment are formed, about the discursive means that make certain assumptions about the environment more possible or likely, and about the way political power, social habits, and cultural norms may set human beliefs about the way the world both is, and ought to be"* (Robbins 2011:97). Anthropologists in particular have explored in various geographical and cultural contexts the diverse and dynamic entanglements between human and 'nature' and thus shown that these "ideas about the environment" and "assumptions about the environment" that Robbins mentions are just as diverse and dynamic (Lévi-Strauss 1962, Descola 2005, Demeulenaere 2017). If the environment is an ancient object of study in geography (within different trajectories in Anglo-Saxon and French geography), it is mostly its physical dimension rather than cognitive and political ones that were considered before more critical approaches emerged out of the political ecology field in the 1980s (Chartier and Rodary 2016, Kull and Batterbury 2017). As a result of these evolutions in anthropology and geography (but also, concurrently, in other disciplines; see Blanc et al. 2017), the 'environment' has become a complex entity that encompasses both the biophysical reality as well as the ecological, political and scientific questions increasingly visible in our lives. Through a dialogue between social and natural sciences, and without diminishing the role of the latter in providing essential forms of knowledge on ecological processes and issues, the emerging and stimulating field of environmental humanities propose new epistemologies and new perspectives to explore environmental questions (ibid).

b. To see discourses as a way of *signifying the world*

Adopting a constructivist perspective notably suggests to pay attention to the discourses produced by actors partaking to or challenging certain ‘constructing’ processes. Often anchored in postcolonial studies (**Box 1**) and associated with the 1990s post-structural turn in social science research, which opened up new avenues for research by providing increased attention to the world of ideas, narratives, stories and discourses, political ecology proposes to question dominant discourses related to environmental issues such as deforestation, biodiversity decline or overfishing (Escobar 1995, Adger et al. 2001, Mansfield 2004). Regarding fisheries activities, political ecology studies have put forward how environmental discourses have marginalized local users while minimizing other important factors such as global production systems or colonial history (Vaccaro et al. 2013, De La Croix and Mitroi 2020). Importantly, these discourses have had an impact on how natural resources like fish are accessed, for instance with restrictions on access to and use of resources for conservation purposes; or promoting neoliberal approaches to access rights (Escobar 1995, Mansfield 2001, 2004). As mentioned before, discourse analysis has also been mobilized to put forward the contingency and contestability of influential concepts such as sustainable development (Escobar 1995) and the tragedy of the commons (Roe 1991).

### **Box 1. Post-colonial theory**

As I develop in the methodological chapter below, this research is embedded into a context in which a researcher (me) from the ‘Global North’ (Europe) travels to her ‘field of research’ situated in the ‘Global South’ (Fiji). While this situation has fueled my methodological positioning from start to finish, political ecology’s conceptual productions on postcolonial theory have also largely shaped its theoretical background. In the body of work referring to postcolonial theory, political ecology and critical geography scholars have largely discussed terms such as ‘Global South’ and ‘Global North’. They identified how the term ‘postcolonial’ appeared to be often interpreted as referring to a period after colonization, marked by political independence from colonial rule. To complete this rather simplistic vision, postcolonial scholars such as Gandhi (1998) have used the term ‘postcolonial’ to refer to a condition that remain marked by “*the colonial aftermath*” (Gandhi 1998:4). This view suggests that colonialism has fundamentally altered the world and that legacies of colonialism articulate today with “*new forms of domination that follow and extend old imperial lines of unequal interconnection*” (Nash 2004:105). Following that, we also find in this literature the term neocolonialism which refers to “*forms of political and economic domination through which the West continues to exploit much of the world*” (ibid), a domination which passes through a wide set of “*political, ideological, economic, and social practices*” (Said 1994:9). Consequently, postcolonial theorizing constitutes “*a critical engagement with colonialism and its continued legacies*” (Nash 2004:105), notably with the oppositions such as North/South or developed/underdeveloped. Moreover, postcolonial research in the ‘Global South’ has produced critiques of Western theories of modernist development and of enlightenment ideals of modernity and progress that legitimized external interventions (Said 1994; Nash 2004). These discourses are generally associated to “*discursive tools that justify the neoliberal march of free market capitalism*” (Nash 2004:110). Yet, postcolonialism critique of North/South binaries has been predicated mostly on discourses from the colonizers’ point of view (e.g. on development) and as such have focused mainly on the “*continued legacies of colonialism [rather] than challenges to them*” (Nash 2002: 221). Other authors like Joshi (2021) argue that denying the North/South dichotomy partakes in the assertion that issues of the Global South (e.g. material poverty, environmental inequalities) can be addressed without challenging the fundamental structures of the global political economy that are skewed towards the Global North.

According to Hajer, discourse is “*a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices through which meaning is given to physical and social realities*” (Hajer 1995:44). Fairclough, following Foucault<sup>13</sup>, sees discourse as “*a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world*” (Fairclough 1993:60). Perhaps to say that it is a practice of signifying *a* world would be more pertinent, in the light of what has been said above on the diversity of qualification and problematization processes at stake in management. Discourse analysis has been used in political ecology to investigate environmental management programs and policies legitimation, and to look at the formation and diffusion of narratives to promote some groups of actors over others in the environmental arena (Hajer 1995). In other words, discourse analysis permits to “*unpack the narratives*” (Roe 1991) underlying the production and implementation of these management apparatuses and to make visible wider (intentional or unintentional) effects of discourses.

A common example of how the discursive framing of environmental issues and solutions strongly determine ‘the rules of the game’ is the case of participative governance. Khan and Lynch (2013) for instance have pointed how international donor organizations, including the United Nations, have propagated the language (a proper *novlangue* one could say) associated with decentralization and participation paradigms (cf. Chapter 4).

Drawing upon Foucault’s work, Adger et al. (2001) identify environmental scientific production as a ‘regime of knowledge’, in which objects like ecosystems or species are not politically neutral and inert, but to some extent constructed by dominant discourses that claim to enact objective truths (Adger et al. 2001, Neumann 2005). These discourses participate in the production of rationales that are inseparable from power stakes related to resource access, use and control. As evoked before, fisheries sciences have constituted the main regime of knowledge to support fisheries management efforts and have consequently largely shaped its contents and contours.

---

<sup>13</sup> The consideration for discourses also resonates for many political ecologists with Foucault’s work on the non-material dimensions of power, in which discourses hold a central place. Foucault have brought to light the link between dominant practices and discourses in penitentiary and mental systems and demonstrated how those who have the power to do so are able to perpetuate and diffuse their discourses.

In this approach, the performativity of discourses is thus a central focus. Scholars defending the Actor Network Theory (ANT) (e.g. Callon, Latour, Law and Mol) have largely contributed to the theorization of this performativity of discourses. Latour notably showed how *matters of fact* (Latour 2004), as an assemblage of scientific discourses, apparatuses and experiences, go through several translations and hybridizations to become a performative political object. According to Latour, matters of fact play an important role in the structuration of epistemological and political dimensions of the scientific field. More broadly, discourses mobilizing matters of fact have a specific role to play in governmental apparatuses and the question of performativity of discourses thus touches upon the interlacing of discourses with power. Indeed, the level of performativity of a discourse can be related to whether it is legitimized (or delegitimized) by an authority. Consequently, it is interesting to analyze at the same time the strategies of actors to make a discourse performative and those deployed to constrain it.

In the field of fisheries management, discourses therefore actively participate in the establishing of successive modes of qualification of fish and fishers and of problematization of fisheries (i.e. as an activity that needs management to avoid a tragedy of the commons in Chapter 3). In this thesis, my aim is to understand how discourses contribute to the implementation of specific ways of envisioning and governing fisheries. To do so, I analyze how discourses are constructed and released, as well as how they are received, re-appropriated or discredited. I explore how they operate, how they assemble together forms of knowledge, materials, identities. For instance, in Chapters 5 and 8, I characterize how blue growth discourses that emerged in Fiji in the mid-2010s are the result of a process of hybridization of previous developmentalist and environmentalist discourses

### c. To untangle multi-scalar processes and relations

Finally, research in political ecology can address issues related to environmental management at multiple scales and thus provide a sharp analysis of the power dynamics between the different actors (social and institutional) historically competing for access to, and control of, natural resources (Aswani et al. 2018). According to Brown and Purcell (2005), scale theory in critical geography is organized around three key principles: (1) scale has no inherent

qualities, it is socially constructed through political struggles; (2) scalar arrangements are fluid and dynamic, even though they can become fixed over certain periods due to political struggles; (3) scale is relational, it must be understood in terms of the social production of scalar relations (e.g., between the global and the regional). Based on these principles, scholars of scalar politics ask “*who produces scale, how, and for what purposes*” (McCarthy 2005:733).

This attention to how discourses, processes and relations evolve and interact on multiple scales allows to grasp the complexity of environmental management arenas (Brown and Purcell 2005, Kacowicz and Levi-Faur 2012, Gautier and Benjaminsen 2013). For instance, scholars have approached scale in environmental policies to show how stakeholders strategically have recourse to a certain spatial scale for management (e.g. regional for Ecoregional Assessments, local for community-based management, ecosystem for ecosystem-based management) to achieve their objectives and to serve their political agendas (Gruby 2017). From this view, the (re)scaling of management based on what is often presented as ‘natural’ scales (e.g. ecosystem, species migration territories, the ‘local’) can be understood as inherently political processes within which power relations are at stakes.

At the global level also, Kacowicz (2012) identified that at the turn of the 21th century state authority shifted from the ‘national state level’ to the ‘international level’, based on the growing number and influence of international organizations. The multiplication of partnerships and agreements (formal and informal, bilateral and multilateral), as well as growing crossed collaboration between states, inter-governmental organizations and NGOs, progressively abated the invisible frontiers that used to separate groups of stakeholders typically interacting at the same geographical scale. This undoubtedly contributed to an increased complexity in environmental governance and notably in fisheries governance (Tan-Mullins 2007, Cudney-Bueno and Basurto 2009, Gorris 2016). Throughout the thesis, we will see that environmental and fisheries policies and management apparatuses deployed by coalitions can often be connected to international environmental commitments which orientate the definition of objectives and instruments deployed nationally, but also the roles and responsibilities of each stakeholder. For instance, in Fiji and in the South Pacific, commitments formulated at international events (e.g. United Nations Ocean Conference in 2017 or the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Conference of Parties (COPs) have

constituted a strong normative ground to develop environmental national and regional policies in recent years. I approach these commitments as the circulating forms of diverse management instruments that then become inscribed locally in different versions depending on contexts (e.g. spatial management through MPAs with a 30% ocean protection commitment that unfolds differently depending on the context) (Chiapello et al. 2013).

On topics at the crossroads of resource exploitation and environmental conservation especially, these inter-governmental events constitute a (symbolic) place where different advocacy coalitions confront each other and where major internal debates take place. The ratification of international commitments are concurrently the symbol of countries' engagement to recognize environmental issues and an opportunity to capture attention and funding to mitigate them. It is through a practical 'follow the policy' methodology (see section 2.3.3) that I was able to trace these various multi-scalar movements.<sup>14</sup> Of course, a pitfall would consist in analyzing national development or conservation dynamics as mere declinations of global objectives and paradigms or, contrarily, neglect the influence of global stakes in the analysis of local phenomena.

To conclude this section, I see political ecology – with its diversity of tools, concepts and approaches – as a compelling invitation to reconnect what was previously explored independently (e.g. social and ecological matters, exploitation and conservation discourses, present dynamics and historical trajectories) in the light of our growing acknowledgment of the world's complexity (Hodgetts 2018). In particular, I see the re-politicization of fisheries management and of fisheries sciences norms and practices as a topic utterly important in the face of contemporary challenges such as climate change and biodiversity collapse.

### **1.3. Management as a mode of governing fish and fishers**

I will show in this last section that the recourse to political ecology's and public policy analysis' conceptual tools also allows me to approach questions of power, government and

---

<sup>14</sup> These reflections on scale are particularly relevant in Chapter 8 where I explore three state-led policies and the instruments they promote for environmental management. Moreover, in Chapters 5 and 6, I propose a detailed account of fisheries' inscription into multi-scalar dynamics and describe the turning of coastal fisheries management into supra-national arenas (with a focus on the interest of international conservation donors and international conservation institutions like CITES for coastal fisheries management).

governmentality in fisheries management with an original look. Far from the idea of unveiling a priori forms of power, I intend to highlight competing ways of governing fish and fishers through the description of multi-actor and multi-scalar management propositions that materialize and consolidate evolving power relations.

### **1.3.1. Addressing pluralism in fisheries management: the Advocacy Coalition Framework**

The analysis of state position and role in natural resource management has been largely covered by both political sciences and political ecology to explore entangled matters of sovereignty, nationalism, central power, legislation, bureaucracy, public services, coercion and legitimate violence (Lascoumes and Le Galès 2004, Robbins 2004). In political ecology studies, the role of the state has been scrutinized to show contradictions between (1) its attitudes as the legitimate ‘steward’ of land-sea territories and a legitimate arbiter between competing interests, and (2) its strategic interests to promote development through capital maximization (Bryant and Bailey 1997:188). Moreover, discourses and associated practices of ‘green’ states such as Ecuador, Costa Rica or Philippines receives growing attention in political ecology literature (Goldman 2001, Bryant 2015). This literature on ‘eco-governmentalities’ particularly fed my reflection on Fiji’s adoption and promotion of a “*truly home-grown*” sustainable agenda for its ocean (see Chapter 5). The position of the state as the only legitimate holder of coercive powers has also fed numerous studies on environmental management (Peluso 1993, Bryant 2015).<sup>15</sup>

In parallel to this focus on state, scholars have also largely explored the increased influence of non-state actors (such as private actors and NGOs) in public environmental arenas (Sabatier 1998, Dumoulin and Rodary 2005, Betsill and Corell 2008, Brockington et al. 2018, Jenkins-Smith et al. 2018). On governance systems and institutional pluralism, researchers have also shown how several institutional logics can compete and conflict not only between coalitions but also within them. Notably, Kraatz and Block (2008:243) elaborate on the concept of institutional pluralism related to the organizations that are “*subject to multiple regulatory*

---

<sup>15</sup> In Chapters 7 and 8, I explore the reinforcement of alternative governing models in Fiji with the arrival of behavioral change campaigns for coastal fisheries management in 2010s. These campaigns rely on voluntary management models, leading me to discuss the coercive/voluntary tension often embedded in fisheries management.



*regimes, embedded within multiple normative orders, and/or constituted by more than one cultural logic.*” As a whole, these developments have led institutional researchers to renew their usual approach by refocusing on how organizations can face multiple and often conflicting institutional logics. It is these cultural and institutional logics that I attempt to pinpoint in the different chapters.<sup>16</sup>

To account for the issue of political pluralism in environmental governance and management spheres, political scientists have produced numerous concepts and frameworks. Still today, Paul Sabatier’s Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) (Sabatier 1998) constitutes one of the most complete and stimulating framework to analyze the modalities of elaboration and implementation of public policies within pluralist political contexts (Jenkins-Smith et al. 2018, Ma et al. 2020, Cisneros 2021). The ACF aims to analyze changes in public policies which are propelled by evolving coalitions, made of alliances between actors who evolve in multi-scalar political arenas. Within a coalition, allies form more or less formalized networks, share values and beliefs systems, and find agreements over policies to be deployed in a given policy subsystem.

A policy subsystem is conceptualized as an arena of competing interactions among several advocacy coalitions. Each of these advocacy coalitions (hereafter simply referred to as coalitions) is composed of different individual and collective governmental and non-governmental actors who might represent different institutional affiliations and levels of government, but who share a similar belief system and coordinate to engage in collective action. Within a subsystem, several coalitions coexist but a dominant coalition, which regularly succeeds in imposing its views and in taking part in policy implementation processes throughout scales and sectors, can often be identified (Sabatier 1998). For instance, Sabatier explored environmental protection and described within this policy subsystem the

---

<sup>16</sup> Notably in Chapter 4 where I examine the different discourses (mainly localist and environmentalist) supported by different groups within the Fijian Locally Managed Marine Areas network; and Chapter 6 on internal debates on the management/conservation orientations of an international institution, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES).

‘environmental coalition’ and the ‘economic coalition’. In the present study, the delimited subsystem is Fijian coastal fisheries management.

What makes Sabatier’s contribution to public policy analysis original is his hypothesis that the evolution of cognitive and axiological beliefs of actors conditions coalition forming and policy change. According to Sabatier, as put by Bergeron, “*ideology, social representations, ideas, causal schemes, values, paradigms, etc... must not be understood from an exclusively instrumental view*” (Bergeron et al. 1998:200, my translation from French). Indeed, a public policy can be defined under the ACF as the product of a specific system of beliefs, which emerges from the continuous confrontation of and the successive compromises between the beliefs systems of each coalition within a given subsystem. Within a subsystem, coalitions “(a) *share a set of normative and causal beliefs and (b) engage in a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time*” (Sabatier 1998:103).

ACF foundations contend that actors are rational: they use information and other resources to achieve their objectives.<sup>17</sup> Yet, beyond this economic view, sociology and psychology also became relevant disciplines to produce a more complete picture of policy-making and implementing processes, notably to understand individuals’ cognitive bias and other constraints or obstacles. In a nutshell, Sabatier considers that actors make rational decisions but “*always perceive the world through a lens consisting of their preexisting beliefs*” (Sabatier 1998:109). As such, Sabatier’s work resonates with more recent views that also stress the importance of cognitive and normative ideas in the construction of public problems and in the subsequent public choices aimed at solving those problems (Schmidt 2017).

It follows that coalitions between them may agree on what needs to be done (e.g. manage resources sustainably) but will have different reasons to do so. This will be at the heart of my

---

<sup>17</sup> Sabatier’s work was embedded at the time in a classical debate in political sciences, opposing analyses of policy-making structures and actions through either top-down or bottom-up processes. Critics of top-down approaches highlighted the diversity of actors involved in the implementation of policies and the sometimes contradictory positions these actors could defend. These actors continuously reformulate politics and policies and participate to transform the role of state bureaucracies. From there, and based on a theoretical corpus from the sociology of organizations (Crozier and Friedberg 1977), bottom-up approaches of politics offered to broaden the scope of analysis to consider all actors mobilized on a public matter. In 1986, Sabatier proposed a synthesis of these two approaches and advocated for analyses that cover longer periods (decades) and that highlight socio-historical processes that explain the positioning of each actor on public matters.

discussion regarding the conceptually fluid notions of blue/green growth or the uptake of 'loose' sustainable development programs based on win-win rhetoric. As we will see, such blurred concepts allow previously distinct coalitions to find a common ground on which they can elaborate common public policies: for instance, while, for some actors, sustainability offers a condition for long term exploitation, for others it is related to urgent necessary changes in fishing practices. Over time, actors can receive incentives to form alliances and unite their forces, despite the persistence of different beliefs system.

### 1.3.2. Situating the question of power in resource management: interests and beliefs

Critics of the AFC contend that the framework disproportionately focuses its explanation of policy change on beliefs and values only, thus minimizing actors' *interests* for change and for the forming of power relations over others (Schalger 1995). On the other hand, political ecology's critical realism and its ambition to reveal the reality of power relations has also faced some critiques, notably when it tended to make *a priori* assumptions about the linkages between local environmental change and national and global political economic systems and the interests thereof (Vayda and Walters 1999).<sup>18</sup>

The question of whether analysts should focus primarily on interests or beliefs to explore policy change (but also the initial assumption of an opposition between those) should be replaced in a broader debate that agitated political scientists in the 1980-1990s and that questioned whether public policies follow an interactional or intentional trajectory (Bergeron et al. 1998). The interactional position holds that public action results from the interaction of multiple stakeholders and emerges from an unpredictable dynamics as it never corresponds to one stakeholder's will. In this view, particularly defended by US political scientists, change is incremental, complex and unstable. On the other hand, those who defend the intentional position, building on 1960s behaviorist school of public policy research, posit that policy is the product of competitions between multiple interest groups. These interest groups mobilize intellectual and material resources in order to influence policy outcomes, and policymakers will

---

<sup>18</sup> Such critique can perhaps also relate to the views of pragmatist sociologists (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006) and feminist scholars (Haraway 1991) who have likewise challenged such attempts to see power from a 'universal' (or objective) position, which Haraway likens to a 'God Trick' – a metaphor for the way science has tended to imagine knowledge about the world.

tend to reflect the interests of the group (or groups) that mobilizes the most resources and applies them most effectively. Marxists among the behaviorist school rather argue that elite actors have significant weight over social representations, values and beliefs systems and thus shape, in the long term, public policies. It relies on the idea that there is a tendency for power concentration and that power structures are designed in a way that power remains in highest levels of public life, where actors shape policies so that they fits with their own visions of the world (i.e. their logics) and, importantly, their interests (Bergeron et al. 1998).

The ACF is situated at the intersection of intentional and interactional views, as it promotes an idea of a limited intentionality: a dominant coalition can be identified in most subsystems, but its power is consistently warded off by challenging coalitions that develop cunning tactics. Policy analysis, under the ACF, teaches us to look at conflict as a way to transition from one logic to another within and between coalitions. At the end of a period of struggle, a new hegemonic logic arises and replaces the previous one. Although the influence of political ecology holds a particular importance in my research, I see as particularly relevant ACF's nuanced and case-by-case view of power relations in natural resource management.

Indeed, I believe that the association of Sabatier's attention to cognitive factors in policy-making with political ecology's focus on power relations between stakeholders forming coalitions to intervene on environmental issues can be stimulating. This association allows to better take into consideration both political and cognitive dimensions to explore conservation-development tensions in coastal fisheries management in Fiji. In line with this view, this thesis doesn't intend to explore management and governance of fisheries with the sole objective to unravel a priori domination and power inequalities, but rather proposes a situated analysis of multi-scalar and contingent power dynamics.

### **1.3.3. The arts of governing: governmentality, environmentality and hybridity in management**

At the intersection of power/interests and cognitive dimensions at stake in policy change scholars have deployed the Foucauldian concept of governmentality to tackle management as a mode of governing natural resources and those who claim the access to and the use of these resources (Li 2007a, Chmara-Huff 2014, Rodary 2019). Rose et al. explain: "*An analysis of*

*governmentalities then, is one that seeks to identify these different styles of thought, their conditions of formation, the principles and knowledges that they borrow from and generate, the practices that they consist of, how they are carried out, their contestations and alliances with other arts of governing”* (Rose et al. 2006:84).

This vision of governmentality fits well at the crossroads between political ecology’s and policy analysis’ approaches to cognitive drivers of collective environmental action. Indeed, exploring governmentality suggests to examine not only “*relations of power in the production of discourses of truth*” (Foucault 1994) but also the variables at stake in subject-forming processes, in other words cognitive processes. In the context of environmental management, this has been most explicitly addressed by Agrawal (2005a) who combined new institutionalisms with Foucault’s work to develop the notion of environmentality, which articulates power-knowledge relationships, institutions, and subject-forming processes.<sup>19</sup> Environmentality explores the potential shifts in cognitive aspects of people’s relation to nature in association with evolving environmental regulation. Agrawal asks “*when and for what reasons do socially situated actors come to care for, act, and think of their actions in relation to something they define as the environment?*” (Agrawal 2005:162). Environmentality offers a way of thinking about how power works through the construction of the environment and the solution to environmental problems. It thus invites us to explore the emergence of an environmental subjectivity (which can be distinct from environmentalism described as a western and “*a purist’s version of the environment*” (ibid)). Agrawal thus expects to understand processes at stake when people develop a sense of commitment, not to ‘the environment’ (understood from a western point of view), but to *their* environment.

Moreover, in order to make sense of recent integrative dynamics that have agitated management and governance of oceans at all scales in recent years (see Introduction), the concept of *hybridity* has been essential for me to further conceptualize the entanglements of different logics, practices, instruments, discourses and even of coalitions of actors in newly formed ‘integrated’ (and thus hybrid) regimes of practices (Chapters 8 and 9). Hybridity resonates with Foucault’s

---

<sup>19</sup> I build on Agrawal’s environmentality in Chapter 7 where I explore how behavioral change approaches to conservation build on communication and social marketing tools and account for the different values people associate to fish in order to transform (here, ecologize) their practices.

understanding of power and governmentality as sets of techniques deployed for conducting human behavior by assembling *different styles of thought* (Rose et al. 2006:84).

Lemos and Agrawal's (2006) work on environmental governance also explored the co-existence of different management trajectories using this notion of hybridity. They show that, 'pure' modes of governance have been poorly equipped to respond to the complexity and multi-scalar character of coupled social and natural issues, and that, as a consequence, hybrid environmental governance modes (e.g. co-management, public-private and social-private partnerships) have flourished in the 2000s. I put the concept of hybridity at play to grasp these evolutions, in particular the increasingly blurred boundaries between development and conservation, and to assess whether the hybrid process and objects I identify in this thesis consist in "*a melting-pot or salad bowl?*", or in other words, to assess "*to what degree are the ingredients merging, or are they merely coexisting in unconnected forms?*" (Frank and Stollberg 2004:76). Following this observation, the work of Tania Li on the practices of assemblage in forest management appeared as particularly relevant. Among the different practices she identifies, 'reassembling' consists in "*grafting on new elements and reworking old ones; deploying existing discourses to new ends; transposing the meanings of key terms as the ground shifts*" (Li 2007:284). I identify such 'reassembling' practices in the ways new coalitions make use of previous elements (e.g. instruments, discourses) to propose 'new' contours for coastal fisheries management based on promises of integration and sustainability.

## **Conclusion of Chapter 1**

I presented in this chapter the theoretical foundations of the present thesis. Firstly, I find political ecology works on conservation and development issues compelling to apprehend discursive and non-discursive dimensions of fisheries management practices. Secondly, public policy analysis provide key tools to approach the constitution of advocacy coalitions defending certain logics and certain objectives (e.g. fisheries development, biodiversity conservation). In particular, the strength of Sabatier's ACF is the consideration of cognitive, normative and strategic (or instrumental) dimensions, which are often regarded rather separately in other social sciences models. Sabatier's work on advocacy coalitions stresses that public action has a deeply

cognitive function and that ideas and interests, instruments and institutions, have to be taken into considerations in the analysis of policies' genesis and transformations. On top of being both coherent with my constructivist and historical perspectives on natural resource management, these two akin fields of research intersect and complement on various points of attention, for instance on the importance of considering multi-scalar processes and relations.

I approach fisheries management as a way to govern fish and fishers, i.e. to organize, frame and control fish and fishers. This definition of management can differ from that used by stakeholders and also by some scholars, who see management as reduced to its technical and practical dimensions. I take natural resource management in the sense of the practices, norms and discourses supported by diverse knowledge systems (i.e. juridical, economic, religious, scientific) that have been developed overtime to frame human-nature relations. Management allows for a reduction of the 'cognitive polyphony' of society on public matters of concerns. In the fisheries field, it occurs through a prescription of adapted practices and conducts of those who live in and from the sea. It is because of this capacity to enroll and orientate the movement and the activities of humans and non-humans that management can be characterized as a space constituted by power relations. These power relations are fueled by, and fuel in return, the various forms of knowledge related to resources as well as the capacities of action of the diverse stakeholders who propose to take part in the management process.

To conclude, characterizing what has shaped over time and what shapes today coastal fisheries management requires to ask rather simple questions, to which the various concepts and theories developed in this chapter help to respond (**Table 1**).

**Table 1. Theoretical tools to characterize coastal fisheries management subsystem**

Political subsystem	Characterization	Theoretical tools and approaches
Coastal fisheries management	<i>Of what?</i>	Qualification / problematization (fish, fishers, fisheries...)
	<i>By whom?</i>	Coalitions and power relations
	<i>How?</i>	Instruments, practices, discourses
	<i>Why?</i>	Belief system (ACF)

This framework allows me to delimitate the contours of what constitutes ‘coastal fisheries management’ at different periods, for different coalitions, and each time, to describe what emerges as a *new regime of practices*. Importantly, it allows me to investigate development-conservation tensions these successive or overlapping regimes accommodate. Finally, to make sense of the convergence of regimes based on the prioritization of either conservation or development logics under the banner of integrated management paradigms, I will use in this thesis the concept of hybridity (of practices, knowledges, instruments, discourses...). Hybridity allows a fine analysis of the practices of *reassembling* that stakeholders mobilize to propose new modes of management and governance for fast changing Fijian coastal fisheries.



## Chapter 2. Research context and methods

In this second chapter, I present the general research approaches and methodological frameworks mobilized throughout the different (but overlapping) phases of this PhD research as well as some of the challenges encountered. For this study, I developed an empirical, inductive and multi-scale approach and conducted a 7-month fieldwork in four of Fiji's 333 islands (3 months) as well as in New Caledonia (4 months). Data was primarily collected during this fieldwork based on socio-anthropological methods. Through semi-structured interviews and *in situ* observations, I encountered a large range of stakeholders and explored with them questions of governance, management and conservation of coastal marine resources. To further understand and contextualize actors' views on these topics, I also conducted a thorough literature review that included a wide range of grey literature, online media (newspaper and social networks), and Fiji colonial archives. A review of archive documents allowed to deepen my investigation of the historical (dis)continuities in the governance and management of Fijian coastal fisheries.

The Covid-19 pandemic has, like for most researchers worldwide, drastically affected the realization of planned research fieldwork as well as the more general unfolding of my research project. I explore in this chapter the main consequences of this setback, primarily with the transformation of a comparative research between New Caledonian and Fijian case studies into a monograph focused on the Fijian case (see 2.1.2.).

I attempt in this chapter to provide a clear and honest perspective on the choices that have been made, on the methods and approaches chosen, as well as on the field work sites selected, in order to reflect on the biases and hesitations that have been constitutive of this research work. I believe those are consubstantial to the research activity: they led to the formulation and consolidation of the problematic and research hypotheses and carved the results presented in this thesis.

## 2.1. Research context and settings

### 2.1.1. Positioning myself in the research

I did not engage in this research and the Fijian case study with a neutral position, I carried with me a “researcher’s baggage” (Glesne 2016) filled with (a) my background in natural sciences and marine conservation, and (b) the institutional arrangements in which this PhD has been anchored.

In the years preceding this PhD research, my student and professional experiences led me to delve into marine and coastal worlds from the perspectives of a natural scientist and of an environmental manager. To conclude my 5-year engineering degree in Agronomy and Food Sciences, a 6-month research internship with the James Cook University (Townsville, Australia) and the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) represented for me a discovery of research activities in relation with the marine world as well as with Oceania. This project, called “Diversification of the seaweed industry in Pacific Islands” aimed at developing seaweed farming in Pacific Islands for various applications (e.g. pharmaceutical, cosmetic, food). This first professional experience constituted a unique and exciting experience that allowed me to meet with a diversity of Oceanian stakeholders (e.g. University of South Pacific researchers, NGOs, fishers, private operators). Back in France, I completed a Master in Tropical and Mediterranean Marine Resource Management (Université de Montpellier) to gain knowledge and experience on marine ecosystems. A research internship in Madeira (Portugal) concluded this Master and aimed at investigating the influence of several biophysical parameters on the installation of invasive marine species. The next year, two short professional experiences allowed me to get acquainted with the world of marine conservation (as a project manager for an ecotourism venture and NGO in Tanzania) and coastal management (Tour du Valat, Camargue, France).

While I gained valuable experience to ‘manage’ and ‘conserve’ different ecosystems, I then search for an opportunity to gain broader and deeper understanding on the dynamics at stake in the various environmental problematics encountered (e.g. resource scarcity, invasive species, wetland eutrophization, etc.) Indeed, it seemed to me that, beyond ecological and biological

processes, socio-political processes were often at stake and yet overall neglected in the different projects I worked for. This PhD project thus signed my first encounter with social sciences, and marked a much-awaited integration of social and political matters in a techno-scientific world that I had found overall devolved of these dimensions in the previous years. It participated to reintroduce complexity in a world that, I found, had been largely “rendered technical” (Li 2007b) as well as to look with a critical eye at certain views on ‘nature’ conservation and management.

To maintain an inter/trans-disciplinary approach and to link natural and social science worlds has been challenging. Yet, I believe that the blending of my previous experiences in and knowledge on marine science, management and conservation together with diverse social sciences frameworks helped me in various ways to make sense of what I observed, heard and read during the past years. My professional background indubitably shaped my knowledge and understanding of the marine environment and of what can be done to protect and manage it. In that sense, it also helped me to understand the perspective of managers and practitioners I met and interviewed and with whom I shared a similar marine science and management language.

Such disposition for a transdisciplinary research perspective was initially a key element for the PhD position as part of the SOCPacific project ([www.socpacific.net](http://www.socpacific.net)). This French-German project funded by ANR (France) and DFG (Germany) aims at exploring the large web of socio-cultural, geopolitical and policy connections within which fishing practices occur in order to re-embed coastal and oceanic fisheries in their wider context. The project focuses on three study areas: New Caledonia, Vanuatu and Fiji. Moreover, three thematic areas are at the core of the project’s cross-sectional and interdisciplinary investigation: (1) an environmental anthropology assessment of social values of places and resources in connection with offshore and inshore fisheries; (2) a socio-political ecology perspective on interwoven fisheries and conservation issues within marine protected areas; and (3) a policy analysis of the inclusion of fisheries in marine spatial planning.

Other researchers who worked as members and affiliated members of SOCPacific also pursued since 2018 research works on these interrelated thematic areas, in Fiji, New Caledonia and/or Vanuatu, providing a rich collaborative work environment, in Europe and in the South Pacific,

throughout these three years and a half of PhD. Furthermore, SOCPacific's binational origin paved the way for the inscription of the thesis in a cotutelle between the Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3 University and the University of Bremen, which allowed for several fruitful institutional and scientific exchanges and continuous contacts between the German and the French teams. Although most France-Germany exchanges initially planned were not possible once the Covid-19 pandemic installed, we managed to organize three research stays at ZMT in Bremen. The integration of this PhD project into a binational research project proved to be mostly a source of various intellectual, institutional and financial benefits as well as a support for fertile collaboration with various researchers.

### 2.1.2. A North-South research project

Political ecologists have long reflected on research politics and ethics of doing fieldwork in a foreign country and in particular a North-South context (Bryant and Bailey 1997, Perreault et al. 2015, Sandbrook et al. 2018). When she reflects on the difficulties she met as an US researcher to do fieldwork in Guatemala, feminist political ecologist Juanita Sundberg touches upon various concerns she faced during her career like how, as a young, white, female she was directly identified by her interlocutors as being part of certain groups usually constituted of US and European citizens (e.g. of NGOs in favor of the implementation of a local bioreserve she investigated). She proposes to reflect on social sciences researchers' ideal of objectivity in a North-South research setting and argues that this ideal indubitably arranges the observer and the observed in a hierarchical relationship. Furthermore, Sundberg regrets that political ecologists, who call for an attention to power and knowledge, do not extend these discussions to political ecologists as producers of knowledge themselves: *“Political ecologists are situated in, complicit with, and benefit from the very politico-economic systems that constitute our research subjects. Rather than observers who can extricate ourselves from imperial capitalist relations to look down on the practices of others, we are participants in these relations”* (Sundberg 2015:120). Overall, she concludes that there is no disinterested place from which to engage in research and that the researcher must acknowledge that in order to prevent illusions of objectivity and underlying assumptions of mastery (Sundberg 2015). In feminist and postcolonial literature, this acknowledgment passes through alternative framings of objectivity to situate knowledge (i.e. knowledge produced comes from somewhere and this somewhere

should be explicit); and through collaborative forms of research to shift power relations between observers and observed (Sundberg 2015). These make even more sense in the ‘Global South’ and in postcolonial contexts most particularly, as western influence continues to unfold, instituting “*new forms of domination that follow and extend old imperial lines of unequal interconnection*” (Nash 2004:105) (see **Box 1**).

Sultana (2007:375) contends that “*conducting international fieldwork involves being attentive to histories of colonialism, development, globalization and local realities, to avoid exploitative research or perpetuation of relations of domination and control*”. With this attentive perspective, my research has been marked by different forms of ethical and epistemological considerations. Notably, reflections on my institutional links have accompanied me on the field, both in Fiji and in New Caledonia. In Fiji, the acknowledgement provided by the MoU between IRD and USP, and ZMT and USP, proved on many occasions to facilitate exchanges with my interlocutors. Both in Suva, the capital, and on remote islands, this institutional linkage seemed to confer myself and my research additional legitimacy in the eyes of my interlocutors. In New Caledonia, my situation as a researcher working for the French National Research Institute for Sustainable Development (IRD) on local development and environmental issues was not so innocuous. IRD (beforehand, ORSTOM until 1998) had promoted and contributed to many land and marine development projects across the territory, which according to one Kanak interlocutor, did not always respect customary practices nor engaged with appropriate key leaders before implementation (pers. notes, focus group in Bourail 09/2019). Another point was raised by Kanak people I met in Bourail when our focus group turned into a conversation on broader, crucial topics related to my venue as a white researcher to work with them on their customary land (the Aije Aro area). Some of the individuals present had met over the past decades several researchers, from IRD or other institutions, who came to do research on their territory, and deplored that after having shared information with them, have never heard back from research results. The disconnection made at some point by the researcher between the information gathered, and the scientific production which follows, typically in the form of a paper or a thesis, was deplored by several interviewees. In Bourail, for instance, the *Conseil de l’Aire Aje Aro* agreed to engage with me after the ceremony, but carefully draw my attention on these issues and on the necessity for me and future researchers to include systematic local feedback sessions as part of our research work.

As part of the SOCPacific project, several initiatives aimed at organizing this essential sharing of research results with involved stakeholders at the end of the project, among which a large final event including stakeholders met in Fiji, New Caledonia and Vanuatu, the collective writing of several policy-briefs on key topics identified, or the diffusion of the results and activities of SOCPacific researchers on a website. A SOCPacific final event as well as more locally-relevant workshops for the restitution of my results in Fiji and in New Caledonia have been prevented by the installation of the Covid-19 pandemic first in Europe and later in the Pacific and are being reformulated under new formats such as the realization of short videos and posters on key topics (e.g. community-based management in South Pacific Islands, offshore fisheries, socio-ecological values of coastal fisheries).

Increasingly, there are codified rules and protocols to work along with Indigenous peoples in order to avoid cultural misuse and appropriation, as well as a denial of sovereignty that has long been deplored by these populations. Protocols can relate to the acknowledgment of the traditional lands in which the researcher enters, the introduction of the researcher and its research, or precise codes of conducts such as Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC). In Fiji, doing fieldwork in rural areas is conditional on obtaining permission from the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs (i.e. governmental body in charge of ensuring good governance and wellbeing of iTaukei Fijians)<sup>20</sup>, preparatory exchanges with the province concerned, the organization of a *sevusevu* (see 2.3.2) upon arrival in each village, and the systematic use of FPIC. The Ministry of iTaukei Affairs' support letter I received provided me clearance to carry out my research on Kadavu and also indicated me several instructions to follow (**Appendix 1**) which for instance included the prohibition to carry out research on Sundays and the need to respect traditional protocols.

At first, proper consent forms were handed to informers to be signed but it became rapidly obvious that most of them were uneasy by this procedure. From there and in most cases, it seemed more appropriate to seek verbal consent and to provide a standard SOCPacific information sheet (**Appendix 2**). Still, most participants preferred to hear me explain the

---

<sup>20</sup> iTaukei represent indigenous population of Fiji, it means literally in Fijian “people of the land” or “the owner”.

research objectives and diffusion details orally (e.g. respect of anonymity, retraction). The words of Sultana (2007) resonated greatly with my experience of the issues of such standardized and bureaucratic ethical practices. She contends that researchers' attention to follow ethical procedures in their research "*are not captured in the 'good' ethical guidelines of institutional paperwork but have to be negotiated and grappled with on a daily basis in the field*" (Sultana 2007).

### **2.1.3. Distant and inaccessible field sites: Covid-19 pandemic setbacks and adaptations**

As for many if not all researchers worldwide, the irruption and installation of the Covid-19 pandemic from early 2020 largely affected the realization of this research. First and foremost, it affected the fulfillment of a consequent part of the fieldwork initially planned in the research project. After a 7-month fieldwork from May to December 2019 (3 months in Fiji and 4 months in New Caledonia), a second phase was planned from March to July 2020, again both in Fiji and New Caledonia. Three days before I boarded on the plane for Fiji, France announced the first lock-down and I consequently decided to stay in France due to the many forthcoming uncertainties the global evolution of the pandemic suggested. For a few months however, the general vision for the thesis remained unchanged, as it often seemed that my trip was only postponed for a few months. It was only in fall 2020, after repeated hopes and disillusiones on the possibility to go back to the Pacific and to conduct the second fieldwork period (due to institutional blockages, flight unavailability, repeated lock-downs first in Europe and then in Fiji and in New Caledonia in 2021) that I realized that my thesis plan needed to be largely revised. The lack of data (or even the absence of data on some topics I planned to address) was most significant on the New Caledonian case study. Indeed, a significant part of the work I did in New Caledonia in 2019 touched upon *regional* coastal fisheries management matters based on interviews with people working at regional organizations like the Pacific Community (SPC, see further details *p130*) and the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP) or with regional fisheries consultants. Other interviews, with professional, recreational and subsistence fishers in Bourail, Province managers, *gardes nature* (nature wardens) etc. provided me with very interesting views on fisheries governance and management in New Caledonia, but appeared as insufficient to build a proper reflection on the New Caledonian case study in comparison to the more in-depth material I gathered in Fiji.

Along with the lack of sufficient data came the feeling of illegitimacy to talk about complex and politically sensitive topics connected directly or indirectly to coastal fisheries activities.

Although most of the data collected in New Caledonia is not directly developed and analyzed in this thesis, and despite its focus on the Fijian case, my field work in Nouméa and Bourail have not been completely discarded and have in the end largely instilled in this thesis, for two main reasons:

- (1) Interviews, focus groups and observations carried out to investigate the New Caledonian case study, although not directly mobilized, have largely fed my reflections, during and after the field work in New Caledonia. What I have observed there was sometimes conflicting or reinforcing what I had seen in Fiji and led me to further question some dimensions I had overlooked in Fiji. For instance, it is from my encounter with New Caledonian *Gardes Nature*—with whom I spent two days patrolling waters between Nouméa and Ilot Casy and between La Foa and Bourail—that I felt the need to further investigate the (relatively similar) role of Conservation Officers and Fisheries Officers in Fiji.
- (2) As mentioned before, Nouméa represents a strategic place to investigate regional questions on fisheries management and conservation. For instance, SPC offices are located in Nouméa, close by the IRD center. This geographical and institutional proximity allowed me to meet people working on fisheries matters at the regional level or at the national level in PICTs' Fisheries offices, sometimes for many years, and also to attend events such as the Regional Technical Meeting for Coastal Fisheries (RTMCF) where every two years, officials from all PICTs gather at SPC to discuss current and future management orientations for coastal fisheries.

Yet, the idea to put New Caledonian and Fijian situations into perspective with one another initially constituted one of the backbone of my research plan and to move out of this plan presented several challenges. A significant part of the first year's bibliographic work was dedicated to a literature review to find methodological and theoretical tools in order to conduct a qualitative comparative study (Ragin and Zaret 1983, Fredrickson 1997, Azarian 2011). To move out of this epistemological positioning constituted a major challenge at the end of 2020.



Subsequent to this decision, the entire thesis plan was revised as well as the organization of the data collected so far.

Following the installation of the pandemic, not only the New Caledonian case study has to be withdrawn from the final thesis product, but my investigation of Fiji's case study was also largely impeded by this decision. My 2019 fieldwork covered various sites, actors and topics, but most of these encounters served as introductions and to touch base with stakeholders I would then meet again during my second trip in the South Pacific in 2020. Once I started analyzing my data, it became visible that important gaps would need to be further investigated. While the question of data exhaustivity is identified as a common challenge by social science researchers, the Covid-19 pandemic fallouts and subsequent cancellation of the second phase of fieldwork had largely constrained the amount and type of data I could collect from 2020 on. Once it was clear that it would not be possible to go back to Fiji to complete my research, choices had to be made to pursue the analysis and the writing of the thesis with the (incomplete) data acquired in 2019.

#### a. Getting online

Solutions were found to collect supplementary data to fill the data gaps I identified, which opened up new perspectives, both methodologically (new modes of data acquisition) and epistemologically. The first solution consisted in moving part of my ethnographic research online. Interviews with 13 South Pacific actors were carried out using Zoom, Skype or WhatsApp; and I participated in one virtual regional event organized by SPC as an observer (RTMCF4) as well as several scientific conferences as a presenter (e.g. POLLEN20, MARE 2021). I collected additional information based on online materials: official websites, social networks, local newspapers. This collection of various "digital traces" (e.g. social media publications, videos, audios and photos on websites, digitalized reports), also allowed me to reach new interviewees, and even to identify new topics of interest for the research.

Kon Kam King and Legroux (2022) have analyzed how this virtualization of ethnography (due to the Covid-19 pandemic as well as to the specificities of working on offshore marine areas) has affected their research. Among other effects, they identify how the distance, despite the

multiple ways of connecting virtually to the field, produces effects on the life and the commitment of the researcher. SOCPacific's other PhD student Juliette Kon Kam King faced some challenges similar to mine, such as difficulties to attend Pacific-based online events and to conduct interviews with Pacific-based people due to France-Pacific time difference (10 to 11 hours). Like her, I attended several events and meetings and conducted interviews in the middle of the night from Montpellier. Moving methods online has indubitably contributed to find rapid responses to research shortages caused by the pandemic, but have also generated (or reinforced) issues due to the expansion of certain technologies and platforms in both professional and personal spheres of the researcher's lives (Kon Kam King and Legroux 2022).

#### b. Working with local researchers

The second solution found to fill data gaps consisted in working with a Fijian consultant to conduct additional interviews and observations in person. Sera Lewanuya, a student in marine management from USP was selected by the SOCPacific members and partners at USP and the two of us established together the list of the people she should contact (mainly Conservation Officers and Fisheries Officers), jointly designed thematic interview grids, and exchanged on semi-directed interviews methodology. Unfortunately, by the time Sera was supposed to initiate interviews, the rise of Covid-19 cases in Fiji led the government to impose a lock-down in Suva and in other cities, and Sera was therefore not able to conduct the interviews in person (except for 2 interviews carried out after the lock-down was lifted). Other interviews (3) were thus conducted by Skype or Whatsapp video calls, and Sera therefore also end up facing the same difficulties I exposed in the previous section.

With Sera being a native iTaukei Fijian speaker and very competent in the conduct of her interviews, this consulting setup proved to be very beneficial. Yet, it is worth noticing that with this alternative came frustrations and questionings: beyond the mere interview transcript which I could receive from Sera, so much was missing to actually make sense of these interviews. I realized that what is observed and felt during an interview plays an utterly important role in how I could make sense of this material. As I couldn't note hesitations, mimics, pauses or laughs (and so many other elements at play during human interactions and discussions) in the transcripts collected, it was difficult to really relate to what interviewees shared with Sera.

Interviews are more than a succession of questions, it is also a moment of intersubjective observation, and the identity of the interviewer necessarily conditions the outcomes of the exchange, and this is something that became even clearer while and after we faced this worldwide crisis.

Despite the solutions found to obtain additional data, several gaps have therefore remained. The most important setback is incontestably that I wasn't able to return to rural sites (in Kadavu Province and on Beqa island, see below) to reconnect with the people I met in 2019, complete interviews and observations on the recent installations of various types of spatial management (e.g. customary *tabu*, state-led or NGO-led MPA...), and investigate further the perceptions of fishers on several management apparatuses and on several fish species (sea cucumbers, sharks, groupers). With limited internet access in these areas, this part of the missing fieldwork could not be as easily addressed as other fieldwork plans in more connected areas like in Suva. While I attempted to make sense of the data acquired in these sites thanks to an additional literature review, the limited amount of time I spent there and the consequent limited data I collected generated a sense of illegitimacy to put these 'local' case studies at the center of my thesis, which was therefore refocused on the more decisional and policy spheres of coastal fisheries management. Instead of being at the core of the following chapters and being used to compare local day-to-day governance and management of coastal resources in different places, I punctually mobilize these localized case studies. A closer look, allowed by longer fieldwork time, to the local (mis)appropriations of the different management rules and policies evoked in this thesis, and to the transformation thereof, would highly contribute to the completion of this research.

Whether it was by getting online or by working with local researchers, it is clear that the lack of 'real' interactions with people and places in Fiji has been a major setback for the realization of this thesis. The formal and informal discussions, the sharing of a coffee or a lunch, the various in situ observations, and more generally the sharing of prolonged time with my interlocutors (rather than the 1 hour time often pre-defined for the online interview), 'being there' appears to me today as more essential than ever for the conduct of a good ethnographic research. It is all

at once a matter of motivation and legitimacy as well as an epistemological necessity.<sup>21</sup> Yet, beyond these challenges, and beyond the deception of ‘abandoning’ major research avenues that had initially driven my interest for this research project, some silver linings can be noted. For instance, this contrived focus on a single case study also appeared as an opportunity to deepen my research on the Fijian context and history as far as 1890 in Chapters 3 and 4. The time not spent on the field could be used to extend my bibliographical research not only to older periods but also to new scales and thematic which, for instance, gave rise to Chapter 6 on the CITES institution and its global-to-national management and conservation processes.

## **2.2. Fijian context and study sites**

### **2.2.1. Short history of the South Pacific region and overview of Fijian fisheries**

The tropical South Pacific region counts 21 PICTs (incl. 14 independent states) that are scattered in the vast ocean area that stretches from Palau and Papua New Guinea in the western Pacific to Rapa Nui in the east. In this “sea of islands” (Hau’ofa 1994), considerable ecological, cultural, social and political variations can be found as well as a shared history. This history is notably marked by the multi-step and progressive settlement of an Austronesian population installed in what is today known as Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia that navigated up to New Guinea and several Melanesian islands in a first wave about 50 to 70 000 years ago, but mainly in a second wave about 1 500 years BC.<sup>22</sup> These long-distance voyaging populations from the first and the second wave have continuously mixed, both genetically and culturally, and the different islands and regions have been connected to one another by a multitude of navigation roads. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the South Pacific became an important source of supply of beche-de-mer, sandalwood or pearl shell for Australia, New Zealand and Europe. Trading gave rise to sustained and prolonged contacts between island societies and western trading communities. With the opening of these new navigating routes, castaways, beachcombers as well as Christian missionaries (mostly Methodist and Catholic)

---

<sup>21</sup> During this global crisis, I have found interesting (and encouraging) to learn about how other researchers have dealt with this global crisis, for instance on the PostPandemic University (<https://postpandemicuniversity.net>) and Thesis Whisperer (<https://thesiswhisperer.com>) blogs.

<sup>22</sup> In the case of Fiji, according to archeological evidence, three main waves of migration occurred, the earliest wave dating from about 1600 BC, the second between 400 and 100 BC, and a third massive movement between 1000 to 1800 AD (Richards 1994).

also made their ways to and established in Pacific islands. The impact of missionaries in the preparation of (formal) colonization processes and in the reshaping of local practices, norms and beliefs has been tremendous (Fache et al. 2020). After this early period of contact with missionaries and marine traders, PICTs became subject to colonial regimes, starting in 1843 with France's annexing of Tahiti. Over a century, western socio-political regimes were built in parallel to pre-existing customary ones and the latter were often made invisible and/or voluntarily transformed. The unfolding of this colonial history is very specific to each Pacific country and territory and any rapid overview would fail to provide a fair picture of these century-long and complex political moments.<sup>23</sup> Independences were obtained in the 1960-90s<sup>24</sup> under a variety of conditions and contexts, but a common colonial legacy has marked the postcolonial development of these countries and territories.

What is important to note is that, throughout these different periods, an 'ocean of connection' was shaped by different long-distant travelers, first seafarers who « were at home with the sea » (Hau'ofa 1994:153) and progressively explored and peopled the region, and later by various western groups motivated by the establishment of new trade routes. Since the 1970s, a 'voyaging revival' has occurred throughout Oceania, involving a regional renaissance of seafaring vessels and navigational technologies, with the voyaging canoe (*vaka moana*) becoming a symbol of this Oceanian connectivity as well as of local sovereignties. These connective visions and materialities, still vivid today in various forms<sup>25</sup>, have been from the 1980s paralleled (rather than replaced) by the progressive enactment of new borders to administer this "*last territorial frontier*" and to frame the fast-growing activities at sea (Le Meur et al. 2018:9). The creation of an international regime of sovereign rights and responsibilities over ocean spaces and resources was firstly marked by the enactment of exclusive economic zones (EEZ) by the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in 1982. UNCLOS represents a significant step in the codification of the global ocean, which passes

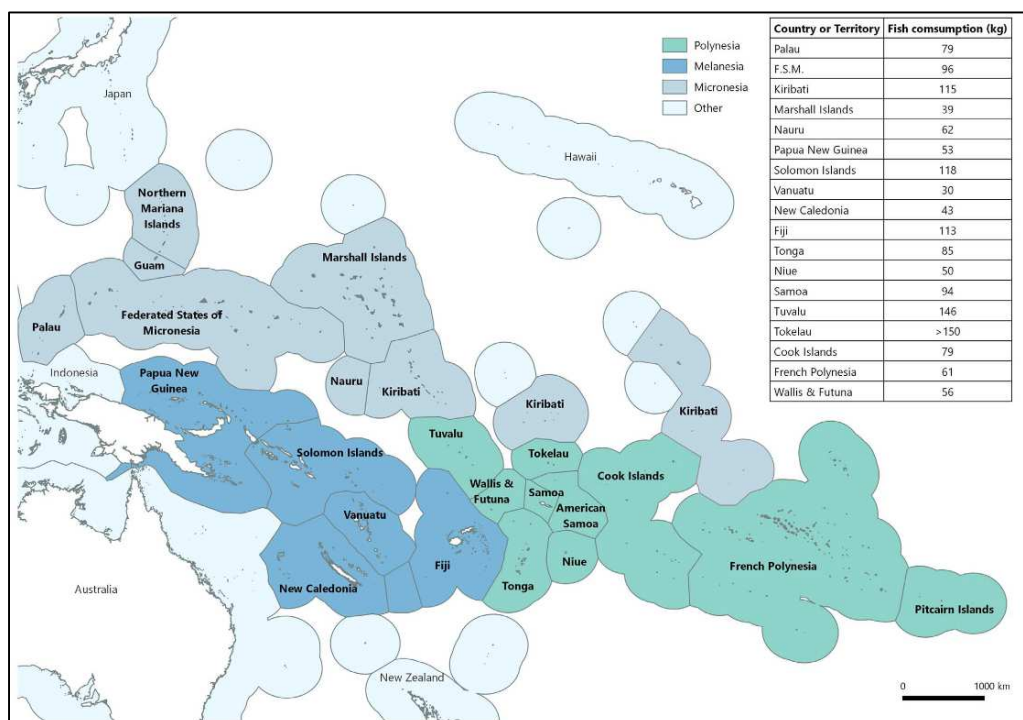
---

<sup>23</sup> Chapter 3 explores in details the colonial period in the case of Fiji, and more specifically looks at how colonial authorities introduced territorial management to organize a rational use of natural resources.

<sup>24</sup> Samoa became the first independent State in Oceania in 1962, then other independence proclamations followed each other until the 1990s with, for instance, Fiji and Tonga in 1970, Papua New Guinea in 1975, Vanuatu in 1980 and Palau in 1994.

<sup>25</sup> A Special Issue with the journal *AMBIO* is being prepared on these connective matter based notably (but not only) on the results of the SOCPacific project. This issue, entitled *Oceania: a Sea of Connections*, will be published at the end of 2022.

from a *res nullius* (lit: nobody's thing) to a combination of a *res communis* (i.e., common property that is open to all), *res publica* (i.e., public property), and space over which individual coastal states can exercise total sovereignty (Spalding and Ycaza 2020). Today, the combined exclusive economic zones (EEZs) of PICTs covers roughly 30,569,000 km<sup>2</sup> of the Western and Central Pacific Ocean and include some of its most productive waters (Hanich et al. 2018, **Figure 3**).<sup>26</sup> With these extensive EEZs and limited land territories, all PICTs are economically dependent on marine resources, both offshore and inshore, for local livelihoods, national GDP, and regional food security.

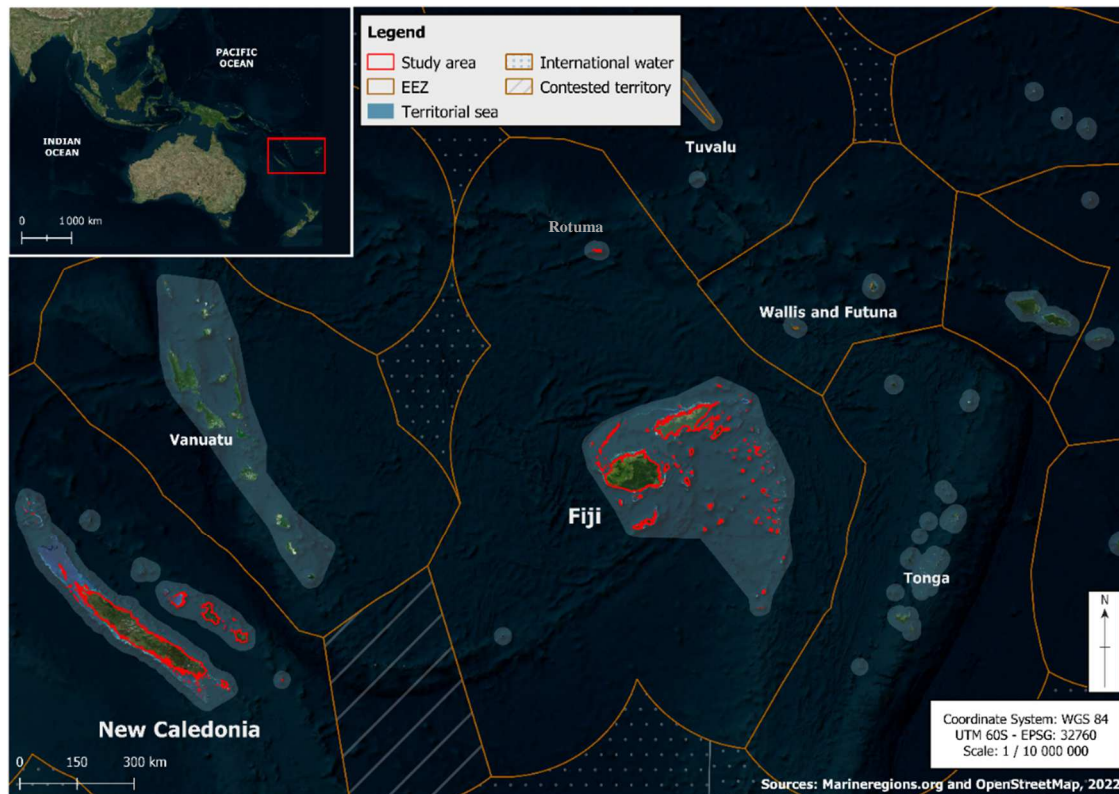


**Figure 3. Map of the South Pacific showing PICTs and neighbor countries' EEZ and indicating their respective estimated fish consumption**

Source: Hanish et al. 2018:280

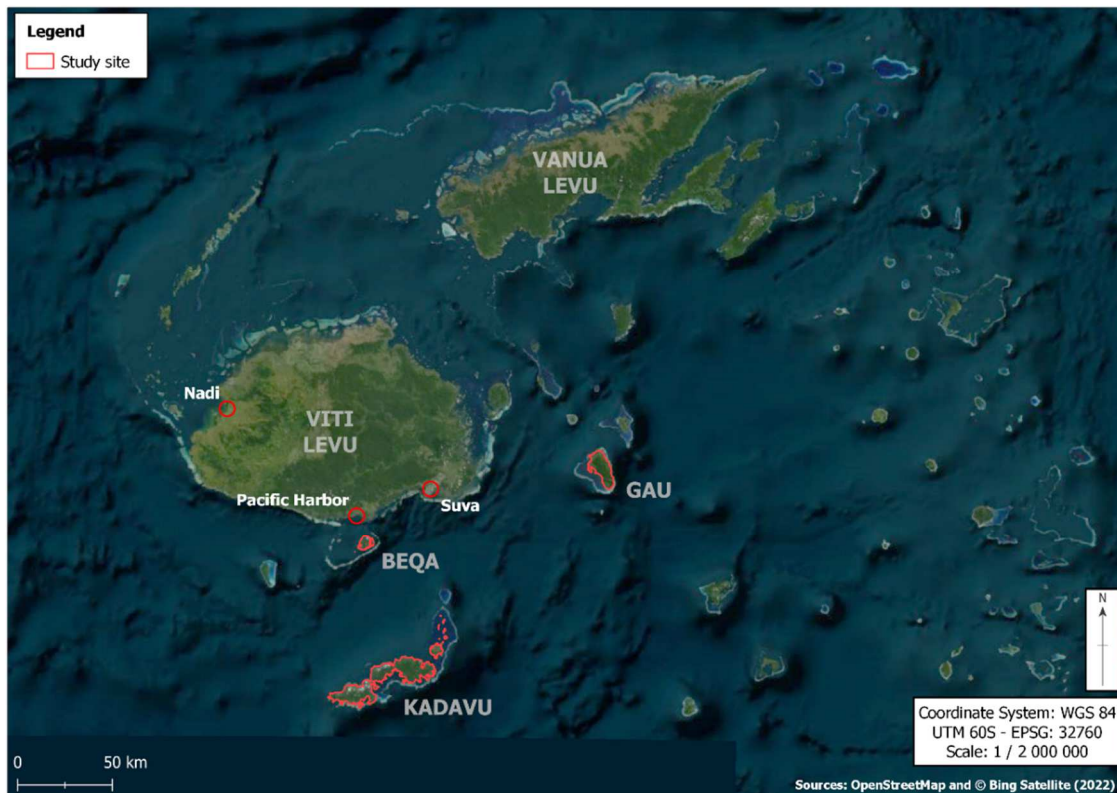
<sup>26</sup> In this figure, the sub-regional categorization distinguishing Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia is used. This categorization is subject to debates and tensions both in scientific and non-scientific networks. For some, these denominations are anchored in the colonial era and propose racist associations (“Melanesia” meaning literally “black islands” in reference to the skin colour of their inhabitants) (see for instance Tcherkézoff 2003 and D’Arcy 2006). However, in the South Pacific, the Melanesian sub-region remains relevant for institutions (e.g. SPC) and for certain advocacy groups like the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG) who defend the “entire decolonization and freedom of Melanesian countries and territories” (<https://msgsec.info/>).

Also on this figure, one PICT, Rapa Nui (Easter Island) is missing in the East Pacific (as in most maps representing PICTs).



**Figure 4. Zoom on Fiji's EEZ including territorial waters and its neighbor countries and territories**  
 Conception and realization: Auréa Pottier and Léa Riera

Within its 1,301,250 km<sup>2</sup> EEZ (**Figure 4**), Fiji (or the Republic of the Fiji Islands) includes more than 300 islands, spreading across 14 Provinces plus the Rotuma archipelago (under a special status), and about one third of these islands are inhabited. 87 per cent of the land is accounted for by Viti Levu (10,386 km<sup>2</sup>) and Vanua Levu (5,534 km<sup>2</sup>), and other main islands are Taveuni, Kadavu and Gau (Richards 1994) (**Figure 5**). The capital, Suva, is situated at the South East of Viti Levu while Nadi, the second largest city (where the international airport is located) is on the west coast of the island. About 100km separate the two cities, which approximately corresponds to a 4-hour drive with a local bus.



**Figure 5. Map of Fiji's largest islands, indicating visited islands and cities as part of 2019 fieldwork**  
*Conception and realization: Auréa Pottier and Léa Riera*

Today, Fiji's total population stands just below 900,000. In 2007, just over half of all Fijians were iTaukei, 37.5% Fijians of Indian descent (i.e., descendants of the Indians displaced to Fiji as indentured laborers under British colonial rule), and the rest of the population included mainly Pacific Islanders, Europeans, and Asians.<sup>27</sup> Inter-ethnic tensions, discriminations and exclusions have marked Fiji's history before and after the independence. In 1987, a first coup resulted in the overthrow of the first elected government as well as in the deposition of Elizabeth II as Queen of Fiji, and in the declaration of a republic. Since, racial and ethnic conflict over land security, economic prosperity, and most importantly over control of and access to land and marine resources has provoked three other military coups and a military mutiny. In 2006, after a military coup partially motivated by controversial proposals for marine resource legislation,

<sup>27</sup> "Population and Demography" *Fiji Bureau of Statistics* (online) Available at <https://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/index.php/statistics/social-statistics/population-and-demographic-indicators> (accessed on 30/04/2021). After 2007, the Fijian Government abandoned its surveys based on ethnical categories.



a parliamentary republic has progressively formed. The following various political moments are summed-up in **Box 2**.

Increasingly, national efforts to socio-politically integrate iTaukei and Indo-Fijians are visible. While some ethnical tensions remain present today, Ramesh (2016) notes the emerging of a new ethno-class after the establishment of the Fiji First government in which power is shared by Indigenous Fijians, Indo-Fijians and members of the military regime forming a “new multiracial Fijian elite” (Ramesh 2016:140). Disparities and inequalities between rural and urban populations are also vivid and increasing: Fiji’s urban population continuously increases (from 37.2% in 1976 to 55.9% in 2017), while its rural population decreases (from 62.8% in 1976 to 44.1% in 2017).<sup>28</sup> This rural, often coastal population lives mainly from farming and fishing (Veitayaki 2008). Coastal and marine tourism has become an important source of income and employment for both urban and rural populations and in some regions like the Mamanuca or Yasawa islands in the West of the archipelago, tourism has developed to the point of structuring the entire economy of these groups of islands as well as the life of their inhabitants (Nolet 2018). In 2019, Fiji officially welcomed 894,389 visitors, mainly from Australia, New Zealand, Asia and the United States, a number equivalent to the resident Fijian population.<sup>29</sup> Since the 1980s and before the Covid-19 stalled this progression, this number was steadily increasing every year. Having become the main source of income for the country, tourism currently accounts for nearly 38% of gross domestic product (GDP) (World Bank 2017:xi). Sugar is the second main industry (about 18% of total domestic exports in 2016) and fisheries is the third one with a contribution of inshore, offshore and aquaculture activities that accounts for an average of 2.7% of the Fijian GDP over the past 10 years (Fisheries Department 2014). Tuna represents the most significant and valuable exports for the country (towards USA, Japan, Thailand and Korea predominantly), with skipjack tuna by far the largest source of tuna catch (Gillett 2016).

---

<sup>28</sup> “2017 Population and Housing Census - Release 1 - Age, Sex, Geography and Economic Activity” *Fiji Bureau of Statistics* (online) Available at <https://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/> (accessed on 02/03/2022)

<sup>29</sup> “Tourism and Migration Statistics” *Fiji Bureau of Statistics* (online) Available at <https://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/index.php/statistics/tourism-and-migration-statistics/visitor-arrivals-statistics> (accessed on 21/04/2022).

By virtue of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) to which Fiji was the first signatory, and the Marine Spaces Act, Cap 158, 1977, Fiji has sovereignty over its land territory, internal waters (25,558 km<sup>2</sup>), archipelagic waters (130,470 km<sup>2</sup>), and territorial seas (45,375 km<sup>2</sup>) as well as to the seabed and subsoil thereunder (section 9(1) of Marine Spaces Act). Fiji also has sovereign rights within its EEZ for the purposes of exploring, exploiting, conserving and managing the natural resources, whether living or non-living, of the seabed and subsoil and the superjacent waters.

Most of the islands in Fiji host a barrier or fringing outer reef with an inner lagoon, often with seagrass beds and mangroves associated. These settings thus present various interconnected ecosystems in which diverse and multiform fisheries activities take place. Coastal fisheries are constituted by non-commercial (i.e. subsistence, the catch is for home consumption or given away to friends and relatives but not sold) and commercial (i.e. artisanal, all or a part of the catch is sold) fisheries (Gillett 2014). In 2009, Starkhouse (2009) estimated the number of subsistence fishers in the country to be about 23,000 (among which 46% are women who predominantly fish from the shore and collect seaweeds and shellfish), while full-time artisanal fishers are estimated to be around 5,000, and part-time artisanal fishers to be around 12,000. While their substantial contributions from harvesting both fish and invertebrates are often not included in most official statistics, the place of iTaukei women in both subsistence and commercial fisheries is increasingly getting acknowledged today, thanks to the work of the very active Women in Fisheries Network-Fiji.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Women in Fisheries (online) Available at <https://womeninfisheriesfiji.org/> (accessed on 13/04/2022)

## **Box 2. Fiji's political moments following the 2006 coup**

**April 2009:** Following the 2006 coup the Court of Appeal held that the interim Government came into power unlawfully in 2006. Abrogation of the 1997 Constitution by President Ratu Josefa Iloilo with the support of Frank Bainimarama, today's Prime Minister.

**May 2009:** Fiji is suspended from the Pacific Island Forum for its failure to hold elections.

**July 2009:** Ratu Josefa Iloilo retires as President of Fiji and is succeeded by Ratu Epeli Nailatikau.

**September 2009:** The Commonwealth fully suspends Fiji after the refusal of the military government to call elections by 2010. It is only the second full suspension in the organization's history.

**January 2012:** Initiation of a consultation process towards a new Fiji Constitution to move away from a race-based, single-member constituency electoral system, to one based on one person, one vote.

**July 2012:** Australia and New Zealand agree to resume diplomatic ties with Fiji after commitment by the Fiji government to hold democratic elections in 2014.

**November 2012:** Fiji is awarded a formal warning or "Yellow Card" from the European Union in respect to its offshore fisheries industry due to a lack of measures to address Illegal, Unreported, Unregulated (IUU) fishing (the Yellow card then turned into Green card in October 2014 after the elections).

**August 2013:** A new regional body, the Pacific Islands Development Forum (PIDF), is inaugurated at an international conference organized and hosted by the Fijian Government.

**September 2013:** A new Constitution is adopted (Fiji's 4th since independence) and creates a 50 member parliament, paving the way for elections.

**September 2014:** First democratic general elections since the 2006 coup and the first held under the 2013 Constitution. The Fiji First party led by Frank Bainimarama wins 32 seats and obtains a clear victory. Osea Naiqamu is appointed as Minister of Fisheries and Forests.

**October 2015:** A new president is appointed by the Parliament: Rotuman Jioji Konrote succeeds Ratu Epeli Nailatikau as President

**June 2016:** Creation of a separated Ministry of Fisheries led by Minister Semi Koroilavesau.

**November 2018:** National elections and victory of Fiji's incumbent Prime Minister and former coup leader Frank Bainimarama.

**December 2018:** The Economist Intelligence Unit rated Fiji as a "hybrid regime", meaning a regime that is often created as a result of an incomplete transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic one.

**Late 2022:** Next general elections to be held.

Source: adapted and completed from California Environmental Associates (2016)

Regarding the volume and value numbers of the different fishery sectors, Gillett (2016) as well as other fishery scientists who worked in Fiji, highlight the many uncertainties and weak factual basis when it comes to quantify coastal and freshwater fisheries activity in Fiji due to the insularity, to the diversity of practices that exists, and to the lack of historical, robust data. Gillett proposed however in 2016 the following figures, based on an analysis of previous evaluations and on new models (**Table 2**). Although initially entirely devoted to subsistence activities or small-scale artisanal trade, the exports of almost all categories of coastal fisheries products steadily increased between 2007 and 2014 (Department of Fisheries 2014), a trend that very likely maintained in the following years but was interrupted by the global Covid-19 pandemic.<sup>31</sup>

**Table 2. Annual fisheries and aquaculture harvests in Fiji (based on the work of Gillett 2016)**

Harvest Sector	Volume (mt)	Value (F\$)
Coastal Commercial	11,000	75,000,000
Coastal Subsistence	16,000	58,000,000
Offshore Locally based	17,079	107,642,610
Offshore Foreign-based	0	0
Freshwater	3,731	7,408,000
Aquaculture	204,682	2,875,567
<b>Total</b>	252,456	250,926,177

While a great diversity of fishing practices and fishers' profiles can be found in different regions of Fiji, depending among other factors on ecological features and access to equipment (e.g. motorized boats, professional speargun), some common features emerge from the literature. Coastal fishing is done on the nearby mudflats, around patch reefs, in lagoonal waters, in the mangroves and freshwater creeks (Richards 1994), from small crafts (i.e. bamboo rafts called *bilibili*, mainly used by women, or small open fibreglass boats, mainly used by men) or standing, sitting or swimming directly in the water (Fache and Breckwoldt 2018). In these different ecosystems, iTaukei Fijians deploy a great variety of methods, most associated to

<sup>31</sup> "Covid-19 affects fish markets says Minister" *Fiji Times* (online, 29/09/2021) Available at <https://www.fijitimes.com/covid-19-affects-fish-markets-says-minister/> (accessed on 22/04/2022).

gleaning, handlining, spearfishing, cage-fishing or net-fishing activities (Quinnl 1998, Breckwoldt 2007, Gillett et al. 2014). Among this diversity (which I wouldn't sum-up here but that other scholars have well described, see Richards 1994, Quinnl 1998, Calamia 1999, Gillett and Moy 2006, Gillett 2018, Veitayaki et al. 2018, Thomas et al. 2021), I observed more specifically certain practices in Buliya island, in the Kadavu Province (**Figure 6**), where part of my fieldwork took place in 2019 (see next section):

- Gleaning is mostly a subsistence fishing activity for which (mostly women) collectors use their bare hands or a small knife to get sea urchins, seaweeds, giant clams, or trochus.
- Spearfishing is most often done by fishermen in the lagoon, on the reef or in the mangroves, either with handcraft metal tips fixed to a wooden stick or with automatic spearguns. Spearfishing is done both during the day and at night and fish most often caught are parrotfish, surgeonfish, trevally, mangrove jack, yellow tailed emperor, or coral trout. Several studies have shown that night spearfishing in particular can result in massive takes that can imperil certain fish population like parrotfish (Gillett and Moy 2006, Weeks 2017).
- Handlining is usually done from small boats, by men and women (alone or in groups), during night or day, by hanging a bait on a microfilament line held in hand to catch for instance trevally, small groupers, emperors or parrotfish.



**Figure 6. Photos of different fishing activities observed in Kadavu: seaweed (nama) gleaning (left), spearfishing (middle), and handlining (right)**

Source: Photos taken by Léa Riera (2019)

### 2.2.2. Study sites<sup>32</sup>

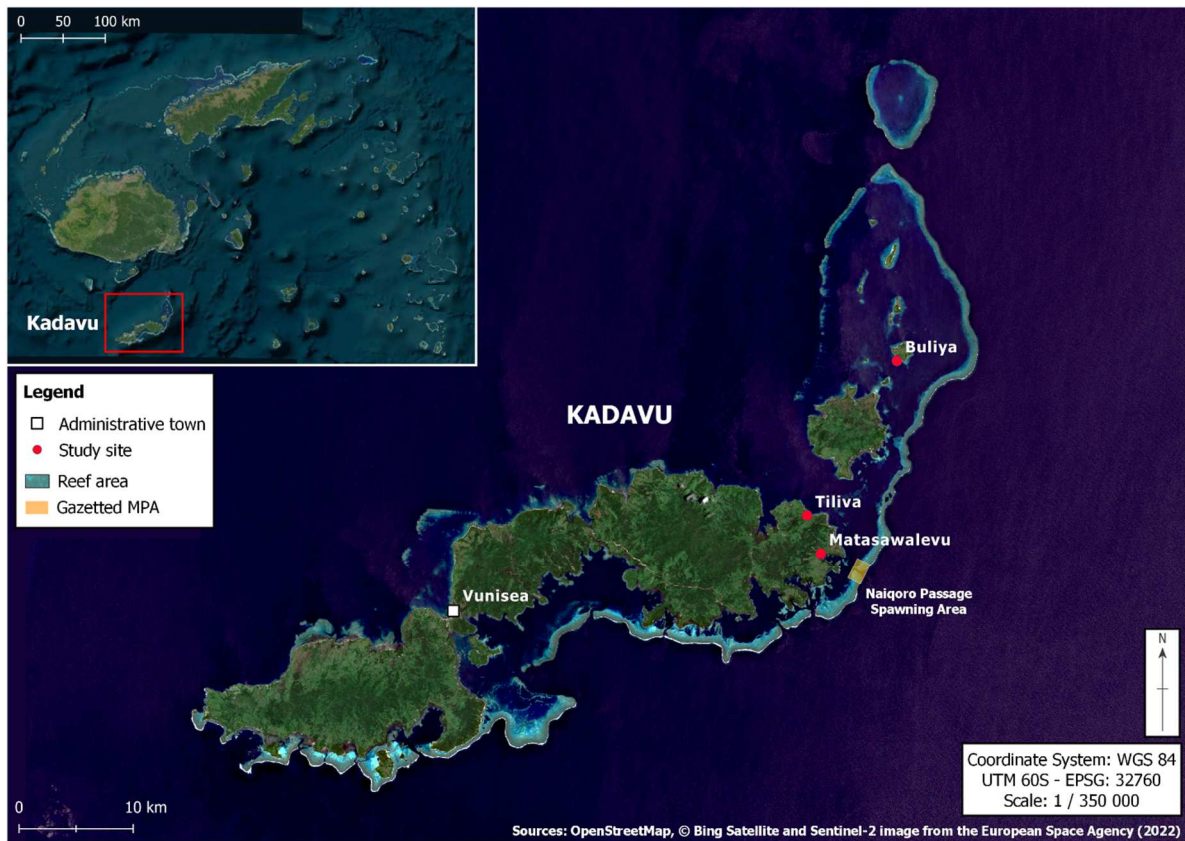
In the first weeks following my arrival in Fiji, three contacts from USP and FLMMA had suggested that I head to the Kadavu Province (**Figure 7**) to further explore some of my research questions such as the role of fishing communities in fisheries and conservation activities, in the day-to-day management of their *iqoliqoli*, and their relation with other state (e.g. Fisheries Office, Provincial Office, Conservation Officer...) and non-state (e.g. NGOs but also tourism operators) actors. This recommendation was based on several significant events that occurred in Kadavu in previous years: (1) the first Locally Managed Marine Area (LMMA) was installed there in 2000 (called Ulunikoro, not active anymore), (2) the second state-gazetted MPA was established in 2018 (Naiqoro Passage Spawning Aggregation Marine Reserve), and (3) various ecotourism operators recently installed conservation projects that seemed to affect greatly local fishing activities.

Other islands were also visited for shorter stays based on opportunities to accompany contacts and colleagues during their activities, including the island of Beqa (Serua Province) with the NGO Pacific Blue Foundation and the island of Gau (Lomaiviti Province) with SOCPacific researchers Annette Breckwoldt, Joeli Veitayaki and Juliette Kon Kam King.

A large amount of time was also spent in the capital, Suva, on USP campus, in the neighborhood where most of the NGOs have their offices, and in Lami town where offices of the Ministry of Fisheries (MoF) are located (**Figure 8**). Moreover, as visible on **Figure 5**, other islands and places were visited as part of collective fieldwork sessions (e.g. Gau island, 1 week), to investigate (based on multiple interviews and participant observations) the activities of a marine conservation NGO in action (e.g. Beqa island, 3 days) or to visit fish markets and meet various stakeholders in other cities (e.g. Pacific Harbor and Nadi – 2 and 3 days).

---

<sup>32</sup> Given the absence of the New Caledonian case in the final product of this thesis following Covid-19 setbacks, I will not detail the study sites I have explored there and rather focus only on the Fijian sites.



**Figure 7. Map of Kadavu Province in Fiji indicating study areas**

*Conception and realization: Auréa Pottier and Léa Riera*



**Figure 8. Map of Suva indicating the main stakeholders and places of interest**

*Conception and realization: Auréa Pottier and Léa Riera*

### **2.3. Mixed ethnographic methods to explore coastal fisheries management**

The thesis is based on fieldwork undertaken in the South Pacific, in Fiji and in New Caledonia between April and December 2019. The fieldwork had various objectives: meeting fishers, state managers (Fisheries Officers and Conservation Officers) in different areas of Fiji, meeting with officials and NGO representatives at their offices and during their activities, participate in coastal resource management and conservation initiatives... The ethnographic methods I developed have the potential to bring forward multiple voices and investigate multi-scalar social, political and ecological entanglements (Neumann 2005, Bryant 2015, Ghoddousi and Page 2020). The same methodologies were deployed in Fiji and in New Caledonia, although more interviews on the regional and global levels took place in New Caledonia while interviews and observations in Fiji touched almost exclusively upon ‘Fijian topics’. At the beginning of both fieldworks, study sites were selected based on initial discussions with key actors in fisheries departments, with FLMMA members and Conservation Officers in Fiji, and with IRD researchers in Nouméa.

#### **2.3.1. Deploying an inductive approach**

The choice of adopting an historical and inductive approach has provided key methodological orientations for the planning and the conduct of this research. Inductive research consists in giving particular importance to field observations, which are explored in details and with an open-mind, without applying our own preconceived frames on what is seen or perceived. It also involves being attentive to different sources of information without hierarchising them based on a priori conceptions. This doesn’t mean that the field work was unprepared: the first seven months of the thesis were dedicated to acquiring through desk-based research and preliminary interviews an understanding of Fijian and South Pacific dynamics (ecological, historical, political, socio-economic) and to identify the actors at play in coastal fisheries management. But once arrived in Fiji, preliminary plans remained largely adaptable and have been repeatedly changed according to new information acquired and new contacts made. For instance, choices for the location of rural field sites both in Fiji and in New Caledonia were made after a few weeks spent on the territory based on the recommendation of local sources (see 2.1). Although this method is perhaps more time consuming, the reliance on local



informers appeared as the best approach to construct a grounded research project, coherent with local priorities which can be difficult to identify from a distance.

This work thus consisted in tracing the networks of actors, the institutions and the discourses that ambitioned to frame coastal fisheries and *manage* them. These elements and their historical trajectories are often already staged by actors who propose their own genealogies which must therefore be replaced in broader historiographies that encompass evolving socio-political contexts and the discontinuities they present.

In practice, my inductive research was initiated by the first meetings organized in Fiji with SOCPacific members and partners to introduce the project and the broad themes Juliette Kon Kam King and I had respectively decided to explore. From these introductory meetings with USP researchers, FLMMA network (see presentation and history of this network in Chapter 4) members and Government officials, emerged advice and suggestions that corroborated what I had identified from my desk-based literature review as potential research avenues. Indeed, several coastal fisheries policies had been enacted in recent years by the Fijian Government (e.g. the grouper seasonal fishing ban; the official ‘gazetting’ of several MPAs; the installation of Conservation Officers in Fiji’s 14 Provinces) and constituted a rupture with previous management dynamics, which were more NGO-led. All of these policies proposed to articulate conservation and development in different ways, through different management angles. Beyond these initial discussions on the current local priorities and questions, these meetings were also a chance to get more contacts and to initiate my snowball sampling of interviewees.

Most of the stakeholders’ belonging to what I have called ‘the Fijian coastal fisheries management subsystem’ were identified through literature review, but others were identified only later, out of the snowball sampling approach (e.g. smaller marine conservation NGOs like Pacific Blue Foundation, Conservation Officers...). Of course, using a snowball sampling approach runs the risk that only certain opinions are heard, and in order to avoid blind spots, I sought to interview actors with potentially opposing views and to find ways to meet actors that appeared as usually neglected (e.g. fishers, fish sellers). I thus followed the connections in actors’ networks as well as the fringes of these networks; making sure to understand ‘discordant’ voices which, if ignored, could render invisible certain facets of coastal fisheries

management in Fiji (e.g. the day-to-day management arrangements vs the official prescriptions). To do so, I attempted to identify controversies, discontinuities and disruptions in management approaches and in governance trajectories. Discourses and practices of dominant actors, often bolstered by established techno-scientific-administrative apparatuses, will naturally tend to hide concealed groups of actors and make them more difficult to identify. Disruptions are moments of contact between those who carry dominant discourse and those who attempt to challenge it and to redefine previous norms. These moments can be (but not necessarily are) based on conflict and are visible for instance when new institutions or bodies emerge, or when public policy plans are delayed or shelved (e.g. the Fijian Inshore Fisheries Decree finally shelved in 2019).

In France, in Fiji and in New Caledonia, several interviews and observations were conducted conjointly with Juliette Kon Kam King, another SOCPacific PhD student. Although we worked on different topics and with different actors (Juliette works on offshore fisheries management and surveillance), these field-based and desk-based collaborations allowed fruitful and stimulating exchanges that contributed to the construction and conduct of my research.

### 2.3.2. Introductions and protocols

In Fiji as in New Caledonia, to engage research in the different sites outside of the two capital cities, Suva and Nouméa, and to introduce my project to various iTaukei and Kanak groups, I first had to follow customary protocols. As soon as I arrived in Fiji, I contacted the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs to obtain a support letter to carry-out research with iTaukei groups in Kadavu Province. Through their intermediary, I was put in contact with Kadavu Province's Conservation Officer who helped me organize my stay. After conducting a first *sevusevu* (a formal iTaukei introduction ceremony) at the Provincial Office with the *Roko Tui* (executive head of the Province) and the rest of the staff, I was authorised to use the Provincial office's boat and driver to take me to the different villages the Conservation Officer had identified as most relevant for my research: Matasawalevu, Tiliva and Buliya (**Figure 7**). In the first days following my arrival on Kadavu island, we (the Conservation Officer, two other staff from the Provincial Office, and I) participated in three *sevusevu* with the respective village leaders. The

ceremony started with me offering a bundle of *yaqona* roots<sup>33</sup> (kava, *Piper methysticum*, **Figure 9**) to the village chief while the Conservation Officer or her colleagues introduced me. I would then have some more time to introduce myself, to present the outlines of SOCPacific project (with an emphasis on the comparative approach used in the project to investigate fisheries in Fiji, New Caledonia and Vanuatu) and to explain the aims of my PhD research. I would thus explain that I wanted to learn more about historical and current day-to-day fisheries management measures led by governmental agencies, non-governmental groups or local people, that fishers (i.e. both fisherman and fisherwoman) from their village knew and implemented (or not).



**Figure 9. (left) A bundle of yaqona roots before the sevusevu ceremony with Kadavu Province's Roko Tui; (right) preparation of the kava drink**

Source: photos taken by Léa Riera

---

<sup>33</sup> *Yaqona* or kava is known as a ceremonial drink prepared by iTaukei Fijians. It is made of the roots of *Piper methysticum* and drinking yaqona is ritualised in many situations. Visitors to a village must bring and present a bundle of yaqona to the chief.



**Figure 10. With Kadavu Provincial Office staff, loading of the boat in Matasawalevu**

Source: photo taken by Léa Riera

In Matasawalevu and Buliya, I then met more privately with the respective *turaga ni koro* (elected village headman) who, based on the demand of the Provincial Office, both agreed to take my accommodation in charge in their house (in exchange of a financial contribution of FJD30/night and FJD20/day for meals). From there, after having greatly facilitated my introduction in the three villages, people from the Provincial Office, including the Conservation Officer, left to return to the main village of the island, Vunisea. I would meet them again at the end of my stay in Matasawalevu, Tilivia and Buliya, on my way back to Suva.<sup>34</sup>

The two above-mentioned *turaga ni koro* play a key role in the organization of the village and notably in day-to-day activities related to fisheries. They are also the ones who represent the village in district and provincial discussions. As such, they were very knowledgeable about the history of the use and management of the village's fishing grounds, the current issues fishers encounter, and potential fisheries development or conservation projects to come. Both *turaga ni koro* were previously fishers before they were appointed as headmen, but had to give up this

<sup>34</sup> There is one weekly ferry to go from Suva to Vunisea and another weekly ferry to the other way around. The journey lasts about 8 hours.

artisanal activity to play the liaising role between the village, the district and the provincial office in order to represent their village's interests.

An introduction ceremony also took place in Bourail, in the South Province of New Caledonia before I initiated my field work there. Similarly to the *sevusevu* in Fiji, a formal introduction with local customary leaders from the Aije Aro customary area gave me the opportunity to present myself and to explain the reasons for my interest in the fishing activities occurring on their territory. This formal introduction was accompanied by a 'customary gesture': after my speech, I offered to the chief a piece of fabrics (named manou) and a bank note (**Figure 11**). Following this formal introduction in September 2019, all the people present agreed to start a focus group to discuss local issues of fisheries management and marine conservation.



**Figure 11. Presentation of my research to the members of the Aije Aro customary area in Bourail, New Caledonia.**

Source: photo taken by Mylène Aïfa (10/2019, Bourail)

Both in Fiji and in New Caledonia, based on a fair assumption that researchers come, take what they want and publish it – as it often happened in the past according to them – some interviewees were preoccupied by what I would do with the information they would share with me. Each time this occurred, a comprehensive explanation was provided and my goals and intentions further specified (i.e. increase knowledge on Fijian coastal fisheries and on the various forms of management and policy that frame them, and provide information that could contribute in fine to the improvement of the fisheries). With clarity provided, all interviewees were in the end interested in participating in this study and by the outcomes of my research. The respect of

the customary protocols, facilitated in both cases by local contacts (the Conservation Officer in Fiji and colleagues from IRD in New Caledonia) participated in this validation of the research conducted, and allowed me to unfold my research based on the following methods.

### **2.3.3. Follow the policy for a multi-sited ethnography**

Throughout the different research phases I will further develop below, I used a ‘follow the policy’ approach (Peck and Theodore 2012) to collect data on different policies enacted as part of coastal fisheries management. This approach draws on multi-sited ethnography to facilitate research on the mobility and mutation of policy models (Peck and Theodore 2012). It is based on the premise that in order to collect data on a ‘mobile’ policy, one must travel with it, tracking its transformations across geographical and political spaces, which is compatible with the multi-scalar and historical approach I propose. This ‘follow the policy’ approach is not about confronting with each other local ‘realities’ and national/international decisional logics, but to unravel the (dis)continuities, adaptations and transformations between those. It allows to reveal the highly dynamic, fluid and increasingly politicized nature of topics such as sustainability governance, environmental management or participative conservation in the global economy and to account for the growing and diversifying mobilities which stem out of globalization (Peck and Theodore 2012). This operates notably through a specific attention to the movement and the consequent transformations of ideas, discourses and policies, which arise for instance in international or regional events (like the RTMCF or CITES, see Chapter 6) and then unfold in national and local arenas. For instance, I follow throughout the different chapters the unfolding of the commitment of the Fijian Government to protect 30% of its seas as MPAs by 2020 and its materialization as several small coastal state MPAs in 2018. This commitment was first announced at the Small Island Developing States meeting in Mauritius (2005, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs). It was later repeatedly reaffirmed at the Small Island Developing States (SIDS) meeting in Samoa in 2014 by the Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics; in Fiji’s Green Growth Framework (2014); at the United Nations Ocean Conference (June 2017); and in the National Development Plan (2017). The 30% commitment was also very often discussed and commented in the regional and international events I attended as part of my research (see 2.3.5).



**Figure 12. Naiqoro Passage marine protected area:** (Top) Billboard at the entry of Matasawalevu village (Kadavu, Fiji) providing information on the MPA (Bottom)

Source: photo and realization by Léa Riera ([www.googlemaps.com](http://www.googlemaps.com))

My research in Matasawalevu village in Kadavu, Fiji, led me to explore interconnected conservation, fisheries and tourism activities in a very specific and small marine site called the Naiqoro Passage (**Figure 12**). This reef passage situated in front of the village holds high ecological, economic and cultural value and has been in 2018 gazetted by the MoF as a strict protected area. Despite the very small size of the area (4,8 km<sup>2</sup>), this gazettement was presented by the MoF in their 2018-2019 annual report as a contribution to government's commitment to protect 30% of its maritime territory by the end of 2020 (Ministry of Fisheries 2019). As I had started investigating the '30% policy' from my desk at the beginning of my research, I was then able to witness and explore both its discursive and material effects in the field on Kadavu island. This allowed me, not just to follow the policy, but to operate back and forth movements between

the initial objectives it entailed, the blockages met by the government for its implementation, and the concrete effects of its materialization.

#### 2.3.4. Informal and semi-structured interviews

In the different villages and cities I visited during my fieldwork, I conducted interviews with a various range of actors who had stakes in the management and the governance of Fijian, New Caledonian or South Pacific coastal fisheries. Although each interview was prepared individually, three main ‘base’ interview grids were used:

- For interviews with people directly involved in the management and conservation of coastal resources in local to international arenas, I aimed at understanding how management is conceived and implemented in practice, the perceptions associated to the different management instruments mobilized (e.g. MPA, species protection, seasonal ban, quotas, licenses...), the place given to exploitation/conservation objectives in the management strategies deployed, how management policies emerge and are transformed, and finally how they interact with other social actors.
- For interviews with local resource users (e.g. fishermen, fisherwomen, sellers...), I explored the details of their activity, their perception of the management apparatuses and policies deployed on their territories and the (positive and negative) impacts for their respective activities, as well as their potential participation in different management or conservation programs.
- For other interviews, the historical dimension of Fijian coastal management was often further explored, to understand the genealogy of the different instruments I identified (e.g. LMMAs, gazetted MPAs, licenses, quotas...), or the context (e.g. political, legal, economic) in which environmental concerns particularly emerged in recent years.

Most interviews were recorded using a smartphone or a dictaphone, transcribed shortly after, and transcripts were completed with notes taken during and after the interview if necessary. For interviews based in Suva, Nouméa or in France, interviewees were generally contacted by email or by telephone. Most often, to prepare interview guidelines, the institutional and professional background and productions of each interviewee were researched. In Kadavu villages, first



interviews were organized and initiated by the Conservation Officer (e.g. with Turaga ni Koro, with Fish Wardens) and; in the following days when she left, other interviews were organized loosely based on encounters with new people and on their personal networks. Overall, interviews took two forms: semi-structured ones and open discussions.

In total, 118 informal or semi-structured interviews took place in Fiji, in New Caledonia, in France and online (**Table 3**). During some interviews, several people, usually two or three but up to five, were present. About ten interviews were followed by a second meeting to continue the discussion in more depth on specific topics (I therefore counted those as two separate interviews). Interviews typically started with a brief introduction from myself and the request to record the interview (although not systematically), which was almost every time granted. I would start by questions on life history, which, besides providing critical insights into the interviewee's discourse, would usually ease the start of the discussion. Notes were always written down during interviews, more or less exhaustively depending on whether the interview was recorded or not. Most interviewees wanted to remain anonymous, so anonymity was adopted in the writing of the thesis (only the profession or main activity of interviewees is indicated). Additionally, three focus groups were organized, two in New Caledonia (Bourail) and one in Fiji (Matasawalevu), respectively with the counsel of Aije Aro customary area and with several of the 26 Fish Wardens from Matasawalevu.

**Table 3. Interviews conducted in Fiji, in New Caledonia, in France or online according to socio-professional categories**

	Fiji	New Caledonia	Online/in France
Fisher (professional)	15	5	0
Fisher (subsistence)	11	3	0
Fisher (recreational)	2	4	0
Villager (but not fisher)	5	3	0
Middlemen	2	1	0
Government/Province staff	7 + 5*	6	0
NGO, association or philanthropic donor staff	8	4	3
Regional management institution staff	0	8	2
Researcher	4	5	4
Tourism operator	3	0	0
Consultant	3	2	3
<i>Total</i>	65	41	12
		<b>Total</b>	<b>118</b>

\*interviews done by Sera Lewanuya

In Fiji, although it was not a criterion of selection, semi-structured interviews were conducted with almost as many women as men. However, the lack of representation of Indo-Fijians is rather clear in my Fijian interviews. This can be explained by my focus on coastal fisheries which in Fiji are activities largely reserved to the iTaukei population due to their historically-inherited privileged access to coastal areas compared to Indo-Fijians (Reddy 2020). This constitutes a limitation of this study, which could be addressed in the future by complementing this research with another fieldwork more directly aiming at the inclusion of Indo-Fijians.<sup>35</sup>

The challenge of conducting interviews and, more generally, interacting with individuals and groups in English was two-fold as it was neither my native language nor theirs. Due to unforeseen events, arrangements to work with a Fijian student from USP during my fieldwork on Kadavu were disrupted and I arrived in Kadavu without translator. Most iTaukei Fijians

<sup>35</sup> For that, the work carried out by Chinnama Reddy (2020) as part of her Master Thesis (*Indo-Fijian Fishing Communities: Relationships with Taukei in Coastal Fisheries*) appears as a central piece of work on the subject in Fiji.

speak a very good and complete English (one of the country's official languages alongside iTaukei Fijian and Hindi). Yet, the issue of not speaking the local language<sup>36</sup> limited the ability to understand informal conversations, improvise as well as socialize, especially in the context of rural coastal villages. In Matasawalevu, a young woman who spoke a particularly good English assisted to most of the interviews with Fish Wardens, fishers and other villagers and we switched between English and iTaukei Fijian depending on the interviewees. This welcomed improvisation helped me, to improve my (very limited) understanding of iTaukei Fijian and to deepen some of the conversations we had, but it also made the interview set-up more complex to handle.

### 2.3.5. Participant and non-participant observations

Observation of and participation in the activities of different research contributors is an insightful method to draw an accurate picture of social processes in their habitual settings, to grasp the reality and complexity of interactions during specific events (e.g. professional meetings, workshops, community-based interventions) as well as during day-to-day situations (e.g. with fishermen in a village or accompanying *gardes-nature* on a typical day of work). Before or after interviews, I found non-participant observation particularly constructive as it helped me to collect complementary information. At each stage of the field research process, I made careful observations and kept a field diary in which I recorded various elements of interest (e.g. words, practices, attitudes, interactions) while I was informally sitting around in participants' home or at the interview meeting point. For instance, I visited several ports, fishing clubs, markets (including the local fish markets in Fiji—Nadi, Navua, Suva and Pacific Harbour—and in Nouméa) in order to meet with fishers, middlemen, sellers and managers. These observations allowed me to make sense of the diversity of actors involved in the different fisheries (i.e. subsistence, commercial, recreational) and better understand their organizations.

Non-participant observations also constituted the main method for my ethnography of events which aimed to capture underlying forces in international environmental arenas. Among

---

<sup>36</sup> A few Fijian classes were taken before my stay in Fiji, which facilitated greatly day-to-day basic interactions in Suva and in the villages and improved my general understanding and listening skills, but were obviously not enough for me to conduct interviews in iTaukei Fijian.

various events and meetings, I attended (in person) the third Climate Action Pacific Partnership Conference (CAPP III) which was held on the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of May 2019 at the Grand Pacific Hotel in Suva. A few months later in Nouméa, I also attended (in person) as an observer the Third Regional Technical Meeting for Coastal Fisheries (RTMCF3) organized by SPC from the 5<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> of November 2019. The RTMCF4 I was supposed to attend was postponed to October 2021 due to the Covid-19 pandemic. I had the chance to participate (online) in RTMCF4 Melanesia preliminary meetings on Melanesia Community-based Fisheries Management in February 2021. At these events, three main dimensions were thoroughly observed and recorded: (1) speeches and position statements from key actors—here the representatives from Fiji and New Caledonia, (2) reactions of actors during discussions on various management options (e.g. responses to statements, spontaneous interventions), and (3) the general setting of the meeting (e.g. setting and timing of different agenda items, switch of agenda). The main aim of these observations was to record interactions between representatives from different countries and different Pacific ‘subregions’ (notably between the delegates of Fiji and New Caledonia), scientists and managers (e.g. from SPC, IRD), and staff from non-governmental bodies such as NGOs (e.g. FLMMA). Another objective was to understand how members present and promote their position, and what discourse they put forward to justify their environmental actions. For instance, the co-presentation at the RTMCF4 of Fiji delegates and cChange NGO on the Fijian grouper seasonal fishing ban implemented in Fiji since 2018 was a good opportunity to observe modes of interaction between state and non-state representatives. It was also an opportunity to observe discrepancies between my field observation and official discourses. For instance, the presentation of FLMMA on its recent works and achievements on community-based fisheries management at the RTMCF4, although pointing several limits, put largely forward collaborations between the network and government services. This contrasted with my field observations and interviews in which most stakeholders acknowledged the limited collaborations and contacts between them in the past years (see Chapter 4).



**Figure 13. Learning Fijian weaving of dried pandanus leaves in Matasawalevu, Kadavu**

Moreover, participant observation (e.g., attending informal gatherings, village markets, church services; going to sea with fishers or with state officials; accompanying locals on village walks) was used to further contextualize and triangulate information collected with other methods. In Fijian villages, a large amount of time was spent with my hosts and especially with non-fisher women who took care of numerous household chores (e.g. cooking, cleaning, mat weaving). During that time, for instance during several-hour long mat weaving which these women taught me (**Figure 13**), many informal conversations could unfold, offering me a chance to learn about the village life and history, fishing traditions and local farming practices.

Participant observations were not necessarily planned as such, but often occurred following new encounters and friendly invitations. This has been the case for instance for the several fishing trips in which I participated on Kadavu, as well as for my 4-day stay on Beqa island with the marine conservation NGO Pacific Blue Foundation to observe and participate in their various conservation activities taking place around the island. Overall, many of my participant observations took place at sea (**Figure 14**), among other occasions to accompany fishers on their boat and in the water in Buliya (top), to go with them sell their daily catch to a middleman (middle left), to attend to a video shooting of a Fish Warden for a communication clip for an NGO (middle right), or to accompany several times South Province *gardes-natures* in New Caledonia to patrol near Noumea (bottom).

**Box 3. Re-weaving the ecological mat**

The weaving (*talitali*) of dried pandanus leaves is a traditional craft (*tali kato*) done by Fijian women who learn these practices from their mother and female relatives at a young age. This weaving of different branches has also become a symbol of the relational and interconnected character of Oceanian's spiritualities and ontologies. Several institutions, including the Methodist Church of Fiji and Rotuma, use the expression of "reweaving the ecological mat", notably to call the conservation sector to pay more attention to "*weave in indigenous and faith based spirituality and knowledge into the work of conservation*" and to move away from a "*neoliberal model of economic development [that is] not appropriate for the Pacific*" (Reweaving the ecological mat, *Pacific Theological College* (online) <https://ptc.ac.fj/reweaving-the-ecological-mat-rem>). Scholars such as Barbara Whyte have also mobilized the metaphor of the Oceanian mat to highlight hybridization processes that weave together single parts that become interdependent while remaining distinct entities (Whyte 2011). In all these different spheres, the notion of integration is central and often evoked (pers. notes, USP Conference, June 2019). My short weaving experience as well as these more spiritual and epistemological reflections have inspired the drawings presented in the first page of each Part of this thesis (*Part II, Part III, Part IV*) which respectively describe trajectories of convergences, divergences and integrations between conservation and fisheries development visions. In the latter step, branches are intertwined with one another but the solidity and longevity of the mat depend on how tight these are as well as on the techniques used for the weaving. The last part of this thesis, Part IV, proposes to assess the results and outcomes of this weaving together of conservation and development.

The frontier between participant and non-participant observation was sometimes not very clear, which raised positioning issues that I had not anticipated. One example indicates well this delicate barrier between the position of outside observer and of integral player in the management arena. I attended in November 2019 the Third Regional Technical Meeting for Coastal Fisheries (RTMCF3) in Nouméa. During this meeting, officials from all PICTs gathered in SPC offices to discuss current and future management orientations for coastal fisheries. Like all registered participant of this meeting, I was assigned to a PICT on my affiliation badge, on which it was indicated "Lea Riera - IRD New Caledonia". This affiliation meant that I would be with the New Caledonian delegation during the several country-based

breakout groups that SPC organized for this meeting.<sup>37</sup> While I planned, as part of my event-based ethnography, to gravitate between different groups, this affiliation prevented me from discussing with members of other countries in other rooms during these sessions.

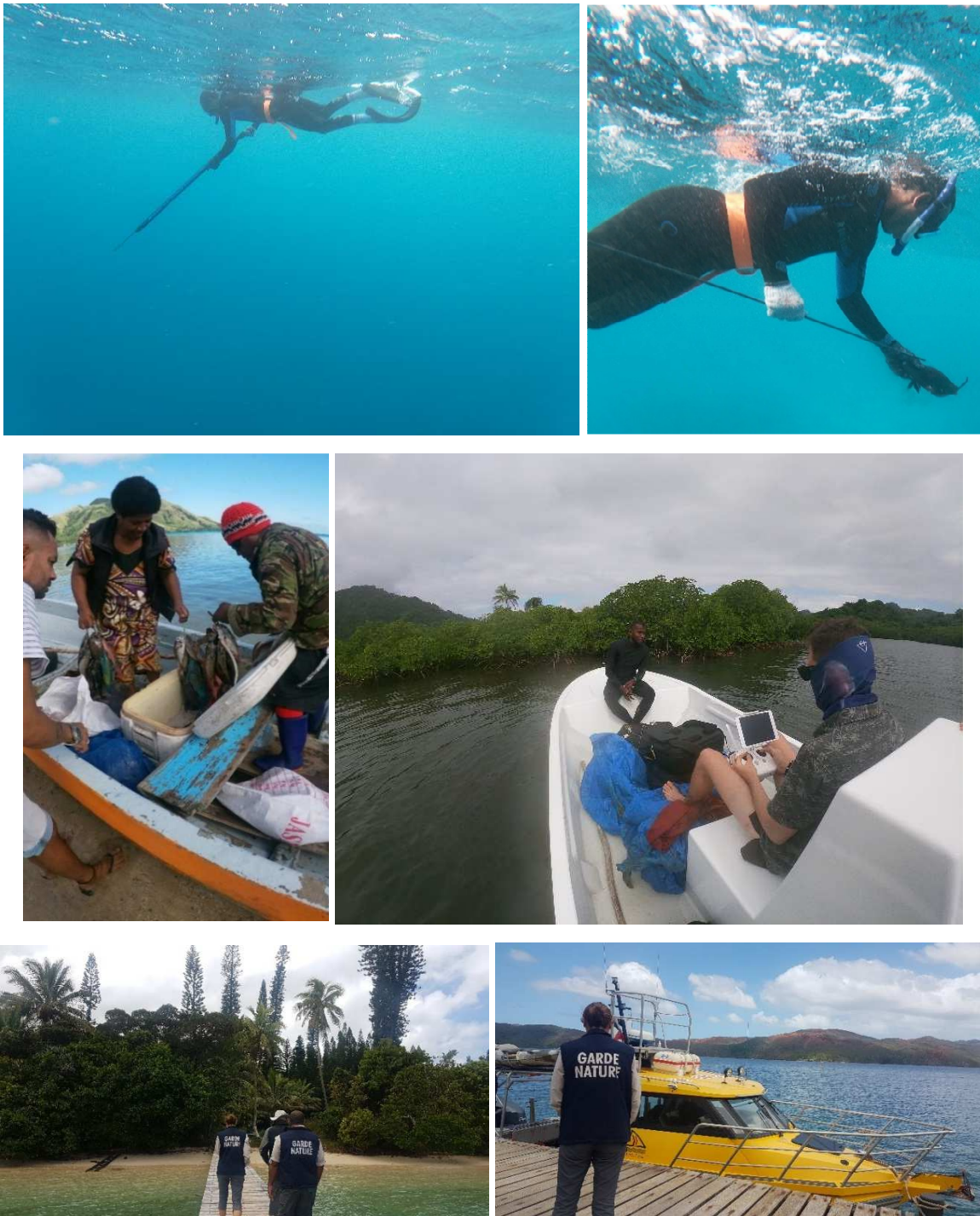
Groups were then gathered in ‘regions’: Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, to continue discussions and exchange on their respective points of view on the topics addressed. Luckily, at this occasion, I could thus attend discussions between Fiji and New Caledonia representatives on various coastal fisheries management topics, which represented a great opportunity for my (since suspended) comparative approach between the two PICTs, both considered part of the ‘Melanesian group’. At another moment, breakout groups were constituted of people from all PICTs to discuss new issues and compare their coastal management practices. During this session, I was assigned to a group to ‘speak for’ New Caledonia rather than being just an observer of the discussion. Although I participated in some occasions to the discussion (e.g. on factual matters like New Caledonia’s legal specificities), I preferred to clarify my role with my interlocutors from Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea. This allowed me to step out of this imposed ‘manager’ position to put on my researcher’s cap back.

### **2.3.6. Other methodologies**

Being part of SOCPacific also turned to be an opportunity to conduct collective fieldwork and to participate in alternative research activities to those directly inscribed in my research. Between September and November 2019, several members of the SOCPacific team involved 290 children from Fiji and New Caledonia in a research process through the organization of drawing workshops in local schools. Led by Elodie Fache, this interdisciplinary project considers children as one of the relevant categories of stakeholders whose perspectives on fishing and fisheries management need to be taken into account.

---

<sup>37</sup> For instance, breakout groups provided time to reflect in small groups on questions such as “Identify top 5 new/emerging issues and opportunities in the region, their key technical needs and priority actions” ; “Identify the main challenges/barriers and effective approaches in scaling up CBFM to other communities within your country/territory” ; “What should communities, governments and partners (CSOs [civil society organizations], NGOs, donors) do to scale-up CBFM both as individual groups and collectively?” ; “Identify the priority actions for scaling up CBFM”.



**Figure 14. Participant observations taking place at sea**

Sources: photos taken by Léa Riera (2019)



It relies on drawing as a tool to explore how, in Fiji and New Caledonia, children aged 9 to 15 perceive their marine environment, including the fishing practices that take place therein, and the connections between these and local ways of ‘being-in-the-world’ (Fache et al. in review (a)) All children were given the same drawing instruction: “Draw the sea and what you and others do in the sea” (translated in their daily language).

Following the drawing session, short interviews were conducted with each child so that they could share and discuss with us what they represented (**Figure 15**). We then analyzed fishing activities depicted by children: who are the fishers on these drawings? What knowledge of the marine environment these fishing activities/practices reflect and contribute to shape? Which management/conservation endeavors are represented? From this collaborative work emerged two papers (Fache et al. in review (a); Fache et al. in review (b)). The former details and discusses the methodology followed by the interdisciplinary team and the latter exposes the results collected. Moreover, in December 2021, an exhibition in Juvignac, near Montpellier (France), highlighted the topics that were most recurrent in these children’s drawings, like for instance the inseparability between the sea and the land; the economic, ecological and/or cultural significance of marine species; the central role of fisheries in daily life and children’s awareness of destructive fishing activities and marine pollution issues, as well as of the need to manage those.

While the results collected during these phases of collective fieldwork are not directly reflected in this thesis, my partaking to this participative research, from its realization to the analysis of its outcomes, has offered me alternative points of view to consider in my reflection on coastal fisheries management and conservation. The methodology itself as well as the results have been stimulating and have broadened the spectrum of the actors I originally considered to explore entangled ecological, cultural and political matters.



**Figure 15. (a) Short interview with children following the drawing session in a school of Nouméa and (b) examples of children drawings**

Sources: photo taken by Elodie Fache

Drawings: top left "Going for gillnet fishing", drawing made by a 12-year old girl, Suva, 09/2019

Top right "Organic island", drawing made by a 12-year-old boy, Cicia, Fiji, 09/2019

Bottom left "Spearfishing day", drawing made by a 14-year-old boy, Kadavu, Fiji, 11/2019

Bottom right "La mer dorée" - "The golden sea", drawing made by an 11-year-old boy, Nouméa 11/2019

## 2.4. Literature review and document analysis

The literature review spanned over the entire time of the thesis, feeding different phases of the research whether it was preliminary readings, state of the art on key topics, fieldwork background research, results interpretation and complementary searches during the writing. In addition to a large body of scientific literature, grey literature was also finely analyzed.<sup>38</sup> In the first months of the thesis, I particularly looked at national and regional policies developed to frame coastal fisheries management. Indeed, one of the ways to explore the historical and contemporary structuration and transformations of fisheries management and governance apparatuses consisted in gathering the traces they leave in various documents. For instance, collecting archival documents on management allowed me to gather managerial discourses which, I believe, convey conceptions of what is to manage and why. More generally, as part of the ‘follow-the-policy’ approach, I explored various types of official documents produced by stakeholders (e.g. government, NGOs, regional and international organizations) to trace the sequential processes behind the construction and transformation of management apparatuses. These written materials translate actors’ visions and practices of management (how are fish and fishers qualified, what is problematized as needing management, what are the conservation/development tensions mentioned?). The compilation of a diverse range of grey literature and legal documents (policies, strategies, laws, agreements, reports, presentations as well as consultancy, NGO and government reports; **Table 4**) constituted mostly of documents accessible online<sup>39</sup>, internal documents provided by interviewees, or public archives, represent a significant part of my corpus. The collection of this grey literature was done using diverse sources: the internet, management agencies, universities’ and research institutes’ libraries, or through direct contacts during interviews. On top of official and finalized documents, both drafted and in-process documentation (often provided directly by contacts) were also of interest to explore management-in-doing processes.

---

<sup>38</sup> This work on regional and national grey literatures was also in parallel developed by SOCPacific’s intern Denis Karcher which resulted in a collective publication (Karcher et al. 2020).

<sup>39</sup> A list of the main websites and social media consulted for this online review can be found in the **Online sources** section of the Bibliography

**Table 4. Types of documentation investigated and sources**

<b>Type of document</b>	<b>Motivations</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Legal documents	Provide critical information on the evolution of political priorities over time, what is legally binding	Fijian Government websites Fiji Ocean Law Bulletin ( <a href="https://www.sas.com.fj/ocean-law-bulletins">https://www.sas.com.fj/ocean-law-bulletins</a> )
Planning documents	Policies, strategies and assessments provide information on the prospective logics on resource management and conservation	Fijian Government and NGO websites (e.g. <a href="http://www.parliament.gov.fj/annual-reports-other-reports">www.parliament.gov.fj/annual-reports-other-reports</a> ) Karcher et al. (2020)
Communication documents	Reports, public notices and presentations provide valuable insights on the “intentional messages”, on the image stakeholders want to display publically, and therefore on the discrepancies between public discourse and actions, between informal and official management.	Conferences, meetings... Fijian Government and NGO websites (e.g. for the 4FJ grouper seasonal fishing ban campaign detailed in Chapter 6: <a href="https://4fjmovement.org">https://4fjmovement.org</a> )
Internal reports	Provide information on internal dynamics and on structural evolutions (e.g. institutional shifts) Minutes and powerpoints of NGO or public meetings and presentations	Official websites and direct handover (through interviewees)
Technical documents	Provide information on methodologies and protocols followed by practitioners	Official websites and direct handover (through interviewees) (e.g. <a href="https://www.spc.int/DigitalLibrary/FAME">https://www.spc.int/DigitalLibrary/FAME</a> )
Archives	Allow to trace the evolution of all of the above, to understand past management dynamics and to establish general trajectories	National Archives of Fiji (Suva) <sup>40</sup> SPC website ( <a href="http://www.spc.int/DigitalLibrary">www.spc.int/DigitalLibrary</a> )

In particular, annual reports from the Fiji Fisheries Department (now the Ministry of Fisheries), have been of critical interest to follow the evolution of state management priorities and objectives for coastal fisheries. These reports provide valuable information on fisheries economics, on the main orientations chosen for the following years and on projects and policies that have been achieved or abandoned during the year. Both grey and scientific literature were organized with the software Zotero.

## 2.5. Analysis of collected data

From the different research methodologies presented above emerged a diversity of data. To analyze this data, a phase of ‘triangulation’ of the information extracted from multiple field

<sup>40</sup> Elodie Fache obtained copies of these archives at the National Archives of Fiji in Suva in 2016.

notes, interview transcripts and bibliographical explorations was necessary to formulate robust and reliable results. This is especially true for contentious and controversial topics on which very different information were sometimes gathered from different sources. In such cases (e.g. the establishment of state-led MPAs, state and non-state actors' collaborations) data collected through interviews and direct observations were carefully triangulated with documentation to better understand the context in which interviewees had expressed their personal positions on these matters. Based on this corpus, I mobilized discourse analysis methods to unpack the narratives and explore different discourse framing parameters such as the mode of argument (e.g. the 'regimes of truth' called on), the terms of debate (i.e. language and meanings used to qualify and problematize fish, fishers and fisheries, ways to refer to and talk about other stakeholders), the thematic contents touched upon or the (intentional or unintentional) effects of the different management apparatuses.

This analysis was facilitated by the systematic coding of a large part of the heterogeneous data collected. In order to proceed to the analysis of interviews, I initiated an analysis inspired from the "*thematic analysis of content*" method (Mucchielli 1991). Thematic content analysis aims to establish coherent links between interviews and to make redundancies or divergences emerge for defined thematics. These thematics are collected through the "*breaking down of reproducible elementary units*" (Blanchet and Gotman 2010:90) and are defined either *a priori* or based on preliminary readings of interviews. Interviews are broken down into thematics through a coding system which allows for later confrontation of interview extracts relating to the same thematic. Directly after the transcription, coding was done using R-QDA, an open-source extension of the R software. Codes chosen span over a large range of topics (e.g. ecotourism, fishing techniques, management model), human actors (e.g. NGOs, state actors, fishers) and marine life (e.g. turtles, groupers, sharks), scale (e.g. regional, national, local) and analysis categories (e.g. context, result). This confrontation is sometimes called 'horizontal thematic analysis' and leads to the building of a coherent picture of the different points of views expressed in interviews on the given thematic (Blanchet et al. 2010). Going back to initial research hypotheses, each thematic could then be finely explored until a coherent interpretation of the situation could be retrieved.

Moreover, coding allowed for the identification of major trends in the main topics I wished to explore in this thesis (fisheries management, development and conservation) and to see more vividly repetitions and contradictions in interviews. Although it was possible, I have not included in R-QDA my field notes which I analyzed ‘manually’ (i.e. by integrating them directly into the first results of my analysis). Moreover, coding allowed an easy location of the data on any question related to the research (by theme, scale, actor, etc.). For example, it was easy and quick to retrieve any information regarding how interviewees talked about state conservation marine protected areas or the grouper seasonal fishing ban explored in Chapters 7 and 8.

In addition to this general thematic analysis, a specific analysis regarding some of the vocabulary employed by interviewees was additionally carried out during this coding. For instance, vocabulary and expressions employed in reference to fisheries development or conservation interventions and to specific instruments (e.g. MPAs) was particularly relevant as part of my analysis of actors’ discourses. How do people working in the conservation sector talk about fisheries, what species, categories, practices are mentioned? Who do they mention when they discuss about the fishery sector (i.e. does it refer more to commercial fishing or subsistence fishing, which gear/techniques are part of or excluded from their vision of fisheries?). These are the questions I attempted to transcribe during this phase of coding and analysis of the data.

## **Conclusion of Chapter 2**

In this chapter, I have touched upon the research methods and approaches that have structured the different phases that have constituted the almost 4 years of this PhD work. Overall, I realized back and forth movements between documentary phases, field-based and desk-based ethnographic research, analysis and writing periods. The Covid-19 pandemic has generated major obstructions, with first and foremost the cancellation of my second phase of fieldwork in 2020. I described and reflected on the several responses that I and the SOCPacific team proposed in the face of this global event in order to pursue with our research activities on an already-distant but then-inaccessible fieldwork: by shifting research activities online, fostering close research collaborations with local researchers and reinforcing the historical perspective of the present study based on an extended literature review. As a researcher taking part in a North-South and interdisciplinary project I exposed my reflections on my positioning on the field and on my institutional anchoring, and detailed the protocols I have followed to work along indigenous populations. Finally, I have detailed my interview, and participant and non-participant observation methodologies as well as the coding work I developed to analyze the heterogeneous data collected throughout these different research phases.



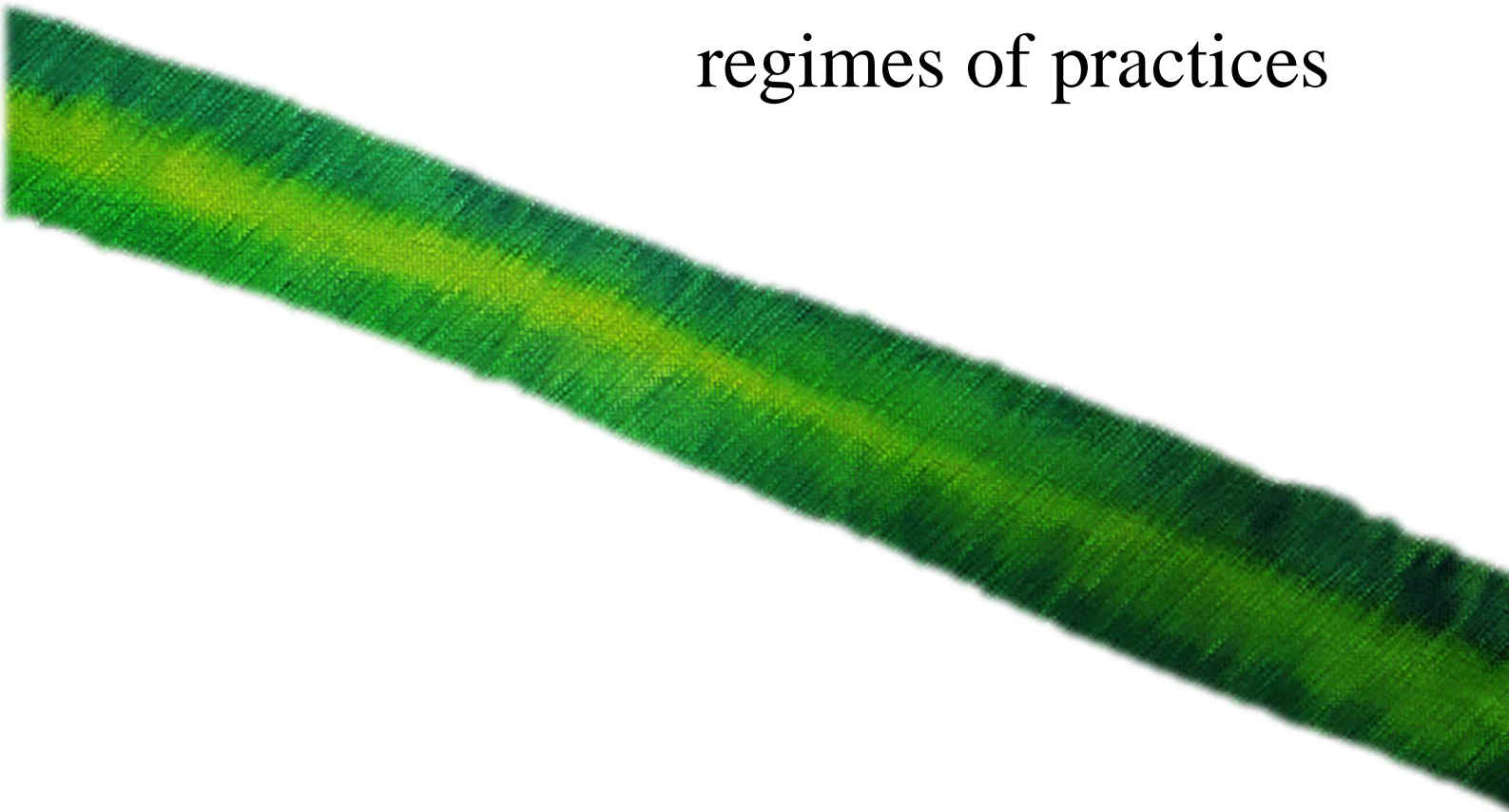




Part II

Divergences.

The constitution of two  
regimes of practices





In this second part of the thesis, I explore the forming of several fisheries and environmental management institutions, practices and norms and investigate the socio-political contexts within which they developed. This systematic reconnection of management endeavors with political events and their implications allows a re-politicization of a societal field (fisheries and environmental management) that has often been made apolitical. Accordingly, the two chapters presented here retrace the history of successive coastal fisheries management regimes developed by state as well as non-state actors. Indeed, I aim to show the progressive shaping of what coastal fisheries management entails, the constant redefinition of the nature of and the relation between who manages, who/what is managed, and through what artefacts this management occurs (e.g. laws, scientific models, instruments). Various aspects of these management regimes established in the past, in specific socio-political contexts I will explicit, are still vivid today. As such, I believe this genealogy is of importance to understand contemporary management dynamics and issues.

This second part aims to answer the following research questions:

- Who are the coalitions that proposed to constitute coastal fisheries management regimes in the past?
- What practices, norms and institutions are proposed by the identified coalitions as part of their coastal fisheries management regime?
- How did broader socio-economic and political contexts in colonial and postcolonial eras shape how fish and fishers are accounted for in the successive coastal fisheries management regimes?

I am interested in the historical contours of coastal fisheries management and I identify two main propositions, which I choose to refer to as management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes given the propensity of, respectively, development and conservation discourses and practices in these management propositions. I explicit in these chapters how these two regimes diverge in the way they qualify fish and fishers and problematize fisheries, in the coalitions involved, in the instruments those decide to activate, as well as on the values and beliefs underlying them.

In Chapter 3 I aim to unravel how colonial and then postcolonial governing authorities inscribed both fish and fishers into the national economy based on a rural development objective, as well

as the role industrial fisheries development played on inshore, small-scale fisheries management. In Chapter 4, I focus on the structuration of a new coalition that challenges this unidirectional project for fisheries. Indeed, in Fiji, as in many other places in the world, ‘environmental issues’ generated the formulation of institutional, ideological and technical interrogations that led new stakeholders (e.g. conservation NGOs, conservation donors, associations, local communities and authorities, universities and private operators) to gain a legitimacy previously restricted to state public policy systems. This emergence of non-state actors (NSAs) has significantly disrupted marine resources governance in Fiji. We will see that the interlacing of new fishing regulations and iTaukei tenure rights has made coastal fisheries a deeply political issue and has thus greatly influenced how Fijian fisheries management contours were drawn in the 1990s-2000s.

Embracing a multi-scalar and historical approach and providing a particular attention to the political and socio-economic drivers behind environmental matters, I undertake a political ecology of past and current coastal fisheries management models. Moreover, drawing on Sabatier’s Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF, Sabatier 1998), I explore fisheries management regimes dynamics, and identify in each chapter coalitions that formed around the ‘management’ object. I propose to characterize the discourses and practices underlying these regimes and to pay attention to the representations of human-nature relations these suggest.

As part of this diachronic analysis, I thus identify the contours and contents of management-as-development (Chapter 2) and management-as-conservation (Chapter 4) regimes of practices. These two regimes of practices gathered at a given time contingent, dynamic and heterogeneous elements. We will see that the two regimes of practices I delimit throughout this first part propose different answers to the question of *how* to manage coastal fisheries (i.e. the means), but more importantly, that they are fueled by what actors of the different coalitions hold as their referential of *what* to manage and *why* (i.e. the ends).

## Chapter 3. Management-as-development to make fish and fishers manageable for state development

In 2005, Hand et al. produced a report in which they deplored the installation in the Fijian Government of a confusion between *fisheries development* and *fisheries management* in previous decades, notably regarding “*the absence of effective/responsive inshore fisheries management initiatives and the incorrect focus on product development as opposed to resource management in the inshore fisheries*” (Hand et al. 2005:18). This chapter is an attempt to capture and explicit this idea of a progressive reduction of *fisheries management* to *fisheries development* and to understand the underlying processes of this trajectory. Starting at the beginning of the colonial era in Fiji (1870s), I describe the interlaced genealogy of state development politics and construction of a fisheries sector to be managed, which produced, from the 1950s on, what I call a management-as-development regime. Embedded into political, economic and ecological processes, this regime of practices is understood as a set of norms, practices and discourses arranged together to organize fisheries activities with the aim to reach Fiji’s economic development objectives.

The first section of this chapter describes how coastal fisheries were apprehended from the 1870s to the 1980s (i.e. a decade after the Independence of Fiji, gained in 1970), driven by the progressive installation of *developmentalist* discourses. I highlight how it was firstly forged by processes of territorial stabilization which produced and formalized new boundaries and new territorial strategies to organize and control both fish and fishers. After a major phase of fisheries industrialization in the 1950s, the 1960s see the structuration of state administration and the multiplication of neoliberal reforms that supported state’s framing of Fijian coasts as spaces to be developed.

I then describe in the second section the progressive formation of a phase of bio-economic rationalization of coastal fisheries management in a context of social, economic and political globalization.

I show the constitution of a multi-scalar and techno-scientific development coalition that organizes the collection of standardized data about fish and fishers to manage them. I then evoke the installation of overfishing concerns and discourses in Fiji. As previously under-fished reef fish stocks become overfished, new management apparatuses emerge to further displace fishing pressure to new spaces (e.g. offshore, dedicated fishing areas), to new species (i.e. pelagic and introduced farmed species), and through new practices (e.g. Fish Aggregation Devices - FADs, reef ranching, aquaculture) which did not overly alter 'development' objectives.

In a third section, I finally attempt to better characterize the management-as-development regime: How are fish and fishers qualified and how are coastal fisheries problematized? What resources (e.g. administrations, scientific models, financial and human capacities) and what forms of power does the development coalition mobilize to govern a delimited and productive 'nature'?

### **3.1. Territorial management and the insertion of fisheries into Fiji's economy**

#### **3.1.1. Formalizing colonial territories to organize land and sea activities**

The annexation of Fiji in 1874 represented for the British Crown an economic and strategic advantage as it allowed the installation of a new Pacific station for steamboats and the development of lucrative plantations (Lin 2012).<sup>41</sup> After the fast development of sandalwood and beche-de-mer trade in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, yam, coffee, copra and cotton became at that time the most exported productions to Australia and the UK (Ward 1965). Inland, the cotton boom in the 1860s left place to larger plantations where hundreds of labourers from Fiji, other Pacific Islands or from Asia settled. This commercial expansion was brief, as the cotton market crashed in 1870, leading planters and trading firms to turn to new plantations (e.g. sugarcane, tobacco) and new activities such as cattle farming (ibid). With these various farming and trading developments, more and more coastal cultivable land were sold to or alienated by Europeans. This rapid commercial expansion was slowed down after Cession

---

<sup>41</sup> Certain groups of Westerners such as whalers and Christian missionaries arrived in Fiji and started influencing its fate decades before the annexation (Routledge 1974).

(1874) when pro-indigenous measures were established by first British Governor and Commander-in-chief of Fiji Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, to preserve Fiji's land from European alienation in 1875. In 1879, Indian indentured labourers<sup>42</sup> were brought to work in Fijian sugarcane plantations while iTaukei Fijians, with restored but simplified tenure and communal<sup>43</sup> systems, would rather remain in 'subsistence economies' (Lin 2012). At that time iTaukei Fijians had limited access to the capitalist economy developed by Europeans and Indians, and efforts were made by colonial authorities to reinforce when necessary the iTaukei social organization based on a uniform 'community system' (Colonial Office 83/16 1878). This colonial system of *indirect rule* (i.e. in which some day-to-day government and administration were left in the hands of customary leaders, while external affairs, taxation, and communications were governed by colonial powers) was strong of previous African and Indian colonial experiences and provided a relatively large autonomy to rural iTaukei Fijians for day-to-day matters (Etherington 1996). For instance, several positions were created by the colonial government to liaise between iTaukei and British worlds (e.g. the *Roko Tui* who were installed as Provincial head and *buli*, government Fijian officers who were also district chiefs). These interface positions would for instance supervise taxation and the installation of new colonial rules in iTaukei villages.

In pre-colonial Fiji, the use and control of marine natural resources strongly relied on hierarchical relations, in which the authority of the chiefs was unconditional and their political roles central (Lawson and Lawson 2017). As in most Pacific PICTs, this political organization relied on key traditional roles mostly inherited from patrilineal descent, but remained rather dynamic due to warfare, changing alliances, and intermarriages (Cohen et al. 2015, Pauwels et al. 2015). Coastal tenure consisted in customary, communal rights over lagoons and reef areas adjacent to lands inhabited by distinct iTaukei groups living in coastal areas, however, in times of frequent warfare and migrations, coastal boundaries were malleable and unofficial (Ruddle and Johannes 1989). Across its hundreds of sparsely inhabited islands, Fiji presented very

---

<sup>42</sup> Indian indentured labourers, also known as coolies in British colonies, were brought to Fiji from 1879, several decades after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire (1834) which led to a shortage of labourers to work in colonies' various plantations (see D'Souza (2000) and Lal (1984) for more details on Indian labour in Fiji).

<sup>43</sup> According to Davie (2007), a society characterized by communalism is one in which individuals are governed by local autonomy with emphasis on a collective agenda and on common group identifications based on communities.

diverse political, social and cultural landscapes, which the Deed of Cession of Fiji to Great Britain in 1874 and following colonial administrative policies endeavored to simplify and homogenize. Later, in the 1890s, this homogenization process was greatly reinforced with the formalization of Fiji's land and marine tenure system later. Contrary to what happened during the colonization of other Pacific countries and territories (e.g. Australia also colonized by the British, New Caledonia colonized by the French) where land alienation and delocalization of indigenous inhabitants were common practices, iTaukei Fijians were granted the official ownership of their lands, and remained authorized to use terrestrial as well as marine resources. Initially, the Deed of Cession was signed by 13 paramount chiefs and enacted the transfer of the ownership of all lands, waters and reefs to the British Crown. But as soon as in 1875, under the authority of the new Governor General Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, the land was re-ceded to iTaukei Fijians and definitive, inalienable property rights for land title owners were established (Baledrokadroka 2012). However, adjacent marine areas remained a property of the British Crown: *"It was explained [by the governor's representative] to the Council that no one had a right to sell what was covered by salt water, that that belonged to the Crown, which would retain it for the use of those hitherto accustomed to use it, and that each district had its own reefs"*.<sup>44</sup> This legal distinction between land and sea was contested by Fijian chiefs: *"It is very much the same kind of thing to us as the lands, because of their usefulness and the value of the produce thereon. (...) To us it is a well understood property, and all the reefs have their owners by mataqali or towns"* (ibid). We will see that still today, this land-sea disconnection has deep and controversial implications in fisheries management and governance matters.

The Native Lands Commission (NLC) of the colonial administration was created in 1880 to further codify land tenure system as well as local socio-political customs (Tanner 2007). To pass over the complexities and the variety of Fijian practices, one level of social structure was selected (*mataqali*, usually translated into English as 'clan') to demark legal boundaries of land-owning units and to define governance rules (Clark 2008). In addition, while pre-colonial chiefly systems used to rely on fluid kinship ties and presented various subtleties across Fiji, chief roles became fixed in chiefly families by colonial policies, profiting both colonial officials

---

<sup>44</sup> Notes of the proceedings of a Native Council held in Rewa, 1877 (Archive). Native Councils are meetings that occurred once a year to gather all iTaukei chiefs and colonial government officials for several days.



and certain chiefs represented under the Great Council of Chiefs (GCC or *Bose Vakaturaga* in Fijian) (Clark 2008, Pauwels et al. 2015). As part of the British colonial indirect rule, the GCC was strongly supported by the colonial administrative body so that chiefs could liaise with the colonial administration, and jointly draw with the latter new administrative borders. Fourteen *yasana* (provinces) were established and further divided into *tikina* (districts), an organization that was later extended to sea spaces. As part of this territorialization process led by NLC, land appropriation by several chiefs reinforced land inequalities and later provoked conflicts (Tanner 2007).

While daily natural resource management remained strongly anchored into customary rights and responsibilities, first measures for the codification of national fishing rules emerged in the 1920s and paved the way for future legal frameworks involving fisheries activities. In 1923, the *Bird, Games and Fish Protection Ordinance*<sup>45</sup> attributed customary fishing rights within customary *iqoliqoli*, and authorized access to fishing in these *iqoliqoli* to registered owners only.<sup>46</sup> In 1942, the *Fisheries Act* pursued this legal structuration of customary fishing rights, while the *State Land Act* further formalized the ownership of fishing grounds and foreshore land by the British Crown (Sloan and Chand 2015). These two Acts enacted the separation of propriety and usufruct rights in *iqoliqoli*, initiating Fiji's dual tenure and governance system of inshore areas (**Box 4**). A *qoliqoli* is a spatial unit of sea which constitutes a prolongation of land-owning units defined by the NLC in previous decades. *iqoliqoli*, also called customary fishing rights areas (CFRA), delimit customary sea territories over which *mataqli* (clan or tribe) have usufruct rights. After the independence in 1970, the NLC turns to previously forgotten marine spaces and becomes the Native Land and Fisheries Commission (NLFC now iTaukei Land and Fisheries Commission). The NLFC engages in the registration and mapping of 411 *iqoliqoli* boundaries in the Register of iTaukei Customary Fishing Rights. Still today, the 2013 Constitution of the Republic of Fiji recognizes iTaukei customary rights of access to marine

---

<sup>45</sup> I provide a list of the successive policies/laws/moments related to fisheries management in **Appendix 3**.

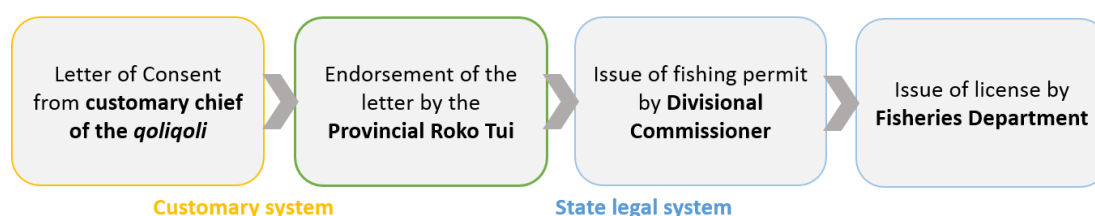
<sup>46</sup> For many years and up until 2016, a 'goodwill payment' was commonly demanded by customary owners and traditional leaders to external fishers wishing to fish in their *qoliqoli*. While most leaders requested a customary offering of *yaqona* (kava, *Piper methysticum*), it became common practice to monetarize this permission, and the amount of money have over the years considerably increased (Ruddle 1995). The practice became more and more controversial, and after a succession of abuses, it was recently prohibited by the Fijian Government which conducted consultations on the creation of a new permit fee that could be managed by the Ministry of Fishery (Fiji Environmental Law Association and EDO NSW 2017).

resources, i.e. rights to access, utilize and manage such resources within *iqoliqoli*, but does not recognize the iTaukei ownership of these inshore areas.

#### Box 4. Dual tenure and legal systems in Fiji

Fijian coastal fisheries management is instructed by a complex ‘dual’ legal and governance system which combines elements from the legal framework inherited from English common law and iTaukei customary governance. It recognizes iTaukei access to and use of marine natural resources and support iTaukei influence on coastal spaces and activities with various pieces of legislation (e.g. iTaukei Land Act, iTaukei Land Trust Act, Fisheries Act). This influence has been further recognized in the 2013 Constitution which adds provisions to protect customary land and provides guarantees of benefits from external exploitation (e.g. mineral prospection). In the past decades, this dual tenure arrangement has been at the core of several political events. In August 2006, in an attempt to resolve the tense political situation, a so-called ‘*Qoliqoli* Bill’ was presented before the Fiji Parliament, by which all proprietary rights to *qoliqoli* areas (including ownership of marine areas) would be returned to the identified traditional (pre-colonial) *qoliqoli* owners. The Bill was dismissed in December 2006 along with other proposed changes, but these propositions led to a subsequent military-backed coup in 2006, the fourth in the Republic’s young history. Benefits and disadvantages of this proposition remain extremely controversial, but are beyond the scope of this study.

This dual system brings relative flexibility with regards to coastal resources management but, it also generates uncertainty and misunderstandings (Breckwoldt 2007, Virdin 2000). It even led Ruddle to say: “*The result is that fisheries legislation in Fiji remains chaotic. The legal question of fisheries rights and resource ownership is one of the most highly charged and potentially divisive issues confronting present-day Fiji*” (Ruddle 1995:28). Today, the professional fishing licensing system reflects well this dual governance setup (**Figure 16**) that articulates together customary and state legal procedures.



**Figure 16.** Current process to obtain a fishing license, involving both customary and modern governance systems

For many scholars as well as for various interviewees encountered during this research, Fiji's unique tenure system constitutes the first fisheries management instrument, as it results in fishing restrictions that are not only known by all, but also recognised and formalized by (colonial then independent) state administrative bodies. The registration of customary fishing rights areas or *iqoliqoli* made Fiji the only country with legal recognition of spatially-defined customary fishing rights areas (Cooke et al. 2000). In a context of limited enforcement and control, *iqoliqoli* customary fishing restrictions allowed a 'gate control' that has been central to maintain a relatively sustainable fishing activity in Fijian coastal areas (Ruddle 1995, Veitayaki 2008). Tenure in Fiji mostly relies on perception of historical rights and prerogatives which emerged throughout the colonization and decolonization processes that entailed major socio-cultural, economic and political changes. It can be seen as representing a first 'set of forces' against what was characterized as tragedies of commons in other contexts (Calamia 1999). For Calamia, it also introduced an early notion of property rights and provided a strong base for future neoliberal reforms (Calamia 1999).

### 3.1.2. Discussing and formalizing coastal management

With the institution of a colonial government in 1874 came the question of the exploitation and management of the colony's land and sea resources. Beyond territorial strategies which, we have seen, occurred through land (and way later marine) tenure formalization, first attempts for natural resource management can be traced back to 1877. That year, Governor Arthur Gordon invited the Director of Mauritius Botanical Garden, John Horne, to develop sugarcane production in Fiji and to provide his advice to improve long-term exploitation (Lin 2012). Horne suggested the establishment of forest reserves to develop a long-term exploitation of timber instead of relying on wood imports as it was the case at that time, which resulted in the reserving of a mangrove area near the capital, Suva (Lin 2012). This reserve probably constituted the first coastal spatially-managed area in Fiji.

Later, circulars were initiated in 1914 to adapt the *Wild Birds and Game Protection Ordinance 1915*, common to all of British Colonies, into a legal document specific to Fiji. The aim of this colonial operation was notably to include more protection for Fiji's declining river and marine

fish resources.<sup>47</sup> The investigation of colonial state archives (1915-1930) allowed me to explore in more details the discussions that accompanied this endeavor.<sup>48</sup>

From 1921 on, colonial officials dispersed throughout the fourteen Provinces observed that “*large varieties of fish are disappearing and are being replaced by smaller species*”<sup>49</sup>; an observation further reinforced by the arrival of marine biology experts who warned about fish decline if fishing practices were not restricted: “*After special meetings with the Bulis of all Provinces, all agreed that some form of protection was needed, and I instructed them to discuss the matter at their district councils and to impress upon their people that in the opinion of experts on the subject, there was a fear of fish becoming extinct at the present rate*”.<sup>50</sup> In these documents, discussions revolved around the nature of fishing restrictions that could be implemented to ensure that fish supply is maintained for local subsistence (i.e. “*for the conservation of a valuable food supply*”<sup>51</sup>) as well as for commercial purposes.

From there, various ‘management’ measures were discussed by various colonial officials during several Provincial meetings:

- the restriction of fishing tools like spears and ‘Submarine’ goggles – “*It was quite possible for Fijians to completely clear the pool of fish by spearing and the use of goggles*”<sup>52</sup> ;
- the enactment of minimum fish sizes or weights to avoid catching immature fish – “*It would appear to be practical to bring in a native regulation that no ika droka [freshwater fish] under 9” in length should be speared*”<sup>53</sup> ;
- the creation of temporary or seasonal closures, and the delimitation of sanctuaries or what can appear today as marine protected areas – “*I consider it advisable to prohibit all fishing in*

---

<sup>47</sup> “*The main objective of the Bill was the protection of fish*”, Preparation meeting for the Bird Game and Fish Ordinance, “Licenses to shoot imported or native game”, March 19<sup>th</sup> 1923

<sup>48</sup> Most of these documents are letters and reports (of meetings of District or Provincial councils, or of Native Councils) from colonial officials and iTaukei Fijian leaders. Some of these documents are in iTaukei Fijian (e.g. what a district Buli, the government-appointed district chief, has concluded out of Native Councils) and are presented in archives with a colonial translation that haven’t been checked.

<sup>49</sup> Letter from the District Commissioner of Nadroga and Colo West to the Colonial Secretary, February 2<sup>th</sup> 1922

<sup>50</sup> Letter from the Colo East Provincial Commissioner to the Colonial Secretary, October 19<sup>th</sup> 1921

<sup>51</sup> Report of the Legislative Council of March 12<sup>th</sup> 1922

<sup>52</sup> Letter from the Governor to the Colonial Secretary, September 20<sup>th</sup> 1921

<sup>53</sup> Report of the Legislative Council of March 12<sup>th</sup> 1922

*certain portions of streams in order to provide sanctuaries for the protection of fish, I regard this as the only practical method or procedure for the preservation of safe spawning grounds for the fish”*<sup>54</sup>

- the restriction of net mesh size – “*by regulating the size of the mesh of fishing nets, something might be done towards conserving the supply of fish for the town of Suva”*<sup>55</sup> ;
- the prohibition on the use of dynamite and *duva* (root of the derris plant, *Derris trifoliata*, used as fish poison) to fish – “*a pernicious habit of some Fijians, that poisons fish both small and large”*<sup>56</sup>;
- the ban on some ‘kinds’ of fish like mullet.

These documents present little technicality and consist mostly in opinions of the respective officials dispersed around Fiji, based on their fishing experience and their relations with iTaukei Fijian fishers. Interestingly, we see that the range of fishing management instruments (i.e. size, species, temporal, spatial or tool restrictions) proposed is at the image of what still exists in contemporary coastal fisheries management. Beyond the nature of the instruments deployed, three main debates strike as the central matters of these discussions over fisheries management:

(1) Colonial documents indicate an internal debate on whether too much fishing (not yet called ‘overfishing’ at that time), can occur and affect fish supply and imperil food security. In a Legislative Council report of 1922, several officials such as the Secretary of Native Affairs doubt that overfishing could occur in practice: “*There is no necessity for any restriction upon the catching of fish throughout the Colony. [...] The number of fish taken for food or sale makes practically no difference to the fish supply. [...] To prohibit the type of net used by the natives would mean a loss to the Fijians and would not have any appreciable effect on fish supply*”.<sup>57</sup> Some are conversely convinced that overfishing is happening in some areas, like T.W.A. Barker, a Methodist missionary, who contends that “*the waters round Toberua and Kaba, which a few years ago were particularly good are now, except on rare occasions, hopeless*”. Finally, the Governor settles the discussion based on strategic and political (more than ecological)

---

<sup>54</sup> *ibid*

<sup>55</sup> Letter from the District Commissioner of Nadroga and Colo West to the Colonial Secretary, February 2<sup>th</sup> 1922

<sup>56</sup> Colo North Provincial Council Report 1922.

<sup>57</sup> Report of the Legislative Council of March 12<sup>th</sup> 1922

rationales: “No action should be taken on this question at present. [...] In all part of the world, fish of small size are taken for food purposes and no evidence has been adduced to show that local methods of fishing are reducing the fish supply. [...] With no support from public opinion on the part of the native population, it would prove impracticable to enforce restrictive regulations, which would interfere with long established customs and would be regarded as oppressive”.<sup>58</sup>

(2) There is also a major debate on whether iTaukei Fijians could refrain from fishing and conform to regulations, notably based on the failure of implementing previous restrictions (e.g. for instance on green turtle fishing). Some are skeptical: “No fish is too small to eat for Fijians and no amount of legislation will induce an old woman to return to the water any fish once it has found its way into her basket. When it comes to carrying into effects such regulations, the obstinate adherence to old customs and privileges would render them nugatory. The vast majority of Fijian men and all the Fijian women<sup>59</sup> much prefer a goose in the hand to any number of golden eggs lying about in the bush for other members of the Mataqali to find them”.<sup>60</sup> Lautoka Provincial Commissioner<sup>61</sup> opposes that, on the contrary, “the natives appear to be keenly interested in the preservation of the fish”. The Governor finally agrees with the latter opinion: “I feel sure that the natives themselves will realize the inadvisability of killing the goose that lays the golden egg and will be as anxious as the Government to protect an adequate food supply”.<sup>62</sup> In these documents, the repeated association of coastal fisheries to a ‘goose that lays the golden egg’ hints at the capitalistic mindset and ideology of colonial officials which involves the necessity to ‘preserve’ the resource for the capitalization of the benefits it provides (i.e. probably economic as well as in terms of subsistence of the working population) – what I refer to later as a proto-sustainable development logic.

---

<sup>58</sup> Letter from the Governor to the Colonial Secretary, September 20th 1921

<sup>59</sup> Although I find this distinction between men and women Fijian fishers surprising and intriguing, I do not have the answer on what is meant by this precision of the Lautoka Provincial Commissioner: whether it is related to specific practices (e.g. the fishing of small fish), the propensity to fish more quantities from the shore, or to a characteristic of Fijian women according to colonials.

<sup>60</sup> Letter from the District Commissioner of Nadroga and Colo West to the Colonial Secretary, February 2<sup>nd</sup> 1922

<sup>61</sup> Provincial Commissioners cited here are typically British Officers, but they are accompanied from 1923 by a ‘Native Commissioner’ (Ali 1977)

<sup>62</sup> Report of the Legislative Council of March 12<sup>th</sup> 1922

(3) Finally, several Provincial Council reports display a wide range of opinions regarding the level of decentralization adequate for the coming *Bird Game and Fish Ordinance*. For instance, during Provincial consultations in 1921, the Kadavu Commissioner argues that “*everything possible should be done to assist in preservation of fish*”, while the Macuata Commissioner argues that “*no law is necessary, the matter is to be left with the people*”.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, these consultations also encouraged Provincial and District commissioners to “*obtain the views of natives themselves in this question and ascertain whether it is probable that discussions of the question would result in the voluntary adoption by the natives of regulations to prevent the waste of fish*”.<sup>64</sup>

After this phase of policy preparation which has been central in the constitution of Fijian coastal fisheries management, it is only in the 1940s that a new phase of policy-making is undertaken with the *Fisheries Act 1942*<sup>65</sup> which arose out of the different fisheries ordinances put in place since the 1890s. Beyond the preservation of fish, the main intention behind the Fisheries Act appears to be this time the protection of rural subsistence livelihood. Indeed, the Fisheries Act provides iTaukei Fijians with additional instruments to protect local stocks of food-fish and shellfish from Fijian and non-Fijian commercial fishers (Adams 1998). Moreover, one of the most important enactment of the Fisheries Act is perhaps that it renders the taking of fish for commercial purposes in Fiji’s waters (which includes *iqoliqoli*) without a license as a punishable offence (Section 10, Fisheries Act, Chapter 158). It provides *qoliqoli* owners with subsistence withdrawal rights, but oblige all commercial fishers to acquire a license that may specify fishing restrictions (within a demarcated area or for certain species).

### **3.1.3. Developing commercial coastal fisheries: entrepreneurship and subsidization**

We have seen in section 3.1.1 that the strong support of Fijian chieftaincy by the colonial administration contributed to shape a form of customary communalism (understood as Davie as a form of communitarianism developed by British colonial authorities) that froze previously fluid relationship modalities and installed unequal land distribution, both among iTaukei Fijians

---

<sup>63</sup> *ibid*

<sup>64</sup> *ibid*

<sup>65</sup> Fisheries Act and Subsidiary Legislation (regulations). Laws of Fiji Chapter 158.

and between iTaukei Fijians and other groups (in particular Indo-Fijians) (Davie 2007). Yet, in the 1900s, a liberal movement promoting individual emancipation and supporting a reform allowing land and resource owners to sell their property rights to the Crown challenged this ‘communal’ vision developed by colonials for the iTaukei population (Davie 2007). This phase can be seen as the debuts of the installation of a developmentalist referential in Fiji.<sup>66</sup> iTaukei Fijians were encouraged to engage in economic activities, leading to a period of erosion of the ‘Fijian way’ (as opposed to the ‘European way’, see Toren 2005). Colonial ‘native policies’ permitted iTaukei individuals to get facilitated access to new economic activities such as commercial fishing. The Great Council of Chief’s influence in rural Fijian life was reduced by colonial administration, and the power of village, district and province leaders diminished. The preserved land tenure system of iTaukei Fijians (that concerned and still concern today 88% of the country’s total land area) presented at that point questionable obstacles to the realization of the country’s rural development. In the 1950s, villagers were once again encouraged to engage in the country’s economic activities. Following the introduction of state development subsidies, rural development mostly expanded after WWII and gave rise to a new era of cooperative enterprises. In a post-war context, and with little room available for industrialization, ‘rural development planning’ became the national priority and environmental management emerged as a necessary step to reach economic development objectives (Overton 1999). In the 1950s, untapped resources of the open ocean became accessible with the introduction of new equipment and technology, chiefly with the development of a pole-and-line fleet. Local commercialization of Fijian fisheries instigated in the ports of Suva and Lautoka which already received ships from North America, Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and other Pacific Island countries (Vunivalu 1957).

State affirmative action<sup>67</sup> for iTaukei engagement in economic activities became even more visible after the independence in 1970, when neoliberal reforms of the new Fijian state

---

<sup>66</sup> A major Fijian figure, Ratu Sir Josefa Lalabalavu Vana'ali'ali Sukuna (Ratu Sukuna) became the voice of a movement that opposed to this developmentalism and that aimed to preserve Fiji’s rural communal system. Opposed to any kind of economic modernisation as well as to ideas of democratization, Ratu Sukuna advocated for the preservation of customary interests and rights of the iTaukei Fijians. He established and led in 1944 the Fijian Affairs Board to repeal previous liberal reforms and reinforced traditional chiefly systems.

<sup>67</sup> Affirmative action refers to an active effort to improve the employment or educational opportunities of members of minority groups and women. In politics, it often materializes in government-backed policies developed to help underrepresented groups get access to new social-economic opportunities.



flourished (Ratuva 2015). Development projects became oriented by ethnic considerations: they aimed to reinforce iTaukei customs and communalism while paradoxically promoting individual emancipation and entrepreneurship (Ratuva 2015). This strategy relies on the idea that the competitive nature of the neoliberal experience could provide iTaukei businesses with new opportunities to thrive and fit with attempts to rebalance the role of iTaukei and Indo-Fijians in economic sectors (Ratuva 2015). Indeed, in 1976, Fiji counted 586 798 inhabitants (a 70% demographic growth compared to 1956), of which 44.3% were iTaukei Fijians and 49.9% were Indo-Fijians (Ward and Chandra 1997). Ratuva explains in details the tensions of the 1970s, with on the one hand the state's ambition to develop a multi-culturalism supportive of neoliberalism and fostering the country's economic development; and on the other hand the loud aspirations of iTaukei Fijians for communal privileges. 'Dual strategies' compatible with the neoliberal reform promoted and driven by international organizations such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF) bolstered this state affirmative action strategy. Such compromise particularly stood out with the development of fishing subsidies in the 1980s. As part of the 'rural development strategy', measures to enhance iTaukei coastal fisheries development were based on the assumption that this rural primary production was already a central activity in iTaukei culture and could thus rapidly thrive, while urban commerce would remain the domain of Indo-Fijians (Ratuva 2015). As part of Development Plan 7 (1976-1980), the emphasis was on the development of small-scale artisanal fisheries through the introduction of motorized craft; improvements in fishing gear and methods; processing of export items; establishment of a marketing and transportation system, ice making, storage plants; and the improvements of landing and berthing facilities at the main fishing centers (Veitayaki 2012).

From there, "*capitalist entrepreneurship operating within the framework of neo-traditional social relations*" (Ratuva 2015:147) formed what Ratuva referred to as a new 'communal capitalism' which objectives (and effects) were to increase the participation of iTaukei Fijians in commercial sectors and notably in industrial fisheries. Such objectives were maintained by the Fijian state under various forms and culminated in 1994 with the *Ten Year Plan for Fijian Participation in Business* (or Ten Year Plan) which openly aimed that "*indigenous Fijians achieve 50% ownership of the corporate sector and other business sectors by the year 2005*" (Qarase 1994:4). This led for instance to the transfer of then government-controlled industries to iTaukei Fijians, as for instance with the Pacific Fishing Company, PAFCO. From the 1980s,

to enter the commercial fisheries sector, individual or groups of fishers could receive subsidies for motorized boats, which permitted numerous fishers to go outside the barrier reef and access new resources.<sup>68</sup> This fast transformation of subsistence activities into commercial ones led small-scale fishers to adapt their practices, knowledge and techniques to new species and new environments.

Under Development Plans 8 and 9 (1981-1990), the Fisheries Division promoted four major fisheries sector programs (**Figure 17**). Two out of the four (1 and 2) concern the inshore resources fishing, which illustrates the importance of the sector at that time (Gillett 2005, Veitayaki 2012). Government policy during that period aimed for the decentralization of artisanal fishing activities through the deployment of infrastructure and extension staff to rural areas. Under the Rural Fisheries Development Program in particular, rural fisheries schemes and fisheries cooperatives were established by the Fisheries Division throughout the country in order to encourage rural fishers to take up artisanal fisheries. However, it is as part of these programs that a number of fisheries development projects failed and led to the multiplication of localized cases of overfishing. According to Veitayaki and also to Gillett, the Fisheries Division revised at the end of the DP9 in 1990 its development ambition: it decided to channel fisheries development to offshore exploitation, to work on improving value of products and to increase investments in aquaculture, all of this with the attempt to release the pressure of inshore fisheries showing signs of decline throughout the country (Gillett 2005 2014, Veitayaki 2012). Consequently, after decades of inshore fisheries development through investments and subsidies, priorities in the 1990s placed more emphasis on management and control of resources and on encouraging fishers to move offshore to preserve the inshore fisheries.

#### **3.1.4. Structuring state administration for the management of resources**

In parallel to this progressive entry of fisheries into the national economy, fisheries management has been since the 1950s increasingly structured into colonial and independent administrative bodies. H. Van Pel of the South Pacific Commission (former name of SPC) visited Fiji in 1954 and recommended the establishment of a fisheries service within the Department of Agriculture. The Department was staffed at the time by a biologist, a technical

---

<sup>68</sup> Similar trajectories occurred around the same time in other PICTs, as documented by Gilbert David in Vanuatu and Isabelle Leblic in New Caledonia (Leblic 1999, David 2018).

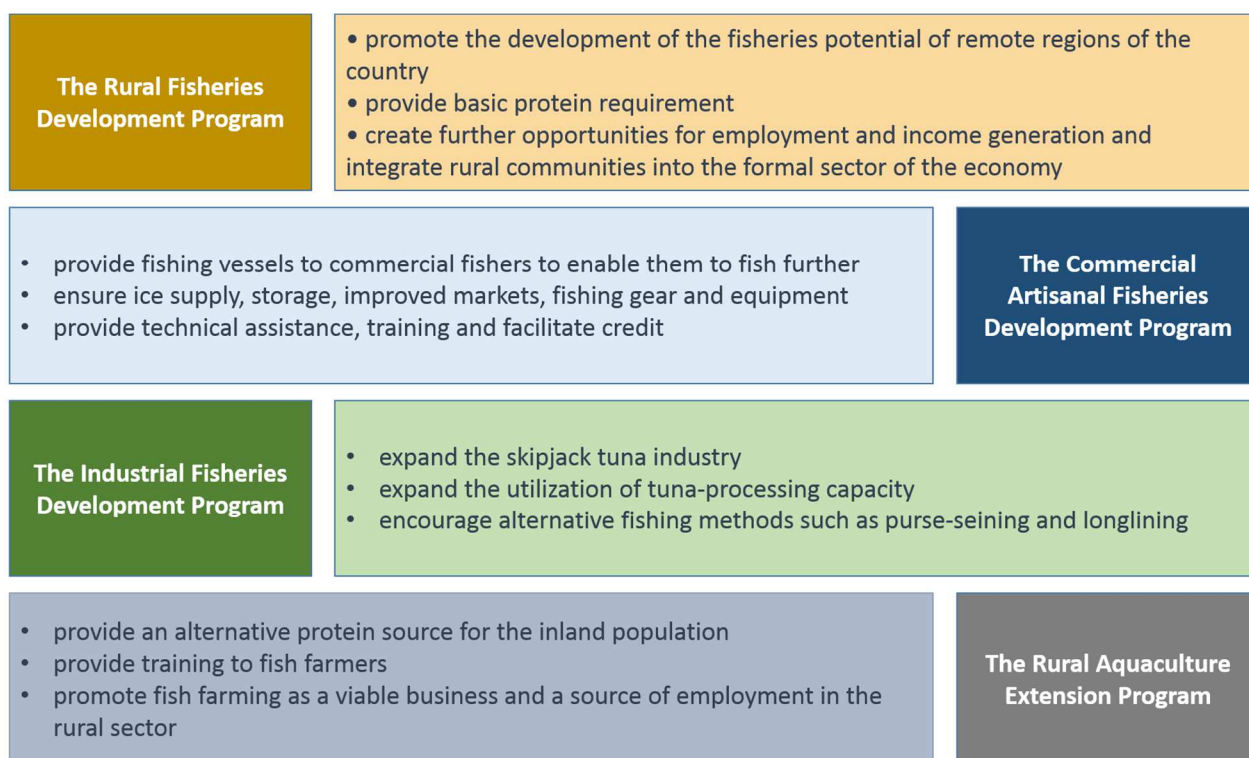
fisheries officer, and three local assistant fisheries officers (Gillett et al. 2014). In the late 1960s a Fisheries Division was organized to be located in the new Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries.<sup>69</sup> After the independence, the will to embrace statehood and national sovereignty led the Fijian Government to further engage in activities that would ensure the economic development of the country, notably with the exploitation of its rich offshore resources. To boost the country's commercial exchanges, it expanded its institutional capacity and developed management strategies. While strategies to make modernized offshore fisheries a cornerstone of national economic development are already visible in the 1960s, fisheries industrialization aspirations epitomized in later Annual Reports of the Fisheries Division of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries: “*Fisheries management will be the emphasis. All development would have a fisheries resource management component tagged along [...] the Fisheries sector has entered into a new era with emphasis to develop its full potential so that more industries could evolve from utilizing these resources” (Fisheries Division 1979:2, my emphasis).*

Later, in 1997, the Fisheries Division still identified “*untapped resources of the sea*” (Fisheries Division 1997:3) and recognized its potential for food security and foreign exchange. This led to the securing of an important governmental support in the form of subsidies as part of the *1998 Commodity Development Framework* (CDF) to fully develop its inshore and offshore fisheries. The CDF reflects the policy change from intervention to deregulation, private sector development and export-led growth (Veitayaki 2012). Diversification becomes the basis of both agricultural and fisheries development in Fiji. The establishment of Rural Fisheries Services Centers (RFSC) in 1999 as part of the Fisheries Department's strategy for rural fisheries development represents one of the most important financial effort of the Fisheries Department in the 1990s, and a clear illustration of state fisheries development efforts (Gillett 2005). It is also around that time that important subsidies were introduced to support new Fijian entrepreneurship. Direct assistance to small-scale fishers was carried out through the provision of free fishing gear and engines, notably for the development of small-scale longline tuna fishing (for US\$332,999 in 2003) (Fisheries Department 2003).<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> That ministry became the Ministry of Primary Industries in 1985 and in 1994 it was re-named the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forests. In 2001 it became a Department within the new Ministry of Fisheries and Forests and finally in 2016 a separated Ministry of Fisheries was created.

<sup>70</sup> In 2005, Gillett deplored the absence of documentation on these one-time grants and warned on the lack of accountability and transparency related to Fisheries subsidies scheme. He contends that this period was also



**Figure 17. Schematic view of the content of programs developed by the Fisheries Division under the Development Plans 8 and 9 (1981-1990)**

Source: adapted and completed from the analysis of Veitayaki 2012.

Tim Adams, Director of Fisheries Department from 1988 to 1992, observed in his 1998 report that “Government fisheries development efforts concentrate mainly on species and methods which are separate from domestic food-fisheries, such as aquaculture, tuna and deep-water snapper fisheries, or export invertebrate fisheries” (Adams 1998:9). This attention has since been regularly put forward as an impeding factor for proper inshore fisheries management (Govan et al. 2013, Gillett 2014, Gillett et al. 2014, California Environmental Associates 2016, Fache and Breckwoltd 2018).<sup>71</sup> In 1999, a review revealed that among the five Pacific island countries considered, Fiji had the lowest staff resource allocated for coastal management (Gillett and Virdin 1999). At that time, few fisheries officers, often poorly resourced, were

---

characterized by the multiplication of affairs of corruption and of conflicts of interests among several state public sectors, but first and foremost in fisheries (Gillett 2005).

<sup>71</sup> The study produced by California Environmental Associates compares the management capacities of governmental services on coastal fisheries and offshore fisheries based on surveillance and enforcement capacity, available data, management plans and policies, public funding etc. This report explicates the various effects, still visible today, of this abandon of coastal fisheries management in the 1990s. I propose to see some of the graphs produced by this study in **Appendix 4**.

dedicated to coastal, small-scale fisheries management, and those were mainly focused on the collection of data all around the country (Gillett et al. 2014). The lack of consolidation of the inshore staff into a proper division, as opposed to the early constitution of an Offshore Division in 2012, was pointed as both a contributing factor and a consequence of the lack of interest for coastal resources by the Fisheries Department (Hand et al. 2005).

***Conclusion of Section 3.1.***

In this section, I explored the premises of colonial and then postcolonial state-led fisheries management. Institutions and legal frameworks have emerged out of colonial attempts to homogenize and formalize iTaukei customary rules and practices, notably through different processes of territorial formalization associated to colonial legal frameworks. This process of construction of coastal spaces was two-fold: it first formalized land territories and considered marine territories only later. The late delimitation of land-sea *iqoliqoli* as well as the late inclusion of fisheries in economic activities testify of the complexity to make coastal fisheries fit into state broader natural resources management efforts. The first attempts to organize fisheries took form with the 1923 Bird, Games and Fish Protection Ordinance. This ordinance discusses not only *how* to do coastal fisheries management but also *who* should be involved in this management or subjected to it. Regarding the *why*, it is to respond to already emerging concerns over the limitedness of the resource. We will see in *Part II.3.2.3* that such concerns re-emerge decades later as the main narrative to legitimate new management practices. Following enterprises of territorial stabilization, the progressive installation of a developmentalist vision as the driving force of management is visible. The liberalization of the 'Fijian way of life' and the inscription of iTaukei Fijians in rural development marked the premises for 1970s and 1980s neoliberal reforms that involved fisheries subsidization. The regime of practices I label as management-as-development, which I further characterize, is largely embedded in this liberalization phase of Fijian fisheries. With this focus on productive fisheries came the progressive relinquishment of coastal fisheries management by state services which limited their regulative action for subsistence, artisanal and even commercial inshore activities to focus on offshore fisheries and aquaculture.

### **3.2. Censuses, licenses, maps: introduction and support of western fisheries management**

In this section, I call management-as-development the regime of practices that emerged out of this growing entanglement of fisheries development and fisheries management, in other words a form of management largely driven by development objectives. Inspired by western fisheries sciences' practices, discourses, institutions and norms which I will now describe, this regime of practices took form based on ambitions to maximize fisheries productivity.

#### **3.2.1. International and regional (financial and technical) support for coastal fisheries development**

International programs for industrial and rural development have represented a mainstay of Fijian fisheries modernization.<sup>72</sup> From the 1950s on, numerous development programs in Fiji and in the rest of the South Pacific largely aimed at expanding and structuring tuna fisheries (see for instance Stephens 2008). Adams (1990) gives a detailed account of donors' support to Fiji's fisheries sector in the 1980s. During this decade, about F\$29.6 million was received from 19 key donors, led by Japan (83% of the assistance), Australia (7%), and New Zealand (2%). Government infrastructure was the most important target area, consuming 83% of the assistance, and fisheries assistance represented from 2% (1983) to 20% (1988) of all assistance received by the Government of Fiji (Gillett 2005). Donor assistance to fisheries during that period more than doubled the amount of Fiji Government operational budget for the sector, but these direct aids then progressively declined from the 1990s, partly due to issues of poor financial management and corruption (Gillett et al. 2014).

While international assistance for fisheries was mainly oriented toward offshore fishing development, a report from FAO outlines that Fiji has also received important assistance for the management of its coastal resources compared to other countries (Hand et al. 2005). Indeed,

---

<sup>72</sup> The role of international development organizations in postcolonial state constructions through the praising of a certain economic vision has been demonstrated in numerous other contexts (Ferguson 1994, Bryant and Bailey 1997, Mosse 2013, Chapman 2016). Whether they explore forest, water, agriculture or fisheries management systems, development studies have extensively shown how external interventions have relied on the installation of techno-scientific networks which diffuse and normalize dominant discourses (see for instance Maxwell and Stone, 2004).

the Fijian Government repeatedly sought the assistance of FAO and other international organizations to develop coastal management strategies (Pita 1996).

However, following controversies over the financial management of international development grants in several countries in the 1980s, assistance was preferably channeled through regional agencies rather than directly to PICTs' governmental agencies.<sup>73</sup> At this occasion, the Pacific Community (SPC), which employed most of fisheries experts in the region, became one of the main recipient for fisheries development aid (Chapman 2016). Formerly known as the South Pacific Commission, SPC was established in 1947 when the six countries (Australia, France, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, New Zealand and the United States of America) administering non-self-governing territories in the Pacific signed the 'Canberra Agreement'. This agreement defined several projects for future PICTs to ensure economic and social welfare of Pacific islanders, among which fisheries held a central place, as shown by SPC's first conference called the '1952 Fisheries Conference'. This conference aimed to discuss activities of catching, processing, transporting and marketing fish, with the aim to develop regional fisheries. From there, PICTs fisheries representatives would regularly meet at SPC conferences to present their national priorities and issues and SPC would make recommendations on future activities and provide technical help and training when needed (Chapman 2016).<sup>74</sup> For instance, at the 1962 SPC conference, SPC provided recommendations to develop more efficient fishing gears and methods to exploit deep-water bottom species, and then between 1970 and 1990, it initiated successive programs to develop outer reef artisanal fisheries, boat building techniques, small-scale tuna fisheries, Fish Aggregating Devices (FADs) and trolling (Chapman 2016). The South Pacific Islands Fisheries Development Agency (SPIFDA) emerged in 1970 from these SPC meetings to specifically take care of coastal fisheries issues. The aim of the SPIFDA was notably to "*coordinate programmes designed to develop and utilise aquatic resources, with a specific reference to reef and lagoon resources; to advise and assist individual territories in the formulation and implementation of development projects*" (Chapman 2016). SPIFDA

---

<sup>73</sup> Some donors actually maintained bilateral small-scale fisheries development projects focusing on the deep-water snapper resource and others more on tuna and the use of moored FADs (Chapman 2016).

<sup>74</sup> Today, SPC works at developing the technical, professional, scientific, research, planning and management capability of Pacific island people. The agency has three main divisions: land, marine, and social. SPC's headquarters are located in Nouméa with a sub-branch in Suva.

actions aimed for instance to increase fishery-related tangibles, usually catches of fish but also items like the building of infrastructure (docks, ice-plants) and boats.

In the 1970s, SPC supported the introduction of a ‘Diploma in Tropical Fisheries’ course at the University of the South Pacific (USP)<sup>75</sup> to equip PICTs’ new fisheries officers and technicians with the necessary skills to work in fisheries development and management according to western standards (Richards 1994). Later, in 1986, a ‘Coastal Fisheries Programme’ was established at SPC and new staff recruited to become part notably of the Inshore Fisheries Research Project (IFRP). In the 1990s, a significant part of SPC’s activities on coastal areas turned to the fishing and processing of sea cucumbers (i.e. Holothurian species, for the beche-de-mer fishery), while the rest still consisted in developing local longline tuna fisheries, fishing on FADs and collecting data through various surveys and monitoring protocols (Chapman 2016).

At SPC, as in USP, fisheries scientists and development experts were at that time, and for many years afterward, predominantly from countries of the global North (mostly Europeans and Australians) and the expertise transmitted to Pacific islanders was part of western tropical fisheries science (David 2018). As in many other contexts in the global South, this prevalence of western knowledge was introduced at the expense of other forms and sources of knowledge and practice, in particular local and indigenous ones. In Fiji and globally, it is only in the 1990s that indigenous peoples’ knowledge<sup>76</sup> began to be acknowledged in official management spheres. SPC’s first information bulletin on “*Traditional marine resource management and knowledge*” was produced in 1992. Prior to these considerations, traditional knowledge had been more often than not disqualified in the face of western ecological concepts and practices. The constitution of state modern fisheries, fueled by international development organizations

---

<sup>75</sup> The University of the South Pacific (USP) is a public research university established in 1968. The university is organized as an intergovernmental organization and is owned by the governments of 12 Pacific island countries: the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu. It is specialized in teaching and research on Pacific culture and environment. The main campus is in Suva, (Fiji) but each member state has a subsidiary campus.

<sup>76</sup> Different typologies have been developed to refer to such knowledge: traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), local ecological knowledge (LEK), indigenous knowledge, local knowledge, local and indigenous knowledge systems, etc. (Roué 2012).



and implemented by regional organizations<sup>77</sup> hands in hands with dedicated governmental fisheries officers, thus took place in relative autonomy from local views and knowledge systems (whether they are iTaukei or those of Indo-Fijians).

### 3.2.2. Fish surveys, fishers censuses, maps: organizing fish and fishers' interactions

The installation and expansion of a management-as-development regime was notably supported by a number of instruments embedded in these western knowledge and practices. For inshore fisheries, the first instrument to be mobilized for the framing of fishing activities is the tracing of *iqoliqoli* boundaries on official maps. We have seen already that the institution of official 'property' rights and boundaries was initiated by colonial authorities in the 1910s-1920s. Starting in the 1940s, and following the reinforcement of customary fishing rights in the 1942 *Fisheries Act*, the colonial iTaukei Affairs Board<sup>78</sup> (TAB) prolonged this territorial strategy and initiated the mapping of customary fishing grounds throughout the country, through consultation and based on legal oaths made by resource owners (Sloan and Chand 2015). This initiative came to fruition only decades later (tracings of *iqoliqoli* boundaries can be visualized on **Figure 18**) but its outcomes have remained debated and unstable as some *iqoliqoli* boundaries are still disputed today (ibid).

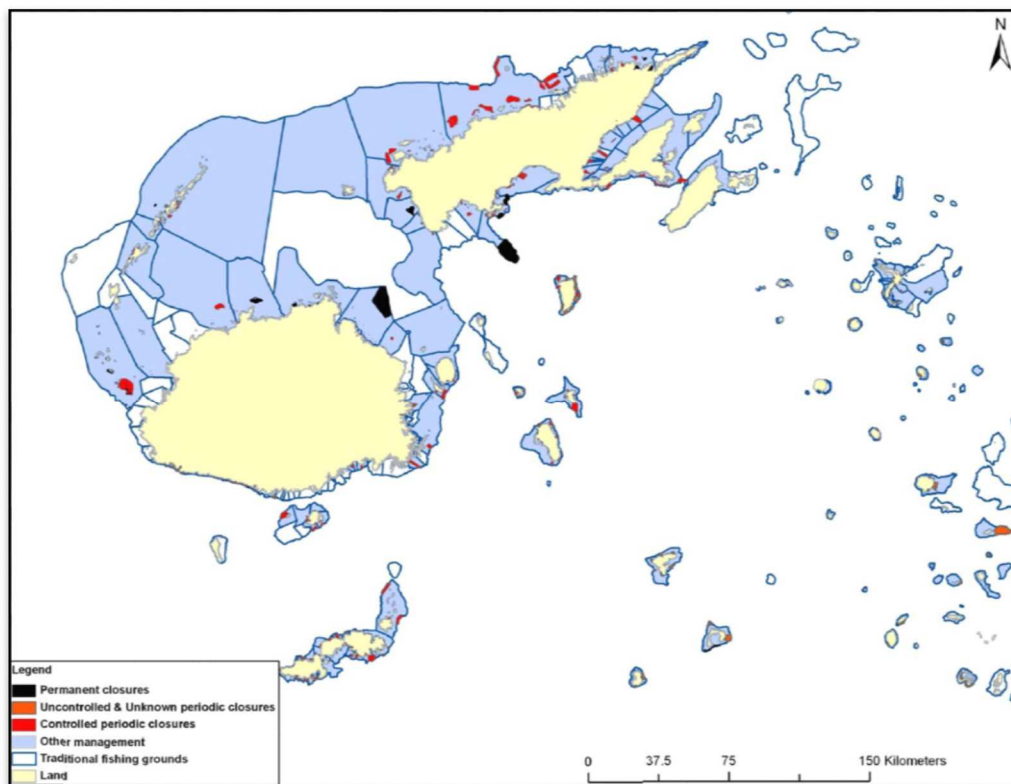
In parallel of mapping efforts, the census of fishers and the categorization of fishing activities also allowed to obtain a clearer picture of national fishing dynamics as well as the geographical repartition of fishing activities (Adams 1993). The need to distinguish and separate subsistence from commercial fisheries for management purposes prompted the establishment of a licensing apparatus for commercial coastal fishers. Commercial licenses allowed to formalize customary permission system (the so-called *goodwill payment*) for fishers to fish for commercial<sup>79</sup> purposes into customary fishing grounds, and, importantly, it also enabled the Government to keep count of commercial fishers (Adams 1993).

---

<sup>77</sup> For instance, the Pacific Islands Development Program (PIDP) was formed in the 1980s to assist Pacific Islands to achieve and sustain equitable social and economic development following decades of colonization.

<sup>78</sup> TAB is still today the statutory body established by the iTaukei Affairs Act that regulates affairs relating to the primacy and representation of iTaukei roles in Fijian society, and it is also the entity who keeps official *iqoliqoli* maps (Sloan and Chand 2015).

<sup>79</sup> This licencing system also includes iTaukei fishers who are holders of customary fishing rights within these *iqoliqoli*, as these rights are only for subsistence fishing.



**Figure 18. Map picturing Fijian iqoliqoli (traditional fishing grounds) boundaries**

Source: K. Ellenbogen (MACBIO 2018:15)<sup>80</sup>

This necessity to keep count of fishers and fish then extended from commercial to subsistence fishers. Fisheries Department's reports testify that between 1982 and 1987, the first 'numerical based' subsistence fishing surveys took place, alongside fish species and length-frequency surveys, initiating the constitution of a massive data collection on Fijian coastal fisheries.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, regular surveys from Australian or New Zealand development aid organizations such as the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) were developed in the 1990s to obtain data on both subsistence and commercial fishing. For instance, Rawlinson and Sharma (1993) identified 8,335 artisanal fishers on Viti Levu (Fiji's largest island), suggesting that small-scale commercial catches were larger than expected by the previous

<sup>80</sup> This map also indicates different types of fishing closures established later by the FLMMA network and local communities.

<sup>81</sup> According to several interviewees, these data were never published and are even today impossible to recover (interviews with a Fishery Officer, Suva 06/2019; interview with a fishery consultant, Suva 06/2019).

statistical system.<sup>82</sup> Resulting from enhanced collaborations between USP's marine scientists and the Department of Fisheries, a national Qoliqoli Marine Resource Inventory Survey (MRIS) was launched in 1992 (pers. comm. with environmental lawyer, 06/2019). This arduous project aimed to address the lack of data on coastal fisheries and to support data-driven management ambitions (Adams 1993, Gillett 2014). The project was rapidly shelved because of the lack of human and financial resources, but was revived in 2002 when the Fiji Locally Managed Marine Areas Network (FLMMA, see section 4.2) offered to help conduct these surveys. Together with the Coastal Fisheries Program of the Department of Fisheries and USP, FLMMA launched a program to collect catch and effort data and to carry out reef fish censuses based on the idea that it would serve to formulate management plans for every *iqoliqoli*. However, poor data management from the MoF's Research Division and lack of continuity, transparency and data-sharing with other supporting organizations (FLMMA, USP) progressively obstructed the longevity and thus the success of the operation (pers. comm. with USP researcher, 06/2019). Moreover, debates were regularly raised both within and outside the Fijian Government on surveys' methodology and robustness. For instance, Gillett questioned: "*Is baseline information useful for the type of management likely to be carried out by the communities? Is there a relationship between the information collected/presented and the management plans produced by the surveys? Are there more useful types of information for management that can be collected?*" (Gillett et al. 2014:34).

Beyond methodological and scientific uncertainties, it is the political dimension of this enterprise that finally led to its relinquishment. Indeed, the initial rationale for national *iqoliqoli* surveys was the potential handover of resource ownership to iTaukei communities, a major political decision which never came to fruition and which constituted one of the main subjects of tension that resulted in the 2006 Coup. Before this major reform could be initiated, the Government declared that comprehensive resource surveys were needed in each *iqoliqoli* for the transition to occur smoothly (Fisheries Division 2002-2003). But finally, discussions on this controversial handover of resource ownership from state to communities was completely

---

<sup>82</sup> Robert Gillett also largely contributed to this quantification work through numerous study that he summarizes in Gillett et al. (2014) and Gillett (2016).

removed from the political agenda and *iqoliqoli* MRIS consequently abandoned (pers. comm. with environmental lawyer, 12/2019).

Data collection on fish as well as on fishers represents a cornerstone of techno-scientific knowledge and practices introduced by foreign fisheries scientists from international organizations (e.g. fisheries companies, regional organizations such as SPC or the Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA)<sup>83</sup> or the PIDP, and international development institutions like the UNDP). Resources attributed to managers for data acquisition and statistics largely increased from the late 1960s onwards, in support of a strategy that aimed to organize commercial and subsistence fisheries out of existing, multifold coastal fishing activities (Ministry of Finance. Central Planning Office 1971). Data on fish stocks and fishing efforts in a delimited area constituted the basis for the elaboration of a fishery's Maximum Sustainable Yield (MSY), one of the most central conceptual tool for scientists wishing to rationally organize fishing activities, first for offshore fisheries and later translated for inshore fisheries (Loring 2017). Data-dependent instruments like MSY have been at the core of fisheries modernizing ambitions, first for industrial offshore fisheries, but it later also infused in small-scale fisheries systems (Adams 1996). Fishers' 'catch and effort' data and fish transect surveys multiplied and these enterprises of data collection on both fish and fishers backed up the production of inshore fisheries licensing system as well as the development of localized resource and habitat-census maps. Data collection represented for this multi-scalar coalition of actors involved in coastal fisheries management a way to make complex societal and environmental systems legible and to operate standardization processes that are key for an efficient government of both humans and non-humans (Scott 1998). Later, these enterprises were also supported by a growing narrative focused on overfishing risks. based on an economic principle that "what gets measured gets adequately managed" (Gillett 2014).

---

<sup>83</sup> FFA was established in 1979 to assist Pacific countries to manage their tuna fishery resources that fall within their 200 miles EEZs. FFA is an advisory body providing expertise, technical assistance and other support to its members who make decisions about their tuna resources and participate in regional decision making on tuna management through agencies such as the Western and Central Pacific Fisheries Commission (WCPFC).

### 3.2.3. From underfished to overfished stocks: ‘overfishing’ narratives in state development plans

We have seen in the first section that the idea that fish stocks could be or not fished out was debated among colonial officials during the 1929 Legislative Council. More than twenty years later, at the 1952 regional SPC Conference, overfishing was presented as an implausible scenario (SPC 1952). For instance, regarding estuarine and mangrove fishes, the report of this event stated: *“in addition to meeting local nutritional needs, the industrialisation of fisheries for export is envisaged, and the rate of development of the fishing effort must be very much greater. As far as is known, development is nowhere limited by the resources”* (ibid:5). However, it mentioned that other fisheries, such as reef fisheries, should be more closely monitored due to already visible evidences of localized overfishing: *“In general, the reef area of any atoll or island is relatively small and the fish stocks are isolated and are not likely to be replenished by migrations. Consequently each area must have a definite limit of yield. In some localities, in the neighbourhood of concentrations of urban population, these resources appear to have been overexploited”* (ibid:5, my emphasis). The installation of limits of yields is presented as the rational response wherever overfishing can occur, testifying of the introduction of MSY-like models in the South Pacific.

However, in the specific case of Fiji’s fisheries, overfishing discourses made their way in official documents only decades later. The 1978 Annual Report of the Fisheries Division of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries contains the first mention of coastal stock declines and the first use of the expression *“overfishing phenomenon”* (Fisheries Division 1979:58). That year, a survey was carried out in 40 villages around Fiji to inquire about changes in subsistence fishing effort and abundance of fish in *iqoliqoli*. 67.5% of fishers declared that subsistence catches had declined over the past five years and that *“when questioned further, 70.4% of the interviewees who had reported declining catch-rates attributed this phenomenon to “overfishing” and that most interviewees denounce the development of commercial fishing as the main cause of this observation”* (ibid:58). Indicating perhaps a certain doubt from authorities that overfishing could occur to that extent, the authors specify that *“it is well known that fishermen are disinclined to advertise any improvement in their catch rates”* (ibid:59). However, in the 1980s and 1990s, reports and papers signaling diverse cases of local

overfishing have multiplied throughout Fiji and for most commercial reef species (Lal 1984, Richards 1994, Gillett and Viridin 1999, Lees 2007, Gillett et al. 2014). Over the years, overfishing became the main threat for fisheries management to circumvent, and little mention of other factors such as urbanization and related habitat destruction and pollution appear in official documents. Yet, *“few Department [of Fisheries] staff appear dedicated to dealing with over-fishing mostly due to a continuing focus on development and increasing production”* (Gillett et al. 2014:4).

Fisheries Department’s Annual Reports from the 1970s to the 2000s confirm the maintaining of a productive focus during that period, but indicate a progressive transition to management strategies more alert to fisheries environmental impacts. From 1979 until 1986, the Fisheries Department contents that coastal fisheries production *“can be greatly increased”*, policies are developed to *“encourage fisheries development for subsistence, commercial and industrial purposes”*, and the main indicator to follow the success of these goals is the number of motorized fishing boats (Fisheries Division 1987:12). The global orientation of the 8<sup>th</sup> National Development plan (1982-1986), which presents the conception of the state’s role in economic and social engineering at that time, was still to *“encourage full exploitation of an abundant natural resource”* (9<sup>th</sup> NDP 1982). In 1996, a clear tide of change is documented: *“Emphasis must now be placed on sustainability and conservation. The division previously had its direction focused towards productions, but is now forced to consider management and conservation issues, due to increased level of over-exploitation”* (Fisheries Division 1996, my emphasis).

As put by Richards: *“the 1990s priorities have clearly shifted from those of the 1980s, with increasing emphasis on management and control of resources and acknowledgment of a need to encourage fishermen to fish offshore so as to preserve inshore resources”* (Richards 1994b:24). In that context, the exercise of managing fisheries consisted in finding and proposing new opportunities to continue to develop fisheries while addressing sustainability and conservation concerns. Overall, this intersection of growing environmental considerations and coastal fisheries development objectives gave rise to a wide range of apparatuses which aimed to *displace* the fishing pressure to new spaces (e.g. offshore, dedicated fishing areas), new species (i.e. pelagic and introduced farmed species like *Tilapia* sp.) and new practices (e.g. FAD fishing, reef ranching, aquaculture).

For instance, the first Fish Aggregating Device (FAD) program was instituted by the Fisheries Division in 1981, with the aim of diverting fishers away from over-stressed lagoon fisheries, and of supplementing reduced supplies of fish to urban markets (Richards 1994). In the 1980s and 1990s, anchored FAD programs grew to become more and more important in terms of financial and human resources mobilized for their design and implementation. While deep snapper, tuna or maimai, the most fished species on FADs, were not typically fished in Fiji, the Government along with SPC developed programs that provided fishers with new gear and training (Chapman 2016).

For a SPC coastal fisheries manager I interviewed, while little results arose from FADs installation, the infatuation it generated could mainly be explained by the fact that FADs benefited at that time from both the ‘conservation’ (of inshore spaces) and ‘development’ (of offshore practices) etiquettes (interview with SPC staff, Nouméa 11/2019). For Gillett and Virdin (1999), these alternatives to coastal fishing activities (FADs, aquaculture, offshore fishing, or deep-slope fishing) have not been successful in reducing harvesting pressure on coastal resources, therefore constituted at that time a mere ‘distraction’ from more complex management measures such as licensing enforcement and species protection. We see that, as part of the framing of the overfishing issue, technicality and economic rationality remained central. Prescriptions to solve overfishing threats were presented as merely a matter of quantifying and calculating limits or finding technical alternatives, thus legitimizing the maintaining of fisheries experts’ intervention as well as their contribution to the shaping of what management was about. As part of the management-as-development regime, this scientific and technical approach to overfishing<sup>84</sup> aimed at rationalizing fishing activities in order to implement fishing restrictions without impeding national development objectives.

---

<sup>84</sup> This approach to overfishing largely eluded various socio-ecological drivers of overfishing that have since been highlighted by anthropology studies which have contributed to put forward the manifold facets of overfishing in the view of iTaukei Fijians (see for instance Breckwoldt 2007; Nolet 2018; Fache and Pauwels 2020).

***Conclusion of Section 3.2.***

This section showed that, based on a legal and institutional heritage from British colonial era, fisheries management was after the independence increasingly entrusted to a state-science coalition constituted of international organizations and fishery science experts who trained and partnered with Fiji's Fisheries Division. This coalition promoted modern technicalities and presented the country's abundant marine resources as a pivotal piece to achieve economic development goals through coastal fishing activities. In this techno-scientific regime, first deployed for offshore resources and later translated to fit with coastal fisheries, data became the main decisional factor, assuming the universal relevance of management discourses and western knowledge, and thus legitimating the continuation of western intervention (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson 2006). International development funds, regional development organizations, maps and data, MSY models, quotas, fisheries scientists, exploitable fish, licenses, subsidies constitute heterogeneous elements gathered under the management-as-development regime of practices by this development coalition, i.e. a form of management at the service of (state and international) development goals.

The progressive emergence of the overfishing narrative in management plans can be seen as having reinforced more than challenged the necessity to focus management endeavors on data acquisition and on an increased surveillance of both fish and fishers. From a "*development [that] is nowhere limited by the resources*", the 1990s see the transition to a management for which "*priorities have shifted*" (Richards 1994:24). This constitutes a major turning point in the way to conceive fisheries management, from a regime that aimed to achieve national development goals to a regime of practices that will produce new limits for fishers and new restrictions on fish-fishers modes of interactions.

### **3.3. A management-as-development to make fish and fishers legible and productive**

We have seen that actors involved in management have mobilized, throughout the period considered in this chapter (1870-2000) different ideas of *what* should be managed, *how*, and *why*; which correspond to different modes of qualification of fish and fishers, and to different problematizations of fisheries activities.

At the end of the nineteenth century first colonial environmental management endeavors took the form of land reserves to allow long-term exploitation of natural resources therein (i.e. timber



and sugarcane). Soon after, in the marine realm, first overfishing concerns arose from Fiji's Provinces, generating debates on how to best avoid '*killing the goose that lays the golden eggs*'. This first phase (1880-1930) of management can be put in perspective with what Rodary identified as a proto-sustainable development (Rodary 2008). Indeed, long before the global 'sustainable development' turn, these discussions and the early management framework they generated (e.g. 1923 Bird, Games and Fish Protection Ordinance) constitute pioneer 'environmental politics' that are based on a *patrimonial view of nature* and the need to *ensure long-term exploitation* (Rodary 2008). Proto-sustainable development measures defended the sustainable use of resources while preceding modern exploitation-conservation tensions: the colonial administration's attention to finding a balance between exploitation and conservation shows that if it attributes a value to certain forms of 'nature', it does so for *efficiency* and *long-term planning* goals.

From the 1940s, fisheries industrialization unfolds first in Viti Levu and then in other islands, accompanied by neoliberal reforms and rural development objectives. New modalities of state environmental management put forward norms and values that relate mainly to economic, scientific, technical and social '*progress*', leaving more and more behind environmental externalities as matters of concern. At that time, fisheries management integrates a broader political agenda that aim for a national development, supported by multi-sectoral strategies and promoted by international organizations. Characteristics related to performativity, long-term planning or reliability constitute core values of the management-as-development regime. In the belief systems of actors of the development coalition participating to and implementing this regime of practices, value is attributed to efficient, functional, reliable, controllable, and operational (in other words, governable) processes and entities. Evidence must fit within experimental sciences, statistics, measures and cause-effect deductions. After the neoliberal turn, commodification and marketization of resources become central elements for the actors of the development coalition, and competitiveness and freely circulating goods and services become additional guiding principles for management-as-development.

Modernity is a central driver of management-as-development, and this is visible in the way this regime of practices shears fisheries (first offshore and then inshore) of its social attachments to make it a "*purified object of scientific reflection, exploration and exploitation*" (Whitehead et

al. 2007:33). Indeed, to render fisheries legible and manageable also requires to develop fisheries models in which the socio-political dimensions of fisheries management are distinguished from their ecological dimensions, and to make both human and fish behavior either standardized or invisible (Loring 2017). Such separation between the socio-political and the ecological is constitutive of fishery sciences, a discipline tightly associated to western fisheries management activities since its inception (see *Part I.1.2.1.d.*). Constructed on the link between biological resources (e.g. stock, population...) and extractive human activities (e.g. techniques, fishing effort...), fishery sciences have been fueled by bio-economic fields which tend to 'biologize' fisheries activities (De La Croix and Mitroi 2020). In various contexts, this knowledge is at the service of a managing administration: fishery experts define stocks and potential exploitation rates that state institutions implement and enforce. The association of the two is then presented as a solution to restrain fishers from their ineluctable trend towards stocks depletion (Hardin 1968). With different degrees of institutionalization depending on contexts, this knowledge-power regime tightly frames the essence of fish (natural) and fishers (social) relations, for instance through MSY calculations that epitomize modern fisheries management. As Scott (1998) recognizes, the gathering of this fisheries knowledge within state laboratories, government departments, and various other 'centers of calculation', involves the production of a highly simplified 'nature', abstracted from its geographical, historical, political and social context, and without recognition of local worldviews. This gathering of standardized knowledge about 'nature' through complex webs of institutional arrangements and technological devices is also at the core of the modern state's centralisation ambition (Whitehead et al. 2007). It serves to frame what is to be governed, and to ensure the ordered government of people (i.e. fishers), non-humans (i.e. fish) and territories (i.e. *iqoliqoli*) through various techniques and tactics. This simplified and to-be-governed nature is shorn of all the things that do not interest managers and decision-makers (e.g. unexploited marine species, species habitats), delimiting a domesticated and profitable nature for which the state has governmental responsibility and a 'wild' nature for which it does not.

Purified from social, political, cultural aspects, management models offer very little room for local idiosyncrasies. In the case of Fijian coastal fisheries, incommensurability between iTaukei and western forms of knowledge occurs notably because of the various socio-political meanings and values fisheries hold for iTaukei Fijians beyond their economic worth. For instance, Fache

and Pauwels have documented how, for iTaukei Fijians, fish stock status don't solely rely on ecological and economic dimensions of fishing activities, but also relates to the relational dynamics and the sociocultural, spiritual, and political balance within and between human groups (Fache and Pauwels 2020). Socio-political, spiritual, and ontological elements inherent to iTaukei relation to the sea and to its inhabitants, as well as associated knowledge on fish and fisheries, were discarded from the management-as-development regime. The a-social vision of modern fisheries management established from the 1960s thus strikes with the connectedness and all-encompassing essence of the *vanua* philosophy of iTaukei Fijians in which human-sea and human-fish relations hold a central place.

In most Pacific islands, land is perceived as much more than mere geographical properties or physical substance and is often closely related to communal identities and linked to notions of personhood through spiritual and ritual practices. In Fiji this relationship is comprised in the concept of *vanua*, which is at the core of the entire iTaukei Fijian social structure. Literally this term may be translated to mean land or place, but as an indigenous concept it holds much wider meanings, socially, culturally and spiritually as well as politically (Nabobo-Baba 2006). It refers to groups of people who recognise social or political allegiances and their relationship to the land and thus embodies a wide range of social connections between people in a particular place. The relationship between Fijians and their *vanua* is all-encompassing, it is anchored in “a wide and healthy network of relationships” demarcated by one's communally owned land (Nabobo-Baba 2006:74). To belong to a *vanua* thus guarantees individuals the access to and use of land and sea resources for subsistence, based on the function they exercise in the society (Clark 2008). But the *vanua* holds another dimension, as it is understood to incorporate matters of chieftaincy, as well as more recently, the Christian church. Rutz (1995:75) contends that, different forms of power - the way of the church' (*vakalotu*), 'the way of kinship' (*vakaveiwekani*), 'the way of chiefs' (*vakaturaga*), 'the way of the land' (*vakavanua*) - became during colonization times an 'ontology of tradition' epitomized by the expression *vakavanua* (i.e. Fijian way of life).

The silencing of the multi-faceted interplay between fishing activities and community dynamics experienced by Fijians (both iTaukei and of Indian descent) is telling of how modern management participated to separate 'natural' and 'cultural' dimensions of fisheries in Fiji.

Perhaps this asocial vision should be related to the fact that fishery science models fueling MSY-like management were first designed for industrial offshore fisheries. Offshore spaces were then conceived as a world free of human societies, a view which also failed to acknowledge the relations between Oceanians and the Ocean (Steinberg 2001). The transfer of management practices from offshore to inshore fisheries could then be seen as having participated to erase the complex socio-political web in which small-scale fisheries were/are embedded.

### Conclusion of Chapter 3

In this chapter I have highlighted several phases that have structured the construction of sets of institutions, norms and practices dedicated to manage fish and fishers in Fiji throughout the twentieth century:

- **1880-1940:** proto-sustainable management of natural resources – first discussions on how to manage fish and fishers and on adequate governance system
- **1940-1950:** premises of offshore fisheries industrialization – import of western standards
- **1950-2000:** subsidies and then neoliberal reforms to develop coastal spaces – structuration of the development coalition and its management-as-development regime

I have shown that ‘modern’ fisheries management epitomized in post-independence fisheries industrialization enterprises, but that it finds its roots in colonial times, with a territorial management strategy that institutionalized (and thus homogenized) customary tenure and rights systems. Beyond discussions on *how* to manage, the first colonial fisheries management moments are characterized by three main debates on (1) the possibility of ‘overfishing’ aquatic resources, (2) the feasibility of implementing any restrictions that iTaukei Fijians will comply with, (3) the most adequate level of decentralization. After the independence in 1970, a multi-scalar development coalition (constituted of state agencies, regional fisheries scientists, international development organizations, etc.) introduced various techno-scientific apparatuses based on censuses, licenses, maps and ecological surveys that helped managers frame and organize coastal fishing activities. The coalition imported new managerial rationalities to

organize the exploitation of marine resources in support of the economic development of the country. I have called management-as-development the regime of practices that have emerge from these enterprises so that state's economic development objectives could be achieved.

As part of the management-as-development regime, fish and fishers are qualified as potentials for economic profitability, in ways that they can take part in economic development goals. Exploitable fish are progressively modeled and simplified by fishery science models to become proper (natural) *resources*, while fishers are (economically, through subsidies) encouraged to take part in the exploration thereof. Non-exploitable fish and other marine life in general are made invisible as they do not play a role in this regime. As the categories of artefacts through which this management occurs (e.g. laws, scientific models, new technologies) evolve, fish and fishers' relation is constantly redefined but they are maintained within these modes of qualification.

Following the first considerations of overfishing effects by the government in the late 1970s, coastal fisheries activities become problematized as a field needing careful control to remain productive while avoiding overfishing issues, i.e. to govern fish and fishers so that they remain within that tight frame. Far from challenging the previous regime based on quantification and commodification, narratives focused on overfishing risks reinforced it, based on an economic principle that 'what gets measured gets adequately managed'. Yet, as the overfishing discourse reinforced, state fisheries services became in the early 1990s "*forced*" to progressively engage in a transition to fisheries management policies and practices more alert to fisheries environmental impacts. Adjustments were made in state planning to mitigate previously unequivocal development objectives. However, during the time period that interests us, only mere "distractions" (e.g. aquaculture, FADs) were proposed as new management measures. The beginning of the 'environmental' change of tide coincides with the Fisheries Department's overall abandon of coastal fisheries management tasks to focus on industrial, offshore fisheries. We will now see how a coalition constituted by non-state actors entered the field of coastal fisheries management to deploy an alternative model based on conservationist and localist discourses.



## Chapter 4. Management-as-conservation to protect coastal fisheries with community-based management

In this chapter, I explore the constitution of a fisheries management and governance regime that has offered, since the mid-1990s, an alternative to state-led fisheries management endeavors described in Chapter 3. Since the 1980s, worldwide, calls for such alternative regimes have multiplied, suggesting to reintegrate oft-separated spheres in fisheries management, and to design fisheries governance models that simultaneously meet the needs of local population in terms of food security and livelihood, and respond to various ecological challenges. In Fiji, as in many other places in the world, the rise of diverse environmental concerns generated institutional, ideological and technical interrogations that led new stakeholders (e.g. conservation NGOs, conservation donors, associations, local communities and authorities, universities and private operators) to gain legitimacy in numerous sectors (e.g. agriculture, forestry, wastewater, fisheries). This chapter looks more specifically at the installation in Fiji of a community-based fisheries management (CBFM) regime by conservation actors (funders and NGO practitioners). It seeks to unravel the respective role and influence of conservation actors, local groups, researchers and state agencies in this initiative.

In the Fijian archipelago, since the late 1990s, most community-based fisheries management efforts have been funneled through the Fiji Locally Managed Marine Areas network (FLMMA<sup>85</sup>), a coalition of actors whose main achievement was the promotion and installation of Locally Marine Managed Areas (LMMAs). In a FLMMA guidebook, a LMMA is defined as *“an area of nearshore waters and coastal resources that is largely or wholly managed at a local level by the coastal communities, land-owning groups, partner organizations, and/or collaborative government representatives who reside or are based in the immediate area”*

---

<sup>85</sup> This chapter focuses on the 1990-2010 period during which FLMMA was created and then expanded after concerted efforts by FLMMA partners to spread the CBFM approach. Discussions with interviewees were purposely focused on this period in order to better understand more recent changes which are exposed in the next chapters. Therefore, interview extracts and analyses do not necessarily represent the views of FLMMA members on the more recent work of the network.

(Govan et al. 2008:7). After several decades of existence, it is clear that LMMAs represent the main tool that have been deployed to implement CBFM in Fiji.

Fijian CBFM initiatives under the FLMMA network have inspired a wide range of scholars and is often locally and internationally accompanied by a ‘conservation success-story discourse’ (Veitayaki et al. 2003, Leveridge 2009, Fache and Breckwoldt 2018). Scholars have also for instance investigated scale-related issues of marine management and the articulation of the LMMA model with larger-scale models (Hastings et al. 2012, Sievanen et al. 2013); or the collection and integration of local ecological knowledge (LEK) for CBFM purposes (or lack thereof) (Veitayaki 2002, Vunisea 2002, Breckwoldt 2007, Hastings et al. 2012, Fache and Pauwels 2020). Researchers have explored the institutional (Sano 2008, Berthold 2016), financial (Ison et al. 2018), and legal (Muehlig-Hofmann 2008, Sloan and Chand 2015, 2016, Berthold 2016, Fiji Environmental Law Association and EDO NSW 2017, Ison et al. 2018) aspects of the FLMMA institution. Other authors have produced literature on the evaluation of socio-ecological outcomes of LMMAs and the formulation of recommendations in terms of management practices and policy-making (Aalbersberg et al. 2005, Govan 2009, 2015, 2018, Govan et al. 2009, Weeks and Jupiter 2013, Jupiter et al. 2017). Fache and Breckwoldt (2018) have provided a valuable overview of past and current dynamics in the FLMMA approach and have shown that the articulation between conservation and extraction of marine resources, as well as between short-term and longer-term objectives, have constituted - and remains today - a complex issue for the network. Finally, Leveridge (2009) demonstrated how some (mis)conceptualizations of epistemological and ontological understandings of the iTaukei worldview and community have had detrimental consequences for management effectiveness.

Yet, numerous questions that touch upon interrelated political, instrumental and ethical dimensions of the management regime produced by FLMMA have remained overlooked in scientific literature. Moreover, most studies tend to focus on CBFM with a localized entry point or, on the contrary, to analyse governance regimes from more theoretical perspectives to construct ‘aboveground’ good-governance frameworks. This creates a scalar gap which limits research practical outcomes (Sievanen et al. 2013). Analyzing in a connective way global orientations of natural resources management, multi-scalar processes to implement them in a given context, and negotiations that ensue between the diversity of actors involved, allows for



a more holistic comprehension of natural resources management regimes. As I demonstrate in this chapter, conservation actors, discourses and practices have been pivotal in the shaping of FLMMA and of its vision of coastal fisheries management. This justifies that I summon again the concept of regime of practices, to broaden the conceptualization of the ‘FLMMA approach’ and to consider the broader ensemble of heterogeneous objects such as discursive and non-discursive practices, of material and immaterial productions, and of humans and non-humans who have played a role in its constitution and development. All of those form what I refer to in this chapter as the management-as-conservation regime of practices.

In this chapter, I thus question to what extent, and how, management-as-conservation, through the CBFM proposition, has transformed fisheries management in Fiji. To what extent does it reconfigure practices and discourses and transform political, instrumental and ethical facets of coastal fisheries management? Firstly, I present several important introductory elements on the conservation sector’s interest in community-based approaches in the South Pacific and in Fiji. Secondly, I describe the formation of the FLMMA coalition and how it shaped a management-as-conservation regime of practices around a new instrument: Locally Managed Marine Areas. Finally, in an attempt to further characterize this regime, I interrogate the hybrid and (re)connective nature of this proposition.

## **4.1. The constitution of a Fijian conservation coalition on CBFM matters**

### **4.1.1. Tourism and philanthropy: the introduction of conservation norms and practices**

#### **a. The necessary protection of interlaced natural and cultural ‘Fijian heritage’**

Although several environmentalist discourses and policies can be traced back before the independence, concerns over the protection of the national heritage became more visible with the *National Trust of Fiji Ordinance* by the Legislative Assembly under the Colonial government during its last month of existence in September 1970. It founded the National Trust of Fiji (NTF), a statutory body funded jointly by the Fijian Government, independent donors and multi-lateral projects to provide for the protection of Fiji's natural, cultural and national heritage after the independence. The NTF remained for several decades mainly

engaged in activities to conserve a couple of endemic species (crested and banded iguanas, Fiji's petrel) and to administer two terrestrial parks (Sigatoka Sand Dunes and Waisali Reserve).

After Fiji's independence in 1970, these discourses in favor of the preservation of the 'Fijian heritage' progressed, supported notably by tourism actors<sup>86</sup> wishing to promote Fiji's marine and terrestrial biological richness. The massive growth of the tourist industry partook to a large extent to the rapid urbanisation of Fijian coasts, and visibly became a source of pollution and habitat destruction, while it also created a major demand for fish (Lees 2007). A UNDP/World Bank study commissioned in 1972 produced a report on *Tourism Development Programme for Fiji* which recognised the “*danger of tourism's physical development detrimentally changing the attractive character of Fiji's natural heritage*” and recommended the enactment of six terrestrial national parks and two large terrestrial reserves (Lees 2007:58). That same decade, tourism operators began to deal directly with customary land owners with promises to provide new opportunities for incomes as well as innovative resource protection programs. In the early 1970s, at least six small protected areas were developed by Fijian local communities as part of tourism services (Lees 2007).

A few years later, in 1977, UNESCO's Man and Biosphere (MAB) program installed in Fiji to help build “*a lasting equilibrium between man and the environment*” (UNESCO/UNFPA MAB 1977:7). While the results of this program were never subsequently integrated into Fiji's planning, we can assume that it contributed to diffuse a certain vision of nature conservation for both terrestrial and marine environments, in which human-'nature' relations must improve to find this equilibrium. In the 1980s, what then became labelled as ecotourism thrived in Fiji and diffused discourses aligned with such vision in the way it promises the preservation of both cultural and natural heritages (Korth 2016). In 1988, 15 additional forest areas became protected after an evaluation made by a New Zealand NGO demonstrated that these areas would be more valuable to Fiji for tourism purposes than for logging exploitation (Maruia Society 1989).

---

<sup>86</sup> Fiji has been arguably among the first Pacific Island countries to embrace mass tourism, with the development of the Suva Tourist Board as early as 1923 and the later extensive foreign investment that led to a tourism boom in the early 1960s.

In the early 1990s, the Fijian Government recognised tourism as a possible mechanism for establishing national parks and nature reserves, both terrestrial and marine, and engaged for the first time in international environmental action with the signing of the World Heritage Convention in 1991 and of the Convention on Biological Conservation in 1992. Of course, international conservation NGOs also played a significant role in this transition process that led the Fijian Government to temper its development agenda.<sup>87</sup> However, because of the limited attention these NGOs paid at that time to coastal and marine environments, and to the activities taking place in these environments, it appears that in the 1990s, the tourism sector participated in raising the voice on marine conservation matters to convince the Fijian Government to engage specifically in environmental politics and to start revising previous fisheries paradigms in that light. I have summed-up in **Appendix 5** the main policies/laws/moments that relate to the installation of an ‘environmental management’ by colonial or postcolonial authorities or by non-state actors like tourism operators and NGOs.

From the 1970s on to the 1990s, the tourism industry thus played a central role in (1) demonstrating the strategic need for Fiji to protect its natural environment for ecotourism to thrive, (2) interlacing an conservationist ethos with an essentialist, culturalist traditional ethos constructed around the figure of iTaukei Fijians, and (3) bringing marine and coastal areas on the forefront of these processes. These processes have been detailed by Korth (2016) who have shown how this intensive development of ‘ecotourism’ since the 1980s have largely participated in maintaining a communalism in iTaukei communities (notably coastal communities) as well as in introducing western representations of environmental protection throughout Fiji. While ecotourism activities did not properly engage in fisheries management discussions at that time, they constituted a fertile ground in which conservationist discourses first developed.

#### b. Conservation philanthropic donors and NGOs influx

Rapidly these conservationist discourses were appropriated by actors from the international conservation sector. In Fiji, several philanthropic donors, mostly U.S.-based and led by The David and Lucille Packard Foundation (Packard) and the MacArthur Foundation

---

<sup>87</sup> I further develop on the specific role of NGOs in the setting of the conservation agenda in Fiji from the 1980s onwards in Chapter 4.

(MacArthur). These foundations have provided international NGOs like WCS, WWF and CI with critical amounts of funding in the past decades. For instance, between 1992 and 2017, MacArthur funded for about 10 million USD of projects based (not exclusively) in Fiji (both marine and terrestrial-focused, see **Appendix 6** for details). According to Kintisch, since 1998, the Packard Foundation has provided 12 million USD to conservation efforts in Fiji, most of which was dedicated to sustain coastal ecosystems through inclusive and participative approaches (Kintisch 2019).<sup>88</sup>

Hastings et al. (2012) and Lees (2007) have explored the constitution and expansion of the Fijian conservation sector and have put forward how the scientific and technical competences of practitioners (e.g. biologists, ecologists, economists) working in NGOs greatly participated in this expansion. International NGOs became active in Fiji in the 1970s, firstly with Against Tests On Mururoa (ATOM) focused on raising public awareness on the impact of nuclear tests in the Pacific region and on environmental matters more generally, and later with the Foundation of the Peoples of the South Pacific (FSPI, created in 1978), a local NGO advocating for community-based conservation and community empowerment. Respectively in 1979 and 1980, IUCN and WWF installed offices in Fiji to provide technical assistance and promote nature conservation through agreements with Fiji's National Trust Fund (NTF)<sup>89</sup> (see table in **Appendix 5**). In 1980, IUCN (for the technical assistance), WWF and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) helped the NTF to establish a list of 88 proposed natural heritage sites for Fiji and promoted the implementation of 'ecodevelopment' in these areas (Lees 2007). Most of these areas were constituted of entire islands or inland, coastal or mangrove parts of islands, but no marine areas were part of the list. Immediately after its arrival in the region and in Fiji in 1993, Greenpeace is the first NGO to have touched upon fisheries matters by raising the issues of tuna fisheries' impact on oceanic biodiversity, and advocating for the ceasing of drifting net fishing in the South Pacific in the 1990s. In the following decade, several NGOs established offices in Fiji to begin conservation activities and most of them

---

<sup>88</sup> Unfortunately, Packard database does not allow to search for grants provided prior to 2016. As detailed in **Appendix 6**, between 2016 and 2018, Packard provided more than two million US dollars for various beneficiaries including WCS or WWF. In 2013, Fiji became - along with Indonesia - Packard's main funding recipient country in the Pacific.

<sup>89</sup> The NTF is a statutory body funded jointly by the Fijian Government, independent donors and multi-lateral projects, established in 1970 to provide for the protection of Fiji's natural, cultural and national heritage. It is the only National Trust of the South Pacific region.

rapidly orientated their activities on marine environmental issues: Wetlands International (2000), Live & Learn (2000), Seacology (2000), Wildlife Conservation Society (2001), Birdlife International (2002), Conservation International (2005) (Lees 2007). Throughout these few decades, a large part of these organizations and programs engaged in or supported the deployment of a community-based approaches to conservation activities in Fiji, based on the realization that Oceania and Fiji in particular constituted fertile grounds for such practices.

#### 4.1.2. South Pacific and Fiji as fertile grounds for CBFM

In the Introduction of this thesis, I have touched upon the global trajectories of conservation and the origins of the ‘participatory turn’ that globally diverted conservation’s attention from fortress approaches (to an extent that is largely debatable in practice, see Aubertin and Rodary 2011). Globally, participative approaches which claimed to be more integrative of resources-users in decision making and implementation processes thrived from the 1970s, supported by conservation actors who urged for the necessity for local stakeholders to participate in the establishment of natural resources management rules and their day-to-day implementation (Hviding and Baines 1994). Stemming from this participatory turn, community-based approaches supportive of human development and indigenous rights multiplied in the 1980s-1990s to the point that some speculated that it would soon “*be difficult to find rural conservation project that does not define itself as community-based*” (Hackel 1999:5). In marine and coastal environments, projects focused on reef conservation and on the protection of various marine species gave way across all oceans to a proliferation of participative, community-based projects, integrative of local communities’ livelihoods priorities. Among these projects, community-based *fisheries* management (CBFM) enterprises have thrived.

In most PICTs, CBFM became a central management regime, where it often carries the double objective to learn from traditional management practices which survived the test of time and to improve the prospects of people’s compliance to fishing regulations (Veitayaki and Robin South 1998, Johannes 2002a, Muehlig-Hofmann 2008, Pauwels and Fache 2016, Fache and Breckwoldt 2018). Based on decades of multi-disciplinary research and community-based

experimentations (either for development, community-empowering or biodiversity conservation purposes), several scholars have defended the idea that South Pacific Islands present favorable political, social, spatial and cultural features for installing community-based fisheries management (Jentoft et al. 1998, Veitayaki and Robin South 1998, Johannes 2002a, Veitayaki 2002). These works largely put forward the practices that have historically allowed South Pacific Islanders to unfold collective natural resources management approaches based on spatially-defined access and control rights. Customary marine tenure in PICTs (i.e. “*the rights to control access to and actions on one’s traditional nearshore fishing grounds*”, Johannes 2002:320) has consequently been presented as a promising support for the development of community-based initiatives and approached as a potential booster for local communities and individuals’ sense of responsibility and stewardship (Fa’asili and Kelokolo 1999, Johannes 2002a).

In Oceania, various forms of customary leadership coexist based on matrilineal or patrilineal, inherited or merit-based, ritual or spiritual models and often relying a figure of authority such as chiefs or ‘big men’ (Strathern 1993, Johannes 2002a, Breckwoldt 2007, Pauwels et al. 2015, Fache 2019). These support (and are supported in return by) various customary systems, for instance of land and marine tenure, which are today recognized to various degrees by the respective governments, and which are of ultimate importance, socially, politically and individually (Breckwoldt 2007). In colonized PICTs, these systems have been challenged to various extents by the arrival of Europeans and the impact of Christian missions, but have overall remained vivid, especially in areas most isolated from central governments (Lindstrom and White 1997, Pauwels et al. 2015). In Fiji, as detailed in Chapter 3, colonial and independent governments institutionally formalized governance regimes inherited from these customary systems in parallel to the establishment of a parliamentary system, resulting in the co-existence of two political and legal systems (see **Box 4**).

Remits and responsibilities of traditional leaders have ineluctably dwindled with the political independence of Fiji and the following social and economic changes (Breckwoldt 2007). But despite this overall erosion of chiefly power, customary management and chiefly authority have remained of ultimate importance in the shaping of iTaukei communities’ and individuals’ identities. On the other hand, political instability in the young Republic of Fiji (i.e. four coups

d'état in the last forty years, the last one in 2006, and a constitutional crisis in 2009) might have prompted a higher reliance on communal and village levels of governance (Muehlig-Hofmann et al. 2006).

Beyond the strength of local tenure and hierarchical systems, it is the idea that customary practices can align with conservation environmental and political objectives (i.e. biodiversity conservation and participation) that turned Fiji into a fertile ground for conservation-supported CBFM enterprises. Indeed, iTaukei customary practices such as the enactment by customary leaders of *tabu* on spaces, species or on specific (fishing) actions, emerge from local decisions and can be seen as having positive ecological impacts. In particular, the possibility to enact *tabu* areas (i.e. temporary closure of (parts of) fishing grounds) based on vivid customary practices has been associated by conservationists to a potential for the local deployment of conservation's paradigmatic instrument, the marine protected area (Foale et al. 2011). We will see in section 4.3.1 that this association has been controverted in more recent years.

***Conclusion of Section 4.1.***

I firstly showed that the emergence of environmentalist discourses in Fiji is two-folded: (1) based on the development of ecotourism and its promotion of an environmental and cultural conservation ethos and (2) on the installation of international conservation NGOs and donors in Fiji. To complete the sketching of the background in which *management-as-conservation* emerged, I showed that Pacific Islands and notably Fiji in the 1980s-1990s presented favoring socio-political features to develop community-based fisheries management approaches. In particular, Fiji presented spatially-defined access and control rights, a strong customary governance system, and customary practices that could be aligned with conservation practices. Building on these contextual elements, the next section shows how a Fijian CBFM model emerged out of the convergence of these trajectories, with the constitution in the mid-1990s of the FLMMA network.

## 4.2. FLMMA's CBFM: model, stakeholders and instruments

### 4.2.1. Conservation funding for Fijian CBFM: the origins of the 'experiment'

#### a. Multifold origins of conservation's interest for Fijian coastal fisheries

While CBFM initiatives had been promoted and installed before (notably in the 1980s by the Foundation of the Peoples of the South Pacific in Fiji), the international swell for South Pacific CBFM in the conservation arena became stronger in the late-1990s. At that time, both Packard and MacArthur foundations started funding environmental NGOs working in Fiji, most of which rapidly focused on coastal fisheries and on CBFM. Today, most NGOs are also present in other countries of the South-West Pacific (Vanuatu, Samoa, Solomon islands or Papua New Guinea), yet, in the early 2000s, the number of conservation NGOs established in Fiji was all the more striking that these NGOs were not yet intervening in these neighboring countries where conservation and development needs might have been equal or even greater (Gillett et al. 2014). Several factors, summed-up in **Table 5**, explain the sudden interest of donors and international environmental NGOs in Fiji's coastal environments in the late 1990s.

At that time, international scientific research on coral reefs peaked (Duvat 2008), and the Coral Triangle, one of the largest marine biodiversity hotspot on the planet, became the region receiving most marine conservation funding in the world (from donor agencies such as the Asian Development Bank, the Global Environment Facility and USAID, and from World Wide Fund for Nature, The Nature Conservancy and Conservation International) (Fidelman and Ekstrom 2012). According to an interviewee formerly working at Packard, in 1998, the Foundation was still mostly focused on education and health issues in Africa and South America, but initiated a shift to differentiate itself strategically from other donors by focusing on new geographical areas and new societal issues. The Coral Triangle was identified as an area of particular interest and Packard developed the West Pacific Marine Conservation Programme,<sup>90</sup> one of the first large biodiversity conservation programs in the Pacific. The main beneficiaries of this program were firstly countries at the center of the Coral Triangle such as the Federated States of Micronesia, Indonesia, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Malaysia and the

---

<sup>90</sup> In 2012, investments for that sub-program totalled \$55.1 million (The David and Lucile Packard Foundation 2013).



Philippines. Although Fiji was not part of the delimitation of the ‘West Pacific’, their proximity as well as the identification of an appealing conjuncture of ecological, political and cultural features drew the attention of the foundation on the Fijian archipelago.

As clearly stated in a Packard strategy document: “[Fiji’s] *comparatively intact traditional systems of resource management, make it relatively ideal for marine conservation work*” (The David and Lucile Packard Foundation 2013:24). Not only did iTaukei Fijians’ recourse to customary *tabu* constituted an engaging practice for conservationists based on its resemblance with the MPA instrument (Foale et al. 2011), but iTaukei customary marine tenure also constituted a mean to engage directly with in-place, legitimate local authorities. An interviewee from MacArthur Foundation contended that “*when we started in Fiji in 2000, we got interested because of the governance system they had in place with this very unique tenure system. [...] The idea was that we could customize a conservation approach around these systems*” (interview with MacArthur Program Officer, online 12/2020). In parallel, the light presence of the Fijian Government on coastal fisheries and livelihoods matters left room for non-state interventions to take place (see Chapter 3).

**Table 5. Sum-up of the arguments for conservation philanthropic donors to focus on CBFM in Fiji (late 1990s - early 2000s)**

Category of argument	Argument
<b>Ecological</b>	Biodiversity richness and endemism Closeness to Coral Triangle
<b>Political</b>	Existence of local initiatives supported by Fijian and non-Fijian researchers Light state involvement in coastal fisheries management and occasion to fill the gap
<b>Cultural</b>	Recourse to temporary fishing closures ( <i>tabu</i> ) and proximity with MPA instruments Established hierarchy and customary tenure acknowledged by iTaukei Fijians

Finally, local calls and initiatives for CBFM already emerged in some areas of Fiji in the late 1990s, supported by the University of the South Pacific (USP) and FSPI, indicating local interests for assistance in fisheries management (Aalbersberg et al. 2005).

b. **From biodiversity conservation to fisheries management: an experiment**

With a specific dual governance system, pre-existing tools deemed fitted for conservation, and dynamic community initiatives, Fiji constituted for Packard Foundation and other philanthropic donors an interesting set-up to establish multi-sited local conservation projects. This approach is often referred to as the ‘plant a 1000 seeds’ strategy, which was explicated by an interviewee from Packard in the following terms:

*The investment [in Fiji] was to seed a lot of opportunities and see what happened. It was really to provide start-up funds to have groups to engage and see what comes out of it. There was no clear roadmap, and it had never been done before”* (interview with former Packard staff, online 01/2020).

For this other interviewee who worked for the MacArthur Foundation at that time, biodiversity conservation remained the guiding principle of the ‘plant a 1000 seeds’ strategy, but the new focus on coastal fisheries was seen simultaneously as a necessity and an experiment:

*Even though our overarching goal remained biodiversity conservation, we decided to test what became a research hypothesis: under which circumstances can sustainable development, of fisheries by instance, and community engagement produce conservation outcomes? So we shifted, our overarching goal was still coastal marine conservation but it could not be done without thinking about people and their livelihood. So we shifted from a biodiversity centered to a livelihoods and people centered in partnership with conservation, we tried to merge the two together”* (interview with MacArthur staff, online 01/2020).

Assistance to organize key local livelihoods activities such as coastal fisheries was thus perceived as a new potential to produce significant effects on biodiversity conservation. As such, CBFM was presented by this interviewee as a ‘merging’ of two approaches (biodiversity conservation and local coastal fisheries management). But, as in most conservation-driven CBFM endeavors, this merging remained rather asymmetrical as conservation funding’s influence on management norms and practices practitioners remained very visible. This

asymmetry constitute a common inclination of participative conservation projects that this interviewee involved in the Coral Triangle Program pointed:

*If you look at the Coral Triangle Initiative, it was intended as a fisheries management program, but because the funding was coming from GEF, conservation agencies were the coordinating and implementing body. That's why you had little buy in from fisheries agencies. That's the issue with funding streams, like when you are trying to do fisheries management with conservation funds”* (interview with a NGO practitioner, Nouméa 10/2019)

#### **4.2.2. The FLMMA coalition to reshuffle the cards of coastal fisheries governance**

In the 1990s, the Institute of Applied Science (IAS) at USP started to establish several informal partnerships with fisher groups throughout Fiji. The sudden and rapid decline of resources such as *kaikoso* (Ark clam, *Anadara antiquataclam*) have led these groups to seek the assistance of marine researchers (Aalbersberg et al. 2005, Govan et al. 2008). As a result, the rehabilitation of temporary closures within customary fishing rights areas (*iqoliqoli*), based on customary practices of *tabu*, was recommended and accompanied by IAS researchers (IAS 2002). In 2000, those managed to obtain the support of several US foundations and institutes (World Resources Institute, Packard and MacArthur foundations, Foundation of Success) to develop locally managed marine areas (LMMAs, see II.C) and to form a ‘learning network’ with scientists from IAS and newly installed NGOs. Formally established a year later, in 2001, the Fijian Locally Managed Marine Areas network (FLMMA) multiplied partnerships between local communities, USP (especially IAS) and foreign researchers, regional organizations, conservation donors and NGOs (e.g. WCS, WWF, CI, TNC, WorldFish), associations, and government agencies. Since then, it has represented “*the main marine conservation network in Fiji, with all major decisions and projects performed in the country being funnelled through this entity*” (Hastings et al. 2015: 156) and more globally, the most enduring initiative of coastal resource management in Fiji (Govan et al. 2013, Jupiter et al. 2014, Govan 2018). Within a

decade, more than 250 LMMAs were established over Fiji's 411 *iqoliqoli*, and the network won international acclaim (Govan et al. 2009).<sup>91</sup>

a. **Communities empowerment and politicization of FLMMA**

To coordinate the work of its many stakeholders and structure the coalition, FLMMA is based on a social contract to be signed by all its members<sup>92</sup>, supporting a bottom-up approach and the need for iTaukei communities (at the province, district or village level) to be leaders of the initiatives that are supported by other partner organizations or individual members through funding, technical expertise and knowledge sharing (Veitayaki et al. 2003). The social contract emphasizes the importance of developing hands-on practices, of adjusting to the particular needs of iTaukei coastal communities, and of embedding interventions in existing community structures and schedules (Berthold 2016). It relies on the premise that communities hold the necessary ecological knowledge to make sound management decisions. It also put forward the main objectives of the network, presented as largely intertwined: sustainable fisheries development, biodiversity conservation and *iTaukei* communities' empowerment (Govan et al. 2008, Govan 2009, Jupiter et al. 2014). Indeed, FLMMA was developed based on the idea that if customary resource owners are given responsibility, scientific knowledge, and financial and technical resources to care for their fishing grounds and resources, the sustainability of their fishing activities will befall. While it has largely been oriented toward site-based management for sustainable subsistence fishing, since its inception it has also promoted the revitalization of iTaukei customary governance systems and, to some extent, supported some of iTaukei rights claims on the political level.

Although conservation organizations generally avoided to publically express their views on political issues, FLMMA as an entity has defended decentralisation and subsidiarity as part of

---

<sup>91</sup> The Fijian LMMA network was presented as a major conservation success by the funding foundations and NGOs, and obtained 'The Innovative Partnership Awards for Sustainable Development in Tropical Ecosystems' as part of the United Nations Development Programme's Equator Initiative in 2002, which then fueled the development of the LMMA model in other areas like Madagascar, Indonesia or Cuba (Govan et al. 2008).

<sup>92</sup> Individuals, partner organizations (i.e. corporate body, tourism operator, province) and local sites (i.e. village or district) can all be members of FLMMA though the membership requirements are different for each (FLMMA 2011).

the network's core principles ("*FLMMA's core values: [...] Supporting community management at the lowest appropriate level*") (FLMMA 2015:13), which has provoked sensitive discussions in Fiji's political arenas. In 2002, the Fijian Government proposed the official devolution of full ownership of fishing grounds to local authorities, a major political move pinned under the *Qoliqoli* bill. This proposition was presented by FLMMA members as an opportunity to improve the management of Fiji's coastal resources (IAS 2002, Kintisch 2019). As in other contexts, CBFM has thus formed in Fiji a space of encounter between environmental politics and indigenous politics, a sensitive positioning which explains the (sometimes) complex relation between FLMMA and the Fijian Government.

**b. Ideological and political gap with the Ministry of Fisheries**

It is commonly admitted that FLMMA was partly born out of a need to fill the gap left by the Fijian Government on coastal resource management and to palliate the lack of intervention (to regulate and enforce illegal fishing for instance) from the Fisheries Department (Gillett et al. 2014, Berthold 2016). Several state institutions, such as Departments/Ministries of Fisheries, of Environment and of Tourism, as well as the iTaukei Affairs Board (TAB), have throughout the years become members of FLMMA, and yet, they have overall remained minor players in this network (Gillett et al. 2014). The expansion of the network is often presented as having created a 'takeover' of these state responsibilities, which resulted in turn in a strong reliance on FLMMA (non-state) active members: "*LMMAs put nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), funded by the [Packard] Foundation and other external donors, in a position to provide services that governments traditionally provide, like creating conservation and resource management programs, supporting village enforcement efforts, and collecting data*" (Kintisch 2019:6). Gillett also notes that there was very little initiative from NGOs to foster Government-NGO relations or to encourage the Department/MoF<sup>93</sup> to retrieve its responsibilities: "*To some extent the strategy [of NGOs] appears to be either by-pass the Fisheries Department, do it themselves, or get another government agency (i.e. iTaukei Affairs Board) to do it.*" (Gillett et al. 2014:41).

---

<sup>93</sup> Some interviewees refer to the former Department of Fisheries or to the current MoF simply as 'Fisheries' (with a capital letter). I will keep this denomination in the quotes from these interviews.

On the other hand, from the documentation produced by the network in the early 2000s, FLMMA’s CBFM proposition is initially presented as a mean, not to take the government’s role in national coastal management, but rather to facilitate forms of co-management. Later this positioning was further clarified with their 2015 report entitled “Working with Government towards a better Fiji” (FLMMA 2015). In this document, FLMMA provides a list of expected action from the MoF to produce an enabling environment for CBFM, suggesting improvement of their technical, financial and legal supports (**Figure 19**). MoF’s partnership with FLMMA was sometimes perceived to be used by the Fisheries to justify and legitimize their lack of involvement on coastal issues:

*FLMMA was a model Fiji was famous for and recognized in the whole world, except by Fiji’s government. [...] But when people outside would ask "what are you doing for coastal fisheries?" they [the government] could say ‘we use the FLMMA approach’ (interview with FLMMA member, Suva 12/2019).*

<b><i>FLMMA Supports and calls on Government to:</i></b>	
<b><i>Provide a suitable enabling environment and procedures</i></b>	
<b>OUTCOME</b>	<b>ACTIVITIES</b>
<b>Government staff are able to provide appropriate support to communities.</b>	Ensure terms of reference for fisheries extension officers, conservation officers and Yaubula Management Support Teams (YMST) <sup>1</sup> clearly define respective roles in supporting coastal resources management and these roles are mainstreamed into adequately resourced provincial and divisional plans.
<b>Coastal fisheries and integrated ecosystem management is adequately financed.</b>	Appropriate and innovative mechanisms are developed to adequately finance and staff resource management activities, such as reviewing licensing fees to reflect and offset management costs and clarify and define the roles of fish wardens.
<b>Adequate legal and policy framework provides transparency, clarity and support.</b>	Community-based fisheries management plans covering whole inshore fishing area (not just tabus/MPAs) are endorsed by Government and an Inshore Fisheries Advisory Council is formed with significant community participation to raise relevant issues surrounding management practice and financing.

**Figure 19.** FLMMA’s suggested improvement for MoF services on coastal fisheries

Source: FLMMA 2015

Gillet also views this recourse to the ‘FLMMA argument’ by the government as purely strategic: *“The Department occasionally cites ‘cooperation with FLMMA’ as one of its flagship contributions to coastal fisheries management but this appears largely limited to providing the chair for FLMMA meetings, sharing of some data, and FLMMA members training some [Fisheries]Department staff”* (Gillett et al. 2014:38).

For another interviewee, the blatancy of FLMMA’s contribution to coastal management in the face of limited state engagement is first and foremost a matter of unequal communication powers:

*The NGOs are usually led by energetic people, they have this ability to bring a lot of attention on their activity, it is well documented so it may seem that they have more influence than they actually have because nobody in Fisheries is interested or has the ability to document what they are doing. The Ministry of Fisheries in the last 20 years has maybe produced three reasonable documents on the work they've been doing. So even if this work is successful, it is hard for outsiders to be aware of that successes* (interview with a fisheries management consultant, online 12/2020).

Interestingly, for an interviewee from IUCN-Fiji, difficult and sometimes conflictual NGO-state relations (and thus FLMMA-state relations) in the early days of FLMMA should be seen as something that participated in the constitution of an active NGO sector in Fiji and in the emergence of a collaborative spirit within this sector:

*In Fiji, the conservation sector has historically worked well, there is mutual understanding and collaboration. This is perhaps because the Government has been so difficult to get things moving. In the mid-nineties there were lots of issues with Government and partners realised they needed support from each other because they would not get it from the Government so it was up to them to share resources, thoughts and ideas* (interview with IUCN staff, Suva 07/2019)

This unity contributed to install a coherent, collaborative conservation sector in Fiji that offered major support to develop the CBFM model for coastal fisheries. Nonetheless, for many Fijian

stakeholders, it is today essential to rethink NGO-State collaborations: “*All of FLMMA’s stakeholders realize that the current state of near shore fisheries management is not optimal, needs to improve, and could be helped by greater legal clarity of roles and responsibilities as well as better alignment between how the Government and communities value their near shore resources*” (Sloan and Chand 2015:12). An interviewee who used to work in one of these NGOs and is now working more directly with PICTs’ Governments from SPC agrees:

*There are different views on what the NGO-state relation should look like. For my part, I agree with the vision of NGOs as a support for governments. If there is any sector that should sleep in the same bed as Government, it's NGOs. Even if they don't like that. NGOs are only alive based on funding, but the Government will stay for the rest, and that's even true in the case of community-based management (interview with SPC staff, Nouméa 09/2019)*

c. **Role and influence of international NGOs**

According to FLMMA’s social contract, decisions over resource management choices (i.e. closing of a fishing area, species or fishing gear bans) were to be made by member communities. Yet, as some interviewees noted, a strong conservation ideology was present from FLMMA’s early days, due to the significant presence of international NGOs and the origin of most of the funding (Packard and MacArthur Foundations, as well as Foundations of Success):

*The social contract was a way of making sure that we agreed on the crucial things. But we all came from different sectors, some were conservationists, some were livelihoods people, some were community empowerment people. We all found that we had enough common ground to work together and respecting communities was supposed to be a common ground. But everybody actually had different interests. Some are conservationists and some not, but in the end all donors were conservation donors so... it gives you an idea (interview with a FLMMA practitioner, Suva 07/2019)*



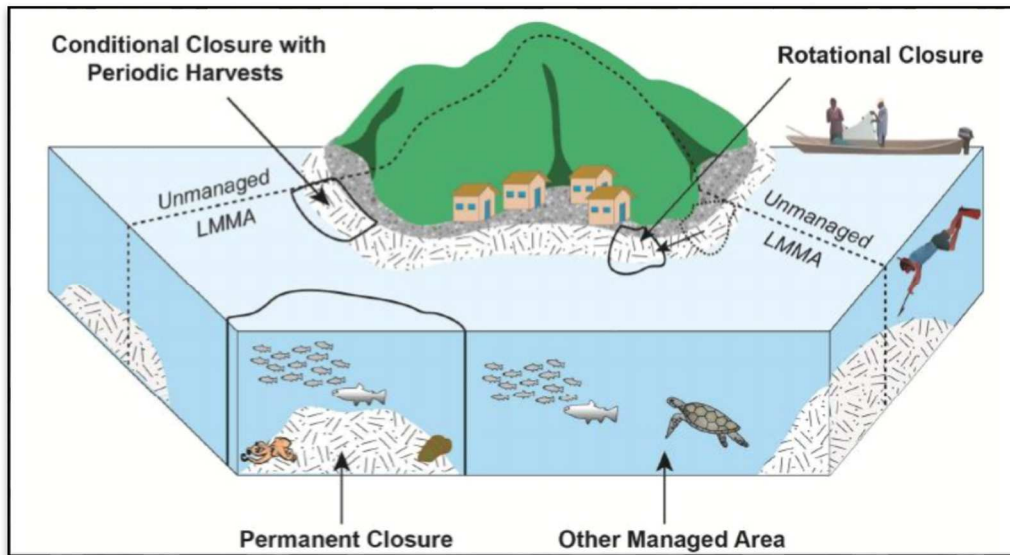
*We were acknowledging the approach that communities had a say and needed to be included. But our goal was still principally conservation, not to improve fisheries, and they could feel it* (Interview with former Packard staff, online 01/2020)

Among FLMMA's partner organizations and individual members, Berthold has identified two groups of people: "1) the influential NGOs, often with a stronger conservation perspective, and 2) individuals who are close to the regional Network or the FLMMA Secretariat and representatives of smaller organizations. This group focused primarily on the wellbeing of the community" (Berthold 2016:83). While conservation organizations and donors that financially and technically supported the development of FLMMA maintained biodiversity conservation objectives, 'livelihood' arguments were the main motivation expressed by communities who engaged in FLMMA (Jupiter et al. 2014) as well as by most iTaukei Fijian stakeholders. This tension between livelihood, community empowerment and biodiversity conservation has been the subject of numerous debates within FLMMA, recipient member communities, and conservation donors. Govan showed in a survey of 170 LMMA managers that for 44% of them, the goal of the LMMA was "fisheries management", for 42% it was simultaneously "fisheries management" and "conservation", and for the last 14%, conservation was the main purpose (Govan et al. 2009). Hastings et al. have also demonstrated that communities tend to perceive the Fijian LMMAs as belonging to their 'NGO partners' (2015: 164–165), which could occasionally lessen the commitment of communities in the management of their natural resources, and hamper FLMMA's original empowerment objectives. Asymmetrical power relations between these stakeholders due to financial and human capacities reinforced FLMMA's conservation vision, which has been particularly visible during discussions over the definition of the scopes and objectives of FLMMA's central instrument, LMMAs, as we will now see.

#### **4.2.3. Locally Managed Marine Areas: a multi-facet management instrument**

In Fiji, the delimitation and registration of customary fishing rights areas (*iqoliqoli*) within coastal waters has allowed FLMMA partners to work directly with defined iTaukei communities in order to establish LMMAs on well-delimited areas with overall unquestioned

boundaries.<sup>94</sup> According to an interviewee, LMMAs initially referred to a locally defined management plan aiming to organize fishing and conservation activities within the whole *iqoliqoli*. The closing of an area to fishing activities (through the creation of a *tabu* area) would thus represent a management option among others, and other rules (e.g. temporary/seasonal or permanent bans on a fishing technique or on a particular species, see **Figure 20**) were available for communities to implement depending on local contexts and practices.



**Figure 20. Representation of a LMMA with small managed areas and a permanent closure**

Source: Jupiter et al. 2014

Yet, over the years, the LMMA instrument was transformed and its scope reduced to a more systematic implementation of small but permanent or long-term no-take areas that would resemble to conservationists' MPAs. In other words, from the whole *qoliqoli* being the managed space, the focus shifted to smaller areas that would correspond to customary *tabu*. For this same interviewee, such transition was predictable given semantic debates that emerged at the inception of the network:

*Originally in the proposal, Americans [donors] called it 'locally managed marine protected areas' but we lobbied very strongly to take out the word "protected" to try not to push it towards something it was not [...] It ended up being called LMMA but that*

<sup>94</sup> Sano notes that officially drawn maps of *iqoliqoli* do not always concur with the perceptions that the resource users have of their fishing territory (Sano 2008:301). Nolet also mentions territorial controversies after the formalization of *iqoliqoli* boundaries (Nolet 2018:21)

*doesn't mean that people don't think the same thing. Even local people working with NGOs, by the time they'd been on the ground for six months they were talking the language of MPA. And so, unfortunately, that often meant that there was more emphasis put on small reserves (Interview with one of FLMMA's initiator, Suva 07/2019)*

Interestingly, the definition of LMMAs as protected areas aiming to preserve marine biodiversity, or rather as an instrument to allow exploited resources to sustain (and thus to be available as a livelihoods option) still remained a debated question in recent years. As part of CBD's Aichi Target 11<sup>95</sup>, researchers from FLMMA have explored whether Fijian LMMAs could be counted as 'protected areas and other effective area-based conservation measures (OECM)' (Govan and Jupiter 2013). The article concluded that IUCN's MPA and OECM definitions are not compatible with LMMAs because livelihood, rather than conservation principles, usually drive the establishment of LMMAs, indicating that this instrument, despite the strong conservation vision it presented in the Fijian context, were not fitting with international conservation's standards either. LMMAs' limited flexibility compared to initial visions (**Figure 20**) and their systematic association with MPA practices can be seen as contrasting with its livelihood-stamped character in the eyes of CBD/IUCN's definitions.

---

<sup>95</sup> "By 2020, at least 17 per cent of terrestrial and inland water areas and 10 per cent of coastal and marine areas, especially areas of particular importance for biodiversity and ecosystem services, are conserved through effectively and equitably managed, ecologically representative and well-connected systems of protected areas and *other effective area-based conservation measures*, and integrated into the wider landscape and seascape."

***Conclusion of Section 4.2.***

This section detailed how Fiji has represented for conservation actors in the 1990s a strong potential for the deployment of localized, ‘community-based’ interventions to implement marine conservation projects. Rapidly, these endeavors focused on coastal fisheries management which were at that time largely neglected by state Fisheries services, more focused on lucrative tuna fisheries in the country’s immense pelagic waters. Direct involvement with customary authorities and limited interactions with the Government allowed for the rapid deployment of conservation donors’ ‘plant a 1000 seeds’ strategy for Fijian CBFM. Through alliances with USP scientists and iTaukei local leaders – the latter defending more political positions for iTaukei communities – conservation actors supported financially and operationally the forming of FLMMA as an umbrella for its CBFM endeavors. I identified certain asymmetries due to the key role of conservation organizations and funders in the definition of the contours and contents of this new management proposition. At the core of this Fijian CBFM are LMMAs, a multi-faceted instrument at the image of the diversity of objectives defended by the different stakeholders of the coalition.

**4.3. Management-as-conservation: (re)connective and hybrid propositions**

I explored in Chapter 3 how natural resource management organized by the Fijian colonial and then independent state occurred with the constitution of management-as-development based on development discourses and practices. I introduce in this chapter the management-as-conservation regime, constituted in the 1990s in rupture with the state development-based practices and discourses and consequently in rupture with its modes of qualification and problematization of fish and fishers. I will now show how management-as-conservation is presented as opposed to management-as-development in the way it allows for a (re)connective and holistic regime of practices. I will then precise how the constitution and consolidation of FLMMA results in the mutually-beneficial convergence and hybridization of localist and conservationist discourses towards the CBFM proposition.

**4.3.1. Management-as-conservation as a (re)connective regime of practices**

When analysed in light of previous reflections on management-as-development, narratives supporting management-as-conservation in Fiji strikingly present a connective and

encompassing dimension. This alternative is presented by involved stakeholders as an opportunity to reconnect previously disconnected elements, such as modern and customary knowledge and practices; environmental and socio-political dimensions of fisheries; global and local scales<sup>96</sup>; and state and non-state actors' interests. This connective and encompassing dimension can be looked at in light of Rodary's analysis of conservation's sectoral logic of exhaustiveness (Rodary 2019). Conservation's 'integrative' interest and concern for all constituents, ecosystems and stakeholders indeed contrasts with fisheries management endeavors which often narrowly look at specific species and at the economic interests of the fishery sector only (Rodary 2019). On a similar note, Zimmerer mentions the 'fullness' that is crucial to the framing of conservation narratives, a fullness that is necessary for the production of conservation territories and boundaries, whether those embrace fortress or nature-society hybrids or whether they follow ecosystem, eco-regional or community-based approaches (Zimmerer 2000). In the marine context, this holistic and integrative ambition has been in the 2000s most envisioned and developed in discourses of conservation actors, which allowed them to take integral part into the rush for the seas that intensified during that decade (Le Meur et al. 2018). Conservation's integrative promise is often presented in contrast with the motivations of other groups/sectors that aim to exploit marine resources or to establish sovereignties over marine spaces. On fisheries matters, the species-focus vision proposed by fisheries sciences and generally adopted by national and international fisheries management relies on management-as-development practices. Such vision is presented by conservation actors as too narrow and as wrongly disregarding ecological complexities and local idiosyncrasies, hence the need for a management-as-conservation regime to emerge as a (re)connective and legitimate form of action to organize fisheries activities.

With its consideration for community social well-being, its recourse to socioeconomic factors in local management plans, and its recognition of the importance of local governance regimes, FLMMA's vision of CBFM in Fiji offers to reconnect 'natural' and 'human' processes of

---

<sup>96</sup> FLMMA is often presented as a way to overcome global-local antinomy, from a geographic point of view (through its network that connects different sites within the country as well as outside the country as a national network within the international LMMA network), but also in the perspective of entering a global ecological movement. In these discourses, the 'local' becomes a place where environmental issues unfold and where solutions can be applied, but this is accompanied by the idea that broader environmental processes are at stake (e.g. climate change, global biodiversity erosion, global fish stocks declines) and are calling for the multiplication of local actions.

fisheries which had been dissociated in previous management propositions. The idea to measure and strengthen the ‘togetherness of the *vanua*’ of communities involved with FLMMA (Govan et al. 2008:62) illustrates this proposition well as the *vanua* philosophy and way of life considers the interconnectedness of all beings and things. While in many other contexts, attention to the socio-political dimension of local, participative projects was present in conservation discourses but limited in practice (Berkes 2004, Brockington and Wilkie 2015), this recourse to the iTaukei concept of *vanua* has been a central piece of FLMMA’s both discourses and practices. Perhaps the most enduring endeavor in that regard is the structuration of local environmental committees (Yaubula Management Support Team - YMSTs) at provincial, district and village levels fostered by FLMMA since the mid-2000s. These committees are presented as a way to simultaneously revitalize customary governance systems, support local enforcement of resource management rules, and make the link between communities, NGOs and Government services with regards to environmental matters. ‘Champion Provincial YMSTs’ like Bua’s have become members of the FLMMA network and have built strong partnerships with NGOs.

It is worth noticing though, the recourse to a conservation-originated vocabulary in the documents of some YMSTs, which suggests the major role of conservation organizations in the making of YMST’s management plans and in the choice of forms of knowledge guiding these plans: “[YMSTs are] *applying ecosystem-based management approaches to develop ‘ridge-to-reef’ management plans [...] and to establish protected area networks designed to maintain ecological connectivity*” (Yaubula Management Support Team, Bua Provincial Council 2017). The ambition to associate ‘modern’ scientific and ‘traditional’ ecological knowledge (TEK) and practices was present at the very premises of FLMMA network reflection (Aalbersberg et al. 2005, Fache 2020). This can be seen as an attempt to associate what had been presented as opposed as part of management-as-development (see 3.2):

*Here is where modern technique fused with traditional village values. The scientific experts from USP taught team members the skills of monitoring and the basic ideas of sampling and statistics. The team learned how to lay line transects and to sample the clam population at 10-meter intervals along the 500-meter transect line, then record their results and analyze them with simple statistics. Using these skills, the team*

*established a baseline of clam populations in the tabu area*” (Aalbersberg and Tawake 2005:146).

The first LMMAs emerged as the result of a combination of customary practices (*tabu*) with scientific methods (fish stock evaluation in *iqoliqoli*). However, while scientific knowledge based on samplings, transects, population estimations and statistics were systematically taught to local communities for them to appropriate these tools, traditional knowledge has often been reduced to the recourse to *tabu* areas which, as we have seen, was rather instrumental for conservation actors involved in FLMMA and was moreover largely transformed to fit with conservation norms. The mixing of the two forms of knowledge thus seems to have remained asymmetrical, all the more given that what was taken as ‘traditional’ has been re-appropriated to fit within a management-as-conservation regime led by conservation actors. On this subject, H el ene Artaud contends that conservation researchers and managers attempt to mix western and non-western forms of management and that, consequently, “*some cultural features, until recently devoid of rationality (considered “pre-logical” or “illogical”), are suddenly invested with a new intelligibility. The taboo is one of those*” (Artaud 2014:17). Although it constituted a strong narrative in support of FLMMA interventions, knowledge ‘fusion’ appears to have remained limited, and, as Artaud aptly pins it, to have provided customary institutions and other cultural features with additional forms of rationality in order to become ecologically relevant and efficient according to conservation norms.

Other disconnections constitutive of the management-as-development regime remain visible. For instance, the coastal/offshore disconnection (produced firstly by colonial authorities who enacted the first marine frontiers, and secondly, by the independent state that subsidized offshore, industrial fisheries and conversely overlooked coastal fisheries) is largely maintained by FLMMA’s discourses and practices. Additionally, the capacity of FLMMA to connect state and non-state actors on environmental and fisheries management matters, promoted by the network, also appears as limited in practice. Indeed, we have seen that despite FLMMA’s initial ambition (reiterated at many occasions) to work in liaison with Governmental agencies, limited coordination actually occurred in the 1990s and 2000s. For an interviewee from SPC involved at the beginning of his career in CBFM in Fiji, state and non-state actors’ ‘connection’ has been

hindered by structural and normative incompatibilities, notably regarding practitioners' disciplinary backgrounds:

*One issue I've seen over the last 10-20 years, and I've had the same conversation with people in the Caribbean, unfortunately most of Pacific fisheries agencies have not been, and are often still not, structured or staffed for community-based management. More often than not, they are biologists and scientists, just like western fisheries agencies, their ideal is stock assessment, regulations, etc. So it's hard to connect (interview with SPC staff, Nouméa 10/2019).*

More importantly than disciplinary incompatibilities, I believe that it is the incompatibilities between the discourses feeding management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes of practices (i.e. developmentalism vs conservationism) that best explain issues of misalignment.

#### **4.3.2. The hybridization of localist and conservationist discourses**

##### **a. Conservationism and the qualification of fish as biodiversity**

The deployment of international conservation NGOs in Fiji in the early 1990s can be associated with the introduction of 'global' environmental concerns along with a western conservationist view which has been characterized as corresponding to cosmocentric<sup>97</sup> (Jeanrenaud 2002) or ecocentric (Larrère 2010) environmental ethics. Dwyer, who worked on Pacific community-based conservation, pins in the following quote the referential held by the conservationists he met and their valuing of biodiversity "*The intent is conscious and the scope is global. Both the intent and the scope are articulated as an ethic of conservation. That ethic embodies the explicit assumption that all living things have value in themselves*" (Dwyer

---

<sup>97</sup> According to Jeanrenaud, environmentalists who hold cosmocentric views often have backgrounds in ecological and biological sciences and promote ecosystem and biodiversity conservation based predominantly on positivist scientific values. They however acknowledge the importance of integrating social concerns into conservation, and have reworked classical conservation thinking to incorporate development concerns based on the idea that people cannot be ignored and can be a 'resource' to conservation. Jeanrenaud further contends that the values and ideas of cosmocentrics currently predominate within international conservation organizations.



1994:2). Indeed, discourses of conservation actors within FLMMA promote marine biodiversity preservation for its own right and for its intrinsic value (associated to utilitarian, aesthetic and/or moral principles). An intrinsic value is attributed to fish and to other marine life affected by fisheries if fishing activities are unmanaged. In this sense, conservationists propose a qualification of fish as an element of biodiversity while fishers are taken as subjects to the moral duty that arise from this intrinsic value: management becomes a duty, a responsibility to find the ‘equilibrium’ between exploitation and conservation. As such, conservationists (personalized in the early days of FLMMA by conservation NGOs and funders) have attempted to build a moral responsibility for a shared environmental care (which connects with localists’ *duty of care* discourse presented below). In their view, management thus consisted in organizing human behavior for the interests of biodiversity and in fostering what is deemed as rightful behaviors towards the ‘equilibrium’.

b. **Localism and *duty of care*: the qualification of fish and fishers as elements of the *vanua***

While biodiversity conservation shaped to a large extent the premises of the FLMMA project, other discursive registers are constitutive of its CBFM project. Several Fijian members indeed battled to maintain and reinforce guiding principles that defend iTaukei indigeneity and sovereignty anchored in a localist<sup>98</sup> referential. The recourse to arguments based on the respect of traditions and the attachment to a ‘way of life’ is visible in FLMMA’s early documents: “*The goal is to bolster local incomes and traditions by replenishing local waters*” (Aalbersberg and Tawake 2005:1) ; “*Working together, it is possible for communities to regain much of their lost resources. The result will be more food on the table, preservation of traditional cultures and the island way of life, and greater community cohesion, prosperity and health*” (Govan et al. 2008).

Moreover, self-determination, empowerment and the right to shape local environments and resources in forms that meet local needs have represented central claims for iTaukei Fijian members. Consequently, the recourse to a *localist* discourse served to bring forward the

---

<sup>98</sup> ‘Localism’ is understood by Lockwood and Davidson (2010:393) as “*a mentality that is motivated by an ethic of maintaining the integrity of local places, as this is understood by the local communities to whom they are important.*”

capacity of control of natural resources by local (non-governmental) hands. In that sense, community-based management was thus advocated by some of FLMMA members not only as a way to locally manage marine resources but also to claim of rights over and ownership of ‘local’ resources (Berthold 2016). The latter point became most visible when these members defended positions in Fiji’s political arenas, notably in 2002 with the support of the devolution of full ownership of coastal fishing grounds to iTaukei communities (with the *Qoliqoli bill*). Presented as an opportunity to improve the management of Fiji’s coastal resources, their support of this – since shelved – political project illustrated their engagement for decentralization, subsidiarity and iTaukei rights recognition and defended a local control over resources and the respect for traditional modes of production.

In iTaukei *vanua* philosophy, common more-than-human entities such as fish are central in the construction of a shared identity and of a local ‘sense of place’ in which elements of the natural world are interconnected and invested with multiple meanings. The ‘sense of place’ is simultaneously individual and relational: it is a component of self-identity and it stems from a long and deep experience of, and involvement with, a particular place and its living and non-living inhabitants. As put by Lockwood and Davidson (2010:393), “*it is through such attachments, dependencies and identifications that the moral significance of particular places is constructed. Such places are intimately connected with self and community identity and behaviors towards them are underpinned by norms that identify what is appropriate and acceptable*”. This mention of an ‘appropriate’ behavior reminds of iTaukei concept of *duty of care* that—in Fiji as well as in other South Pacific contexts—people have to each other, to future generations as well as to the land and the sea (Nolet 2018). In this context, and with an emphasis on customary roles and processes, the CBFM regime is presented as a way of cultivating iTaukei Fijians’ sense of collective moral responsibility to preserve interrelated natural and social heritage. In the case of fisheries, these *duty of care* and sense of moral responsibility are reinforced for the iTaukei men who engage in becoming local honorary Fish Wardens, whose (unpaid and unrewarded) role is to monitor local marine tenure rules (i.e. respect of *iqoliqoli* and *tabu* areas delimitations and regulations) and compliance with national fisheries policies. Since 1965, Fish Wardens<sup>99</sup> are appointed and trained by the MoF, but these

---

<sup>99</sup> In 1965, a provision was inserted into the 1941 Fisheries Act stating, “The Minister may appoint honorary fish wardens whose duties shall be the prevention and detection of offences under this Act and the enforcement of the

trainings are often facilitated (financially and logistically) by FLMMA members such as WCS. Discussions on formalizing the role of these Fish Wardens<sup>100</sup> and giving them a financial retribution have existed since the creation of this position, but have not yet borne their fruits (Lalavanua et al. 2018). To palliate this lack of compensation, emphasis is put on civic responsibility and exemplarity (“*their involvement illustrates the commitment of coastal communities to the proper use of their customary fishing areas*” (Veitayaki 2008:10)), as well as on the importance of this position for community well-being and security.

In Chapter 7, I develop on the processes at stake in such endeavors that contribute to cultivate individual and collective responsabilization, taking the example of Fish Warden but also of more recent management endeavors such as behavioral change campaigns. But what is important to note here, is how the localist register have fueled the installation of local environmental projects involving the development of environmental awareness and responsibility (e.g. LMMAs, Fish Wardens, environmental local committees - YMST, local workshops and meetings organized by FLMMA members), and have thus participated in forming new modes of *environmentality* (Agrawal 2005b). Indeed, when communities and individuals integrate conservation roles and practices into their daily life, they develop new institutional and individual strategies that bring them to assimilate new considerations for ‘nature’ (Agrawal 2005b). The Fijian CBFM project developed by FLMMA members in the late 1990s can be seen as an endeavor that attempted to produce such environmentality based on localist discourses, bridging in an interesting way ideas of community empowerment and environmental responsabilization.

### c. *Tabu as an instrument of convergence between conservationist and localist discourses*

With the constitution of FLMMA in Fiji, CBFM was presented as a regime allowing the convergence, or even the hybridization, of western conservation and customary indigenous environmental practices (see 4.3.1). As mentioned before, such ambition have notably relied on the LMMA instrument which flexibility and resemblance to iTaukei customary *tabu* allowed

---

provisions thereof’. In November 1965, the power to appoint fish wardens was delegated to the Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Fisheries.

<sup>100</sup> Indeed, at the moment, Fish Wardens can report offences (to local leader, fisheries officers, or to the police, depending on which rules have been broken), but they cannot prosecute or sanction the offenders themselves.

its diffusion throughout Fiji's coastal communities in the 2000s. According to some anthropologists, this hybridization has been more than just technical and instrumental and has relied on the promotion of the idea of a continuity between indigenous ways of engaging with nature (through a *tabu* for instance) and a conservation ethic characteristic of western views and practices (Foale et al. 2011, Artaud 2014). Beyond the mere recognition of local ecological knowledge and practices, the promotion of indigenous practices such as *tabu* (on species or on definite areas) by western actors relied on the assumption that a similar ecological intentionality underlies these practices and, for instance, the deployment of a MPA. In the South Pacific, scholar Robert Johannes have particularly defended the idea of an ecological intentionality of indigenous practices aligned with conservationist discourses, which could be resumed as a convergence of environmental ethics. Conservation practitioners as well as scholars diffusing this conservation-oriented view of indigenous Pacific islanders' customary practices have largely relied on the work of Johannes who emphasized the need to blend together 'traditional tenures and taboos' with 'modern' conservation programs for marine resources (Veitayaki and Robin South 1998, Calamia 1999).

In their article *Tenure and taboos: origins and implications for fisheries in the Pacific*, Foale et al (2011) argue that, in Melanesia, socio-cultural functions of the various customary *tabu* have been concealed to serve the idea of convergence between indigenous and conservationists' conservation ethic. They make the point that customary marine tenure and taboos in Melanesia did not primarily aim to sustain food security from fisheries, but rather to organize and maintain relationships between and within social groups. They deplore that instead of interrogating symbolic, spiritual, and mythological principles justifying the recourse to *tabu*, its ecological intentionality has monopolized a large part of interventions and research occurring in the South Pacific. For instance, in Fiji, the funeral practice of closing an area for fishing for 100 nights after the death is accompanied by a significant fishing drive for the feast celebrating the passing of the soul, a meaningful event which enhances the *mana* and *vanua* of the community (Veitayaki et al. 2003, Vave 2021). The 'feast' dimension of the *tabu* practice seems to have been neglected to promote longer closing of *tabu*.

For many anthropologists, such utilization of socio-cultural tools highly relies on simplified visions of local cultural views and practices (Keller 2009, Artaud 2014, Nolet 2018, Fache 2020). While, to various extents, iTaukei *tabu* areas present compatibilities with conservation stakes, the concealing of the complexity and plurality of forms of customary institutions and the reduction of *tabu* areas to the MPA tool (or in the same vein, of *tabu* or totem species to protected species) diminished their flexibility and historicity (Dwyer 1994, Foale et al. 2011, Artaud 2014). This association to MPAs and to an indigenous conservation ethic, although probably efficient in terms of narrative-building, provokes a necessary reduction of ‘cognitive underpinnings’ of *tabu* (Foale et al. 2011). Moreover, the revitalization of *tabu* in a form which fits with western (i.e. naturalist (Descola 2005)) natural resource management models based on no-take MPAs contributes to downplay the historical co-evolution of oceans and coastal communities as well as their traditional representations which involve deep connections between the visible and the invisible, the living and the dead, land and sea, animals and plants (Foale et al. 2011, Artaud 2014).

Considerations of complex ritual or aesthetic strategies often found themselves reduced to mere naturalist functions, based on principles and categories elaborated under western views of human-nature relations. Spiritual dimensions for instance hold a critical place in many natural resource use aspects and have been largely overlooked in past environmental programs in Fiji. Today, the importance of Christianity in the perception of nature and of phenomena like resource depletion have been highlighted by Fache and Pauwels (2020), as well as by Nolet (2018). They show that for many Fijians, effects of human action on the state of the environment are limited and that it is vain to attempt to control and organize land and sea spaces given by God to humans for them to sustain. Following this worldview, exploitation of marine resources should not be impeded by complete and permanent restrictions that contradict the subsistence based design of God, which can generate a reject of conservation actions as a whole if those are not properly articulated to this view. For iTaukei people, the respect and protection of the *vanua* thus rests on forms of moderated, diversified and shared exploitation of marine and land resources. The moderated collection of marine species in the ways of ancestors, with a spirit of knowledge transmission to next generations, with a sense of surplus sharing with others and with the respect of ceremonial (customary and religious) and familial obligations, is thus valued.

The positioning of conservation practitioners and funders in particular to promote indigenous ‘conservation’ practices and ethic has represented a strong narrative in support of CBFM intervention in Fiji and in the South Pacific in general (Foale et al. 2011). For some, the idea of an ethical convergence represents a narrative developed by conservation actors who are more interested in benefiting from coercive aspects of customary socio-environmental regulations like tenure and *tabu*. Indeed, building management on existing customary institutions contributes to its social acceptability and thus to the compliance of local people to management rules. It is because the threats associated to transgressions of *tabu* are still vividly feared that conservation actors see these practices as efficient apparatuses to achieve environmental protection (Aswani 2012).

Since these early days of CBFM in Fiji, it is increasingly enacted by scholars and practitioners that understanding indigenous peoples and local communities’ relational modes of interaction with ‘nature’ (associated to rights over/responsibilities towards/stewardship of this nature) is necessary (urgent even) to transform conservation science and policy (Bambridge et al. 2021). To take that road means that more profound and more lasting hybridizations must occur between indigenous/local and western/global practices. As opposed to such hybridizations, rapid and simplified associations like those described in this section (*tabu*/MPA, duty of care/conservation ethic) have been rather counter-productive in various ecological, social and political terms. Associations rather than hybridizations have in the past neglected further ontological differences that should be highlighted rather than concealed to grasp (and benefit from) the complexities of non-western views of the world. We will see in the next chapters that in more recent years, ‘integrated’ paradigms associated to sustainable management have fostered new modes of hybridization. In Chapter 9 in particular, I analyze these ‘merging’ propositions to understand to what extent they actually integrate different views and practices to create new regimes of practices.

## **Conclusion of Chapter 4**

In the late 1990s-early 2000s, community-based approaches rapidly became “*the most widely accepted approach to natural resource management and biodiversity conservation in*

*Fiji*” (Clarke and Jupiter 2010:37) based on the work of a new coalition, the FLMMA network. From its inception, and although it locally resonated with a resource management objective for subsistence and sustainability, the coalition has held a strong conservation vision due to the origin of its principal funding sources (i.e. philanthropic conservation donors) and the dominance of international conservation NGOs among FLMMA members. This Fijian version of CBFM emerged out of the encounter of these conservation stakeholders interested in working in Fiji for various reasons (Table 5), USP researchers and initiatives from coastal communities, who found common ground over the multi-faceted LMMA instrument. Beyond mere financial and technical involvement, conservation actors provided significant ideological guidance, and in particular, largely advocated for the choice of MPA-like instruments among a plethora of management choices. Far from being a neutral instrumental choice, the decision of instituting new boundaries for areas to be protected from human activities can be associated to a naturalist vision of how to organize coastal spaces and the life of its (human and non-human) inhabitants.

I discussed in the last section the propositions of (re)connection offered by the management-as-conservation regime of practices formed by the FLMMA coalition. In Fiji, conservation’s logic of exhaustiveness is manifest in FLMMA’s integrative ambition as well as in its propositions to reconnect modern and customary knowledge and practices; environmental and socio-political dimensions of fisheries; global and local scales; and state and non-state actors and interests. However, I showed that such connective attempts have reached limits and that the holistic promise overall failed to move beyond the discursive scope. The connective ambition has been most successful is building bridges between visions of two initial groups constituted of people holding respectively localist and conservationist visions. A common narrative over a common ‘conservation ethic’, controversial from an anthropological point of view, as well as the cultivation of resource users’ *environmentality* based on responsabilization processes contributed to build these bridges.

In conclusion, new modes of qualification emerged in the 2000s as part of what I labelled the management-as-conservation regime, and replaced both fish and fishers into an overall wider network of connections and more complex socio-ecosystems than what was proposed before by actors involved in management-as-development. This relative widening can be seen as reflecting a movement from government (Chapter 3) to governance (Chapter 4), the latter being

characterized by the possibility to move management at several levels (international/national network of a '1000 seeds' of local projects), under plural models and to support different objectives and visions (localist/conservationist). In this later regime, both fish and fishers become integral players as they participate in building connections between stakeholders initially defending different objectives and holding different visions of what is to be managed and why. In this sense, despite the connective limits of the regime exposed in section 4.3.1, it is perhaps this agentive and linking role of fish and fishers to get (previously disconnected) conservation, development and management activities engage together that is to note.



## Conclusion of Part II

I have in this second part of the thesis proposed a history of the constitution of several fisheries and environmental management institutions, practices and norms between the 1870s, when Fiji became officially a British colony, and the 2000s, when coastal fisheries management mainly took place under a CBFM model parallel to state-led actions. Investigating successive political (including institutional, legal, juridical) milestones, I showed how different management apparatuses and policies have emerged and have constituted attempts to organize and control both fish and fishers. For each of these moments, I have identified coalitions that engaged in the shaping of what ‘coastal fisheries management’ consists of, and analyzed the practices, concepts and norms they developed to form what I have called management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes of practices (**Table 6**). Normative, epistemological, and ethical incompatibilities explain that the two coalitions have generated management endeavors and policies that have remained overall parallel more than complementary in the 1990s-2000s. Indeed, while some collaborative moments occurred in the 2000s and while both coalitions attempted to build bridges, major gaps remained between the state’s fisheries management project and FLMMA’s CBFM project. Consequently, FLMMA’s model of intervention on local sites for marine resource management projects has been characterized by the absence of state legislative support and limited interaction with state agencies like the MoF (Sloan and Chand 2015).

**Table 6. Characterization of management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes of practices**

Political subsystem	Characterization	Theoretical tools	Management-as-development	Management-as-conservation
Coastal fisheries management	Of what?	Qualification	Fish as a resource and fishers as a productive potential	Fish and fishers as parts of the <i>vanua</i> , and fish as an element of biodiversity
		Problematization	Fisheries for a maximum yet sustainable production	Fisheries under local control, with respect of traditional modes of production, and compatibility with biodiversity conservation objectives
	By who?	Advocacy coalitions	MoF, regional/international scientific/management org., development funders, fishers...	NGOs and conservation funders, USP researchers, local fishing groups and local leaders
	How?	Instruments Policies	Subsidies, quantitative surveys, MSY	LMMAs and <i>tabu</i> institutions
	Why?	Belief system / Discourse	Developmentalist and neoliberal	Conservationist and localist

## **Incompatibilities**

The two regimes of practices propose different answers to the question of how to manage coastal fisheries, but more importantly, they are fueled by what actors of the different coalitions hold as their core values. While the former appeals to notions of economic, scientific and social progress, the latter draws principally attention to new objects of value (e.g. fish and local communities) and brings forward natural and cultural heritage to support its political and environmental action.

In these two chapters, I have also demonstrated that different qualification and problematization processes are at stake. As part of the management-as-development regime, fish and fishers are qualified as potentials for economic profitability. Fish are progressively modeled by fishery science models to become proper (natural) *resources*, while fishers are (through subsidies) encouraged to make use of those to take part in the national economy. Coastal fisheries are thus problematized as activities needing careful control to remain simultaneously productive while avoiding overfishing issues, i.e. to govern fish and fishers so that they remain within the tight frame that represent the ‘maximum sustainable yield’. As part of the management-as-conservation regime, the link is made between two modes of qualification: fish are simultaneously an element of the *vanua* and an element of biodiversity, and fisheries should remain to a large extent under local control, in respect of traditional modes of production, as well as ensure compatibility with biodiversity conservation objectives. Fisheries are thus problematized as a governance issue: fisheries should be co-managed by a plurality of actors (including state agencies) according to their competences, knowledges and legitimacies.

## **Precarious cohabitations**

The two regimes of practices have represented in the past decades different ways to apprehend humans’ relations with the sea and its inhabitants. Institutionally, multi-scalar conservation and development trajectories explored in this part can be analyzed as *diverging trajectories* as actors organized so that their activities and institutions remain separate, for instance with the coastal/offshore dichotomy materialized by the disconnected activities of respectively NGOs and MoF in these areas. Yet, far from being completely hermetic or opposed, developmentalism and conservationism-localism always exist alongside and in tension with each other. Indeed,

delimitations of the two regimes of practices presented in this part are perhaps not as impermeable as this sketching suggests. Some arrangements are for instance recommended by fishery scientist Robert Gillett to obtain “management success” in a proposition that reminds of what has later developed as Marine Spatial Planning (MSP). Indeed, in this report commissioned by the World Bank, the equation leading to “management success” at the site level depends on multiple factors including the *goal* (“Gi”) for which a site is managed (**Figure 21**). For this factor, two possibilities: in protected areas the goal is to conserve biodiversity, while in non-protected areas the goal is to improve “net overall benefits from resource use”.

For the purposes of the study, management success at the site level can be thought to depend on the following factors:

$$MS_i = f(G_i, E_n, S_i, P_i) \text{ where}$$

MS<sub>i</sub> represents the perceived success of management interventions at a particular site <sub>i</sub>

G<sub>i</sub> represents the goal for which the site is managed, typically:

In non-protected areas: improvement in net overall benefits from resource use

In protected areas: achievement of conservation objectives for the site

E<sub>n</sub> represents factors external to the site which may affect management success (e.g. major storms) and national policies of a country <sub>n</sub>

S<sub>i</sub> represents site intrinsic factors influencing the success of management, such as socio-cultural characteristics (e.g. social cohesion), resource use (e.g. distance to markets), and ecological characteristics (e.g. ecosystem complexity and productivity); and

P<sub>i</sub> represents processes associated with the introduction of management at the site level, such as the degree of community involvement in planning and enforcement, and type of institutional partnerships established with external site stakeholders (if any).

**Figure 21. Extract from a report to the World Bank of fishery scientist Gillett (1999) suggesting distinctions of areas for conservation or for development purposes**

Source: Gillett 1999:11

We see with this management proposition an attempt to make two regimes of practices presenting not only opposed objectives, but also incompatible practices and norms, co-exist literally side by side. As mentioned above, this spatially organized vision of integrated management has since largely progressed with MSP, which has been brought forward in the last decade as a promising management tool to sustainably organize oft-competing claims over marine spaces and resources by “*analysing and allocating the spatial and temporal distribution of human activities in marine areas*” (Ehler and Douvere 2010:10).

### **Management as deep colonization**

Finally, both chapters indicate the predominant role of external, western stakeholders in the shaping of the two management regimes. Long after the independence, western models (i.e. of

global development and of global conservation, informed respectively by fishery science and conservation science) have remained central for the construction of management norms, practices and institutions. For instance, FLMMA's adoption of conservation's 'MPA' language and practice (**Part II.4.2.2.c**) distinctly points at the introduction of western practitioners' naturalist vision (Descola 2005) as it installs (sometimes physical) boundaries between resource-use and 'natural' spaces. Although in very different ways, both developmentalism and conservationism participate in objectifying nature and in supporting nature-human dualism. Indeed, the former externalises nature and creates a relationship in which the 'other' is available for use in ways constrained only by a concern for human development. 'Nature' becomes a concern only insofar as it sustains the productive capacity required for economic development. The latter, however, objectifies nature as something which needs to be preserved from human activities, at least in some dedicated spaces.

Yet, we have seen that this vision held by external conservation actors was rapidly tempered through their association with local environmental groups carrying localist visions and supporting a more unified conception of human–nature relations. Indeed, in that view, humans are legitimate users of natural resources, and such use of local environments participates in the shaping of people's identities.

Still, the results of this Part reveal the centrality of western ideas on the relationship between people and 'nature' during this timeframe, in both material and discursive dimensions of natural resource management. It follows that imaginaries constituted around the concept of natural resource management “*ontologically privilege non-indigenous ways of being-in place*” (Howitt and Suchet-Pearson 2006:324). These authors add that if there is a will to move away from dominant Eurocentric discourses, “*it is not just the relationships of power that need to be reshaped, but also the concepts, language and images used to describe, analyse and address the processes*” (ibid). This ontological lens provides us with a better understanding of what has been proposed in the past to *manage* natural resources and spaces, and brings interesting elements to now explore more recent management dynamics.



The background of the slide features two thick, textured green brushstrokes that cross each other. One stroke starts from the top left and extends towards the bottom right, while the other starts from the top right and extends towards the bottom left. The strokes have a visible, grainy texture, suggesting they were created with a brush. The colors range from a vibrant green to a slightly darker, more muted green, with some yellowish highlights.

## Part III

### Convergences.

The emergence of a  
hybrid coalition





In this part, I explore the effects of growing calls for more ‘integration’ in the management and governance of coastal fisheries and how they translated into what Barros-Platiau and Maljean-Dubois have identified as multi-scalar dynamics of institutional and organizational ‘defragmentation’ (Barros-Platiau and Maljean-Dubois 2017). They show how calls for sustainability and integration for the management and planning of marine activities have resulted in processes of institutional ‘defragmentation’, which fosters new collaborations and orchestrations, and contrasts with previous fragmentation dynamics and institutional specialization. In Fiji, in the South Pacific region, and more globally in international environmental arenas, I show that these defragmentation processes are allowed by converging trajectories of conservation and development worlds, as these trajectories become increasingly anchored in global, national and local sustainability discourses.

In the two chapters, we will see that regional organizations like the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP<sup>101</sup>) and the Pacific Community (SPC) have been at the forefront of exploitation-conservation dynamics in the region and in individual PICTs. I would like here to place the emphasis on the dynamics of these two organizations and on how illustrative those are of the successive fragmentation / defragmentation or specialization / integration phases in the region. SPREP was created in the 1970s as a joint initiative of SPC and UNEP. Following a period of expansion and long deliberations, SPREP left SPC in 1992 and relocated from Nouméa to Samoa. It achieved autonomy as an independent inter-governmental organization with the signing of the Agreement Establishing SPREP in Apia on 16 June 1993. During an interview, an information and communication specialist working at SPC for several decades insisted on the importance of development-conservation dynamics in this changing institutional panorama. He reminded me that the separation of SPC and SPREP in 1992 was to be replaced in a global context of major institutional and financial reorganization in environmental management arenas following the Rio Earth Summit that same year and of favored access to new sources of funding through fragmentation processes. This was the case, for instance, for newly-created SPREP who could, after its separation from SPC, gain access to strictly environment-oriented funds, while SPC would continue to focus on providing

---

<sup>101</sup> The South Pacific Regional Environment Programme's (SPREP) charter is to enhance regional cooperation and to strengthen the capacity of Pacific island members to plan and manage their own national environmental programs. The work of the organization covers nature conservation, pollution prevention, climate change and economic development. The main office is located in Apia, Samoa.

development-oriented assistance to member PICTs. Moreover, this SPC interviewee further developed on how the progressive merging of development and conservation concerns in more recent years affected and was affected in return by major changes in funding models of regional organizations like SPC and SPREP:

*When there are a lot of resources that are not so exploited we can say “we will do a lot of development, then just try to protect this or that emblematic species,” that’s basically what we did before. But the depletion of resources and environmental crises in general led to a convergence between the two. Before it could be compared to opposition, we worked in two different worlds, now it’s about negotiation, everyone is asking the question “what are the points of convergence?” This brings a concern in terms of funding. We are starting to work in very common areas, everyone must position themselves well and everyone looks for the same sources of funding (interview with a SPC staff, Nouméa 09/2019, my translation from French).*

How this “positioning” occurs in a context of institutional defragmentation is a question that lies at the core of this thesis. This institutional blurring is most visible when this interviewee finally states that “*today at SPC, we wouldn’t call ourselves a development organization anymore*” (interview with the SPC information specialist, Noumea 09/2019, my translation from French), which contrasts with clear development goals of the organization in previous decades. As opposed to previous fragmentation movements when each regional organization had to position itself according to a specific, delimited remit (i.e. conservation, development), regional organizations have been since the late 2000s prompted to provide more transdisciplinary and transectoral technical expertise and support.

In both chapters also, we will see that interactions between state and non-state actors constitute a major angle of analysis to understand defragmentation processes. While an analysis of conservation-development (dis)connections cannot be resumed to this interactional angle, I argue that, in Fiji, state/non-state actors’ relations allow to grasp the most salient political and institutional dynamics at play on these questions. These relations represent a rather classical subject of analysis for political ecologists (Adger et al. 2001, Rodary 2003, Robbins 2004, Neumann 2005, Ongolo and Badoux 2017). In particular, the blurring of the boundaries separating their respective remits, practices and discourses in the field of environmental

governance has been widely explored in the literature (Dumoulin and Rodary 2005, Kamler 2011, Jones et al. 2016, Brockington et al. 2018). Lynn (2012), for instance, showed that in a context of growing power of NGOs and intergovernmental organizations in governance processes, states use a variety of strategies to impose their preferences.

Building on this literature, I also attempt in this part to move the focus away from NGOs and to pay attention to the practices and discourses of other non-state actors such as international organizations (Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora - CITES in Chapter 6) but also of conservation funding bodies (philanthropic donors in Chapter 5). Regarding the latter, attention of political ecology to conservation NGOs contrasts with the limited research work that has specifically focused on funding stakeholders, which yet play a significant role in the setting-up of conservation agendas and priorities (Gruby et al. 2021). Indeed, while philanthropic foundations are pivotal supporters of conservation networks, their influence on conservation agendas, geographical foci, and scientific orientations have received little scholarly attention (Holmes 2015, Verissimo et al. 2018, Gruby et al. 2021). Yet, conservation orientations and strategies are logically reproduced through a transfer of people, norms, values and practices, and donors and ground-based operational organizations are closely interrelated and interdependent. These transfers and the key role of funding agencies in the recent trajectories of Fijian environmental governance are developed in Chapter 5.

In Chapter 5, I propose to analyze how state and non-state stakeholders introduced in previous chapters proposed in the 2010s new visions for coastal fisheries management in Fiji out of the convergence of two movements: (1) the adoption and appropriation of a Blue Growth agenda by the Fijian Government and (2) the transformation of conservation sector's regime of practices following philanthropic conservation donors' strategic turn toward a new *follow-the-government* funding scheme. At the crossing of these two trajectories, more collaborative management practices, norms and institutions emerged and formalized a common vision for coastal fisheries in which state regained a central place.

In Chapter 6, I explore the effects of more global dynamics towards integrated and sustainable oceans on Fijian and South Pacific coastal fisheries management. To do so, I pay attention to the evolution of the norms and practices guiding the implementation of CITES over the last

decades. I retrace the inclusion of exploited marine fish and of human livelihoods considerations into this institution originally guided by strict preservationist objectives, and discuss the progressive installation of new norms and practices favoring a new ‘sustainable exploitation’ vision. I then propose to question how this evolution challenged previous modes of governance and management and reshaped previous sectoral delimitations between biodiversity conservation and fisheries management, within the institution itself as well as for South Pacific and Fijian management bodies involved in decision-making and implementation of CITES regulations.

## Chapter 5. The reforming of coastal fisheries for an integrated, Fijian blue growth

*The old ways of growing our economy, of developing our nation, are no longer adequate or acceptable. We need to reshape our development strategies away from the conventional growth model of exploiting particular resources for our own use in the here and now. We need to refine our existing approaches and forge a new development model - one that is more holistic, integrated, inclusive and above all sustainable [...] This Green Growth Framework will be one that is truly home-grown, truly Fijian. And it will benefit not only Fijians but be ready to serve as a model for our island neighbors, who look to us for leadership on this issue as they do on other things relating to their own development.*

Frank Bainimarama Opening Address at the PM's Green Growth Framework Summit (2014).<sup>102</sup>

This chapter continues the unfolding of coastal fisheries management history and, to do so, documents evolutions in Fijian and South Pacific political contexts from the early 2010s, a pivotal period in many regards. In their analysis of South Pacific fisheries management policies and strategies, Karcher et al. (2020) showcased two distinct temporal phases of policy trends, one before and one after 2010: the after-2010 phase is characterized by its 'integrative' nature and by the multiplication of partnerships, agreements, multi-stakeholder projects and even merging between institutions. The early 2010s correspond for instance to the materialization of several regional policies and the organization of important trans-sectoral regional meetings in which inshore fisheries hold a central place. For instance, community-based management of coastal fisheries, previously absent of regional discussion, becomes a significant topic notably with the launch in 2015 of the *New Song for Coastal Fisheries – pathways to change*, also called the Nouméa Strategy (SPC 2015). With this regional strategy, PICTs and SPC called for a complete rethink of fisheries practices and methodologies, a 'new song' of change for small-scale coastal fisheries. This context has brought in Fiji what fishery expert Jeremy Prince has

---

<sup>102</sup> "Opening Address at PM's Green Growth Framework Summit". *Fijian Government* (online, 12/06/2014) Available at <https://www.fiji.gov.fj/media-centre/speeches/english/rear-admiral-j-v-bainimarama-openingaddress-at> (accessed on 23/03/2022)

called the “coastal fisheries management reform” (Prince et al. 2020). The *New Song* was produced after a regional workshop on the future of inshore fisheries management organized in March 2015 in Nouméa and funded by the Australian Government and the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR). The need for a complete reconsideration of the way fisheries science and management were thought and applied in PICTs was agreed by representatives from the 22 PICTs (from both fisheries and conservation departments), from SPC and from other regional organizations like SPREP, NGOs, donors and researchers (SPC 2015). The Nouméa Strategy emphasizes the need for “*a coordinated approach*” that “*brings together initiatives and stakeholders with a shared vision of coastal fisheries management*” (SPC 2015:14). As those years (2010-2015) appear to have been pivotal in the way coastal fisheries are apprehended by state and non-state politics in the region and in Fiji, this chapter attempts to provide explanations to this change of tide in management and governance orientations. Beyond the question of *how* to manage, the idea of a governance change rather raises the question of *who manages what?* This chapter focuses on propositions from state and non-state actors to rethink exploitation-conservation relation in Fiji.

The ‘sustainability bond’ that cements NGOs and states of the so-called global South as partners of action is not recent and is often traced back to the 1992 Rio Conference where the idea that there could be “no development without sustainability; no sustainability without development” (Sachs 2010:28) emerged in international institutions. In Fijian ocean and coastal governance, institutional complexities and the particular case of state/NGOs interactions have received little attention, and most efforts have been concentrated on high-seas areas and regional scales (Vince et al. 2017). These interactions have often been overlooked in comparison to socio-ecological analyses of either state or NGO actions. It is perhaps environmental consultants who brought most thoughts on the relation between the two. Conservation consultant Annette Lees contends in her 2008 report on the conservation sector in Fiji that “partnerships [of Government] with NGOs will be unlikely or ineffectual” (Lees 2007:45) because “conservation is unlikely ever to be a priority for government” (ibid:41), while fisheries expert Robert Gillett, who contends that interaction between MoF and NGOs “deserves additional attention” (Gillett 2014:41), shows that NGOs staff expressed “frustrations dealing with the Fisheries Department as a major challenge to their work” (ibid). He adds “much of this seems related to the limited communication with the Department or, more fundamentally, the lack of uptake by the

Department of the perceived innovative processes and methodologies pioneered by the NGOs. By contrast, many in the Fisheries Department indicate the NGO work is not sufficiently aligned with government priorities” (ibid).

Taking as entry point this state/non-state actors’ relations, and using a multi-scalar approach, I describe in this chapter the construction of a collaborative space based on an alignment of their respective strategies over a common state-led agenda. Although the collaborative space includes broader partnerships (incl. USP, large external projects for sustainable development, tourism operators and fishing communities), I focus here on the relations between the conservation world (constituted of international environmental NGOs and their philanthropic donors) and the MoF of the Fijian Government. Conscious of the complexity and the multi-factorial quality of such transition, I show that this space has notably been made possible by **the convergence of two international movements**, namely the adoption and appropriation of the Blue Growth agenda by the Fijian Government and the transformation of the conservation philanthropic donors’ strategies and practices.

## **5.1. Appropriation of blue growth discourses in the Pacific region and in Fiji**

### **5.1.1. Green and blue growth for a new sustainable development**

The blue growth, or the blue economy, is a recent economic development paradigm promoted worldwide as a way to deliver sustainable ocean development in the context of the sustainable development goals (Midlen 2021). It emerged out of the concept of ‘green growth’, firstly mobilized around 2005 in development organizations and which has since been increasingly used in the international governance context, for instance during the follow-ups of the 2008 financial crisis by G8 and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) or in the UN climate negotiation crisis in 2009. In his inventory of actors that entered the “green growth field”, Blaxekjær shows that the term really gained traction from 2012 onwards, with multiple national, regional and international agencies and organizations referring to it (Blaxekjær 2016).

Overall, the concept of green growth is presented as a way to reconcile two oft-competing uses of spaces and of resources (including exploitative and conservative uses), in a similar way to what has been intended with the use of the concept of ‘sustainable development’. For some scholars, this reconciliation seemed to be mostly structured around “*new environmentally friendly technologies*” and “*a global policy network of private and public actors*” (Haas 2012:95). For others, the popularity of the terminology and of the practices it entails were seen as a prolongation of previous processes of commodification of ‘nature’ which have entered the world of environmental policy (Suarez & Corson 2013). In sum, it is presented by international organizations as a new development model that will replace previous models of natural resource exploitation in a way to reconcile, or at least find complementarities, between economic and environmental objectives.

In 2012, green growth terminology was largely strengthened at the UN Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20) summit and a few months later with the formation of the international Green Growth Knowledge Platform gathering most powerful international organizations. It rapidly benefited from large advocacy from international organizations led by UN agencies (e.g. UNEP, UNESCAP) and OECD (UNEP 2011; OECD 2009). As a direct ocean-centered filiation of the green growth concept, the expression blue growth also emerged in the early 2010s, approximately two decades after efforts began in the 1990s to develop a ‘multi-stakeholder ocean governance’ beyond the scope of UNCLOS (Mallin and Barbesgaard 2020). It is around that time that Pacific Island countries began to refer to the blue economy, firstly at the Rio+20 summit and then in other regional and international meetings (e.g. UN Ocean Conference, UN Climate Change COP22 and COP23). In recent years, this concept is subject to an emerging body of scholarship, most of which represents scholars’ attempts to better characterize this rather fluid notion (Eikeset et al. 2018, Keen et al. 2018, Voyer et al. 2018, Midlen 2021) while other propose to analyze regional applications (Winder and Le Heron 2017) or to acknowledge its potential for ocean sustainability (Pauly 2018, Potgieter 2018).

It is beyond the study’s focus to retrace the links and articulations between green and blue growth or to develop on the different terminologies like blue growth, blue economy and new ocean economy, as these generally remain vague, are largely overlapping and brings forward



multiple interpretations.<sup>103</sup> Blue growth's wide scope and conceptual fluidity makes it easy to fit with all stakeholders' visions and ambitions which contributes to its installation as a new governance paradigm. While a wide range of literature has emerged in recent years on this concept, I would highlight Mallin and Barbesgaard's article (2020) which, from a critical political economy stance, dissects the origins and the strategies of several blue economy initiatives and methodically demonstrate how capital-led enterprises provide new ways to overcome barriers to capitalist expansion posed by ocean spaces. Moreover, Silver et al. (2015) present in their article the multiplicity of meanings, either complementary or conflicting, associated specifically to the 'blue economy' terminology at Rio+20. Beyond definitions related to oceans as natural capital or oceans as good business, they show that it holds a specific meaning to PICTs - "*Pacific SIDS' use of blue economy at Rio+20 was about framing and aligning their livelihoods and development priorities, strongly asserting connections to ocean territory, and identifying partners and funds to pursue their objectives*" (Silver et al. 2015:14) - and that small-scale fisheries livelihoods are consistently put forward along with the blue economy terminology.

### 5.1.2. A new development model for a Pacific regionalism

It is first and foremost necessary to re-embed this chapter into the tense political context of the late 2000s in order to understand how conflictual evolutions in Fijian political arenas largely impacted its position in the region, and consequently, how it conditioned the uptake of new economic development models like blue growth by Fiji and its neighbor countries. Following the 2006 coup d'état, Fiji's Court of Appeal held in April 2009 stated that the interim Government came into power unlawfully. This event led President Ratu Josefa Iloilo and head of the Military Frank Bainimarama to abrogate the 1997 Constitution, remove Constitutional appointments, and postpone of democratic elections (see **Box 2**). This decision was not appreciated by international observers (incl. the Commonwealth) who decided to suspend Fiji from an important regional institution, the Pacific Island Forum. It was only in January 2012

---

<sup>103</sup> Henceforth, I will refer to the term of *blue growth* to refer to these partly overlapping concepts of Blue Growth, Green Growth, Blue Economy but more specifically with regards to their appropriation and framing by Fiji, which I detail in this Chapter. Although the official policy and discourse in which this appropriation took form are entitled Green Growth (e.g. Green Growth Framework, PM Green Growth discourse), I choose to refer to a blue growth model/rhetoric/agenda because of the attention they provide to marine and coastal matters and to the increasingly performative role attributed to oceans in Fiji's propositions for national and regional developments.

that the Fijian Government initiated a consultation process towards a new Constitution that expected to change especially the electoral system from a race-based, single-member constituency electoral system to one based on proportional representation. In September 2013, Fiji's fourth Constitution was adopted. A year later, the first democratic elections since 2006 were held and offered a clear victory to the Fiji First party led by Frank Bainimarama. It is in this context that Prime Minister Bainimarama and its government initiated the construction and promotion of a Green Growth Framework for Fiji, which was introduced to the country in 2014 with the Prime Minister's Green Growth Framework Summit held in June 2014 in Suva. This section focuses on several materials (e.g. discourses, scientific literature, national and regional policies) but the Green Growth discourse by Frank Bainimarama constitutes the guiding material. The discourse announced the official launch of the Green Growth Framework (GGF), which was endorsed by the Cabinet that same month (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014). The Framework has since been incorporated into the 5- and 20-year National Plan (Ministry of Economy 2017). I now propose to examine in details what is proposed in this discourse (and in the Framework) based on the extract proposed in the epigraph of this chapter.

a. "We need to forge a new development model"

In 2014, the first national Green Growth Summit aimed at emphasizing green growth as a new model able to support simultaneously an "integrated and sustainable management of natural resources" and a "sustained, inclusive economic growth" (Ministry of Communications - Official Fijian Government website 2014). At this occasion, Prime Minister Bainimarama renewed several of its international and regional commitments, including those of the 2012 Rio+20 Conference on Sustainable Development. Moreover, the idea that Fiji needs to construct and implement a new development model was central, and Bainimarama described this model as one "*that will allow to move away from the conventional growth model of exploiting particular resources for our own use in the here and now*". Already in 2013, at the Pacific Islands Development Forum (PIDF), several leader of PICTs, including Fiji's,

recognized the excessive productive flaws of economic growth<sup>104</sup> models at work at that time (Fry and Tarte 2015).

This call for a change was accompanied in following years by several political and organizational developments. Midway through the Parliamentary term, the Fiji First-led Government decided to reinvigorate the Cabinet with a reshuffle of ministerial responsibilities. In 2016, the Fisheries Department and Forest Department of the former Ministry of Fisheries and Forests were installed as two distinct ministries, and previous Minister for Fisheries and Forestry retained the portfolio of Minister for Forestry while the previous Employment Minister, Semi Koroilavesau, became Minister for Fisheries. It is around the same time that the two other main figures of the Ministry, the Permanent Secretary and the Director of Fisheries also changed. From there, more ‘aggressive policies’ were developed by the MoF (Kintisch 2019), which became more active on various offshore and coastal fisheries management topics. For instance, referring to the national sea cucumber moratorium established in 2017 that was long recommended by all NGOs and most scientific experts, this interviewee confirms how this political change drastically changed what could be done for the management of this high-value fishery, that is one of the most complex to manage efficiently:

*WCS did a lot of work, but the Director at that time didn't manage to get a Moratorium, neither did the Permanent Secretary although there was comprehensive evidence that it was out of control. [...] When the moratorium happened, we had a pro-conservation minister who's a business man and a sea man, he's navy like all of the others but much more open and instinctive. The Permanent Secretary is also a business man, a practical can-do man. All three are very dynamic, it's very different now (interview with a consultant, Suva 06/2019)*

This governmental reshuffling has thus allowed to install people carrying the new political agenda, at the highest level. This necessity for Fiji to move away from previous development-focused political orientations had become since the early 2010s one of the most recurring idea

---

<sup>104</sup> This is despite very positive economic results of Fiji that year. In April 2014, the economy was poised to grow at 3.8 percent due among other factors to improved domestic business confidence. This economic growth was recompensed that year by Standard and Poor's rating outlook to pass from stable to positive (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014).

expressed by Fijian leaders during national and international events. While the sustainable development discourse has been part of the country's agenda in the past decade, these new leaders expressed at several occasions how Fiji, as well as all countries worldwide, failed to meet sustainable development diverse objectives, especially regarding the environmental dimension (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014), and particularly highlighted how the social, ecological and economic trypic of sustainable development had been largely skewed in favor of the economic dimension.

Indeed, according to an interviewee working at the MoF, despite various commitments and discussions over more conservative uses of the sea, actions undertaken by the Ministry remained at that time most and forward guided by the country's National Development Plan (interview, MoF Inshore Division, Suva 07/2019). Indeed, the conventional growth model mentioned in Bainimarama's discourse can be related to the one in which management-as-development of fisheries described in Chapter 2 prospered, a model based on productivity maximization, and that include objectives to make Fijian fisheries (at first both inshore and offshore and rapidly solely offshore) a central piece of the Fijian economy.

These calls for a 'new development model' must thus be replaced in a context in which MoF's capacity to preserve fish stocks to meet the country's future needs as well as to protect its marine biodiversity was largely questioned, with regards notably to the unfavorable assessment of previous development strategies (Lees 2007, Gillett et al. 2014, FLMMA 2015). Regarding coastal fisheries, Chapter 2 has shown that despite the repeated acknowledgment of inshore overexploitation concerns by Fijian Fisheries authorities since the 1990s, actions to address these issues were limited to the development of "alternatives" that would release the pressure from inshore fisheries while maintaining the development of commercial fishing activities (i.e. using aquaculture, FADs or reef ranching techniques). Management measures proposed by the Government thus resumed to developing activities which could foster the fisheries sector and develop new markets for marine resources. According to fisheries expert Robert Gillett, these endeavors have shown very limited results in terms of inshore overfishing mitigation and seemed to represent at that time a mere distraction from other (more effective but more complex and costly) management measures such as the enforcement of fishing regulations (Gillett et al. 2014). Members of the FLMMA network, at that time the main stakeholders involved on coastal

fisheries, urged the Fijian government at several occasions to provide more means and resources for a coastal fisheries management more oriented toward the sustainability of fish resources and marine biodiversity. In 2014, the words used and the general tone of the new Government, notably through Bainimarama's discourse, seemed to question former modes of management and to initiate wider thinking on the idea of development and on adequate development alternatives available.

b. “This Green Growth Framework will be one that is truly home-grown...”

Such development alternative was presented in the discourse under a blue growth model that would be “truly home-grown”, in the sense that it would stem from and reflect Fiji's contexts and views and provide regionally-relevant forms of development. In the previous decade, other attempts to build a regional unity on the basis of a common ocean governance vision had emerged but shown limited outcomes. The regional *Ocean Policy* adopted by all PICTs' leaders in 2005, was, according to a former staff of the MoF that participated in its elaboration, more of an ‘empty shell’ than a real, common binding agenda for PICTs:

*It was meant to sit on the shelf, it was not meant to do anything, except for international partners coming in to see what's going on here. It was saying “that's what we, Pacific Island leaders want to see for our ocean management”. That was the first ever multi-country ocean policy developed, and it was largely led by Australia. We looked at what we had already signed: the Law of the Sea, Parties for Nauru, the Rio declaration [...] But then we realized it was just statements, and that we needed to turn it into more specific national action plans (interview with a MoF Inshore Fisheries Division staff, Suva 07/2019).*

Also in 2005, the Pacific Plan, endorsed by the PIF Leaders, epitomized the concept of regionalism and became the “*principal regional policy instrument for strengthening and deepening regional cooperation, regional integration and the regional provision of public goods and services*” (Pratt and Govan 2010:11).<sup>105</sup> Later, in 2012, before the Rio+20 Summit,

---

<sup>105</sup> The Pacific Plan is declined into four pillars: economic growth, sustainable development, good governance, and security.

PICTs organized several preparatory meetings to discuss national and regional environmental issues and to find ways for Pacific leaders to talk through one (regional) voice at the Summit. To a large extent, this voice has been found over a shared attention to and concerns for ocean and coastal matters.

Yet, the idea of a Pacific blue growth provided in the late 2010s new room to move regionalism forward. This idea had been previously addressed by aid agencies and multilateral institutions such as the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) which produced before the Rio+20 summit a report entitled *Green Economy in a Blue World, Pacific Perspectives* (UNESCAP 2012). This oceanic dimension rapidly resonated with the maritime specificities of island countries of the South Pacific (FAO 2014). The reliance on blue growth as a rallying point to develop a Pacific regionalism has also been rapidly captured by the Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG). The MSG developed in 2012 the *MSG Green Growth Roadmap and implementation framework* (MSG Secretariat 2012). Under the chairmanship of Fiji's PM Frank Bainimarama, 2012 MSG leaders developed this Roadmap based primarily on the idea that it had the potential to produce “*collective political direction*” (ibid:3). While “definitions must be relevant and reflect local contexts” (ibid:5), PICTs leaders expected to speak with one voice regarding the general orientations and positions they decide to take as part of blue growth developments. At the Pacific Islands Development Forum (PIDF) in 2013 it was again discussed that PCITs needed to assert a distinctive Pacific model of ‘blue economies’ aligned with global sustainable development principles (Fry and Tarte 2015). This model was supported primarily by development partners such as the Global Green Growth Institute and the Asian Development Bank. In 2017, at the 48th meeting of PIF Leaders, members endorsed *The Blue Pacific: Our Sea of Islands—Our Security through Sustainable Development, Management and Conservation* (PIF 2017), a statement of regional identity intended to sit at the heart of regionalism going forward.

Overall, the GGF is presented as part of a ‘home-grown’ nation-building agenda but yet clearly draws from broader green growth and blue growth models promoted by UN agencies in the Pacific (Dornan et al. 2018). For instance, it proposes an overarching emphasis on low carbon development and resource efficiency. To achieve this objective, it proposes to improve “*resource productivity (including by doing more with less)*”; to provide “*incentives for*

*investment which support the efficient use of natural resources”* ; and to deploy budgetary measures (e.g. duty exemptions and direct subsidies) as the main instruments to do so (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014:17).

However, this uptake of blue growth narrative by PICTs should not be considered as a mere instrumental capture of an internationally-defined concept. Indeed, the concept has been re-appropriated and reshaped to fit with PICT’s idiosyncrasies and concerns, and to be more in line with specific regional ambitions. More than an appropriation, we can see processes of translation of this narrative. While the economic dimension remains central, the inclusion of a regional sovereignty matter, as well as the defense of social customs and practices that strengthen a vision of indigenous ecological stewardship, have integrated this translation process (Dornan et al. 2018). PICTs leaders asserted on many occasion their will to do things differently based on this new development model, in connection with their countries’ histories. In Fiji and in other PICTs, blue growth references even became arguments for alternative development models (as announced by Bainimarama) in support of a more “traditional economy” (Dornan et al. 2018).

Notably, the emphasis put on the performative role that oceans can play in the upcoming of this new growth model and the fast engagement of PICTs in ‘blue development’ narratives is to note. Such infatuation can be connected to previous attempts to make oceans a central piece of a process through which Small Island Developing States (SIDS) are becoming Large Ocean Island States (LOIS).

c. ...“[blue growth will] serve as a model for our island neighbors, who look to us for leadership”

Blue growth models and discourses have been central in Fijian politics after the eviction of the country from the PIF. The blue growth vision has indeed been key in the consequent forming of the Pacific Island Development Forum (PIDF) in 2013, as part of a strategy to provide an alternative to the PIF in which powerful members like Australia and New Zealand were seen as holding too much decisional powers. The highly political quality of this blue growth endorsement is well explained by Fry and Tarte (2015): “[with PIDF] *Pacific*

*regionalism would find its strength in shared interests and common concerns around sustainable development and by renewing ‘special cultural bonds’ and ‘regional kinships’.* For Fiji, the underlying agenda was also to mobilise Pacific Island endorsement for the Bainimarama Government’s ‘roadmap to democracy’” (Fry and Tarte 2015:102). Fry and Tarte also show how instrumental the blue growth doctrine was for Fiji to remove previous national political troubles (mainly the 2006 coup d’état by Bainimarama, largely contested by Australia and New Zealand) from regional discussions, while simultaneously becoming the Pacific leader of environmental diplomacy.

As a major actor of this new Pacific diplomacy, Fiji’s strategy appears, in a paradoxical way, as simultaneously reinforcing and challenging Pacific regionalism. Reinforcing because with its leading position, notably in the international environmental institutions, the country has become a voice for the region as it has often claimed to talk on the behalf of not only PICTs but also small islands developing states worldwide<sup>106</sup>. Internationally, the co-hosting of the UN Conference on Oceans and the Presidency of the UNFCCC COP23<sup>107</sup> in Bonn (Germany) in 2017 indicate this bold positioning in the international environmental arena. And challenging because this same position has also served to highlight the flaws of previous liberal, aid-dependent regional strategies that structured the region in previous decades (PIF 2011).

The Pacific remains overall a highly aid-dependent region, but Fiji stands out by the limited amount of external support it has received and the way it has managed to orientate the aid it has received according to its national priorities (O’Keefe 2015). Since the early 2000s, Fiji’s ‘Look North’ policy strategy has contributed to position the country as one of the PICTs that seem to shape regional diplomatic strategy.<sup>108</sup> Fiji asserted on many occasions a clear vision of its national interests, and it is in this context of geopolitical affirmation that its positioning on environmental matters occurs. Indeed, some scholars note the changes in bilateral and

---

<sup>106</sup> Fiji speaking on behalf of Pacific Small Island Developing States in Madrid, Spain. UNFCCC (online, 12/2019). Available at <https://unfccc.int/documents/204137> (accessed on 28/03/2021)

<sup>107</sup> That year, Fiji launched the Ocean Pathway Partnership to integrate oceans within the climate change agenda of the UNFCCC. Available at (<https://cop23.com.fj/the-ocean-pathway>) (accessed on 28/03/2021)

<sup>108</sup> This positioning is also explained by O’Keefe as a result of Fiji’s strategic rebound after Australia’s sanction regime following the 2006 coup (O’Keefe 2015). Fiji’s post-sanction offensive diplomacy consisted in unravelling Australia and New Zealand unreasonable influence in the region and turning progressively to China’s development aid. Strongly supported by China’s ‘green’ funds, Fiji can take the leading role in this new chapter for PICTs in which Australia and New Zealand would have a more limited influence.



multilateral aid landscapes (in a nutshell, the growing influence of China in the region at the expense of the US and Australia) with China's emphasis on providing aid for environmental sustainability and 'green' finance and technology,<sup>109</sup> compared to the US and Australia agendas that seem to remain blind to climate change issues (Rodd 2020).

### 5.1.3. Consequences for inshore fisheries management

Among the main sectors involved in this envisioned transition toward new development models promising increased self-determination, fisheries—both small-scale and industrial—represent a central card of the Fijian strategy. Indeed, in Fiji's GGF, various environmental measures not specifically related to the marine environment are discussed (e.g. green energy, low carbon development, the introduction of an Environmental Levy for the tourism sector) but a large part of the document addresses marine and fisheries issues and trends. While most attention remains on tuna fisheries, for which a “*regional solution is vital*” (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014:47), inshore fisheries also constitute a central item for future national strategies to resolve food security and livelihoods issues. In terms of management, inshore fisheries still suffer from “*the lack of knowledge about the resource stock, volume and value*” (idib:48) and the ambition to finish the systematic *iqoliqoli* survey to compile an inventory of inshore resources (as developed in Chapter 3 about management-as-development data-based practices) is renewed.<sup>110</sup> Actions to be taken in priority to improve inshore fisheries sustainability are the “*implementation of a framework for inshore fisheries valuation*” (ibid:50) and the implementation and gazetting<sup>111</sup> of more MPAs (“*the gazetting of a total of 16 MPAs in 2014*”; ibid:49). Other evocations on coastal spaces focus on habitat issues, such as coral reef bleaching and mangrove and seagrass habitats erosion.

---

<sup>109</sup> Launched in April 2019, the Chinese-led Belt and Road International Green Development Coalition, which brings together some 115 countries, is undertaking to invest “trillions of dollars” into “environmentally sustainable projects” for “transport, energy, and telecommunications infrastructure, industrial capacity, and technical capacity building” (United Nations Environment Programme, 2019, in Rodd 2020).

<sup>110</sup> The Fisheries Department completed in 2014 the marine resource inventory of 180 *iqoliqoli*. Yet, the project to map and survey the 411 *iqoliqoli* of the country will finally be abandoned in 2019 due to poor data management and costly protocols (interview with an environmental lawyer, Suva 06/2019).

<sup>111</sup> ‘Gazetted’ MPAs are areas that are under official regulation by the Fijian Government. They are gazetted once the regulation is published in Fiji’s Government Gazette. See Chapter 8 for more details.

Moreover, the consequence of stock depletion for the Fijian population's food security in the future is particularly highlighted, and while such topics were regularly evoked in public meetings, never before has it been so central in a public policy. In particular, a new emphasis on inshore fisheries management, which had been previously left out by the Government and which consequently remained FLMMA's remit<sup>112</sup>, became more visible (FLMMA 2015, Ministry of Strategic Planning 2014).

The integration of the blue growth vision in Fiji's political agenda in the early 2010s generated several institutional and legal adaptations on coastal fisheries management. Firstly, in order to become better equipped to address issues specific to the inshore areas, the MoF created a distinct Inshore Fisheries Division (IFD) in the MoF in 2017. The IFD has since been very active and has passed a number of policies (which are listed in **Appendix 3** of this thesis). That same year, the MoF led a review to assess the effectiveness of inshore fisheries management in partnership with New Zealand Ministry for Primary Industries, SPC and ADB and funded partly by the Packard Foundation. An interviewee from the Government emphasizes on the Government-led quality of this initiative: "*the partners came to support, to create the space to actually have the dialogue and plan the way forward for the Ministry, but the priority was always driven by the Ministry*" (interview at the MoF, 06/ 19th, Suva).

In 2018, the MoF increasingly communicates on this alternative development vision which would be less production-oriented and more ambitious for its marine conservation objectives. This positioning became particularly visible in the communication and representation strategy of the Ministry. From 2018 on, its main objective is to "*coordinate and facilitate the implementation of national policy and strategies concerning fisheries conservation, management, development and sustainable use*" while its banner has become the tryptic "*sustain, manage, protect*" (**Figure 1** in the Introduction).

---

<sup>112</sup> Despite numerous calls from FLMMA and its member organizations for the MoF to engage more into CBFM and to provide more resources for coastal fisheries management. For instance: "FLMMA calls on a closer partnership with government and for government to provide more resources and take the main responsibility for community-based inshore fishery management in Fiji." (*Fiji Locally Managed Marine Area Network: Working with Government towards a better Fiji* 2015)

This turn in the communication of the MoF, characterized by an emphasis on conservation objectives, has also been accompanied by new (or renewed) partnerships to enable the implementation of this new agenda. Indeed, since 2014, the repositioning of the Government on issues related to coastal fisheries has also occurred through greater recognition of FLMMA's central role for coastal communities.<sup>113</sup> Moreover, the willingness to partner with conservation actors (e.g. NGOs and their funders) became more and more visible. With their major financial resources and experience on coastal spaces and with fishing communities, these actors have turned out to be strategic partners for the Government to continue reaching international environmental arenas and achieve its geopolitical ambitions exposed above. Such acknowledgment of the role NGOs can play in the support and the voicing of state's objectives and strategies regarding marine and coastal realms has been a major turning point for coastal fisheries governance in Fiji.<sup>114</sup>

---

<sup>113</sup> "The management of inshore fisheries is supported by initiatives such as the Yaubula Conservation Initiative and the Fiji Locally Managed Marine Area (Fiji LMMA) network which focus on creating community awareness of environmental issues, particularly in the area of marine conservation" (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014:44).

<sup>114</sup> This acknowledgement and the consequent partnerships that emerge are also visible in other LOIS, as clearly stated by the representative of the Seychelles to the UN: "[o]ur ocean territory is 3000 times our land territory. This is why we are forced to think big and look for partners who understand what we are doing. This is why we reach out to NGOs" (in Silver et al. 2015:147)

### ***Conclusion of Section 5.1.***

This section explored the regional and Fijian uptake of the conceptually fluid concept of blue growth concept that emerged in international development arenas in the early 2010s.

Taking the 2014 discourse of Fiji's PM Frank Bainimarama to introduce the national Green Growth Framework as an entry point to explore this uptake, I show that two propositions are articulated to each other –although not very explicitly. The first one presents blue growth narratives as an opportunity for the region and as politically instrumental for regionalist ambitions. The second shows that Fiji is best positioned to become a leader of this movement. Interestingly, this reminds of the double vision Epeli Hau'ofa offered to Pacific Islanders when he argued for the need to embrace both the diversity and the uniqueness of each cultural community as well as a collective Oceanian identity in order to achieve an Oceanian Sovereignty (Bambridge et al. 2021). In this view, regional sovereignty is not exclusive of the sovereignty of each PICT which, rather, complements its national sovereignty with a broader, powerful regional vision.

In Fiji, the adoption of a 'blue' program was accompanied by political discourses and policies that highlighted the idea that the country needed to construct and implement a new development model, one that will allow Fiji to “*move away from the conventional growth model of exploiting particular resources*” in non-sustainable ways (Bainimarama 2014). In this model, coastal fisheries hold a central place. The repositioning of the Government on inshore fisheries matters as part of the blue growth strategy paves the way for new bridges to connect state and non-state actors, as the latter can provide valuable expertise to accompany the Government to achieve its national and regional ambitions. We will now see that, in parallel, in the conservation arena, a shift toward more collaboration with state services occurred and also contributed to form these new connections.

## **5.2. Philanthropic conservation donors shift for a more integrated management**

As we have seen in the previous chapter, NGOs in Fiji have since the mid-1990s been largely involved in fisheries management endeavors and had since been particularly involved in the constitution of a management-as-conservation regime. Channeled under the operations of the FLMMA network, this regime aimed notably at orientating local fishing practices towards sustainability and biodiversity conservation. Important transformations of this regime, explored in this section, occurred in the early-to-mid 2010s following an impulse from historical

philanthropic funding spheres and led conservation actors to rethink their modes of intervention in Fiji.

### 5.2.1. A necessary ‘reality check’ on conservation’s outcomes

Around 2013, both Packard and MacArthur Foundations, the main conservation funders of conservation activities in Fiji in the previous decade (see Chapter 4), decided to initiate a progressive exit of conservation funding in the country. For Packard, pulling out of Fiji was a mean to “*refocus efforts on pressing conservation-related concerns and to implement projects in new countries like Indonesia*” (interview with former Packard Foundation staff, online 01/2020). The exit of MacArthur from Fiji followed the same orientation although its ambition to remain a central player in global fisheries matters was more visible: the foundation decided to conclude most of its projects in small developing countries to instead provide financial resources to organizations working in countries that are important players in the world’s fisheries (i.e. Mexico, Chile, Japan, China, Indonesia and the US, which all together produce 60% of worldwide catches) (interview with MacArthur staff, online 03/2020). Moreover, MacArthur’s biodiversity conservation programs increasingly turned toward climate change mitigation programs. On the other hand, other philanthropic donors, like the Waitt Foundation or the Ocean 5 Foundation started in the early 2010s to work in Fiji. Waitt’s focus on Marine Spatial Planning (MSP) and Blue Economy since 2013 provided funding for the MACBIO project<sup>115</sup>, and also strongly lobbied for Fiji in the 30% MPA commitment, notably through the support of the large-scale Vatu-I-Ra project led by WCS. As explained by this interviewee working for the Waitt Foundation, such positioning allowed them to expand their work in Fiji as well as in the region:

*We are expanding in the context of the Blue Economy, for instance we analyse what is the status of Blue Economy in each country, we do this analysis for Governments. It’s not really advocacy, it’s just that now Governments are seen as new alternatives so we work with them to do MSP since 2013 and to achieve Blue Economy and conservation*

---

<sup>115</sup> The MACBIO project is a 5-year project (2013-2018) that aimed to assist Fiji, Kiribati, Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu to meet their national biodiversity targets (2020 Strategic Plan of the CBD), as well as the Sustainable Development Goals and the Pacific Oceanscape Framework. The four key area of the MACBIO project are (1) Marine ecosystem service valuation, (2) Marine spatial planning and (3) Effective management and (4) Dissemination.

*outcomes. We extended these efforts this year to push for the global target of 30%* (interview with a Waitt Foundation staff, online 02/2020).

However, Packard and MacArthur were by far the most prominent donors in support of CBFM and thus of FLMMA. In 2017, the last grant for the FLMMA network was provided by both Packard and McArthur who explored with local interlocutors how to operate a smooth transition:

*We gave all of our grantees grants to continue and prepare themselves for 3 years for future opportunities so that they could be resilient enough to continue when we step away from funding. I have faith in this strong CSO [civil society organizations] network in Fiji to continue, to find new funding, The Government can now be a very good source of funding, and CSOs and NGOs can look for other donors* (interview with former Packard staff, online 01/2020).

This transition was characterized notably by the idea to foster collaborations between state and non-state actors by the time of the exit, in 2020. This attempt was also fueled by the enactment of a new common strategy, one that would move away from the previous ‘plant a 1000 seeds’ blueprint, epitomized by FLMMA’s work, to embrace a more nationally coherent, state-led approach. Indeed, despite notable results of the network during the 2000 decade (e.g. scientific and non-scientific production and communication, number of LMMA sites...), several internal and external evaluations of conservation NGOs’ work as part of FLMMA provided more nuanced opinions. In particular, persisting declines in coastal resources and biodiversity, increasingly critical views on the actual participative quality of FLMMA’s process for LMMA implementation, or internal governance tensions, were pointed (Berthold 2016, Kintisch 2019). Moreover, interviews with both governmental and non-governmental agencies related to the network as well as with philanthropic donors led me to delimitate two main areas of concerns.

Firstly, a shortfall of political and institutional quality due to the limited collaboration between FLMMA and conservation organizations on the one hand, and Government agencies on the other, has been highlighted. While in official documents this issue of uncoordinated governance is mildly attributed to blurred institutional blockages (“*there is a general understanding that legal, institutional, and budgetary constraints hamper effective implementation and scaling*”

(The David and Lucile Packard Foundation 2013), more political and personal issues between Government officials and NGO representatives seem to have contributed to block collaborations for many years. In 2015, in a review of coastal fisheries governance and legal system, the need for NGOs in particular to ensure “(a) a solid understanding of both central Government and traditional governance structures in Fiji, and (b) better cooperation on monitoring and enforcement” was highlighted as a priority to improve coastal management (Sloan and Chand 2015). Because it evolved for many years rather independently from the Government, as well as from the private sector, and because it engaged in CBFM experiences directly with communities, the FLMMA network had to go through important mutations once funders like Packard decided to move beyond the ‘plant a 1000 seeds’ strategy:

*We found that Civil Society Organizations were happily working together and with communities but maybe not engaging enough with the Government nor the private sector. [...] So we realized that we went maybe a bit too far into the community aspects and forgot about the Government. What we needed was then to unite sectors across all stakeholders and find a common cause. For some CSOs like the Greenpeaces, yes there is a role to be out there to shout about changes, but most CSOs are actually just a vehicle that helps support things and ideally they would leave when they’ve done their jobs, it’s not a job for life. If you want to have success, you need to have private sector, Government, communities, CSOs working together (interview with former Packard staff, online 01/2020, my emphasis).*

This ‘reality check’ as mentioned by several interviewees was based on the simple idea that “NGOs are only alive based on funding, the Government will stay for the rest” (interview with environmental legal advisor, Suva 06/2020) and that the typical 3-year NGO funding was not adapted for long term improvements toward sustainable fisheries and biodiversity conservation (interview at the MoF, 06/2019). The necessity to find ‘a common cause’ between conservation actors and state services, a cause for which collaboration could be eased, has thus been put forward by Packard and MacArthur and has been essentially operationalized through the construction of a common agenda for fisheries management.

Secondly, the limits of the recourse to LMMAs as a principal management tool were also evoked in funding evaluations and by interviewees from both within and outside of philanthropic donor organizations. FLMMA evolved and expanded through the multiplication of local interventions that relied on the installation of locally-managed areas that would usually contain one or several small no-take area(s). The following interviewee from Packard contended that, increasingly, the emphasis put on no-take marine reserves (in the projects and in the communication developed by FLMMA and its individual members) contrasted with original orientations of the network in which closed areas would represent only one of the tools communities could use:

*When we came in [for the evaluation] in 2011, we recognized that there were many MPAs and a good MPA network but when you would actually go in villages, fisheries were still decreasing. We saw that MPAs could be a good start up tool to gain engagement and build good governance systems, but that they do not deliver fisheries management [...] Our focus was on biodiversity conservation and at that time [in the 1990s-2000s], the most available tool which had good science, good social cohesion, good governance aspects was community-based MPA. But we shifted, our overarching goal was still coastal marine biodiversity conservation of course, but we had to shift from MPAs and look at different tools, we looked at length-based spawning ratio, we tried to lobby for the creation of the Inshore Division at the Ministry.... As opposed to just doing LMMAs and community-based MPA, we tried to look at other options we could do to really improve the overall system (interview with former Packard staff, online 01/2020).*

Other funders also acknowledged limits of the community-based MPA model in terms of effective, long-term community participation (“*many communities gave up on conservation plans after a few years or had little wherewithal to enforce them*” (Kintisch 2019:7) and also in terms of ecological results with still-declining fish stocks and unsatisfying co-management (Sloan and Chand 2015, Jupiter et al. 2017, Prince et al. 2020). For a project officer at MacArthur, it is precisely this realization of the limits of both the participatory, democratic vision and the conservation action that contributed to the internal change of strategy of the Foundation (interview with MacArthur staff, online 01/2020).



Underlying such reconsiderations of conservation's landmark instrument, more conceptual and ideological differences regarding the core role of LMMAs were of course also at stake. Indeed, we have seen in Chapter 4 that semantic debates agitated FLMMA's premises regarding the naming of LMMAs and whether or not they should be labelled as 'protected areas'. I argued that such debate reflected an early divide between those who saw LMMA primarily as a local fisheries management tool and those who aimed for marine biodiversity conservation outcomes. LMMAs were often presented as (and to some extent actually became) an example of hybridization between these two visions, but yet, these tensions remained present for the past two decades and revealed important blockages. In recent years, new conservation donors and recipient NGOs have played significant roles in placing international MPA targets at the core of Fiji's conservation commitments, leading to the pledge by the Government to protect 10% (in 2011) and then 30% (in 2017) of its waters. The debates that accompanied the decision to move forward and scale-up the implementation of no-take MPAs often put forward the (in)adequacy of small LMMAs to achieve such commitments and, more generally, to consistently deliver significant outcomes in terms of sustainable fishing and biodiversity conservation.

Beyond these reflections on instruments adequacy and efficiency, the need for a scaling-up from the community-level imposed itself as a new approach to conservation for MacArthur:

*We started with the community conservation lens in 2000 but the reasons were not the same for communities and for us so it progressively became 'sustainable fishing' because it was seen as a leverage point and an opportunity to engage with communities. Then to move at a higher level was and still is kind of a research hypothesis for us: if you build capacities to promote sustainable development, do you produce conservation outcomes and climate change resilience? So basically, does focusing squarely on fisheries produce conservation outcomes? The answer to that question is still not resolved and many case studies with many different approaches would need to be implemented (interview with a MacArthur Foundation Program Officer, online 03/2020).*

In this interview excerpt, the turn from the community lens to scaled-up and broader sustainable development objectives is presented more as a hypothesis than a strong ideological repositioning. This strategic reconsideration also came as a way to stand out and establish themselves into more specific conservation niches, as opposed notably of other funding organizations operating in the Pacific and still having recourse to “*blunt conservation approaches*”<sup>116</sup> (ibid). Within their new niche (i.e. conservation action through the support of a more state-led sustainable development), Packard and MacArthur Foundations consulted each other on how to best articulate their respective contributions to the Fijian conservation sector: while Packard would primarily fund policy making and institutional building endeavors<sup>117</sup>, MacArthur would focus on science production and diffusion (interview with a MacArthur Foundation Program Officer, online 03/2020).

### 5.2.2. Thinking and organizing the shift

The strategic shift away from previous conservation practices was initiated by Packard and materialized firstly with a workshop organized in Fiji in 2014 to bring all (state and non-state) stakeholders at the same table to decide on future funding orientations:

*We did a 3-day workshop and presented “ok this is our current thinking,” we are shifting to other fisheries management approaches, which means developing fisheries governance systems, looking at models to improve, regulating important fisheries, looking at policy, how it works, building institutional capacity and leadership. [...] It was very bumpy, I was the lead facilitator at this workshop, it was very painful process, people were not willing to change. CSOs there were not willing to engage with Governmental counterparts and vice versa. But we identified a really clear gap in communication and*

---

<sup>116</sup> While those organizations were not mentioned by this interviewee, we can think here to organizations like the Pew Charitable Trusts, the DiCaprio Foundation, Waitt Foundation or Ocean 5, which tend to implement less integrative and localized conservation projects while MacArthur and Packard Foundation are committed to support situated, integrative conservation initiatives.

<sup>117</sup> “*The Foundation will focus on developing and supporting a fishery reform agenda for two to three critical nearshore fisheries to guide them on the pathway to improved management*” (The David and Lucile Packard Foundation 2013)

*approaches between the two sectors, and we were surprised how big of a gap there was* (interview with former Packard staff, online 01/2020).

This meeting primarily aimed at fostering new collaborations in order to close this ‘big gap’ between Government and NGOs. This environmental advisor present at the workshop recalls: “*Instead of giving money here and there, Packard said we give you [NGOs] money but you need to work together*” (interview with environmental legal advisor, Suva 06/2020). However, it was also an opportunity for Packard to stipulate more clearly to all stakeholders its ambition to step more directly into new coastal fisheries management activities and more specifically on fisheries policies, as stated in their then upcoming strategy (The David and Lucile Packard Foundation 2013) In an interview, a former staff member at Packard emphasized how this new focus on legal, regulatory, and overall policy dimension of coastal fisheries, and the consequent intervention in matters relating to state institutional capacity, would have been unthinkable a few years earlier due to a general idea among funders that conservation interventions should remain strictly out of state business. Indeed, in most cases, philanthropic funding is accessible to NGOs only due to the legal status of foundations which prevents them from doing political advocacy as their main activity. However, funders can compel NGOs to spend the money on specific orientations, orientations that did not seem to be strictly specified beyond the fact that it should be aligned with state priorities. What can be seen as a ‘re-politicization’ of conservation action has thus led to the forming of a *hybrid coalition* constituted of both state and non-state actors, which nature and characteristics remain to be explored. As of now, I will explain how this new coalition has been generative of new modes of action for coastal fisheries management.

### **5.2.3. Consequences for inshore fisheries management: a policy focus for an international reach**

Although broader effects have of course emerged since this (discursive) alignment of state and NGO priorities, I analyze in this section two major categories of consequences: in the approaches chosen by the hybrid coalition to build a new fisheries management and in the scales at which this management is deployed.

a. **A momentum for policy-making and capacity-building approaches**

Strong incentives to change previous ways of thinking and implementing conservation in Fiji accompanied the strategic shift in philanthropic funding and invited conservation actors to engage into new approaches. While community-based and scientific management remained central, the engagement into policy-making and capacity-building activities allowed participants to the hybrid coalition to rethink the way management endeavors can be conceived and formalized at the national level and thus better implemented and enforced.

Three broad strategic objectives were formulated in the Packard new strategic plan in 2013 (The David and Lucile Packard Foundation 2013). While ‘nearshore fisheries’ and ‘marine reserves’ were already at the core of the previous strategies, a new ‘skills, policies and institutions’ objective was introduced, setting the pace of the paradigm shift initiated in Fiji that same year. At MacArthur, according to an interviewed project officer, collaboration with the Government is not formally a part of the internal strategy. Yet, in recent years, it has been increasingly acknowledged as part of their internal communication that there was a need to formalize (legally) conservation/management rules and measures, in particular so that communities could have more legal and institutional resources to implement and enforce local management (interview with MacArthur staff, online 03/2020).

For coastal fisheries management in particular, a ‘policy era’ thus emerged out of the new *follow-the-government* strategy for NGOs working in Fiji. Whether it is for the implementation of species protection, seasonal restrictions, gear limitations, protected areas, or for the enforcement of all of the former, the use of legislative tools allows both state and non-state stakeholders to expand their programs in space and time and, importantly, to materialize previously soft international environmental commitments. A member of WWF recognized the benefit of the alliance for fisheries policy-making:

*Ministry of Fisheries has the mandate for all these policies and legislations. It’s good that this Minister is open now, they recognize partnerships and they recognize our work.*

*As long as it's something that contributes to a better management of the fisheries, they can accept that. A classic example is the kawakawa and donu ban<sup>118</sup>, that's a product done by the Ministry with cChange and with the promotion from other NGOs. We know that we don't have a mandate to make that particular ban a policy, it's only the Government (interview with WFF project leader, Suva 07/2019)*

The ins and outs of this policy era are more detailed in Chapter 8, but we can see already that conservation donors' strategic shift is characterized by the way it sets a *follow-the-government* orientation for recipient NGOs. This orientation allows NGOs to take various fisheries management actions to a next level with the formalization of their endeavors into policies and thus to respond to previous pitfalls (e.g. short-term vision, lack of follow-up, lack of enforcement).

**b. A new coalition to bring Fiji's coastal fisheries into international environmental arenas**

The second category of consequences is the increased involvement of actors of the hybrid coalition in making Fiji intervene in international environmental arenas. While foreign policy and international politics of PICTs were already in previous decades shaped by their unique vulnerabilities to climate change and their will to establish international cooperation to address them (for instance 1999 United Nations Framework Convention of Climate Change, 1997 Kyoto Protocol, 2009 Copenhagen Accord), this discourse became increasingly visible in the 2010s.<sup>119</sup> Also during that decade, concerns over food security and the status of fish stocks in both their pelagic and coastal waters also became increasingly articulated to PICTs climate change concerns. Fiji played an active role in the voicing of these concerns on the international stage, notably through its participation in important events in relation to ocean-related environmental issues<sup>120</sup>. In 2017, two years after the Paris Agreement was signed at UNFCCC

---

<sup>118</sup> The *kawakawa* and *donu* are groups of fish that belong to *Plectropomus sp.* and *Epinephelus sp.* (grouper and coral trout in English). The campaign to establish and promote the ban of the fishing and selling of this fish was led by a coalition of various fisheries stakeholders led by the Ministry of Fisheries and the Australian NGO cChange. I provide more details on this communication campaign and analyze its effects in Chapter 7.

<sup>119</sup> For more details on how climate change concerns in particular have shaped the interests of the Pacific Islands in regional politics and cooperation, see for instance Rasheed (2020).

<sup>120</sup> "Milestone As Pacific Islands Leaders Meet With The Cop26 President-Designate". *UK-COP26* (online, 22/07/2021) Available at <https://ukcop26.org/milestone-as-pacific-islands-leaders-meet-with-the-cop26-president-designate> (accessed on 23/12/2021).

COP21, Fiji presided the COP23 that aimed at discussing how to implement countries' commitments. This position provided major visibility to Fiji and other "SIDS" at the event,<sup>121</sup> which some have labelled as the "Islands' COP" (Benjamin et al. 2018). The COP marked the launching of the 'Ocean Pathway' that was developed to improve ocean-related issues considerations and actions in the UNFCCC process. As part of the actions recommended, the common building of 'blue and resilient economies' appears as a priority.<sup>122</sup>

That same year, Fiji co-chaired with Sweden the first UN Ocean Conference in June 2017 (UNOC17) and developed at that occasion a Call for Action which underlined the urgency to acknowledge the critical relationship between the ocean and climate. At the UNOC17 numerous Governments, NGOs and other organizations from the civil society and the private sector proposed voluntary commitments, which would help reach UN Development Programme's SDG14 on the sustainable use of oceans. The Fijian Government endorsed a total of 17 commitments (see **Figure 22**), most of which were also supported by others stakeholders like NGOs, Universities or entities from the private sector. Altogether, Fiji is the PICTs and one of the countries worldwide with most associated UNOC commitments.<sup>123</sup>

Among these 17 state commitments, WCS supported nine propositions mostly related to fisheries (i.e. the expansion of Large Scale Marine Protected Areas (LSMPA) efforts, Integrated Coastal Management, coastal fisheries management services improvement, gender equality in fisheries and the conservation of sea turtles, sharks, marine mammals and groupers). In addition to these commitments, WWF which is more involved into sustainable offshore fisheries actions, also endorsed the 'eco-labelling and catch certification' commitment for Fiji's domestic tuna longline fishery. Other commitments, supported by the MoF alone relate to pearl farming, prohibition of destructive offshore and inshore fishing, a clean boating program, sustainable tourism development, developing a Vanua-GIS program, plastic shopping bag reduction and maritime boundaries finalization (with the sorting of contested extended continental shelf

---

<sup>121</sup> In his president speech, Fiji's Prime Minister Frank Bainimarama repeatedly draw attention on the particular threats SIDS are facing with climate change: "We who are most vulnerable must be heard, whether we come from the Pacific or other Small Island Developing States, other low-lying nations"

<sup>122</sup> "The ocean pathway" COP 23 (online). Available at <https://cop23.com.fj/the-ocean-pathway/> (accessed on 22/03/2021)

<sup>123</sup> Result based on a search on "Ocean Commitments" UN SDGs (online) Available at <https://sdgs.un.org/partnerships/action-networks/ocean-commitments> (accessed on 22/03/2021)

claims). Among the 17 commitments, only the one regarding LSMPA was supported by all state and non-state stakeholders (MoF, Ministry of Environment, FLMMA, CI, IUCN, WWF, WCS).

As they attended UNOC17 preparation meetings and sent local staff to attend to the conference, NGOs have played major agenda-setting and lobbying roles: Science and Conservation of Fish Aggregations (SCRFA) and WCS for the grouper ban, Conservation International (CI) and WCS and the Pew Charitable Trust for the National Sharks Action Plan in preparation, WWF for the turtle ban and minimum sizes of 50 common food fish. In particular, the LSMPA commitment provides a strong support for the development of WCS' core project in Fiji since 2009, the protection of the Vatu-I-Ra seascape, as well as for other large-scale projects in Fiji (WWF Great Sea Reef and CI's Lau Seascape). Even if UNOC commitments do not hold legal value, discussions that contribute to national agenda-setting are critical in the building of a normative referential, that is later on used to formulate and legitimate national policies.

Recently aligned objectives and collaborative settings described in the previous sections offered a favorable political context for the emergence of common commitments that provide benefits for all parties involved, while at the same time, allowing Fiji to place itself at the forefront of international marine conservation efforts. Sustainable inshore fisheries management strikes as a major rally point in this process and are repeatedly positioned between the blue growth national agenda and new conservation ambitions. Interestingly, FLMMA's commitment to "scale up locally managed marine areas to 100% of Fiji's customary marine areas" even mobilizes the blue economy narrative to defend community-based governance models as it wishes to "*implement working models of **community-driven blue economy** for sustainable livelihoods, food security and eventually community resilience*".<sup>124</sup> The recourse to sustainable fisheries in the blue growth narrative thus provides all stakeholders of the new coalition with a way to push their objectives through, including those that involve the defense of community-

---

<sup>124</sup> FLMMA commitment to UNOC 2017 "Gift to Our Children! Scaling up locally managed marine areas to 100% of Fiji's customary marine areas" Available at <https://oceanconference.un.org/commitments/?id=21668> (accessed on 22/10/2021).

based management. This becomes all the more important in international instances where the “speaking through one voice” strategy allows Fiji to get more visibility.

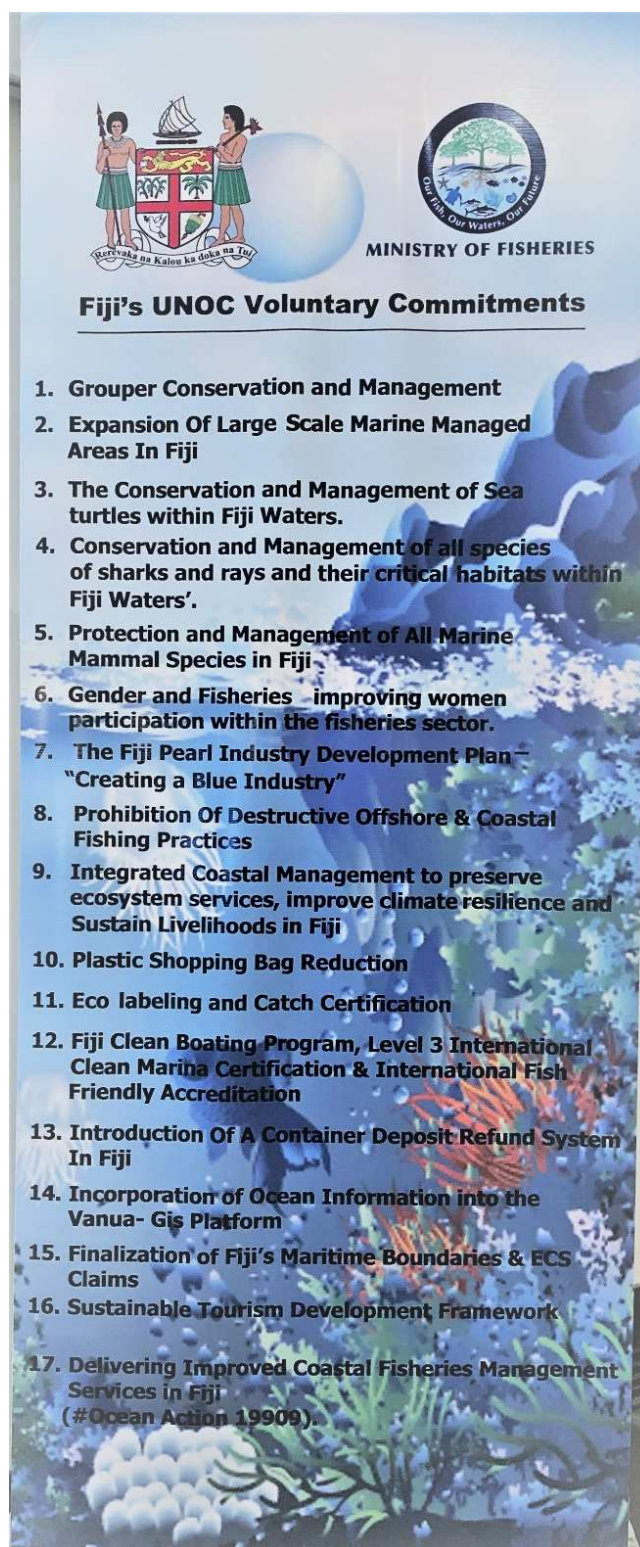


Figure 22. The 17 commitments of the Fijian Government at the UN Ocean Conference in 2017

Source: Annual Report 2018 of the Ministry of Fisheries



### 5.3. Challenges of and limits to initial integration attempts

As part of the two trajectories described in the previous sections, similar questions emerged regarding the operationalization of a new collaborative moment. What should be done to put into practice collaborative and integrated discourses? How to generate a collaborative space to work hands in hands, when historically, the contribution of the different stakeholders to fisheries management have remained overall parallel and distant? These interrogations entailed both organizational and ideological dimensions.

NGOs and the MoF reflected, organizationally and logistically, on how to foster collaborations and attempted in 2018 to bring people to work together on a daily basis, notably by increasing meeting occasions and sharing offices. For instance, as part of one of the last stage of the MACBIO project which main objective was to operationalize PICTs' blue economy agenda in the South Pacific, IUCN staff attempted in late 2018 to work with Ministries of Environment and of Fisheries' staff in their offices, which turned to be a challenging and not so conclusive experience:

*We had a staff who tried to sit with the Ministry of Environment for like three months, in their office, but he didn't get anything sorted, and then with the Ministry of Fisheries but the same thing happened. The problem was that he was not identified as a Fisheries staff, and there was no formal commitment at that time. So he wasn't absorbed into the structure, it just got confusing. But we are working on a Cabinet paper that would highlight the staffing needs so it is likely that the current [MACBIO] project manager based here [at IUCN office] would go and sit with them, have a desk space there, be part of conversations there. So the person would be leading towards the 30% commitment, with our funding but hands in hands with Government (interview with an IUCN staff, Suva 07/2019).*

The issue of not being “absorbed into the structure” indicates that beyond logistical solutions such as sharing offices and meeting more frequently, deeper adaptations are necessary to foster collaborations. Even if new common goals have been established, people from IUCN (and more generally working in international conservation NGOs) and from MoF often don't share the

same background, and thus the same norms and practices when it comes to environmental and fisheries management.<sup>125</sup> This can, in practice, make exchanges complex even if logistically facilitated.

Moreover, more ideological frictions are also occasionally at stake. If more ‘integrated’ agendas emerged out of the two trajectories described above, frictions emerge when collaborative initiatives tend to lean too much on either the ‘sustainable’ or ‘development’ side of ‘sustainable development’. For instance, for philanthropic donors, despite the general *follow-the-government* incentive detailed in section 5.2.2, a line separates projects that are adequately positioned ‘in the middle’ and those supported by state agencies and local communities but which seem to head too much toward the ‘development’ side. For this person formerly working with Packard Foundation, some projects coveted by the Government or by fishing communities are not fundable despite their contribution to social and economic objectives of the blue growth agenda:

*We would not engage in a fisheries development related investment. It would always be about putting governance systems to ensure that would not happen. But yes, communities and the Government they would go sometimes in a direction that they see as best, because their mandate is for livelihood and food security and they think it's the best way to approach these questions. They don't see sometimes fisheries as a renewable resource. For fisheries, the Foundation would not invest in a development program like funding the installation of ice plants for instance... but some funders are heading into that direction: whatever local stakeholders want! (interview with a former Packard staff, online 03/2020).*

For conservation donors, the line between what constitutes a mere detour toward conservationists’ objectives (e.g. measures to support state-led management of coastal fisheries) and what represents too development-oriented practices (thus incompatible with conservation objectives) is thin.

---

<sup>125</sup> Among other factors, this has to do with the fact that they are often not informed by the same scientific disciplines. Most NGO staff I met in Fiji had environmental management or conservation biology backgrounds, while people working at the MoF held degrees in fisheries sciences (generally from USP’s School of Marine Studies courses).

On the other hand, for the MoF, development objectives remain central for everyday decisions on management, notably when conservation/development tensions might appear:

*We have to make some decisions sometimes but overall we are always guided by the National Development Plan for the country which sets the strategic development priority for our Ministry. We are really guided by that. If it's not in line with that document, we can try but it's going to be blocked at some point, by Ministry of Economy or another Ministry (interview with a MoF Inshore Division staff, Suva 07/2019).*

Deploring previous development focus of MoF's coastal fisheries management, the following interviewee working at IUCN argues that time is necessary for state agencies to abandon previous reflexes of prioritization of development goals over environmental ones in favor of more *balanced* decisions:

*After so many years trying to sort out internal politics they had, like staffing issues, resourcing and funding for various activities, it's only been four or five years that their focus is on fisheries management instead of exploiting resources for development. For example, the kawakawa ban is more of a management process. They have refocused their efforts on conservation and protected species but they are still giving out boats, and ice plants etc... Sometime it can be conflicting these different interests, one day you're telling Fisheries let's exploit and get as much resources as possible, new resources, but then it's also resources of cultural significance and they are told to protect and preserve these national assets. That's the tricky part for Government. It needs to be very clear, what is going to be the core focus now (interview with an IUCN staff, Suva 07/2019).*

In this quote, we see that “these different interests” (i.e. preserving natural and cultural heritages and exploiting resources for economic benefits) can still “be conflicting”, indicating remaining ideological cleavages despite that common sustainable agendas have been enacted. Just like conservation actors have faced the “painful process” (p214) to engage in the new *follow-the-government* model, time and efforts are needed to shift state institutions' historical development vision toward more ‘sustainable’ and thus balanced objectives.

## Conclusion of Chapter 5

In many countries of the so-called global South, the ‘sustainability bond’ that cemented NGOs and states as partners of action is not recent and is often traced back to the Rio Conference when the idea that there could be “no development without sustainability; no sustainability without development” (Sachs 2010: 28) emerged in international institutions. However, in Fiji, the work of NGOs from the mid-1990s to end-2000s (through the promotion of CBFM and the expansion of the FLMMA network) occurred rather in parallel of (limited) state environmental action related to the marine environment. The early-2010s brought a wind of change and Pacific conservation practitioners were proposed new directives and objectives as well as new sets of practices, as their funders advocated for more effective state-NGO collaborations, notably in the field of inshore fisheries management. Also in the early 2010s, a significant momentum for a regionally-tailored blue growth and its incorporation into PICTs economic planning has contributed to develop what Fry and Tarte (2015) called the “new Pacific diplomacy”. In Fiji in particular, the adoption and appropriation of the global Blue Growth paradigm has played a central role in its strategy to position itself as a leading large ocean state of the South Pacific. In this chapter, I argue that the encounter of these two movements generated a new collaborative space within which NGOs and the MoF could work together to design and implement the new (green and) blue growth agenda.

Fiji’s blue growth model is the product of a multi-scalar process of appropriation that transformed a broad, mainstream term to have it fitted with South Pacific and Fijian idiosyncrasies. In a context in which many had questioned state capacity to make inshore fisheries sustainable (with regards notably to the unfavorable assessment of previous development strategies, see FLMMA 2015, Gillett et al. 2014, Lees 2007), calls for a ‘new development model’ emerging within and from outside of the Government. From within, major institutional and organizational developments accompanied a discourse more clearly engaged to tackle environmental and particularly marine/coastal issues. Notably, the reshuffling of ministerial responsibilities brought, according to many interviewees, a wind of change in Fiji’s political panorama especially for fisheries matters. But to implement its blue growth agenda, the Fijian Government needed NGOs’ and philanthropic donors’ technical and financial support, while NGOs and donors, in search of more perennial results saw policy-making and

enforcement (both under state remits) as a way to scale-up their activities. As part of this mutually beneficial agenda, the Fijian “coastal fisheries management reform” (Prince et al. 2020) holds a central place. In this sense, coastal fisheries management can be seen as a ‘bridging’ object through which stakeholders could find common ground to meet their respective interests, in other words to form a new, hybrid coalition. Moreover, the two parallel strategic turns I described in this chapter not only contributed to establish inshore fisheries as a central public matter and to reposition it in the country’s political arenas, it also represented a strong support for Fiji to assert its place in the region and internationally.

By focusing on decision-making and implementation processes in the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES), the next chapter explores, in return, the influence of international environmental institutions’ dynamics on Fijian and South Pacific management and governance.



## Chapter 6. Thinking beyond the fish: a marine and multi-scalar ‘livelihoods turn’ in CITES policies

At the global, regional and national levels, fisheries management and biodiversity conservation were historically represented by distinct intergovernmental institutions and legal architectures which developed separately, specialized and even competing (see Quirk 2018 for the regional scale in the case of the Pacific). After having operated rather hermetically from one another for decades, a recent integrative phase connects various institutions previously defending incompatible sectoral interests and is at the core of this Part III of the thesis. In this chapter, I continue to explore these processes of environmental governance ‘defragmentation’ that have brought closer (at least institutionally and discursively) the worlds of fisheries management and biodiversity conservation.

Although it remains anchored in the South Pacific and Fijian contexts, this chapter constitutes a step back, both in terms of time and of scale, to focus on the historical evolution of an international institution dedicated to the protection of wild species, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES – see **Box 5**). The CITES case provides an interesting entry-point to explore conservation-exploitation tensions, as it progressively expanded from an unequivocal preservationist vision of ‘nature’ to the integration of socio-economic components of extractive activities such as fisheries and the promotion of ‘sustainable exploitation’ norms and practices. With this example, I wish to demonstrate the multi-scalar quality of the encounter between conservation and fisheries sectors and to re-embed Fijian dynamics into a broader scope of analysis. Moreover, this case study allows me to identify other modalities and other effects (whether institutional, practical, normative, moral) of the movements created by this sectoral encounter.

### **Box 5. Introduction to CITES**

In the 1970s, in the context of an emerging environmental agenda at the global level, international trade of wild species began to be exposed as a major contributor to biodiversity decline. CITES was created in 1973 with the aim to preserve highly traded species from international exploitation. During the first decade, eighty countries became signatories, while today CITES counts 183 Parties. Designed to support a precautionary approach to conservation and to prevent international trade from being responsible for the extinction of wildlife species, CITES was provided with a wide range of legal mechanisms to support internationally established trading rules which explains that it has been referred to as one of the most effective international mechanisms to protect wildlife species subject to international trade from over-exploitation and extinction (Ginsberg 2002). CITES' main purpose is to classify wild species of conservation concern to one of three lists, called Appendices to the Convention. Listed in Appendix I (App I) are species whose survival is threatened in the wild, and for which international trade is not allowed (complete trade ban). Appendix II (App II) lists species considered vulnerable but unlikely to be threatened by extinction: it allows international trading activities under strict rules such as the detention of export permits and the completion of non-detrimental findings (i.e., proof of sustainable management). Appendix III (App III) lists species of national concern for which exploitation is subject to national laws in one or a few countries only. Member states may request changes in these lists, which are then debated and voted during Conferences of the Parties (COPs). These changes must be approved by a two-thirds majority of voting parties and are often subject to discords based on scientific, political and economic rationales (Challender and MacMillan 2019). COPs are also attended by observers (non-Party countries, United Nations agencies, NGOs, inter-governmental organizations) who do not take part in the final voting.



Throughout the history of CITES, the relative importance given to preserving wildlife, in opposition to using it sustainably, has been internally and externally debated and, consequently, two interconnected tensions have emerged regarding the premises of the treaty (i.e. whether it means that species should be protected from extinction for preservationist or for conservationist reasons) and regarding the means considered most efficient to reach the goal of the treaty, which is to avoid extinction in species of wild fauna and flora (Guggisberg 2016). Criticisms for holding tight preservationist philosophies and disregarding livelihood components of fauna and flora trading activities have punctuated CITES work since its creation. In the Convention's early texts, the need to protect "*wild fauna and flora in their many beautiful and varied forms that are an irreplaceable part of the natural systems of the earth*" (CITES 1973) reveal views of 'nature' as a heritage that holds mostly aesthetic values and that humans need to protect. Since then, the position of CITES has progressively been transformed from its initial preservationist stance towards a 'sustainable exploitation' approach that attempts to take into account livelihoods issues associated to wildlife trade.

Although debates between non-resource-use and pro-resource-use advocates existed in CITES early days, I argue in this chapter that the expansion of CITES' scope to resources sustainable exploitation was considerably prompted by the progressive inclusion of exploited fish species by CITES. Two entangled trajectories have thus been constitutive of the integrative transition and are explored here: (1) the integration of **marine species** on CITES lists and (2) the inclusion of **human livelihood criteria** to species listings. Analyzed together, these two trajectories provide a panorama of the complexity of the integration of fisheries world into CITES and of its effects.

I examine in this chapter the evolution of CITES' decision-making processes, instruments and policies and show that the consideration of both marine species and of livelihood criteria in CITES listings raised ideological and practical debates between the different groups of actors involved in fisheries management and marine biodiversity conservation. In other words, by exploring the modalities of installation of this sustainable exploitation vision into a conservation-oriented institution I unravel the structural, institutional and normative mutations it engendered. In particular, I show how CITES' mutations can inform us on (1) how

'Environment' and 'Fisheries' agencies<sup>126</sup> are today expected to work together at international, regional and national scales, and (2) the evolution of the role of environmental NGOs in intergovernmental institutions. In order to explore these various re-distributions of roles and responsibilities in multi-scalar (international, South Pacific and Fijian) environmental arenas, I notably build on the example of the recent integration of 3 holothurian (sea cucumber) species and 18 shark and ray species on CITES lists at the COP in 2019.

## **6.1. Making fish matter**

### **6.1.1. Obstacles and outcomes of fish integration in CITES**

Although few marine animals and no marine plants are currently listed on CITES, their proportion have been increasing over the last ten years. App II now includes marine vertebrates (mostly marine mammals), marine turtles, seabirds, seahorses, corals, marine invertebrates (e.g. conch, abalone, sea cucumbers) as well as some fish (e.g. humphead wrasse and several species of sharks). Sharks and rays constitute today most of the listed fish species as many species are endangered worldwide mainly due to bycatch issues. However, the overall absence of fish directly exploited by fishing activities can be noted, especially considering that over the years, several exploited species have suffered worrying stock declines (considered as close to extinctions) such as the Atlantic cod or swordfish. Moreover, this lack of attention to exploited marine life in CITES strikes with its colossal trade importance in terms of volume and of value (Doukakis et al. 2009). This lateness for the consideration of marine life in international conservation arenas can be related to the similar omission of marine fishes in IUCN Red List<sup>127</sup> which was created in 1964 and which listed the first marine fishes only in 1996 (Froese and Torres 1999).

---

<sup>126</sup> I use this generic term to refer to agencies, organizations, Departments, Ministries in charge respectively of fisheries management and environmental management/biodiversity conservation matters at international, regional and national levels.

<sup>127</sup> The parallel between listing mechanisms of marine endangered species on IUCN's Red List and on CITES Appendix II list is interesting. Criteria for inclusion in the Red List, and in particular the "population decline" criteria, have been revised to better encompass marine species specific features. Thresholds for the listing of threatened species were considered to be too low, especially for exploited marine species. Revised thresholds were firstly incremented by IUCN in 2001 then by CITES in 2004, mostly based on FAO's work on exploited marine species (Cochrane 2015, Vincent et al. 2013).

After the listing of the coelacanth in the original list in 1975 and the totoaba a year later (COP1), it wasn't until 2002 that additional marine taxa were added to CITES' Appendices (with seahorses and sharks species).<sup>128</sup> Over these 26 years, other marine species were proposed for listing but none were adopted. As clearly showed in the list of proposals in **Appendix 7**, listing proposals only seem to have really gain ground in 2002 at COP12 and then later in 2012. In 1997, at COP10, a Working Group for Marine Species was established, 24 years after the first CITES Meeting. In 2007, the establishment of a working group specific to fisheries issues was proposed but rejected, just like the propositions for listing Bluefin tuna and sharks at the next COP due to a strong lobby from Japan.<sup>129</sup> Environmental groups as well as several countries (including US and EU) then multiplied efforts to support the listing of more marine species under CITES. As a result, a MoU between FAO and CITES stating the need for FAO to provide scientific and technical expertise on proposals of marine species was enacted.

As CITES listed more fish listings, various concerns arose within and outside of CITES COPs regarding for instance unfitted listing criteria, limited available data, or potential impingement on fisheries organizations' remit. Vincent et al. (2014) investigated in details the different arguments expressed during COP meetings. These objections, which I summed-up in **Table 7**, can be associated with concerns over the appropriateness of such listing, over jurisdictional interferences, or over the implementation of regulations.

For instance, the listing of shark species by CITES has been subject to continuous and polarized debates, and these listing procedures have been hampered by the lack of reliable data to assess sharks' population status and the potential collision with the work done by fisheries management institutions (Vincent et al. 2014). More generally, one of the main objections to the listing of fisheries-species appears to lie in the jurisdictional aspects, either at the national,

---

<sup>128</sup> Marine species proposed and accepted/rejected as CITES listings are detailed in **Appendix 7** as well as the respective decisions of IUCN-Traffic, FAO and CITES Secretariat.

<sup>129</sup> Andrew Rosenberg, an adviser to Obama's ocean policy task force affirmed "It's because short-term economic interests dominated this conference. Some nations just could not give up the last remaining money to be made on tuna and shark fin soup." Elizabeth Griffin, a marine scientist and fisheries campaign manager for an environmental group added "I question if CITES has the political will to protect economically valuable marine species like sharks. Scientific support for listing these shark species just couldn't compete with dirty politics." Available at <https://www.csmonitor.com/Environment/Wildlife/2010/0325/CITES-meeting-rejects-protection-for-marine-species> (accessed on 12/12/2021).

regional or global levels. Japan and China in particular have highlighted that CITES might not be the right forum to manage fisheries given that other institutions already exist to do so (such as Regional Fisheries Management Organizations, RFMOs). For instance, Japan denounced an “inappropriate application of the Convention” for the listing of two shark species in 2003, while China questioned its ability to deal with such species (Guggisberg 2016).

**Table 7. List of concerns and objections for the listing of marine species on CITES Appendices (adapted and completed from Vincent et al. 2014)**

Categories of concerns	Objection to such concern
<i>Appropriateness</i>	
Threats of extinction for marine fishes	Little risk of extinction of marine fishes due to their ecology
	Economic signs will precede extinction
Availability of data for marine fishes	Limited data to assess status
CITES listing criteria unfitted for marine fishes	Intentionally low stocks due to Minimum Sustainable Yield (MSY) management
Sequels to the listing of marine fishes	Listing will inevitably lead to trade bans and listing of more species (e.g. look-alike factor)
<i>Jurisdictional</i>	
National agencies and CITES involvement with marine fishes	Unwarranted interference in domestic policy and management Fisheries to remain nationally managed
	Enhance tensions between environment (often hosting CITES Authorities) and fisheries national agencies
Multilateral agencies and CITES involvement with marine fishes	FAO and RFMOs already have the mandate to manage high seas fisheries
<i>Implementation issues</i>	
Regulating exports	Difficulties to track and regulate fish trade
Making “non-detrimental findings” (NDF) reports for CITES-listed marine fishes	Uncertainties about how to construct NDFs
Implementation capacity to regulate the trade of listed marine fishes	Limited capacities of national Scientific and Management Authorities

Another level of argument is to be found in the immense economic value fisheries generate, and in the complex socio-ecological systems in which fisheries activities are embedded (Guggisberg 2016). In 2009, the listing of the Atlantic Bluefin tuna was rejected, and environmental NGOs thereupon denounced COP15 as “a failure for the protection of marine

species”<sup>130</sup> and accused the priority given to economic arguments over conservation ones.<sup>131</sup> As a response, the French Government representative at CITES even reacted publically to clarify CITES role<sup>132</sup>. This controversy illustrates the still-vivid debates which emerge when the listing of exploited and lucrative marine species is discussed at CITES. It also shows that the question of what place to give to marine species in the institution is still critical and demonstrates well the confrontation of sectorally-defined norms and perceptions.

Obviously, such reluctances have to do with the complex socio-ecological systems in which fisheries activities are embedded and to the immense economic value they generate. Countries relying heavily on fisheries and already confronted to monitoring and enforcement difficulties are likely to engage more cautiously in the protection of more marine species without the guarantee of external financial or technical assistance to implement new regulations. To palliate this, CITES and its partners developed overtime more and more mechanisms for assistance with regards to fisheries regulations and more generally revised CITES’ modes of actions to better account for fish.

### 6.1.2. The diversification of CITES conservation actions to account for fish

In the first instance, the general reticence to add marine species to CITES Appendices has led to the development of alternative actions to initial listing mechanisms. For marine species in particular, instead of trade restrictions through the listing process, CITES expanded its initial remit to promote international and national actions notably through the support of regional and national policies. The example of sharks is telling. Shark listing on CITES is today a strong

---

<sup>130</sup> “Oceana Outraged by CITES’ Failure to Protect Corals.” *Oceana* (online). Available at <https://oceana.org/press-center/press-releases/oceana-outraged-cites%E2%80%99-failure-protect-corals> (accessed on 12/07/2021).

<sup>131</sup> Similar argument could be made for the African elephant, for which CITES listing was debated in the context of a highly profitable international trade. See Mofson 2000; Thompson 2004.

<sup>132</sup> Sylvie Guillaume, French Minister of Ecology in 2010 “*There has been confusion about the role and purpose of CITES. CITES is not intended to prohibit trade, but to maintain a level compatible with the conservation of species. A vision of CITES as especially dedicated to the establishment of the tool of prohibition measures, combined with a very low reversibility of prohibition decisions, explains a systematic mistrust on the part of the countries that host these species*” (our translation). *Journal de l’Environnement* (online) Available at <https://www.journaldelenvironnement.ne/article/il-y-a-eu-confusion-sur-le-role-et-la-finalite-de-la-cites> (accessed on 21/10/2020)

signal and a driver for future shark conservation actions. However, it has been subject to continuous, polarized debates and this listing can be seen as the culmination of numerous alternative actions taken within CITES since the first discussions emerged in 1994 (Mundy-Taylor and Crook 2013, Vincent et al. 2014). While the lack of global, reliable data to assess sharks population status long impeded listing procedures, conservation efforts within CITES intensified with the formulation of several Resolutions and Decisions intended to inform Parties on sharks concerns. These discussions also led to the establishment of the first specific CITES Working Group within the Animal Committee. Since 1999 (although its official constitution was in 2002), the Working Group on Elasmobranch Fishes (WGEF) greatly participated in raising concerns internationally on the unsustainable exploitation of sharks, and it did so outside of previous CITES listing mechanisms. In parallel to COP's evaluations of listing propositions, the WGEF participated in the elaboration of an International Plan of Action for Sharks (IPOA<sup>133</sup>) with FAO (FAO 1999), becoming one of the leaders of international shark conservation.

In a like manner, while the integration of sea cucumber species in CITES was rejected at previous COPs, the discussions it fomented led in 2007 to the conception of alternative instruments and preventive actions to conventional Appendix listing. Several national management plans and policies consisting of ecological as well as socio-economic evaluations were commissioned to ensure sustainable management by exporting countries. These national evaluations of the sea cucumber fisheries aimed at “*identify[ing] clearly their importance and role in the livelihoods of coastal fishing communities*” (CITES Decision 14.98), a starting point for the introduction of livelihoods considerations into CITES procedures.

The evolutions of instruments and approaches constitutive of CITES processes indicate that even before structural and functioning changes occurred (i.e. adaptation of listing criteria), rooms for maneuver were found by actors defending the integration of marine species in the scope of CITES: instrumental adaptations can be seen as anticipating more consequent strategical/ideological evolutions.

---

<sup>133</sup> The IPOA-Sharks encompasses all species of sharks, rays and chimaeras, considers all types of catches (directed or by-catch, commercial or recreational) and encourages the development of national plans of actions.

## 6.2. Making livelihoods matter

### 6.2.1. From a preservationist vision to a sustainability vision

In the 1980s, most conservation policies worldwide initiated a paradigm shift toward participation based on the realization that conservation success highly depends on the inclusion of people most affected by exploitation and trade regulations (Compagnon and Rodary 2017, Rodary 2019). CITES, however, maintained over that decade and the following its preservationist orientation and its core message: trade activities, if not strictly regulated, threaten the survival of wildlife species (Huxley 2000, Cooney and Abensperg-Traun 2013). For instance, the Berne criteria, which “*favor[s] the complete cessation of wildlife trade rather than the regulation of such trade*” (CITES 1976), remained a central listing criteria in decision-processes, while being subject to many debates at CITES COPs during this period.<sup>134</sup> As put by Gomar and Stringer, “*while indirectly recognizing that trade should not be prevented when it is conducted at sustainable levels, CITES’ Parties were unenthusiastic about providing the incentives for its development. That Parties appeared more preoccupied with impeding unsustainable use than with encouraging sustainable use revealed their inclination towards a particular conception of sustainable use, i.e. one which measures sustainability in biological terms*” (Gomar and Stringer 2011:249). Throughout the 1990s, while the Convention for Biological Diversity (CBD), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and other multilateral conservation institutions increasingly acknowledged the need to support human livelihoods as part of conservation activities, CITES engaged in that direction only years later. The acknowledgment that controlled exploitation can provide positive conservation outcomes only emerged in 1997 at the COP10, a turn which some have seen as concurrent to the inclusion of countries of the global South in CITES Parties’ discussions after the constitution of a ‘Consumptive Use Block’<sup>135</sup> (Mofson 2000, Thompson 2004). The first

---

<sup>134</sup> The Bern criteria was criticized for providing space to too politically-oriented decisions and was abandoned in 1994 for the new so-called Fort Lauderdale criteria. The latter provides more specific and quantitative guidelines, and focuses on species biological status rather than its trade status (Guggisberg 2016).

<sup>135</sup> The ‘Consumptive Use Block’ is a group of states in favor of the economic utilization of the resources by the range states, constituted mainly of developing countries. The group led a first proposal to update the criteria in Kyoto in 1992, and a second, successful one, in 1994 in Fort Lauderdale which gave its name to the subsequent Fort Lauderdale criteria.

mentions of 'sustainable levels' of exploitation appeared in the Convention's Strategic Vision during COP11 in 2000, along with the need to tackle the social dimensions of resource uses (CITES 2000). A broader integration of livelihoods elements took place at COP13 in 2004 when Parties decided to also consider the effects of CITES on local resource users (CITES 2004). As a result of these discussions, the necessity to increase the consideration and understanding of how species listings impact human livelihoods was acknowledged as both intrinsically important and beneficial for conservation purposes. In the early 2000s, conceptual divides over the consideration of resource-users manifested most in discussions on the nature of the instruments CITES could and should deploy. While most preservationist groups of CITES (in Parties but also in the Secretariat, promoted complete trade bans of listed species as primary mechanisms, those who favored sustainable exploitation advocated that a sustainable use of natural resources could provide incentives for conservation of both species and habitats (Abensperg-Traun 2009).

Although it remained voluntary-based, the 2013 'Livelihood Resolution' (CITES 2013) encouraged countries to anticipate potential revenue losses when enacting conservation policies. This signed a major step forward for advocates of livelihood and sustainable exploitation inclusions in CITES processes and the first recognition of the non-biological, socio-economic impacts of trade regulations. However, Challender and MacMillan note that, in 2018, biological parameters still remained the pivotal criteria on which the Parties' decisions were based, and the listing process still tended to eclipse the reality of wildlife trade as a socioeconomic activity (Challender and MacMillan 2019). At the COP18 in 2019, new decisions and resolutions remained non-legally binding, but urged the Parties, Committees, and CITES Secretariat to develop guidance for the Parties to include livelihood impacts in decision-making on one hand, and to expand participative processes on the other hand (CITES 2019b). Moving even further, a side note specified that "indigenous people and local communities" should be involved not only in national implementation processes, but also during the preparation and submission of new proposals (CITES 2019a).<sup>136</sup> More recently, the numerous

---

<sup>136</sup> Despite the recognition in 2004 by CITES of the need to take into account "*indigenous and local communities who live with and are affected by the use and conservation of biological diversity*" (CITES 2004), these considerations remained outside of listing decision processes in following COP meetings throughout the 2000s and most of the 2010s.



references to “local and indigenous communities” and “sustainable livelihood” in the last CITES Strategic Vision (2021-2030) contrast with the absence of any of those terms in the previous Strategy (2008-2020). In that respect, it is interesting to note that already in the preamble of the 1973 convention, “peoples and states” were designated as the relevant political units for regulating wildlife trade, as they are “the best protectors of their own wild fauna and flora” (CITES 1973). Because CITES is meant to co-exist with domestic rules on wildlife, the role of States and their sovereign integrity has consistently been discussed and reinforced (Thompson 2004). The role of the “peoples”, however, rapidly disappeared from the CITES institution only to be revived and reaffirmed in recent years.

### 6.2.2. Accounting for fisheries’ livelihoods: successes and limits

The difficulty of integrating socio-economic dimensions in CITES processes is particularly striking for exploited marine species subject to international trade, for which fisheries management institutions are already involved (**Table 7**). Recent dynamics in the sea cucumber fisheries illustrate this point particularly well. In the South Pacific, these fisheries are almost entirely dedicated to export and very little domestic trade occurs, making CITES listing an a priori legitimate instrument for the management of this high-value product (Purcell et al. 2013). After several failed attempts to list holothurian species at COP12 and COP17, and major debates over concerns and difficulties of listings those (e.g. scarcity of data, socio-economic consequences, enforcement issues), three species (*Holothuria whitmaei* found in the Pacific Ocean, *H. nobilis* found in the Indian Ocean, and *H. fuscogilva* found in both oceans) were proposed for listing by the European Union (EU) and accepted at COP18 in 2019 (CITES 2019b). In preparation of COP18, the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Program (SPREP) organized a pre-meeting for PICTs and regional stakeholders, in order to discuss the CITES listing proposals to be voted during this COP18.<sup>137</sup> During this Oceania gathering, Australia and New Zealand advocated in favor of the listing of these three species. However,

---

<sup>137</sup> In the context of the 2019 CITES meeting, preparatory events were organized in the South Pacific region for PICTs to receive up-to-date information on CITES upcoming listings and to find common ground in order to speak through one voice during the COP. “Oceania Region Convene To Set Unified Priorities Ahead Of The 18th Conference Of The Parties To CITES“, SPREP (online), <https://www.sprep.org/news/oceania-region-convene-to-set-unified-priorities-ahead-of-the-18th-conference-of-the-parties-to-cites> (accessed on 17/03/2021).

several representatives of PICTs expressed their concerns about socio-economic impacts of this listing, about the development of non-detrimental findings (NDF, i.e. proof of robust, sustainable management) to maintain sea cucumber fisheries open, and about monitoring and enforcement efforts such legislation would generate (interview with a SPC staff, Nouméa 10/2019). According to another interviewee from SPC also present at this preparatory meeting, debates over the relevance of biological versus livelihoods factors for CITES listing were central in these discussions:

*Most of Pacific countries were actually opposed to the proposal because they knew it would have negative livelihood impacts. New Zealand said we should not listen to this livelihood component, that CITES was based on biological criteria like the probability of extinction. But then we asked “so why has CITES a Livelihood Committee if you’re not going to take it into account?” New Zealand said that the livelihood argument is “emotive”, and the biological component is what we should follow if we’re embracing the core origin of CITES (interview with a SPC staff, Nouméa 11/2019).*

At this same meeting, this interviewee attempted to put forward the need to consider livelihood impacts of a potential listing by presenting socioeconomic studies, but this position revealed to be the source of unexpected tensions:

*Australia was supporting the listing and was lobbying attendees to support its position. I got into trouble for saying that if the listing does get up, Pacific countries who were opposed will need financial support to make Non-Detrimental Findings (ibid).*

For those advocating for the recognition of livelihoods implications of CITES listing processes, it is indeed necessary to acknowledge the financial implications for PICTs to implement and enforce trading bans, to comply with costly management procedures (e.g. stock assessments, monitoring, enforcement), or to produce NDF to continue legal and sustainable trade. Without further assistance, PICTs are indeed unlikely to succeed in following NDF procedures and standards to prove the sustainable management of their holothurian fisheries, or to maintain them closed through a moratorium, as it has been the case in Fiji and in most PICTs for several years. In parallel, PICTs with more resources and institutional capacities such as New

Caledonia are likely to be able to maintain international trading activities, which also reminds that all PICTs are not equal when it comes to the management of their resources in the face of international regulations.

### **6.3. Multiscalar exploitation-conservation governance reconfigurations in the South Pacific**

Multi-scalar institutional adjustments related to the dynamics exposed in the previous section are visible in the formal and informal collaborations established, not only between CITES and other organizations, but also between regional and national agencies previously working rather separately on conservation and fisheries management issues. Moreover, the forming of new coalitions is generative of innovative ways of working together but can also engender new conflicts and controversies.

#### **6.3.1. International partnerships within CITES (with FAO and IUCN)**

Conservation-exploitation tensions over marine species within CITES are nested into broader political and inter-institutional trajectories. As mentioned before, the 2002 MoU between FAO and CITES framed the modalities of cooperation between the two organizations, with a singular attention given to aquatic (including marine) species. In 2004, the FAO established an Expert Advisory Panel to assess commercially exploited aquatic species listing proposals (Guggisberg 2016). In 2009, a second panel was created by IUCN, and since then, the FAO Expert Advisory Panel, the IUCN-TRAFFIC Panel, and CITES Secretariat provide three independent reviews of the listing proposals prior to the Parties' vote (see **Appendix 7**). While most listing criteria are detailed in CITES texts, and while scientific data provided to the three panels is identical, disagreements usually emerge between these different panels, which are often constituted of individuals from different disciplinary backgrounds (Cochrane 2015). Different perceptions on what is considered as appropriate methods, data or criteria to establish the status of a marine species are competing. In addition to the scientific data, the various norms, values and political stakes associated to proposed species undoubtedly have their importance for the success of species' listing.

Within its own remit, FAO is required to comment on “*trade and management issues, as well as, to the extent possible, the likely effectiveness for conservation*” by its Member States (Friedman et al. 2019). In other words, FAO is mandated to assess possibilities for countries to sustainably trade and manage their resources while the resort to further conservation instruments is of secondary importance. The increasingly central role given to FAO in CITES decision-making processes may in part explain the larger consideration given to more ‘sustainable’ approaches to conservation, ones more attached to local socio-economic realities and promoting sustainable exploitation. After decades of disagreements over listing validations or refusals, there seems to be in recent years more concordance between the reviews of the three groups (i.e. FAO, IUCN-TRAFFIC and CITES Secretariat). Over the last 3 COPs and 20 marine species proposals, there has been only one discordant case (silky shark, *C. falciformis* rejected by FAO and accepted by CITES Secretariat and IUCN-Traffic groups). This suggests an increasingly converging use of scientific information by the different panels and a clarification of criteria and thresholds, leading to the acceptance or refusal of a species’ listing on CITES.

### 6.3.2. Regional agencies as stewards for CITES vision of sustainable fisheries

CITES’ involvement in the management of some fisheries led to the extension of its partnerships with organizations whose mandates include fisheries management. At the 2017 United Nations Ocean Conference, the side event “*Supporting recovery of fisheries through cooperation on threatened species and implementation of trade measures*”, co-organized by CITES and FAO, illustrated progress regarding collaborations between environmental and fisheries agencies at various levels.<sup>138</sup> It critically outlined that effective cooperation between these agencies is first and foremost required at the regional level. In recent years, in parallel of previous partnerships with inter-governmental environmental organizations (e.g. SPREP in the South Pacific), collaborations have been formalized between CITES and RFMOs as well as other inter-governmental organizations involved in fisheries management (e.g. the Pacific Community — SPC — in the South Pacific). For marine species proposed for listing, the CITES

---

<sup>138</sup> “CITES in strong show of support for healthy oceans”. *CITES* (online). Available at [https://cites.org/eng/news/pr/CITES\\_provides\\_a\\_safety\\_net\\_for\\_our\\_precious\\_marine\\_life\\_29052017](https://cites.org/eng/news/pr/CITES_provides_a_safety_net_for_our_precious_marine_life_29052017) (accessed on 12/07/2021).

Secretariat is now required to reach these organizations to coordinate with existing management measures.

Regarding holothurians for instance, the collaboration between CITES and SPC was initiated prior to the 2019 listing decision. SPC, together with SPREP and FAO, fueled numerous scientific studies between 2008 and 2012 (Kinch et al. 2008, Anon 2012, Purcell et al. 2013, 2012), and led several workshops in PICTs, specifically or partly dedicated to holothurians. This momentum for sea cucumber research and development projects provided a large part of the data necessary for the listing proposal (interview with a scientific expert for EU Holothurians listing proposal, online 02/2020). Thanks to this collaboration, SPC officers, who work closely with the national fisheries agencies of PICTs, were at the forefront of PICTs' capacity-building operations to anticipate listing effects:

*For two years we've been warning [national] Fisheries Departments that CITES was coming, we did some background work for them. At SPC meetings, Fisheries Departments were told it was going to happen, that they needed to talk to their Environment counterparts. In parallel SPREP was arranging the same things with [national] Environmental Departments (interview with a SPC staff, Nouméa 12/2019).*

In parallel to SPC's technical, scientific, and capacity-building role, SPREP's position was also critical during CITES listing preparation and implementation phases, based on practices more oriented towards advocacy and policy-making. In the case of holothurians, the role of SPREP has for instance been largely focused on encouraging member countries to support the listing:

*We are not allowed to tell countries what to do but we can increase their interest on some topics, like for example for sea cucumber management, we place the topic on the table at different levels, different meetings. At some point it reaches classical conferences and then ministerial levels (interview with a SPREP staff, Nouméa 11/2019).*

In recent years, the development of NDF procedures and licensing processes by PICTs has furthered the collaboration between SPC and SPREP; a dynamic which paves the way for national bodies in charge of environment and fisheries to better work together:

*We have to demonstrate, show countries that we can work along with SPREP, work collaboratively, especially for CITES. And only then maybe they will do the same in their countries between their departments (interview with a SPC staff, Nouméa 11/2019).*

To foster national coordination on CITES, SPC and SPREP engaged respectively with Fisheries and Environment governmental agencies, which in many PICTs tend to operate separately and face difficulties interacting. During the implementation phase of CITES listings, while SPC is in charge of building Fisheries services' capacities to develop NDF according to internationally recognized standards, SPREP engages with Environmental departments to assist in export licensing authorization processes:

*[At SPC], we try to bring up level of Monitoring and Analysis to be able to meet the CITES technical requirements. But the actual licensing will then be within Environment [services], so with SPREP. The limit is quite blurred, we talk regularly with SPREP about it, but we focus on the technical survey side. For sea cucumber fishery, we need to make sure that management plans are in place but then it would be Environment [services] who decide whether people can get a permit or not (interview with a SPC staff, Nouméa 10/2019).*

This imposed, and sometimes complex, collaboration between regional and national agencies has been identified by Vincent et al. (2014) as one of the objections to the listing of other marine species expressed during CITES meetings (**Table 7**). Difficulties for PICTs' Fisheries and Environmental departments to collaborate remain a blockage for the execution of CITES decisions:

*Both at national and regional level, Fisheries and Environment are not working together and don't agree, especially not on CITES. No fisheries officer ever came back*

*from CITES meetings saying “we need to start working with Environment”. Fisheries Officers who came back would more likely say “we didn’t get the results we wanted, we were ignored (interview with a fisheries consultant, Suva 12/2019).*

Yet, in the case of South Pacific, we see that collaborative dynamics have overall largely improved in recent years and that regional as well as national agencies are increasingly becoming the stewards of sustainable and integrated fisheries management.

### **6.3.3. NGOs as brokers and advocates**

In a similar fashion to what can be observed for other international environmental conventions (Aubertin 2005, Dumoulin and Rodary 2005, Betsill and Corell 2008, Castro and Ollivier 2012), non-governmental stakeholders have increasingly become key actors of CITES decision-processes (Challender and MacMillan 2019). The implication of NGOs within CITES have generated reflections on how to adjust their position in multi-lateral discussions. In 2017, the production of a code of responsibility for NGOs intervening in CITES created a heated debate, and ended up not being endorsed at the COP18 in 2019 (CITES 2017).

#### **a. New perimeter for NGOs’ agenda-setting and advocacy work**

The progressive inclusion of livelihoods dimensions in CITES listing criteria radically progressed with the establishment in 2007 of the Livelihoods Working Group which is constituted of countries’ representatives of 16 Parties and 14 NGO-IGOs, including IUCN, WWF and UNEP’s World Conservation Monitoring Centre (COP14 Doc 14, 2008). With the overall absence of local communities’ representatives, NGOs’ extensive work in developing countries and their ability to present the result of their numerous empirical “case studies” have historically justified their central place in this group. At each COP, CITES solicits the Working Group members to expose case studies on the local impacts of CITES measures, if possible ones that emphasize the benefits of implementing trade regulations<sup>139</sup>. The incorporation of

---

<sup>139</sup> “The CITES Secretariat highlighted that it was soliciting new case studies on CITES and livelihoods, particularly case studies that highlight the positive impacts of legal, well managed trade for conservation and livelihoods” (COP17 SC69 Doc. 17.1). Similar mechanisms have been highlighted in other international environmental arenas, as Castro and Ollivier (2012) have shown with WWF presentation of successful cases of local implementation of ecosystem-based approaches at CBD meetings to influence the global adoption of these

socio-economic dimensions in CITES listing processes initiated a movement for a greater inclusion of either local stakeholders (rarely the case in practice) or NGOs presenting themselves as spokespersons for these stakeholders.

With no official decisional powers, environmental NGOs mostly exert their influence in CITES by framing and setting negotiation agendas as well as by interacting with the Parties at early stages of decision-processes. The Oceania pre-COP meeting organized in 2019 by SPREP illustrates such interventions: *“Because Pew [The Pew Charitable Trust] was supporting the mako shark listing and because Pew funded this pre-COP meeting, the thing was more shark-oriented, a complete conflict of interest”* (interview with a SPC staff, Nouméa 11/2019). Advocacy led by the Pew Charitable Trust for the mako shark, a species at the heart of its conservation endeavors, echoes similar actions taken by NGOs before. The Shark Trust for instance, a UK-based NGO, prepared and advocated for the listing of the basking shark in 2000 and 2002 (Challender and MacMillan 2019). For NGOs, interventions in CITES pre-negotiation phases can contribute to ‘campaign victories’ if listing proposals are accepted, which can then become valuable arguments to obtain future conservation funding. However, victories can also signify that NGOs have less interest in following-up the processes of implementation that follow CITES species listing:

*Conservation agencies think that by having the CITES listing they already have done their jobs. It’s not the case; there are many other issues after that. If you look at sharks and seahorses, what has CITES done for that? It has just driven the black market trade* (interview with a fisheries consultant in Fiji, Suva 12/2019).

However, NGOs’ action is not limited to CITES meetings and expands to national arenas. In Fiji for instance, international NGOs have benefited in recent years from appointments to influential positions alongside state agencies. In 2017, the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) became a member of the Fiji CITES Management Authority, led by the Ministry of Environment, while the WWF’s Global Shark Programme Manager was the technical adviser

---

approaches and to contribute to its hegemony in environmental management thinking. The recourse to local case studies and success stories, exemplifying various instruments and objects, has characterized conservationist literature (Rodary 2019:107).



to Fiji's delegation at the 2016 CITES COP (**Figure 23**). These strategic positions were made possible in Fiji by the historical implantation of various international NGOs within the country, and increasing number of partnerships between NGOs and the state in recent years (see previous chapter). This new proximity has allowed Fiji to play a greater role in recent CITES COPs: in 2016, Fiji led the proposal for the listing of the devil ray (*Mobula mobular*) on App II, and by doing so became “*the first Pacific Island country to propose global trade restrictions on sharks and rays*”.<sup>140</sup> This status became highly publicized in the region<sup>141</sup> and has contributed to put Fiji on the forefront of both regional and international environmental stages. Such visibility provides more legitimacy for both Fiji's government and NGOs to receive future funding—an opportunity all the more important in a context where historical conservation funders (i.e. the David and Lucile Packard Foundation and the MacArthur Foundation) exited Fiji in 2020. The demonstration of high-level partnerships between state and non-state actors is also fruitful at the regional level, with Fiji being one of the South Pacific countries regularly identified as the recipient of large international conservation programs (e.g., the MACBIO project, the Pacific-European Union Marine Partnership, One Ocean Hub projects).



**Figure 23. WWF's Shark Programme Manager (left) and Fiji Fisheries Director (right) at the 2016 CITES meeting**

Source: [https://wwf.panda.org/wwf\\_news/?282530/Fiji-leads-the-way-in-the-global-marine-conservation-initiatives-at-CITES-CoP-17](https://wwf.panda.org/wwf_news/?282530/Fiji-leads-the-way-in-the-global-marine-conservation-initiatives-at-CITES-CoP-17) © IISD

<sup>140</sup> “Fiji leads the way for Rays.” *Save our seas* (online). Available at <https://www.saveourseasmagazine.com/fiji-leads-way-rays> (accessed on 18/06/2021).

<sup>141</sup> “Praise for Fiji over CITES success.” *RNZ* (online). Available at <https://www.rnz.co.nz/international/programmes/datelinepacific/audio/201822091/praise-for-fiji-over-cites-success> (accessed on 18/06/2021).

## b. Limits of this new role

While the role of NGOs for shark listing appears to have been central, sea cucumbers listing have benefited from little focus and advocacy from NGOs throughout the South Pacific (except for WCS's work in Fiji and the Solomon Islands). Perhaps because of the high value generated by this fishery, its management has always been perceived as particularly thorny and NGOs' involvement appears to be more questioned than with species with less economic stake in the Pacific. This is what a diplomatic contentious generated by of NGOs' involvement in sea cucumber management suggests: at the Special Regional Fisheries Ministerial Meeting held in June 2019, a few months before the 2019 CITES CoP, the regional Coastal Fisheries Working Group (CFWG) was dissolved following its intervention on the matter. The CFWG was a coalition formed between 2017 and 2019 by diverse actors (SPC, Pacific Island Forum, Fisheries Forum Agency and several NGOs including WCS, TNC and the LMMA Network) to palliate the lack of attention provided to coastal issues following a Pacific Island Leaders' decision in 2016. The group aimed at coordinating the national implementation of community-based coastal management in the region but was perceived by Leaders to be too NGO-led (pers. comm with SPC staff, 12/10/2019). For the Special Regional Meeting, a "*Call to leaders*" (hereafter the Call) was published by the CFWG to raise awareness on coastal management issues through the example of sea cucumber management failures.<sup>142</sup> The document points at the lack of transparency and other governance concerns in Pacific coastal fisheries in general but more specifically in the sea cucumber fisheries, resulting in the loss of a large part of its potential value: "*Half the potential value of sea cucumber fisheries is lost to countries and communities due to lack of transparent and accountable governance*".<sup>142</sup> It also advocated for a better enforcement of simple management rules, and a stricter regulation of market prices to improve the value retained by communities.

CFWG's call plainly recognized that these measures are usually not adopted nor followed by PICTs due to political and commercial interference and the lack of long-term vision of current decision-makers; and outspokenly points at corruption and malpractices at the center of the regional sea cucumber issues. According to the Call, the undermining of existing robust

---

<sup>142</sup> A Call to Leaders. SPC (online, 2019). Available at [https://www.spc.int/DigitalLibrary/Doc/FAME/Brochures/CFWG\\_19\\_Call\\_to\\_leaders.pdf](https://www.spc.int/DigitalLibrary/Doc/FAME/Brochures/CFWG_19_Call_to_leaders.pdf) (accessed on 13/11/2021)

management plan occurs in practice by opening sea cucumber fisheries before stock recovery, by providing individuals with exemptions to established regulations, or by setting low minimum buyer prices to increase the demand. The invective was later publicized in Australian and New Zealand media in which the mentions of regional corruption were highlighted.<sup>143</sup> These references to corruption issues in PICTs have made the Call a controversial object and contributed to the complete rejection of both the document and the group of actors behind it by several PICTs Fisheries leaders. While for some, it only stated common, factual information, for others it was crossing the thin line separating legitimate and illegitimate external NGOs' intervention, and precipitated the demand of Pacific Leaders to SPC to dissolve the Working Group. While in several PICTs like Fiji, NGOs are largely involved in coastal fisheries management issues, their intervention regarding sea cucumber fisheries, the most valuable coastal fishery in the region, created unusual tensions. The CFWG dissolved, PICTs state fisheries leaders have expressed the need for States to remain central in sea cucumber management matters, as this is illustrated by their greater involvement in future similar working groups:

*Now we need to have mechanisms that Heads of Fisheries are comfortable with, in the sense that they have some way of endorsing a Working Group again. But also, it has to have the respect of Heads of Fisheries so we need to identify people on it that still represent NGOs but who would listen to Head of Fisheries. That was the problem, the CFWG was working almost independently like a separate NGO. They did a lot of good stuff but it also ruffled feathers to some extents (interview with SPC staff, Nouméa 11/2019).*

Obviously, the less discernible role of NGOs for sea cucumber listing compared to shark listing can be connected to the less charismatic nature of former compared to the latter. Yet, given the

---

<sup>143</sup> (a) "Call for Pacific to stamp out corruption in sea cucumber trade" *ABC Radio Australia* (online). Available at <https://www.abc.net.au/radio-australia/programs/pacificbeat/call-for-pacific-to-stamp-out-corruption-in-sea-cucumber-trade/11233822> (accessed on the 12/06/2021).

(b) "Lack of accountability threatens Pacific coastal fishery" *RNZ New Zealand* (online) Available at <https://www.rnz.co.nz/international/pacific-news/392224/lack-of-accountability-threatens-pacific-coastal-fishery> (accessed on the 12/06/2021).

precedent caused by the CFWG, it can also be attributed to these previous contentious relations between states and NGOs on regional sea cucumber management. Nonetheless, NGOs' role overall remain central in the setting of priorities and the orientation of discussions and decisions in arenas such as CITES.

## **Conclusion of Chapter 6**

In this chapter, I explored major trends in the evolution of the scope and functioning of CITES over the last decades, namely the inclusion of exploited marine fish and of human livelihoods considerations in its listing processes. I argued that CITES' broader encompassment of the socio-economic impacts of its regulations marked a progressive rupture with its original preservationist philosophy and I exposed the modalities of integration of new norms and practices favoring a new 'sustainable exploitation' vision. With a particular attention to the 2019 listings of holothurians and sharks at CITES COP18, and to their deployment in the South Pacific, I illustrated how this trajectory have challenged and still challenges today previous institutional and normative frameworks. It appears notably that CITES' transformations contributed to reshape previous sectoral delimitations between biodiversity conservation and fisheries management, and to reconsider the nature of instruments deployed as well as the identity and legitimacy of the actors involved in decision-making processes.

These adjustments allow to discern current power relations at stake in biodiversity conservation and fisheries management sectors in the South Pacific and in international institutions. The preparation and implementation phases of sea cucumber listings in the South Pacific reminded all stakeholders of the complexity of managing high value coastal resources, and generated discussions over core guiding principles of CITES: species conservation based on biological data deemed 'objective', versus a social-environmental-economic equilibrium praised by approaches labelled as 'sustainable development'. Overall, CITES' growing inclination towards the latter strategy in the past decade illustrates the broadening of global conservation paradigms to more holistic and integrative approaches. The integration of exploited marine species and of the socio-economic dimension of fishing activities has generated major structural, organizational and ideological transformations over the last 20 years and reshaped decisional, instrumental and relational processes. The example of Fiji shows that

rapprochements between NGOs and governments participated in legitimizing and reinforcing the presence of conservation NGOs in decision-making processes of CITES at various levels. Notably in the case of the controversial listing of shark species, NGOs' advocacy and agenda-setting work has been central.

While it has not become an overarching institution for everyday fisheries management, compared to organizations historically created for that purpose (e.g. RFMOs), the intensification of marine species listings in recent years contributes to turn CITES into a central player, one that environment and fisheries regional and national agencies have to engage with. Moreover, CITES' focus on species level appears as particularly relevant to grasp the increasing intertwining between the conservation and fisheries management sectors as they can be analyzed in consideration of a similar object—marine species. By discussing the state and the future of wild species, CITES and fisheries organizations may well oppose each other in their objectives, but they use a language that is legible for both players.

Overall, this chapter highlights how the different values and statuses associated to marine species (from an intrinsic value as part of a marine biodiversity to be preserved to a natural resource, source of nutritional and economic value) generates permanent negotiations over the modalities of their management. It allows to replace the emergence of a hybrid coalition in Fiji into broader dynamics of cross-fertilizations between biodiversity conservation and fisheries management sectors, and shows the multi-level and intricate relationships these sectors have developed since biodiversity conservation issues (and their supporting institutions, first of all NGOs) have become prominent in the global ocean.

## Conclusion of Part III

This part addressed the ins and outs of institutional and normative defragmentation processes at stake in recent years in Fiji, in the South Pacific region and more globally in environmental and fisheries management institutions. While this defragmentation dynamic is global, it is particularly sharp in the South Pacific and in Fiji where it fosters mutations of coastal fisheries management practices and discourses. Notably, I demonstrated the increasing cross-fertilizations of biodiversity conservation and state fisheries management coalitions, and exposed the complex and intricate relationships the two sectors have developed for the operationalization of a ‘sustainable’ and ‘integrated’ agenda.

I proposed in Chapter 5 a lecture of the rapprochement that occurred between the two coalitions (and thus between their two management regimes) that relies on a ‘sustainability bond’ that cemented NGOs and the Fijian state as partners of action notably on the question of fisheries management. This bond formed in the mid-2010s as a result of internal strategical adjustments within both sides. On the one hand, conservation practitioners in Fiji were proposed new directives and objectives as well as new sets of practices, as their funders advocated for more effective state and non-state collaborations, notably in the field of inshore fisheries management. On the other hand, a significant momentum for a regionally-tailored blue growth and its incorporation into Pacific Islands economic planning has participated to develop what Fry and Tarte (2015) call the “new Pacific diplomacy” in which Fiji positioned as a leader. Policy-making, capacity building and enforcement have become important pillars supporting the collaborative reform, supplanting instead of replacing previous respective practices of NGOs and of the MoF. Visible also through the CITES case study in Chapter 6, organizational and institutional effects of defragmentation-in-the-making indicate a blurring of boundaries between conservation and development discourses under conciliating sustainable exploitation narratives, through interconnected and multi-scale processes.

In the next part, I investigate the effects and outcomes of the collaborative moment introduced in Chapter 5 to better understand how Fijian coastal management is thought, implemented and mediatized by the new hybrid coalition. Looking more specifically at how this hybridity unfolds and what it means, I delve into the new practices and discourses as well as new power relations and strategies embedded in the integrated visions proposed by state and non-state stakeholders.

:







## Part IV.

### Integrations.

Toward a hybrid regime of practice



We have seen that distinct regimes of practices historically supported the state-led development of coastal fisheries and the community-based management of marine biodiversity (Part II). These regimes proposed different ways of conceiving and governing fisheries (i.e. of qualifying fish and fishers and of problematizing fisheries) but, in recent years, a new coalition of state and non-state actors emerged to organize coastal management under common sustainable exploitation and blue growth banners (Part III). I have highlighted in this last part how the new collaborative space that emerged in the mid-2010s called for a major revision of previous ways of thinking and implementing coastal management, in terms of governance regimes and of management instruments. How are these new ‘integrated’ propositions formalized and implemented? How are they operationalized?

I propose to develop in this final Part on the plural forms that such operationalizations take as well as their effects on the modes of intervention of non-state (i.e. conservation NGOs and funders) (Chapter 7) and state actors (i.e. the MoF) (Chapter 8) in this new era. While in each of these two chapters, some policies and management apparatuses are largely led and developed by one of these groups of actors, their modalities of interactions have been modified and roles and responsibilities redistributed accordingly, resulting in a reshuffling of previous governance settings. In this Part, it is also question of creating new social norms and inventing new modes of governing both fish and fishers. For instance, the transition from state to individuals, notably on the level of environmental responsibility, is telling of a progressive deployment of neoliberal practices in management, which I analyze in Chapters 7 and 9.

With the recourse to the concept of hybridity, I attempt to make sense of the what Tania Li has labelled ‘reassembling’ practices<sup>144</sup> which consists in “*grafting on new elements and reworking old ones; deploying existing discourses to new ends; transposing the meanings of key terms as the ground shifts*” (Li 2007:284). In a similar way, I identify hybridization practices in the ways the new coalition makes use of previous elements (e.g. instruments, discourses) to propose

---

<sup>144</sup> Tania Li identified six practices that are generic to any assemblage that bring together through dynamic processes discourses, institutions, forms of expertise and social groups: 1) forging alignments, 2) rendering technical, 3) authorizing knowledge, 4) managing failures, 5) anti-politics, and 6) reassembling (Li 2007). Because I am interested in the processes that specifically touch upon the idea of a transition between different assemblage (or what I refer to as regimes of practices), I specifically look in this Chapter at *reassembling* practices, that I associate to a large extent to *hybridization* practices.

‘new’ contours for coastal fisheries management based on promises of integration and sustainability. With the concept of hybridity, it becomes possible to make sense of increasingly blurred boundaries between development and conservation worlds that create an innovative space for new, integrated management practices to emerge. Hybridity also resonates with Foucault’s understanding of power and governmentality, meaning in terms of the techniques deployed by those who govern (in the largest sense) for conducting human behavior by assembling *different styles of thought* (Rose et al. 2006:84). I reflect on this power-dimension of hybridity in the three coming chapters, notably through the analysis of coercive and voluntary approaches to management and of the combination of these two approaches that became possible as part of state/non-state partnerships.

Researchers have shown how the incorporation of competing or differing logics into pluralistic institutional fields leads to the formation of hybrid organizations (Pache and Santos 2013), hybrid practices (Cristofini 2021) and hybrid policies (Lockwood and Davidson 2010). All of these authors have also explored how, in various contexts and fields, practices, discourses and policies that emerge from hybridization processes remain agitated by internal tensions. In this part, these remaining tensions and potential areas of frictions are also highlighted and are telling of some of the limits and difficulties of integrative paradigms. The three following chapters thus show that integration takes multiple forms and is always partial, as previous incompatibilities remain vivid in the different operationalizations described.

Chapter 8 explores the operationalization of a state-led coastal fisheries reform in Fiji and shows that the hybridization of conservation instruments and approaches (e.g. MPAs, behavioral change and CBFM) with state standards and practices allows to make them “acting” (Chiapello et al. 2013) in the new hybrid regime. As part of this reform, we will see that conservation and development become mutually constitutive forces and exhibit varying degrees of adaptability in order to partake to the hybrid regime.

In Chapter 9, I finally specify how (re)conciliating discourses on integration and sustainability have replaced (to some extent) ‘pure’ developmentalist, conservationist and localist discourses mobilized by actors in previous management regimes as well as some limits of this (re)conciliation. I demonstrate that qualification and problematization processes, which

constituted the core of previous management regimes, are no longer relevant as part of the hybrid regime. I therefore argue that, just like previous modes of qualification characterized (and thus distinguished) management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes, *non-qualification* better characterizes this hybrid regime.



## Chapter 7. Behavioral change for individual and collective environmental responsabilization

At the beginning of this research in 2018, the implementation by the MoF of a seasonal ban specifically targeting the fishing, selling and exporting of grouper (*kawakawa*) and coral trout (*donu*) species, had been launched and was becoming more and more mediatized. While it is this state formalization of the ban that first caught my attention at the time, further research displaced this attention onto what preceded it. Indeed, before state policy-making operation in 2018, an environmental communication campaign was produced and implemented in Fiji by cChange, an Australian NGO focused on “*behavioral change and change communication*”.<sup>145</sup>

With behavioral change campaigns, I argue that a major shift in environmental conservation strategies and approaches is occurring. Specifically, I hypothesize that this shift signs (1) the transition from a focus on the promotion of environmental *values* to the valorization of ecological *practices and actions*, and (2) the enactment of a new managerial paradigm based on individual and collective responsabilization.

In this chapter, I will first explore what underlies behavioral change theory and retrace the design and implementation phases of campaigns that took place in Fiji in recent years to regulate fishing activities and that paved the road of the 2018 fishing policy.<sup>146</sup> I will then demonstrate that behavioral change initiatives constitute in many ways a prolongation of community-based fisheries management (CBFM) approaches constitutive of previous management-as-conservation regime of practices, and pinpoint at how these initiatives actually propose to pass over previous CBFM limits. Recent behavioral change initiatives in Fiji, which rest on the idea that certain practices must be altered in order to change individuals’ behaviors and dispositions in relation to the ‘environment’, explicitly rely on ambitions to initiate a

---

<sup>145</sup> See *cChange* (online). Available at <https://www.cchange4good.org> (accessed 19/02/2021)

<sup>146</sup> State formalization of the ban, as well as its ensuing effects and transformations, will be more thoroughly explored in my chapter on state institutionalization of new management propositions (Chapter 8).

process of ‘incremental change’ toward conservation and to generate a new *environmentality* (Agrawal 2005b). Incremental change towards conservation is a strategy which endeavors to bring people to initiate a first step which will, at a later stage, facilitate their engagement into other environmental actions. Finally, I will show how, beyond a mere change of practices, new governmentalities are formed within the scope of behavioral change initiatives, based on the ambition to create *new social norms* and to foster individual and collective responsibility toward this environment.

This chapter relies on the analysis of materials produced by cChange and campaign partners gathered during 4FJ public events or published on their website ([www.4FJcampaign.com](http://www.4FJcampaign.com)) as well as on semi-directed interviews with staff from cChange and other partner NGOs, as well as from MoF, fishers from Kadavu Province, and SPC Coastal Division staff. Moreover, I rely in this chapter on various digital productions of the stakeholders cited above, whether it is on websites or social media like Facebook or Twitter.

## **7.1. Introduction to behavioral change and to cChange campaigns**

### **7.1.1. Behavioral change: a new strategy for the conservation sector?**

Although it has long been acknowledged by conservationists that one of the most urgent tasks to find solutions to environmental issues is to change people’s ways of thinking and behaving (notably through contested theories such as those proposed by Hardin in 1968), it is only recently that behavioral science has been incorporated in the strategies of conservation organizations. The 1998 Pride Campaign led by the Rare NGO on the island of Bonaire in the Caribbean Sea, designed to increase the population of lora (*Amazona barbadensis*), a threatened parrot species, represents the first so-called ‘behavioral change campaign’ for conservation purposes. Since then, there have been worldwide hundreds of communication campaigns developed with an open objective to alter people’s attitudes and relying on social marketing tools, most of which are targeted toward the conservation of a locally relevant flagship species (Salazar et al. 2019). However, enthusiasm for behavioral change methods in marine conservation strategies only took off after the Society for Conservation Biology’s 2014 International Marine Conservation Congress (*IMCC 2014 Congress Guide* 2014), which highlighted the interest of having recourse to behavioral change for biodiversity conservation



purposes. It was further bolstered a year later when the first session dedicated to ‘conservation marketing’ was organized at the International Congress of Conservation Biology and focused on behavior change methods and effects (Wright et al. 2015).

At these events as well as in scientific literature, behavioral change approaches are put in contrast with ‘classical’ coercive approaches to fisheries management. Indeed, in many contexts, coercive measures are generally taken as the main lever that managers can use to prevent illegal fishing and regulate fishing activities (Rohe et al. 2017). Underlying this approach is the theory of compliance extrapolated from classical economics, which postulates that individuals will be motivated primarily by self-interest and will use rational thinking to estimate whether they can break rules (i.e. when the benefits to do so outweigh the costs of getting caught). This theory constitutes the basis of the *deterrence model* characterized by levels of monitoring, enforcement and prosecution adapted to the situation (Battista et al. 2018). However, difficulties for authorities to detect illegal activities, and possibilities of corruption, have been identified (among other factors) in many occasions and contexts as limiting the implementation and enforcement of coercive measures (Hatcher et al. 2000, Rohe et al. 2017, Battista et al. 2018). In global conservation, market-based instruments (including ecosystems services, offsets, etc.) emerged in the 1990s from the growing idea that incentive-based policies would work better than ‘fence and fine’ policies (Compagnon and Rodary 2017). For fisheries regulation, this particularly holds true in contexts of limited management and monitoring capacity (as it is often the case in large archipelagic areas like PICTs) where enforcement and surveillance are complex and regularly show their limits (Johannes 2002b, Gillett 2014).

In Fijian remote areas for instance, Fisheries Officers are not equipped to patrol large marine areas, especially at night when most poaching occurs. Local Fish Wardens are trained to watch over fishing grounds adjacent to the village where they live, ideally providing a day-to-day presence against poachers coming from outside. They are, however, in a difficult position to identify and report illegal activities carried out by fishers from their community or from surrounding communities, which causes severe enforcement flaws that are increasingly taken into consideration by authorities (Gillett et al. 2014). Moreover, scholars, practitioners and local groups have denounced the limits of the current Honorary Fish Warden system and especially

the lack of financial and material resources they are given to undergo their surveillance duties (see for instance Fache and Breckwoldt 2018).

In parallel to this increased visibility of the limits of coercive approaches, a more realistic model of compliance, the behavior change model, became increasingly acknowledged by a variety of neurobiology, psychology, sociology, economics and anthropology works. Under this model, human behavior is the product of a wide range of factors – including economic self-interest as well as social norms, perceptions, beliefs, and information – which influence decisions about whether to engage in illegal behavior, and the most important drivers of illegal behavior are context dependent (Battista et al. 2018). Challenging the view that individuals' actions are motivated by self-interest only, it thus suggests the importance of social and cultural values in individual decisions. These propositions were later reinforced by the multiplication of empirical case studies as well as by a rapidly growing body of theory linking individual and societal values to behaviors (see for instance Wright et al. 2015, Rohe et al. 2017, Battista et al. 2018). These theoretical and empirical studies notably aimed to explore the 'value-action' gap (also called 'awareness-attitude' gap) commonly put forward to explain individual and collective inertia with regards to environmental matters. In particular, disciplines such as behavioral science and environmental psychology have produced theoretical frameworks establishing correlations between motivational factors and pro-environmental action (Bamberg and Schulte 2020). In a nutshell, behavior change models enlarge the scope of factors influencing behavior and consider individuals' economic interests as one factor impacting people's action to the same extent than their personal beliefs and perceptions (Battista et al. 2018).

For several decades, very few case studies have explored the impact of behavioral change on environmental management (Thompson 2008). However, it has in recent years become an important source of innovation for practitioners with campaigns multiplying around the world to create and cultivate awareness and sensibility towards environmental management. In recent years, several case studies have attempted to evaluate the impact of these interventions, notably when used for fisheries (Andriamalala et al. 2013, Green et al. 2019, Salazar et al. 2019, McDonald et al. 2020). These works generally show a certain interest for and hope in behavioral change approaches, and suggest that most of these interventions improved knowledge and positive attitude towards policies and reduced unsustainable practices (e.g. destructive fishing

methods). These interventions mostly rely on the identification of the core values and beliefs of individuals, which are then mobilized to limit (and ultimately stop) behaviors considered by practitioners as undesirable and remove the barriers that might block behaviors considered desirable.

### 7.1.2. cChange behavioral change campaigns in Fiji

The 4FJ campaign was initiated in 2014 and aimed at promoting a seasonal fishing ban (see **Box 6**) for grouper and coral trout species, based on ‘voluntary management’ and ‘behavioral change’ models.

#### **Box 6. Seasonal fishing bans in the South Pacific**

The seasonal regulation of fishing activities is commonly used by fishing communities and managers worldwide to allow for stocks to regenerate, and seasonal management has been promoted by a wide range of fisheries scientists as a promising approach to optimize yields while ensuring the turn-over of fish stocks (Ni and Sandal 2018). Approaches addressing seasonality have been increasingly developed by fisheries scientists based on the observation that both biological processes (e.g. fish reproduction and migrations) and human activities often display seasonal patterns. In the Pacific Islands region, seasonal closures of fisheries are parts of what Bell calls ‘primary fisheries management’ or in other words elementary approaches that have been historically implemented in the Pacific to organize fishing activities (Bell et al. 2018). A wide variety of what can today be labelled under ‘local ecological knowledge’ (LEK) on fish seasonality and biological cycles exist in most PICTs and are often deeply connected with other seasonal biological events, both marine and terrestrial (Veitayaki 2002, Gordon 2013). Apart from local seasonal closures enacted by customary owners of *iqoliqoli*, seasonal bans were generally adopted for fisheries susceptible to go through boom and bust cycles like sea cucumber or trochus fisheries (Ram et al. 2016). However, the recourse to seasonal management for a finfish fishery at the national scale appears as a first in Fiji. Indeed, we have seen in Chapter 3 that seasonal bans were already discussed by colonial officers during the elaboration of the 1923 *Bird, Game and Fish Protection Ordinance*, but that this management measure has never been formalized.

4FJ is a public awareness campaign supporting the temporary closure of grouper (*kawakawa*) and coral trout (*donu*) fishery (hereafter simplified as the grouper fishery) for four months each year (from 1<sup>st</sup> of June to 30<sup>th</sup> of September). These months correspond to the period these species are most likely to reproduce (see **Box 7**). Initiated in Fiji in 2014 by cChange, this campaign aims at discouraging Fijians from fishing, eating, buying, or selling (locally or internationally) 27 species of the *Epinephalus* sp. and *Plectropomus* sp. genus, which seasonally gather to breed in several areas of Fiji. During these seasonal localized gatherings, these fish become highly vulnerable to overfishing. The rationale of seasonal bans is simple: based on knowledge of fish ecology, temporary fishing restrictions on these species during the peak time of their breeding season allows for fish to reproduce and stocks to recover. In 2018, what was originally an awareness campaign based on voluntary pledges became an official public notice, and in 2019, a Legal Notice was enacted under the recent Offshore Fisheries Management Decree<sup>147</sup> (Sloan and Samuela 2019). From that point, important penalties were associated with the fishing, but most importantly with the selling of *kawakawa* and *donu*<sup>148</sup>. After the passing of this policy, the 4FJ campaign continued to ensure nation-wide outreach in media (posters, radio, TV, newspaper, social media) and in public events (e.g. markets, festivals, schools), and had recourse to famous public figures like members of the national rugby team to promote the ban (**Figure 24**). These messages also encouraged people to sign a public pledge to commit to respect the ban, an initiative which has received the support of more than 26,000 Fijians.<sup>149</sup>

Outcomes of the 4FJ campaign were presented by Fiji's representatives at the last two Regional Technical Meetings for Coastal Fisheries (RTMCF)<sup>150</sup> organized by SPC which I attended in person (in 2019) and online (in 2021). At this occasion, the campaign was highlighted as one of the most “*innovative and promising*” coastal management endeavors in recent years, by both

---

<sup>147</sup> In August 2020, the MoF amended the seasonal ban Regulation due to the CoVid-19 pandemic and the economic issues that Fijian fishers and sellers were facing. The ban was reduced by two months, i.e. effective only from June 1st to August 1st (Sloan and Samuela 2020).

<sup>148</sup> For instance, an instant fine of FJD10,000 (about USD5,000) for individuals and of FJD20,000 (about USD10,000) for corporations selling *kawakawa* or *donu*.

<sup>149</sup> “Inside the movement launch” *4FJ Movement website* (online). Available at <https://4fjmovement.org/inside-the-movement-launch> (accessed 19/02/2021).

<sup>150</sup> The RTMCF gathers all the PICTs' governmental bodies working on coastal fisheries management to discuss successes and failures of national and regional fisheries management strategies as well as future regional orientations.

Fiji's representatives and SPC Coastal Fisheries Division (personal notes at the Regional Meeting for Coastal Fisheries, SPC Nouméa 2019 and 2021), who encouraged the use of similar communication campaigns to support fisheries management in other Pacific countries. While the 4FJ campaign is at the core of this chapter, two campaign 'spin-offs' are also mentioned as they bring additional key elements to consider for my analysis. The SetSize campaign, also led by cChange, spreads awareness on the unsustainable practice of fishing small, immature fish, and promotes new minimum sizes for fished fish, based on the idea that current legal size, enacted in the 1942 *Fisheries Act*, are today outdated and therefore inadequate to ensure the sustainability of certain coastal fish stocks. As part of the SetSize campaign, the cChange Communications Youtube channel<sup>151</sup> produced numerous videos of fishermen sharing their point of view on fish scarcity and overall decrease of the size of reef fishes. The second campaign I will refer to is a SPC-led communication campaign to assist fishers to release unwanted (too small or banned) fish (SPC 2020). This initiative comes as a complementary communication campaign that aims to nudge fishers to transform their practices according to new fishing regulations; and has been notably inspired by the work of cChange in Fiji (pers. comm with SPC staff, 11/11/2019).



**Figure 24. 4FJ campaign poster featuring rugby player Waisale Serevi**  
Source: Photo taken by Léa Riera (June 2019)

<sup>151</sup> cChange Communication (03/03/2021) Youtube. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCjmfsm4FZ71qgBXqFHji-9A/videos> (accessed on 23/01/2022).

**Box 7. Groupers (kawakawa) and fish spawning aggregations areas (FSAs)**

Groupers (*Epinephelidae* sp.) and Coral Trout (*Plectropomus* sp.) are common reef fish in the South Pacific region and constitute one of these fish families which gather into fish spawning aggregations (FSAs) during their reproductive period. As they are all year round central to artisanal and subsistence fisheries in the Pacific and are among the most highly-prized food fish for the domestic and some notable export markets, these reproductive characteristics can make them highly vulnerable to overfishing. Several species of groupers like brown-marbled grouper (*Epinephelus fuscoguttatus*, *seravua*) and camouflage grouper (*Epinephelus polyphkadion*, *kawakawa jina*) have received considerable scientific attention. While FSAs of coastal species such as groupers and coral trouts can be found in various environments, they are typically located inside the lagoon, often in front of reef passages or at other particular features of the reef (e.g topographic breaks). It is not rare to see several species of groupers (as well as species from other families) co-aggregate to spawn, sharing FSA sites either at the same time or consecutively (Hamilton et al. 2012). Male groupers fight for territories days sometimes weeks before the spawning occurs. This proximity to the shore add to their vulnerability as coastal populations are often able to reach these areas to carry out fishing activities. Because of their seasonal recurrence during long ecological cycles and knowledge transmission through generations, local fishers generally have considerable knowledge on FSAs. The thesis of Gordon (2013) provides numerous examples of precise LEK; regarding aggregating species and FSAs as recounted by this fisherman from Kadavu: “first the *donu* (*Plectropomus laevis*) come, then the *kawakawa* (*Epinephelus polyphkadion*), followed by the *kake* (*Lutjanus* sp.), the *seravua* (*Epinephalus fuscoguttatus*), and finally the *ta* (*Naso* sp.)” (Gordon 2013:99); or regarding associated land-sea connections: “One person associated the spawning time of a type of *kawakawa* or grouper fish (*Epinephalus caeruleopunctatus*) with the leaves of the *tavala* tree turning brown” (ibid).

As these areas represent the bottleneck of fish resource productivity, local ecological knowledge associated to FSAs appears today as a valuable source of information for other stakeholders who also see potential in these rich and diverse areas, notably from conservation and tourism sectors. Consequently, scientists and managers have largely utilized fishers’ local knowledge in management or conservation programs.

## 7.2. The implementation of behavioral change strategy in Fiji

I will now examine the mechanisms of behavioral change as it was deployed in Fiji by cChange to promote firstly the grouper ban with the 4FJ campaign and then new minimum fishing sizes with the SetSize campaign, and by SPC to accompany fishers in the revision of their fishing practices. Based on the analysis of the different conceptual, discursive and material layers of the Fijian behavioral change campaign, I identify three main mechanisms: (1) the framing and diffusion of new narratives through massive communication, (2) the deconstruction and reconstruction of perceptions, beliefs and norms associated to fishing, and (3) the practical accompaniment of expected change in fishers' practices.

### 7.2.1. Communication as a cornerstone of behavioral change

#### a. Frame and spread information to create environmental *concern*

Drawing on the principle that individuals can reach different conclusions from the same information, behavioral change practitioners argue that the way information is *framed* strongly impacts how people respond to it (OECD 2017). The framing of environmental challenges always relies on powerful narratives, as for instance with the use of crisis narratives (Berdej et al. 2015), scalar narratives (Sievanen et al. 2013), or resilience narratives (Kamler 2011). For the 4FJ campaign, because groupers remain a rather common fish and are still abundant in some areas in Fiji, there was a need to first create a *concern* regarding fish stocks along the entire value chain of this fishery. The narrative line that has been defined and promoted by cChange thus carries a dramatic dimension and simplified information (“it’s simple math”) with images in campaign materials depicting a future with depleted seas and no more groupers to be found for coming generations if fishing continues as usual (see for instance **Figure 25**).

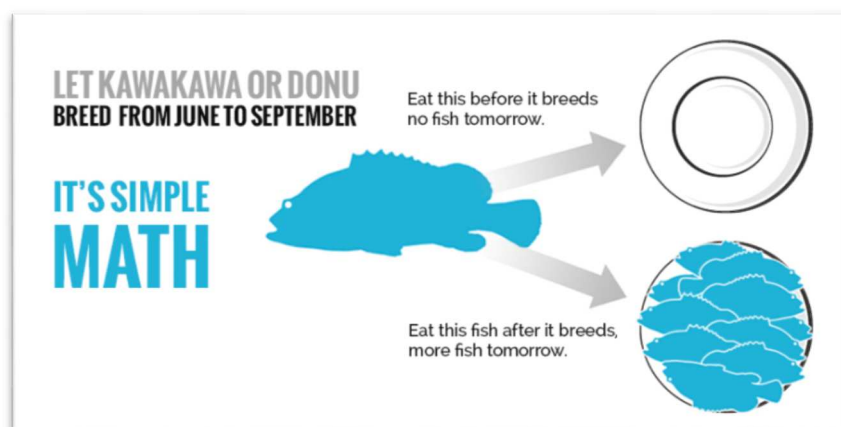


Figure 25. cChange communication material to support the 4FJ campaign

Source: Communication material on 4FJ website : [www.4fj.org.fj](http://www.4fj.org.fj)

To further create a sense of *concern*, the 4FJ campaign went beyond usual communication rules of delivering a positive (“protect our way of life”, 4FJ website) and simple message (“let the fish breed”, 4FJ website), and multiplied the personal stand points for the diffusion of their message. Indeed, campaign targets are not only fishers, but spread over the entire value chain including sellers and importantly all fish consumers. This strategic choice of multifold message framing aims to multiply chances for people to identify with campaign discourses and to create a wider movement that will infuse in the whole Fijian society. For instance, many videos broadcasted between 2014 and 2019 on cChange Communications Youtube channel show a large diversity of people, either ‘4FJ champions’ or ‘ordinary’ people who expose why they choose to commit not to fish nor eat *kawakawa* and *donu* during their breeding season. We can find for instance fish sellers in the Suva market asserting that plenty other fish remain available to buy<sup>152</sup>, a young CEO in a fund exchange stressing the economic importance of the ban for small fishing businesses to maintain their activity<sup>153</sup>, or a nationally renowned chef confessing his personal attachment to groupers<sup>154</sup>. Several village customary leaders are also on the

<sup>152</sup> “Words on the street” 4FJ campaign (online) Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHU7Fd6NEjA> (accessed on 06/11/2020)

<sup>153</sup> “4FJ Champion Latileta Qoro, youngest chief executive officer” 4FJ campaign (online). Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fGsifwDiIvo> (accessed on 06/11/2020)

<sup>154</sup> “4FJ Champion: Lance Seeto” 4FJ campaign (online). Available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yL\\_4oTshpO8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yL_4oTshpO8) (accessed on 06/11/2020)



spotlight (**Figure 26**), along with representatives from the Methodist Church<sup>155</sup> (see also **Figure 27**). This personalized promotion of the ban is part of a global strategy aiming to reach the widest audience, which according to the campaign director would have inevitably failed if this message had been publicized by scientists as it has often been the case in previous conservation campaigns (interview with cChange campaign director, online 06/2019).



**Figure 26. 4FJ campaign: support of iTaukei chiefs to the kawkawa and donu ban**

Source: FijiTimes newspaper from June 27th 2018

<sup>155</sup> "4FJ Methodist Church Rev Epineri Vakadewavosa Radio Ad (iTaukei)" *4FJ campaign* (online). Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mGG-2Sjngqs> (accessed on 06/11/2020). There are various Christian denominations in Fiji (Methodist, Catholic, Anglican, Seventh Day Adventist, Jehovah's Witnesses, Assemblies of God, All Nations Christian Fellowship, etc.) but the Methodist Church has most influence in most islands. The last "religion and race" census occurred in 1996, when 99.24% of the iTaukei population—then counting 393,575 people and representing about 51% of the total Fijian population—claimed to be members of a Christian denomination, among which two-thirds declared to be Methodists (Fache and Pauwels 2020).



**Figure 27. 4FJ campaign: support of the Methodist Church of Fiji to the kawakawa and donu ban**

Source: Communication material on 4FJ website : [www.4fj.org.fj](http://www.4fj.org.fj)

Moreover, as part of this framing strategy, the reliance on testimonies from various Fijian small-scale fishers to attest of grouper stock declines contrasts with the absence of reference to the *global* conservation status of these fish (i.e. several grouper species are classified on IUCN's Red List as Endangered or Vulnerable (Lee et al. 2018)). This represents a conscious strategic choice, based on the realization by cChange that global conservation status arguments typically developed by conservation organizations for the protection of endangered species (e.g. turtles and sharks) have historically shown limited results, and that the recourse to international, scientific referential usually generate little concern among Fijian rural population (interview with a staff from 4FJ project team, Suva 06/2019). The main campaign message - fish need to be protected during their breeding season to reproduce and maintain stocks - is thus oriented to create a sense of urgency regarding *Fijian* coastal fish stocks especially, and to support more direct, closer crisis and resilience narratives. Therefore, in this campaign, while most forms of knowledge are mobilized (i.e. scientific, empirical, LEK; global, local), not *all* knowledge

available on grouper is exploited in the campaign's narratives. As opposed to an already-hierarchized information based on *a priori* relevance and importance (but actually relevant from a techno-scientific and conservationist stance), as it was the case in previous conservation initiatives, the arguments from the narrative built by cChange aimed to fit within local contexts by selecting information based on what will be most relevant for the 'target groups' of the campaign.

Moreover, to produce *concern*, and in time large-scale behavioral change, these strategically framed messages were massively diffused through media and social networks and during public events. While mediatization by the communication team of cChange takes place all year round, with radio interviews, exhibition stands during special events, interventions in schools, the campaign reaches its peak during the weeks before and after the start of the ban (1<sup>st</sup> of June). Messages promoting the ban flood social media like Facebook and Twitter, road ads, national TV journals and advertisements to remind fishers, sellers and consumers to let groupers reproduce until the end of September. In parallel, Fisheries Officers trained directly by partner NGOs such as WCS also diffuse the message throughout Provinces and inform for instance fishers about the risks incurred if they are caught fishing, detaining or selling groupers. At this occasion, they also hand out communication materials designed by cChange and produced by the MoF (**Figure 28**). This extensive and unprecedented communication campaign has benefited from more than 300 press articles in the Fiji Times and the Fiji Sun between 2014 and 2018, the two main newspapers in Fiji, as well as daily TV coverage with ads sponsored by the MoF.<sup>156</sup> As a result, the campaign reached an impressively large audience in Fiji. According to the 2018 survey of Sadoy de Mitcheson et al. (2018), the majority of respondents in each of the grouper value chain segments were aware of the 4FJ campaign (e.g. about 65% of middlemen and 70% of fishers). From my own observations, even in remote islands, the 4FJ campaign seemed to be known by fishers:

---

<sup>156</sup> Websites of Fiji Times (<https://www.fijitimes.com/>), Fiji Sun (<https://fijisun.com.fj/>) and of the MoF (<https://www.fisheries.gov.fj/>)

*We see plenty of kawakawa here, sometimes there are so many but we only take a few. But they say there is less, we heard on TV and on Facebook and also Fisheries they came here to explain. If they say there is less then yes it's a good thing to stop for a bit so, then there is more later (interview with a fishermen from Matasawalevu, Kadavu, 07/2019).*

**PUBLIC NOTICE**

**4-MONTH BAN (JUNE THRU SEPTEMBER) ON HARVEST, SALE, PURCHASE, POSSESSION & EXPORT OF ALL SPECIES OF GROUPER (KAWAKAWA) AND CORAL TROUT (DONU)**

Any person or business found selling kawakawa and donu during the 4-month ban (June thru September) can have their fish confiscated and could receive high fines:

- For individuals, an instant fine of \$10,000, with the potential of up to \$50,000 in fines.
- For corporations, an instant fine of \$20,000, with the potential of up to \$100,000 in fines.

**Ministry of Fisheries Fiji** **FU** **FOR THE WAY OF LIFE**

 NAME: Brown Trout SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Salmo gilli</i> FIJIAN NAME: Kawa-kawa	 NAME: Camouflage Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Whitehead Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yawaku
 NAME: Brown Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Kawa-kawa	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Mottled Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Mottled Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku
 NAME: Pomacentrid Coral Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Pomacentrus sp.</i> FIJIAN NAME: Sawa, Sawa	 NAME: Blue Puffin Fish SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Scorpaenopsis sp.</i> FIJIAN NAME: Sawa, Sawa	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku
 NAME: Lesser Coral Grouper - Red Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Sawa, Sawa	 NAME: Lesser Coral Grouper - Red Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Sawa, Sawa	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku
 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku
 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku
 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku
 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku	 NAME: Spotted Grouper SCIENTIFIC NAME: <i>Epinephelus microdon</i> FIJIAN NAME: Yaku, Yawaku

*Kawakawa and donu are A-grade fish that are critical food and income for Fijians. But these fisheries are facing collapse. If no management action is taken, June through September are the peak breeding months for these fish. The 4-month seasonal ban is intended to ensure the fish stocks are allowed to successfully breed each year, so the stocks recover. If you see these fish on sale, during the 4-month ban period, call:*

Nausori Fisheries Office: 3294877/9946245  
Lami Fisheries Office: 324103/9946252  
Lakelaba Fisheries Office: 444395/9946256  
Lalaka Fisheries Office: 881083/9946276

Visit [www.dfo.gov.fj](http://www.dfo.gov.fj) for more information.

Figure 28. Public notice for the 4-month ban enacted by the Ministry of Fisheries as part of the 4FJ campaign

Source: Communication material on 4FJ website: [www.4fj.org.fj](http://www.4fj.org.fj)

This strategy of massive media cover contrasts with previous NGO communication efforts in Fiji which consisted for many years to organize multiple local workshops to get information into rural villages. As one of the 4FJ staff explains: *“I don't want them [local communities] to wait for another NGO workshop that would take place like every couple of years. I want communities to be able to hear it on the radio and worry and go assess the status of their fishery”* (interview with cChange director, online 06/2019).

**b. Communication over data**

Moreover, this central place given to communication can be seen to some extent as an alternative to previous data-based management strategies. As seen in Chapters 3 and 4, management and conservation models developed since the 1980s were largely based on the information deficit theory, assuming that the lack of data and knowledge on resources and ecological systems in general was the limiting factor for efficient management. This theory stems from a rational management perspective I described in Part I, showing how attempts to make the natural world ‘legible’ structured the way marine management was conceived and designed (Scott 1998). For conservationists, these models were also based on the premise that increased ecological scientific knowledge would lead to increased environmental awareness and concern and thus to pro-environmental behavior (Burgess et al. 1998). cChange’s arrival in Fiji marked a decisive turn from the information deficit theory (i.e. people must be provided with maximum information to be aware and change) to a communication deficit hypothesis, based on a central idea cChange director developed during the RTMCF3 organized by SPC in 2021:

*In conservation as in management, I often looked for ways to tell people everything I know, assuming that once they know, they will naturally make good decision. But they receive too many information. If you expect to reach 100% of communities, you need to go down to the basics (cChange director at the 2021 RTMCF4 - “Scaling-up CBFM in Melanesia” online workshop, 03/2021).*

According to this interviewee, not only is there no information deficit, but too much information altogether out there for people to respond to it. For fisheries management actors in Fiji, in other PICTs and at the regional level, large-scale communication of simple management decisions is becoming a central strategy (personal notes, RTMCF3; Nouméa 2019). For a Senior Fisheries Manager involved in data-analysis and information-sharing at SPC, and who has worked in Fiji and in other South Pacific countries on coastal fisheries management since the mid-1980s, communication in general stands without a doubt as the main novelty fishery managers had to deal with in the past decade. For him, this recent change of focus toward communication has significant benefits compared to previous data-based methods:

*Before, I didn't have these public awareness mechanisms, I didn't have communication officers; it was just me and a couple of other guys dealing with data, and I didn't have this constant public awareness part, putting things in the local press etc. Slowly but surely awareness changes people's attitude toward the use of resources, it's been proved many times, so I need to focus our work on information diffusion now”* (interview with a SPC staff, Nouméa 10/2019 - my translation from French).

Of importance for him as well as for other practitioners I interviewed is of course the cost-effective quality of communication-focused strategies. Indeed, because it does not rely on multiple local interventions (e.g. with socio-ecological surveys and workshops to implement), promoters of large-scale communication and marketing put forward the major financial and human costs reduction at stake. For donors, the limited investment necessary to obtain significant, quantifiable results (as for instance with the Pledge signed by more than 26,000 people for the grouper ban, see following section) was mentioned as a pivotal argument for their increased support for such initiatives (pers. comm. with Packard staff, 17/01/2020).

### c. Communication beyond cChange

At SPC, the recent emphasis on communication strategies is striking and is financially supported by multi-governmental projects such as the large Pacific-European Union Marine Partnership programme (PEUMP). In 2019, an Information and Outreach Officer was hired at

SPC. Under PEUMP and PROTEGE<sup>157</sup> projects, regular short animated videos of a series entitled *Fisher's tales*, that aim at disseminating informative and educational toolkits amongst coastal communities from the Pacific region, are posted on YouTube, Facebook and Tweeter to create awareness on fisheries issues at the regional level (e.g. parrotfish night fishing) or on marine ecological dynamics (e.g. sea cucumber and giant clams ecological role)<sup>158</sup> accompanied by the slogan “Fish better, Fish forever”. Drawing on cChange work in Fiji, the first episode published on Facebook in October 2020 was called “*the most important love story of the ocean*” and touched upon the importance of grouper reproduction.

The recent focus on communication strategies can be connected to a parallel decrease in coastal ecological data production, one of the main activities carried out by Fisheries Officers in each Province in previous years (see Chapter 3). Indeed, complete *qoliqoli* surveys for coastal fisheries production and status of coastal resources was one of the main goals for state coastal management for several decades and was progressively abandoned due to redundant issues of lost data or lack of resources. Of course, data-based management still occupies a significant place in coastal management today. For instance, the systematic collection of fish size data throughout Fiji by researcher Jeremy Prince, WWF, WCS and the Institute of Applied Sciences in collaboration with the MoF has been central in the construction of new legal minimum fish sizes at the core of the SetSize campaign. However, it appears that the adoption of a new strategy based on simple communication progresses rapidly and marks the entry into what seems to be a ‘communication era’.

## 7.2.2. Correcting entrenched beliefs and self-interest under a new ‘Fijian way of life’

### a. Identify what can be changed or not

Influencing socially entrenched behaviors is not a simple task as those behaviors are directly connected to a set of perceptions, beliefs, norms and practices (Battista et al. 2018). In fisheries management, this can be an issue when fishing behaviors that are expected to change

---

<sup>157</sup> The Oceania Regional Project for Ecosystems Sustainable Management (Projet Régional Océanien des Territoires pour la Gestion durable des Ecosystèmes – PROTEGE) is a French-Pacific project funded by the EU (11th FED) working in New Caledonia, Wallis-et-Futuna and French Polynesia.

<sup>158</sup> See Fisher’s tale Facebook page (online, 22/10/2020). Available at <https://www.facebook.com/watch/147075582050749/356482665800851> (accessed on 23/07/2021)

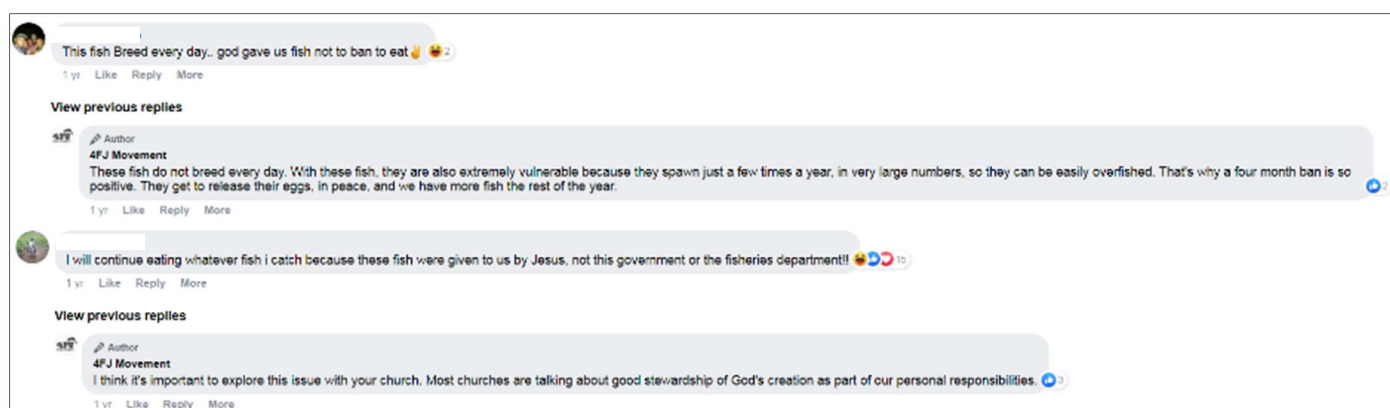
are collectively tolerated or even encouraged by social and cultural norms. In iTaukei societies, such tolerated and encouraged fishing behaviors include for instance the capture of highly appreciated juvenile fish: “small fish have the sweetest meat” is a common saying, often repeated to and by children. This preference results in local small-scale fisheries specifically targeting small reef fish (*ika lalai*), which are not mature enough to have reproduced (Prince et al. 2020). This fishing practice, mostly carried out by women and children (Thomas et al. 2021), is considered unsustainable by practitioners because these fish represent a ‘wasted potential’ for stock replenishment. Shortly after the start of 4FJ, cChange’s second communication campaign for fisheries in Fiji, branded “SetSize” campaign, focused on the recently-updated legislation on the minimum sizes of several species of fish and aimed at spreading awareness and urging fishers and consumers to avoid or release undersized fish. To produce the heuristic conversion necessary to challenge shared beliefs and practices incompatible with this second campaign’s objectives, cChange relied for instance on materials establishing parallel images of fisheries and gardening activities, and put forward how collecting small plants before they have grown sufficiently to sustain productivity would seem irrational.

Such attempts to transform or adapt socio-cultural beliefs and associated practices have long represented a thorny issue for international conservation NGOs. Several times, NGO project officers mentioned in interviews that one of the main difficulty to generate concern and develop environmental-awareness is the general thinking that whatever is done, ‘God will always provide’ and that overfishing, just as climate change, will not occur because ‘fish have always been there’ (Fache and Pauwels 2020, Fache et al. 2020). Regularly, comments on 4FJ Facebook and Twitter posts refer to this relation between God and the state of natural resources to which cChange decides to respond by using not only ecological information (see first Facebook comment in **Figure 29**) but also by reinvesting the support granted by the Methodist Church of Fiji and Rotuma as an argument to convince people to join the campaign by nurturing a sense of “personal responsibility” entailed in Christian faith (see second Facebook comment in **Figure 29**).<sup>159</sup>

---

<sup>159</sup> Source: Posts on 4FJ Facebook page (online, 20/05/2020). Available at <https://m.facebook.com/4FJMovement/photos/a.438085019627445/2399710133464914> (accessed on 22/11/2021)





**Figure 29. Facebook comments on a 4FJ post on the kawakawa and donu ban**

Source: 4FJ movement Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/4FJMovement>

It is based on information gathered from NGOs working for many years in Fiji that cChange director took the decision to avoid mentions of “*sensitive topics*” like global overfishing: “*I was convinced that fish reproduction is a simple and quite effective message. Previous messages were focused on pollution or overfishing, they can seem too abstract to people, and they don’t believe that one person can do that much damage in a big ocean*” (interview with cChange director, online 06/2019). By “*starting small*” with a simple message on the necessity to let the fish breed before fishing it, the 4FJ campaign aimed not to collide with iTaukei Fijians’ religious beliefs largely influenced by Christian religion.

**b. Build on a collective Fijian way of life**

Environmental studies have on several occasions demonstrated how individuals make choices regarding their use of natural resources based on a personal evaluation of benefits and costs their decision will produce (Battista et al. 2018). In fisheries in particular, the self-interest driver and short-term individual profit are often depicted as key explanations to actions detrimental to the environment (ibid). As mentioned before, other works have acknowledged the importance of this factor but yet have also invited to reconsider its supremacy over other multiple factors. For instance, works in environmental psychology demonstrated that the more individuals subscribe to values beyond their own immediate interests (altruistic, but also ecocentric values, which consider the costs and benefits of actions on natural ecosystems), the more likely they are to engage in pro-environmental behavior (Steg and Vlek 2009). Drawing

on this potential to achieve an increased acceptability of and compliance with environmental policies, behavioral change initiatives typically aim to obstruct factors which could feed self-interest and, conversely, to develop a sense of altruism. This strategy can be seen as a prolongation of CBFM which also fundamentally relies on the showcasing of collective values and shared norms to develop a sense of collectiveness—what Sano called the Fijian social capital (Sano 2008, see also Chapter 4).

Attempts to nurture altruism often rely on recourse to values largely shared among individuals from the same community. Here, the narrative weaved by cChange largely rests on the idea of “*empowering all Fijians to do something today to protect our fishing grounds, and ultimately, our way of life*” (4FJ website). Instead of calling (directly) for sustainable fishing or environmental concern, the narrative refers to wider concepts in which the *way of life*<sup>160</sup> holds a central place.

In Fiji, historically, ‘integration’ in management has often been mobilized in reference to iTaukei communities, which necessarily participated to exacerbate ethnic-based tensions and discriminations in Fiji (Reddy 2020). It can be noted that, as opposed to previous problematic utilizations of ‘local coastal communities’ semantics which systematically referred to iTaukei Fijians and largely rendered Indo-Fijians invisible, nothing further specifies here what is or is not comprised in what constitutes this Fijian way of life and consequently who does or does not belong to the target group. These purposely wide categories allow to reach iTaukei, Indo-Fijians as well as other Fiji residents, in other words Fijians from all descent, belonging, age and gender, and consequently to avoid ethnical pitfalls previously reinforced by external interventions. This idea of a unified and multi-ethnic Fijian community relies notably on the characterization of fish as a ‘common heritage’, deeply (although differently) rooted in all Fijian cultures and that needs to be maintained and transmitted to future generations of all Fijians.

---

<sup>160</sup> In Fiji, the notion of ‘*way of life*’ is woven together with the idea of behaving appropriately, ‘in the way of the church’ (*vakalotu*), ‘in the way of kinship’ (*vakaveiwekani*), ‘in the way of chiefs’ (*vakaturaga*) or ‘in the way of the land’ (*vakavanua*). Toren explains that “the Fijian term for tradition and ritual as generic terms is ‘acting in the manner of the land’ (*cakacaka vakavanua*); it refers to a way of living and behaving that is culturally appropriate.” (Toren 2005:45). This is particularly interesting when analysed in the light of individual responsabilization entailed in behavioral change approaches, see *Part IV.7.4.1*.

Moreover, cChange discourses contend that, without the *kawakawa* and *donu* ban, “*our generation will empty all the stocks and there will be nothing left for the kids that are coming up, and I will be this generation that wasted everything*”<sup>161</sup>. In this message “from the street” and many others, future generations of Fijians also become essential stakeholders to consider when it comes to the use of natural resources, broadening the temporal narrative of previous resource management models focusing on the ‘here and now’. The recognition of long-term impacts of resource exploitation and that future generations owe to be integral parts of natural management discussions can be seen as ways to repel self-interest.

c. The Pledge as a formalization of the large 4FJ community

To create a new sense of belonging, other recourses to social marketing tools relying on simple social mechanisms have been mobilized. For instance, the 4FJ Pledge is a public pledge that individuals can take during public events or online to commit to forego previous practices and habits that contradict with the new regulation (fishing, selling, buying *kawakawa* and *donu* during the seasonal ban):

*It was important that they [people who take the pledge] could write their name. It’s social science, other campaigns they found that people are much less likely to keep a pledge they take privately. All of this campaign was designed around creating a social norm, making the barrier low enough that I could get a higher level of participation (interview with cChange director, online 06/2019).*

The recourse to individual expositions of ‘correct’ behavior is a central mechanism of behavioral change. Because other people in the society are able to judge their behavior with regard to the commitment, it impels individuals to align their action with what they committed publically (Cialdini 2001). In 2019, 26,000 Fijians had taken the pledge, either online or during 4FJ events, and had constituted a new virtual network on social media, a network united under

---

<sup>161</sup> “Word on the street: 4FJ Ban” (06/11/2020). Youtube. Available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHU7Fd6NEjA&ab\\_channel=cChangeCommunications](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qHU7Fd6NEjA&ab_channel=cChangeCommunications) (accessed on 22/10/2021)

a shared concern for the *kawakawa* and *donu* fishery.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, the Pledge constitutes the materialization of a ‘voluntary management’ approach as it incites (i.e. nudges) people to enroll themselves into and participate in a management/conservation initiative with no coercive element whatsoever to orientate such decision that will (maybe) have an impact on their individual behavior.

### 7.2.3. Accompanying a change of practices: “how to put the fish back in the water”

As part of the 4FJ campaign, we have seen that fishers are asked during four months every year not to fish 27 species of grouper and coral trout concerned by the national seasonal ban, while the SetSize campaign aims to avoid the fishing of immature. For spear-fishers, not targeting one of these fish when hunting is a change relatively easy to carry out in their usual practices, but for hook and line (and to a lesser extent net fishers) who do not choose what they fish, it often happens that small or banned fish bite the hook and are pulled out of the water. Several hook and line fishermen interviewed thus mentioned several obstacles, some practical and some more ideological, to put the fish back in the water in order to save it. When the fish is pulled out of the water, the swim bladder dilutes irreversibly with the decreased pressure due to a barotrauma phenomenon, and once released it will float at the surface and will unlikely be able to survive<sup>163</sup>. This argument was often expressed by hook and line fishers as a way to signal a lack of knowledge or an incomprehension of fishing practices from those who elaborated the regulation:

*So I should let the fish go... but I think they don't know that this fish will still die if I let it go like this, but it will be dead for nothing now (small-scale commercial fisherman from Buliya, Kadavu, 06/2019)*

---

<sup>162</sup> The 4FJ campaign reminds of the recently enacted Palau Pledge by the Palau Government ([www.palaupledge.com](http://www.palaupledge.com)) which expected to strictly frame tourism activities in Palau in order to initiate a global conversation and movement towards conscious tourism.

<sup>163</sup> As this SPC fisheries manager explained in more details, “If you're fishing hook and line with a bait you're still going to catch the grouper and, one, it will be badly hurt so it may not survive if you're not careful when you remove the hook, and two, if it was deeper than 20m and you didn't pull it out slowly (which nobody does except recreational fishers because there is chance a shark would get it) the fish's swim bladder will have exploded” (interview with SPC coastal fisheries staff, Noumea 07/2019).

This fisherman argued that it was mainly for this reason that he would rather keep his catch if a legally ‘banned’ (i.e. *kawakawa*, *donu*) or undersized fish had bitten his hook, but that he would then be anxious to have it inside the boat in case of random controls. Moreover, removing the hook without damaging the fish is not an easy task nor a quick one: another fisherman declared that the time spent removing hooks and releasing fish is time lost for earning his income. Following the formalization of the grouper ban and new minimum fish sizes a year later, the Fiji MoF requested SPC to provide advice on how to effectively release these fish, upon what a small “SPC grouper release team” was established in May 2020 (SPC 2020). In collaboration with fishers and authorities from New Caledonia’s South Province, this team developed in 2020 a mechanism to accompany the fish release and increase chances of survival (SPC 2020). When fishers catch what is now considered to be an “unwanted fish” (banned or undersized), they recommend fishers to use a weighted device (also called a descending gear) that will bring the fish down to the seafloor even if its swim bladder is full of air and that will then release the fish. Videos and posters produced by the SPC team aim to be distributed to Fisheries offices of Fiji for the time being, and eventually to other PICTs later on if they are interested.

Communications show how to elaborate a ‘simple’ gear and incite fishers to adopt this technique when fishing unwanted fish (**Figure 30**). Because it was still in preparation and had not been tested by Fijian fishers at the time of my fieldwork, no information could be collected on fishers’ perception and opinion of this measure. However, based on what I perceived of the overall reticence to release a caught fish, and beyond the practical aspects of such action, it seems unlikely that the descending device will change local fishing practices and habits. However simple it can appear, time and effort necessary to both fabricate the device and use it when fishing is significant for small-scale fishers who already spend a considerable amount of time fishing to earn income or bring food to their family and community. Beyond these practical obstacles for hook and line fishers, the action itself of releasing a caught fish is not an easy one to execute for them, as a fisherman ironically pointed out: “*I’m a fisherman, I take fish out of the water, not from the boat to the water!*” (fisherman, Buliya, Kadavu 07/2019).



Figure 30. SPC posters showing good practices to release unwanted fish

Source: SPC Leaflet "Let them go: Release undersized, untargeted or unwanted fish!" SPC Fisheries Newsletter 162 (2020)

By asking fishers to carry out additional tasks to release fish, managers seem to build on the premise that they agree with and have incorporated the conservation message promoted by the different campaigns. This campaign indicates that a certain degree of willingness to change their practices is now expected from fishers more than any other social group.

### ***Conclusion of Section 7.2.***

In this section, I highlighted the specifics of conservation's recourse to behavioral change globally and in Fiji. With 4FJ and SetSize campaigns, powerful communication and marketing tools that frame and diffuse tailored information on fish and fisheries produced a plurality of narratives to 'save the fish'. These narratives participate in reshaping entrenched beliefs and values (to promote for instance collectiveness rather than self-interest) and to accompany a change of practices for sellers, consumers but primarily fishers. With the framing and diffusion of simple information to create a nation-wide concern over fish stocks depletion, the forming of a network willing to preserve a 'Fijian way of life', and the reconsideration of incompatible norms and practices, cChange entered in 2014 the landscape of fisheries management with an approach distinct from the ones previously used by NGOs. As such, it altered not only the behaviors of fishers and consumers, but also conservation and fisheries management practices and norms.

## **7.3. "It's not just about the fish": incremental change for a new environmentality**

### **7.3.1. Incremental behavioral change**

I have explored until now campaign mechanisms developed to shift social norms for better acceptance of and compliance with the fishing, sale and export ban. I now wish to shed light on what, according to cChange's director and campaign staff, lies as the core of their work in Fiji and what constitutes their final objective: the incremental change of people's practices to support more environmentally-friendly attitudes. cChange's director explained that it is not just grouper and more generally fish protection that is envisioned as the fundamental objective of cChange's intervention:

*I didn't start looking at it as a grouper campaign but as a way to finally create incremental change [...] This has been proved by social sciences like behavioral science. People are more likely to take another conservation action once they take the first and identified themselves as someone who cares, who is concerned. I wanted to activate them around a simple issue, unlike poaching or global overfishing (interview with cChange director, 06/2019)*

Rather, the ambition to generate incremental change toward conservation action and thinking was what motivated and guided cChange's endeavor. The main idea behind incremental change thinking is that once this first step in the 'right direction' is engaged, it creates a precedent, which initiates a displacement of individuals' perception and thus their disposition for next conservation interventions. The choice of the campaign focus was thus relatively irrelevant. Later in this interview, cChange's director indicated how the existence of previous, robust scientific work by SCRFA<sup>164</sup> experts demonstrating important declines in grouper stocks throughout Fiji and the importance of this fishery for the population largely supported the choice of this first focus on groupers (and by extension on coral trouts). It appears that, under an incremental change strategy to conservation, the choice of campaigns focuses are in themselves not so relevant, but yet they need to represent a topic important enough for recipient populations in order to create a stronger concern and thus a stronger commitment.

A different problematic could have therefore been chosen, pending that it had the potential to initiate this step-by-step process toward the construction of an attention to environmental issues. Beyond grouper fishery sustainable management, the intervention aimed to bring people to achieve a first 'environmental' action which would generate positive ecological results, making them more inclined to embrace following conservation-oriented endeavors. According to the first surveys carried out by cChange in 2017, this aim rapidly bore fruits as results showed that people became more concerned, not only about the future of the fish put under the spotlight of the campaign, but also about overfishing or poaching (pers. comm. with cChange staff, 18/06/2019).

*It is a social norm, over time you need to be as embarrassed as going into the MPA as eating a kawakawa during the breeding season. I have been effective in that I think. They never noticed kawakawa and donu in the market before, it's a voluntary pledge and now they are upset about it, and that was the whole point. [...] This is where other organizations have tried to just bring in the sustainable seafood model in developing*

---

<sup>164</sup> Originally called the *Society for the Conservation of Reef Fish Aggregations*, the goal of the "Science and Conservation of Fish Aggregations" (SCRFA) organization (registered in the US) is "to promote responsible stewardship of reef fish spawning aggregations" SCARFA (online) Available at <https://www.scrfa.org> (accessed on 06/04/2022).



*countries and have seen that it doesn't work here. But I have created enough concern around grouper, now I can talk about the rest (cChange director, 06/2019).*

The ambition to create *new social norms* is clear. This is of importance when put in contrast with what I noted in Chapter 4 on FLMMA's community-based fisheries management. I have shown that FLMMA interventions, implemented by coalitions of actors driven partly by western ideals of participative conservation, relied on an ambition to generate environmental action through the recourse to a 'local environmental ethic'. Defending a certain lineage between *tabu* areas and western MPAs (and similarly between *totems* institutions and keystone species protection, see Colding and Folke 1997, Artaud 2014), this approach postulated on a need to *revive* a lost conservation ethic within parts of the *iTaukei* population. This ethic would rely on a sensitivity to intrinsic environmental values shared by indigenous communities worldwide (see for instance Fache 2019, and the debate over the 'ecologically noble savage' figure she discusses in the case of Northern Australia). As a logical consequence of such approach, the idea to protect the grouper, a culturally significant species in several areas of Fiji, could have been framed under a similar 'cultural conservation' angle. However, such strategy would have thus limited its audience to *iTaukei* Fijians and missed the integrative dimension described above. Rather, the campaign broadly addresses the importance of the grouper as a national source of food and income and also left the framing open enough for other rationale to protect the grouper to emerge:

*I didn't have to tell people it was culturally important, it simply was. I didn't have to go like they did with the sharks and sell it "this is what the shark god was in Fiji". This fish really mattered to people already, it was their favorite fish. What I said was "I am doing this campaign because it's important for your food and income." And for a local audience that was self-evident (interview with cChange director, online 06/2020).*

From the conservation sector's stance point, the main deviation from previous strategies thus seem to lie in the change of focus from the promotion of environmental *values* to the endorsement and promotion of environmental *practices*. It is precisely this reconsideration of interdependences between practices and values that appear as an innovative model in Fiji. By acknowledging that it doesn't necessarily matter *why* someone decides to change his/her

behaviors, the coalition led by cChange avoids the pitfalls of previous conservation intervention which would focus on the iTaukei population and would attempt to inculcate a conservation ethic based on ‘lost’ traditional values. This focus on the *how* rather than the *why* reminds of pragmatics’ position in a central debate in environmental ethics<sup>165</sup>: is it necessary to discuss the attribution of an intrinsic value to nature before discussing morally adapted responses to environmental issues (i.e. the *why* before the *how*)? To put it differently, the important transition I identify here between previous conservation-led initiatives like CBFM and behavioral change endeavors is the importance given to *action* and *practice* rather than a shared *concern* for the environment. This shift provokes an enlargement of what constitutes conservationism, as other views of the world, other visions, become validated as long as they produce a *practical* result.<sup>166</sup> For instance, the ‘nourishing’ value of fish, already put forward in CBFM, is reinforced in the campaigns message exposed here testifying of a new emphasis on the subjective experience associated to fish and an acknowledgement of the transforming potential of affects related to fish through its nourishing value by cChange and its partners. With such attention given to practices under a strategy that aims to implement incremental change toward conservation, the objective is also to bring the widest audience possible to take a first environmental step. Such premise that *action* ultimately provokes *concern* also resonates greatly with how Arun Agrawal characterizes the processes at stake in the formation of ‘environmental subjects’ through inclusion in environmental management processes (Agrawal 2005a), which constitute the object of the next section.

### 7.3.2. Foster ‘good practices’ to generate a new environmentality

Agrawal’s work combines new institutionalisms with Foucault’s post-structuralist propositions on governmentality to ask ‘*when and for what reasons do socially situated actors come to care for, act, and think of their actions in relation to something they define as the*

---

<sup>165</sup> I think here of U.S. pragmatic movement in ethics led by Dewey, Peirce or James, which also inspired the work of French philosopher Emilie Hache (Hache 2019).

<sup>166</sup> This also recalls what U.S. ecologist and environmentalist Aldo Leopold has called the broadening of the ‘ethical envelope’ in his Sand County Almanac (Leopold 1970). According to Leopold, processes of environmental awareness, collectivization and institutionalization make the ethical envelope to expand from self-centered considerations to progressively include the community, and eventually recognize national, supranational and global kinship and responsibilities. In his call for a ‘land ethic’, he proposes that the forging of concerns about the environment and facets of human interest upon which it impinges, and the institutionalization of these concerns are what will enlarge the ethical envelope.

*environment?*' (Agrawal 2005a:164). In this instance the environment constitutes a 'conceptual category' that organizes people's thinking and thus make people consciously perform specific actions. As such, they become environmental subjects, defined as individuals who, through their participation in regimes of environmental regulation (e.g. management regimes of practices), have come to "*act and think about the environment as a relevant referential category*" (Agrawal 2005a:162). Moreover, alterations of the subjective relationships of people with each other and with the environmental domain are analyzed by Agrawal, and many other scholars after him, as part of changing relationships of power and governance (Lemos and Agrawal 2006, Berkes 2007, Bryant 2015). Agrawal (2005b) explores the relationships between three processes: shifting relationships between states<sup>167</sup> and localities (*governmentalised localities*), the development of new regulatory spaces (*regulatory communities*), and the development of new ways of thinking and acting in relation to the environmental domain being governed (*environmental subjectivities*). Based on this triadic structure, Agrawal explored the mechanisms that produce individual, social and political change towards environmental action in some communities of Kumaon in India. He attempts to understand the processes at stake when individuals engage, at various levels, in environmental regulation and how these processes lead to the construction of environmental subjects. Exploring the entanglement of governmentality and subject-forming processes, he shows that the involvement in regulatory strategies and community-based decision-making produces effects on how actors act and relate to what *they* identify as the environment. Agrawal argues that participation in environmental action, and particularly to enforcement phases in the case he examined, is generative of certain forms of interests in and representations of the natural world that should be acknowledged and considered by practitioners.

This work resonated critically with my investigation on behavioral change ambitions to alter not only people's behaviors but, with time and through incremental change, to shape their views on the environment so that they engage further towards its protection. Therefore, I have attempted to reactivate Agrawal findings on the Kumaon community-based management case

---

<sup>167</sup> We will see in the next chapter what the state's appropriation of this apparatus in 2018 has generated, but in this chapter cChange can be identified as the main regulatory and 'governing' authority for the campaigns I mentioned.

to explore to what extent behavioral change interventions build on similar processes and even take these processes of environmental subjectivization one step further.

Based on hundreds of interviews, Agrawal proposes that from increased proximity and direct (inter)actions with forests through involvement in their management ensues the development of social-ecological practices that are associated with the construction of an environmental imagination. In other words, this proximity allows individuals *“to realize at a personal level the social costs generated by those who do not adhere to the practices and expectations that have been collectively established”* (Agrawal 2005a:177). With regards to the 4FJ campaign, I have exposed how campaigners provided attention to this personal, individual level through multiple tailored discourses, the use of public figures people identify with, or the use of a public Pledge where people can write their name. Proximity is achieved by the recourse to different categories of values fish suggest for people (e.g. food, economic resource, biodiversity) (see also section 7.4.3 on intimate government). In communication materials, emphasis is put also on the dramatic consequences generated by *“by those who do not adhere to the practices”* such as illegal fishers and consumers who continue to fish or to buy fish during the breeding season. The *“social costs”* they generate is clearly identified: it is the definitive erosion of abundant marine resources for future generations of Fijians. Those individuals *“need to be embarrassed”* (above interview) by their non-endorsement of what have been defined and promoted as good practices.

Moreover, in his attempt to rearticulate environmental beliefs, perception, and action, Agrawal challenges the common presumption that changes in *actions* will follow changes in *beliefs*, arguing that *“people often first come to act in response to what they may see as compulsion or as their short-term interest and only then develop beliefs that defend short-term-oriented actions on other grounds as well”* (Agrawal 2005a:163). The entanglement of action and subject-forming is central in behavioral change where conservation thinking is only expected to emerge and develop once a first conservation action has been undertaken. When individuals take action on a topic which they perceive as important for them (more precisely in the case of behavioral change, because it has been rendered important for them through the various communication mechanisms I have explored in section 7.2), they will develop *“an incentive to work on their beliefs, preferences, and actions, incorporating into their mentalities new*

*propensities to act and think about the world*” (ibid). We find again here the crucial importance of practice, action and experience, notions close to the heart of pragmatic environmental ethics. Individuals’ subjective experience of the environment is a preliminary step to more profound change and in the end to initiate future, efficient political environmental reforms. Experience does not in itself reveal a given, intrinsic value of ‘nature’, but initiates a process, a thought, a belief that emerges from action and that makes environment a relevant referential category.

Instead of limiting himself to the analysis of the production of new discursive regimes or of new institutional materialization, Agrawal relates the emergence of environmentality to subject-formation processes and intimate practices, both of which are at the core of behavioral change models. To continue the exploration of the processes at stakes in the production of subject by behavioral change, I further discuss in the next section notions of responsabilization, and of voluntarism/coercion in management, which leads me to touch upon the notion of governmentality in behavioral change endeavors.

### ***Conclusion of Section 7.3.***

Behavioral change proposes innovative mechanisms to develop individual and collective incremental change toward environmental practices, and in term, environmental thinking. Rather than aiming for a revival of a lost Fijian conservation ethic, a strategy developed in previous conservation works, cChange requalifies fish as an entity which can be all at once a food source, an economic resource or an element of biodiversity. With this pragmatic view, it leaves open the question of *why* people should protect this fish to focus on *how* to alter specific practices to *in fine* create new social norms. The adoption of the good practices suggested by the different campaigns signifies a practical involvement in environmental regulation, which according to incremental change theory represents an important first step for individuals to then engage in other environmental actions. According to Agrawal, this engagement leads people not just to act on, but also to think about, the environment as a relevant conceptual category, a process which initiates the forming of environmental subjects. As it ambitions to intervene in subject-forming processes and individual practices, the “*creation of new subjects concerned about the environment*” (Agrawal, 2005b:6) is presented as a clear objective of behavioral change endeavors, thus offering a new vision of what nature management besets today.

## 7.4. Change in practices and responsabilization

### 7.4.1. The second life of empowerment and responsabilization processes

In his case study as in the context of these fishing regulation campaigns, the three dimensions of Agrawal's triadic structure (*governmentalised localities, regulatory communities and environmental subjectivities*) are deeply entangled. In this part, I first try to unpack what lies behind the *regulatory communities* dimension, or in other words, to understand how behavioral change generates the development of new regulatory spaces. The main functioning of this new regulatory space is the responsabilization<sup>168</sup> process at stake in behavioral change approaches. I then explore how Agrawal's *governmentalized localities* can be analyzed in the light of these approaches.

The introduction of integrative and participative approaches by NGOs since the 2000s through FLMMA have relied to some extent on the assumption that from participation ensues an increased perception of legitimacy of the rules by participants, and thus more compliance. In that sense, behavioral change can be seen as a logical follow-up from previous community-based management strategies as it relies on the similar premise that knowledge and awareness can lead to change in actions and behaviors if it is framed in a way that it relates to the visions of the world of people which behavior is to change. This is what scholars have identified as the 'responsibly shift' entailed by participative management and conservation of natural resources (Davis and Ruddle 2012, Fache 2019). Davis and Ruddle for instance, have described how community-based management, while it often relies on customary social and cultural institutions, contributes to transform those through processes of institutionalization that in the end provide certain groups of users with new responsibilities (e.g. organizational, operational and administrative skills). Other scholars have further documented, in other contexts, neoliberal forms that the shift of natural resource governance responsibilities down from centralized governments to local institutions can take, showing for instance how language of decentralization and participation "...made poverty responsible for the degradation of protected areas, not the capitalist mode of production" (Khan and Lynch 2013:113). Building on the idea

---

<sup>168</sup> Foucault's concept of responsabilization describes the complex processes and the discursive strategies through which individuals come to identify with policy objectives (Foucault 1978:102-104).

that there is “*no rights without responsibility*” (Oakley and Saunders 2011), this normative dimension of empowerment fuels the redistribution of rights and responsibilities between state powers and local communities as well as within local communities, especially regarding the uses of natural resources. Moreover, the growing attribution of the consequences of state economic or social decisions to civil society through ‘empowerment’ narratives has been shown to go hand in hand with societal reconfigurations that enable state de-responsibilization (Jouve 2006, Peeters 2019). Agrawal also explored how the decentralization of state environmental action to local communities not only produces an appropriation of environmental action by individuals but is supported by a process of responsabilization of individuals (Agrawal 2005b).

Behavioral change projects showcase continuities with this corpus of literature on participative management, notably regarding this shift from what was understood as state’s remit and responsibility (e.g. implementation and enforcement of fishing rules) to users’ and especially fishers’ ‘volunteer’ enrolment in management. At first, similar ‘empowerment’ discourses were developed by FLMMA for CBFM projects and by the new coalition around cChange during the grouper ban campaign. Yet, a major difference between the two approaches is visible: FLMMA’s discourse aimed to achieve economic, social but also political empowerment<sup>169</sup> for iTaukei coastal communities, while new approaches embrace less political ambitions to focus on social empowerment through individual responsabilization.

With behavioral change endeavors, collective and individual responsabilization appear to be reinforced. To some extent, this take on behavioral change connects with analyses provided by Nikolas Rose on the links between emergent behavioral therapies in the 1990s and 2000s and the expansion of liberal individual empowerment-responsibilization. The success of behavioral therapies enacted the beginning of a new era in which social behavior is not reduced to the reflect of internal, individual (‘soul’) characteristics but rather the result of socially learnt (and therefore socially alterable and accountable) technics and skills (Rose 1999). Rose’s idea built on Foucault’s work on how processes of individuation of social politics are to be connected to responsabilization of individuals, which constitutes a central neoliberal mechanism. Therefore, empowerment can be seen as participating to diminish responsibility of state in what comes out

---

<sup>169</sup> I have shown in Chapter 3 how participative conservation under the FLMMA agenda kept all along a deep political dimension due to the question of control and ownership rights on *qoliqoli*.

of public action (Hache 2007, Peeters 2019). Neoliberal transfers of responsibilities from state to social actors can be largely facilitated by behavioral change's capacity to orientate individual choices. Indeed, by working upon the rational or psychological mechanisms that constitute the choices people make and the attitudes people have, this regime of practices transforms responsibility into a moral imperative (Peeters 2019).

While cChange has defended, since the inception of the 4FJ campaign, a 'light step' approach to social change, this reflection on responsibility resonates with a certain vision of the long term role of the grouper ban for the Fijian society:

*The kawakawa ban was an experiment to see if you could use culture and social norms of Fiji to create a ban rather than a legislation from Government, if you could shift the burden of responsibility away from Government on to the consumer that would make the choice to not buy fish at the market and ultimately for the fisher not to fish on the spawning site (interview with a Packard Foundation staff, online 07/2020).*

#### **7.4.2. The responsibility of the guardians of the sea**

Because cChange campaigns were broadly developed to target simultaneously fishers, sellers and consumers, the responsabilization process is to be shared by a large part of the Fijian population. However, in the case of the descending gear for fishers developed recently (section 7.2.3), the identification of 'malpractices' and the suggestion of a need for increased responsibility are directed to fishers exclusively. In this view, fishers are considered not just any stakeholder group but an active actor in the implementation and enforcement of management measures. Indeed, the descending gear elaborated to put the fish back in the water can be approached as an attempt to further include fishers in sustainable management initiatives. This device has been developed in continuity with the seasonal ban on grouper and fish minimum sizes, and represents an example of how behavioral change can also explore less subtle and more practical ways of inducing changes in fishers' practices. However, fishers' testimonies I gathered (see 7.2.3) indicate struggles to cross certain (blurred) management-conservation borders and to switch roles from watchers of 'outside' poachers to 'fish savers'.



It is not new that fishers' practices are under the scrutiny of experts and of the rest of the society, nor that they are asked to be the first to adapt their practices to environmental and societal changes, in other words to take integral part in management and conservation enterprises. This specific responsabilization of fishers to become eyes and ears of what occurs at sea, first through their role of Fish Warden for some of them, and then as active players of fish protection, appears to me as part of a wider societal dynamic that seems to increasingly ascribe fishers *as guardians of the sea*, but yet to conceal a rather large amount of responsibilities that should be acknowledged and recognized as such. This resonates with Oceanian scholar Epeli Hau'ofa's reflection on the role Oceanians can and should take in ocean governance as they are likely to be the most relevant people to be the *custodians of the ocean* (Hau'ofa 2003).

As shown by Bambridge et al. (2021), who analyzed thoroughly the works of the Epeli Hau'ofa (1994, 2000, 2003), while state-based sovereignty is typically defined through rights to self-determination, Hau'Ofa's idea of an Oceanian Sovereignty builds on the very idea of a sense of responsibility and accountability established with respect to the ocean and its inhabitants. In a similar (yet different) way to what behavioral change endeavors suggest, the very conception of responsibility and sovereignty developed by Hau'ofa also focuses on the individual level as it builds on personal relationships to oceans. Hau'ofa thus considers that an environmental shift is necessary to move away from a state focus and better take into account individuals who experience reciprocal relationships to one another in Oceania as well as regional custodians and other partners who wish to participate in this 'common task'. The role of guardians of the sea is therefore non-exclusive and integrates all those who recognize themselves in this common heritage and this common responsibility to the ocean as having both rights and obligations – a *duty of care* for iTaukei Fijians that weave together rights of access and duties to stewardship of resources (Bambridge et al. 2021:D).

Yet, a major difference that must be highlighted is that Hau'ofa's Oceanian Sovereignty is not formulated in terms of individual or collective responsibilities that ensue from being human (i.e. a human 'biblical' responsibility that would ensue from human domination over nature) or being Fijian or Samoan etc. (i.e. on the basis that belonging to a particular political state or governance institutions bestows specific legally-defined rights and duties) (ibid). Hau'ofa's Oceanian Sovereignty is instead related to a responsibility for the ocean that stems from the

interconnections between all entities, all living things, as part of relational and intertwined cohabitations of the world, as well as from ‘place-baseness’, so that a “*reciprocal burden of collective responsibilities*” emerges (Bambridge et al. 2021:F).

Moreover, this – rather (geo)political – self- and extensive attribution by Hau’Ofa of Oceanians as guardians of the sea appeals to very distinct stakes and does not propose specific implications in terms of responsibilities for given groups like we see occurring here with the ecological responsabilization of fishers. Candéau et al. (2015) demonstrated this form of ‘enrolment’ into environmental action in the face of growing environmental imperatives and identified how this role can be externally attributed to specific professions and spells out how fishers’ and farmers’ activities and practices are particularly transformed by growing environmental considerations: “*the ‘ecologization’ process affects the definition of the meaning of the profession, encourages its reconsideration and reconfigures the collectives within which each of these sectors participate in the transformation of this knowledge and related standards*” (Candéau et al. 2015:9, my translation from French). These considerations and the ecologization processes reshape norms and practices deeply rooted in such professions and can be experienced as new top-down injunctions that superpose (rather than replace) previous productivist injunctions. Such infatuation of practices’ change reflects a new phase of *ecological reconfiguration of practices* which follows (and complements) a previous phase of *ecological reconfiguration of the territory* emblazoned by the protected area instrument. While the MPA instrument was deployed as a mean to impose, spatially, conservationists’ vision over a territory and to install frontiers between areas where human activities were tolerated or banished, behavioral change’s focus on practices rather ambitions to install frontiers between those whose practices are validated or still to be reformed.

#### **7.4.3. An intimate government or/and a government at distance?**

Finally, I explore how Agrawal’s *governmentalised localities* can be analyzed in the light of behavioral change approaches to fisheries management. The several notions discussed so far (i.e. incremental change and environmentality, individual responsabilization) show that, beyond a mere strategical change, a reconsideration of government techniques is at stake in Fiji in the field of coastal fisheries management. Following Dean (2010), Agrawal argues that

government techniques entail the direction of subjects' behaviors in the service of a set of norms and practices to progress a governmental program. I argue that in the field of coastal fisheries management, the evolution in the government techniques mobilized is notably characterized by an encounter of forms of power which constitute simultaneously an 'intimate government' and a 'government at distance'.

Although it is not centered on local action and CBFM, I believe that behavioral change and voluntary management approaches extend Agrawal's notion of 'intimate government'<sup>170</sup>, a form of government that emerges from local participatory management and increases compliance (Agrawal 2005b). Indeed, the recourse to diverse behavioral and environmental psychology mechanisms, as well as the use of a wide range of media including social networks, testify of an ambition to overcome previous limitations of previous 'local' and 'community' interventions. Because it allows for multiform discourses and engagements about the protection of the fish and of fish stocks, behavioral change approaches allows for plural, intimate visions to co-exist. The community is no longer taken as a homogeneous object, but rather as an assemblage of different categories (e.g. fishers, consumers, business leaders, sellers, conservationists) which must all be accompanied toward appropriate practices and behaviors. This proximity is also facilitated by the emphasis put on simple practices and on collectiveness, as opposed to previous mobilization of 'distant' science and technique: "*Practice and sociality rather than expertise form the basis of intimate government to regulate villagers' actions*" (Agrawal 2005b:179).

Moreover, the recourse to the public pledge mechanism to create a large, informed network of individuals who have assimilated the 4FJ campaign narrative contributes to produce collective forms of local governments. In social media, this network is still growing: about 19,000 people followed the 4FJMovement Facebook page in April 2021, and have potentially become individual spokespersons of the campaign. We have also seen the strong mobilization of 'future generations' as new stakeholders in this network, ones that impersonate future victims of overfishing, thus becoming new referees of environmental action and imposing a longer-term

---

<sup>170</sup> Agrawal acknowledges that his 'intimate government' builds on the work of Hugh Raffles (2002) who uses the idea of intimate knowledge in talking about indigenous knowledge and their circulation in the corridors of policy making.

temporal referential. The creation of a large network aware of what constitutes fishers' unsustainable practices plays a pivotal part in responsabilization processes mentioned above. Collective opinion on how consumers and fishers should behave is further reinforced by the Pledge which allows this opinion to pass from tacit to formally written, materializing collective approbation of campaigns' regulations (and thus the disapprobation of non-ecological practices). While the focus was purposely not put on a 'mutual surveillance' dimension during the campaign (pers. comm. with cChange director), the idea that witnesses of infringements could become participants in the grouper ban enforcement strategy progressively developed and peaked with the 2018 legal formalization of the ban (**Figure 31**).

### WHAT TO DO IF YOU SEE THESE FISH ON SALE

The Ministry of Fisheries will need everyone's support to effectively enforce the kawakawa and donu seasonal ban. Right now, the town councils, the Fiji Police Department, Fiji Revenue and Customs Service and Fiji Navy are stepping up. But everyone can help, including fishermen, middlemen, market sellers, and consumers. We need to spread the word that the ban is in place. Let's give people a chance to do the right thing.

And where we see it being sold, we can report it to the Ministry of Fisheries by calling:

- Nausori Fisheries Office: 3476587/9966745
- Lautoka Fisheries Office: 6665899/9966759
- Lami Fisheries Office: 3361122/9966752
- Labasa Fisheries Office: 8812833/9966770

You can also help by photographing any kawakawa and donu on sale and sharing it on the campaign Facebook page ([www.facebook.com/4fjmovement](http://www.facebook.com/4fjmovement)). Please note the location, seller if possible, and time of day to help document the incident for the Ministry of Fisheries.



MINISTRY OF FISHERIES



The fish paintings used in this publication have been reproduced with the kind permission of the Pacific Community, Noumea, New Caledonia, except *Epinephelus coioides*, *Gracila albomarginata*, *Aethaloperca rogae*, *Epinephelus ongus*, *Plectropomus maculatus* and *Cephalopholis microprion*, which were provided courtesy of cChange. All fish illustrations by Les Hata, except for *Cephalopholis urodeta* and *Epinephelus malabaricus* by Rachel O'Shea, and *Cephalopholis cyanopodus*, *Epinephelus coioides*, *Gracila albomarginata*, *Aethaloperca rogae*, *Epinephelus ongus*, *Plectropomus maculatus* and *Cephalopholis microprion* by Hazel Adams.

**Figure 31. Extract from the Kawakawa and Donu fish guide publicized by the Ministry of Fisheries and cChange in 2018**

Source: Fijian Ministry of Fisheries website<sup>171</sup>

During this second phase of the 4FJ campaign, collective surveillance is more clearly stated. By either calling authorities or sharing on Facebook photos of infringements, people can become active participants in enforcement, and “*give people a chance to do the right thing*” (**Figure 31**). This mutual surveillance perspective, which makes individuals become simultaneously watched and watchers and develop an individual autocontrol, permits the application of power through a new “*field of visibility*” (Foucault 1979:202). Although it is

<sup>171</sup> The document has since been removed from the Ministry of Fisheries website.

presented as a *voluntary management* model in which “*everyone can help*” (Figure 31), as opposed to classically enforced regulations, we see here that the enforcement dimension has been *displaced* rather than erased. This intimate surveillance emerges out of new forms of intimate government introduced with behavioral change apparatuses.

At the same time, the delocalized dimension of behavioral change campaigns suggests the presence of a form of power characterized by a certain distance between ‘governors’ and the ‘governed’ or as put by Tania Li, between “*those who aspire to govern conduct and those whose conduct is to be conducted*” (Li 2007:4). With its initial voluntary management ambition, power is exercised not directly on the individuals but by managing from far away their conduct in ways that align with governors’ objectives. This “*government at distance*” (Callon and Latour 1981) challenges previous governmentalities that consisted in expanding state (but also non-state) structures and institutions to control subjects from close, and proposes instead to govern freedom and autonomy with other techniques and procedures that affect subjectivities. In our case, this form of government occurs through mechanisms described in section 7.2, but also through very material objects (communication materials like the Pledge, TV, board and social networks ads, or new fishing devices), which become governing *mediators* (Callon and Latour 1981). This steering from distance was conceived as an attempt to address previous management flaws as for instance with enforcement limitations in rural areas where *human* mediators alone were not sufficient to generate practical incremental change.

I argue that the encounter of a form of ‘intimate government’, stemming from behavioral change techniques which surpass previous interventional, territorialized, participatory initiatives, and of new power forms that constitute a ‘government at distance’, is what constitutes the innovative nature and also the strength of behavioral change endeavors. Indeed, because it relies on the comprehension of people’s direct or indirect social drivers, and because it now delivers conservation messages through people’s phone, radio, home TV or local newspapers, behavior interventions are able to reach people’s intimacy. And because it builds upon social and environmental psychology and sociology, it provides conservation organizations with additional opportunities to diffuse information and ideas to an always growing audience and to potentially affect social groups that were previously difficult to reach out such as rural fishers.

Digital communication provides particularly relevant tools to bridge local dimensions with wider scales and to overcome long-lasting debates within conservationist circles regarding the most effective scale of action (Adger et al. 2005, Berkes 2006). Moreover, in Fiji, in comparison to previous approaches standardized by FLMMA in the past two decades, the arrival of the conservation message in the private sphere seems to displace practitioners' attention from the community to the individual (Dacks et al. 2018). Far from the previous reifications of 'communities' (Li 2007a), the mobilization of various narratives by figures from different social groups in campaign materials signals the ambition to embrace the diversity of individual values, beliefs, perceptions and motivations. In parallel to the ambition of building a wide informational network, the consideration of individuals as the relevant unit for the intervention to create a bottom-up, incremental influence on well-identified social processes appears as a new strategy, which is not meant to replace previous ones (e.g. national, regional and international lobbying and policy-making - see Chapter 8, or localized interventions – see for example the work of Pacific Blue Foundation in Fiji) but rather to complement them.

With this reinvention offered by communication and behavioral change, state and conservation actors tackle previously identified limits of classical management models of local intervention and enforcement. By doing so, they invent new, multi-scalar forms of action that surpass usual local-global dichotomies. New perimeters seem to be traced while previous ones are fading. For instance, from my observations, the *kawakawa* and *donu* ban seems to have been received very differently in urban or in rural areas. The large-scale outreach of the main message (“*don't fish, eat or sell kawakawa during the ban*”) is undeniable: most individuals I engaged with in different remote areas were aware of the ban. Its overall reception and acceptance however fluctuated greatly depending on the geographical area where participants live. While in Suva most people I encountered were in favour of the implementation of the ban, fishers living in remote areas of Kadavu overall shared their reservations for several reasons. The reliance of fishers on the 27 species concerned by the ban for local consumption and small-scale trade is high. Indeed, commercial fishers can diversify their catches during the months of the ban, and urban consumers find other fish to buy in supermarkets, but product diversification is more

challenging for subsistence fishers and rural populations<sup>172</sup>. Because the interdiction targets fishing, collection, sales and export of these fish to the same extent, the same level of coercion affects commercial, semi-commercial and subsistence fishers despite contrasting impacts on stocks. The strong adhesion to the campaign in the area of Suva where the intensity of the communication strategy was at its highest should also be connected to the limited reliance on banned species of people living near urban areas due to a higher diversity of food sources available. In rural coastal areas, where daily lives are largely structured around fishing activities, and where dependency on opportunistic fishing is high (“*I don’t choose what I fish*”), the sudden removal of a significant part of the daily source of income and diet is not so easily accepted. Because enforcement is very limited in these remote areas, most fishers met during the ban continued to take *kawakawa* and *donu* if caught by hook and line fishing and to target these fish by spearfishing. In Cicia for instance, in the remote Lau Province, local authorities contribute to the implementation of the ban, but tend to be tolerant with subsistence fishers who caught *kawakawa* or *donu* (pers. comm. with Elodie Fache, 04/2021).

## Conclusion of Chapter 7

In this chapter, I described the design and the implementation of new management strategies and practices based on behavioral change theories. Introduced in Fiji by an Australian NGO, behavioral change campaigns ambition to incrementally amend the practices of various groups (fishers, sellers, consumers) to produce, in term, an individual and collective reconfiguration of practices and norms related to fishing and to certain fish (i.e. *kawakawa* and *donu* as well as immature fish). 4FJ and the following communication campaigns rely on mechanisms I have described: the framing and wide diffusion of simple information, the deconstruction of entrenched beliefs and values incompatible with campaigns’ objectives, and the reinforcement of a sense of *national* community.

---

<sup>172</sup> See for instance the testimony of this fisher from Bua Island. “Ministry Can’t lift ban on grouper fish” *Fiji Sun* (online) Available at <https://fjijun.com.fj/2018/07/11/ministry-cant-lift-ban-on-grouper-fish> (accessed on 22/10/2020).

I have moreover delved into the different facets of behavioral change and showed how it constitutes simultaneously a prolongation of previous management efforts (e.g. CBFM) and a novelty in a number of respects. Indeed, many aspects of the behavioral change campaigns I presented in this chapter offer innovative mechanisms and indicate increasingly palpable transitions in the orientations chosen to achieve objectives of sustainable management of coastal resources. For instance, a significant transition I identified between previous CBFM initiatives and behavioral change endeavors is the importance given to *action* and *practice* rather than the cultivation of a *concern* (based on a shared conservation ethic) for the environment. Indeed, from the stance point of conservation actors, a main deviation from previous strategies seem to lie in the change of focus from the promotion of environmental *values* to the prohibition of certain non-ecological *practices*. By acknowledging that it doesn't necessarily matter *why* someone decides to change his/her behaviors, the coalition led by cChange avoids the pitfalls of previous conservation intervention which would focus on the iTaukei population. But what perhaps contrasts most behavioral change with previous CBFM models is its de-territorialized nature. As opposed to the localized workshop approach that previously characterized the landscape of environmental interventions by international NGOs (i.e. the plant a 1000 seeds strategy) behavioral change endeavors involve nation-wide but multi-scale campaigns. The construction of this new, multi-scalar interventional space allows not only to reach a wider audience, but more importantly to bring the message closer to target groups.

Moreover, by engaging, nationwide, fishers as well as other social groups in the temporary protection of a fish known by all and widely consumed, the campaign stands out of usual fisheries management planning processes based on coercive regulation, data collection and local workshops. Notably, I showed that a significant change in management practices and a shift from a data-driven era to a communication-driven era in environmental management are occurring. Behavioral regulations represent for the supporting coalition a welcomed renewal of management practices to avoid the well-known difficulties of implementing top-down juridico-scientific management apparatuses. As it aims for self and collective-restriction rather than enforcement efforts and surveillance, the cost-effectiveness of this strategy explains MoF's enthusiasm to develop this instrument in support of its fisheries policies since 2018. For NGOs, this collaboration enacts the entry into the new collaborative era prescribed by philanthropic conservation donors (Chapter 5) characterized by increased collaboration with the government.



For these organizations, behavioral change constitutes a diversification in terms of conservation instruments available to manage the relation between ‘nature’ and human activities. The ambition to reshape people’s daily practices offers to managers an attractive answer to previous management complexities (e.g. data-collection, rules implementation and enforcement) and explains the infatuation of behavioral change strategies in recent years, not only in Fiji but also at the regional level.

I have furthermore argued that such infatuation reflects a new phase of *ecological reconfiguration of practices* which follows (and complements) conservationists’ focus on an *ecological reconfiguration of the territory* through the massive support of protected area instruments at all scales. The ambition to create “new social norms” (section 7.3.1) is clear. Starting with what is presented as simple conservation steps, behavioral change fosters individual and collective responsibility toward the environment, thus prolonging processes of environmental subjectivization conceptualized by Arun Agrawal. Expectations of individual and collective environmental responsibility were already infused with previous CBFM models, notably with NGOs’ efforts to empower local communities to be the protectors of their *qoliqoli* (e.g. with the training and deployment of several Fish Wardens per Fijian districts, during a first wave in the early 2000s and during a second training wave in 2018). The recent developments exposed in this chapter showcase a noticeable reaffirmation of this orientation in fisheries management, one that I will continue to develop in the next chapters. As such, this vision of management introduces a new regime of environmentality which proposes to blend together new regimes of truth (non-solely based on scientific knowledge but acknowledging the diversity of knowledges and practices) and discipline (through behavioral change and the internalization of norms it produces).

Following this observation, I have also touched upon the processes of what appears as a new governmentality in environmental management, one which ambitions to govern conducts and practices (i.e. behaviors) and which promotes an individualization of modes of social change (Foucault 2004). With behavioral change’s emphasis on individual change, I see a renewal of government mechanisms already identified with participative conservation: after a transfer of responsibility from state to ‘local communities’ in the 2000s (Chapter 4), we see a transfer from communities to individuals under a narrative of (individual and collective) empowerment. The

inclusion of people, and firstly fishers, into implementation and monitoring completes the forming of environmental subjects for whom their and others' actions on the environment become questionable and evaluable, even without economic or material benefits to question and evaluate. Finally, I showed that management under behavioral change strategies builds on the strengths of both 'intimate' (as it operates to address individual practices, values and beliefs) and 'at distance' (as it is de-territorialized) governmentalities. While I have pinpointed certain limits, I see this dual constitution as an indisputable strength of behavioral change endeavors and contend that it will increasingly participate in the ecologization of Fiji's political landscape.

## Chapter 8. Conservation instruments, state appropriations and hybrid fisheries policies

The third part of this thesis showed that following state-led and conservation-led coalitions' alignment, a hybrid regime emerged and reshuffled governance cards in Fiji's coastal and marine governance arenas. This regime notably led state agencies to reinvest coastal environmental and fisheries issues with the support of conservation funders and practitioners. These dynamics correspond to what Prince labelled as the Fijian "coastal fisheries management reform" (Prince et al. 2020), under which conservation NGOs must work according to government's priorities, signing the entry into a new 'follow the government' strategy. Comforted by this never-so-central position in decision-making within the coastal fisheries management subsystem, the MoF entered in the mid-2010s into a prolific phase of operationalization of its blue growth objectives through the enactment and implementation of diverse fishery public policies and programs. This chapter aims to explore in more details three of these initiatives which I describe in a first section: fishing bans (8.1.1), small coastal state-owned MPAs (8.1.2), and fisheries co-management formalizations (8.1.3).

Building on the work of Pierre Lascoumes, I see these recent public policies as "*windows of opportunities*" (Lascoumes 2012:35, my translation from French) following the construction of a new political agenda. It simultaneously allows to formalize certain societal issues – previously present in the public space but not institutionalized – and to propose a vision of what are the most relevant solutions to these issues. Indeed, this set of public policies produced within a tight time frame indicates what has become acknowledged as 'good management' and 'good governance' practices – or what has been arbitrated as such by the new coalition.

Management *instruments* provide a valuable support for such analysis of public policies, as "*instruments materialize intentions, and often allow to distinguish what constitute true inventions, what is recycled, and what is half-half (...) Understanding instrumentation is a way of grasping the transformations of the state by considering its practices, and the re-compositions they bear, in particular in the permanent tension between constraint and*

*incitation*” (Simard and Lascoumes 2011:3, my translation from French). This search of *what is half-half* led me to mobilize once again the notion of hybridity and to discuss in section 8.2 how these policies have emerged out of the transformation of instruments and approaches historically developed by the conservation sector (i.e. respectively social marketing and behavioral change, MPAs, CBFM).

Finally, in section 8.3, I show that a significant redistribution of roles and responsibilities between NGOs, fishing communities and state agencies accompanies the deployment of the coastal fisheries reform. The detailed analysis of the policies developed as part of the Fijian coastal fisheries reform allows to grasp how deciders, managers and practitioners then distribute new roles and responsibilities in fisheries and environmental management, and therefore re-delineate where each actor is supposed to be and to act. As modes of interactions and collaborations between actors are redefined, new forms of power are created to achieve (supposedly) common goals.

## **8.1. Three policies and three approaches of the coastal fisheries reform**

### **8.1.1. Fishing bans: from campaigns to policy**

The transformation from NGO-led communication campaigns for the *kawakawa* (Grouper) and *donu* (Coral Trout) seasonal ban (hereafter referred to as ‘the ban’) into a governmental policy constitutes a first strategy deployed as part of the Fijian coastal fisheries reform.<sup>173</sup> Four years after the start of the *4FJ* campaign, in June 2018, the Fijian Government established a Public Notice which enacts the interdiction of the fishing, selling and exporting of all species of grouper and coral trout from 1<sup>st</sup> of June to the 30<sup>th</sup> of September, with associated sets of rules and penalties (**Figure 32**). In 2018, the MoF and cChange deployed joint efforts to create public awareness on this Public Notice, with an emphasis put both on the ecological necessity of the ban and on the coming penalties if infringement were committed. In May 2019, the Minister for Fisheries established that there had been ample awareness efforts and

---

<sup>173</sup> The inclusion of new minimum fish sizes established as part of the *SetSize* campaign into state law has also been initiated. At the time of writing, this policy had been drafted but not yet passed (pers. comm. with environmental lawyer, 11/2021).

consultations carried out in communities across Fiji: *“In the first year of the ban, fish were confiscated, but no fines were levied, as we allowed time for everyone to become informed, and adapt to the new fishing rules [...] This year, we are confident that anyone caught with these fish is intentionally breaking the law, and fines will follow”* (discourse of Minister of Fisheries Semi Koroilavesau<sup>174</sup> at the 4FJ Press Conference, in MoF 2019).


For cChange, this transition from campaign to policy resulted from the unpredicted interest of Fisheries in their campaigning work in Fiji, due notably to the *“progressive”* nature of new government leadership (see *Part III.5.1.2*), and to their enthusiasm to see the campaign taken further than what was initially intended:

*We are heavily involved and engaged with Ministry of Fisheries now. This is the first year we really coordinate with them and it's been extraordinary how progressive the current leadership is. [...] That's definitely our intent now: we would prefer that the Ministry really owns the campaign now. We still run the Pledge, we provide toolkits to all the partners for the outreach but we will be doing it on the behalf of the ministry not on the behalf of cChange now* (interview with cChange director, online 06/2019).

In parallel to the elaboration of this Public Notice, the MoF largely reinforced in 2018 its support of the 4FJ campaign which was maintained by cChange to communicate throughout Fiji about the Public Notice. In particular, the Minister for Fisheries and other staff from the MoF actively promoted their personal engagement to follow the restrictions of the ban, through public pledging and numerous photoshoots with 4FJ campaign materials (**Figure 33**).

---

<sup>174</sup> Semi Koroilavesau has been appointed Minister of Fisheries in November 2018 and still holds the position as of the time of this writing.



**Ministry of Fisheries**  
Takayawa Building  
360 Toorak Road, P.O.Box 13026, Suva  
Telephone: (679) 3301011/3310691/3310693 Fax: (679) 3310692/3300435

---

6 June 2018

**PUBLIC NOTICE**

**Ban on fishing, collection, sales and export of ALL SPECIES of Grouper (Kawakawa) and Coral Trout (Donu).**

Following the Hon Minister of Fisheries media release on the 4<sup>th</sup> of June, 2018 regarding the intended seasonal ban for all species of grouper (Kawakawa) and coral trout (Donu) to protect these fish species during their peak breeding seasons; the public is hereby informed that the Ministry is putting in place the following measures:

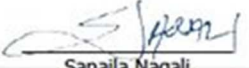
1. All fishing, collection, sales, and exports of Kawakawa and Donu are prohibited, subject to the following conditions.
2. Stocks held prior to the commencement of this notice may be sold locally until 11 pm on Monday 11<sup>th</sup> June 2018.
3. All fish the subject of this notice that were caught prior to this notice coming into effect and that are being held for sale must be either sold by close of business 11<sup>th</sup> June, or frozen. All frozen fish the subject of this notice that remain unsold must be bagged and labelled with the name of the fisherman or vendor, and the date it was received, and must be stored and must not be sold for the period of this notice.
4. The quantity of any frozen fish retained under paragraph 3 for future sale must be notified in writing to the Ministry of Fisheries divisional fisheries office by 15<sup>th</sup> June 2018, and made available for inspection.
5. There shall be no transportation of fish the subject of this notice permitted between local markets (e.g. from Vanua Levu to Viti Levu).

Regulation 4 of the Offshore Fisheries Management Regulation states that

- 4.-(1) A person shall not kill, take, land, sell or offer or expose for sale, deal in, transport, receive or possess any fish identified in Schedule 2A in accordance with the requirements described in that Schedule.
- 4.-(2) Any person who contravenes this regulation commits an offence.

Schedule 2 A: states that the list is as per directive of the Department of Fisheries from time to time.

This notice shall have effect from the 5<sup>th</sup> of June, 2018 until 30<sup>th</sup> September, 2018.



Sanaila Naqali  
Permanent Secretary for Fisheries

**Figure 32. Extract of the Public Notice for the kawakawa and donu ban**

Source: Public Notice (2018) – Ministry of Fisheries website



**Figure 33. Fiji Minister of Fisheries Mr. Semi Koroilavesau and a fisherman from Ra Province (Lisala Waqalala) posing with 4FJ campaign materials**

Source: Mai TV Fiji (online). Available at <https://maitvfiji.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/4FJPix-scaled.jpg> (accessed on 12/02/2022)

Due to the two-step history of the ban (first an NGO-led campaign and then a governmental policy), different elements gravitate around the passing of this fishing ban (e.g. the legal act and its sanctions, communication on the ban, behavioral change and social marketing approaches of the cChange campaign, the public Pledge...). In section 8.2, the concept of hybridity will allow me to analyze these entangled dimensions of the policy.

### 8.1.2. MPA gazettement: the formalization of no-take areas

More than forty years ago, Fiji's legal and institutional structure for the implementation of protected areas both land and marine, over the national territory, was already discussed by the National Trust for Fiji which recommended the establishment of a system of national parks to be administered by the Government (Dunlap and Singh 1980).<sup>175</sup> However, and despite a

<sup>175</sup> In 1980, the National Trust for Fiji produced a landmark report (Dunlap and Singh 1980) detailing a proposed system of national parks and reserves along with information on how to establish, develop and manage them. The report provided definitions for protected areas, guidelines for prioritising them and made recommendations for sites based on ecological and heritage values. A total of 88 terrestrial and marine sites were identified in seven

growing momentum for protected areas all around the world (Aubertin and Rodary 2011), Fiji's Government has had very little recourse to MPA instruments as part of its fisheries management strategy until recently. Since as far as 1941, under section 9 of the Regulations of the Fisheries Act, state Fisheries offices may declare areas as statutory protected reserves for the purpose of *“prescribing areas [...] within which the taking of fish is prohibited or restricted, either entirely or with reference to a named species”* (Government of Fiji 1997:5). These areas are commonly referred to as ‘gazetted MPA’ as regulations are enforced when they are published in Fiji's Government Gazette. Gazetted MPAs can be established over a whole or a part of a *qoliqoli* area but due to the Fijian dual governance system over marine spaces, the procedure involves a transfer of use and access rights from customary fishing rights owners (CFROs) to the government. Consequently, such decision entails complex legal procedures and represents a politically charged move. Until 2018, the legal mechanism had been very rarely used, notably due to the highly sensitive nature of *iqoliqoli* ownership status quo. Indeed, for many interviewees from the civil society, it constitutes a controversial enterprise because of its irrevocable consequences on community ownership rights. As summed-up by Sloan and Chand: *“One reason [gazetting had rarely been used] is probably that the ambiguity over qoliqoli ownership works, up to a point, to the advantage of local communities. In other words, going through the formal process of establishing and gazetting an MPA can be perceived as a potential loss of control or as diminishing iTaukei rights within their qoliqoli. A legally declared MPA or bylaw would bind all parties to the agreement”* (Sloan and Chand 2015:24). The sensitive issue of *qoliqoli* legal ownership in Fiji explains that gazetting has represented for several decades a process in which the MoF avoided to engage in: *“The perceived loss of community ownership once areas are gazetted as restricted areas is one of the reported barriers to using the Fisheries Act to establish ‘formal’ MPAs”* (Fiji Environmental Law Association and EDO NSW 2017).

Twelve years after the first gazetted MPA was enacted in 2002 (Unulikoro MPA in Kadavu Province<sup>176</sup>), the Shark Reef Marine Reserve (Serua, Regulations 2014) and Wakaya Marine

---

planning regions. The report promoted ‘ecodevelopment’ for Fiji and provided a Draft Act for the establishment of national parks and reserves but none of the recommendations have ever been fully implemented (Lees 2007)

<sup>176</sup> This protected area doesn't seem to exist anymore and, according to local fishers, has been transformed into a LMMA before being completely re-opened to fishing in the 2000s.



Reserve (Lomaiviti, Regulations 2015) were enacted. In 2018, two more no-take MPAs were gazetted, the Kiuva Marine Reserve (Tailevu, Regulations 2018) and the Naiqoro Passage Spawning Aggregation Marine Reserve (Kadavu, Regulations 2018). These two small areas (respectively 7.3km<sup>2</sup> and 4.8km<sup>2</sup>) were established with the purpose of “*conserving, protecting and maintaining the biodiversity and productivity of the species of fish, sharks, rays, cetaceans, sea turtles and all marine organisms including coral and holothurian species within the demarcated area*” (Government of Fiji 2018). The legal process protects the area by requiring all persons operating a vessel to only use the mooring provided within the Marine Reserve, prohibiting any littering or any development activity or undertaking without the approval of the MoF, and importantly prohibiting any fishing activity of any species of fish and marine organisms including coral (Government of Fiji 2018:1). Protection from fishing activities is also implemented in the 200 meter buffer zone around the two MPAs where “*any form of indiscriminate fishing gear and any fishing equipment to target any species of fish, sharks, rays, cetaceans, sea turtles and any marine organism such as corals and holothurians*” is forbidden (Government of Fiji 2018:2). According to several interviewees working within and outside of the Fijian Government, the gazetting process has in recent years been increasingly presented to villages around Fiji to make people aware of this legal management option and promote it as a way to sustainably manage local marine resources.<sup>177</sup>

The adoption of MPAs practices constitute for the MoF a step forward into spatial management, an approach it previously overlooked as it constituted FLMMA’s remit during previous decades.<sup>178</sup> This new approach can be placed into the broader strategic trajectory of the Fijian Government to spatially organize its marine spaces and activities. Such trajectory should indeed be considered in the light of Fiji’s international commitment to develop a national network of

---

<sup>177</sup> Also, in a Facebook post on the Ministry of Fisheries’ page: “It is envisaged that more coastal communities will come on board to have their fishing grounds gazetted for conservation and sustainability purposes for future generations” (Facebook post 07/112018) Available at <https://www.facebook.com/fisheriesfiji/posts/1881427435306476> (accessed on 19/11/2021).

<sup>178</sup> In Chapter 4, we have seen the central role played by FLMMA, supported by conservation funders and practitioners, in bringing forward and promoting both CBFM approach and MPA instrument transformed into more flexible LMMAs. LMMAs can be seen as a ‘local’ translation of both MPA and CBFM objects in Fiji by conservation actors. Notably through its international presence in conservation arenas, it participated to make ‘local communities’ key stakeholders for resource management, ones that, from threats to ecosystems and fish stocks became pivotal contributors to their maintaining through the support of sustainable practices and institutions like LMMAs. During the ‘FLMMA era’, participative governance and spatial instruments were presented as the most relevant approaches to coastal fisheries management.

protected areas and to have 30% of Fijian waters protected, firstly by 2020 and today by 2025.<sup>179</sup> These commitments were accompanied by an action plan in which the goal to “*expand Fiji’s protected area network at the national, provincial, district and community level to achieve national targets*” was expressed.<sup>180</sup> Moreover, as part of the Fijian GGF, the Fisheries Department announced to target the gazetting of a total of 16 MPAs in 2014 and to continue this effort in the following years. This target is far from being achieved, yet the intention of Fijian Government to engage actively and quantitatively is to note.

Coastal MPA gazetting endeavors, while contributing only to a very limited extent to the 30% commitment given the immensity of Fiji’s EEZ<sup>181</sup>, are thus embedded in a new spatial strategy of national scope. The development from 2018 onwards of the National Ocean Policy (NOP), with the assistance notably of IUCN and FLMMA, has been a core element of the implementation of this strategy. The NOP was conceived as a key document to guide the implementation of Fiji’s commitments of 30% MPAs and 100% sustainable management within Fiji’s EEZ. Combining elements from existing national legislation such as the Environment Management Act, the Marine Spaces Act, the 2012 Offshore Fisheries Management Act or the 1941 Fisheries Act, the NOP was finally legislated in 2021 as part of the Climate Change Bill (Government of Fiji 2021). Before 2018, legislation and responsibilities for protected areas was dispersed among several different departments and agencies (e.g. Ministry of Environment, MoF, Ministry of iTaukei Affairs, Ministry of Lands and Culture, National Trust) making it very difficult for these agencies to attract consistent political and institutional support. One of the ambitions of the NOP was to provide a framework for MPA implementation in Fiji and to harmonize the practices and approaches of these

---

<sup>179</sup> Commitments of the Fijian Government at the UN Ocean Conference in 2017.

<sup>180</sup> CBD. CBD National Targets - Fiji National Targets (online, 23/11/2020). Available at <https://www.cbd.int/countries/targets/?country=fj> (accessed on 12/10/2021).

<sup>181</sup> With Fiji’s exclusive economic zone and total internal waters totaling an area of 1,301,250 square kilometers, the national commitment of placing 30% of Fiji’s inshore and offshore marine areas under a comprehensive network of marine protected areas (MPAs) by 2020 has been poorly met. Indeed, the progress attained by the MoF towards the 30% SIDS commitments with the promulgation of four marine reserves totals a contribution of 0.008% in the 2017 – 2019 period (Ministry of Fisheries 2019). In addition, the WCS-promoted Vatu-i-Ra Seascape initiative will cover another 1.8%. Therefore, according to the Ministry of Fisheries, of the 30% commitment, 28% remained to be achieved by 2021.

different offices<sup>182</sup>. Indeed, in the *Action Plan for Implementing the Convention on Biological Diversity's Programme of Work on Protected Areas (2011)*, “weak legislation and capacity” was identified as one of the most problematic issue for the implementation of a Fijian national MPA network.

### 8.1.3. The uptake of CBFM discourses

In the 2000s, CBFM emerged regionally as a central topic at the crossroads between environmental and regional sovereignty matters, as for instance in 2008 with the Apia Policy and in 2015 the New Song Strategy. The latter constitutes a roadmap to shift national political attention to inshore coastal fisheries and to support the empowerment of all Pacific island communities to manage their local fisheries. For instance, it urges the re-direction “*of staff and resources into supporting community-based management and enforcing national regulations and restrictions where appropriate*” (SPC 2015). Yet, in the following years, the lack of operational follow-ups to these regional policies and strategies has been deplored (pers. comm. with SPC officer, 07/11/2019).

While CBFM has been regularly discussed and commented in regional meetings such as the Head of Fisheries meeting (SPC 2001, 2011)<sup>183</sup>, it largely remained out of the scope of day-to-day coastal fisheries management operations for regional organizations like SPC and SPREP. In 2019, at the third Regional Technical Meeting for Coastal Fisheries (RTMCF3) organized by SPC, a full day was dedicated for the first time to CBFM, under the label “Scaling-up community-based fisheries management in the Pacific region”. This annual 4-day meeting reunites Fisheries Department representatives and technicians from each PICT and experts from regional organizations to discuss coastal fisheries issues. In 2019, countries were asked by SPC

---

<sup>182</sup> This ambition was reiterated in August 2017 when the MoF hosted an inter-agency ‘National Inshore Fisheries Enforcement Forum’. At the opening, Deputy Permanent Secretary Sanaila V. Naqali called for more inter-agency collaboration to assist with inshore fisheries enforcement, notably for future MPA implementation (Sloan 2017).

<sup>183</sup> For instance in 2001: “*Fisheries agencies have few options in the conservation and management of subsistence fisheries. Indeed, we believe that the only way forward involves encouraging and supporting fishing communities to manage their own fisheries resources. And, even if this is not the only option, it is likely to be the most effective one. [...] Key tasks are therefore related to securing government commitment for empowering communities, and a secondary one is to develop a suitable culturally acceptable process for community-based fisheries management*” (SPC 2001)

to discuss CBFM matters and specifically the successes and limits they encountered in the implementation of CBFM approaches, and to present future plans to enable the operationalization of CBFM in their country/territory. Overall, experts from the SPC's Coastal Fisheries Division stated in the RTMCF3 final report that *“there is still more effort needed in providing adequate legal or regulatory frameworks that recognize community empowerment, even where legislation is already partly in place to that effect. This is a crucial steppingstone in the endeavor to scale-up successful CBFM experiences at national and sub-national level”* (Raubani et al. 2019:3). At the RTMCF3, Fiji representatives announced that one of the main priorities for Fiji was to formalize current ‘CBFM’ initiatives by creating new legal frameworks or adapting existing ones (e.g. through new Regulations) in order to have a more structured and unified notion of CBFM all around Fiji (pers. notes at RTMCF3, 25/11/2019). Again in 2021, at the RTMCF4 ‘scaling-up CBFM’ workshop organized in 2021 by SPC for Melanesian countries (Fiji, Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu), emphasis was made on the need for all countries to make sure that *“user rights and CBFM mandate and framework are clear and supported in legislation, policies and plans at national, subnational and local level”* (pers. notes at RTMCF4, 15/02/2021).

At the national level also, the increased presence of CBFM discourses in recent years is also to be noted. In February 2019, at the SDG14 Symposium organized at USP, MoF Permanent Secretary Craig Strong delivered a discourse to introduce the 2019 session focused on Community Based Resource Management in which he promoted Fiji's CBFM successes. While Fiji's achievements in terms of CBFM already reached national, regional and international arenas based on the work of FLMMA, such support from state agencies and officials have been rare. However, no major legal and policy change has yet emerged from this discursive positioning. The Inshore Fisheries Decree was supposed to integrate discussions and measures to facilitate CBFM in the country but the Decree has finally been shelved in 2019 due notably to unresolved debates touching upon *iqoliqoli* ownership rights (pers. comm. with environmental lawyer, 02/2020). Due to the sensitive, political nature of questions of ownership and rights on coastal *iqoliqoli*, legal frameworks expected to clarify the respective rights and responsibilities have not yet been produced. What has been achieved however, is the increased support provided by state agencies to decentralization processes and to the people and structures

already positioned at the frontier between communities and government, such as for instance village and district Fish Wardens<sup>184</sup> and provincial Conservation Officers.

In Fiji's fourteen Provinces, the Conservation Officer (C.O.) position has been created in 2014 to make the link between communities and state services, including Fisheries and Environment ministries, regarding both marine and land environmental matters. The 15 Conservation Officers report on a day-to-day basis to the Roko Tui and Provincial Office staff, and support Fijian communities in their various land and marine conservation initiatives. Originally developed under conservation funding (notably through Packard grants<sup>185</sup>), this position is now fully supported by state budget and endeavors to be a central stakeholder at the frontier between communities, Government and NGOs. Deployed as provincial intermediaries under the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs, C.O. increasingly became in the past years the main interlocutors for NGOs and private operators to engage with communities of Fiji's 14 Provinces:

*We are the ears and eyes of the communities on natural resources, so that means that we deal with everything that has to do with natural resources and resource owners. As part of the Provincial Office we are the gatekeepers to traditional Fijian villages, so everything has to go through us before it goes down to the village. This includes NGOs, Government departments, or any other visitor. [...] If a development activity proceeds without EIA [environmental impact assessment], then we would inform the Ministry of Environment, and if fishermen are found to be illegally fishing or harvesting turtles, then we would inform the Ministry of Fisheries (interview with a Conservation Officer, Suva 08/2021).<sup>186</sup>*

On fisheries management issues, both Fish Wardens and Conservation Officers constitute intermediaries between state services (MoF but also Ministry of Environment and Ministry of

---

<sup>184</sup> As part of Government's 'revitalizing' of the Fish Warden system, recent training sessions have focused on fisheries law, and on how to approach poachers and seize equipment (pers. comm. with SPC staff, 15/09/2019). For instance, in Matasawalevu (Kadavu), Fish Warden passed from 2 to 26 in 2018 after a large training session led by Fisheries Officers.

<sup>185</sup> The installation of a new governmental Conservation Officer position under the TAB, whose role is to constitute an official and well-identified link between conservation organizations and state offices, has been one of the last projects funded by Packard in the country.

<sup>186</sup> Interview conducted by Sera Lewanuya.

Economy) and civil society and thus participate in the installation of a co-management system. These positions (the former being honorary and the latter a paid job) are two initiatives that have been originally boosted by conservation actors and for which there has been, since 2015, a transitioning from conservation actors (e.g. Packard Foundation) to state in terms of financial (e.g. with the integration of costs related to Fish Warden training and Conservation Officers staffing in MoF and iTaukei Affairs annual budget respectively) and human support (pers. comm. with environmental lawyer, Suva, 04/2020).

## 8.2. From conservation instruments to hybrid policies

I now explore the main transformations that have accompanied the appropriation of instruments initially introduced and mobilized by conservation actors to become state-led policies.

### 8.2.1. From behavioral incentive to fishing law

#### a. Voluntary *and* coercive management for more efficiency

The cChange behavioral change campaigns introduced in 2014 a ‘soft’, ‘voluntary’ approach to management with the aim to generate noncompulsory compliance with fishing regulations, as opposed to coercing compliance. While state powers are characterized by a capacity to directly influence practices and ideas of people through coercion, behavioral change utilizes alternative means (for instance convincing information). It relies on psychological theories that contend that the close consideration of variables at stakes in subjectivization processes to convince people to follow the rules, and to a greater extent than coercion, notably in contexts which offer limited possibilities for surveillance and enforcement of these rules (Battista et al. 2018). With behavioral change approaches, the control of conducts occurs through subtler mechanisms (e.g. nudges, publicity) that thus render invisible elements of power at stake under the ‘voluntary management’ etiquette. Tania Li, who explored governmentalities in action in development and management projects in the Indonesia perfectly sums-up the processes and effects of such ‘voluntary’ strategy: “*At the level of population, it is*

*not possible to coerce every individual and regulate their actions in minute detail. Rather, government operates by educating desires and configuring habits, aspirations and beliefs. [...] Persuasion might be applied, as authorities attempt to gain consent. But this is not the only course. When power operates at a distance, people are not necessarily aware of how their conduct is being conducted or why, so the question of consent does not arise.” (Li 2007:5).*

The formalization of cChange campaigns into fisheries laws in 2018 signed their inscription into coercive management approaches. The legal, coercive phase developed from 2018 by the Government, which formalized sets of rules and penalties for both the *kawakawa* and *donu* ban and the minimum size limits, which can thus be seen as “coming on top” of cChange’s initial ambition in 2014 to install a voluntary fisheries management approach in Fiji. This two-layered process (campaign and policy) allows to discuss the question of power from both ‘hard’ (coercive, legal) and ‘soft’ (non-coercive, non-binding) angles. At Packard Foundation, one of the early funders of the 4FJ campaign, this addition of a coercive management to the initial voluntary model was subject to debates as it was not a then-common practice for them to get involved into coercive, state-led, legal matters:

*Initially the ban was more about putting a voluntary system for management as an example for what you can do when you have voluntary approaches, it was never meant to be put into legislation. The target was to use peer pressure and communication and social marketing to really shift norms rather than something where the police would come in and make arrests. The kawakawa ban was an experiment to see if you could use culture and social norms of Fiji to create a ban rather than a legislation from Government. [...] Initially we don't do policy or legislation, we have nothing to do with that. But all the grantees in Fiji told us they wanted to explore the opportunity to look into this ban using communication and legal approaches. From the foundation, it was an experiment also to see if it could work. We got interested because changing behaviors is difficult and maybe even more so in the Pacific, so it was worth trying (interview with former Packard staff, online 01/2020, my emphasis).*

For this interviewee, the legal-step following the communication campaign they funded is perceived as potentially offering *better results* in terms of behavioral change, hinting there to

certain perceived limits of voluntary management. The hybridization of these two different approaches to power is thus presented as a way to overcome the limitations they individually present in terms of individual and collective compliance with the rules.

For cChange, cooperation with MoF on the ban allowed to align with what was presented by philanthropic donors as the new rule of thumb for NGOs working in Fiji: the inscription into a new *follow-the-government* strategy based on policy-making activities. Once partnerships were established and mutually benefiting strategies elaborated, the recourse to state powers and to coercive institutions came as an addition to cChange ambitions to install voluntary management. The ‘additional’ value of state formalization has specifically to do with the capacity of state services to enforce rules that were not enforceable with voluntary-based regulations, but this enforcement dimension had to be properly deployed to maintain the credibility the campaign obtained over previous years:

*Once it became a policy, it had to move very quickly to effective enforcement, because if Fisheries didn't effectively enforce it, we would have lost all our credibility for any step forward. You can't talk about it for four years, and then pass the ban, and then have no enforcement with people [fishers] getting benefits from the ban here and there. So for us it moved to enforcement (interview with cChange staff, online 06/2019).*

The consideration of state-led legal and coercive dimensions was thus seen as an experiment by conservation actors, based on the hypothesis that the two approaches would complement each other. The selective coupling of intact elements prescribed by different groups of actor is described by Lockwood and Davidson as a recurrent mode of hybridization in environmental management: “*when authors of a programme primarily follow the core elements of a particular logic, but in an effort to resolve tensions or make a programme workable, graft aspects of another logic (particularly its instruments) onto the primary logic*” (Lockwood and Davidson 2010:391). Here, a common objective is at stake: to increase the efficiency (understood as the level of compliance with the rules) of fishing regulations through the complementarity of actors’ respective powers and the *grafting* of their respective logics (coercive management and behavioral change) together. This complementarity is what allows to make the policy *workable*



in the sense that it becomes efficient based on the association of cChange communication and behavioral change capacities and MoF's legal powers.

b. **A parallel with the institutionalization of market-based approaches**

A large body of work on environmental change explores the (dis)entanglements of coercive/command-and-control approaches and incentive-based regulations. Before behavioral change approaches developed in the conservation sector, other models of incentive-based conservation already flourished. In particular market-based approaches became preminent since the 1980s in the field of natural resource management. Like behavioral approaches, market-based policies rely on the production of both economic incentives and disincentives to orientate people toward making better (i.e sustainable) decisions with regards to the use of natural resources:

*“An incentive for conservation is any inducement which is specifically intended to incite or motivate governments, local people, and international organizations to conserve biological diversity. [...] A disincentive is any inducement or mechanism designed to discourage depleting of biological diversity. Together, incentives and disincentives provide the carrot and the stick for motivating behavior that will conserve biological resources. [...] Since self-interest today is defined primarily in economic terms, conservation needs to be promoted through the means of economic incentives”* (McNeely 1988:ix).

In this work published by IUCN, McNeely (1988) distinguished four kinds of tools: legislation, creation of institutions, research, and economic instruments and affirmed the ineffectiveness of the first three.<sup>187</sup> For the first two, the role of governments in conservation is problematic and *“even the most enlightened governments are having difficulties in protecting their natural diversity in the current economic climate”* (ibid:58). Therefore, McNeely argues that it is best to move towards the recourse to economic incentives so that *“when governments are not able to make a prior determination of the optimum (which will often be the case, especially in the*

---

<sup>187</sup> *“Current institutions, research, and legislation have failed to conserve the level of biological diversity required for the welfare of society”* (McNeely 1988:58).

*tropics), these incentives at least can move in the general direction deemed appropriate”* (ibid:58).

Since, there has been a widespread experimentation of market-based instruments and a major infatuation over the concept of ecosystem services and its associated instruments such as green accounting and monitoring, payments for environmental services (PES) and mitigation banking, that culminated in the publication of influential reports like The Stern Review of the Economics of Climate Change or the Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity (TEEB) (Boisvert et al. 2013). In economics, political ecology and environmental sciences among other disciplines, this has also generated a cleaved literature between scholars and practitioners arguing that these market-based instruments are the most effective way to conserve nature and those, more critical, who denounced the (many) risks associated to nature commodification (McAfee 1999, Peluso 2012).

While at first, the two approaches (i.e. state-led/coercive and non-state/market-based led by international conservation organizations) were often presented as opposed to each other and even incompatible (i.e. because of the lack of flexibility of state apparatuses and institutions), there has been since the 2000s increasingly perceptible encounters between the two. These encounters, which occurred notably with the institutionalization of market-based incentives (e.g. PES) and the growing role states could play in these strategies, have led at the global level to various synergies between these two approaches to management and conservation.

My point with this detour to economic incentives is to show that if the association of behavioral change and state-led coercive rules has recently proposed innovative modes of hybridizations in Fiji, it follows a similar pattern to that of the inscription of market-based approaches (developed hands in hands by conservation and economists) into governmental practices in previous decades. Indeed, this case study shows that the hybridization of cChange campaigns with government-led policies for fishing regulations proposes a synergetic alliance of coercive and voluntary approaches: the ‘grafting’ of state and non-state actors and of the two logics (coercive management and behavioral change) allows to achieve an increased efficiency of fishing management (understood in this case as the level of compliance with the rules).

### 8.2.2. From LMMAs to state MPAs

The idea of an increased efficiency of the MPA instrument is also at the center of the Fijian Government's initiative to legally enact coastal no-take areas in recent years. For this Fisheries Officer, gazetted MPAs are today the most relevant tool to achieve marine sustainable management:

*Communities have had enough of short projects and of the lack of enforcement. This is one problem with the NGOs, when funding ends, there is no more project and it is not anticipated. So when communities come to Fisheries, it's more sustainable for them. We are the only one who can translate all that into real regulations"* (interview with a Fisheries Officer, Suva 07/2019).

Alluding to FLMMA's work, he further argued that the legal nature of the gazetting is what ensure both its acceptability and its long-term efficiency, notably because it allows for proper enforcement. The permanent and no-take nature of gazetted MPAs contrasts with LMMAs adaptive ambitions, and reminds more of the practices advocated for by the global conservation sector (Claudet et al. 2008, Boonzaier and Pauly 2016) than the flexible and adaptive tools deployed in Fiji so far.<sup>188</sup>

In Fiji, gazetting is only possible if resource owners waive their ownership rights over the area to be gazetted, so that MoF' services can propose enforcement action (e.g. patrolling of Fisheries Officers with national police), as opposed to LMMAs for which rights but also enforcement responsibilities remain in the hands of the iTaukei resources owners. In other words, the removal of customary rights on the gazetted area is what allows the state to obtain full powers over the area and to provide the means to enforce national fishing regulations. Therefore, in contrast with conservation's importation and adaptation of MPAs in Fiji in the 1990-2000s (i.e. LMMAs), governmental uptake of the MPA instrument in recent years can be characterized by its definitive and inflexible nature, which is worrying for this interviewee:

---

<sup>188</sup> In Chapter 4, I showed that very few attempts to import no-take, permanent MPAs in Fiji occurred in the 1990s and 2000s, as the LMMA model, more fitted with local views and practices, rapidly concentrated most conservation efforts and funneled most conservation funding.

*FLMMA model is adaptive management so if you closed an area and it didn't work, or you want to open it when somebody dies it's ok. But with the gazetting, the Government says 'sign away all those rights forever' and we are not sure what they get in exchange. The most likely case is that you're going to have an area that you can't do anything with and that nobody's going to enforce* (interview with a fisheries consultant, Suva 07/2019)

It is also with regards to the definitive character of rights' transfer from people to state that other interviewees working in environmental and fisheries management fields in Fiji expressed concerns and advocated for nationwide consultations<sup>189</sup> on Government gazetting ambitions:

*The consultation may have been done with the people impacted locally but not nationwide. In the annual corporate plan for the Ministry, they have a target to gazette 7 or 9 areas per year: they have established a target for themselves but there is no established process on how to proceed, who is consulted, what is being told to them* (interview with an environmental lawyer, Suva 07/2019).

Given these concerns over the lack of consultation and the definitive character of ownership transfer that the gazetting process entails, more objections could have been expected, especially from conservation actors associated to FLMMA, as the network has historically defended opposed positions. Yet, gazetting endeavors have overall generated little obstruction, perhaps given the small size of the 2018 gazetted areas, or perhaps because this policy is constantly re-embedded by the MoF as well as external commentators into a wider MPA program that happens to fit with conservation goals.<sup>190</sup> Indeed, although it contributes to a very limited extent to the national commitment of protecting 30% of its maritime area (even if all *iqoliqoli* were

---

<sup>189</sup> While the lack of consultation at the national scale has been deplored by several interviewees, the organization of several local consultations prior to gazetting activities have been noted. Interviews carried out in Matasawalevu (Kadavu) indicated that at least three local consultations occurred with the Government before the gazetting of the Naiqoro Reserve to ensure that the community was aware of the consequences of the process. According to members of the MoF, this is a common practice before any MPA gazetting occurs.

<sup>190</sup> "The new Fisheries Regulations declaring two new marine reserves brought into force this January 2018 following a decision of the Minister for Fisheries accords with the well publicised commitment made by the Fiji government in 2005 to protect at least 30% of Fiji's marine areas". SAS Ocean Law Bulletin (online, 20/01/2018) Available at <https://www.sas.com.fj/ocean-law-bulletins/fijis-minister-for-fisheries-has-created-two-new-marine-reserves-with-regulations-made-under-powers-conferred-by-section-9-of-the-fisheries-act-1941> (accessed on 14/01/2020)

officially gazetted, the total area would only represent 1.7% of the total maritime domain of Fiji), the gazetting policy serves as the first steps of the Fijian Government into the regulation of marine and coastal spaces as part of a long-term spatial management agenda; an agenda that has been historically supported and advocated by the international and Fijian conservation communities.

In this case also, hybridization operates through the selective coupling of elements prescribed by a conservationist logic (i.e. MPAs as the most efficient environmental management approach) and of elements of state politics (i.e. territorial rights allowed by ownership transfer and permanency of legislation). Moreover, once again, state's capacity of enforcement of management/conservation rules constitutes the main driver of transformation of conservation actors' practices and norms in Fiji.

### 8.2.3. From CBFM to co-management

In official communications, MPA gazetting is put forward as being an integral part of the CBFM ambition that Fiji has put forward in numerous regional policies and meetings: *“This designated Naiqoro Passage Marine Reserve is a fully protected permanent no-take area, meaning that there shall be no fishing allowed within the designated boundaries. There is a Regulation that shall enforce the conservation goals and fisheries resource management objectives of this second Gazetted Community-based Marine Reserve for Fiji”*.<sup>191</sup> This reference to a ‘Gazetted Community-based Marine Reserve’ is also found on the board sign at the entry of Matasawalevu village (Kadavu) indicating the location of the reserve (see **Figure 12** in Chapter 2).

The recourse to the terms ‘community-based reserve’ or to a ‘community-based gazetted MPA’ to qualify gazetted areas contrasts with the views of certain stakeholders on how the gazetting process represents an irreversible loss of rights for indigenous communities that contradicts the vision of previous CBFM endeavors. One can imagine that for FLMMA, which stated at the RTMCF3 that their *“priority for CBFM is to advocate for ownership”* (pers. note RTMCF3,

---

<sup>191</sup> Extract of a discourse of Semi Koroilavesau (Minister of Fisheries) on November 6<sup>th</sup> 2018. Ministry of Fisheries, Government of Fiji Facebook post (07/11/ 2018) Available at <https://www.facebook.com/fisheriesfiji/posts/1881427435306476> (accessed on 10/11/2021).

25/11/2019), gazetting of (even small) parts of *iqoliqoli* hardly represents the way forward for CBFM to befall.

Whereas LMMAs could be seen as an ‘ideal’ product that merged conservation MPA and CBFM practices supported by global conservation actors<sup>192</sup>, gazetted MPA represent for conservation actors a crossroad between these two major paradigms of conservation. This man working at Conservation International had mitigated opinions on gazetting but suggests that environmental issues have become so urgent that more drastic actions (than FLMMA’s perhaps) need to be undertaken:

*We were resistant to be part of the gazette process simply because it means that the communities will lose their rights. We haven’t really changed our minds but the issues around the area became so uncontrollable, it seems that we need to take some kind of measures. And certainly the highest sort of measure is the gazettal because fishermen, fish warden, forces of the law, they would be able to have the power to do some prosecutions* (interview with Conservation International staff, Suva 07/2019).

Other interviewees have questioned the issues of gazetting’s removal of ownership rights from strategic angle. Indeed, the right-transfer process can be seen as risking to produce a disengagement of communities on the basis that from loss of ownership can result loss of responsibility (pers. comm. with a USP research, 07/2019). Yet, on the opposite, for resource-users in Matasawelevu, the transfer of ownership rights from customary fish resource owners to the Government is seen as a way to have their fishing grounds under increased surveillance and to get themselves more means to undertake such surveillance, and is thus a form of empowerment. After the gazetting of the Naiqoro reserve for instance, the MoF provided adjacent Matasawelevu villagers with a patrolling boat and binoculars. For a fisherman from a village of a nearby island, Buliya, and a village headman in Kadavu Province:

---

<sup>192</sup> Interestingly, LMMAs can also be regarded as hybrid institutions between conservation and indigenous views and practices (see Chapter 3). Fache and Breckwoldt (2018:258) have shown how such hybridization process transformed in the past the modes of application of already-existing procedures as well as their field of application. To the permanent reassembling of management and governance regimes follows the permanent hybridization of instruments.

*Gazetting would give us rights again, it gives more power to Fish Wardens, it gives us rights to arrest poachers if they come in (interview with a fisherman, Buliya 07/2019).*

*The Government is trying to gazette an area here... For us it would be ok if we have the resources to take care of the area then. We could give the fishing rights if they give us enough money and a boat like they did for Naiqoro. The discussions are starting now, we will have a meeting this week, we need to decide of the place and talk about the size and exact location (interview with a fisherman, Buliya 07/2019).*

For some, the state's legal ownership of natural resources is thus seen as allowing new forms of empowerment. This can appear as paradoxical as many interviewees also recognized that the Government actively participated in the past in the erosion of these rights (e.g. with the Surfing Decree in 2012, the suspension of the Great Chiefs Council in 2012, or the removal of customary goodwill payment to CFROs in 2016.)

Moreover, in parallel of the transformation of MPAs into an instrument deployed to exert state politics, a displacement regarding what constitutes (or not) CBFM has also occurred. This displacement indicates the formation of a co-management regime in which resource use and access rights of customary people are removed in exchange for more local powers for enforcement (e.g. to Fish Wardens) and more government assistance to ensure the day-to-day management of resources (e.g. patrolling boat). The recourse to a CBFM discourses at the national, regional and global scales allows to build on already existing and recognized CBFM practices. I see the transitioning of CBFM approach into what appears more as a state-led co-management approach in which state services and local communities share responsibilities to control *iqoliqoli* as another product of hybridization processes at stake under the hybrid regime. This time, a *remodeling* of CBFM approach into a co-management governance model led by Government is at stake, and seems overall approved by partners of the coalition.

It seems to constitute a regime of hybridity that Lockwood and Davidson characterize as follows: “A regime of practices may be constituted by [...] technologies established under prior forms of rule that may not have been fully dismantled, giving actors the means to pursue a parallel or rival programme based on a different logic to that evident in the dominant form of

*rule*” (Lockwood and Davidson 2010:391). Here, the rival program (i.e. co-management) is indeed based on a very different logic, in which (1) the state holds a central place for the management of marine resources, (2) this management is inscribed into and connected to more global management ambitions like the 30% commitment, and (3) legal changes in rights over ownerships of coastal territories and resources are therefore necessary. Yet, *technologies* (i.e. CBFM instruments and approaches) *established under prior forms of rule* by FLMMA are recovered and re-mobilized.

#### 8.2.4. Instrument’s hybridity to make them ‘acting’

The focus on instruments deployed by actors to operationalize blue growth shows us that different forms of hybridity are at stake. The uptake of different instruments and approaches introduced by conservation actors and stamped by conservationist view (i.e. social marketing and behavioral change toward conservationism, MPAs, community-based management) for public action is not without significance. Some can argue that there is some logic behind it by saying that conservation groups, individuals, experts have important knowledge and experience on environmental matters, and have consequently developed most fitted instruments and approaches for environmental management. This constitutes a rather functionalist view which supports the idea that the choice of instruments for public action is a mere technical choice. The recourse to instruments already widely proofed by previous numerous conservation initiatives can also be seen as the ‘easiest choice’ to provide rapid answers to identified environmental issues (e.g. overfishing and biodiversity collapse). For instance, the implementation of a legal seasonal ban for which a communication campaign already exists and has, for several years, developed people’s awareness at the national level, allowed the MoF to capitalize on the work already done while accessing to and relying on 4FJ financial and human resources. In this case, the recourse to an apparatus which includes not only the seasonal ban, but also a wider strategy to use social marketing to induce behavioral change, is not a neutral choice for the Government but rather appears as strategic and opportunistic. Overall, the choice of an instrument determines which resources can be used and by whom, and such uptake of conservation practices indubitably provides new spaces for NGOs to provide their expertise to state services. As opposed to these visions (technical and opportunistic), which largely constituted the way to



approach instruments in U.S. classical policy analysis in the 1970s, the research group developed by Lascoumes and Le Galès defend that instruments should be considered as “*sociological institutions*” in themselves (Simard and Lascoumes 2011:8). As such, an instrument should be seen as producing – and as being produced in return by – a specific representation and problematization of the stakes it deals with. In that sense, the recourse to conservation instruments for state-led policies reveals a validation of conservation problematization of environmental stakes by the government: as behavior-dependent issues needing a management that simultaneously propose ‘good governance’ (i.e. uptake of CBFM discourse) and deals with areas of high ecological and economic interest through spatial protection (i.e. uptake of MPAs). Such choices also indicate a certain balance of power that privileges certain actors and interests and consequently excludes others by offering a certain representation of the issues at stake.

Chiapello et al. (2013) highlight interactions that exist between the different forms of an instrument: “[management instruments] *import in their situated state traits that have been forged during the production of their circulating forms, while they have to undergo translation and inscription processes to become ‘active’*” (Chiapello et al. 2013:250, my translation from French). Yet, “*primo-adopters [of the management instrument] participate de facto in the construction of the norm they adopt*” (ibid). Conservation actors are the *primo-adopters* of behavioral, spatial and CBFM approaches, and have as such largely contributed to the definition of the norms and practices that are embedded in these approaches. By being such central stakeholders with regards to coastal resources management for decades before the Government reinvested these spaces, they have contributed to make these approaches the most relevant to achieve Fiji’s blue growth ambitions.

### **8.3. (Re)distribution of roles and responsibilities**

Instruments hybridization processes are necessarily accompanied by a redistribution of roles and responsibilities that participate in reforming NGO-research-Government-communities interactions and to reconfigure what public environmental and fisheries management encompasses today in Fiji. This reshaping reinforces Government’s role in

enforcement activities while the agenda for policy-making appears to be more and more oriented by conservation actors. Overall, this section explores the constitution of a new *geography of competences* (Akrich 1991) and interrogates to what extent previous organizational models have been maintained or altered.

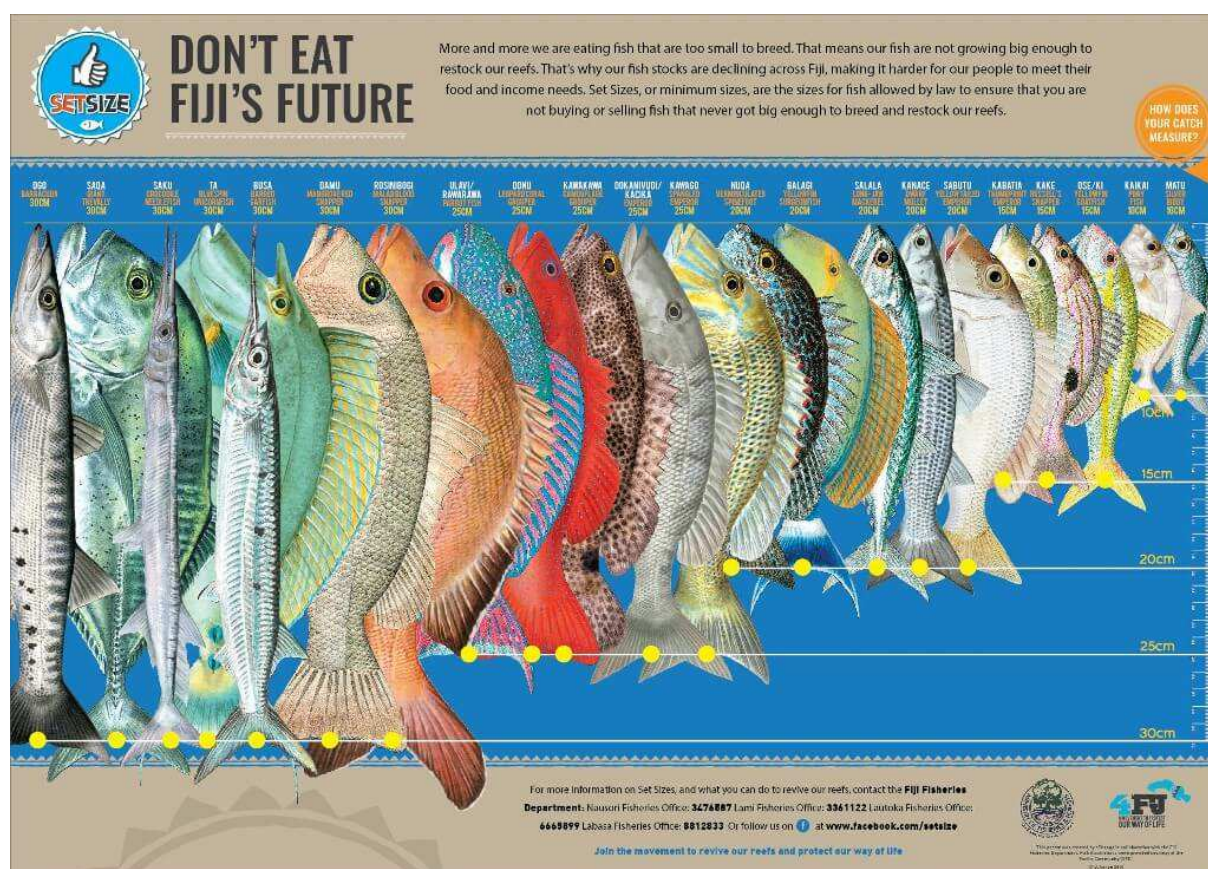
### 8.3.1. Between NGOs and Government services

Based on donors' directives, conservation priorities needed to be redefined after the 2014 workshop in order to be more in line with the Government's environmental choices. This redefinition in agenda-setting activities to achieve project sustainability was made possible by a change of practices in ways NGO staff and Government interacted: in Government offices, with NGOs being present as a technical and financial support to assist the MoF in its operations. This is how a staff member from the MoF sees it:

*Our focus is that if we have a specific target that we want to reach, and we have partners that can assist us.... Most of these partners are funded through Packard and MacArthur, and after 2014 or 2015 they started to align with what the Ministries of the Government's priorities were. This way you have project sustainability. After these years, NGOs would be coming to the Ministry, sit down, and say ok "what are your project priorities and how can we help?" That's new (interview at the MoF Inshore Fisheries Division, Suva 07/2019).*

As the campaign-to-policy process that led to the 2018 seasonal ban on grouper and minimum fish sizes created a new space for collaboration, it also allowed redefining ways for state and non-state actors to engage and work together by enacting a new distribution of roles and responsibilities. The following interviewee worked with several NGOs in Fiji and was involved in the SetSize campaign led by cChange based on the work of WWF, WCS and Dr Jeremy Prince. According to him, the (still-in-process) translation from campaign to policy, only became possible after new ways of interacting emerged between state agents and NGO staff. He notably stresses the importance of having government services involved at all stages of research (e.g. collection and analysis) and policy work rather than after "*what needs to be done*" has already been decided, referring to previous practices:

*On the size limits one [the SetSize campaign], we worked with Ministry of Fisheries from data collection, through analysis, to publishing. And because they knew about the whole process, they were on board. But when NGOs and their scientists collected their data, analysed it, came up with beautiful graphs and conclude on what needs to be done, if I'm a Fisheries Officer I don't want to do that, I won't allow it. You can publish your paper but you won't make it a policy (interview with a participant to the SetSize campaign, Nouméa 11/2019).*



**Figure 34. SetSize campaign poster indicating the new recommended minimum fish sizes and showcasing Ministry of Fisheries and cChange logos next to each other (bottom right)**

Source: SetSize campaign Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/setsize/>

The integration of the MoF into the 4FJ and SetSize campaigns followed a clear distribution of roles and responsibilities between Government agents and cChange: while cChange (supported by FLMMA member NGOs) would remain in charge of the communication to diffuse throughout Fiji the content of the policy, the MoF would publically take leadership of these

projects<sup>193</sup>, develop adequate policies and laws phase as well as provide enforcement forces. Whether it is on Suva's markets or in villages, enforcement programs were designed by partners NGOs to train Fisheries Officers as well as Police forces to ensure sellers and consumers' compliance with the ban. During these programs, Fisheries Officers, NGO practitioners, border security officers, market masters from the city council, all gathered to learn how to deal with various forms of infringement (fishing, selling, consuming of *kawakawa* and *donu*). It is at this occasion that emerged the first formal collaborations between Fisheries ministry and Fiji Police Force officers, at the favor of the 2014 Offshore Fishing Management which allows more legal capacity for compliance and enforcement. For cChange director, this focus on enforcement was the next logical step for the MoF to take proper ownership of the project and to safeguard the long-term credibility of collaboration. As evoked before, enforcement, policing and patrolling dimensions contrast with the initial “*light step*” approach of 4FJ (Chapter 7, p291). The deployment of the legal grouper ban can again be seen as an evolution of the previous positions of cChange and its funders on volunteer management and on its ability to incentivize and effectively orientate conducts.

As part of recent *co-management* dynamics, roles and responsibilities between communities (e.g. fishers, fish wardens, resource owners), FLMMA members and government agencies (MoF, Ministry of Environment, Ministry of iTaukei Affairs) have thus been largely redefined. From 2014 on, one of the most significant outcomes of the collaboration is the installation of a Conservation Officer in each of the fourteen Provinces under the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs, for which the distribution of roles and responsibilities has generated more debates and hesitations. The initiation and funding of this program was supported in the first years (2014-2017) by the Packard Foundation before transitioning to a state-funded program under the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs. For the Packard project leader at that time, the transition delineated blurred boundaries between the remits of state and non-state actors: “*It was fun because for some years CSOs [civil society organizations] thought they were kind of in charge of the Conservation Officer program, and then they realized it was not under them but under Government*” (interview with former Packard staff, online 01/2020). In the first years also,

---

<sup>193</sup> From 2018 on, communication material elaborated by cChange for 4FJ and SetSize campaigns clearly put forward MoF' contacts and logo (as visible on **Figure 34**) and press conferences are organized by 4FJ for the Government to speak publically of the campaigns.

coordination issues were also internal to the Fijian Government as the program necessitated renewed collaborations between MoF and Ministry of iTaukei Affairs on topics related to marine resources management and conservation. The views of fisheries expert and consultant Robert Gillett on this program were ambivalent: while he applauded the Conservation Officer program that appeared as a strategic solution to address the national-provincial gap and to further strengthen coastal marine resource management efforts, he deplored the lack of coordination with the MoF on marine matters: “*While there is a strong case for the Fisheries Department to take on some of the FLMM/NGO roles, there is also a need for NGOs and donors to accept and assist such a transition. The recent establishment of conservation officers within the iTaukei Affairs Board does not appear well-coordinated with the Fisheries Department*” (Gillett et al. 2014:4).

### **8.3.2. Between communities and ‘external stakeholders’, co-management and MPA gazetting**

Proximity (relative for certain Provinces that are constituted of numerous scattered islands like the Lau Province) allows Conservation Officers to provide support and advice to iTaukei communities and in particular customary resources owners on natural resources management, as well as to ensure locally that NGO, private or governmental-led projects are aligned with communities’ needs and priorities. As such, they have constituted since 2014 an important player in the new coastal fisheries co-management dynamic. According to several interviewees, such position has become critical notably because more and more private operators, generally from the tourism sector, engaged directly with communities with little regards for customary nor legal protocols. It is also in that context of unclear and unregulated interactions between external players and communities that MPA gazetting was introduced as a solution to clarify roles and responsibilities of parties.

Indeed, the gazetting of the Naiqoro Passage Spawning Area allowed the formalization of the relationships between communities, tourism operators and state services as it represents a legal framework for resource-users to deal with tourism operators and resorts who accessed the customary area for diving activities without fulfilling their obligation to pay a financial counterpart:

*With the gazetted MPA, the Government will ask the resorts to give us money. Now if they go [diving] they have to give FJD\$15 per [diving] tank. That's the arrangement at the moment. Since the Government came to protect the area, divers are not coming anymore. With the tabu, people still came but people respect more now that the Government came to gazette [the Naiqoro Passage area]" (interview with a fisherman, Matasawalevu 07/2019).*

In the case of the Naiqoro Passage, but also of two other gazetted MPA (the Shark Reef and Wakaya Reserves), the process of legal formalization of the area relates directly to the development of tourism activities (Sykes et al. 2018). In these areas, customary rights owners used to directly engage with resorts and diving tourism operators to regulate access to these ecologically rich and diverse sites and to negotiate access-fees in exchange of the authorization to carry-out tourism (mainly diving and snorkeling) activities inside the area (Sykes et al. 2018). These interactions were impacted by the enactment of the Surfing Decree (Regulation of Surfing Areas Decree 2010)<sup>194</sup> which enacted that watersports users who were not fishing, engaged in destructive practices, or discharging waste or litter, couldn't be denied access to any reserve area, and couldn't be compelled to pay compensations for such use. The gazetting of the Naiqoro Passage, a famous diving and snorkeling site, was allowed by the local communities of the Nakasaleka district, where the traditional owners of the *qoliqoli* reside, under the condition of a rehabilitation and formalization of access fees for diving activities. The MoF, through its Provincial Fisheries Officers, established in 2019 this new formalized agreement between Nakasaleka district (the district in which the Matasawalevu village is located) and five adjacent tourism operators. Similar arrangements have been deployed to support the gazetting of the Shark Reef Reserve and of the Wakaya Reserve.

---

<sup>194</sup> The Surfing Decree cancels the right of fishing rights holders to invoke traditional ownership to deny access (or to receive access-fees in exchange for access authorization) to tourism operators wishing to establish an activity in the area within their *iqoliqoli*. Although the decree is centered on surfing activities, it is actually enlarged to "any water sport" therefore including the numerous diving and snorkelling operators established in Fijian coastal areas. Before this Decree, as developed above, anybody from outside the rights owners' community wishing to access *iqoliqoli* was required to follow a customary protocol to ask for the permission to do so for resource owners, even if there was no exploitation of these resources. The Decree prevails over other legislations, including those related to customary fishing rights and previous 'wet leases' often contracted by resort operators. It is not accompanied by a right to compensation to rights-holders, previously referred to as a 'goodwill payment'.

In other words, following unfavorable impacts of the 2012 Surfing Decree for local communities and despite its direct consequences on legal ownership, gazetting paradoxically represents an engaging option for communities wishing to regain (notably economic) benefits from the use of their customary territory by external parties.

MPA formalization comes with major sanctions in case of infringement and therefore profits also to tourism operators who are ensured that their dive sites will be under increased surveillance from illegal, commercial fishers. Moreover, while regulations under Fisheries Act gazetting process offer a wide range of options (e.g. species bans, gear bans, temporary closures), all gazetted MPAs have been declared as permanent no-take areas, meaning that any fishing activity is prohibited, including subsistence fishing. The formalization of the MPA by the Fijian Government therefore represents a welcomed mechanism for tourism operators to prevent fishing activities from occurring in areas of ecological and thus touristic interest. As a consequence, for this environmental consultant, it is likely that the gazetting will only be engaged when economic stakes are important but economic benefits for communities will not compensate the loss of rights it entails:

*Communities lose control over the protected space indefinitely and it only allows for the development of commercial MPAs for commercial purposes only like for diving. Legal formalization is not an answer, the way to go was and still is to restore traditional tabu area, map it properly, register it in FLMMA, that way you remove commercial fishing but subsistence is still allowed (interview with a fisheries consultant, Suva 06/2019)*

For this interviewee, under this rationale of formalizing parties' interactions with the gazetting, unbalanced trades-off are proposed by the MoF. Again, the notion of permanence, as opposed to FLMMA's adaptive model strikes as a concern. This leads me to question in the next section the position of FLMMA in the reassembling processes analyzed here.

In conclusion of this section, the gazetting agenda deployed by the MoF since 2018 appears to be the result of a conjunction between two developments: (1) growing local demands in some areas to obtain (formalized) means to manage resources and to engage with private operators

(because “*communities have had enough of short projects and of the lack of enforcement*” - p108) and (2) the deploying of a national marine spatial management strategy.

### **8.3.3. What place for FLMMA and for communities in a state-led co-management regime?**

The confrontation by the above-quoted interviewee of the respective features of state gazetted MPAs and LMMAs is embedded into a broader concern over the articulation of state gazetting agenda with the already in-place LMMA network.

Over the past decades, FLMMA’s model of intervention on local sites for marine resource management has been characterized by the lack of governmental legislative support and by the limited engagement of and uptake by state agencies (Chapter 3). Despite its inclusion as FLMMA members, MoF and Ministry of Environment in particular have indeed remained overall absent from LMMAs’ decision and implementation processes (Gillett et al. 2014, Sloan and Chand 2015). The question of the articulation between FLMMA and state spatial management strategy was raised during the 2014 workshop organized by the Packard Foundation which reunited Government and FLMMA actors to discuss the future of fisheries management in Fiji (see Chapter 5). For the following interviewee from the conservation sector who participated to this workshop, the engagement of MoF into the spatial protection of small coastal areas of high ecological and economic interests could have, in that moment, initiated a convergence with LMMA models, but it didn’t:

*MPA gazetting arrived because the Government was somehow out of FLMMA back in the days (...) (at the workshop) FLMMA were talking about their work and said they want to have LMMAs made official, like national MPAs, but the Government said ‘this is our mandate, we don’t want our communities to go out and tell someone to go away without legal basis for doing that’. In an ideal world, LMMAs and Government would have got together and agreed on all LMMAs, not being gazetted, but at least defining clear roles for each partners, who can do what, then bolster the policy of the LMMAs to help support communities to do enforcement work they needed. But unfortunately they couldn’t find compromise and each went their own ways so we ended up with two*



*different MPA systems, which is not optimal* (interview with an attendant of the 2014 workshop, online 01/2020, my emphasis).

Beyond a missed encounter of LMMA and state MPA networks, the uptake by state services of a community-based management discourse is also seen as neglecting key CBFM propositions historically advocated by FLMMA members. For instance, better political representation of resource users and local inhabitants in decision-making spheres has been for many years a central item on FLMMA's agenda, especially when decisions touch upon issues related to subsistence and artisanal fisheries. This political representation has overall been overlooked and hampered by several successive political moves, including the suspension in 2012 of the national Great Chiefs Council, a key institution in the iTaukei hierarchy. This moment was seen by some of FLMMA members a blow against their vision of CBFM, presented by this interviewee as a "real community-based management" to mark the opposition between this vision and more recent state-led co-management propositions:

*In terms of real community-based management, chiefs are now the missing piece in the management hierarchy. The removal of chiefs in governmental authority, it also got them weak at the local level, it has diminished their local authority and this authority was key for community-based management. And they needed these legal ways to have authority but it has been removed* (interview with a NGO staff, Pacific Harbor 06/2019, my emphasis).

However, on the question of representation, other developments indicate an improved representation of iTaukei coastal communities in national, regional and international spheres but also point at the limits of this evolution. The venue of several community representatives at the New York UNOC to speak about FLMMA's work (in iTaukei Fijian) and interact with donors and managers represents according to FLMMA's coordinator, one of the biggest achievements of the network so far (FLMMA's presentation at RTMCF4 Melanesia preparatory meeting, personal notes 02/2021). Also, at the RTMCF4 meeting organized by SPC, FLMMA's secretary and other staff from the network presented FLMMA's work as an example for other countries to follow to develop CBFM on their territories. These interventions allowed FLMMA

community representatives to intervene in the same arenas as international, regional and national decision-makers.

Yet, at the regional level, the question of the representation of communities to discuss the formalization of CBFM matters in regional arenas was in recent years a subject of controversy. Following the realization that high-level meetings (e.g. RTCFM, Head of Fisheries Meetings) did not address properly issues related to subsistence and artisanal coastal fisheries, the Coastal Fisheries Working Group (CFWG<sup>195</sup>) was created in 2017 in order to bring those issues onto the attention of Pacific Leaders and in regional agendas (MRAG Asia Pacific 2020). The CFWG consisted of non-state representatives from regional organizations, NGOs as well as local communities' representatives. At the 2019 Regional Fisheries Ministers Meeting (RFMM), several Ministers expressed their concerns regarding its lack of accountability to PICTs Governments. Ministers recommended to SPC that the CFWG be disbanded and called for the SPC Heads of Fisheries to be the primary vehicle for formulating advice on coastal fisheries management to the RFMM. In other words, recommendations of the CFWG between 2017 and 2019 were explicitly rejected and previous institutional pathways (which provide little room for communities' representation and for subsistence and artisanal fishing matters) maintained. The following interview quote highlights what represents for this FLMMA member the potential issue with community representation in supra-national decision-making forums (i.e. political opposition), and the highly political stakes this representation entails. This confirms the displacement of the previous position on CBFM (in which political and democratic ambitions held a central place) to a state-led vision of a co-management in which only an organized participation and representation is permitted:

*We already had these working groups that were purely institutional, SPC, SPREP, the CROP<sup>196</sup> agencies. But the CFWG was an attempt to say coastal fisheries are actually not just a governmental thing. Sure, we need awareness and better understanding of how the international and regional agreements fit together with local action, but we*

---

<sup>195</sup> I already evoked this working group in Chapter 5 on CITES to expose how its dismantling also occurred with regards to the publication of a controverted document in 2019 (*A call to leaders - Most urgent actions required for sustaining or increasing the contribution of coastal fisheries to our communities*) which denounced political and economic issues related to coastal fisheries and in particular to sea cucumber fisheries.

<sup>196</sup> CROP is the Council of Regional Organisations in the Pacific, an institution that brings together several regional inter-governmental agencies including SPC, FFA, SPREP, PIDP and USP.

*need community representatives to be involved in this. Not just big NGOs who work at the local level, but actual nominates from communities who can talk to us. But everyone had a different idea about how it should be done. In the end, instead of having 22 representatives<sup>197</sup> at meeting, we only managed to have maximum 3 community representatives at each meeting and they had to rotate between countries. And of course it was up to the governments to decide who was coming, which was obviously a problem. But Governments were basically saying "we don't want you SPC or NGOs to go and choose people who might be anti-government instead of being only non-government" (interview with a FLMMA member, Suva 11/2019).*

With the CFWG and other propositions, conservation NGOs advocate for a larger role of local and particularly indigenous communities in the blue growth vision praised by the Government in regional arenas, and largely participate in the exposition of coastal fishing communities in international events like the UNOC (pers. notes RTMCF4 meeting, online 02/2021). Despite this advocacy work, the coastal fisheries reform seems to maintain fishing communities in already-defined positions, where they can contribute to some management tasks (e.g. daily enforcement, individual change of practices), while others (participation in decision-making, voicing of management concerns) remain controversial.

The elements presented in this section show that practices of reassembling to design and implement hybrid policies have generated (and have been generated in return by) the forming of a proper hybrid coalition. This hybrid coalition resonates with Doherty et al. (2014)'s definition of hybrid organizations as "*structures and practices that allow for the coexistence of values and artefacts from two or more categories*" (Doherty et al. 2014:418). This idea of a coexistence suggests that hybridity is more than just an amalgam of sectoral characteristics and indicates that actors supporting certain normative frames or logics to maintain a place in the coalition must articulate with one another to find a place in the coalition. Consequently, a new geography of competences (Akrich 1991) emerges: the Government's role in policy-making and enforcement activities is reinforced, conservation actors like cChange, Packard and researchers support its decision through communication, financial, or scientific means, and

---

<sup>197</sup> The interviewee probably refers to the 22 PICTs out of the 26 SPC members that also include France, Australia, New Zealand and USA.

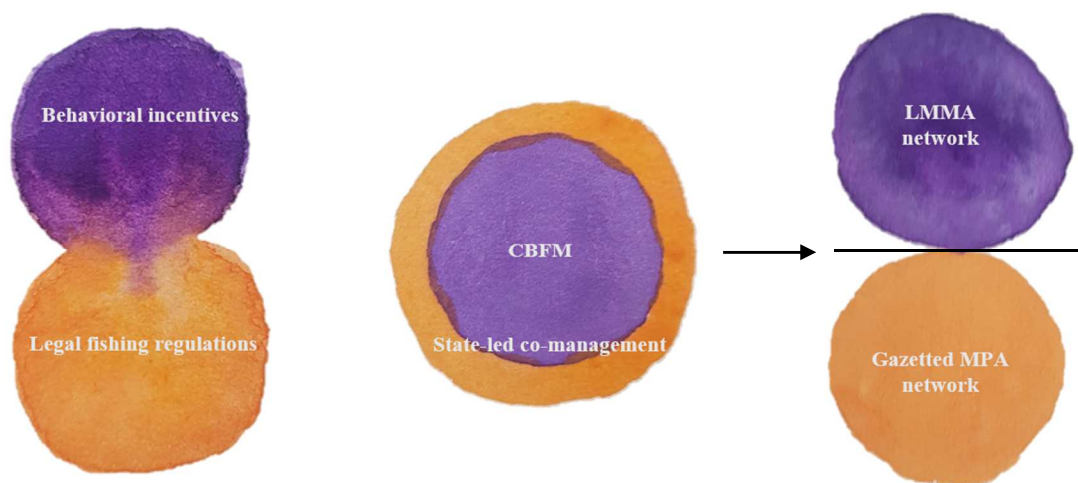
fishing communities are at the same time increasingly present on regional and international stages and maintained out of decision-making activities. In the next Chapter, I will detail the new role attributed to fish and fishers in particular in the new, hybrid regime that is structured around this geography of competences.

## **Conclusion of Chapter 8**

Although they touch upon various aspects constitutive of fisheries management regimes, the confrontation of three recent fisheries management policies proposed in this Chapter illustrates the recent mutations that emerged out of the operationalization of Fiji's coastal fisheries reform. I have shown in this chapter that processes of hybridization of instruments, practices and approaches previously constitutive of management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes have produced hybrid public policies, in large part through the re-assembling of elements introduced, sustained and promoted for many years by conservation actors (i.e. behavioral change approaches and social marketing, LMMAs and community-based management). Diverse hybridization practices identified by Tania Li (2007:284) are found: (a) the grafting of new elements and the reworking of old ones, (b) the coupling of intact elements prescribed by previous regimes; (c) the recourse to existing discourses to new ends (e.g. for the shift from campaigns to policies), or (d) the transposing of key terms' meaning that allows for prior forms of rule to endure in a new regime (e.g. the recourse to a 'community-based management' discourse).

As part of these reassembling dynamics, conservation instruments and approaches have been re-appropriated, transformed and thus hybridized, to make them "acting" (Chiapello et al 2013) for the new state-led coalition: hybridization with government standards and practices make conservation instruments compatible with a state-led regime of practices. In this context, hybridity therefore appears as a mechanism deployed to adjust practices, norms and approaches that previously entailed incompatibilities regarding how coastal and marine resources and spaces should be used (i.e. management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes of practices).

I have attempted to graphically represent in **Figure 35** the different hybridization processes that are at stake in the three case studies explored in this Chapter.



**Figure 35. Representation of the hybridization processes at stake in the three policies: synergy, remodeling and superposition of conservation (purple) and state (orange) instruments and approaches**

The synergy (left) observed between behavioral incentives (i.e. cChange campaigns) and coercive approaches to management (i.e. fishing laws) suggests an advanced hybridization: each stakeholder has a clear role to play and their respective powers can complement to produce a new individual and collective governmentality. The recourse to CBFM discourses at the national, regional and global scales allows to build on already existing and recognized CBFM practices while remodeling (middle) the meaning associated to these discourses. With this remodeling, new practices emerge and are legitimized by previous CBFM models channeled through FLMMA during previous decades. The superposition (right) of gazetted MPA and LMMA networks is a product of this first limited hybridization: the two system rely both on MPA and on CBFM discourse, but the latter entail very different meanings whether it is mobilized by FLMMA or by the government. These processes have been observed at a given time and are dynamic, they are the result of formal or informal negotiations between the various stakeholders involved in fisheries management: it is likely that they will evolve and consequently take new shapes.

The state-led nature of these policies, which could be seen as problematic given the new forms of powers it attributes to the Fijian Government, is seen by most stakeholders (e.g. conservation

actors for the legal formalization of the 4FJ and SetSize campaigns and the uptake of CBFM as well as fishing communities, supporters of gazetted MPAs) as measures that can best provide win-win outcomes, notably because it allows for more *efficiency* in fisheries management and conservation. For instance, from 2018, the gazetting phase emerged along a win-win discourse diffused by the Government to promote co-management mechanisms that would result in proper, legal enforcement to organize fishing, conservation and tourism activities in areas that present significant ecological features (such as the Naiqoro Passage Spawning Area) while allowing the Government to initiate a movement toward the 30% MPA commitment. Policies thus materialize arrangements able to accommodate remaining internal tensions because they offer benefits to all parties. They also indicate the central position of the state in the elaboration of compromises between development and conservation stakes today. Indeed, supported by conservation actors, the Fijian Government appears as a powerful player by virtue of its capacity to propose these win-win solutions and to organize and combine previously isolated forms of power (e.g. state coercive powers, conservation behavioral change and communication capacities, tourism operators' economic powers) to organize a common sustainable development of Fijian coasts.

In this process, roles and responsibilities have been redistributed and the place of FLMMA and local communities remains limited in practice despite an increased visibility on regional and international stages. The integration of these actors and of their claims for more representation in decision-making spheres, for more consultation on gazetting processes and for more transparency in the management of high-value fisheries like the sea cucumber fishery has been limited in recent years. Moreover, the absence of politically sensitive issues like *iqoliqoli* ownership from discussions within the hybrid coalition also indicates the selective nature of hybridization processes at stake in recent years.

To some extent, localist visions and claims thus appear to have been subdued in an attempt to close the gap between developmentalism and conservationism. Perhaps, to say that they have been *partly* subdued would be more exact. Indeed, we will see in the final chapter that localist discourses largely re-emerged in the new coalition but under a different form, that of a 'national and regional localism associated to the defense of Pacific and Fijian views and practices in international environmental arenas.

## Chapter 9. Characterization, successes and limits of the hybrid regime of practice

In this final chapter, I will discuss some of the results of this study in the light of the objectives and research questions established in the introduction and propose new elements to complete my analysis. The general objective of this thesis has been to understand past and current transformations of coastal fisheries management in Fiji as well as the evolution of discourses and practices of coalitions of actors defending the prioritization of either economic development or biodiversity conservation objectives. Throughout the previous chapters, I have thus explored the evolution of management under different angles (the what/how/who/why questions of **Table 1**). An initial hypothesis was that, over time, these multi-scalar coalitions of actors have to a large extent shaped the contours and contents of coastal fisheries management in Fiji. Out of this initial objective, two research questions have guided my analysis: how are economic development and biodiversity conservation priorities articulated in recent ‘integrated’ coastal fisheries management discourses and practices? How does the operationalization of an ‘integrated’ management agenda transform power relations between actors involved in management, chiefly state and non-state actors?

I will firstly retrace the evolution of management instruments and approaches deployed by the successive coalitions as well as of the modes of problematization of fisheries and modes of qualification of fish and fishers (section 9.1). In doing so, I also propose to better characterize the hybrid regime and notably connect its hybrid disposition to the rendering of management instrument, problematizations and qualifications as *flexible*. Then, approaching these questions from an actor-centered perspective, I will review the successive positions of the Fijian state and of external NGOs involved in Fijian coastal fisheries management in the different coalitions (section 9.2). Finally, I will discuss the future of coastal fisheries management practices and discourses and examine their insertion in both neoliberal and regionalist agendas, under both of which notions of ‘integration’ and ‘flexibility’ are decisive (section 9.3).

## **9.1. Diversifying instruments and evolving problematization and qualification processes**

### **9.1.1. The diversification of fisheries management instruments and approaches**

Following Lascoumes and Le Galès' definition, I have approached management instruments as a "*coordinated set of rules and procedures which govern actors and organizations' interactions and behaviors*" (Lascoumes and Le Galès 2005:15, my translation). These instruments have evolved following management propositions and are telling about the position of groups of actors on ocean governance, planning activities and the prioritization of different objectives.

In the 1920s, colonial officials debated various types of instruments, with little technic or scientific positioning, but based on what each of them had experienced with Fijian fishers in their Province. Overall, management instruments at that time were discussed based on their capacity to control and limit fishing activities of rural Fijians, as some of these activities were perceived by colonial officials as detrimental to the sustainable exploitation of marine resources. Management was thus intertwined with a more general ambition to govern fishers and enroll them in a colonial 'proto-sustainable management' vision that has been, in other colonialized countries and territories, characteristic of a western ruling of natural resource access and use (Rodary 2008).

From the 1950s onwards, new instruments (e.g. subsidies, quantitative surveys, scientific models such as the MSY) have been imported in the South Pacific region by fisheries scientists from international and regional organizations who have largely taken part in the shaping of what I have called the management-as-development regime. These instruments were initially deployed to organize offshore industrial fisheries but rapidly diffused to coastal artisanal fisheries as management became a matter of governing fish and fishers so that they remain within the tight frame of maximizing productivity while avoiding overexploitation, a frame that the concept of MSY symbolizes perfectly.



As part of the management-as-conservation regime, new management instruments were introduced at the national level by non-state conservation actors from the 1990s onwards, such as LMMAs and behavioral change campaigns. Then from the 2010s on, instruments and approaches initially developed and advocated by the conservation actors, namely social marketing and behavioral change, LMMAs and CBFM have been re-appropriated, hybridized, and thus transformed, to make them ‘acting’ for the new state-led coalition and as part of what I have called the hybrid regime.

Spatial management has remained for the different coalitions a central management instrument for coastal fisheries in Fiji. Yet, the enduring research of legitimacy and efficiency from actors who mobilize MPAs has led to a diversification of their modalities of implementation. Through iTaukei customary tabu, colonial officials’ proposition of temporary or seasonal closures, conservation donors’ ambitions for no-take MPAs, or state gazetted reserves as part of Fiji’s 30% protection commitment, spatial management can be seen as reflecting the visions and objectives of each coalition. Despite its conservation-stamped nature, the flexibility of the concept of MPA allows for processes of appropriation and hybridization under various governance modalities, which explains its longevity as a flagship marine conservation instrument as well as its complete inscription into fisheries management practices. In recent years, spatial management is becoming even more preponderant and marine spatial planning (MSP) is increasingly brought forward as a promising management tool to sustainably organize oft-competing claims over marine spaces and resources by “*analysing and allocating the spatial and temporal distribution of human activities in marine areas*” (Ehler and Douvère 2010:10).

Yet, with behavioral change approaches, we have seen that de-territorialized management initiatives have also gained ground. In Fiji, this approach testified of the recent distancing of conservation organizations with previous ‘plant a 1000 seeds’ strategy that characterized FLMMA’s action for more than a decade. Although spatial management remains central (with the significant focus on large-scale MPAs and MSP by a certain number of NGOs and funders), MPAs have become one tool among others types of fishing regulations. Along with this instrument diversification, a greater attention is provided to fishers’ practices, an attention that testifies of a rapprochement between previously distant fisheries and conservation worlds. I further contended in Chapter 7 that the turn from MPA to fishers’ practices and fishery

instruments like seasonal bans testifies of a new phase of *ecological reconfiguration of practices* which follows the phase of *ecological reconfiguration of the territory* that occurred with the propagation of spatial management and the MPA hegemony. These successive ecological re-qualifications of fishers’ territories and practices occurs through a diversification of conservation instruments and levers (policy-making, campaigning, local interventions...) and seem to constitute a keystone of environmental action today.

Finally, with this instrument-based approach to management, I did not attempt to assess the socio-ecological effects or (in)efficiencies of these (spatial and other) instruments, nor did I investigate in details how they affect in practice fish, fishers and practitioners. Instead, I have attempted to unravel how different forms of management involve different modes of qualification and problematization of fisheries, in other words how they materialize a given regime of practices. Such instrument-based analysis has also allowed me to raise questions on the growing tensions between voluntary and coercive management: I have analyzed new state-led, legal phase for policies as a new management regime embedded in a conception of a state of law that orientates social norms through coercion, while communication instruments are embedded in more liberal logics of ‘public democracy’ and voluntary management. While voluntary and coercion-based policies used to be associated to non-state and state actors respectively, hybrid uses of these two forms of policies are now visible under new integrated management approaches and suggest that new (hybrid) forms of power are emerging.

### **9.1.2. The evolution of fisheries problematization**

The examination of the successive and parallel modes of management of coastal resources indicates an always-evolving, multi-scalar and constructed nature of management apparatuses. Throughout different sequences of construction of collective action, and along changing (esp. political) contexts and internal strategic reorientations, new stakes are considered by coalitions. This dynamic nature of management illustrates the evolution of the questions and debates that animate managers and to which they propose responses embedded in these evolving contexts. The genealogy I proposed in this thesis notably highlights how state and non-state actors form coalitions that formulate at a given time a common problematization of coastal fisheries.

I showed that the first resource management measures were discussed in 1923 between colonial officials based on three main problems/questions: (1) is fish a limited resource, (2) is it possible to implement restricting measures while iTaukei Fijians present norms and practices contradictory with such measures (e.g. fishing of small fish); and (3) what is the appropriate level of decentralization for the management of subsistence and artisanal fishing? The first legal texts aiming to frame fishing activities (the *Bird, Game and Fish Ordinance* 1921 and the *Fisheries Act* 1941) constituted the first attempts to answer these questions.

The management-as-development regime was constituted in the following decades and questions that constituted the backbone of state services in charge of framing fishing activities touched upon a quantification of national fishing efforts and the gathering of data on both fishers and fish stocks: How many motorized boats are fishing on Fijian lagoons and reefs? How can western science and models be translated in the Fijian context? Which measures could help fishers to fish more? In addition, with an increased consideration of overfishing effects by the state in the late 1970s, coastal fisheries activities became problematized as a field needing careful control to remain productive while avoiding overfishing issues. In other words, coastal fisheries activities became a matter of governing fish and fishers so that they remain within that tight and precarious productive frame.

The arrival of conservation non-state actors and the constitution of the FLMMA network marked the reintroduction of issues related to the governance dimension of management: as part of this management-as-conservation regime, management became a matter of *who* makes decisions (with the promotion of decentralization as *good governance*) on top of being a matter of technically ensuring sustainable use of resources and the preservation of biodiversity. An additional question constitutes the foundation of the FLMMA era and already deploys a 'hybrid' rhetoric: can a hybridization of so-called 'modern' and 'traditional' instruments and practices produce effective resource management apparatuses that meet both conservation and community-based objectives? Fijian LMMAs have emerged as an attempt to respond positively to this question. Overall, I have shown that such connective efforts have shown limited results: the integration of traditional iTaukei knowledge into coastal fisheries management has often been reduced to the recourse to *tabu* areas, which were initially rather instrumental for

conservation donors who supported the development of FLMMA and which were moreover largely transformed to fit conservation norms. In addition, throughout the FLMMA era, localist and conservationist discourses have appeared deeply intertwined through the articulation of cultural and environmental heritage preservation and the highlighting by external conservation actors of an iTaukei conservation ethic deemed consistent with conservationist views.

The involvement of state services in coastal fisheries (or lack thereof) has contributed to the *problematization* of coastal fisheries as a political and organizational issue, as these activities were presented either as a field needing (colonial and postcolonial) state regulation as part of territorial and administrative formalizations (Chapter 3) or as a support for decentralization aspirations in local political claims from the 1990s on (Chapter 4). The constitution and evolution of fisheries management regimes and forms of statehood have been, to some extent, parallel, and the political problematization has been a key process in the forming of what management is about and entails. On that matter, I have unraveled the strong ties between the post-Independence statehood and a developmentalist vision, a relation which has also been analyzed in other contexts/countries (Rodary 2008, Olivier de Sardan 2021). I have questioned how a state in the process of statehood building (characterized by political instability, weak institutional capacity, and lack of financial resources) has attempted to enroll coastal fisheries into the national economy to serve its developmentalist vision before focusing at a later stage on more productive and more lucrative industrial offshore fisheries (esp. tuna fisheries). The place and role of the state has then also been questioned and problematized in the management-as-conservation regime because this regime illustrates a transition ‘from government to governance’ (Boyer 1990) and forms of localism (through decentralization).

Moreover, recent modes of operationalization of an integrated and thus hybrid management regime indicate a re-centering of management on state legal and institutional structures. The Fijian state, supported by conservation NGOs and their philanthropic donors, regional organizations as well as multi-lateral development projects, places itself at the center of the ‘New Pacific Diplomacy’, and its statehood processes are therefore becoming increasingly embedded in these fast-changing regional dynamics, in which coastal fisheries management are a key topic to be collectively addressed to meet environmental, economic and socio-cultural outcomes. Fiji’s ambition to partake to a new development model that is “*truly home-grown*”

constitutes a call for a new regional unity in the face of the so-called great powers already present in the region (chiefly USA, New Zealand, Australia and France). Fiji thus proposed in recent years a new political problematization of coastal fisheries as a field that can partake to its blue growth objectives and began to operationalize this vision with the coastal fisheries reform. This reform consists in updating legislation and institutional structures, and in hybridizing instruments introduced by conservation actors so that they can be deployed by state services. Today, problematization of fisheries as part of the hybrid regime thus touches upon the idea of a ‘middle way’ that allows for more efficiency of management measures by the combination of the strength of each actor. This produces a transformation of previous practices, instruments and approaches (e.g. LMMAs, behavioral change’s voluntary approach, and CBFM) to make them acceptable by all parties (e.g. as state-led MPAs, voluntary management supplanted by coercive measures, and co-management). This acceptability rests on a win-win rhetoric and on a reorganization of the roles and responsibilities of each stakeholders.

### **9.1.3. From fish and fishers qualification to their non-qualification**

What I have identified as different modes of problematization of fisheries activities are intertwined with different modes of qualification of both fish and fishers. First references to fish as a ‘resource’ in colonial management plans rapidly gave place to a systematization of this economic and utilitarian vision in later management regimes. Later, fish-as-resource has been associated with a potential for overexploitation, and has thus been increasingly considered as a *threatened* entity if fishers are not managed and controlled. In that sense, qualification processes can be seen as prescriptive technologies as they “*even [create] the actor itself, associating it to a given place and a defined system of values by a specification of performances, indicating how it must coordinate with the others*” (Moison 2005:131, my translation). The qualification of fish and fishers passes through their assignment to these fragile/threatening characters and management thus becomes a mean to ‘coordinate’ their interactions. New modes of qualification have later emerged as part of the management-as-conservation regime, and have replaced both fish and fishers into a wider network of connections and more complex social-ecological systems. Fish and fishers have turned into a potential for connecting biodiversity conservation interests and funding with dynamic local initiatives and indigenous rights claims.

The encounter of development and conservation coalitions under the state-led blue banner provided an umbrella for previous modes of qualification to coexist. This was allowed by the conceptual fluidity of blue growth which allows for different (even divergent) interests to be articulated with each other and different views of oceans (e.g. natural capital, development opportunity, livelihoods support) to co-exist. As these different framings of oceans and human-ocean relations co-exist in blue growth discourses, different modes of qualification of fish and fishers are also made possible. Fish can thus be an element of biodiversity, a 'natural resource' to be exploited and/or preserved, an economic resource, a national asset, a means for subsistence connected to cultural, spiritual and political matters... Fishers can also hold multifold roles, as a threat, as guardians (fish 'wardens') or as potential contributors to the national economy.

As qualification modes used to condition the regimes of practices previously deployed by actors, the coexistence of multiple modes of qualification in the hybrid regime suggests that qualification processes are no longer relevant for shaping management contours and contents. On the contrary, this new regime shapes the qualification operations that can be validated and accepted, namely those that allow the inscription and the participation in integrated, pluralist programs like the blue growth, the blue economy, etc. Tensions over different qualification operations have been replaced by a careful evaluation by actors of the hybrid coalition of the alignment of management prescriptions with objectives of *balanced* environmental protection, local livelihoods and national economic prosperity, i.e. the evaluation that the *middle way* is followed. While previous management regimes proposed precise delineation of how fish and fishers should interact (through what instrument, where, when...) based on relations of exploitation or protection, new forms of delineation have been proposed as part of the recent hybrid regime. In this context, fish is considered a food source, an element of biodiversity, a potential for local industrialization (i.e. a "national asset", see 9.3.) or a symbol of local customs. If it remains a 'resource', the concept of resource itself has become more polyvalent as it refers not only to use/exploitation but also to other, non-exploitative ecosystem *services* that underpin human wellbeing such as regulating or cultural services. Fishers can be all at once deemed key contributors to the national economy, potential threats, guardians of the sea (fish 'wardens'), and holders of various rights and political and social claims. In that view, fish and fishers constitute flexible, polyvalent entities, that can be enrolled in the different - and

sometimes colliding (e.g. state MPA gazettement and its CBFM ambitions) - endeavors of the different actors of the *hybrid coalition*, without conflict. It therefore seems to me that operations of *non-qualification* of fish and fishers currently characterize environmental governance 'defragmentation' (Barros-Platiau and Maljean-Dubois 2017). Non-qualification is what guarantees the enrollment of fish and fishers in various *integrated* endeavors in which the conservation/development tension has curtailed.

Based on **Table 1** proposed in Chapter 1 to sum-up the different theoretical tools I mobilize in this study to characterize the coastal fisheries political management subsystem, I propose in **Table 8** to visualize the results of previous chapters and of this section to pinpoint what I have identified as the most salient features of the management-as-development, management-as-conservation and hybrid regimes. As part of this synthesis of the evolution of the contents and contours of coastal fisheries management, we see the interlacing of different dimensions constitutive of management: evolving coalitions advocate dominantly for their own belief system through discourses and modes of qualification/problematisation, and therefore propose to choose some instruments (or approaches) over others to fulfill objectives aligned with their belief system.

## **9.2. Parallel trajectories of development and conservation coalitions to achieve integration**

With the formation and development of the hybrid coalition, I have shown that previous dichotomies progressively faded over the last decade, namely conservation/development ideologies, local/international scales or state/non-state remits. Regarding the latter dichotomy, the evolution of state and non-state actors' relations in Fiji and more globally of power relations between stakeholders of the conservation and development coalitions represented a key investigation that have structured this research on conservation/development divides. I will now come back to what I believe have profoundly fueled their respective trajectories toward integration: (A) the broadening of what comes under a conservation ethic for conservation actors; and (B) the 'blueing' of state practices and discourses.

**Table 8. Characterization of the three regimes of practices identified in the study**

Political subsystem	Characterization	Theoretical tools	Management-as-development regime	Management-as-conservation regime	Hybrid regime
Coastal fisheries management	Of what?	Qualification	Fish as a resource and fishers as a productive potential	Fish and fishers as parts of the <i>vanua</i> , and fish as an element of biodiversity	Non-qualification: fish and fishers owe to be flexible to partake to the hybrid regime
		Problematization	Management for a maximum yet sustainable production	Management as way to achieve good governance (local control, with respect of traditional modes of production, and compatibility with biodiversity conservation objectives	Management to find the 'middle way' for more efficiency
	By whom?	Advocacy coalitions	Ministry of Fisheries, regional/international scientific/management org., development funders, fishers...	NGOs and conservation funders, USP researchers, local fishing groups and local leaders	Ministry of Fisheries, NGOs and conservation funders, international environmental institutions (CITES, CBD...)
	How?	Instruments, approaches, discourses	Subsidies, quantitative surveys, MSY	LMMA and <i>tabu</i> institutions	MPA remains central because flexible instrument Hybrid approaches and new governmentalities: voluntary + coercive approaches
	Why?	Belief system, interests	Developmentalist and neoliberal	Conservationist and localist	Developmentalist + neoliberal + conservationist + localist



### 9.2.1. The broadening of conservation actions and ethics: a ‘pragmatic’ turn

In conservation arenas, the enlargement of the forms under which fish and fishers can be enrolled in fisheries (see previous section) is embedded in a more global enlargement of the scope of conservation actions and ethic. I have shown that this movement is multi-scalar and finds its roots in the first critics of the preservationist vision and its translation into fortress-inspired approaches that have long neglected livelihoods dimensions of natural resource uses. This movement is well illustrated by the evolution of CITES from a preservationist to a ‘sustainable use’ philosophy, with multi-faceted effects on both regional and national management approaches related to the implementation of CITES regulations. Conservation broadening dynamics (e.g. from species to ecosystems, from ecological to social-ecological issues, from NGO-led to hybrid coalitions, from aesthetic and intrinsic values to multiple values) have been largely explored in political ecology and have often been associated to an instrumental positioning. Notably, this ‘holistic’ rhetoric has been central for the actors involved in the global rush for the seas initiated in the 2000s (Le Meur et al. 2018). This ‘holistic’ stance was presented as a way to palliate the shortcomings of other/former management approaches (e.g. focus on species by fisheries science and management approaches, global-national-local policy gaps). Yet, such connective efforts have reached limits and failed to move beyond the discursive scope. In the 2010s, a ‘holistic’ stance was once again clearly put forward in discourses under the hybrid regime that combines together notions of sustainability, integration and blue growth and that involves a non-qualification of fish and fishers.

Beyond a mere discursive statement, I see this renewed enlargement of the scope of conservation actions and ethic proposed by the hybrid coalition as a new *pragmatic* positioning. For instance, in cChange communication campaigns explored in Chapter 7, different forms of ‘caring’ relations between Fijians and groupers are acknowledged and even put forward, indicating a validation of the diversity of reasons why people come to ‘care’ for this fish. cChange, as well as the numerous conservation collaborators who supported its campaigns (i.e. NGO practitioners and donors), avoid the formulation of normative discourses and rather propose to let people decide why they come to participate in conservation/management endeavors (e.g. *kawakawa* and *donu* seasonal fishing ban, minimum fish sizes). I have analyzed

this evolution using Agrawal's concept of environmentality. Agrawal contends that the building of a cognitive and subjective environment 'category' closely connected to people's livelihoods contributes to the construction of 'environmental subjects'.

While conservation actors previously framed conservation as an ethic guided by an intrinsic value of nature, they increasingly take into account the diversity of environmental subjectivities. The acknowledgment of these subjectivities leaves room for more complex, potentially hybrid imaginations and practices in relation with one's environment. This broadening of conservationist discourses and practices allows to 'integrate' in current and future management endeavors all of those who come to think about the environment (in its broadest sense) as a relevant category to consider (although this category remains malleable, with different values coexisting within it). For conservation actors who take part in the hybrid regime, it thus seems that an integrated vision of conservation itself has replaced former morally prescriptive views and challenged the assumptions that previously shaped conservation actions. This vision proposes to leave behind the question of the presence or lack of an indigenous conservation ethic and of an intentionality behind so-called customary natural resource management practices (customary marine tenure, tabu and totem institutions, see Chapter 3; Johannes 1978, Foale et al. 2011, Artaud 2014).

This new integrated vision of the conservation actors involved in the hybrid regime seems to concur with philosopher Virginie Maris's proposition that "*today, in the face of the massive erosion of biodiversity, the main stake is not only to justify the importance of biodiversity, but to put into practice its protection in a context characterized by the diversity of worldviews, beliefs and values. Beyond moral convictions, it is now in the field of action that the main challenges lie*" (Maris 2010:185, my translation). It also reminds of the position of pragmatist scholars in environmental ethics. In strong opposition to biocentric and ecocentric environmental ethics, both based on the idea of an intrinsic value of nature, these pragmatist scholars argue that forms of instrumentalization of nature do not necessarily oppose to forms of care, and that the diversity of relations between (not necessarily separated) humans and nature should be better acknowledged. Pragmatist scholars like Light do not reject nature conservation arguments despite their ethnocentric origins, but they criticize how proponents of the intrinsic value have historically attempted to convince and enroll people in their views of

the world (Katz and Light 1996). They reproach the notion of nature's intrinsic value that it calls upon a non-universal vision which creates sectarian positioning of those who defend it. The idea of an intrinsic value often comes with monist and isolating theory that put aside many of those who do not see this value in nature (Larrère 2010). On reef fisheries, Foale et al. (2016) have shown that in Melanesia, the western idea of biodiversity's intrinsic value performs poorly given the different epistemological and ontological premises of, on the one hand western scientists and conservationists, and on the other, people living in the South Pacific.

In the face of the obvious limitations of the conservationists' claim that conservationism can be translated into a global worldview and into overarching moral or political prescriptions, pragmatist scholars thus oppose pluralist environmental ethics. In this view, the intrinsic value has as much interest as other values, like functional, aesthetic, symbolic, or 'nourishing' values that can be attributed to natural entities. For them, there can be various reasons for assigning value to elements and entities of our surroundings, with as many options to nurture these (Larrère 2010). For pragmatist scholars, the different modes of valuation of nature do not just coexist independently from each another, but are inherently interconnected, while being part of a wider context. This is well illustrated by Larrère's example of the contextual value of a plant, which can also be translated into an aquatic context: the value of a fish is not the same if it is part of an ecosystem where it can be found in abundance or where it is hardly found (Larrère 2010:410).

In that sense, for conservationists the pragmatic turn can help to reduce the "conservation dissonances" described by Erb (2012), between the promises and outcomes of conservation actions, between temporal realities of conservation projects and local dynamics, between the many scales of conservation programs, and between conservation and exploitation agendas (including those of the state). Pragmatic authors argue that acknowledging a pluralism of values is necessary to reach a consensus on the objectives to be achieved (here, sustainable development). Modes of valuing, which might appear at first as reflecting opposed trajectories (e.g. intrinsic value and usage value), can (to some extent, on specific issues and contexts) converge and reinforce common objectives (e.g. integrated management).

Conservation’s turn toward fisheries activities and fisheries management, initiated in Fiji in the 1990s, is inscribed in this broadening of conservation’s values. The conservation-fisheries encounter has notably been made possible through this recognition of fish *nourishing* and *economic* values as being worth defending and, taking this even further, through the acknowledgment that it can contribute to forms of care that can be beneficial for conservation objectives. Corinne Pelluchon proposes a phenomenology of nourishment based on a philosophy of the ‘living from’, which articulates together the materiality of existence (through hunger and enjoyment for instance) and the interests of future generations, both human and non-human (Pelluchon 2019). This view is also shared by Probyn who proposed that human relations with resources, including through consumption, can contribute to developing our ‘habitus’ to care for more-than-humans (Probyn 2014).

## 9.2.2. The ‘blueing’ trajectory of the Fijian Government

### a. An internationally performative environmental discourse

I have shown that the rapprochement of state and non-state actors have become more and more essential as Fiji has sought to build an international profile as a ‘blue state’. As part of numerous initiatives to be at the environment vanguard, Fiji’s UN Ocean Conference environmental commitments in 2017 (declared by Fiji’s Government but largely supported by NGOs), appear as the most vivid example of these state/non-state collaborations. For Fiji’s Minister for Fisheries Semi Koroilavesau, such event openly constitutes “*a platform Fiji can strengthen its call for assistance internationally from*”.<sup>198</sup> He adds that “*nation states heed to this call for responsible custodians of fish stocks and marine resources in their waters and all the world’s Oceans*” (ibid). This quote clearly reflects that international and regional events focused on environmental/sustainability/conservation matters (UNOC, CITES, UNCCC COPs, Rio+20...) increase Fiji’s international visibility, which is an important card to play for the Fijian state to obtain international assistance/support. Geopolitical dimensions are also to be

---

<sup>198</sup> Semi Koroilavesau interview at the Preparatory Meeting at the United Nations Headquarters in New York for the 2017 United Nations Ocean Conference. “Fiji’s role in UN Ocean Conference is crucial”. *Ocean Action Hub* (online, 25/07/2017) Available at <https://www.oceanactionhub.org/fiji%E2%80%99s-role-un-ocean-conference-crucial> (accessed on 08/03/2022)

considered as these events contribute to position Fiji as a leading country and a key interlocutor in the region, a position previously held by Australia and New Zealand.

National coastal fisheries policies presented in Chapter 7 and 8 represent an operationalization of this discursive positioning as a ‘blue state’. As part of the ‘coastal fisheries reform’ (Chapter 5), they constitute the product that emerged out of the encounter of these blue promises with national development plans. As opposed to what has been demonstrated for countries like Ecuador or Philippines, the greening and blueing of the state appears to reflect more than a mere mainstream and techno-centric thinking about sustainable development (Bravo and Moreano 2015). Even if these endeavors remain limited in scope and can also be seen as representing ‘easy’ ‘blue’ operations (Chapter 8), the signal they generate toward an integrated and sustainable regime should not be underrated.

**b. The limits of the Fijian “golden partnership”**

Political discourses had suggested an even stronger signal a few years ago. The 2014 discourse of Prime Minister Bainimarama to launch Fiji’s Green Growth Strategy promised a radical change that has not yet been operationalized:

*The old ways of growing our economy, of developing our nation, are no longer adequate or acceptable. We need to reshape our development strategies away from the conventional growth model of exploiting particular resources for our own use in the here and now. We need to refine our existing approaches and forge a new development model—one that is more holistic, integrated, inclusive and above all sustainable.*<sup>199</sup>

Some scholars would probably make this ambition an example of what a blue *degrowth* (Hadjimichael 2018) or post-neoliberal agenda (Bravo and Moreano 2015) would look like. Under this ambitious strategy could have emerged what Bravo and Moreano call a “*a golden partnership of radical civil society and radical state*” (Bravo and Moreano 2015:332); a partnership in which the state could be both resurgent and highly critical of decades of developmentalist and neoliberal politics. But such (political) ‘radicalism’ has not been

---

<sup>199</sup> “Opening Address at the PM’s Green Growth Framework Summit” *Fijian Government* (online, 12/06/2014) Available at <https://www.fiji.gov.fj/media-centre/speeches/english/rear-admiral-j-v-bainimarama-opening-address-at> (accessed on 23/03/2022)

translated into action so far. Indeed, processes of operationalization of the hybrid regime coexist with ‘business as usual’ practices of the Fijian Government in fisheries management (coastal and pelagic) and in other sectors (agriculture, forestry, tourism). While a ‘golden partnership’ could have emerged out of the pragmatic turn in conservation and of state discourses advocating for alternative growth models, the coastal fisheries reform is engaging rather timidly in the concretization of these views.

c. **A sector to further develop?**

For an interviewee working for Fiji’s MoF as part of the Inshore Division, a “*sustainability turn*” in the Ministry’s approaches to management is undeniable. Yet, he defended at several occasions during the interview that national development remains the priority for most state services, notably when conservation/development tensions might appear:

*We have to make some decisions sometimes but overall we are always guided by the National Development Plan for the country which sets the strategic development priority for our Ministry. We are really guided by that. If it’s not in line with that document, we can try but it’s going to be blocked at some point, by Ministry of Economy or another Ministry (interview with MoF Inshore Division staff, Suva 07/2019).*

Even if the MoF’ staff and decision-makers support the ‘sustainability bond’, numerous “development priorities” are still implemented in articulation with other state bodies like the Ministry of Economy which, in the last decade, has gained influence and responsibilities on coastal and marine realms (pers. comm. with environmental lawyer, 06/2020). Such influence of the economic agenda on coastal fisheries management is moreover indicated by the still-central place attributed to national GDP to orientate management decisions. This is an argument pointed out by this Fijian interviewee working for IUCN when I questioned her views on the future of coastal fisheries management:

*If we were to re-imagine fisheries management, we need to think about how to do better without losing our cultural assets, because in most communities, it’s not just food value also ancestral value, so we can’t lose that aspect. For [the Ministry of] Fisheries, before*

*anything else it's still an extractive industry, one that contributes to GDP. Yesterday I was at a sustainable financing conference organized by WWF and we all agreed that we need to shift this mind-set. For example, instead of having the Ministry of Economy asking at the end of the year to Fisheries "how much have you contributed to our GDP?" they should rather ask "how have you contributed" and one answer could be if they need numbers that "we protected this much value of our biodiversity which equates to this much in terms of food security, which worth this much". But still now it's just "how much fish have you sold and how many boats have been given?" (interview with a IUCN staff, Suva 07/2019)*

What this interviewee suggested is a partial disassociation of fisheries activities and economic objectives, which reminds also what is proposed in PM Bainimarama's (above-quoted) Green Growth Framework (GGF) discourse. Both call for a change to let other modes of valuation of fisheries come into play in the way management is conceived and implemented.

Yet, in 2015, a year after the GGF discourse, PM Bainimarama reaffirmed offshore and coastal fisheries' potential to boost national and regional revenues and to develop new economic opportunities for all PICTs as part of the Green Growth agenda. According to the 2015 discourse he pronounced at the opening of the Pacific Green Growth Leaders' Coalition Retreat, one of the objectives of endorsing a Green Growth vision at the regional and national levels was to "*extract the maximum income from [our resources] for our development needs but still protect them so we can continue living off them*".<sup>200</sup> Although he articulated this view with necessary forms of resource 'protection', ambitions to *extract the maximum income* remind one of the constituents of the management-as-development regime and clearly contrast with the idea to move "*away from the conventional growth model of exploiting particular resources for our own use*" (Bainimarama's discourse in 2014).

Calls from conservation non-state actors to broaden what constitutes the value of natural resources thus seem to have remained unanswered as Government leaders continues to mainly

---

<sup>200</sup> "Hon PM Bainimarama Speech at the Opening Of The Pacific Green Growth Leaders' Coalition Retreat" *Fijian Government* (online, 12/06/2014) Available at <https://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-centre/speeches/english/hon-pm-bainimarama-speech-at-the-opening-of-the-pa?feed=news> (accessed on 23/03/2022).

resort to the economic language in (both offshore and coastal) fisheries management discussions. Consequently, conservation non-state actors must put forward their ability to mobilize this economic register as well. According to this project officer from the Waitt Foundation, recent partnerships between conservation non-state actors and the Fijian Government are based on this common ability to value in economic terms what is to be protected (versus what is to be exploited) than to a real 'ideological' alignment:

*There is an increasing recognition that in order to get real protection, to find out what really works, it requires more than just lines on a map, it requires a high level of political engagement and of community engagement. Increasingly, people recognize that we should not just focus on environment and people but also on the relation with the economy. At the moment, and for several years now, we feel more and more this incentive to better understand the value of what protection provides or not (interview with a Waitt Foundation project officer, online 02/2020, my emphasis).*

These different views from both state and non-state actors indicate that qualification and problematization processes continue to be stamped by the prominence of the economic value attributed to fisheries activities and fish. The different values acknowledged by the pragmatic positioning of certain actors are not, in practice, considered on the same level if previous incompatibilities re-emerge and potential conciliation compromised. While conservation non-state actors propose to account for the diversity of values attributed to natural resources like fish that coexist and interconnect, the recognition of a pluralism of values takes more discrete and disarticulated forms in the discourses of the Fijian Government. The latter, after decades of relying solely on a developmentalist register, punctually (although increasingly) mobilizes elements of the localist and conservationist registers in its discourses. Yet it remains unable to completely decouple fish and fishers from the economic value they can generate (i.e. to propose a really 'radical' view on what fish and fishers *could represent* for Fiji). The problematization of fisheries remains closely connected to the idea of "extract[ing] the maximum income" from them, which indicates certain limits of the new integrated and hybrid regime.



### **9.3. Integration as concurring to a neoliberal *flexibility* and to an Oceanian pluralism**

Finally, in the discourses and practices produced under the hybrid regime, different dimensions of, and views, on ‘integration’ co-exist and articulate differently the associated notions of *flexibility* or *pluralism*. These notions, which constitute corollaries of the notion of integration, call upon different visions and approaches, namely an integration embedded in the neoliberal ideology and an integration articulated to regionalist forms of cultural-political liberalism. While these two dimensions could be seen as opposed and conflicting, I show in this last section how through the support of similar and overlapping ‘integrative’ discourses, they actually rejoin in the promise of an all-encompassing historical, *integrated moment* in which past dualities and incompatibilities have become irrelevant.

#### **9.3.1. Integration as neoliberal-inspired *flexibility***

Several elements of this study indicate the growing intertwinement of coastal fisheries management with neoliberal discourses and practices. Firstly, the ‘win-win’ rhetoric, typically associated to a fair redistribution of benefits between all stakeholders, has been reinforced in recent policies developed by the Fijian state to frame coastal fisheries. Such rhetoric, which often neglects non-dominant actors and also displaces responsibilities related to environmental governance to individuals, has often been in other contexts introduced by non-state actors from the ‘neoliberal biodiversity conservation’ sector but has then been assimilated by other actors and other sectors, including state-led natural resource management (Büscher et al. 2012, Rodary 2019).

Secondly, I touched upon the installation of public policies that deal with collective problems by the conduct of individual behaviors, which has been associated with neoliberal practices (Agrawal 2005b, Hache 2007, Rodary 2019). We have seen that this trend, already present in CBFM initiatives since the 1990s, has been reinforced by the introduction in Fiji of behavioral change campaigns led by the Australian NGO cChange. With behavioral change came the neoliberalism-inspired idea of the implementation of a voluntary compliance to management and conservation rules, facilitated by the large diffusion of campaigns based on culturally appropriate social marketing. This had led me to discuss in Chapter 8 the coercive/voluntary

tension constitutive of a hybrid regime in which both state and non-state actors participate. The growing designation of fishers and fishing communities as 'guardians of the sea' can be seen as an illustration of the recognition of this responsibility that lies in engaging practices such as fishing. Yet, we have seen that, with FLMMA's CBFM just like with cChange's behavioral change, the attribution of this responsibility remain produced 'from the top' and responsibility is cultivated rather than simply acknowledged. Indeed, for CBFM, I have shown how the 'duty of care' that shapes and is shaped by the iTaukei ontology was instrumentally associated in the 1990s to a conservation ethic to serve conservation purposes; and for behavioral change I have shown that individual and collective responsibilities are 'induced' by behavioral change methods. In other words, the idea of responsabilization of fishers and more generally of ocean-users is imposed upon people (through coercive or 'voluntary' approaches equally) while it should be acknowledged as a fact and as a product, like proposes Hau'Ofa, of people's reciprocal relationships with the Ocean (Hau'ofa 2000:40). It is probably Foucault who has best demonstrated how neoliberal rationality relies, among other things, on the interlacing of moral responsibility and of the prescription of individual conducts (Foucault 1978). These links, already present in CBFM and reinforced with behavioral change enterprises, suggest the inscription of the integrated moment into a neoliberal regime.

Furthermore, the rendering of fish and fishers as flexible and polyvalent (section 9.2.1) also testifies of how coastal fisheries management has been increasingly inscribed into a 'flexible' neoliberalism. I believe this point, which resonates with what sociologists Eve Chiapello and Luc Boltanski (1999) have described in their theorization of the *new spirit of capitalism*, has been less explored by political ecologists and other scholars interested in concrete deployments of neoliberal politics in environmental management.<sup>201</sup> Flexibility can be seen as a distinctive character of current neoliberal practices in environmental management (see also Rodary 2019).

---

<sup>201</sup> The new spirit of capitalism represents a new sphere of justification that is different from the spheres of social justification proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot in *De la justification* (1991). In this book, Boltanski and Thévenot argue that social arrangements are always subject to processes of justification that build on general types of social conventions defending a 'common good'. These conventions are analyzed with the concept of city (*cit * in French), which constitute a mode of justification used by actors to defend and legitimize their actions. They proposed six cities: civic, market, inspired, fame, industrial, and domestic. Boltanski and Chiapello propose in 1999 the idea of a new regime of justification, called the 'city of project' (*la cit  par projet*) derived from the 'management' world and connective or network capitalism. The city of project is about movement and connection and it values individuals' flexibility and polyvalence.

As put by Chiapello and Boltanski, “*to adjust in a connective world, one needs to be sufficiently malleable to pass from one universe to another by changing its properties*” (Chiapello and Boltanski 1999:622, my translation). In the light of what I have described in this thesis, I argue that, with the pragmatic turn in conservation, both fish and fishers have become *malleable*, and can therefore easily pass from one mode of qualification to the other. In other words, in the unfolding of this new spirit of capitalism, flexibility is what allows for the constitution of hybrid coalitions in which actors “*play in two or more games at the same time*” (Kraatz and Block 2008:243) because they are able to speak the same language as stakeholders with competing interests.

### 9.3.2. Integration as an Oceanian-inspired pluralism

Beyond this ‘flexible’ dimension of integration, the promotion of integrative thinking can also be understood as the way forward to achieve a pluralism in environmental management; a goal that has been central for the past decades in the discourses at international, regional and national levels of many stakeholders of Fijian coastal management (Department of Environment 2011, FLMMA 2015, SPC 2015).<sup>202</sup> This goal, which implies that the interest and voice of all parties must be considered, listened and taken into account, and that multiculturalism is necessary, can be a form of politico-cultural liberalism (liberalism being taken here not in relation to the economic theory but rather in its political dimension which encompasses individual emancipation, pluralism as well as multiculturalism). In many regards, this politico-cultural liberalism can be seen as resonating loudly with the reclaiming of an Oceanian view of governance.

In Fiji, the idea that PICTs can and should speak with one voice in international politics on issues as important as climate change and marine biodiversity collapse is increasingly endorsed by a large range of stakeholders I met for this study. *Speaking with one voice* suggests the formation of a ‘we’ that reminds of Hau‘ofa’s vision of a regional, Oceanian/Oceanic identity

---

<sup>202</sup> See also Frank Bainimarama’s discourse at UNCCC COP25. COP25 Statement on Behalf of Pacific Small Island Developing States in December 2019 in Madrid (online 10/12/2019). Available at [https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/FIJI\\_cop25cmp15cma2\\_HLS\\_EN.pdf](https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/FIJI_cop25cmp15cma2_HLS_EN.pdf) (accessed on 22/10/2020)

and community. Importantly, this 'we' is not based on an obvious principle of ethnic, cultural, or linguistic origin but on the contrary embraces diversity, plurality, and distinctiveness of Oceania's cultures and languages, seen as constituting an integral part of the strength of this identity and community (Bambridge et al. 2021). Indeed, Hau'ofa proposes an 'us' that exceeds local histories and sociocultural specificities, that emphasizes duties rather than rights only, and that therefore brings together all those who foster, maintain and express a reciprocal relationship with the Ocean (Bambridge et al. 2021): "*All of us in Oceania today, whether Indigenous or otherwise, can truly assert that the sea is our single common heritage*" (Hau'ofa 2000: 39). This constitution of a regional identity and community that transcend state borders (quite recently) established by western legal regimes relies on principles of relationality, between communities and between humans and the ocean: "*It is of utmost significance for the strengthening of a regional identity to know that our region has achieved its greatest unity on threats to our common environment: the ocean*" (Hau'ofa 2000: 35). Bambridge et al. (2021) show how the work of Epele Hau'ofa has shaped an 'Oceanian Sovereignty', i.e. a form of sovereignty that is conceived, perceived and practiced within indigenous and local communities around a pluralist environmental conservation and resource management in Oceania. In that sense, the diversity of practices associated today to fisheries management or marine conservation have a key role to play in the construction and acknowledgment of this Oceanian vision of pluralism. As put by Bambridge et al. : "*Oceanian Sovereignty suggests that governance or management action be perceived, conceived and engaged as a common enactment between partners, including the region's diverse communities at regional scale*" (ibid:351).

Attempts to bring this Oceanian vision of a politico-cultural liberalism into international arenas have multiplied in recent years, and have largely relied on the promotion of an integrated governance of environmental issues that affect all. This has perhaps been most visible in one of the major Fiji-driven outcomes of COP23: the introduction of a Talanoa Dialogue in international environmental arenas. Talanoa is a concept widespread in different Pacific Island countries (e.g. Fiji, Tonga, Samoa) and represents "*a generic term referring to a conversation, chat, sharing of ideas and talking with someone. [...] Talanoa is also used for different purposes; to teach a skill, to share ideas, to preach, to resolve problems, to build and maintain relationships, and to gather information*" (Johansson Fua 2014:56). Talanoa promotes non-

confrontational exchanges and facilitates communication between conflicting interests, which according to PM Bainimarama, makes talanoa an appropriate tool for environmental negotiations. Talanoa was promoted by the Fijian presidency as a means for the parties involved to openly and inclusively exchange views and to rethink the concept of negotiation itself: “*We will not be negotiating. We will be talking to each other. And we will be listening. This is the perfect setting for adopting the talanoa spirit that is so much a part of what Fiji brings to the presidency*”.<sup>203</sup> Put in regard with fisheries management as a regime of practices of which negotiation is constitutive, the recourse to the talanoa register in international instances indicates a choice to challenge a *western* vision of negotiation, and therefore initiate a process to decolonize international negotiations.

Indeed, I have shown that thinking about ‘fisheries’ in Fiji and in the South Pacific management spheres has been historically shaped by the importation of concepts from the global North, where conceiving nature as separate from humans has shaped distinct but interconnected regimes of resource management. Flexibility in the South Pacific and Fijian integrative vision can thus represent an opportunity to import concepts from the global South as a counter movement to the typical domination of concepts from the global North in international environmental arenas (like UNFCCC COPs or UNOC), in other words to decolonize those. The talanoa ‘approach’ constitutes an attempt to promote a different view on management and governance which are here seen more as a matter of ‘listening’ and trying to encompass the ways of being-in-the-world of all people who are deemed legitimate take part in decision-making. In other words, in the talanoa register, integration is a way to ensure forms of pluralism in decision-making related to environmental (and in particular climate and ocean, seen as inherently interrelated) matters.

According to Bambridge et al. (2021)’s analysis of the works of the Oceanian scholar Epele Hau‘ofa (1994, 2000), the legitimacy to take part in decision-making relies notably on a “*place-basedness of the region’s Indigenous peoples and local communities*” (Bambridge et al. 2021:352). This ‘place-basedness’ is shared by all individuals and communities in Oceania and

---

<sup>203</sup> “Parties in dialogue”. *Fiji Times* (online, 10 November 2017) <http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?id=423241> (accessed on 15/03/2022))

involves collective responsibilities towards the ocean, based on reciprocal relationships (or even kinship) with the ocean. The introduction of the concept of *talanoa* in international arenas can be seen as an attempt to promulgate this Oceanian idea of common and shared responsibilities towards the ocean to larger scales. Yet, since 2017, at COPs and similar international events, western visions and modes of functioning have still prevailed and seem to increasingly do so. Hasenkamp and Worliczek (2018) note that while the *Talanoa Dialogue* has been maintained after COP23, some of its components have become oriented toward legally binding and mandatory mechanisms (e.g. on CO<sub>2</sub> emission reduction targets), which contrasts with a *talanoa* approach to negotiation oriented toward voluntary commitments and self-obligations. The authors conclude that this alteration of the concept of *talanoa* shows that Fiji is increasingly confronted with the reality of uneven power in international climate change (and other environment-related) negotiations and forced to turn away from previous 'classical' strategies (Hasenkamp and Worliczek 2018). 'Business-as-usual' in international and multi-lateral meetings challenges PICTs' ambition for deeper political integration.

### 9.3.3. Two overlapping dynamics?

Of course, these two visions of integration (i.e. as allowing a flexibility necessary to neoliberal agendas or as a support for an Oceanian pluralism) do not concur nor align on many aspects, and can even be seen as aspiring to opposed goals. Yet I argue that they can also feed each other in their recourse to concepts of integration that are increasingly embedded in conceptually blurred but ideologically oriented concepts like blue growth, blue economy or loose 'sustainable development' rhetoric that do conceal remaining tensions and dualities. In doing so, the two visions partake to the same all-encompassing movement or integrated historical moment that authors like Chiapello and Boltanski or Rodary have also identified in different contexts and on different subjects. Like this study did, these authors have recognized a movement of conciliation of what was previously in tension, or even in conflict (i.e. capitalism and left-wing/artistic critic of capitalism for like Chiapello and Boltanski and connections that occurred on nature conservation politics to link 'nature' and people or national frontiers and international networks for Rodary).

These trajectories have replaced antagonistic ideologies and the integrated moment is thus put forward as a pathway toward reconciliation to overcome previous limits of dualisms (i.e. conservation/exploitation, but more broadly nature/culture, natural sciences/social sciences, western/non-western, etc.). I provided in the Introduction of this thesis a proposition of how I approach the verb to ‘reconcile’ based on the first definition given by in the Oxford English Dictionary: “*to reunite in harmony, concord, agreement; to bring back into favor; to fit or adjust to make smooth an inequality; to make compatible in fact or in one’s mind*” (Oxford English Dictionary, 1386). In the light of this definition, I have investigated to what extent, as part of the integrated moment, conservation and exploitation were ‘made compatible’, notably through a hybridization of practices, discourses and instruments. What stems out of this study is that, perhaps rather than a reconciliation, the integrated moment and the hybridization processes it suggests seem to produce the *aggregation* of different positions and views (e.g on human-oceans relations, on fish and fishers qualifications etc.) In resulting aggregates, antagonist practices, norms and discourses seem to remain vivid but are rather concealed (and thus depoliticized, de-problematized) under the promise that the integrative idea provides solutions to conservation/exploitation tensions and its dual corollaries. As illustrations of this idea, MSP’s promise to spatially organize (i.e. separate) all activities and uses of the sea, or loose sustainable development project aiming for balanced environmental, economic and social improvements, are often presented as producing win-win results for every stakeholders. Yet, because antagonisms remain vivid in various aspects, their politically charged nature surfaces from time to time, hinting at the centrality of political relations and the impossibility of satisfying *all* parties. As political ecologists have shown in other contexts, the win-win rhetoric relies, in part, on making invisible or minimizing the input of non-dominant actors who often remain left out of what remains proper political negotiations even if those are no longer presented as such (Chaigneau et Brown 2016, Bennett 2015).





# Final conclusion

## Retrospective

In this thesis, I have unfolded a political ecology of coastal fisheries management in Fiji that relies on tools and concepts from both political ecology and policy analysis. On top of being both coherent with my constructivist and historical approach to fisheries management, these two fields intersect and complement on various points of attention: multi-scalar processes, power relations between actors involved in environmental arenas, and the consideration of both state and non-state actors and of their respective modes of governing. This research has relied on a multi-sited and multi-scalar ethnographic research encompassing a ‘follow-the-policy’ approach, event ethnography, semi-directed interviews, participant and non-participant observations. This empirical study was very much impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic, which represented a major setback but also favored forms of creativity and innovation in the ways to conduct research.

I have approached fisheries management as a way to organize, frame and control fish and fishers, in other words, to govern them. This definition of management differs from that used by some stakeholders and scholars, who see management as reduced to its technical and practical dimensions. I have focused on the instruments that have been developed over time to frame human-ocean relations and to reduce the cognitive polyphony on public, environmental matters of concern. This led me to delimitate the contours of what has constituted ‘coastal fisheries management’ in Fiji over time and today, for different coalitions ; and to investigate how the development-conservation tensions, historically constitutive of the cognitive polyphony on natural resource uses, were addressed in each identified period. It is this progressive weaving of development and conservation worlds in management that has been at the core of this research.

Throughout the different chapters, I have shown that different modes of qualification and problematization of fish and fishers, which illustrate evolving human-ocean relations, lay the foundation for different management regimes to emerge and deploy. Management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes displayed for many years major ideological and practical incompatibilities. Then, an hybrid regime emerged in the early-2010s

from the encounter of two trajectories: (1) the ambitious Blue Growth program launched by the Fijian Government as part of renewed regional and national, both environmental and economic ambitions for a Blue Pacific; and (2) the new *follow-the-government* strategy imposed by conservation donors to their NGO beneficiaries. As a result, coastal fisheries have become central for previously disconnected coalitions to connect over a sustainability bond.

I have put the concept of hybridity at play to grasp these evolutions, in particular the increasingly blurred boundaries between development and conservation, and to assess “*to what degree are the ingredients merging, or are they merely coexisting in unconnected forms?*” (Frank and Stollberg 2004:76). I have demonstrated how conservation instruments (e.g. MPAs, communication campaigns) and approaches (e.g. CBFM) have been hybridized with state standards and practices, and thus transformed, to make them ‘active’ in the new hybrid regime. In the latter, conservation and development become mutually constitutive forces and exhibit varying degrees of adaptability, co-opting or accommodating. Conciliating discourses on integration and sustainability have replaced (to some extent) ‘pure’ developmentalist, conservationist and localist discourses mobilized by actors in previous management regimes. I have also demonstrated that qualification and problematization processes, which constituted the core of these previous management regimes, are no longer relevant in the forming of the hybrid regime. Non-qualification can thus be seen as a characterization of this regime, just like previous modes of qualification characterized (and thus distinguished) management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes.

Beyond a mere discursive positioning, the idea of integration in environmental governance has materialized, in recent years, in various policies and apparatuses in Fiji and in the South Pacific region. The general trend toward more collaborations and partnerships in coastal fisheries management have hastened during the past decade at multiple levels: between sectors (e.g. fisheries, conservation, tourism, agriculture, national planning), between stakeholders (state and NGOs, as well as private operators yet not in the scope of this work) and between scales (regional, national and local). These multi-level reconfigurations have led to the emergence of new, hybrid forms of power relations chiefly through the association of coercive and voluntarist approaches to management).

Finally, I have shown that, for conservation donors and practitioners, these reconfigurations have brought a revision of previous conservation models (inscribed in fortress, neoliberal or participative approaches) in which an intrinsic value of ‘nature’ and of ‘natural resources’ was to be defended and promoted. I have highlighted that, in recent years (more specifically since the launch of the first cChange campaign in 2014), conservation non-state actors working in Fiji have aligned on a pragmatic position in environmental ethics: there can be a variety of reasons to find value in nature. In this view, already present in FLMMA but less explicitly, fish becomes a plural and multiform object, which can take part in relations with humans based on an economic, aesthetic, symbolic, nourishing significance. Fishers can all at once be seen as key actors of the national economy, guardians of the sea/ocean, and holders of rights and political claims. Behavioral change approaches are notably stamped by this broadening of conservation ethic, as shown by the importance it provides to *action and practice* rather than the cultivation of a *concern* based on the idea of an intrinsic value of nature. These results contrast with other works that have put forward ‘return-to-barrier’ practices and discourses of state and non-state actors in other contexts and their underlying ‘preservationist’ premises (i.e. based on ‘nature’s’ intrinsic value).

As part of what I have finally called the integrated moment, *aggregation* of values, practices, and discourses seem to prevail over a proper *reconciliation* of previous dualisms in which the conservation/exploitation tension was embedded. By denying antagonisms rather than addressing them, and by framing the integrative idea under a promise of reconciliation (i.e. integrated solutions can satisfy all human and non-human stakeholders), processes of negotiation are concealed. Yet, we have seen that these processes are decisive in the definition of management regimes of practices, which propose ways (e.g. instruments, knowledge systems) to organize fish and fishers’ place and behaviors. If framed under such win-win discourses, the integrative idea encompasses risks of de-politicization of questions addressing human-nature relations, which are, by essence, highly political.

## **Perspectives**

This work represents a solid base for future research and I hope that Fijian and South Pacific researchers in particular will make use of it for their future work. Yet, some research

questions and thematic have been left out of this study, notably as a result of the setbacks provoked by the Covid-19 pandemic. The comparative approach initially planned to mutually put Fijian and New Caledonian cases into perspective was abandoned, along with more developed ethnographic research requiring to spend more time with a diversity of actors (e.g. local fishing committees, fishers, sellers, tourism operators) in order to obtain a more complete picture of the topics touched upon in this thesis. Following this drawback, a number of questions remain unanswered and a number of compelling paths to be explored. For instance, how do local fishing groups and individuals partake in, challenge or circumvent the hybrid regime I identified and described? How do they position and engage in remaining conservation-development tensions?

Moreover, another research pathway is open by this question: *what future for conservation practice in Fiji?* As part of the strategic shift of Packard and MacArthur Foundations in 2014, historic conservation non-state actors in Fiji have increasingly supported state initiatives. Their role and influence obviously remain – and will potentially remain – central in environmental management, but how will previous modes of operation persist in these changing times? What future for the multiple FLMMA sites knowing that conservation funding seems to progressively move away from the participative and site-based paradigm to partake in national and regional policy-making and large-scale spatial planning endeavors? An avenue for further research would be to question the concrete effects of this transition on Fijian coastal fisheries management on the ground. Furthermore, the transition from a conservation sector that promotes a conservation ethic based on an intrinsic value of ‘nature’ to one inscribed in a hybrid regime in which plural values, all deemed legitimate, are attributed to land-sea spaces. How does this positioning articulate with discourses and practices of funders installed more recently in Fiji (e.g. Flora Foundation, Pew Charitable Trusts, DiCaprio Foundation, Waitt Foundation or Ocean 5) and predominantly involved in the implementation of LSMPA in Fiji’s EEZ? Finally, are communication, social marketing and behavioral change becoming growing fields of action for conservation NGOs? These questions remain to be further explored in Fiji as well as in other contexts.

I also wonder, *what future for coastal fisheries in a Covid and post-Covid pandemic world?* At a time of rapid and unexpected change, fisheries management seems to remain particularly

malleable to face urgent concerns like those caused by the (enduring) pandemic. For instance, in Fiji, numerous measures were taken to adapt fisheries management to urgent food security and livelihoods issues during the pandemic. Consequently, certain policies and apparatuses evoked in the thesis have since been adapted or removed. For instance, the moratorium on sea cucumber established in 2016 has been lifted in February 2022 because of the economic difficulties that the resource owners, fishers and sellers have been facing during the national lockdown. According to the current Minister for Fisheries, Semi Koroilavesau, “*the opening will give them some avenues for income so that they can help their villages and other commitments that they have financially*”.<sup>204</sup> Similarly, the grouper and coral trout (*kawakawa* and *donu*) seasonal fishing ban was lifted in August 2020 and then again for the 2021 spawning season. While Semi Koroilavesau argued that the Fijian Government would continue its commitment to resource preservation or restoration for future generations, the ban was lifted to help people face “*these difficult times*”<sup>205</sup>, especially in rural areas of Fiji where the reliance on reef fish like *kawakawa* and *donu* is very high. The more general impacts of the pandemic on coastal fisheries and their management should deserve a close attention in current and future research in order, for instance, to investigate this re-prioritizing of economic concerns on subsistence and artisanal fishing activities. Research on these questions would shed a new light on development/conservation tensions in Fiji’s rural areas.

Another compelling research question to complete the present study would be: *to what extent are non-humans (e.g. fish) integrated in the different regimes described? What place is given to them, and what place do they gain themselves in management processes?* A large body of research increasingly advocates for the accommodation of (living and non-living) non-humans’ agency into environmental management, governance and planning processes. Scholars inscribed in the field of ‘environmental humanities’ (Emmett and Nye 2017) notably explore the more-than-human politics of human-animal interactions and relationships in the marine environment. The article co-written with Juliette Kon Kam King on shark management through spatial planning in Fiji and in New Caledonia lay interesting foundations to explore this

---

<sup>204</sup> “Ban on beche-de-mer to be lifted”. *FBC news* (online, published on 01/02/2022) Available at <https://www.fbcnews.com.fj/news/ban-on-beche-de-mer-to-be-lifted> (accessed on 15/03/2022)

<sup>205</sup> Seasonal Ban On Kawakawa And Donu Lifted”. *Fiji Sun* (online, published 09/08/2020) Available at <https://fijisun.com.fj/2020/08/09/seasonal-ban-on-kawakawa-and-donu-lifted/> (accessed on 15/03/2022)

question (Kon Kam King and Riera 2022). It examines the application of spatial management to sharks and discuss how the respective ‘right place’ of sharks and humans at sea is permanently negotiated, defined and enforced. Such reflections, applied for instance to the grouper and coral trout seasonal fishing ban investigated in Chapter 7, would certainly enrich the analysis of ‘human-centered’ politics which have been at the core of the present study.

Finally, I would like to build on a question initiated by a wide range of Oceanians (see Rapp 2004 for a review of the literature on this topic) as well as non-Oceanian thinkers: in the face of the limits of techno-scientific solutions to social-environmental crises, *how can PICTs represent an alternative voice to transform governance and management of natural resources, in this region and beyond? How can the states and people of PICTs take advantage of the integrative moment to challenge business-as-usual management and governance in international environmental arenas?* To do so, managers and conservation practitioners in the South Pacific should not only acknowledge the multiple knowledge about and relations to ‘nature’, but also address the diversity of political histories that have continuously shaped an Oceanian sovereignty.

In addition to Hau‘Ofa’s Oceanian vision, both indigenous and non-indigenous South Pacific writers have contributed to the weaving of a complex patchwork of knowledge and practices that can support such project and should therefore be further considered in these reflections. The Indo-Fijian poet Sudesh Mishra has also reflected on how a postcolonial Oceanian governance should (and should not) look like. Mishra defends notably the necessity to decolonize the imaginaries of both inhabitants and visitors of Pacific Islands. He denounces the Oceania imagined by “*generations of European traders, administrators, scientists, priests, beachcombers, sailors, buccaneers and tourists*” (Mishra 1992:171), a list to which, based on the results of this study, I dare to add (some) managers and conservation practitioners that have, for over a century, shaped what ‘nature’ management contours and contents should be. Taking into account, ‘integrating’, this plurality of Oceanian voices and the alternative visions they support, should therefore constitute the main priority for future thinking and practice in management.

# References

## Bibliography

- Aalbersberg, B., Tawake, A., and Parras, T., 2005. *Village by village : recovering Fiji's fisheries*. Suva: FLMMA.
- Abensperg-Traun, M., 2009. CITES, sustainable use of wild species and incentive-driven conservation in developing countries, with an emphasis on southern Africa. *Biological Conservation*, 142 (5), 948–963.
- Acheson, J., Wilson, J.A., and Steneck, R., 2000. Managing chaotic fisheries. In: F. Berkes, C. Folke, and J. Colding, eds. *Linking social and ecological systems: management practices and social mechanisms for building resilience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 390–413.
- Adams, T., 1993. *The Regulation of Fiji's Fisheries 1987-1992*. Noumea: South Pacific Commission.
- Adams, T., 1998. The interface between traditional and modern methods of fishery management in the Pacific Islands. *Ocean & Coastal Management*, 40 (2), 127–142.
- Adams, T.J.H., 1996. Modern Institutional Framework for Reef Fisheries Management. In: N. Polunin and C. Roberts, eds. *Reef Fisheries*. Dordrecht, 337–360.
- Adger, W.N., Benjaminsen, T.A., Brown, K., and Svarstad, H., 2001. Advancing a Political Ecology of Global Environmental Discourses. *Development and Change*, 32 (4), 681–715.
- Adger, W.N., Brown, K., and Tompkins, E.L., 2005. The Political Economy of Cross-Scale Networks in Resource Co-Management. *Ecology and Society*, 10 (2), 9.
- Agrawal, A., 2005a. *Environmentality: technologies of government and the making of subjects*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Agrawal, A., 2005b. Environmentality: Community, Intimate Government, and the Making of Environmental Subjects in Kumaon, India. *Current Anthropology*, 46 (2), 161–190.
- Akrich, M., 1991. L'analyse socio-technique. In: D. Vinck, ed. *La gestion de la recherche*. Bruxelles: De Boeck, 339–353.
- Ali, A., 1977. Fijian Chiefs and Constitutional Change 1874-1937. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 33 (54), 55–64.
- Anderson, J.E., 2014. *Public policymaking: an introduction*. Stamford: Cengage Learning.
- Andriamalala, G., Peabody, S., Gardner, C.J., and Westerman, K., 2013. Using social marketing to foster sustainable behaviour in traditional fishing communities of southwest Madagascar. *Conservation Evidence*, 10, 37–41.
- Ansell, A.D., Gibson, R.N., Barnes, M., and Press, U.C.L., 1996. Coastal fisheries in the Pacific Islands. *Oceanography and Marine Biology: an annual review*, 34 (395), 531.
- Artaud, H., 2014. De l'« efficacité » symbolique des interdits à leur fonctionnalité écologique. Variations sur le « tabou » en milieux maritimes. *Revue d'ethnoécologie*, 6.
- Aswani, S., 2012. Gestion hybride coutumière et écosystémique pour la conservation des ressources marines dans le Triangle de corail. *Ressources marines et traditions. Bulletin d'information de la CPS*, 28, 14–35.
- Aswani, S., Basurto, X., Ferse, S., Glaser, M., Campbell, L., Cinner, J.E., Dalton, T., Jenkins, L.D., Miller, M.L., Pollnac, R., Vaccaro, I., and Christie, P., 2018. Marine resource management and conservation in the Anthropocene. *Environmental Conservation*, 45 (02), 192–202.
- Aubertin, C., ed., 2005. *Représenter la nature ? ONG et biodiversité*. Marseille: IRD Éditions.
- Aubertin, C. and Rodary, E., 2011. *Protected areas, sustainable land?* Burlington, Marseille: Ashgate Pub. Co.
- Azarian, R., 2011. Potentials and Limitations of Comparative Method in Social Science. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1 (4), 13.
- Baledrokadroka, J., 2012. The Unintended Consequences of Fiji's International Peacekeeping. *Security Challenges*, 8 (4), 105–116.
- Bamberg, S. and Schulte, M., 2020. To Explain Behavior Change We Need to Research All Stages of This Process: Where Environmental Psychology Needs to Connect the Dots. In: M.I. Goldstein and D.A. DellaSala, eds. *Encyclopedia of the World's Biomes*. Oxford: Elsevier, 330–338.

- Bambridge, T., D'Arcy, P., and Mawyer, A., 2021. Oceanian Sovereignty: rethinking conservation in a sea of islands. *Pacific Conservation Biology*, 27 (4), 345.
- Barros-Plataiu, A.F. and Maljean-Dubois, S., 2017. La gouvernance globale de la biodiversité en haute mer. In: D. Compagnon and E. Rodary, eds. *Les politiques de la biodiversité*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 49–66.
- Battista, W., Romero-Canyas, R., Smith, S.L., Fraire, J., Effron, M., Larson-Konar, D., and Fujita, R., 2018. Behavior Change Interventions to Reduce Illegal Fishing. *Frontiers in Marine Science*, 5, 403.
- Benjamin, L., Thomas, A., and Haynes, R., 2018. An 'Islands' COP'? Loss and damage at COP23. *Review of European, Comparative & International Environmental Law*, 27 (3), 332–340.
- Bennett, N.J., 2015. Win-win or trade-offs? The study of conservation and development at local, national and global scales. In: N. Bennett, and R. Roth, eds. *The conservation social sciences: what?, how? and why? A report for conservation organizations, foundations, practitioners, agencies and researchers*. Victoria: University of Victoria, 44-49
- Bennett, N.J., Govan, H., and Satterfield, T., 2015. Ocean grabbing. *Marine Policy*, 57, 61–68.
- Berdej, S., Andrachuk, M., and Armitage, D., 2015. Conservation Narratives and Their Implications in the Coral Triangle Initiative. *Conservation and Society*, 13 (2), 212.
- Bergeron, H., Surel, Y., and Valluy, J., 1998. L'Advocacy Coalition Framework. Une contribution au renouvellement des études de politiques publiques? *Politix. Revue des sciences sociales du politique*, 11 (41), 195–223.
- Berkes, F., 2004. Rethinking Community-Based Conservation. *Conservation Biology*, 18 (3), 621–630.
- Berkes, F., 2006. From Community-Based Resource Management to Complex Systems: The Scale Issue and Marine Commons. *Ecology and Society*, 11 (1), 45.
- Berkes, F., 2007. Community-based conservation in a globalized world. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 104 (39), 15188–15193.
- Berthold, S., 2016. *The Fiji Locally-Managed Marine Area Network: Structure, Strengths and Scope for Future Developments*. Master Thesis. University of Akureyri, Faculty of Business and Science, Isafjörður.
- Betsill, M. and Corell, E., 2008. NGO Diplomacy: The Influence of Nongovernmental Organizations in International Environmental Negotiations. *Global Environmental Politics*, 8 (4), 146–148.
- Blaikie, P. and Brookfield, H., eds., 1987. *Land Degradation and Society*. London: Routledge.
- Blanc, G., Demeulenaere, E., and Feuerhahn, W., 2017. Humanités environnementales. Enquêtes et contre-enquêtes. *Publications de la Sorbonne*, 120 (4), 217–221.
- Blanchet, A., Gotman, A., and Singly, F. de, 2010. *L'entretien*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Blaxekjær, L., 2016. Korea as green middle power: green growth strategic action in the field of global environmental governance. *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 16 (3), 443–476.
- Boisvert, V., Méral, P., and Froger, G., 2013. Market-Based Instruments for Ecosystem Services: Institutional Innovation or Renovation? *Society and Natural Resources*, 26 (10), 1122–1136.
- Boltanski, L. and Thévenot, L., 2006. *On justification: Economies of worth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Boonzaier, L. and Pauly, D., 2016. Marine protection targets: an updated assessment of global progress. *Oryx*, 50 (01), 27–35.
- Boyer, W.W., 1990. Political science and the 21st century: from government to governance. *Political Science & Politics*, 23 (1), 50–54.
- Bravo, E. and Moreano, M., 2015. Whose good living? Post-neoliberalism, the green state and subverted alternatives to development in Ecuador. In: *The International Handbook of Political Ecology*. Cheltenham/Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, 332–344.
- Breckwoldt, A., 2007. *An Interdisciplinary Appraisal of Community-based Marine Resource Management of a Traditional Fijian Fishing Ground (qoliqoli)*. PhD Thesis. Newcastle University, Newcastle.
- Brockington, D. and Duffy, R., 2010. Capitalism and Conservation: The Production and Reproduction of Biodiversity Conservation. *Antipode*, 42, 469–484.
- Brockington, D., Scholfield, K., and Ladle, R., 2018. Anthropology of Conservation NGOs: Learning from a Sectoral Approach to the Study of NGOs. In: P.B. Larsen and D. Brockington, eds. *The Anthropology of Conservation NGOs*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 47–70.



- Brockington, D. and Wilkie, D., 2015. Protected areas and poverty. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society. Biological Sciences*, 370 (1681).
- Brown, J.C. and Purcell, M., 2005. There's nothing inherent about scale: political ecology, the local trap, and the politics of development in the Brazilian Amazon. *Geoforum*, 36 (5), 607–624.
- Bryant, R., 2015. *The International Handbook of Political Ecology*. Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Bryant, R.L. and Bailey, S., 1997. *Third World Political Ecology*. Hove: Psychology Press.
- Burgess, J., Harrison, C.M., and Filius, P., 1998. Environmental Communication and the Cultural Politics of Environmental Citizenship. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 30 (8), 1445–1460.
- Büscher, B., Sullivan, S., Neves, K., Igoe, J., and Brockington, D., 2012. Towards a Synthesized Critique of Neoliberal Biodiversity Conservation. *Capitalism Nature Socialism*, 23 (2), 4–30.
- Calamia, M.A., 1999. A methodology for incorporating traditional ecological knowledge with geographic information systems for marine resource management in the Pacific. *Traditional Marine Resource Management and Knowledge Information Bulletin*, (10), 2–12.
- California Environmental Associates, 2016. *Fiji Fisheries: 2015 Review*. Los Altos: The David and Lucile Packard Foundation.
- Callon, M. and Latour, B., 1981. Unscrewing the big Leviathan: how actors macro-structure reality and how sociologists help them to do so. In: K. Knorr and A. Cicourel, eds. *Advances in social theory and methodology*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 277–303.
- Candeau, J., Deldrève, V., and Deuffic, P., 2015. Agriculteurs, pêcheurs et forestiers face à l'impératif environnemental. In: I. Arpin, G. Bouleau, J. Candau, and A. Richard-Ferroudji, eds. *Activités professionnelles à l'épreuve de l'environnement*. Toulouse: Octares, 93–113.
- Casey, J., 2016. Comparing Nonprofit Sectors Around the World: What Do We Know and How Do We Know It? *Journal of Nonprofit Education and Leadership*, 6 (3).
- Castro, M. and Ollivier, G., 2012. Political ecology des discours environnementaux internationaux : le cas de l'approche par écosystème de la Convention sur la diversité biologique (CDB). In: *Environnement, discours et pouvoir*. Versailles: Editions Quæ, 87.
- Caveen, A.J., Gray, T.S., Stead, S.M., and Polunin, N.V.C., 2013. MPA policy: What lies behind the science? *Marine Policy*, 37, 3–10.
- CBD, 2011. *Strategic Plan for Biodiversity (2011-2020) - Target 11*. Aichi, Japon.
- Chaigneau, T., and Brown, K., 2016. Challenging the win-win discourse on conservation and development: analyzing support for marine protected areas. *Ecology and Society*, 21(1).
- Challender, D.W.S. and MacMillan, D.C., 2019. Investigating the Influence of Non-state Actors on Amendments to the CITES Appendices. *Journal of International Wildlife Law & Policy*, 22 (2), 90–114.
- Chapman, L., 2016. The history of SPC's involvement in fisheries development in the Pacific. *SPC Fisheries Newsletter*, (150-May–August 2016), 9.
- Chartier, D. and Rodary, E., 2016. *Manifeste pour une géographie environnementale: géographie, écologie, politique*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
- Chiapello, E. and Boltanski, L., 1999. *Le nouvel esprit du capitalisme*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Chiapello, E. and Gilbert, P., 2013. La gestion comme technologie économique. In: *Traité de sociologie économique*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 848.
- Chiapello, È., Gilbert, P., and Baud, C., 2013. *Sociologie des outils de gestion. Introduction à l'analyse sociale de l'instrumentation de gestion*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Chmara-Huff, F., 2014. Marine Protected Areas: Territorializing Objects and Subjectivities. *EchoGéo*, [online] (29).
- Cho, M.R., 2003. History and current status of Korean developmentalism. *Environment and Life*, 37, 31–53.
- Cialdini, R.B., 2001. The Science of Persuasion. *Scientific American*, 284 (2), 76–81.
- Cisneros, P., 2021. The Advocacy Coalition Framework Research Program: An Overview. In: *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CITES, 1973. *Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora*. Geneva: CITES
- CITES, 1976. *Resolutions Conf. 1.1 and 1.2*. Geneva: CITES

- CITES, 2000. *COP 12 - CITES Decisions*. Geneva: CITES
- CITES, 2004. *Resolution Conf. 13.2. Sustainable use of biodiversity: Addis Ababa Principles and Guidelines*. Geneva: CITES
- CITES, 2013. *Resolutions Conf. 16.6*. Geneva: CITES
- CITES, 2017a. CITES in strong show of support for healthy oceans. Geneva: CITES
- CITES, 2017b. *Adoption by the Standing Committee of a Code of Responsibility for NGOs participating in CITES meetings*. Geneva: CITES
- CITES, 2019a. *Resolutions Conf. 18.31*. Geneva: CITES
- CITES, 2019b. *COP 18 - CITES Decisions*. Geneva: CITES
- Clark, P.D., 2008. Social Capital and Vanua: Challenges to Governance Development in a Community-Based Natural Resource Management Project in Cuvu Tikina, Fiji Islands. University of Montana, Missoula.
- Clarke, P. and Jupiter, S., 2010. *Principles and Practice of Ecosystem-Based Management: A Guide for Conservation Practitioners in the Tropical Western Pacific*. Suva: Wildlife Conservation Society.
- Claudet, J., Osenberg, C.W., Benedetti-Cecchi, L., Domenici, P., García-Charton, J.-A., Pérez-Ruzafa, Á., Badalamenti, F., Bayle-Sempere, J., Brito, A., and Bulleri, F., 2008. Marine reserves: size and age do matter. *Ecology letters*, 11 (5), 481–489.
- Cochrane, K., 2015. Use and misuse of CITES as a management tool for commercially-exploited aquatic species. *Marine Policy*, 59, 16–31.
- Cohen, P., Evans, L., and Govan, H., 2015. Community-Based, Co-management for Governing Small-Scale Fisheries of the Pacific: A Solomon Islands' Case Study. In: S. Jentoft and R. Chuenpagdee, eds. *Interactive Governance for Small-Scale Fisheries*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 39–59.
- Colding, J. and Folke, C., 1997. The Relations Among Threatened Species, Their Protection, and Taboos. *Conservation Ecology*, 1 (1).
- Colonial Office 83/16, 1878. *Memorandum on native taxation of 1878, signed by J.B. Thurston*.
- Compagnon, D. and Rodary, E., 2017. *Les politiques de la biodiversité*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
- Cooke, A.J., Polunin, N.V.C., and Moce, K., 2000. Comparative assessment of stakeholder management in traditional Fijian fishing-grounds. *Environmental Conservation*, 27 (3), 291–299.
- Cooney, R. and Abensperg-Traun, M., 2013. Raising Local Community Voices: CITES, Livelihoods and Sustainable Use: Raising Local Community Voices. *Review of European, Comparative & International Environmental Law*, 22 (3), 301–310.
- Cormier-Salem, M.-C., 2014. Participatory governance of Marine Protected Areas: a political challenge, an ethical imperative, different trajectories. *S.A.P.I.E.N.S. Surveys and Perspectives Integrating Environment and Society*, 7 (2).
- Cormier-Salem, M.-C., 2020. Pêche en eau trouble : évolution des principes et outils de la gouvernance des littoraux ouest-africains. In: K. De La Croix and V. Mitroi, eds. *Ecologie politique de la pêche*. Nanterre: Presses Universitaires de Paris Nanterre, 31–64.
- Cristofini, O., 2021. Toward a Discursive Approach to the Hybridization of Practice: Insights from the Case of Servitization in France. *M@n@gement*, 25 (2), 23–47.
- Cudney-Bueno, R. and Basurto, X., 2009. Lack of cross-scale linkages reduces robustness of community-based fisheries management. *PloS one*, 4 (7), e6253.
- Dacks, R., Ticktin, T., Jupiter, S.D., and Friedlander, A., 2018. Drivers of fishing at the household scale in Fiji. *Ecology and Society*, 23 (1), 37.
- D'Arcy, P., 2006. *The people of the sea: environment, identity, and history in Oceania*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- David, G., 2018. The challenge of sustainability for Pacific Island village fisheries, a historical perspective. In: E. Fache and S. Pauwels, eds. *Fisheries in the Pacific: The challenges of governance and sustainability*. Marseille: Pacific-Credo Publications, 221–253.
- Davis, A. and Ruddle, K., 2012. Massaging the Misery: Recent Approaches to Fisheries Governance and the Betrayal of Small-Scale Fisheries. *Human Organization*, 71 (3), 244–254.
- De Gregori, T.R., 1987. Resources are not; they become: An institutional theory. *Journal of economic issues*, 21 (3), 1241–1263.

- De La Croix, K. and Mitroi, V., 2020. *Écologie politique de la pêche. Temporalités, crises, résistances et résiliences dans le monde de la pêche*. Nanterre: Presses Universitaires de Paris Nanterre.
- Dean, M., 2010. *Governmentality: Power and rule in modern society*. Los Angeles: Sage publications.
- Demeulenaere, E., 2017. *L'anthropologie au-delà de l'anthropos. Un récit par les marges de la discipline*. Editions de la Sorbonne.
- Department of Environment, 2011. *Integrated Coastal Management Framework Of The Republic Of Fiji*. Suva: Government of Fiji, Ministry of Local Government, Urban Development, Housing and Environment.
- Descola, P., 2005. *Par-delà nature et culture*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Devictor, V., 2015. *Nature en crise. Penser la biodiversité*: Paris: Seuil.
- Dingwerth, K. and Pattberg, P., 2006. Global governance as a perspective on world politics. *Global governance*, 12, 185.
- Doherty, B., Haugh, H., and Lyon, F., 2014. Social enterprises as hybrid organizations: A review and research agenda. *International journal of management reviews*, 16 (4), 417–436.
- Dornan, M., Morgan, W., Newton Cain, T., and Tarte, S., 2018. What's in a term? "Green growth" and the "blue-green economy" in the Pacific islands. *Asia & the Pacific Policy Studies*, 5 (3), 408–425.
- Doukakis, P., Parsons, E.C.M., Burns, W.C.G., Salomon, A.K., Hines, E., and Cigliano, J.A., 2009. Gaining Traction: Retreading the Wheels of Marine Conservation. *Conservation Biology*, 23 (4), 841–846.
- D'Souza, E.J., 2000. Indian indentured labour in Fiji. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 61, 1071–1080.
- Dumoulin, D. and Rodary, E., 2005. Les ONG, au centre du secteur mondial de la conservation de la biodiversité. In: C. Aubertin, ed. *Représenter la nature ? ONG et biodiversité*. Marseille: IRD Éditions, 59–98.
- Dunlap, R.C. and Singh, B.B., 1980. *A National Parks and Reserves System for Fiji. A report to the National Trust of Fiji*. Suva: National Trust of Fiji.
- Duvat, V., 2008. L'évolution de la recherche sur les systèmes coralliens (1960-2007). *VertigO*, 8 (2), 1–18.
- Dwyer, P., D., 1994. Modern conservation and indigenous peoples: in search of wisdom. *Pacific Conservation Biology*, 1 (2), 91–97.
- Ehler, C.N. and Douvère, F., 2010. An International Perspective on Marine Spatial Planning Initiatives. *Environments: a journal of interdisciplinary studies*, 37 (3), 9–20.
- Eikeset, A.M., Mazzarella, A.B., Davíðsdóttir, B., Klinger, D.H., Levin, S.A., Rovenskaya, E., and Stenseth, N.C., 2018. What is blue growth? The semantics of "Sustainable Development" of marine environments. *Marine Policy*, 87, 177–179.
- Emmett, R.S. and Nye, D.E., 2017. *The environmental humanities: A critical introduction*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Erb, M., 2012. The Dissonance Of Conservation: Environmentalities And The Environmentalisms Of The Poor In Eastern Indonesia. *Zoology Supplement*, (25), 11–23.
- Escobar, A., 1995. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Etherington, N., 1996. The Gendering of Indirect Rule: Criminal Law and Colonial Fiji, 1875-1900. *The Journal of Pacific History*, 31 (1), 42–57.
- Fa'asili, U. and Kelokolo, L., 1999. The use of village by-laws in marine conservation and fisheries management. *SPC Traditional Marine Resource Management and Knowledge Information Bulletin*, 11, 7–10.
- Fache, E., 2019. *Sur la piste des rangers aborigènes*. Marseille: Pacific-CREDO Publications.
- Fache, E., 2020. Regard anthropologique sur les réserves marines du Pacifique Sud: Les 'tabu areas' fidjiennes comme pratiques hybrides? In: Y. Bouvet and K. Page-Jones, eds. *Discours sur la mer: résistances des pratiques et des représentations*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 117–134.
- Fache, E. and Breckwoldt, A., 2018. Small-scale managed marine areas over time: Developments and challenges in a local Fijian reef fishery. *Journal of Environmental Management*, 220, 253–265.

- Fache, E., Fair, H., and Kempf, W., 2020. Higher Powers: Negotiating Climate Change, Religion and Future in Oceania. *Anthropological Forum: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Comparative Sociology*, 30 (3).
- Fache, E., Le Meur, P.-Y., and Rodary, E., 2021. Introduction: The New Scramble for the Pacific: A Frontier Approach. *Pacific Affairs*, 94 (1), 57–76.
- Fache, E. and Pauwels, S., 2020. Tackling coastal ‘overfishing’ in Fiji: advocating for indigenous worldview, knowledge, and values to be the backbone of fisheries management strategies. *Maritime Studies*, 19, 41–52.
- Fache, E., Sabinot, C., Pauwels, S., Riera, L., Breckwoldt, A., David, G., Matairakula, U. and Carrière, S. M. *In press*. Encouraging Drawing in Research with Children on Marine Environments: Methodological and Epistemological Considerations. *Human Ecology*.
- Fache, E., Piovano, S., Soderberg, A., Tioono, M., Riera, L., David, G., Kowasch, M., Pauwels, S., Breckwoldt, A., Carrière, S. M., Sabinot, C. *In review*. “Draw the sea...”: Children’s representations of ocean connectivity in Fiji and New Caledonia. *Ambio*.
- Fairclough, N., 1993. Critical discourse analysis and the marketization of public discourse: The universities. *Discourse & society*, 4 (2), 133–168.
- FAO, ed., 1999. Article 2(d) International plan of action for the conservation and management of sharks (IPOA-Sharks). *In: Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 26.
- FAO, 2014. *Global Blue Growth Initiative and Small Island Developing States (SIDS)*. Rome: FAO Fisheries and Aquaculture Resources Use and Conservation Division (FIR).
- FAO, 2015. *Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries in the Context of Food Security and Poverty Eradication*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- Ferguson, J., 1994. *The anti-politics machine: ‘development,’ depoliticization, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fidelman, P. and Ekstrom, J.A., 2012. Mapping seascapes of international environmental arrangements in the Coral Triangle. *Marine Policy*, 36 (5), 993–1004.
- Fiji Environmental Law Association and EDO NSW, eds., 2017. *Towards an effective legal framework for marine protected areas in Fiji*. Suva: University of the South Pacific Press.
- Fiji Locally Managed Marine Area Network: Working with Government towards a better Fiji*, 2015. Suva: Fiji Locally Managed Marine Area Network, Policy Brief.
- Fisheries Division, 1979. *Annual Report 1978*. Suva: Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Fiji.
- Fisheries Division, 1987. *Annual Report 1986*. Suva: Ministry of Primary Industry, Fiji Fisheries Division.
- Fisheries Division, 1994. *Annual Report 1993*. Suva: Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Fiji.
- Fisheries Division, 1996. *Annual Report 1995*. Suva: Ministry of Primary Industry, Fiji Fisheries Division.
- Fisheries Division, 1998. *Annual Report 1997*. Suva: Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Fiji.
- Fisheries Division, 2003. *Annual Report 2002*. Suva: Ministry of Primary Industry, Fiji Fisheries Division.
- FLMMA, 2011. *FLMMA Operation Guide: The way we work together*. Suva: Fiji Locally Managed Marine Areas Network.
- FLMMA, 2015. *Working with Government towards a better Fiji*. Suva: Fiji Locally Managed Marine Areas Network.
- Foale, S., Cohen, P., Januchowski-Hartley, S., Wenger, A., and Macintyre, M., 2011. Tenure and taboos: origins and implications for fisheries in the Pacific. *Fish and fisheries*, 12 (4), 357–369.
- Foale, S., Dyer, M., and Kinch, J., 2016. The Value of Tropical Biodiversity in Rural Melanesia. *Valuation Studies*, 4 (1), 11–39.
- Forsyth, T., 2015. Integrating science and politics in political ecology. *In: R. Bryant, ed. The International Handbook of Political Ecology*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Foucault, M., 1978. *The history of sexuality. Volume one: An introduction*. NY: Pantheon. New York.
- Foucault, M., 1979. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Foucault, M., 2000. Questions of Method. *In: J.D. Faubion, ed. Power. Essential Works of Foucault (1978-1980)*. 223–238.

- Foucault, M., 2004. *Naissance de la biopolitique: cours au Collège de France (1978-1979)*. Paris: Seuil.
- Frank, R. and Stollberg, G., 2004. Conceptualizing hybridization: On the diffusion of Asian medical knowledge to Germany. *International Sociology*, 19(1), 71–88.
- Fredrickson, G.M., 1997. *The comparative imagination: on the history of racism, nationalism, and social movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Friedman, K., Braccini, M., Bjerregaard-Walsh, M., Bonfil, R., Bradshaw, C.J.A., Brouwer, S., Campbell, I., Coelho, R., Cortés, E., Dimmlich, W., Frisk, M.G., Kingma, I., Phillips, S.R.M., O’Criodain, C., Parker, D., Shephard, S., Tovar-Ávila, J., and Yokawa, K., 2019. Informing CITES Parties: Strengthening science-based decision-making when listing marine species. *Fish and Fisheries*, n/a (n/a).
- Friedman, K., Garcia, S.M., and Rice, J., 2018. Mainstreaming biodiversity in fisheries. *Marine Policy*, 95, 209–220.
- Froese, R. and Torres, A., 1999. Fishes under threat: an analysis of the fishes in the 1996 IUCN Red List. In: R.S.V. Pullin, D.M. Bartley, and J. Kooiman, eds. *Towards policies for conservation and sustainable use of aquatic genetic resource*. 131–144.
- Fry, G. and Tarte, S., eds., 2015. *The new Pacific diplomacy*. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Gandhi, L., 1998. After colonialism. In: *Postcolonial Theory*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Gautier, D. and Benjaminsen, T.A., 2013. *Environnement, discours et pouvoir: l’approche Political ecology*. Versailles: Éditions Quæ.
- Ghoddousi, P. and Page, S., 2020. Using ethnography and assemblage theory in political geography. *Geography Compass*, 14 (10), e12533.
- Gillett, R., 2005. *Fiji Fisheries Review Report: Aspects of Fisheries Management, Legislation, Research, Development, Extension and Aquaculture in Fiji*: Asia Development Bank, No. ADB TA 4403.
- Gillett, R., 2014. Hot issues on Pacific Island coastal fisheries. *SPC Fisheries Newsletter*, (144), 53–60.
- Gillett, R., 2018. Small-scale tuna fishing at Kadavu Island, Fiji, 5.
- Gillett, R. and Cartwright, I., 2010. *The future of Pacific Island fisheries*. Noumea; Honiara, Solomon Islands: Secretariat of the Pacific Community; Pacific Islands Forum Fisheries Agency.
- Gillett, R., Lewis, A., and Cartwright, I., 2014. Coastal Fisheries in Fiji, 72.
- Gillett, R. and Moy, W., 2006. *Spearfishing in the Pacific Islands*. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- Gillett, R. and Viridin, J., 1999. *Voices from the village: A comparative study of coastal resource management in the Pacific Islands*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Gillett, R.D., 2016. *Fisheries in the economies of Pacific Island countries and territories*. Noumea: Pacific Community.
- Ginelli, L., 2017. *Jeux de nature, natures en jeu : des loisirs aux prises avec l’écologisation des sociétés*. PIE Peter Lang.
- Glesne, C., 2016. *Becoming qualitative researchers: an introduction*. Boston: Pearson.
- Goldman, M., 2001. Constructing an Environmental State: Eco-Governmentality and Other Transnational Practices of a ‘Green’ World Bank. *Social Problems - SOC PROBL*, 48, 499–523.
- Gomar, J.O. and Stringer, L.C., 2011. Moving Towards Sustainability? An Analysis of CITES’ Conservation Policies: Moving Towards Sustainability? *Environmental Policy and Governance*, 21 (4), 240–258.
- Gordon, A.R., 2013. *Nakasaleka: Language, Marine Ethnobiology, and Life on a Fijian Island*. PhD Thesis. University of Alberta, Edmonton.
- Gorris, P., 2016. Deconstructing the Reality of Community-Based Management of Marine Resources in a Small Island Context in Indonesia. *Frontiers in Marine Science*, 3.
- Govan, H., 2009. Achieving the potential of locally managed marine areas in the South Pacific. *SPC Traditional Marine Resource Management and Knowledge Information Bulletin*, (25), 16–27.
- Govan, H., 2015. *Area-Based Management Tools for Coastal Resources in Fiji, Kiribati, Solomon Islands, Tonga And Vanuatu. Volume 1: Status, capacity and prospects for collaborative resource management*. Suva: MACBIO, No. Report for the Marine and Coastal Biodiversity Management in Pacific Island Countries (MACBIO).

- Govan, H., 2018. *From Locally Managed Marine Areas to Indigenous and Community Conserved Oceans*. Suva: SGDIA, USP, No. Working Paper No.3.
- Govan, H. and Jupiter, S., 2013. Can the IUCN 2008 Protected Areas management categories support Pacific Island approaches to conservation? *IUCN Parks*, 19 (1), 73–80.
- Govan, H., Kinch, J., and Brjosniovschi, A., 2013. *Strategic Review of Inshore Fisheries Policies and Strategies in Melanesia*. Noumea: Secretariat of the Pacific Community, Melanesian Spearhead Group.
- Govan, H., Tawake, A., Aalbersberg, W., and Parks, J., 2008. *Locally-Managed Marine Areas - A guide to supporting Community-Based Adaptive Management.pdf*. Suva: FLMMA.
- Govan, H., Tawake, A., Tabunakawai, K., Jenkins, A., and Las, A., 2009. *Status and potential of locally-managed marine areas in the South Pacific: meeting nature conservation and sustainable livelihood targets through wide-spread implementation of LMMAs*. Noumea: SPREP/WWF/WorldFish-Reefbase/CRISP.
- Government of Fiji, 1997. *Fisheries Act Regulations*. Fisheries Act (Cap. 158).
- Government of Fiji, 2018. *Naiqoro Passage Spawning Aggregation Marine Reserve - Fisheries Act Section 9 Regulations 2018*. Legal Notice N°4.
- Government of Fiji, 2021. *National Ocean Policy - 2020 - 2030*.
- Green, K.M., Crawford, B.A., Williamson, K.A., and DeWan, A.A., 2019. A Meta-Analysis of Social Marketing Campaigns to Improve Global Conservation Outcomes: *Social Marketing Quarterly*.
- Gruby, R.L., 2017. Macropolitics of Micronesia: Toward a Critical Theory of Regional Environmental Governance. *Global Environmental Politics*, 17 (4), 9–27.
- Gruby, R.L., Enrici, A., Betsill, M., Le Cornu, E., and Basurto, X., 2021. Opening the black box of conservation philanthropy: A co-produced research agenda on private foundations in marine conservation. *Marine Policy*, 132, 104645.
- Guggisberg, S., 2016. *The Use of CITES for Commercially-exploited Fish Species: A Solution to Overexploitation and Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated Fishing?* Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Hache, É., 2007. La responsabilité, une technique de gouvernementalité néolibérale ? *Raisons politiques*, 28 (4), 49–65.
- Hache, É., 2019. *Ce à quoi nous tenons: propositions pour une écologie pragmatique*. Paris: La découverte.
- Hackel, J.D., 1999. Community Conservation and the Future of Africa's Wildlife. *Conservation Biology*, 13 (4), 726–734.
- Hadjimichael, M., 2018. A call for a blue degrowth: unravelling the European Union's fisheries and maritime policies. *Marine Policy*, 94, 158–164.
- Hajer, M.A., 1997. *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Hamilton, R.J., Giningele, M., Aswani, S., and Ecochard, J.L., 2012. 5. Fishing in the dark-local knowledge, night spearfishing and spawning aggregations in the Western Solomon Islands. *Biological Conservation*, 145 (1), 246–257.
- Hand, T., Davis, D., and Gillett, R., 2005. *Fisheries sector review. Republic of the Fiji Islands*. Manilla: Asia Development Bank.
- Haraway, D., 1991. A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, technology, and socialist-feminism in the late 20th century. In: *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. New York: Routledge, 149–181.
- Hardin, G., 1968. The Tragedy of the Commons. *Science, New Series*, 162 (3859), 1243–1248.
- Hart, P.J.B., Bisson, P., Cochrane, K.L., Kenelly, S., Nielsen, J.L., and Pitcher, T.J., 2006. Reconciling Fisheries with Conservation: Any Progress Here?, 16.
- Hasenkamp, O. and Worliczek, E., 2018. COP23: A “Pacific COP” with “islandised” outcomes? *Pacific Geographies*, 28 (49), 12–21.
- Hastings, A., Gaines, S.D., and Costello, C., 2017. Marine reserves solve an important bycatch problem in fisheries. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114 (34), 8927–8934.
- Hastings, J.G., Gruby, R.L., and Sievanen, L.S., 2012. Science-based coastal management in Fiji: Two case studies from the NGO sector. *Marine Policy*, 36 (4), 907–914.

- Hatcher, A., Jaffry, S., Thebaud, O., and Bennett, E., 2000. Normative and Social Influences Affecting Compliance with Fishery Regulations. *Land Economics*, 76 (3), 448.
- Hau'ofa, E. 1994. Our Sea of Islands. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 6(1), 148–161.
- Hau'ofa, E., 2003. Beyond the Horizon: Creative Expression in Contemporary Oceania.
- Hilborn, R., 2006. Faith-based fisheries. *Fisheries*, 31 (11), 554–555.
- Hills, J., Bala, S., Solofa, A., Dunstan, P., Fischer, M., and Hayes, D., 2019. The disjuncture between regional ocean priorities and development assistance in the South Pacific. *Marine Policy*.
- Himley, M., 2008. Geographies of environmental governance: The nexus of nature and neoliberalism. *Geography Compass*, 2 (2), 433–451.
- Hodgetts, T., 2018. Connectivity as a multiple: In, with and as “nature”. *Area*, 50 (1), 83–90.
- Holm, P., 1996. Fisheries Management and the Domestication of Nature. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 36 (2), 177–188.
- Holmes, G., 2015. Philanthrocapitalism, biodiversity conservation and development. In: B. Morvaridi, ed. *New philanthropy and social justice: debating the conceptual and policy discourse*. 81–100.
- Holmes, G., Scholfield, K., and Brockington, D., 2012. A Comparison of Global Conservation Prioritization Models with Spatial Spending Patterns of Conservation Nongovernmental Organizations: Prioritization Models and NGO Spending. *Conservation Biology*, 26 (4), 602–609.
- Howitt, R. and Suchet-Pearson, S., 2006. Rethinking the building blocks: ontological pluralism and the idea of ‘management’. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, 88 (3), 323–335.
- Huxley, C., 2000. CITES: The Vision. In: J. Hutton and B. Dickson, eds. *Endangered Species. Threatened Convention: The Past, Present and Future of CITES*. London, 3–12.
- Hviding, E. and Baines, G.B.K., 1994. Community-based Fisheries Management, Tradition and the Challenges of Development in Marovo, Solomon Islands. *Development and Change*, 25 (1), 13–39.
- IAS, 2002. *Sustainable Coastal Resources Management for Fiji: Background paper prepared for the ‘Fiji National Workshop on Integrated Coastal Management’*. Suva: Institute of Applied Sciences, University of the South Pacific.
- IMCC 2014. *Congress Guide, 2014*. Glasgow: Society for Conservation Biology Marine Section.
- IPCC, 2022. *Climate change 2022: impacts, adaptation and vulnerability*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. In Press.
- Ison, S., Hills, J., Morris, C., and Stead, S.M., 2018. Sustainable financing of a national Marine Protected Area network in Fiji. *Ocean & Coastal Management*, 163, 352–363.
- IUCN, 2011. *Guidelines for Protected Areas Legislation*. Gland: IUCN.
- Jeanrenaud, S., 2002. Changing People/Nature Representations in International Conservation Discourses. *IDS Bulletin*, 33 (1), 111–122.
- Jenkins-Smith, H.C., Nohrstedt, D., Weible, C.M., and Ingold, K., 2018. The advocacy coalition framework: An overview of the research program. In: *Theories of the Policy Process*. London : New York: Routledge, 135–171.
- Jentoft, S., McCay, B.J., and Wilson, D.C., 1998. Social theory and fisheries co-management. *Marine Policy*, 22 (4–5), 423–436.
- Johannes, R.E., 1978. Traditional Marine Conservation Methods in Oceania and Their Demise. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*, 9 (1), 349–364.
- Johannes, R.E., 2002a. The Renaissance of Community-Based Marine Resource Management in Oceania. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*, 33, 317–340.
- Johannes, R.E., 2002b. The Renaissance of Community-Based Marine Resource Management in Oceania. *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics*, 33 (1), 317–340.
- Johannes, R.E. and Hviding, E., 2000. Traditional knowledge possessed by the fishers of Marovo Lagoon, Solomon Islands, concerning fish aggregating behaviour. *SPC Traditional Marine Resource Management and Knowledge*, (12), 22–37.
- Johansson Fua, S., 2014. Kakala Research Framework: A Garland in Celebration of a Decade of Rethinking Education. In: M. Otunoky, U. Nabobo-Baba, and S. Johansson Fua, eds. *Of Waves, Winds and Wonderful Things: A Decade of Rethinking Pacific Education*. Suva: University of the South Pacific Press, 50–60.

- Jones, L., Godfrey-Wood, R., and Harvey, B., 2016. *The changing role of NGOs in supporting climate services*. London: BRACED Knowledge Manager.
- Jouve, B., 2006. Éditorial. L'empowerment : entre mythe et réalités, entre espoir et désenchantement. *Geographie, économie, société*, (1), 5–15.
- Jupiter, S.D., Cohen, P.J., Weeks, R., Tawake, A., and Govan, H., 2014. Locally-managed marine areas: multiple objectives and diverse strategies. *Pacific Conservation Biology*, 20 (2), 165–179.
- Jupiter, S.D., Epstein, G., Ban, N.C., Mangubhai, S., Fox, M., and Cox, M., 2017. A Social–Ecological Systems Approach to Assessing Conservation and Fisheries Outcomes in Fijian Locally Managed Marine Areas. *Society & Natural Resources*, 30 (9), 1096–1111.
- Kacowicz, A.M. and Levi-Faur, D., 2012. Global governance, international order, and world order. In: *The Oxford handbook of governance*. Oxford.
- Kamler, E., 2011. NGO Narratives in the Global Public Sphere. *The International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities, and Nations: Annual Review*, 11 (2), 75–86.
- Karcher, D., Fache, E., Breckwoldt, A., Govan, H., Elías, X., Kon Kam King, J., Riera, L., and Sabinot, C., 2020. Trends in South Pacific fisheries management. *Marine Policy*, 118, 104021.
- Katz, E. and Light, A., eds., 1996. *Environmental Pragmatism*. London: Routledge.
- Kébir, L., 2010. Pour une approche institutionnelle et territoriale des ressources. *Ressources, Patrimoine, Territoire Et Développement Durable*, 69–86.
- Keen, M.R., Schwarz, A.-M., and Wini-Simeon, L., 2018. Towards defining the Blue Economy: Practical lessons from Pacific Ocean governance. *Marine Policy*, 88, 333–341.
- Keller, E., 2009. The danger of misunderstanding 'culture'. *Madagascar Conservation & Development*, 4 (2), 82–85.
- Khan, M.T. and Lynch, T., 2013. The genealogy of contemporary nature/forest conservation. *Human Geography*, 6 (3), 105–120.
- Kinch, J., Purcell, S., Uthicke, S., and Friedman, K., 2008. *Population status, fisheries and trade of sea cucumbers in the Western Central Pacific*. In *Sea cucumbers. A global review of fisheries and trade*. Rome: FAO.
- Kintisch, E., 2019. A culture of conservation in Fiji. *Fiji Profile (California Environmental Associates)*, 15.
- Kon Kam King, J. and Legroux, N., 2022. En quête de la haute mer – Regards croisés sur les possibilités et modalités du travail de terrain à distance. *Socio-Anthropologie*, 45 (Enquêter à distance : nouvel eldorado ?), 61–74.
- Kon Kam King, J. and Riera, L., 2022. The 'Right Place' for Sharks in the South Pacific: Marine Spatial Planning in a More-Than-Human Ocean. *Planning Practice & Research*, 1–18.
- Korth, H., 2016. Ecotourism and the politics of representation in Fiji. In: A.H. Akram-Lodhi, ed. *Confronting Fiji Futures*. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Kraatz, M.S. and Block, E.S., 2008. Organizational Implications of Institutional Pluralism. In: R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, R. Suddaby, and K. Sahlin, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism*. London, 243–275.
- Kull, C.A. and Batterbury, S., 2017. L'environnement dans les géographies anglophone et française: émergence, transformations et circulations de la political ecology. *Humanités environnementales: Enquêtes et contre-enquêtes*. Édité par Guillaume Blanc, Élise Demeulenaere, Wolf Feuerhahn, 117–138.
- Lal, N.P., 1984. Environmental implications of coastal development in Fiji. *Ambio*, 13 (5–6), 316–321.
- Lalavanua, W., Johnson, D., Naivalu, K., Veeran, R., Mangubhai, S., Tuinamata, A., Loganimoce, E., Rosabula, M., and Lee, S., 2018. Revitalising the fish warden system in Fiji: Outcomes of the Second Northern Division Fish Warden Forum. *SPC Fisheries Newsletter*, (156), 34–37.
- Larrère, C., 2010. Les éthiques environnementales. *Natures Sciences Sociétés*, 18 (4), 405–413.
- Lascoumes, P., 2012. *Action publique et environnement*. Paris: PUF.
- Lascoumes, P. and Le Galès, P., 2004. *Gouverner par les instruments*. Paris: Sciences Po, Les Presses.
- Lascoumes, P. and Le Galès, P., 2005. *L'instrumentation de l'action publique*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.
- Latour, B., 1993. *We have never been modern*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Latour, B., 2004. Why has critique run out of steam? From matters of fact to matters of concern. *Critical inquiry*, 30 (2), 225–248.
- Latour, B., 2007. *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oup Oxford.



- Lawson, E.H. and Lawson, S., 2017. Chiefly Leadership in Fiji: Past, Present and Future. *State, society and governance in Melanesia*.
- Le Meur, P.-Y., Bambridge, T., Dégremont, M., and Rodary, E., 2018. Les espaces marins du Pacifique entre logiques de commun et d'accaparement. *Revue internationale des études du développement*, 234 (2), 9–30.
- Leblic, I., 1999. Pêcheurs kanak et politiques de développement de la pêche en Nouvelle-Calédonie. In: G. Blanchet, ed. *Les petites activités de pêche dans le Pacifique Sud*. Paris: IRD Éditions, 119–141.
- Lee, S., Lewis, A., Gillett, R., Fox, M., Tuqiri, N., Sadovy, Y., Batibasaga, A., Lalavanua, W., and Lovell, E., 2018. *Fiji Fishery Resource Profiles. Information for Management on 44 of the Most Important Species Groups*. Suva: Gillett, Preston and Associates; Wildlife Conservation Society.
- Lees, A., 2007. *Review and analysis of Fiji's conservation sector*. Waitakere City: The Austral Foundation, No. Final Report.
- Lemos, M.C. and Agrawal, A., 2006. Environmental governance. *Annu. Rev. Environ. Resour.*, 31, 297–325.
- Leopold, A., 1970. *A Sand County Almanac*. New York: Ballantine.
- Leveridge, T., 2009. Divergent Paths: The Ontology, Epistemology, and Pragmatics of Community-Based Conservation in Locally-Managed Marine Reserves, Fiji. Oxford University, Oxford.
- Lévi-Strauss, C., 1962. *La pensée sauvage*. Plon Paris.
- Li, T.M., 2007a. *The will to improve: governmentality, development, and the practice of politics*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Li, T.M., 2007b. Practices of assemblage and community forest management. *Economy and Society*, 36 (2), 263–293.
- Lin, H.-L., 2012. Colonial Uneven Development, Fijian Vanua, and Modern Ecotourism in Taveuni, Fiji. *University of Pittsburgh*, 3 (1), 17.
- Lindstrom, L. and White, G.M., 1997. Introduction: chiefs today. In: *Chiefs today: Traditional Pacific leadership and the postcolonial state*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 5–22.
- Lockwood, M. and Davidson, J., 2010. Environmental governance and the hybrid regime of Australian natural resource management. *Geoforum*, 41, 388–398.
- Loring, P.A., 2017. The political ecology of gear bans in two fisheries: Florida's net ban and Alaska's Salmon wars. *Fish and Fisheries*, 18 (1), 94–104.
- Ma, J., Lemos, M.A.C., and Vieira, D.M., 2020. How is the Advocacy Coalition Framework Doing? Some Issues since the 2014 Agenda. *Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política*, (32), 7–42.
- Mallin, F. and Barbesgaard, M., 2020. Awash with contradiction: Capital, ocean space and the logics of the Blue Economy Paradigm. *Geoforum*, 113, 121–132.
- Mansfield, B., 2001. Property regime or development policy? Explaining growth in the US Pacific groundfish fishery. *The Professional Geographer*, 53 (3), 384–397.
- Mansfield, B., 2004. Neoliberalism in the oceans: “rationalization,” property rights, and the commons question. *Geoforum*, 35 (3), 313–326.
- Maris, V., 2010. *Philosophie de la biodiversité: petite éthique pour une nature en péril*. Paris: Buchet-Chastel.
- Maruia Society, 1989. *A Representative National Parks and Reserves System for Fiji*. Nelson: Maruia Society and Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society, No. Maruia Society Policy Reports Series n°9.
- Maugeri, S., 2002. Pour une sociologie de la gestion et de ses dispositifs. *Terminal* (87).
- Maxwell, S. and Stone, D.D.L., 2004. *Global Knowledge Networks and International Development*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Mazé, C., Dahou, T., Ragueneau, O., Danto, A., Mariat-Roy, E., Raimonet, M. and Weisbein, J., 2017. Knowledge and power in integrated coastal management. For a political anthropology of the sea combined with the sciences of the marine environment. *Comptes Rendus Geoscience*, 349 (6-7), 359-368.
- McAfee, K., 1999. Selling nature to save it? Biodiversity and green developmentalism. *Environment and planning*, 17 (2), 133–154.

- McCarthy, J., 2005. Scale, sovereignty, and strategy in environmental governance. *Antipode*, 37 (4), 731–753.
- McCormack, F., 2021. The Kermadec Ocean Sanctuary: Terraqueous Territorialization and Māori Marine Environments. *Pacific Affairs*, 94 (1), 77–96.
- McDonald, G., Wilson, M., Verissimo, D., Twohey, R., Clemence, M., Apistar, D., Box, S., Butler, P., Cadiz, F.C., Campbell, S.J., Cox, C., Effron, M., Gaines, S., Jakub, R., Mancao, R.H., Rojas, P.T., Tirona, R.S., and Vianna, G., 2020. Catalyzing sustainable fisheries management through behavior change interventions. *Conservation Biology*, 34 (5), 1176–1189.
- McNeely, J.A., 1988. *Economics and biological diversity: developing and using economic incentives to conserve biological resources*. Gland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.
- Midlen, A., 2021. What is the Blue Economy? A spatialised governmentality perspective. *Maritime Studies*, 20 (4), 423–448.
- Ministry of Communications - Official Fijian Government website, 2014. Fijian Prime Minister to host national Green Growth Framework Summit [online]. *The Fijian Government*. Available from: <https://fiji.gov.fj> [Accessed 25 May 2021].
- Ministry of Economy, 2017. *5-Year and 20-Year National Development Plan*. Suva: Government of Fiji.
- Ministry of Finance. Central Planning Office, 1971. *Fiji's Sixth Development Plan (1971-1975)*. Suva: Government of Fiji.
- Ministry of Fisheries, 2019. *Annual Report 2018-2019*. Suva: Government of Fiji, No. Parliamentary Paper 37/2021.
- Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics, 2014. *Green Growth Framework for Fiji: Restoring the Balance in Development that is Sustainable for Our Future*. Suva: National Development & Statistics.
- Mishra, S., 1992. The Articulating Sea: A Study of Subramani's Prose Fiction. In: Subramani, ed. *South Pacific Literature: From Myth to Fabulation*. Suva: University of the South Pacific Press, 161–185.
- Mofson, P., 2000. Zimbabwe and CITES: Influencing the International Regime. In: J.B. Hutton and B. Dickson, eds. *Endangered Species Threatened Convention The Past, Present and Future of CITES*. London: Earthscan, 107–122.
- Moisdon, J.-C., 2005. Comment apprend-on par les outils de gestion? In: *Entre connaissance et organisation: l'activité collective*. La Découverte, 239–250.
- Mosse, D., 2013. The Anthropology of International Development. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 42 (1), 227–246.
- MRAG Asia Pacific, 2020. *Review of the Coastal Fisheries Working Group and options and recommendations for increasing the engagement of non-state actors in Pacific Islands' regional coastal fisheries governance*.
- Mucchielli, A., 1991. *Les méthodes qualitatives*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
- Muehlig-Hofmann, A., 2008. Ownership of Fijian Inshore Fishing Grounds: Community-Based Management Efforts, Issues of Traditional Authority and Proposed Changes in Legislation. *Ocean Yearbook Online*, 22 (1), 291–321.
- Muehlig-Hofmann, A., Veitayaki, J., Polunin, N.V.C., Stead, S., and Graham, N.A.J., 2006. Community-based marine resource management in Fiji – from yesterday to tomorrow. *International Society for Reef Studies, Japanese Coral Reef Society*. 1259-1266
- Mundy-Taylor, V. and Crook, V., 2013. *Into the deep: Implementing CITES measures for commercially-valuable sharks and manta rays*. Prepared for the European Commission.
- Nash, C., 2004. Postcolonial geographies: spatial narratives of inequality and interconnection. In: P. Cloke, P. Crang and M. Goodwin, eds. *Envisioning human geographies*. London ; New York: Routledge, 104–127.
- Neumann, R.P., 2005. *Making political ecology*. London : New York: Hodder Arnold ; Distributed in the United States of America by Oxford University Press.
- Ni, Y. and Sandal, L.K., 2018. Seasonality matters: A multi-season, multi-state dynamic optimization in fisheries. *European Journal of Operational Research*. 275 (2), 248-258

- Nolet, É., 2018. L'homme et la mer aux Yasawa (îles Fidji). Pêche, resorts et conservation de la nature dans un paradis touristique. *Revue d'ethnoécologie*, 14, 34.
- Oakley, M. and Saunders, P., 2011. *No Rights without Responsibility: Rebalancing the Welfare State*. London: Policy Exchange.
- OECD, 2017. *Tackling Environmental Problems with the Help of Behavioural Insights*. Paris: OECD.
- O'Keefe, M., 2015. The Strategic Context of the New Pacific Diplomacy. In: G. Fry and S. Tarte, eds. *The New Pacific Diplomacy*. Canberra: ANU Press, 125–136.
- Olivier de Sardan, J.-P., 2021. *La Revanche des contextes: Des mésaventures de l'ingénierie sociale en Afrique et au-delà*. Paris: Karthala Editions.
- Ongolo, S. and Badoux, M., 2017. Gouverner par la ruse. L'État camerounais face aux exigences internationales de conservation de la biodiversité. In: *Les politiques de biodiversité*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 127–147.
- Overton, J., 1999. Vakavanua, vakamataniū : discourses of development in Fiji. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 40 (2), 173–186.
- Pache, A.-C. and Santos, F., 2013. Inside the Hybrid Organization: Selective Coupling as a Response to Competing Institutional Logics. *Academy of Management Journal*, 56 (4), 972–1001.
- Pauly, D., 2018. A vision for marine fisheries in a global blue economy. *Marine Policy*, 87, 371–374.
- Pauly, D., Christensen, V., Dalsgaard, J., Froese, R., and Torres Jr, F., 1998. Fishing down marine food webs. *Science*, 279 (5352), 860–863.
- Pauwels, S., 2015. Nouveaux regards sur les chefferies fidjiennes. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 141(2), 189-282
- Pauwels, S. and Fache, E., eds., 2016. *Fisheries in the Pacific: The challenges of governance and sustainability*. Marseille: Pacific-Credo Publications.
- Peck, J. and Theodore, N., 2012. Follow the Policy: A Distended Case Approach. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 44 (1), 21–30.
- Peeters, R., 2019. Manufacturing responsibility: the governmentality of behavioural power in social policies. *Social Policy and Society*, 18 (1), 51–65.
- Pelluchon, C., 2019. *Nourishment: A philosophy of the political body*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Peluso, N.L., 1993. Coercing conservation: The politics of state resource control. *Global Environmental Change*, 3 (2), 199–217.
- Peluso, N.L., 2012. What's nature got to do with it? A situated historical perspective on socio-natural commodities. *Development and change*, 43 (1), 79–104.
- Perreault, T., Bridge, G., and McCarthy, J., 2015. *The Routledge Handbook of Political Ecology*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- PIF, 2017. *Communiqué of the 48th meeting of Pacific Island forum leaders. The Blue Pacific: Our Sea of Islands—Our Security through Sustainable Development, Management and Conservation*. Apia: Pacific Islands Forum.
- Pita, E., 1996. *Development of a Multidisciplinary Masterplan for the Sustainable Management and Development of Fiji's Inshore Fisheries Resources*. Rome: FAO.
- Potgieter, T., 2018. Oceans economy, blue economy, and security: notes on the South African potential and developments. *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, 14 (1), 49–70.
- Pratt, C., Govan, H., 2010. *Our Sea of Islands Our Livelihoods Our Oceania. Framework for a Pacific Oceanscape: a Catalyst for Implementation of Ocean Policy*. Suva
- Prince, J., Lalavanua, W., Tamanitoakula, J., Tamata, L., Green, S., Radway, S., Loganimoce, E., Vodivodi, T., Marama, K., Waqainabete, P., Jeremiah, F., Nalasi, D., Naleba, M., Naisilisili, W., Kaloudrau, U., Lagi, L., Logatabua, K., Dautei, R., Tikaram, R., Sloan, J., and Mangubhai, S., 2020. Spawning potential surveys in Fiji: A new song of change for small-scale fisheries in the Pacific. *Conservation Science and Practice* (3):e273
- Probyn, E., 2014. The cultural politics of fish and humans: A more-than-human habitus of consumption. *Cultural Politics*, 10 (3), 287–299.
- Purcell, S.W., Mercier, A., Conand, C., Hamel, J.-F., Toral-Granda, M.V., Lovatelli, A., and Uthicke, S., 2013. Sea cucumber fisheries: global analysis of stocks, management measures and drivers of overfishing: Management of sea cucumber fisheries. *Fish and Fisheries*, 14 (1), 34–59.
- Purcell, S.W., Samyn, Y., and Conand, C., 2012. *Commercially important sea cucumbers of the world*. Rome: FAO.

- Qarase, L., 1994. Ten-year plan. *Policy paper*, Suva: ESCAP.
- Quinnl, N.J., 1998. Fishing practices of Naimasimasi village a commuter village outside Suva, Viti Levu, Fiji. *Journal of the Pacific Society*, 21 (78), 11–20.
- Quirk, G., 2018. *Evolution of Oceania's governance over their 'Blue Pacific' Ocean Continent*. [Conference] Cambridge: European Society for Oceanists.
- Ragin, C. and Zaret, D., 1983. Theory and Method in Comparative Research: Two Strategies. *Social Forces*, 61 (3), 731-755.
- Ramesh, S., 2016. Colonial and post-colonial Ethnocracy in Fiji. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 8 (3), 115–143.
- Ramutsindela, M., Spierenburg, M., and Wels, H., 2018. *Sponsoring nature: environmental philanthropy for conservation*. London: Routledge.
- Rapp, C., 2004. *A Paradise Lost : Mapping Contemporary Literature from Hawaii*. PhD thesis. Konstanz: Universität Konstanz.
- Rasheed, A.A., 2020. Climate Ideas as Drivers of Pacific Islands' Regional Politics and Cooperation. *E-International Relations* (online).
- Ratuva, S., 2015. The interface between affirmative action and neoliberalism: The case of Fiji. *Cultural Dynamics*, 27 (1), 135–154.
- Raubani, J.J.J., Lalavanua, W., and Bertram, I., 2019. *The Third Regional Technical Meeting on Coastal Fisheries: Scaling-up community-based fisheries management*. Information Paper No. 6. Nouméa: SPC.
- Rawlinson, N.J.F. and Sharma, S.P., 1993. Analysis of historical tuna baitfish catch and effort data from Fiji with an assessment of the current status of the stocks. In: *ACIAR Proceedings*. Bruce: Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research, 26–26.
- Reddy, C., 2020. *Indo-Fijian Fishing Communities: Relationships with Taukei in Coastal Fisheries*. Master thesis. University of Wellington: Te Herenga Waka-Victoria.
- Richards, A., 1994. *Fiji Fisheries Resource Profile*. Honiara: Forum Fisheries Agency.
- Robbins, P., 2004. *Political ecology: a critical introduction*. Malden: Blackwell Pub.
- Robbins, P., 2011. *Political Ecology: A Critical Introduction*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.
- Rocheleau, D.E., 2008. Political ecology in the key of policy: From chains of explanation to webs of relation. *Geoforum*, 39 (2), 716–727.
- Rodary, E., 2003. Pour une géographie politique de l'environnement. *Ecologie & politique*, 27 (1), 91-111.
- Rodary, E., 2008. Développer la conservation ou conserver le développement ? Quelques considérations historiques sur les deux termes et les moyens d'en sortir. *Mondes en développement*, 141 (1), 81-92.
- Rodary, E., 2019. *L'apartheid et l'animal : vers une politique de la connectivité*. Marseille: Wildproject.
- Rodd, A., 2020. A road to island sovereignty and empowerment? Fiji's aims within the belt and road initiative. *Island Studies Journal*, 15 (2), 93–118.
- Roe, E.M., 1991. Development narratives, or making the best of blueprint development. *World Development*, 19 (4), 287–300.
- Rohe, J.R., Aswani, S., Schlüter, A., and Ferse, S.C.A., 2017. Multiple Drivers of Local (Non-) Compliance in Community-Based Marine Resource Management: Case Studies from the South Pacific. *Frontiers in Marine Science*, 4.
- Rose, N., O'malley, P., and Valverde, M., 2006. Governmentality. *Annu. Rev. Law Soc. Sci.*, 2, 83–104.
- Rose, N.S., 1999. *Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self*. London: Free association books.
- Routledge, D., 1974. The negotiations leading to the cession of Fiji, 1874. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 2 (3), 278–293.
- Ruddle, K. 1995. Tendances actuelles de la gestion des qoliqoli de Fidji. *Bulletin de la CPS*, (5), 2–7.
- Ruddle, K. and Johannes, R.E., 1989. *Traditional marine resource management in the Pacific basin: an anthology*. Jakarta: UNESCO/ROSTSEA.
- Rutz, H. J. 1995. Occupying the headwaters of tradition: rhetorical strategies of nation making in Fiji. In: R.J. Foster, ed. *Nation making: emergent identities in postcolonial Melanesia*. Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 71–93.
- Sabatier, P.A., 1998. The advocacy coalition framework: revisions and relevance for Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5 (1), 98–130.

- Sachs, W., 2010. *The Development Dictionary. A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. London ; New York: Zed books.
- Sadovy de Mitcheson, Y., Mangubhai, S., Witter, A., Kuridrani, N., Batibasaga, A., Waqainabete, P., and Sumaila, R., 2018. *Value Chain Analysis of the Fiji Grouper Fishery*. United States: Science and Conservation of Fish Aggregations (SCRFA).
- Salazar, G., Mills, M., and Veríssimo, D., 2019. Qualitative impact evaluation of a social marketing campaign for conservation. *Conservation Biology*, 33 (3), 634–644.
- Salomon, A.K., Gaichas, S.K., Jensen, O.P., Agostini, V.N., Sloan, N., Rice, J., McClanahan, T.R., Ruckelshaus, M.H., Levin, P.S., Dulvy, N.K., and Babcock, E.A., 2011. Bridging the Divide Between Fisheries and Marine Conservation Science. *Bulletin of Marine Science*, 87 (2), 251–274.
- Sandbrook, C., Luque-Lora, R., and Adams, W.M., 2018. Human Bycatch: Conservation Surveillance and the Social Implications of Camera Traps. *Conservation and Society*, 16 (4), 493–504.
- Sano, Y., 2008. Social and institutional arrangements in coastal common pool resource systems: preliminary results of a study of community-based coastal management in Fiji. *Tropics*, 17 (4), 295–314.
- Schlager, E., 1995. Policy making and collective action: Defining coalitions within the advocacy coalition framework. *Policy sciences*, 28(3), 243-270.
- Schmidt, V.A., 2017. Theorizing ideas and discourse in political science: intersubjectivity, neo-institutionalisms, and the power of ideas. *Critical Review*, 29 (2), 248–263.
- Scott, J.C., 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Heaven: Yale University Press.
- Sievanen, L., Gruby, R.L., and Campbell, L.M., 2013. Fixing marine governance in Fiji? The new scalar narrative of ecosystem-based management. *Global Environmental Change*, 23 (1), 206–216.
- Silver, J., Gray, N., Campbell, L., Fairbanks, L., and Gruby, R., 2015. Blue Economy and Competing Discourses in International Oceans Governance. *The Journal of Environment & Development*, 24 (2), 135-160.
- Simard, L. and Lascoumes, P., 2011. L’action publique au prisme de ses instruments. *Revue Francaise de Science Politique*, 61 (1), 5.
- Sloan, J., 2017. Designating all fisheries officers in Fiji “authorized officers” may assist with inshore fisheries enforcement. *Ocean Law Bulletin*.
- Sloan, J. and Chand, K., 2015. *A Review of Near Shore Fisheries Law & Governance in Fiji*. Suva: Siwatibau & Sloan.
- Sloan, J. and Chand, K., 2016. An analysis of property rights in the Fijian qoliqoli. *Marine Policy*, 72, 76–81.
- Sloan, J. and Samuela, E., 2019. Fiji Inshore Fisheries Management: commitment to conserve grouper and sea cucumber leads to amendments to Fiji’s Offshore Fisheries Management Regulation. *Ocean Law Bulletins*.
- Sloan, J. and Samuela, E., 2020. Fiji’s Ministry of Fisheries has amended and shortened the seasonal ban on the capture of species of Kawakawa (grouper) and Donu (coral trout). *Ocean Law Bulletin*.
- Sotirov, M. and Memmler, M., 2012. The Advocacy Coalition Framework in Natural Resource Policy Studies—Recent Experiences and Further Prospects. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 16 (March), 51–64.
- Spalding, A.K. and Ycaza, R. de, 2020. Navigating Shifting Regimes of Ocean Governance: From UNCLOS to Sustainable Development Goal 14. *Environment and Society*, 11 (1), 5–26.
- SPC, 1952. *South Pacific Commission Fisheries Conference Report*. Noumea: South Pacific Commission.
- SPC, 2001. *Working Paper 8: Community-based fisheries management*. Noumea: 2nd SPC Heads of Fisheries Meeting.
- SPC, 2011. *Key outcomes and recommendations from a Regional Workshop on Approaches to the Implementation and Monitoring of Community-based Ecosystem Approach to Fisheries Management (CEAFM)*. Noumea: 7th Heads of Fisheries meeting.
- SPC, 2012. *A proposed regional approach to improved management of sea cucumber fisheries: Working Paper 2*. Noumea: Secretariat of the Pacific Community.

- SPC, 2015. *A new song for coastal fisheries – The Noumea strategy*. Noumea: The Pacific Community.
- SPC, 2020. Let them go: Release undersized, untargeted or unwanted fish! *SPC Fisheries Newsletter*, (162), 3.
- SPREP, 2016. *Annual Report 2016*. Apia: Secretariat Of The Pacific Regional Environment Programme.
- Starkhouse, B.A., 2009. *What's the Catch: Uncovering the Catch Volume and Value of Fiji's Coral Reef-Based Artisanal and Subsistence Fisheries*. Master Thesis. The University of Washington, Washington, DC.
- Steg, L. and Vlek, C., 2009. Encouraging pro-environmental behaviour: An integrative review and research agenda. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 29 (3), 309–317.
- Steinberg, P.E., 2001. *The social construction of the ocean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Steins, N.A. and Edwards, V.M., 1999. Collective Action in Common-Pool Resource Management : The Contribution of a Social Constructivist Perspective to Existing Theory. *Society & Natural Resources*, 12 (6), 539–557.
- Stephens, T., 2008. Fisheries-Led Development in the South Pacific: Charting a “Pacific Way” to a Sustainable Future. *Ocean Development & International Law*, 39 (3), 257–286.
- Stöhr, C., Lundholm, C., Crona, B., and Chabay, I., 2014. Stakeholder participation and sustainable fisheries: an integrative framework for assessing adaptive comanagement processes. *Ecology and Society*, 19 (3), 1-14.
- Stokstad, E., 2009. Détente in the fisheries war. *Science*, 324 (5924), 170-171.
- Strathern, A., 1993. Great-men, leaders, big-men : the link of ritual power. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 97 (2), 145–158.
- Sultana, F., 2007. Reflexivity, positionality and participatory ethics: Negotiating fieldwork dilemmas in international research. *ACME: An international journal for critical geographies*, 6 (3), 374–385.
- Sundberg, J., 2015. Ethics, Entanglement, and Political Ecology. In: T. Perreault, G. Bridge, and J. McCarthy, eds. *The Routledge Handbook of Political Ecology*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Sykes, H., Mangubhai, S., and Manley, M., 2018. *Contribution of Marine Conservation Agreements to Biodiversity Protection, Fisheries Management and Sustainable Financing in Fiji*. Suva: Wildlife Conservation Society.
- Tan-Mullins, M., 2007. The state and its agencies in coastal resources management: The political ecology of fisheries management in Pattani, southern Thailand. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 28 (3), 348–361.
- Tanner, A., 2007. On Understanding Too Quickly: Colonial and Postcolonial Misrepresentation of Indigenous Fijian Land Tenure. *Human Organization*, 66 (1), 69–77.
- Tcherkézoff, S., 2003. A Long and Unfortunate Voyage towards the ‘Invention’ of the Melanesia/Polynesia Distinction 1595-1832. *The Journal of Pacific History*, 38 (2), 175–196.
- The David and Lucile Packard Foundation, 2013. *Western Pacific Subprogram Strategic Plan (2014–2020)*. Los Altos: The David and Lucile Packard Foundation.
- Thomas, A., Mangubhai, S., Fox, M., Meo, S., Miller, K., Naisilisili, W., Veitayaki, J., and Waqairatu, S., 2021. Why they must be counted: Significant contributions of Fijian women fishers to food security and livelihoods. *Ocean & Coastal Management*, 205, 105571.
- Thompson, C., 2004. Co-producing CITES and the African elephant. In: S. Jasanoff, ed. *States of knowledge: the co-production of science and the social order*. London ; New York: Taylor and Francis, 67–85.
- Thompson, M.H., 2008. Fostering sustainable behaviours in community-based co-managed fisheries. *Marine Policy*, 32 (3), 413–420.
- Toren, C., 2005. *Mind, Materiality and History: Explorations in Fijian Ethnography*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- UNESCO/UNFPA MAB, 1977. *Population and Environment Project Eastern Islands of Fiji Ecology, Population and Development*. Paris, Canberra: UNESCO, Australian National University.
- Vaccaro, I., Beltran, O., and Paquet, P., 2013. Political ecology and conservation policies: some theoretical genealogies. *Journal of Political Ecology*, 20 (1), 255–272.
- Vave, R., 2021. Five culturally protected water body practices in Fiji: Current status and contemporary displacement challenges. *Ambio* (51), 1001–1013.
- Vayda, A.P. and Walters, B.B., 1999. Against political ecology. *Human ecology*, 27 (1), 167–179.

- Veitayaki, J., 2002. Taking advantage of indigenous knowledge: the Fiji case. *International Social Science Journal*, 54 (173), 395–402.
- Veitayaki, J., 2008. Fisheries resource-use culture in Fiji and its implications. In: A. Hooper, ed. *Culture and Sustainable Development in the Pacific*. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Veitayaki, J., 2012. Inshore fisheries development. In: B.V. Lal, ed. *Fiji before the storm: Elections and the politics of development*. Canberra: ANU Press, 135–148.
- Veitayaki, J., Aalbersberg, B., Tawake, A., Rupeni, E., and Tabunakawai, K., 2003. Mainstreaming Resource Conservation: The Fiji Locally Managed Marine Area Network and its Influence on National Policy Development. *Resource Management in Asia-Pacific*, (42), 13.
- Veitayaki, J., Ledua, E., Nakoro, A., Hong, H.P., Han, D.P., Moon, S., and Breckwoldt, A., 2018. Future Use of Past Practices: Policy Implications of Insights from Two Community-based Marine Resource Management Initiatives in Fiji. *Ocean Yearbook Online*, 32 (1), 376–405.
- Veitayaki, J. and Robin South, G., 1998. The Constitution and Indigenous Fisheries Management in Fiji. *Ocean Yearbook Online*, 13 (1), 452–466.
- Verissimo, D., Campbell, H.A., Tollington, S., MacMillan, D.C., and Smith, R.J., 2018. Why do people donate to conservation? Insights from a ‘real world’ campaign. *PLoS ONE*, 13 (1), e0191888.
- Vince, J., Brierley, E., Stevenson, S., and Dunstan, P., 2017. Ocean governance in the South Pacific region: Progress and plans for action. *Marine Policy*, 79: 40–45.
- Vincent, A.C.J., Sadovy de Mitcheson, Y.J., Fowler, S.L., and Lieberman, S., 2014. The role of CITES in the conservation of marine fishes subject to international trade. *Fish and Fisheries*, 15 (4), 563–592.
- Voyer, M., Quirk, G., McIlgorm, A., and Azmi, K., 2018. Shades of blue: what do competing interpretations of the Blue Economy mean for oceans governance? *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning*, 20 (5), 595–616.
- Vunisea, A., 2002. Community-based marine resource management in Fiji: The challenges. *SPC Women in Fisheries Information Bulletin*, 11, 6–9.
- Vunivalu, R., 1957. *Colony of Fiji*. Suva: Government Press.
- Walters, G., Pathak Broome, N., Cracco, M., Dash, T., Dudley, N., Elías, S., Hymas, O., Mangubhai, S., Mohan, V., Niederberger, T., Achtone Achtone Nkollo Kema Kema, C., Oussou Lio, A., Raveloson, N., Rubis, J., Mathieu Toviehou, S.A.R., and Van Vliet, N., 2021. COVID-19, Indigenous peoples, local communities and natural resource governance. *Parks*, (27), 57–72.
- Ward, G. and Chandra, R., 1997. Fidji, un nouveau départ : développement et problème ethnique. *Revue Tiers Monde*, 38 (149), 157–176.
- Ward, R.G., 1965. *Land use and population in Fiji: A Geographical Study*. London: Stationery Office
- Weeks, R., 2017. Incorporating seascape connectivity in conservation prioritisation. *PLOS ONE*, 12 (7), e0182396.
- Weeks, R. and Jupiter, S.D., 2013. Adaptive Comanagement of a Marine Protected Area Network in Fiji: Adaptive MPA Network Management in Fiji. *Conservation Biology*, 27 (6), 1234–1244.
- West, P., 2006. *Conservation is our government now*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- West, P., Igoe, J., and Brockington, D., 2006. Parks and peoples: the social impact of protected areas. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.*, 35, 251–277.
- Whitehead, M., Jones, R., and Jones, M., 2007. *The Nature of the State: Excavating the Political Ecologies of the Modern State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Whyte, Barbara. 2011. Weaving a “Hybrid Mat”: Samoa meets the Solomons. *Waikato Journal of Education* 16 (2): 85–94.
- Winder, G.M. and Le Heron, R., 2017. Assembling a Blue Economy moment? Geographic engagement with globalizing biological-economic relations in multi-use marine environments. *Dialogues in Human Geography*, 7 (1), 3–26.
- World Bank, 2015. *World Development Report 2015: Mind, Society, and Behavior*. Washington: The World Bank.
- Wright, A.J., Verissimo, D., Pilfold, K., Parsons, E.C.M., Ventre, K., Cousins, J., Jefferson, R., Koldewey, H., Llewellyn, F., and McKinley, E., 2015. Competitive outreach in the 21st century: Why we need conservation marketing. *Ocean & Coastal Management*, 115, 41–48.
- Zimmerer, K.S., 2000. The Reworking of Conservation Geographies: Nonequilibrium Landscapes and Nature-Society Hybrids. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 90 (2), 356–369.





## Online sources

Organization	Website
SPREP	<a href="http://www.sprep.org/">www.sprep.org/</a>
Pacific Community	<a href="http://www.spc.int">www.spc.int</a>
Fiji Parliament	<a href="http://www.parliament.gov.fj">www.parliament.gov.fj</a>
Ministry of Fisheries	<a href="http://www.fisheries.gov.fj/">www.fisheries.gov.fj/</a>
Ministry of iTaukei Affairs	<a href="https://www.itaukeiaffairs.gov.fj/">https://www.itaukeiaffairs.gov.fj/</a>
4FJ movement	<a href="https://4fjmovement.org/">https://4fjmovement.org/</a>
WWF-Pacific	<a href="https://www.wwfpacific.org/">https://www.wwfpacific.org/</a>
LMMA network	<a href="https://lmma.network.org/fiji/">https://lmma.network.org/fiji/</a>
Pacific Blue Foundation	<a href="https://www.pacificbluefoundation.org/fiji/">https://www.pacificbluefoundation.org/fiji/</a>
Packard Foundation	<a href="https://www.packard.org/">https://www.packard.org/</a>
MacArthur Foundation	<a href="https://www.macfound.org/grants/?q=fiji">https://www.macfound.org/grants/?q=fiji</a>
Ocean Law Bulletins	<a href="https://www.sas.com.fj/ocean-law-bulletins">https://www.sas.com.fj/ocean-law-bulletins</a>
CITES	<a href="https://cites.org">https://cites.org</a>
FAO	<a href="https://www.fao.org/home/fr">https://www.fao.org/home/fr</a>
	<b>Facebook page</b>
WCS Melanesia	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/wcsmelanesia/">https://www.facebook.com/wcsmelanesia/</a>
cChange	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/cChangeCommunications/">https://www.facebook.com/cChangeCommunications/</a>
Ministry of Fisheries Fiji	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/fisheriesfiji">https://www.facebook.com/fisheriesfiji</a>
Ministry of Waterways and Environment Fiji	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/moweFiji">https://www.facebook.com/moweFiji</a>
Women in Fisheries Network Fiji	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/WiFNFiji/">https://www.facebook.com/WiFNFiji/</a>
	<b>Twitter page</b>
WCS Fiji	<a href="https://twitter.com/wcsfiji">https://twitter.com/wcsfiji</a>
Marine Ecology Fiji	<a href="https://twitter.com/marineecofiji">https://twitter.com/marineecofiji</a>
Pacific Community	<a href="https://twitter.com/spc_cps">https://twitter.com/spc_cps</a>
IUCN Oceania	<a href="https://twitter.com/iucn_oceania">https://twitter.com/iucn_oceania</a>
University of the South Pacific	<a href="https://twitter.com/UniSouthPacific">https://twitter.com/UniSouthPacific</a>
	<b>Newspapers</b>
Fiji Times	<a href="https://www.fjitime.com/">https://www.fjitime.com/</a>
Fiji Sun	<a href="https://fjijisun.com.fj/">https://fjijisun.com.fj/</a>
Fijivillage	<a href="https://fjivillage.com/">https://fjivillage.com/</a>
	<b>Main sources of scientific literature</b>
Google Books	<a href="https://books.google.fr/">https://books.google.fr/</a>
Google Scholar	<a href="https://scholar.google.com/">https://scholar.google.com/</a>
Web of Science	<a href="https://www.webofscience.com/wos">https://www.webofscience.com/wos</a>
Cairn info	<a href="https://www.cairn.info/">https://www.cairn.info/</a>
Researchgate	<a href="https://www.researchgate.net/">https://www.researchgate.net/</a>
SPC Digital Library	<a href="http://www.spc.int/DigitalLibrary">www.spc.int/DigitalLibrary</a>



# Appendices

## Appendix 1. Permission to access 'local communities' for research granted by the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs



### MINISTRY OF ITAUKEI AFFAIRS

ITAUKEI TRUST FUND BUILDING COMPLEX  
87 QUEEN ELIZABETH DRIVE, SUVA  
P.O.BOX 2100, GOVERNMENT BUILDING, SUVA, FIJI.



TELEPHONE: (679) 3100 909

FAX: (679) 3317 077

Reference: MTA – 4/99/8-2

01<sup>st</sup> July 2019

Ms Lea Riera  
Panoramic Road  
Wailekutu  
**SUVA**

#### **Re: Research Request – Permission to access local communities in Fiji for research**

In response to your request dated 1<sup>st</sup> July, 2019, this is a support letter by the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs (MTA) for you to carry out Free Prior and Informed Consent sessions in Buliya Vilage and Matasawalevu Village in the Province of Kadavu from 10<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> July, 2019.

It is noted that your research project is titled, "*A Sea of Connections: Contextualizing Fisheries in the South Pacific Region*"

Mandated to oversee the welfare and good governance of the iTaukei community under the iTaukei Affairs Act 1945, this letter is granted on the condition that the following will be undertaken:-

- i. Roko Tui responsible for the proposed site(s) be informed of the research objectives and the communities that will be impacted in the process;
- ii. Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) guideline Principle is obtained by researcher and evidence of this provided with a copy of final report;
- iii. Individuals/communities that participate in the research are appropriately informed of the objectives and duration of the research;
- iv. Cultural sensitivity and traditional protocols are observed;
- v. All fieldwork and research activity is to be put on hold on Sunday; that Sundays' be respected as a day of rest;
- vi. Status update(s) of the ongoing fieldwork be submitted at regular intervals to the respective Provincial Council office and the designated MTA desk officer;

- vii. That the respective village communities are acknowledged in the research report;
- viii. A copy of the finalized research findings report document with corresponding Free Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) forms is submitted to the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs, and Kadavu Provincial Council office.

Kindly be advised that this support letter is also based on you meeting institutional requirements from other line Ministries / Government Departments that are directly/indirectly linked to your area of research interest.

You are advised to liaise with the Roko Tui Kadavu upon arrival, for further assistance.

If you have and queries or require further information, please do not hesitate to contact Salaseini Naiduki on telephone (679) 3100909 ext. 1028 or email [salaseini.naiduki@govnet.gov.fj](mailto:salaseini.naiduki@govnet.gov.fj) .

Vinaka vakalevu.



.....  
Meleti Bainimarama

**Permanent Secretary for iTaukei Affairs**

## Appendix 2. SOCPacific - Information sheet for participants

### Project title

A Sea of Connections: Contextualizing Fisheries in the South Pacific Region (SOCPacific)

### Researchers

#### *Principal investigators:*

Dr. Annette BRECKWOLDT, Leibniz Centre for Tropical Marine Research (ZMT), [annette.breckwoldt@leibniz-zmt.de](mailto:annette.breckwoldt@leibniz-zmt.de)

Dr. Elodie FACHE, French National Research Institute for Development (IRD), [elodie.fache@ird.fr](mailto:elodie.fache@ird.fr)

#### *Other research team members:*

Dr. Gilbert DAVID, IRD

Marlène DÉGREMONT, IRD

Dr. Sebastian FERSE, ZMT

Dr. Marion GLASER, ZMT

Juliette KON KAM KING, IRD-ZMT

Dr. Pierre-Yves LE MEUR, IRD

Anke MOESINGER, ZMT

Dr. Bernard MOIZO, IRD

Dr. Nils MOOSDORF, ZMT

Dr. Arno PASCHT, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Léa RIERA, IRD-ZMT

Dr. Estienne RODARY, IRD

Dr. Catherine SABINOT, IRD

### Project Description and Invitation

The above-named research project is focused on the South Pacific region. It involves field investigations in New Caledonia, Vanuatu and Fiji. It aims to:

- re-embed coastal and offshore fisheries in their wider context; and
- explore the large web of social, political, cultural connections within which fishing practices occur.

We would like to invite you to participate in this research project and we would be very grateful if you could accept this invitation.

### Project Procedures

The methods of field investigation will mainly include:

- the observation of (and whenever possible the participation in) fishing, fisheries management, marine governance, and related activities and practices;
- interviews and focus groups with people involved in these activities and practices;
- informal discussions aiming to better understand local, national and regional contexts, views and issues.

### Data Management

The data gathered in the context of this research will be kept in a secure database at any time. It will be shared among the research team, and used or disclosed only for research purposes and associated activities such as teaching and scientific valorization.

When disseminating the results of the research (for instance in conferences, reports, publications, etc.), we will systematically acknowledge the geographical place and groups/communities/institutions from which information originates, but this information will remain anonymous, except when participants have explicitly requested to be named.

## **Your Role**

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, your role will include:

- facilitating our observation of (and whenever possible participation in) fishing, fisheries management, marine governance, and related activities and practices;
- providing information with regard to fishing, fisheries management, marine governance, and other directly or indirectly related topics;
- participating in informal discussions, recorded interviews and/or focus groups related to this project;
- providing advice on research orientations and procedures if you think it is necessary and you wish to do so.

## **Your Rights**

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- if we agree on and organize a recorded interview, ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during this interview;
- withdraw from the study (within three months after your oral consent to participate);
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation.

Also, please note that:

- when disseminating the results of the research, we will not mention your name unless you have explicitly requested to be named;
- when the project is completed, we will provide your community/institution with a summary of the project findings.

## **Contact for the project**

Dr. Annette BRECKWOLDT: [annette.breckwoldt@awi.de](mailto:annette.breckwoldt@awi.de)

Dr. Elodie FACHE: [elodie.fache@ird.fr](mailto:elodie.fache@ird.fr)

**Please let us know if you have questions  
about the research project, this information sheet or the consent procedures...**

### Appendix 3. Chronology of international, regional and national coastal fisheries management policies and strategies ratified/enacted by Fiji

This table has been produced by SOCPacific’s intern Denis Karcher in 2019 to give an overview of policies and strategies related to Vanuatu, Fiji and New Caledonia, and the South Pacific Region in general. I have completed it based on a historical research on Fiji’s colonial and postcolonial laws and to include more recent documents.

Strategies and policies	Year	International	Regional	National
Republic of Fiji – National Ocean Policy 2020-2030	2021			X
Ministry of Fisheries Strategic Development Plan (2019-2029)	2019			X
Regulation 5 (OFRM 2014) - Ban on the harvest, sale, possession and transport of sea turtles and their eggs	2019			X
Legal Notice N°32 (OFRM 2014) - Seasonal bans of species of sea cucumbers, groupers and coral trout	2019			X
Customs (Prohibited Imports and Exports) Regulations 1986 - Shark fins and live coral	2019			X
National Green Growth Framework	2018			X
National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan for Fiji 2017–2024	2017			X
UN Blueprint for Ocean and Coastal Sustainability	2017	X		
5-Year & 20-Year National Development Plan	2017			X
Fiji’s National Adaptation Plan Framework	2017			X
Bill For An Act To Regulate Fresh Water, Brackish Water And Marine Aquaculture And For Related Matters	2016			X
Framework For A Pacific Oceanscape Results Framework (FPO-RF)	2016		X	
Wakaya Marine Reserve Regulation	2015			X
FFA/SPC Regional Roadmap For Sustainable Fisheries (2015)	2015		X	
MSG Memorandum Of Understanding On Technical Cooperation In Coastal Fishery And Aquaculture Development	2015		X	
New Song For Coastal Fisheries – Pathways To Change (Noumea Strategy)	2015		X	
UN Sustainable Development Goals And Their Targets	2015	X		
Pacific Community (SPC) Strategic Plan 2016–2020	2015		X	
MSG 2038 Prosperity for All Plan and Implementation Framework	2015		X	
Fisheries (Shark Reef Marine Reserve) (Serua) Regulations 2014	2014			X
Offshore Fisheries Management Regulations (OFRM)	2014			X
Palau Declaration: The Ocean: Life and Future	2014		X	
Tokelau Arrangement 2014	2014		X	

SAMOA Pathway	2014	X		
PIF Framework for Pacific Regionalism	2014		X	
Mangrove Management Plan for Fiji	2013			X
Republic of Fiji - Offshore Fisheries Management Decree (2012)	2012			X
Republic of Fiji National Climate Change Policy	2012			X
Action Plan for Implementing the Convention on Biological Diversity's Programme of Work on Protected Areas	2011			X
Integrated Coastal Management Framework of the Republic of Fiji 2011	2011			X
2011 IUCN Guidelines	2011	X		
Pacific Regional Environment Program (SPREP) Strategic Plan, 2011–2015	2011		X	
Future of Pacific Island Fisheries' initiative	2010		X	
A community-based ecosystem approach to fisheries management: guidelines for Pacific Island Countries	2010		X	
The Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on the Conservation of Migratory Sharks	2010	X		
Framework for a Pacific Oceanscape: A Catalyst for Implementation of Ocean Policy - FPO	2010		X	
Aichi Biodiversity Targets	2010	X		
Implementation Framework 2010 - 2014 For The National Biodiversity Strategy And Action Plan 2007	2010			X
Fao The Code Of Conduct For Responsible Fisheries And Indigenous Peoples	2009	X		
Roadmap for Democracy and Sustainable Socio-Economic Development 2010-2014	2009			X
SPC Pacific Islands Regional Coastal Fisheries Management Policy and Strategic Actions, 2008–2013	2008		X	
The People's Charter for Change, Peace and Progress 2008	2008			X
SPC Aquaculture Action Plan	2007		X	
PIF Vava'u Declaration 2007 - The Vava'u Declaration on Pacific Fisheries 'Our Fish, our Future'	2007		X	
Pacific Islands Framework for Action to Climate Change (PIFACC) 2006-2015	2006		X	
MoU for the Conservation of Cetaceans and their Habitats in the Pacific Island Region	2006		X	
Environment Management Act 2005	2005			X
FFA Strategic Plan 2005 – 2020	2005		X	
Framework for Integrated Strategic Action (PIROP-ISA)	2005		X	
SPC Strategic plan for fisheries management and sustainable coastal fisheries in Pacific islands	2003		X	



## Appendices

Setting Priorities for Marine Conservation in the Fiji Islands Marine Ecoregion 2003	2003			X
Endangered and Protected Species Act Fiji	2002			X
World Summit on Sustainable Development	2002	X		
SPC Pacific Island Regional Ocean Policy 2005 (PIROP)	2002		X	
Pacific Island Countries Trade Agreement (PICTA)	2001		X	
The Reykjavik Declaration On Responsible Fisheries In The Marine Ecosystem	2001	X		
Majuro Declaration	1997	X		
FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries	1995	X		
Fiji National Environment Strategy	1993			X
Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)	1992	X		
Niue Treaty on Co-operation in Fisheries Surveillance and Law Enforcement in the South Pacific Region	1992		X	
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change 1992	1992	X		
US Multilateral Fisheries Treaty	1987		X	
Noumea Convention for the Protection of the Natural Resources and Environment of the Pacific Region	1986		X	
Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora	1979	X		
Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals	1979	X		
South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency Convention	1979		X	
Republic of Fiji - Marine Spaces Act	1978			X
Rotuma Act 1978	1978			X
The Apia Convention on Conservation of Nature in the South Pacific	1976		X	
Wetlands Convention (Ramsar Convention)	1971	X		
National Trust for Fiji Act	1970			X
Republic of Fiji - Fisheries Act	1942			X
Native Land Trust	1940			X
The Bird, Games and Fish Protection Ordinance	1923			X

## Appendix 4. Extract from the report of California Environment Associate on Fijian coastal fisheries on the asymmetry of governmental support to coastal and offshore fisheries

### The Fisheries Department tends to allocate substantially more attention to offshore fisheries as compared to coastal fisheries management. (1/2)

The Fisheries Department's involvement in offshore versus coastal fisheries<sup>1</sup>

Feature	Offshore	Coastal
<b>Statistics</b>	Well-trained staff; very organized collection, analysis, and reporting of information on catches. Very good idea of catch levels of target species and bycatch – and readily available on the internet. SPC provides excellent technical back-up. FFA has assisted with database development.	Statistical system has broken down. No enumerator in the Central Division for 3 years. Different systems for the 4 divisions. Estimates of catch levels by both subsistence and commercial fishing are largely guesswork.
<b>Surveillance and enforcement</b>	Enforcement section created and strongly supported. All vessels required to have electronic vessel monitoring system onboard and operational. Periodic sea patrols with Navy. Well trained and staffed on-board observer program. FFA provides technical back-up and observer training.	Lack of enforcement has a greater impact on benefits of coastal fisheries than offshore. HQ enforcement section disbanded in 2006. Scarce assets for patrolling. Fish warden system only loosely administered by Fisheries Department. There is no system for de-listing wardens, maintaining records of training received, or distributing to the wardens any changes in regulations.
<b>Prosecution of offenses</b>	Considerable skill exists. For example, four individuals (Fisheries Department and police) attended a 3-week workshop in 2014 on Fisheries Evidence and Investigation for offshore fisheries.	Both Fisheries Department staff and police are poorly trained in prosecution. Few successful prosecutions of coastal fisheries offences.

Source: 1) This chart is drawn directly from the following source: Gillett, R., Lewis A. and Cartwright I. 2014. "Coastal Fisheries in Fiji: Resources, Issues, and Enhancing the Role of the Fisheries Department.60 pages. The full report is available at [www.gillettprestonassociates.com](http://www.gillettprestonassociates.com).

### The Fisheries Department tends to allocate substantially more attention to offshore fisheries as compared to coastal fisheries management. (2/2)

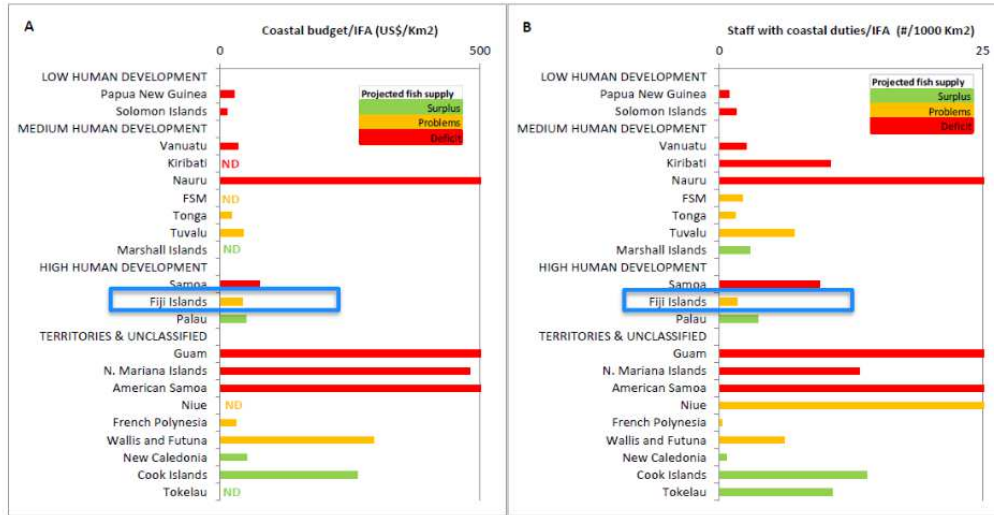
The Fisheries Department's involvement in offshore versus coastal fisheries<sup>1</sup>

Feature	Offshore	Coastal
<b>Consultation with stakeholders</b>	There was significant formal consultation with stakeholders in formulating the national tuna management plan. The National Fisheries Council meetings were strongly offshore oriented. Periodic meetings with offshore stakeholders are organized by Fisheries Dept. on important issues.	Coastal fisheries were dropped out of the agenda of the National Fisheries Council meetings a few years ago. Formal consultation with coastal fisheries stakeholders not perceived by Fisheries Department as a priority.
<b>Publicly available reports</b>	At least one formally published paper per year. For example, OFC (2014). Information on Fisheries, Research and Statistics for 2013 in Fiji. Offshore Fisheries Division, Fisheries Department, WCPFC.	No readily available reports in public domain for several years.
<b>Management plans and policy guidelines</b>	Tuna management plans periodically formulated and regularly updated. National Plan of Action (sharks formulated and approved). Decree promulgated and adopted.	Currently no fisheries management plans in place. A beche de mer management plan by SPC for Fiji has been in formulation process for a very long time.
<b>Strategy for management of fisheries resources</b>	Well-organized strategy that is articulated in the national tuna management plan.	The strategy is not clear. A recent report stated: "There is no inshore fisheries policy or clear institutional strategy for inshore fisheries management support" (Govan et al, 2013).

Source: 1) This chart is drawn directly from the following source: Gillett, R., Lewis A. and Cartwright I. 2014. "Coastal Fisheries in Fiji: Resources, Issues, and Enhancing the Role of the Fisheries Department.60 pages. The full report is available at [www.gillettprestonassociates.com](http://www.gillettprestonassociates.com).

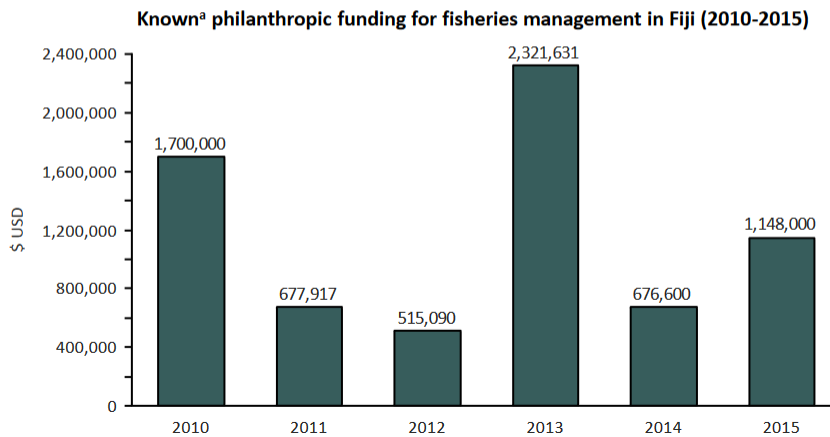
### Public funding for coastal fisheries management

- In Fiji, as with many other Pacific Island Countries and Territories (PICTs), there is considerable under-investment in fisheries management. Compared to the global best practice of fisheries management accounting for roughly 6% of a country's fisheries value, the total fisheries budget in Fiji is only 3.1% of total fisheries value. The coastal fisheries budget in Fiji is 2.7% of coastal fisheries value.



### Fiji funding trend overview

- The Packard Foundation, to the best of our knowledge, is one of the primary private philanthropic donors focused on marine issues in Fiji. The MacArthur Foundation has also been an important private funder to fisheries management and other natural resource management issues in Fiji.
- Many grants are awarded as multi-year grants. The graph below captures when funding was committed, rather than when it was disbursed, which explains why 2010 and 2013 appear as outliers. For instance, in 2013, the MacArthur Foundation made a three-year grant of \$950,000 which supports a range of activities by a variety of organizations, including Wildlife Conservation Society, FLMMA, SeaWeb, and the University of the South Pacific.



## Appendix 5. Main policies and moments in relation to environmental management and biodiversity conservation in Fiji (1880-2020)

This table is based on the data provided by Lees (2007) and has been completed by this research.

Year	Agency/Organization	Policy/Action	Notes
1880	Colonial Government	Rivers and Streams ordinance	
1923	Colonial Government	Bird, Games and Fish Protection Ordinance	
1940	Colonial Government - Agriculture	Native Land Trust Act	First terrestrial Protected Areas legal framework
1942	Colonial Government – Fisheries	Fisheries Act	Local and seasonal fishing prohibition through gear and species restrictions
1946	Colonial Government - Land	State Lands Act	Includes foreshores (intertidal areas, especially mangroves)
1950	Colonial Government – Forests	Sustained Yield Management of the mangrove salt water swamp forest of Fiji	First mangrove management framework
1970	Colonial Government	Creation of the National Trust for Fiji (NTF)	Protection of natural and cultural heritage, possibility to establish protected areas for parks and reserves
1972	United Nations/ NTF	UN Stockholm Conference on Environment	Fiji was represented at this conference by the Chair of NTF
1974	Fijian Government	Set up Independent Tribunal to assess impact of foreshore development on fishing rights.	USP provided expert on environment issues. Some environment and biodiversity considerations arising from this forum led to improvements in foreshore development
1975	Fijian Government	National Development Plan 1976 – 1980	Devoted a chapter to environmental management
1978	Fijian Government	National Trust for Fiji Act (Cap 265)	Partnership between NTF, USP, IUCN, SPC, SPREP
1980	NTF	National Trust for Fiji Act (Cap 265)	Partnership between NTF and WWF/UNEP
1979	Foundation of the Peoples of the South Pacific Fiji (FSPI-Fiji)	Creation of the FSPI-Fiji	MoU with Fijian Government, first development-oriented then defending more nature conservation positions
1980	Fijian Government	Environment Management Committee established	No legislative or executive power. Members from diverse ministries
1981	Fijian Government	National Development Plan 1981-1985	Very little consideration of environmental issues. Small part on 'Leisure, Recreation and the Environment'
1985	Fijian Government	Mangrove Management Plan for Fiji	Management for 2/3 of Fiji's mangroves
1991	Fijian Government and UNESCO	Fiji becomes signatory to World Heritage Convention	Fiji committed to identification and conservation of natural and cultural sites of significance including those of international significance
1991	Fijian Government – Ministry of Economy		Emphasis on conservation of natural environment for tourism. Will to establish parks and reserves for the specific use of ecotourism
1992	Fijian Government	Creation of a Department of Environment	Position created by anticipation for the Rio conference

Appendices

1992	Fijian Government – UN	UNCED conference in Rio	Fiji becomes a signatory of the CBD, committing itself to conserving biodiversity
1993	Department of Environment	Establishment of the National Environment Strategy	Identification and selection of sites of national significance for biodiversity conservation
1993	Greenpeace	Greenpeace Pacific establishes an office in Suva	First international NGO
1993	Fijian Government - SPREP	Fiji joins SPREP's South Pacific Biodiversity Conservation Programme (SPBCP)	
1995	WWF	WWF-Pacific in Suva	Prior to that, WWF-Pacific office was in Sydney
1995	USP – International Ocean Institute - Fiji Dive Operators Association	Marine awareness workshops in Taveuni, Kadavu, Lautoka, Beqa Lagoon	All over Fiji, first collaboration of over 200 people for marine environment awareness
1997	WWF – Department of Environment	Start of Fiji Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan process (FBSAP)	Consultancy work by WWF in the frame of CBD. 2-years process. Wide stakeholder participation. No clear strategy for implementation.
1998	Native Land Board Trust - Tourism Recreation Conservation (TRC) - NTF		Strong inclusion of ecotourism in the Park Management Plan Creation of the <i>Waitabu</i> Marine Park (not gazette)
1998	Packard Foundation	Establishment of a Western Pacific Marine Conservation program	
1998	WWF – Department of Environment	Official establishment	WWF signs MOU with Fiji Government
1998	WWF – USP	Locally-managed MPAs in Tailevu and Kadavu	First collaboration work between USP, WWF and communities, early stages of FLMMA
1998	Fijian Government	National Trust Amendment Act	No provision for management capacities (site protection, restrictions)
1999	Fisheries Department	Development of fisheries associations (e.g. Beche-de-mer Association, Ornamental Fish & Corals Association, Offshore Fisheries Council) to develop fisheries	No special concern for biodiversity conservation.
2000	FLMMA (WWF/USP/PCDF/Department of Fisheries)	Creation of FLMMA	During the South Pacific Nature Conservation conference held in Fiji. Will to create a common network of organizations in the Pacific and Asia working on community-based marine conservation
2000	Seacology (NGO)	Seacology projects in Fiji	5 years-MPA implementation focusing on CBFM
2001	WSC and Department of Environment	Creation of Fiji office in Suva	WCS signs MoU with Fiji Government
2002	Birdlife and Department of Environment	Birdlife International regional office established in Suva.	Birdlife signs MoU with Fiji Government
2003	WWF and multiple partners	Identification Of 35 Priority Marine Conservation Areas	Including 5 of great importance
2003	Department of Environment/partners (NGOs, landowners)	Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan process (FBSAP) sent to Cabinet	

2003	Fisheries department	National controls on Coral Harvesting	
2004	Department of Environment	Marine Pollution Prevention Bill	
2005	WCS,WWF, USP and Wetlands International (WI)	2 year ecosystem-based management project started	Focus of EBM is the Vatu-i-ra and Cakau Levu seascape; the 2 project sites selected are Kubulau (Bua province) and Macuata.
2005	NFT and Conservation International (CI)	Establishment of a CI office in Suva	
2005	Department of Environment	Environment Management Act	Establishes the National Environment Council (NEC) which then turn into the Protected Areas Committee (PAC)
	Fijian Government and IUCN	IUCN office established in Fiji	MoU between the Government and IUCN
2006	Frontier (ecotourism NGO) - USP		Surveys on marine fisheries area in Gau Island
2009	National Environmental Council (NEC)	Designation of an Integrated Coastal Management Committee	Mandate to prepare the first Integrated Management Plan for Fiji which integrates the Integrated Coastal Management Framework Province of Ra developed provincial-level ICM which then transformed into a national plan
2010	Fiji Government	Creation of the Fiji national Protected Area Committee (PAC)	No legislative or executive power and limited follow-up
2012	Fijian Government - Fisheries	Offshore Fisheries Management Decree 2012	Provides for MPA, seasonal and species restrictions; endangered species; on the use of certain types of fishing. International conservation or management measure is applicable to Fiji fishing vessels and foreign fishing vessels in Fiji fisheries waters, and to Fiji fishing vessels beyond Fiji fisheries waters
2014	Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics	Green Growth Framework for Fiji: Restoring the Balance in Development that is Sustainable for Our Future	A full section is dedicated to ocean and coastal 'blue growth'
2017	Ministry of Forestry, WCS, BirdLife, NFMV	New Fiji Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan process (FBSAP)	
2020	Ministry of Fisheries, Ministry of Economy	National Ocean Policy	National Ocean Committee

**Appendix 6.** Overview of the grants provided by the MacArthur (1992-2020) and Packard (2016-2020) Foundations to partners in Fiji

\*Grants delivered by the David and Lucille Packard Foundation prior to 2016 are not retrievable in the database of the Foundation.

Year	Organization	Amount (USD)	Project
<b>MacArthur Foundation Grants</b>			
1992	Maruia Society	12000	Forest biodiversity conservation
1992	USP	210000	Community-based biodiversity conservation
1992	Solomon Islands Development Trust	105000	Conservation and sustainable economic development
1992	CI	200000	Conservation and sustainable economic development
1995	Maruia Society	90000	Forest biodiversity conservation
2000	PCDF	93000	Coral Restoration
2000	WWF South Pacific	180000	Community-managed MPAs
2000	Missouri Botanical Garden	170000	Conservation Planning
2001	Counterpart International	72000	Coral Restoration
2001	Live and Learn Environmental Education	210000	Environmental education
2004	USP	2000000	Develop IAS
2004	PCDF	210000	Local, sustainable management of marine resources
2004	Sea Web (LMMA)	150000	Ocean conservation, communication training
2007	WWF South Pacific	350000	Scale up LMMA to region
2007	Sea Web (LMMA)	225000	Ocean conservation (LMMA)
2010	WCS	250000	Vatu i Ra Seascape EBM

<b>2010</b>	Sea Web (LMMA)	300000	Ocean conservation (LMMA)
<b>2013</b>	WCS	900000	Coastal marine monitoring (seascapes)
<b>2013</b>	WCS	950000	Local fisheries management
<b>2013</b>	USP (IAS) (LMMA)	600000	Forum of LMMA, outreach beyond Pacific
<b>2014</b>	CI	400000	Bird's Head Seascape
<b>2016</b>	Trust for Conservation Innovation	100000	Communication for conservation strategy
<b>2016</b>	WCS	324000	Marine conservation and fisheries management
<b>2017</b>	Trust for Conservation Innovation	450000	Communication and social marketing for conservation
<b>2017</b>	WCS	900000	Biodiversity conservation and coastal fisheries
	<b>TOTAL</b>	9.451.000	

#### **Packard Foundation's Grants (2016-2018)**

<b>2016</b>	Centre for Not for Profit Leadership	224000	For cross-sector leadership development for fisheries conservation in Fiji
<b>2016</b>	Gillett, Preston and Associates Inc.	150000	For technical assistance to enhance the coastal fisheries management functions of the Fiji Fisheries Department leading to improvements in co-management of coastal resources
<b>2016</b>	Siwatibau and Sloan	230000	For building Fiji coastal fisheries capacity
<b>2016</b>	Centre for Not for Profit Leadership	224605	For cross-sector leadership development for fisheries conservation in Fiji - years 2 and
<b>2017</b>	Biospherics Pty. Ltd.	280000	For the dissemination and scaling of the Length-Based Spawning Potential Ratio methodology in Fiji
<b>2017</b>	Environmental Law Association	250000	For the Environment Law Association of Fiji to promote sustainable fisheries and coastal management policies in Fiji
<b>2017</b>	Multiplier	175000	For a social marketing strategy to advance inshore fisheries management in Fiji



Appendices

<b>2017</b>	Centre for Not for Profit Leadership	190955	For cross-sector leadership development for fisheries conservation in Fiji - years 2 and
<b>2017</b>	WCS	400000	To improve the effectiveness of sustainable inshore fisheries management systems in Fiji
<b>2017</b>	WWF	250000	For demonstrating effective governance and management approaches for inshore fisheries in Fiji through collaborative national and community-driven partnerships
<b>2018</b>	FLMMA	150000	For support to allow Fiji Locally Managed Marine Area Network to further develop internal systems and advance its programs in the Northern Division
<b>2018</b>	Gillett, Preston and Associates Inc.	100000	For technical assistance to enhance the coastal fisheries management functions of the Fiji Ministry of Fisheries leading to improvements in co-management of coastal resources
	<b>TOTAL</b>	2.624.560	

**Appendix 7.** Table of marine species proposals and listings on Appendix II at each CITES COP

X = proposal refused

✓ = proposal accepted

	Accepted / Proposed	Species proposed for listing	Species common name	Accepted or refused by the different decision groups			
				FAO	IUCN-TRAFFIC	CITES secretariat	CITES parties
First Conference of Parties (1976)	1/1	<i>Cynoscion macdonaldi</i>	Totoaba				✓
Conference of Parties 11 (2000)	2/3	<i>Cetorhinus maximus</i>	Basking shark				X
		<i>Carcharodon carcharias, Lamnidae</i>	Great white shark				X
		<i>Rhincodon typus</i>	Whale shark				X
Conference of Parties 12 (2002)	3/3	<i>Rhincodon typus</i>	whale shark				✓
		<i>Hippocampus spp</i>	Seahorses				✓
		<i>Cetorhinus maximus</i>	Basking shark				✓
Conference of Parties 13 (2004)	3/4	<i>Carcharodon carcharias, Lamnidae</i>	Great white shark	-		✓	✓
		<i>Cheilinus undulatus, Labridae</i>	Napoleon	✓		✓	✓
		<i>Lithophaga lithophaga, Mytilidae</i>	Shell mussel	X		X	✓
		<i>spp. of Helioporidae, Tubiporidae, Milleporidae, Stylasteridae and within the Order Scleractinia</i>	Corals	-		✓	✓
Conference of Parties 14 (2007)	2/7	<i>Lamna nasus, Lamnidae</i>	Probeagle shark	X		✓	X
		<i>Squalus acanthias, Squalidae</i>	Spurdog shark	X		✓	X
		<i>Pristidae</i>	Sawfishes	✓		✓	✓
		<i>Anguilla anguilla, Anguillidae</i>	European eel	✓		✓	✓
		<i>Pterapogon kauderni, Apogonidae</i>	Banggai cardinalfish	X		✓	X
		<i>Panulirus argus, P. laevicauda, Palinuridae</i>	Caribbean spiny lobster	X		X	X
		<i>Corallium, Coralliidae</i>	Corals	X		✓	X
	0/6	<i>Sphyrna lewini, Sphyrnidae</i>	Scalloped hammerhead	✓	✓	✓	X

Conference of Parties 15 (2009)		<i>Carcharhinus longimanus</i> , <i>Carcharhinidae</i>	Oceanic whitetip shark	✓	✓	✓	X
		<i>Lamna nasus</i>	Probeagle shark	✓	✓	✓	X
		<i>Squalus acanthias</i>	Spurdog shark	X	✓	✓	X
		<i>Thunnus thynnus</i> , <i>Scombridae</i>	Atlantic bluefin tuna	✓	✓	✓	X
		<i>Coralliidae</i>	Corals	X	-	✓	X
Conference of Parties 16 (2012)	5/7	<i>Carcharhinus longimanus</i>	Oceanic whitetip shark	✓	✓	✓	✓
		<i>Sphyrna lewini</i> , (and look-alike: <i>S. molarran</i> and <i>S. zygaena</i> )	Hammerhead shark	✓	✓	✓	✓
		<i>Lamna nasus</i>	Probeagle shark	✓	✓	✓	✓
		<i>Pristis microdon</i> , <i>Pristidae</i>	Large-tooth sawfish	✓	✓	✓	✓
		<i>Manta spp.</i> , <i>Mobulidae</i>	Manta ray	-	-	✓	✓
		<i>Paratrygon aiereba</i> , <i>Potamotrygonidae</i>	Discus ray	-	-	X	X
		<i>Potamotrygon motoro</i> , <i>P. schroederi</i> , <i>Potamotrygonidae</i>	River stingray	-	-	X	X
Conference of Parties 17 (2016)	4/7	<i>Carcharhinus falciformis</i>	Silky shark	X	✓	✓	✓
		<i>Alopias superciliosus</i>	Bigeye thresher	X	-	X	✓
		<i>Mobula tarapacana</i> , <i>Mobula japonica</i> , <i>Mobulidae</i>	Mobula ray	✓	-	✓	X
		<i>Potamotrygon motoro</i>	River stingray	X	-	X	X
		<i>Pterapogon kauderni</i>	Banggai cardinalfish	✓	✓	✓	X
		<i>Holacanthus clarionensis</i> , <i>Pomacanthidae</i>	Clarion angelfish	X	-	X	✓
		<i>Nautilidae</i>	Nautilus	✓	✓	✓	✓
Conference of Parties 18 (2019)	6/6	<i>Isurus oxyrinchus</i> and <i>Isurus paucus</i> , <i>Lamnidae</i>	Mako shark	✓	✓	✓	✓
		<i>Glaucostegus spp.</i> , <i>Glaucostegidae</i>	Giant guitarfishes	✓	✓	✓	✓
		<i>Rhinidae spp. (15sp)</i>	Wedgefishes	✓	✓	✓	✓
		<i>Holothuria (Microthele) fuscogilva</i>	White teatfish	✓	✓	✓	✓
		<i>Holothuria (Microthele) nobilis</i>	Black teatfish	✓	✓	✓	✓
		<i>Holothuria (Microthele) whitmaei</i>	Black teatfish	✓	✓	✓	✓



# Summary of the thesis in English

## **Conservation and exploitation ‘integration’ in a fast changing Pacific Ocean**

Oceans and the fast transformations they endure are increasingly discussed in local to international public spaces, contrasting the long political silence to which they were previously subjected. In parallel, the voices of the people directly confronted with these transformations, and who demand more consideration, justice and action, are getting louder. Consequently, oceans have gained a central place on global and national political agendas in recent years, as illustrated by the adoption in 2015 of the 2030 United Nations Agenda and its Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 14 aiming to “*conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development*”. More recently, the commitment made by 84 countries to protect 30% of oceanic areas by 2030 at the 2022 One Ocean Summit as well as the emphasis put on ocean’s role in the last Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change reports (IPCC 2022) have also participated to this advent of maritime concerns in international negotiations as well as in the public space.

In the marine environment in particular, ‘silo-structured management’ focusing on single sectors or resources has been increasingly presented as insufficient and inappropriate against the more widespread recognition of the interconnectedness of the world-ocean and of its ecological, social and economic dimensions (Aswani et al. 2018). Accordingly, calls to produce and adopt more holistic approaches have consolidated over recent years with various and partly overlapping models such as “ecosystem-based management”, “marine spatial planning” or “integrated coastal zone management”. These ‘integrated’ propositions are shaped by and shape in return new coalitions of actors that propose new discourses and practices. They represent attempts to sustainably organize oft-competing claims over marine spaces and resources with new modalities of access to, use of and control of these spaces and resources as well as new propositions for the planning of human activities across the marine realm.

Fisheries and marine biodiversity conservation sectors have been particularly urged to reconcile their views and practices toward a common, integrated vision. Such reconciliation is often presented as arduous given that, on the one hand, fisheries management has historically been shaped to serve national development goals that require the continuation or increase of human uses of ecosystems with the aim of meeting present human needs (FAO 2015, World Bank 2015, Hills et al. 2019), while on the other hand, conservation, in its historical and strict sense, requires the limitation (or the drastic minimization) of human uses of ecosystems for the benefit of both present and future generations (CBD 2011, IUCN 2011). For the latter ambition to befall, a worldwide system of conservation guidelines has been established by the international community and typically targets quantitative implementation of marine protected areas (MPAs) as a response to increasing global and local threats to marine and coastal ecosystems (CBD 2011, IUCN 2011).

Reconciliations between fisheries and conservation activities in marine management and governance therefore appear as conceptually, pragmatically and epistemologically complex. Yet, as part of the global integrative trajectory, articulations between the two sectors multiply, chiefly through two parallel and multi-scalar movements: (1) the mainstreaming of conservation discourses and practices in fisheries management activities (Friedman et al. 2018), and (2) the unfolding by conservation organizations of ‘developmentalist configurations’ and their increased engagement into fisheries management activities (Hart et al. 2006, Rodary 2008). As a result, fisheries management, both offshore and coastal, and from global to local scales, is increasingly reformed to accommodate stocks sustainability and biodiversity conservation objectives (De La Croix and Mitroi 2020). This ecologization<sup>206</sup> of management practices has been facilitated by – and have facilitated in return – the arrival of new actors in fisheries management activities, and has greatly impacted how marine resources are used, managed and governed. Conservation NGOs in particular have increasingly been involved in fisheries management arenas and, to do so, have adapted their discourses, practices and modes of functioning, both internally and in the ways they engage with other actors (e.g. state agencies, local communities, fisheries organizations). These two parallel movements have been poorly documented and the adjustments and tensions they generate are, overall, poorly understood (see however Hart et al. 2006; Salomon et al. 2011; De La Croix and Mitroi 2020).

The search for ‘win-win’ strategies that allow to simultaneously meet ecosystem integrity and human needs, often through more-or-less participative approaches, is presented at best as challenging, and otherwise as having limited or no effects either on fish or human populations (Stöhr et al. 2014, Brockington et al. 2018). More often than not, the recourse to vaguely-defined sustainable and integrative logics that ignore real-world trade-offs and negotiations (e.g. between exploitation and conservation goals) is deplored. It is precisely such trade-offs and negotiations underlying the concepts of sustainability and integration in environmental and fisheries management that are at the core of this study.

### **Conservation and exploitation tensions in Pacific Islands Countries and Territories (PICTs)**

The tropical reefs, mangroves and lagoons of PICTs offer a rich context to explore entanglements between conservation and fisheries in the management of coastal and marine ecosystems. On top of being central in the social relations, sovereignty, identity and culture of PICTs inhabitants, these ecosystems represent both a major repository of global biodiversity and a main pillar of national

---

<sup>206</sup> I refer here to the definition of (Ginelli 2017:2) who sees ecologization as an «*enterprise of cognitive and normative reframing - a change in the way of thinking and judging a social behavior - aiming at a more or less strong ecological inflection of the standards (legal or implicit) and social practices in force in the considered field*” (my translation from French).

economies and local livelihoods. Yet, they are today particularly threatened, by the overexploitation of resources, pollution, deep-sea-mining, coastal urbanization, ocean acidification, and to a large extent, by growing commercial fishing activities (Gillett 2014). In the last decade, the large diversity of stakeholders involved in the multi-scalar management of marine spaces and species increasingly face the arduous task of maintaining productive activities for local livelihoods and national economies, while ensuring the integrity of rich ecosystems and marine biodiversity. Such entanglements are well acknowledged by institutions that shape the regional environmental governance landscape (SPC 2015, SPREP 2016, PIF 2017).

Along with offshore fisheries, tourism and mining, coastal fisheries<sup>207</sup> represent one of the most important sectors in the economy of PICTs – increasingly so since the Covid-19 pandemic (Ansell et al. 1996, Gillett and Cartwright 2010, Walters et al. 2021). These non-industrial fisheries are often designated into two components: non-commercial (i.e. subsistence, the catch is for home consumption or given away to friends and relatives but not sold) and commercial (i.e. artisanal, all or a part of the catch is sold)<sup>208</sup> (Gillett 2014). Even though coastal waters represent on average less than 1.5% of the waters under PICTs' jurisdiction, coastal fisheries represent about half of fisheries' contribution to PICTs' GDP while largely contributing to protein supply, livelihood, income and employment (Govan 2018). Despite their economic, cultural and social importance, the means deployed for coastal fisheries management at the national and regional levels have remained largely inferior to those mobilized for the management of more lucrative, offshore (in particular tuna) fisheries (Gillett et al. 2014). Consequently, these activities are largely underreported and undervalued. Even in Fiji, where coastal commercial fisheries are in numbers greater than in any other PICT, coastal fisheries management has historically been stamped by the lack of political will to allocate adequate resources for effective coastal resource management, which has historically consisted in the development of local and national fishing capacities (Veitayaki et al. 2003, Gillett et al. 2014).

Moreover, management and governance of the rich natural resources and biodiversity of the region have historically been conceived and deployed based on western practices and narratives, reflecting a vision of the world and of ocean that, in many aspects, contrasts with Pacific relational ontologies. This historical trend experienced a recent impulse with the 'new scramble for the seas' particularly vivid in the South Pacific (Fache et al. 2021), in which privatization and planning of the seas, as well as projects of enclosure of marine spaces and life, are erecting new frontiers based on

---

<sup>207</sup> Coastal/Inshore/Nearshore/Small-scale fisheries are diverse and plural and therefore difficult to define but are generally contrasted to offshore, industrial, highly commercialized fisheries. I refer here to the definitions provided by Gillett et al. (2014) in which coastal fisheries encompass both commercial and non-commercial small-scale fisheries and include a large variety of fishing techniques in diverse ecosystems.

<sup>208</sup> In Gillett's categorization, catches from recreational fishing are considered as production for home consumption, and therefore as a component of subsistence fisheries.

naturalist views of the world that separate nature and culture (Descola 2005, McCormack 2021). Drawing on deep and vivid cultural and economic connections with the ocean, PICTs have in recent years actively reframed their identity as Pacific Large Ocean Island States<sup>209</sup>, an identity from which sovereign rights over the ‘Blue Pacific’ ensue (Bambridge et al. 2021). This dynamic contributed to the advent of a geopolitical turn toward a Pacific regionalism in which an ‘Oceanian Sovereignty’ rooted in deep relationships to the ocean has been key to weave together the histories, presents and futures of PICTs (ibid). The significant progress of their leadership in the global ocean governance in recent years relies notably on the voicing of a regional vision of integrative and sustainable ocean management and governance, one that stems from their common historical and fundamental connections to the ocean (Pratt and Govan 2010). Indeed, the Pacific Ocean has been facing for the past decades an important rush for its spaces and resources which have led PICTs to put forward the tight interlacing of climate, biodiversity and ocean stakes on international stages (Fache et al. 2021), and thus to become important stakeholders of new advocacy coalitions tackling environmental issues.

Questions of leadership in ocean governance and management is getting all the more crucial with new ‘blue’ policies (e.g. Blue Growth, Blue Economy) being increasingly favored and installed in the region (Midlen 2021). Largely developed and promoted by international actors like the World Bank, the United Nation Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), these blue policies benefit from important uptake and promotion by a wide range of South Pacific stakeholders involved in ocean activities (e.g. states, private actors, development organizations). For instance, a Blue Growth agenda endorsed by Fiji in 2014 is presented as a way forward new forms of regional and national sovereignty (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014). This “*home-grown*” Blue Growth<sup>210</sup> is embedded in a broader attempt to increase the recognition of PICTs and other island countries and territories worldwide as ‘custodians of the ocean(s)’ as well as to install Fiji as a leader of the “new pacific diplomacy” (Fry and Tarte 2015). Notably, Fiji’s proposition of an ‘Ocean Pathway Partnership’<sup>211</sup> as a follow-up to its presidency of COP23 of the United Nations

---

<sup>209</sup> References to either Pacific LOIS, PICTs, or Pacific ‘Small Island Developing State’ – PSIDS (but also ‘Pacific Islands’ or ‘Oceanian states’) are commonly found in the literature on the South Pacific and these expressions encompass slightly different meanings and presupposes. PSIDS appeared in the 1992 Earth Summit as a group of nations sharing similar and unique concerns and advocating their views of the Pacific Ocean and its resources. The concept of Pacific Large Ocean Island States (Pacific LOIS) emerged to better translate the geopolitical and cultural importance of marine spaces for these countries and territories. PICTs is the most commonly found expression in scientific and grey literature and present the advantage of including overseas territories of non-Pacific countries. It is for instance the term used by regional institutions like SPC, SPREP as well as the Ministry of Fisheries. In this thesis I predominantly refer to PICTs to discuss regional dynamics but will also discuss the more geopolitical term of Pacific LOIS.

<sup>210</sup> “Opening Address at The PM’s Green Growth Framework Summit” *Fijian Government* (online, 12/06/2014) Available at <https://www.fiji.gov.fj/media-centre/speeches/english/rear-admiral-j-v-bainimarama-opening-address-at> (accessed on 23/03/2022).

<sup>211</sup> “Fiji launched the Ocean Pathway Partnership to integrate oceans within the climate change agenda of the UNFCCC.” COP23 (online, August 2018) Available at <https://cop23.com.fj/the-ocean-pathway> (accessed on 28/03/2021).



Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and its hosting of the First United Nations Ocean Conference (UNOC) in New York in 2017 have contributed to making Pacific LOIS' histories, issues and needs more visible on the international stage.

In this context, and beyond a mere discursive positioning, the idea of integration in environmental governance has materialized, in recent years, in various policies and apparatuses in Fiji and in the South Pacific region. The general trend toward more collaborations and partnerships in coastal fisheries management have hastened during the past decade at multiple levels: between sectors (e.g. fisheries, conservation, tourism, agriculture, national planning), between stakeholders (state and NGOs, as well as private operators yet not in the scope in this work) and between scales (regional, national and local).

### **Research questions**

The general objective of this thesis is to understand:

- the past and current transformations of coastal fisheries management activities in Fiji, in particular in its encounter with conservation norms and policies;
- the evolution of the discourses and practices of the coalitions of actors who partake in these transformations.

In this thesis, I argue that by defending the prioritization of either economic development or biodiversity conservation objectives, or by partaking in the weaving of exploitation and conservation objectives for sustainable and integrated oceans, these multi-scalar coalitions of actors have historically shaped distinct coastal fisheries management regimes in Fiji. Out of this initial stance, two main research questions have guided my analysis:

- how are economic development and biodiversity conservation policies currently articulating with one another to form an 'integrated' coastal fisheries management regime?
- how does the operationalization of an 'integrated' management agenda transforms power relations between stakeholders, chiefly between state and non-state actors involved in management?

### **Part I. Theoretical and methodological frameworks**

In Part I, I detail the theoretical and methodological frameworks I have mobilized to examine these research questions. In the first chapter, I propose to combine political ecology's attention to power dynamics in environmental management arenas and policy analysis tools to unravel how coalitions of actors form over the constitution of a management regime of practices. In the second chapter, I detail the methodologies used for the different phases that constituted this research, which is based on empirical, inductive and multi-scale approaches.

In this thesis, I approach natural resource management as the ensemble of practices, norms and discourses supported by diverse knowledge systems (i.e. juridical, economic, religious, scientific) that have been developed overtime to frame relations between humans and their environment and more precisely human uses of this environment. Building on the work of Lockwood and Davidson (2010), I therefore propose to understand fisheries management as a regime of practices, constituted through *qualification* and *problematization* processes. Qualification occurs through processes that delineate the object itself—what constitute it and what doesn't—while problematization delineates the issues it entails (e.g. for fish stocks the possibility of their depletion; fisheries' effects on biodiversity). In the fisheries field, it occurs through a prescription of adapted practices and conducts of those who live in and from the sea: fisheries management, far from being reduced to its technical dimensions, represents a way to govern fish and fishers, i.e. to organize, frame and control fish and fishers.

To examine conservation-development dynamics entrenched in the use, management and governance of fisheries, a large body of literature from political ecology research has fed my theoretical, methodological and analytical reflections. Political ecology is often approached as “*empirical, research-based explorations to explain linkages in the condition and change of social/environmental systems, with explicit consideration of relations of power*” (Robbins 2011). Overall, political ecologists contest the idea that environmental degradation is the result of objective problems which could be solved by science and technique (e.g. for instance by environmental engineering). Instead they show that ecosystems are entangled in socio-political relations, and attempt to look at ‘nature’ as always embedded in human historical and geographical contexts.

Moreover, to account for the issue of political pluralism in environmental governance and management spheres, political scientists have produced numerous concepts and frameworks. Still today, Paul Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) (Sabatier 1998) constitutes one of the most complete and stimulating framework to analyze the modalities of elaboration and implementation of public policies within pluralist political contexts (Jenkins-Smith et al. 2018, Ma et al. 2020, Cisneros 2021). In particular, the strength of Sabatier's ACF is the consideration of cognitive, normative and strategic (or instrumental) dimensions, which are often regarded rather separately in other social sciences models. Sabatier's work on advocacy coalition stresses that public action has a deeply cognitive function and that ideas and interests, instruments and institutions have to be taken into considerations in the analysis of policies' genesis and transformations. Indeed, a public policy can be defined under the ACF as the product of a specific system of beliefs, which emerges from the continuous confrontation of and the successive compromises between the beliefs systems of each coalition within a given subsystem (i.e. here, Fijian coastal fisheries management). Within a subsystem, coalitions “(a) share a set of normative and causal beliefs and (b) engage in a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time” (Sabatier 1998:103)”. On top of being both coherent with my constructivist and historical perspectives on natural

resource management, these two akin fields of research intersect and complement on various points of attention, for instance on the importance to consider multi-scalar processes and relations.

Moreover, to delve more deeply into the construction and the implementation of fisheries and environmental management, the sociology of management has been of great inspiration, especially the work of Lascoumes and Le Galès (2004) on environmental public policies. Their approach to environmental public action suggests to look closely at management instruments, which they defined as “*a more or less coordinated set of rules and procedures to govern the interactions and behaviors of actors and organizations*” (Lascoumes and Le Galès 2004:15, my translation from French). I am interested in unravelling how management instruments suggest different modes of qualifying and problematizing fisheries, in other words how they materialize a given regime of practices.

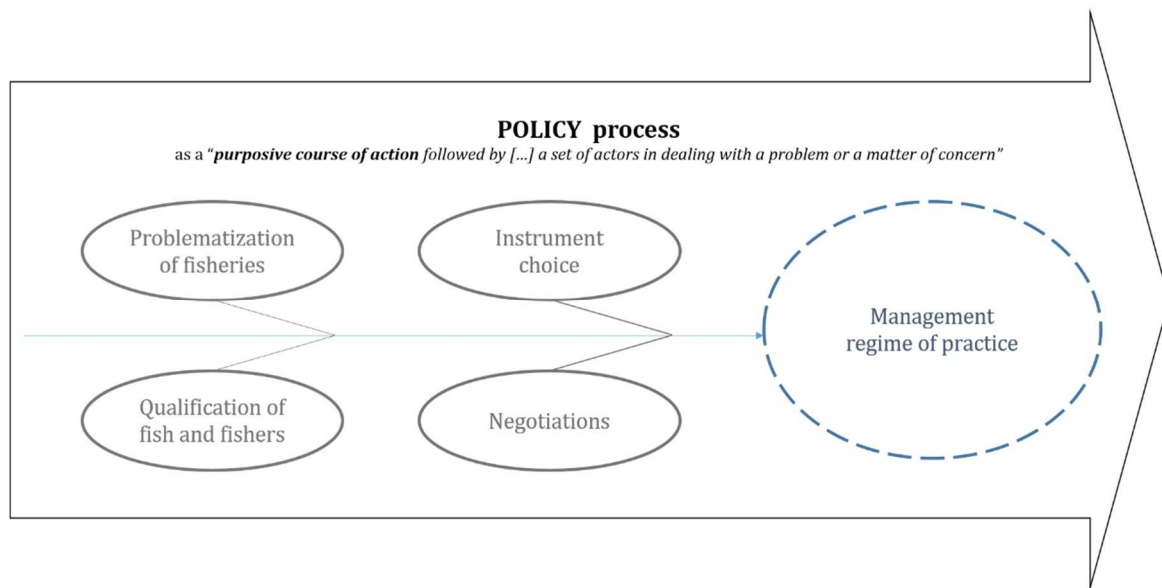
To conclude, characterizing what has shaped over time and what shapes today coastal fisheries management requires to ask rather simple questions, to which the various concepts and theories developed in this chapter help to respond (Table 1 of the thesis)

**Table 1. Theoretical tools to characterize coastal fisheries management subsystem**

Political subsystem	Characterization	Theoretical tools and approaches
Coastal fisheries management	<i>Of what?</i>	Qualification / problematization (fish, fishers, fisheries...)
	<i>By who?</i>	Coalitions and power relations
	<i>How?</i>	Instruments, practices, discourses
	<i>Why?</i>	Belief system (ACF)

This framework allows me to delimitate the contours of what constitute ‘coastal fisheries management’ at different periods, for different coalitions, and each time, to describe what emerge as a new *regime of practice*. Importantly, it allows me to investigate development-conservation tensions these successive or overlapping regimes accommodate.

I propose in **Figure 2** of the thesis a schematic representation of the different concept introduced in this chapter to circumscribe how I tackle fisheries management in this thesis.



**Figure 2. Schematic representation of the conceptual frame to tackle fisheries management: a regime of practice constituted by processes of qualification, problematization, followed by the choice of management instruments and negotiations between actors**

In Chapter 2, I touch upon the research methods and approaches that have structured the different phases that have constituted the almost 4 years of this PhD work. For this study, I developed an empirical, inductive and multi-scale approach and conducted a 7-month fieldwork in four of Fiji's 333 islands (3 months) as well as in New Caledonia (4 months). Data was primarily collected during this fieldwork based on socio-anthropological methods. Through semi-structured interviews and both *in situ* and online observations, I encountered diverse stakeholders involved in the coastal fisheries management subsystem, and explored with them questions of governance, management and conservation of coastal marine resources. To further understand and contextualize actors' views on these topics, I also conducted a thorough literature review that included a wide range of grey literature, online media (newspaper and social networks), and Fiji colonial archives. Archives in particular allowed to deepen my investigation of the historical (dis)continuities of governance and management regimes, and of fishing and managerial practices.

Throughout the different research phases, I used a 'follow the policy' approach (Peck and Theodore 2012) to collect data on different policies enacted as part of coastal fisheries management. This approach draws on multi-sited ethnography to facilitate research on the mobility and mutation of policy models (Peck and Theodore 2012). It is based on the premise that in order to collect data on a 'mobile' policy, one must travel with it, tracking its transformations across geographical and political spaces, which is compatible with the multi-scalar and historical approach I propose. This 'follow the policy' approach is not about confronting with each other local 'realities' and national/international decisional logics, but to unravel the (dis)continuities, adaptations and transformations between those. It allows to reveals the

highly dynamic, fluid and increasingly politicized nature of topics such as environmental management and governance or participative conservation in the global economy and to account for the growing and diversifying mobilities which stem out of globalization (Peck and Theodore 2012). This operates notably through a specific attention to the movement and the consequent transformations of ideas, discourses and policies, which arise for instance in international or regional events (like the RTMCF or CITES see Chapter 6) and then unfold in national and local arenas.

Moreover, the Covid-19 pandemic has, like for most researchers worldwide, drastically affected the realization of planned research fieldwork as well as the more general unfolding of my research project. I explore in this chapter the main consequences of this marking event, primarily with the transformation of a comparative research between New Caledonian and Fijian case studies into a monograph focused on the Fijian case. I describe and reflect on the several responses that I and the SOCPacific team<sup>212</sup> proposed in the face of this global event in order to pursue with our research activities on an already-distant but then-inaccessible fieldwork: by shifting research activities online, fostering close research collaborations with local researchers and reinforcing the historical perspective of the present study based on an extended literature review.

## **Part II. Divergences. The constitution of two regimes of practices**

In the second part of the thesis, I explore the forming of several fisheries and environmental management institutions, practices and norms and investigate the socio-political contexts within which they developed. I identify two main propositions, which I refer to as management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes given the propensity of, respectively, development and conservation discourses and practices in these management propositions. I explicit in these chapters how these two regimes diverge in the way they qualify fish and fishers and problematize fisheries, in the coalitions involved, in the instruments those decide to activate, and, originally, on the values and beliefs they put forward, and elaborate on the resulting tensions.

In Chapter 3, I unravel how colonial and then post-colonial governments inscribed both fish and fishers into the national economy based on rural development objective, as well as the role industrial fisheries development played on inshore, small-scale fisheries management. I highlight several phases that have structured the construction of sets of institutions, norms and practices dedicated to manage fish and fishers in Fiji. At the beginning of the twentieth century, beyond discussions on *how* to manage, the first colonial fisheries management moments in the 1920s are characterized by three main debates

---

<sup>212</sup> This PhD position was part of the SOCPacific project ([www.socpacific.net](http://www.socpacific.net)), a French-German project funded by ANR (France) and DFG (Germany) between 2018 and 2022 which aims at exploring the large web of socio-cultural, geopolitical and policy connections within which fishing practices occur in order to re-embed coastal and oceanic fisheries in their wider context. The project focuses on three study areas: New Caledonia, Vanuatu and Fiji.

on (1) the possibility of ‘overfishing’ aquatic resources, (2) the feasibility of implementing any restrictions that iTaukei Fijians will comply with, (3) the most adequate level of decentralization. Measures of territorial formalization and fishing activities and fishers censuses gave rise to a first regime of "proto sustainable management" of natural resources. From the 1940s, a techno-scientific regime first deployed to develop offshore fisheries and then translated to fit with coastal fisheries, is shaped by a coalition constituted by international development funds, regional development organizations, the Fisheries Department, USP scientists and local fishers. Maps and censuses, MSY models, fishing quotas, fisheries scientists, exploitable fish, licenses, subsidies constitute heterogeneous elements gathered under this management-as-development regime of practices, i.e. a form of management at the service of (state and international) development goals.

Following the emergence of growing overfishing concerns in the late 1970s and their integration in Fisheries Department’s report in the late 1980s, coastal fisheries activities have become problematized as a field needing careful control to remain simultaneously productive while avoiding overfishing issues. Far from challenging the management-as-development regime based on quantification and commodification of fish, narratives focused on overfishing risks rather reinforced it, based on an economic principle that ‘what gets measured gets adequately managed’. Yet, as the overfishing discourse reinforced, state fisheries services became in the mid-1990s “*forced*”<sup>213</sup> to progressively engage in a transition to fisheries management policies and practices more alert to fisheries environmental impacts. Adjustments were made in state planning to mitigate previously unequivocal development objectives but actions to address these issues were limited to the development of alternatives that would release the pressure from inshore fisheries while maintaining the development of commercial fishing activities (i.e. using aquaculture, Fish Aggregating Devices or reef ranching techniques). However, according to fisheries expert Robert Gillett, these endeavors have shown very limited results in terms of inshore overfishing mitigation and seemed to represent at that time a mere “distractions” from other (more effective but more complex and costly) management measures such as the enforcement of existing fishing regulations on the entire Fijian coastal territory (Gillett et al. 2014). Beside these efforts, the integration of environmental considerations in national fisheries management rather coincided with an overall abandon of coastal fisheries management tasks by Fisheries Department which chose to focus on more lucrative offshore fisheries.

Like in many other contexts, the ‘environmental issue’ generated in Fiji the formulation of institutional, ideological and technical interrogations that led new stakeholders (e.g. conservation NGOs,

---

<sup>213</sup> “*Emphasis must now be placed on sustainability and conservation. The division previously had its direction focused towards productions, but is now forced to consider management and conservation issues, due to increased level of over-exploitation*” (Fisheries Division 1996).

conservation donors, associations, local communities and authorities) to gain a legitimacy previously restricted to state public policy systems. This emergence of non-state actors (NSAs) and the constitution of a new coalition, the Fijian Locally Managed Marine Areas - FLMMA network, has significantly altered previous marine resources governance in Fiji. In the late 1990s-early 2000s, community-based approaches rapidly became “*the most widely accepted approach to natural resource management and biodiversity conservation in Fiji*” (Clarke and Jupiter, 2010:37). From its inception, and although it locally resonated with a resource management objective for subsistence and sustainability, the coalition holds a strong conservation vision due to the origin of its principal funding sources (i.e. philanthropic conservation donors) and the many international conservation NGOs in FLMMA members. This Fijian version of community-based management emerged out of the encounter in the 1990s of these conservation stakeholders interested in working in Fiji for various reasons (**Table 5** of the thesis), USP researchers and initiatives from coastal communities, over the multi-facet LMMA instrument.

**Table 5. Sum-up of the arguments for conservation philanthropic donors to focus on CBFM in Fiji (late 1990s - early 2000s)**

Category of argument	Argument
<b>Ecological</b>	Biodiversity richness and endemism Closeness to Coral Triangle
<b>Political</b>	Existence of local initiatives supported by Fijian and non-Fijian researchers Light state involvement in coastal fisheries management: occasion to fill the gap
<b>Cultural</b>	Recourse to temporary fishing closures ( <i>tabu</i> ) and proximity with MPA instruments Established hierarchy and customary tenure acknowledged by iTaukei Fijians

I discuss in the last section the propositions of (re)connection offered by the management-as-conservation regime of practices formed by the FLMMA coalition, between modern and customary knowledge and practices; environmental and socio-political dimensions of fisheries; global and local scales; and state and non-state actors and interests. However, I show that such connective attempts have reached limits and that the holistic promise overall failed to move beyond the discursive scope. Where the connective ambition has been most successful is in building bridges between visions of two initial groups constituted of people holding respectively localist and conservationist visions. A common narrative over a common conservation ethic, controversial from an anthropological point of view, as well as the cultivation of resource users’ *environmentality* based on responsabilization processes participated to build these bridges.

New modes of qualification emerged in the 2000s as part of what I labelled the management-as-conservation regime, as both fish and fishers become integral players as they participate in building connections, to make the link, between stakeholders initially defending different objectives and holding different visions of what is to manage and why. In this sense, despite the connective limits of the regime, it is perhaps this agentive and linking role of fish and fishers to get previously disconnected conservation, development and management activities engage together that is to note.

The two regimes of practices identified propose different answers to the question of how to manage coastal fisheries, but more importantly, they are fueled by what actors of the different coalitions hold as their core values. While the former appeals to notions of economic, scientific and social progress, the latter draws principally attention to new objects of value (e.g. fish and local communities) and brings forward natural and cultural patrimony to support its political and environmental action.

### **Part III. Convergences. The emergence of a hybrid coalition**

In Part III, I question how discourses and dynamics of integration emerged in Fiji and in the South Pacific region, and challenged both the management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes with the forming of a ‘Fijian coastal fisheries reform’ (Prince 2019). I thus investigate the forces that got ‘integration’ discourses into movement and that initiate what Barros-Plataiu and Maljean-Dubois (2017) have identified as multi-scalar dynamics of institutional and organizational ‘defragmentation’. These authors show how calls for sustainability and integration for the management and planning of marine activities have resulted at the global level in processes of institutional ‘defragmentation’ which fosters new collaborations and orchestrations, and contrasts with previous fragmentation dynamics and institutional specialization. In Fiji, in the South Pacific region, and more globally in international environmental arenas, I show that these defragmentation processes are allowed by converging trajectories of conservation and development worlds as these trajectories become increasingly anchored in global, national and local sustainability discourses.

Chapter 5 describes the establishment of a new coalition of state and non-state actors following the convergence of two trajectories: (1) the adoption and appropriation of the Blue Growth agenda by the Fijian Government, as part of renewed regional and national ‘blue’ environmental and economic ambitions; and (2) the strategic decision of philanthropic donors to shift conservation practices toward a new *follow-the-government* funding rationale. As part of these two trajectories, coastal fisheries have represented a key sector on which previously disconnected coalitions have built a ‘sustainability bond’. In many countries of the so-called South, this ‘sustainability bond’ cements NGOs and states as partners of action based on the idea that there can be “no development without sustainability; no sustainability without development” (Sachs 2010: 28). However, in Fiji, the work of NGOs from the mid-1990s to end-2000s (through the promotion of CBFM and the expansion of the FLMMA network, see Chapter 4)



occurred rather in parallel of (limited) state environmental action related to the marine environment. The early-2010s brought a wind of change and Pacific conservation practitioners were proposed new directives and objectives as well as new sets of practices, as their funders advocated for more effective state-NGO collaborations, notably in the field of inshore fisheries management. Also in early 2010s, a significant momentum for a regionally-tailored blue growth and its incorporation into Pacific Islands economic planning has participated to develop what Fry and Tarte (2015) called the “new Pacific diplomacy”. In Fiji in particular, the adoption and appropriation of the global Blue Growth paradigm has played a central part in its strategy to position itself as a leading large ocean state of the South Pacific. The encounter of these two movements generated a new collaborative space within which NGOs and Ministry of Fisheries could work together to design and implement the new blue growth agenda in which the coastal fisheries sector holds a central place again.

In a context in which many had questioned state capacity to make inshore fisheries sustainable (with regards notably to the unfavorable assessment of previous development strategies, see FLMMA, 2015; Gillett et al. 2014; Lees, 2007), calls for a new development model emerged from within and from outside of the government. From within, major institutional and organizational developments accompanied its ambition to tackle environmental and particularly marine/coastal issues. Notably, the reshuffling of ministerial responsibilities brought, according to many interviewees, a wind of change in Fiji’s political panorama especially for fisheries matters. To implement its blue growth agenda, NGOs’ and philanthropic donors’ technical and financial support was decisive. From the outside, for NGOs and donors policy-making and enforcement (both under state remits) was perceived as a way to scale-up their activities and obtain more permanent and enduring results. As part of this mutually beneficial agenda, the Fijian coastal fisheries management reform (Prince 2020) holds a central place. In this sense, coastal fisheries management can be seen as a ‘bridging’ object through which stakeholders could find common ground to meet their respective interests, in other words to form a new, *hybrid coalition*. Moreover, the two parallel strategic turns I described in this chapter not only contributed to establish inshore fisheries as a central public matter and to reposition it in the country’s political arenas, it also represented an important pillar for Fiji to assert its place in the region and internationally.

Connecting this new hybrid coalition to global dynamics, I explore in Chapter 6 major trends in the evolution of the scope and functioning of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) over the past decades, namely the inclusion of both exploited marine fish and of human livelihoods considerations in its originally preservationist discourses and practices. Indeed, CITES’ broader encompassment of the socio-economic impacts of its regulations on marine species marked a progressive rupture with its original preservationist philosophy. I propose to question how this trajectory challenges previous institutional and normative frameworks, while reshaping previous sectoral delimitations between biodiversity conservation and fisheries management,

within the CITES organization itself but also for regional and Fijian agencies involved in CITES processes. With a particular attention to the 2019 listings of holothurians and sharks at CITES COP18, and to their deployment in the South Pacific, I illustrate how this trajectory challenged and still challenges today previous institutional and normative frameworks.

It appears notably that CITES' internal transformations participated to raise debates over the nature of the instruments to deploy (e.g. complete trade bans, non-detrimental finding (NDF) procedures) as well as over the identity and legitimacy of the actors involved in decision-making. Moreover, these adjustments allow to discern current power relations at stake in biodiversity conservation and fisheries management sectors in the South Pacific and in international institutions. The preparation and implementation phases of sea cucumber listings in the South Pacific reminded all stakeholders of the complexity of managing high value coastal resources, and generated discussions over core guiding principles of CITES, whether it was species conservation based on biological data deemed 'objective', or a social-environmental-economic equilibrium praised by approaches labelled as 'sustainable development'. Preparations of the 2019 shark listing in Fiji and in the region indicate that rapprochements between NGOs and governments participated to legitimize and reinforce the presence of conservation NGOs in decision-making, advocacy and agenda-setting processes of CITES.

This chapter highlights how the different values and statuses associated to marine species (from an intrinsic value as part of a marine biodiversity to preserve to a natural resource, source of nutritional and economic value) generates permanent negotiations over the modalities of their management. It allows to replace the emergence of a hybrid coalition in Fiji into broader dynamics of cross-fertilizations and growing convergences between biodiversity conservation and fisheries management sectors, and shows the new, multi-level and intricate relationships those have developed since biodiversity conservation issues (and their supporting institutions, first of them NGOs) have become prominent in the global ocean.

#### **Part IV. Integrations. Toward a hybrid regime of practice**

Part IV explores different management propositions that emerged out of the coastal fisheries reform initiated by the new hybrid coalition. Looking more specifically at how this hybridity unfolds and what it means, I delve into the new practices and discourses embedded in the integrated visions proposed by state and non-state stakeholders. I put the concept of hybridity at play to grasp these evolutions, in particular the increasingly blurred boundaries between development and conservation, and to assess whether hybridization consists in "*a melting-pot or salad bowl?*" or in other words, to assess "*to what degree are the ingredients merging, or are they merely coexisting in unconnected forms?*" (Frank and Stollberg 2004:76).

In Chapter 7, I retrace the design and implementation phases of several national fisheries management campaigns developed in Fiji since 2014 based on behavioral change approaches to conservation. With these campaigns, I argue that a major shift in environmental conservation strategies and approaches is occurring and make the hypotheses that this shift signs (1) the transition from a focus on the promotion of environmental *values* to the valorization of ecological *practices and actions*, and (2) the enactment of a new managerial paradigm based on individual and collective responsabilization.

I firstly explore the principles underling behavioral change theory and retrace the design and implementation phases of campaigns that took place in Fiji. In particular, I detail the mechanisms at play in the 4FJ campaign initiated in 2014 which aims at promoting a seasonal fishing ban for grouper and coral trout species, based on ‘voluntary management’ and ‘behavioral change’ models. These mechanisms involve: the framing and diffusion of simple information to create a nation-wide concern, the forming of a network willing to preserve a certain ‘Fijian way of life’, and the reconsideration of incompatible norms and practices (e.g. fishing on fish spawning aggregations or fishing small fishes). Diverse communication and marketing tools are deployed to frame and diffuse tailored information on fish and fisheries produced a plurality of narratives to ‘save the fish’.

I then demonstrate that behavioral change initiatives constitute in some ways a prolongation of community-based fisheries management (CBFM) approaches constitutive of previous management-as-conservation regime of practices, and pinpoint at how these initiatives actually propose to pass over previous CBFM limits. Recent behavioral change initiatives in Fiji, which rest on the idea that certain practices must be altered in order to change individuals’ behaviors and dispositions to the ‘environment’, explicitly rely on ambitions to initiate a process of ‘incremental change’ toward conservation and to generate a new *environmentality* (Agrawal 2005b). Incremental change towards conservation is a strategy which endeavors to bring people to initiate a first step which will, at a later stage, facilitate their engagement into other environmental actions. Finally, I show how, beyond a mere change of practices, new governmentalities are formed within the scope of behavioral change initiatives, based on the ambition to create *new social norms* and to foster individual and collective responsibility toward this environment.

In Chapter 8, I analyze three policies developed by the Ministry of Fisheries in 2018-2019, namely legal fishing bans, small coastal state-owned MPAs, and fisheries co-management formalizations between the government and coastal communities. Building on the work of Pierre Lascoumes, I see these recent public policies as “*windows of opportunities*” (Lascoumes 2012:35, my translation from French) following the construction of a new political agenda. Indeed, policies simultaneously allows coalitions of actors to formalize certain societal issues – previously present in the public space but not institutionalized – as well as to propose a vision of what are the most relevant solutions to these issues. In Fiji, this set of public policies produced within a tight time frame as part of

the coastal fisheries reform indicates what has become acknowledged as ‘good management’ and ‘good governance’ practices – or what has been arbitrated as such by the new hybrid coalition. It also allows to grasp how deciders, managers and practitioners distribute new roles and responsibilities in fisheries and environmental management, and therefore re-delineate where each actor is supposed to be and to act.

Although they touch upon various fields, approaches and topics constitutive of fisheries management regimes, the confrontation of three recent fisheries management policies illustrates the recent mutations that unfold as part of the operationalization of a coastal fisheries reform in Fiji. In this chapter, hybridity is most visible in the way conservation instruments and approaches (namely social marketing, MPAs and CBFM) are re-appropriated and transformed to make them compatible with state-led practices. Notably, different hybridization practices identified by Tania Li (2007) are visible: (a) the grafting of new elements and the reworking of old ones, (b) the coupling of intact elements prescribed by previous regimes; (c) the recourse to existing discourses to new ends (e.g. for the shift from campaigns to policies), or (d) the transposing of key terms’ meaning that allows for prior forms of rule to endure in a new regime (e.g. the recourse to a ‘community-based management’ discourse to support a state-led co-management governance model).

In this process, hybridity appears as a mechanism deployed to (re)assemble practices and norms that previously entailed incompatible views on how to use coastal and marine resources and spaces (i.e. management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes of practices). New governmentalities as well as a new ‘geography of competences’ (Akrish 1991) emerge, as roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders are redefined in what appears as a new *hybrid regime*.

Finally, Chapter 9 offers a discussion of the different results obtained in order to further characterize this ‘integrated moment’ in the making. I propose the idea of a broadening of the environmental ethic put forward by stakeholders involved in coastal fisheries management in Fiji in recent years, and the uptake of a pragmatic position in environmental ethics: diverse values of ‘nature’ can coexist and they must be acknowledged and ‘integrated’ for its management. In this view, already present in FLMMA but less explicit, fish becomes a plural and multiform object, which can take part in relations with humans based on *overlapping* economic, aesthetic, symbolic and nourishing significance. Fishers are *all at once* be seen as key actors of the national economy, guardians of the sea/ocean, and holders of fundamental rights and political claims. These results contrast with other works that have put forward ‘return-to-barrier’ practices and discourses of state and non-state actors in other contexts.

Based on these results, I further demonstrate that qualification and problematization processes, which constituted the core of previous management regimes, are no longer relevant as part of the hybrid regime. I show that just like previous modes of qualification characterized (and thus distinguished)

management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes, *non-qualification* better characterizes this hybrid regime. For conservation donors and practitioners, these reconfigurations have resulted in a revision of previous conservation models (inscribed in fortress, neoliberal or participative approaches) in which an intrinsic value of ‘nature’ and of ‘natural resources’ was to defend and to promote. I have specified how (re)conciliating discourses on integration and sustainability have replaced (to some extent) ‘pure’ developmentalist, conservationist and localist discourses mobilized by actors in previous management regimes. I propose in **Table 8** of the thesis to visualize the results of previous chapters and of this section to pinpoint what I have identified as the most salient features of the management-as-development, management-as-conservation and hybrid regimes.

Based on these results, I further argued that as part of the integrated moment, *aggregation* of values, practices, norms and discourses seem to prevail over a proper *reconciliation* of previous dualisms in which the conservation/exploitation tension was embedded. In this view, antagonisms are concealed rather than erased by the elaboration of ‘win-win’ solutions that are presented as possible bridges between all (human and non-human) stakeholders. By denying antagonisms rather than addressing them, and by framing the integrative idea under a promise of reconciliation processes of negotiation are concealed, while still vivid. Yet, we have seen that these processes are decisive in the definition of management regimes of practices, which propose ways (e.g. instruments, knowledge systems) to organize fish and fishers’ place and behaviors. If framed under such win-win discourses, the integrative idea encompasses risks of de-politicization of questions addressing human-nature relations, which are, by essence, highly political.

## **Conclusion**

In this thesis, I have unfolded a political ecology of coastal fisheries management in Fiji that relies on tools and concepts from both political ecology and policy analysis. On top of being both coherent with my constructivist and historical approach to fisheries management, these two fields intersect and complement on various points of attention: multi-scalar processes, power relations between actors involved in environmental arenas, and the consideration of both state and non-state actors and of their respective modes of governing. This research has relied on a multi-sited and multi-scalar ethnographic research encompassing a ‘follow-the-policy’ approach, event ethnography, semi-directed interviews, participant and non-participant observations. This empirical study was very much impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic, which represented a major setback but also favored forms of creativity and innovation in the ways to conduct research.

**Table 8. Characterization of the three regimes of practices identified in the study**

Political subsystem	Characterization	Theoretical tools	Management-as-development regime	Management-as-conservation regime	Hybrid regime
Coastal fisheries management	Of what?	Qualification	Fish as a resource and fishers as a productive potential	Fish and fishers as parts of the vanua, and fish as an element of biodiversity	Non-qualification: fish and fishers owe to be flexible to partake to the hybrid regime
		Problematization	Management for a maximum yet sustainable production	Management as way to achieve good governance (local control, with respect of traditional modes of production, and compatibility with biodiversity conservation objectives	Management to find the ‘middle way’ for more efficiency
	By who?	Advocacy coalitions	Ministry of Fisheries, regional/international scientific/management org., development funders, fishers...	NGOs and conservation funders, USP researchers, local fishing groups and local leaders	Ministry of Fisheries, NGOs and conservation funders, international environmental institutions (CITES, CBD...)
	How?	Instruments, approaches	Subsidies, quantitative surveys, MSY	LMMA and <i>tabu</i> institutions	MPA remains central because flexible instrument Hybrid approaches and new governmentalities: voluntary + coercive approaches
Why?	Belief system / Discourse	Developmentalist and neoliberal	Conservationist and localist	Developmentalist + neoliberal + conservationist + localist	

I have approached fisheries management as a way to organize, frame and control fish and fishers, in other words, to govern. This definition of management differs from that used by some stakeholders and scholars, who see management as reduced to its technical and practical dimensions. I have focused on the instruments that have been developed over time to frame human-ocean relations and to reduce the cognitive polyphony on public, environmental matters of concern. This led me to delimitate the contours of what has constituted ‘coastal fisheries management’ in Fiji over time and today, for different coalitions ; and to investigate how the development-conservation tensions, historically constitutive of the cognitive polyphony on natural resource uses, were addressed in each identified period. It is this progressive weaving of development and conservation worlds in management that has been at the core of this research.

I have shown that different modes of qualification and problematization of fish and fishers, which illustrate evolving human-ocean relations, lay the foundation for different management regimes to emerge and deploy. Management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes displayed for many years major ideological and practical incompatibilities. Then, a hybrid regime emerged in the early-2010s from the encounter of two trajectories: (1) the adoption of a Blue Growth program launched by the Fijian Government to support both environmental and economic ambitions for a Blue Pacific in which Fiji established itself as a leading state; and (2) the new *follow-the-government* strategy imposed by conservation donors to their NGO beneficiaries. At the convergence of these two trajectories, coastal fisheries have become central for previously disjointed coalitions to connect over a sustainability bond.

I have put the concept of hybridity at play to grasp these evolutions, in particular the increasingly blurred boundaries between development and conservation, and to assess “*to what degree are the ingredients merging, or are they merely coexisting in unconnected forms?*” (Frank and Stollberg 2004:76). I have demonstrated how conservation instruments (e.g. MPAs, communication campaigns) and approaches (e.g. CBFM) have been hybridized with state standards and practices, and thus transformed, to make them ‘active’ in the new hybrid regime. In the latter, conservation and development become mutually constitutive forces and exhibit varying degrees of adaptability, co-opting or accommodating. Conciliating discourses on integration and sustainability have replaced (to some extent) ‘pure’ developmentalist, conservationist and localist discourses mobilized by actors in previous management regimes. I have also demonstrated that qualification and problematization processes, which constituted the core of these previous management regimes, are no longer relevant in the forming of the hybrid regime. Non-qualification can thus be seen as a characterization of this regime, just like previous

modes of qualification characterized (and thus distinguished) management-as-development and management-as-conservation regimes.

These trajectories have replaced antagonistic ideologies and the integrated moment is thus put forward as a pathway toward reconciliation to overcome previous limits of dualisms (i.e. conservation/exploitation, but more broadly nature/culture, natural sciences/social sciences, western/non-western, etc.). However, what stems out of this study is that, perhaps rather than a reconciliation, the integrated moment and the hybridization processes it brings seem to produce the *aggregation* of different positions and views (e.g. on human-oceans relations, on fish and fishers qualifications etc.) In resulting ‘aggregates’, practices, norms and discourses that remain incompatible are concealed (and thus depoliticized, de-problematized) under the promise that the integrative idea provides solutions to resolve conservation/exploitation tensions as well as its dual corollaries. Indeed, as political ecologists have shown in other contexts, the win-win rhetoric relies, in part, on making invisible or minimizing the input of non-dominant actors who often remain left out of what remains proper political negotiations even if those are no longer presented as such (Chaigneau et Brown 2016, Bennett 2015). Yet, in the Fijian case, because incompatibilities remain vivid in various aspects, their politically charged nature surfaces from time to time, hinting at the centrality of political relations between, and values systems of, *all* parties.

Finally, this thesis concludes with the analysis of different dimensions of and views on ‘integration’ which co-exist and are embedded in the discourses and practices produced under the hybrid regime. For instance, stakeholders’ recourse to notions of *flexibility* or *pluralism*, which constitute corollaries of the notion of integration, call upon different visions and approaches, namely an integration embedded in the neoliberal ideology and an integration articulated to regionalist forms of cultural-political liberalism. While these two dimensions could be seen as opposed and conflicting, I show in this last section how through the support of similar and overlapping integrative discourses, they actually rejoin in the promise of an all-encompassing historical, *integrated moment* in which past dualities and incompatibilities have become irrelevant. Of course, these two visions of integration (i.e. as allowing a flexibility necessary to neoliberal agendas or as a support for an Oceanian pluralism) do not concur nor align on many aspects, and can even be seen as aspiring to opposed goals. Yet I argue that they can also feed each other in their recourse to concepts of integration that are increasingly embedded in conceptually blurred concepts like blue growth, blue economy or loose ‘sustainable development’ rhetoric that do conceal remaining tensions and dualities. The two visions thus partake to the same all-



encompassing movement or integrated historical moment that authors like Chiapello and Boltanski (1999) or Rodary (2019) have also identified in other contexts.<sup>214</sup>

## Perspectives

This work represents a solid base for future research and I hope that Fijian and South Pacific researchers in particular will make use of it for future work. Yet, some research questions and thematic have been left out of this study, notably as a result of the setbacks provoked by the Covid-19 pandemic. The comparative approach initially planned to mutually put Fijian and New Caledonian cases into perspective was abandoned, along with more developed ethnographic research that would have allowed to spend more time with fishers, sellers or local fishing committees in order to obtain a more complete picture of the issues explored in this thesis. Following this drawback, a number of questions remain unanswered and a number of compelling paths to be explored. For instance, how do local fishing groups and individuals partake in, challenge or circumvent the hybrid regime I identified and described? How do they position and engage in remaining conservation-development tensions? What future for conservation practice in Fiji? And what future for coastal fisheries in a Covid and post-Covid pandemic world?

Another compelling research question to complete the present study would be: *to what extent are non-humans (e.g. fish) integrated in the different regimes described? What place is given to them, and what place do they gain themselves in management processes?* A large body of research increasingly advocates for the accommodation of (living and non-living) non-humans' agency into environmental management, governance and planning processes. Scholars inscribed in the field of environmental humanities (Emmett and Nye 2017) notably explore the more-than-human politics of human-animal interactions and relationships in the marine environment. The article co-written with Juliette Kon Kam King on shark management through spatial planning in Fiji and in New Caledonia lay interesting foundations to explore this question (Kon Kam King and Riera 2022). It examines the application of spatial management to sharks and discuss how the respective 'right place' of sharks and humans at sea is permanently negotiated, defined and enforced. Such reflections, applied for instance to the grouper and coral trout seasonal fishing ban investigated in Chapter 7, would certainly enrich the analysis of 'human-centered' politics which have been at the core of the present study.

Finally, I build on a question initiated by a wide range of Oceanians (Bambridge et al. 2021 but see also Rapp 2004 for a review of the literature on this topic) as well as non-Oceanian thinkers: in the face of

---

<sup>214</sup> Indeed, these authors have recognized a movement of conciliation of what was previously in tension, or even in conflict, i.e. capitalism and left-wing/artistic critic of capitalism for like Chiapello and Boltanski and connections that occurred on nature conservation politics to link 'nature' and people or national frontiers and international networks for Rodary.

the limits of techno-scientific solutions to social-environmental crises, *how can PICTs represent an alternative voice to transform governance and management of natural resources, in this region and beyond? How can the states and people of PICTs take advantage of the integrative moment to challenge business-as-usual management and governance in international environmental arenas?* To do so, I argue that managers and conservation practitioners in the South Pacific should not only acknowledge the multiple knowledge about and relations to ‘nature’, but also address the diversity of political histories that have continuously shaped an Oceanian sovereignty. Taking into account, ‘integrating’, this plurality of Oceanian voices and the alternative visions they support, should therefore constitute the main priority for future thinking and practice in management.

## Résumé de la thèse en français

### **Intégrer les activités de conservation et d'exploitation dans un océan Pacifique en mutation**

Les océans et les transformations rapides qu'ils subissent sont de plus en plus discutés dans l'espace public national et international, contrastant ainsi avec le long silence politique auquel ils étaient auparavant soumis. En parallèle, les voix des personnes directement confrontées à ces transformations, qui demandent plus de considération, de justice et d'action, se font plus fortes. Par conséquent, les océans ont acquis une place centrale dans les agendas politiques mondiaux et nationaux ces dernières années, comme l'illustre l'adoption en 2015 de l'Agenda 2030 des Nations unies et de son Objectif de développement durable (ODD) 14 visant à "*conserver et utiliser durablement les océans, les mers et les ressources marines pour le développement durable*". Plus récemment, l'engagement pris par 84 pays de protéger 30 % des zones océaniques d'ici 2030 lors du One Ocean Summit de 2022, ainsi que l'accent mis sur le rôle de l'océan dans les derniers rapports du Groupe d'experts intergouvernemental sur l'évolution du climat (IPCC 2022)<sup>215</sup> ont également participé à l'émergence des préoccupations maritimes dans les négociations internationales ainsi que dans l'espace public.

Dans le milieu marin en particulier, les modes de gestion « en silo », axée sur des secteurs ou des ressources uniques ont été de plus en plus présentées comme insuffisantes et inappropriées face à la mise en avant croissante des interconnexions du monde-océan et de ses dimensions écologiques, sociales et économiques (Aswani et al. 2018). En conséquence, les appels à mettre en place et à adopter des approches se voulant plus holistiques se sont consolidés ces dernières années avec des modèles variés et se chevauchant partiellement, tels que la gestion écosystémique, la planification spatiale marine ou la gestion intégrée des zones côtières. Ces propositions "intégrées" sont façonnées par et façonnent en retour de nouvelles coalitions d'acteurs qui proposent de nouveaux discours et pratiques. Ces approches représentent des tentatives d'organiser durablement des revendications souvent concurrentes sur les espaces et ressources, avec de nouvelles modalités d'accès, d'utilisation et de contrôle de ces derniers, ainsi que de nouvelles propositions de planification des activités humaines dans le domaine marin.

Les secteurs de la pêche et de la conservation de la biodiversité marine ont été particulièrement exhortés à concilier leurs points de vue et leurs pratiques au profit d'une vision commune et intégrée. Cette réconciliation est souvent présentée comme ardue étant donné que, d'une part, la gestion des pêches a historiquement été façonnée pour servir les objectifs de développement nationaux qui exigent la poursuite ou l'augmentation des utilisations humaines des écosystèmes dans le but de répondre aux besoins humains actuels (FAO 2015, World Bank 2015, Hills et al. 2019) tandis que d'autre part, la

---

<sup>215</sup> En français, les rapports du Groupe d'experts intergouvernemental sur l'évolution du climat (GIEC) sont disponible ici : <https://www.ipcc.ch/languages-2/francais>.

conservation, dans son sens historique et strict, exige la limitation (ou la réduction drastique) des utilisations humaines des écosystèmes au profit des générations actuelles et futures (CBD 2011, IUCN 2011). Pour que cette dernière ambition se réalise, un système mondial de lignes directrices en matière de conservation a été établi par la communauté internationale et vise une augmentation massive du nombre et de la superficie d'aires marines protégées (AMP).

Une réconciliation entre les activités de pêche et de conservation dans la gestion et la gouvernance marines apparaît donc comme conceptuellement et pratiquement complexes. Pourtant, les ponts entre les deux secteurs se multiplient, principalement à travers deux mouvements parallèles et multi-scalaires : (1) l'intégration des discours et des pratiques de conservation dans les activités de gestion des pêches (Friedman et al. 2018) et (2) le déploiement par les organisations de conservation de "configurations développementalistes" et leur engagement accru dans les activités de gestion de la pêche (Hart et al. 2006, Rodary 2008). En conséquence, la gestion des pêches, tant au large que sur l'espace côtier, et de l'échelle mondiale à l'échelle locale, est de plus en plus réformée pour tenir compte des objectifs de durabilité des stocks et de conservation de la biodiversité (De La Croix et Mitroi 2020). Cette écologisation<sup>216</sup> des pratiques de gestion de la pêche a été facilitée par - et a facilité en retour - l'arrivée de nouveaux acteurs dans les activités de gestion des pêches, et a eu un impact considérable sur la manière dont les ressources marines sont utilisées, gérées et gouvernées. Les ONG de conservation, en particulier, ont été de plus en plus impliquées dans les arènes de gestion des pêches et, pour ce faire, ont adapté leurs discours, leurs pratiques et leurs modes de fonctionnement, à la fois en interne et dans la manière dont elles s'engagent avec d'autres acteurs (par exemple, les agences d'État, les communautés locales, les organisations de pêche) (Friedman et al. 2018, Campbell et al. 2017). Ces deux mouvements parallèles ont été peu documentés et les ajustements et tensions qu'ils génèrent sont, dans l'ensemble, mal compris (voir cependant, Hart et al. 2006, Salomon et al. 2011, De La Croix et Mitroi 2020).

La recherche de stratégies "gagnant-gagnant", permettant de satisfaire simultanément l'intégrité de l'écosystème et les besoins humains, souvent par le biais d'approches dites participatives, est présentée au mieux comme un défi, et sinon comme ayant des effets limités ou nuls sur les populations, qu'il s'agisse des populations humaines ou de celles des espèces marines affectées par les activités de pêche (Stöhr et al. 2014, Brockington et al. 2018). Le recours à des logiques durables et intégratives vaguement définies qui ignorent les compromis et les négociations du monde réel (notamment entre les objectifs d'exploitation et de conservation) a ainsi bien souvent été mis en avant (Chaigneau et Brown 2016, Bennett 2015). Ce sont précisément les compromis et négociations qui sous-tendent les concepts

---

<sup>216</sup> Je me réfère ici à la définition de (Ginelli 2017:2) qui considère l'écologisation comme une "*entreprise de recadrage cognitif et normatif – un changement dans la manière de penser et de juger une conduite sociale – visant à une inflexion écologique plus ou moins forte des normes (légalles ou implicites) et des pratiques sociales en vigueur dans le domaine considéré*".

de durabilité et d'intégration dans la gestion de l'environnement et de la pêche qui sont au cœur de cette étude.

### **Conservation et exploitation des ressources dans le Pacifique Sud**

Les récifs tropicaux, mangroves et lagons des pays et territoires insulaires du Pacifique<sup>217</sup> offrent un contexte riche pour explorer les liens entre conservation et pêche dans la gestion des écosystèmes côtiers et marins. En plus d'être au cœur de l'identité, des relations sociales et de la culture des habitants des pays et territoires insulaires du Pacifique (PTIP), ces écosystèmes constituent à la fois un foyer majeur pour la biodiversité mondiale et un pilier pour les économies locales et nationales. Pourtant, ils sont aujourd'hui particulièrement menacés, par la surexploitation des ressources, la pollution, les projets d'exploitation minière en eaux profondes, l'urbanisation côtière, l'acidification et le réchauffement des océans, et dans une large mesure, par les activités croissantes de pêche commerciale (Gillett 2014). Au cours de la dernière décennie, les diverses parties prenantes impliquées dans la gestion multi-scalaire des espaces et des espèces marines sont de plus en plus confrontées à la tâche complexe de maintenir des activités productives pour assurer les moyens locaux de subsistance et les économies nationales, tout en assurant l'intégrité des écosystèmes et de la biodiversité marine. Ces enchevêtrements sont bien reconnus par les institutions qui façonnent le paysage de la gouvernance environnementale régionale (CPS 2015, PROE 2016, PIF 2017).

Avec la pêche hauturière, le tourisme et l'exploitation minière, la pêche côtière<sup>218</sup> représente l'un des secteurs les plus importants de l'économie des PTIPs (Ansell et al. 1996, Gillett and Cartwright 2010), et l'est devenue d'autant plus durant la pandémie de Covid-19 (Walters et al. 2021). Cette pêche côtière est souvent divisée en deux catégories, selon qu'elle est commerciale (c'est-à-dire de subsistance, lorsque les prises sont destinées à la consommation domestique ou données, mais ne sont pas vendues)

---

<sup>217</sup> Les références aux *Pacific island countries and territories* (PICTs, ; en français pays et territoires insulaires du Pacifique ou PTIPs), ou aux *Pacific small island developing states* (SIDS ; en français *petits États insulaires en développement*), aux *Pacific large ocean island states* (LOIS ; en français grands états insulaires du Pacifique) (mais aussi aux "îles du Pacifique" ou aux "États océaniques") sont courantes dans la littérature sur le Pacifique Sud et ces expressions ont des significations et des présupposés légèrement différents. Les SIDS sont apparus lors du Sommet de la Terre de 1992 comme un groupe de nations partageant des préoccupations similaires et uniques et défendant leur point de vue sur l'océan Pacifique et ses ressources. Le concept de Pacific LOIS a émergé pour mieux traduire l'importance géopolitique et culturelle des espaces marins pour ces pays et territoires. L'expression PTIPs est la plus couramment rencontrée dans la littérature scientifique et grise et présente l'avantage d'inclure les territoires d'outre-mer des pays non-Pacifique. C'est par exemple le terme utilisé par les institutions régionales telles que la CPS, le PROE ainsi que le Ministère de la Pêche de Fidji. Dans cette thèse, je me réfère principalement aux PTIPs pour discuter de la dynamique régionale, mais j'utiliserai également le terme plus géopolitique de LOIS du Pacifique.

<sup>218</sup> Les pêcheries côtières/internationales/petites sont diverses et plurielles et donc difficiles à définir, mais elles sont généralement opposées aux pêcheries offshore, industrielles et hautement commercialisées. Je me réfère ici aux définitions fournies par Gillett et al. (2014) dans lesquelles les pêches côtières englobent les pêches à petite échelle commerciales et non commerciales et comprennent une grande variété de techniques de pêche dans divers écosystèmes.

ou non (c'est-à-dire artisanale, lorsque tout ou partie des prises sont vendues)<sup>219</sup> (Gillett 2014). Même si les eaux côtières représentent en moyenne moins de 1,5 % des eaux sous la juridiction des PTIPs, la pêche côtière représente environ la moitié de la contribution de la pêche à leur PIB, tout en contribuant largement à l'apport nutritif en protéines, aux moyens de subsistance, aux revenus et à l'emploi (Govan 2018). Cependant, en dépit de leur importance économique, culturelle et sociale, les moyens déployés pour la gestion des pêches côtières aux niveaux national et régional sont restés largement inférieurs à ceux mobilisés pour la gestion des pêches hauturières (en particulier thonières), plus lucratives. (Gillett et al. 2014). En conséquence, ces activités sont largement sous-déclarées et sous-évaluées. Même à Fidji, où la pêche commerciale côtière est plus importante que dans n'importe quel autre pays ou territoire du Pacifique, la gestion de la pêche côtière a historiquement été marquée par un manque de volonté politique dans l'allocation de ressources adéquates pour une gestion efficace des ressources côtières (Veitayaki et al. 2003, Gillett et al. 2014).

En outre, la gestion et la gouvernance des ressources naturelles et de la biodiversité de la région ont été longuement conçues et déployées sur la base de pratiques et de récits occidentaux, reflétant une vision du monde et de l'océan qui, à bien des égards, contraste avec les ontologies relationnelles du Pacifique. Cette tendance historique a connu une impulsion récente avec la "nouvelle ruée vers les mers", particulièrement prégnante dans le Pacifique Sud (Fache et al. 2021) avec laquelle la privatisation et la planification des mers, ainsi que les projets d'accaparement des espaces marins et des entités qu'elles renferment, érigent de nouvelles frontières fondées sur une vision naturaliste du monde qui sépare nature et culture (Descola 2005, McCormack 2021). S'appuyant sur des liens culturels et économiques profonds et vivants avec l'océan, les pays et territoires du Pacifique ont, ces dernières années, activement réaffirmé leur identité en tant que « large ocean island states » (LOIS ; en français grands États insulaires océaniques), une identité d'où découlent des droits souverains sur le "Blue Pacific" (Bambridge et al. 2021). Cette dynamique a contribué à l'avènement d'un tournant géopolitique vers un régionalisme du Pacifique dans lequel une "souveraineté océanique" enracinée dans des relations profondes avec l'océan a été essentielle pour revendiquer les enchevêtrements entre l'histoire des PTIPs et les questions environnementales actuelles et à venir. La place de plus en plus importante des PTIPs dans la gouvernance mondiale des océans ces dernières années repose notamment sur l'expression d'une vision régionale promouvant une gestion intégrée, juste et durable des océans, et qui découle de leurs liens historiques et fondamentaux communs avec l'océan (Pratt et Govan 2010). En effet, dans le contexte de cette "ruée" vers les espaces et les ressources du Pacifique, les PTIPs ont largement mis en avant sur la scène internationale l'imbrication étroite des enjeux climatiques, des questions de biodiversité et des dynamiques océaniques (Fache et al. 2021).

---

<sup>219</sup> Dans la catégorisation de Gillett, les captures de la pêche récréative sont considérées comme une production destinée à la consommation domestique, et donc comme une composante de la pêche de subsistance.

Les questions de leadership en matière de gouvernance et de gestion des océans sont d'autant plus cruciales que les nouvelles politiques "bleues" (par exemple la croissance bleue, économie bleue) sont de plus en plus favorisées et mises en place dans la région (Midlen 2021). Largement développées et promues par des acteurs internationaux tels que la Banque mondiale, le Programme des Nations Unies pour l'environnement (PNUE) et le Fonds mondial pour la nature (WWF), ces politiques sont largement adoptées et promues par un large éventail de parties prenantes du Pacifique Sud impliquées dans la gestion de l'océan et de ses ressources (par exemple les États, les acteurs privés, les organisations de développement). Par exemple, le programme de croissance bleue adopté par Fidji depuis 2014 est largement présenté comme une voie permettant d'atteindre de nouvelles formes de souveraineté régionale et nationale (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014). Cette croissance bleue réappropriée ("*home-grown*")<sup>220</sup> s'inscrit dans une tentative plus large d'accroître la reconnaissance des PTIPs et d'autres pays et territoires insulaires du monde entier en tant que "gardiens des océans" et de faire des Fidji le chef de file de la "nouvelle diplomatie pacifique". (Fry and Tarte 2015). Notamment, la proposition par Fidji d'un "Ocean Pathway Partnership"<sup>221</sup> suite à sa présidence de la COP23 de la Convention-cadre des Nations unies sur les changements climatiques (UNFCCC) et son accueil de la première Conférence des Nations unies sur les océans (UNOC) à New York en 2017 ont contribué à rendre l'histoire, les problèmes et les besoins des LOIS du Pacifique plus visibles sur la scène internationale.

Dans ce contexte, et au-delà d'un simple positionnement discursif, l'idée intégrative dans la gouvernance environnementale s'est matérialisée, ces dernières années, dans diverses politiques et appareils à Fidji et dans la région du Pacifique Sud. La tendance générale vers davantage de collaborations et de partenariats dans la gestion des pêches côtières s'est accélérée au cours de la dernière décennie à de multiples niveaux : entre les secteurs (e.g. la pêche, la conservation, le tourisme, l'agriculture, la planification nationale), entre les parties prenantes (e.g. les États et les ONG, ainsi que les opérateurs privés, bien qu'ils ne fassent pas partie du champ d'application de ce travail) et entre les échelles (e.g. internationale, régionale, nationale et locale).

## Questions de recherche

L'objectif général de cette thèse est de comprendre :

---

<sup>220</sup> " Discours d'ouverture du sommet du cadre de croissance verte du PM " *Gouvernement fidjien* (en ligne, 12/06/2014) Disponible sur <https://www.fiji.gov.fj/media-centre/speeches/english/rear-admiral-j-v-bainimarama-opening-address-at> (consulté le 23/03/2022).

<sup>221</sup> Les Fidji ont lancé le partenariat Ocean Pathway pour intégrer les océans dans le programme de lutte contre le changement climatique de l'UNFCCC. COP23 (en ligne, août 2018) Disponible sur <https://cop23.com.fj/the-ocean-pathway> (consulté le 28/03/2021).

- les transformations successives des activités de gestion de la pêche côtière à Fidji, en particulier celles découlant de leur rencontre avec les normes et politiques de conservation ;
- l'évolution des discours et des pratiques des coalitions d'acteurs qui participent, à diverses échelles, à ces transformations.

Dans cette thèse, je fais l'hypothèse qu'en défendant la priorisation d'objectifs de développement économique ou de conservation de la biodiversité, ou en participant à l'intégration de ces objectifs, ces coalitions d'acteurs ont historiquement façonné des régimes de gestion des pêches côtières distincts à Fidji. A partir de cette position initiale, deux questions de recherche principales ont guidé mon analyse :

- Comment les politiques de développement économique et de conservation de la biodiversité s'articulent-elles actuellement pour permettre la mise en place d'un régime "intégré" de gestion des pêches côtières ?
- Comment l'opérationnalisation d'un programme de gestion intégrée transforme-t-elle les relations de pouvoir entre les parties prenantes, notamment entre les acteurs étatiques et non-étatiques impliqués dans la gestion ?

## **Partie I. Cadres théoriques et méthodologiques**

Dans la première partie, je détaille les cadres théoriques et méthodologiques que j'ai mobilisés afin de répondre à ces questions de recherche. Dans le premier chapitre, je propose de faire dialoguer les apports de la *political ecology* sur les dynamiques de pouvoir dans les arènes de gestion environnementale et les outils d'analyse des politiques qui permettent d'analyser comment les coalitions d'acteurs se forment et constituent des *régime de pratiques*. Dans le deuxième chapitre, je détaille les méthodologies utilisées lors des différentes phases de cette recherche, qui est basée sur des approches empiriques, inductives et multi-échelles.

Je m'attache tout d'abord à définir la gestion des ressources naturelles comme l'ensemble des pratiques, des normes et des discours, soutenus par divers systèmes de connaissances (juridiques, économiques, religieux, scientifiques), et qui ont été développés au fil du temps pour encadrer les relations entre les humains et leur environnement, et plus particulièrement pour encadrer les usages que ceux-ci font de cet environnement. M'appuyant sur les travaux de Lockwood et Davis (2010), je propose donc de comprendre la gestion des pêches comme un régime de pratiques, constitué par des processus de *qualification* et de *problématisation*. La qualification se fait par des processus qui délimitent l'objet lui-même - ce qui le constitue et ce qui ne le constitue pas - tandis que la problématisation délimite les



questions qui lui sont rattachées (par exemple, pour les stocks de poissons, la possibilité de leur épuisement ; les effets de la pêche sur la biodiversité). Dans le domaine de la pêche, cela se traduit par des prescriptions quant aux pratiques et conduites de ceux qui vivent dans et de la mer : la gestion des pêches, loin d'être réduite à ses dimensions techniques, représente une manière de gouverner les poissons et les pêcheurs, c'est-à-dire d'organiser, d'encadrer et de contrôler poissons et pêcheurs.

Pour explorer les dynamiques de conservation et de développement ancrées dans l'utilisation, la gestion et la gouvernance des pêcheries, un large corpus de littérature issue du courant de la *political ecology* a alimenté mes réflexions théoriques, méthodologiques et analytiques. La *political ecology* est souvent abordée comme un courant de "*recherches empiriques visant à expliquer les liens dans l'état et le changement des systèmes sociaux/environnementaux, avec une considération explicite envers les relations de pouvoir*" (Robbins 2011). Les travaux qui s'inscrivent dans ce courant contestent l'idée que la dégradation de l'environnement est le résultat de problèmes objectifs qui pourraient être résolus par la science et la technique (par exemple par l'ingénierie environnementale). Ils montrent plutôt que les écosystèmes sont enchevêtrés dans des relations sociopolitiques et tentent de considérer la "nature" comme étant toujours intégrée dans des contextes historiques, politiques et géographiques humains.

De plus, pour rendre compte de la question du pluralisme politique dans les sphères de gouvernance et de gestion de l'environnement, les politologues ont produit de nombreux concepts et cadres analytiques. Aujourd'hui encore, l'*Advocacy Coalition Framework* (ACF) de Paul Sabatier (Sabatier 1998) constitue l'un des cadres les plus complets et les plus stimulants pour analyser les modalités d'élaboration et de mise en œuvre des politiques publiques dans des contextes politiques pluralistes (Jenkins-Smith et al. 2018, Ma et al. 2020, Cisneros 2021). En particulier, l'ACF permet la prise en compte des dimensions cognitive, normative et stratégique (ou instrumentale), qui sont souvent considérées de manière séparée dans d'autres modèles des sciences sociales. Le travail de Sabatier sur les coalitions souligne ainsi que l'action publique a une fonction profondément cognitive et que les idées et les intérêts, les instruments et les institutions doivent être pris en considération dans l'analyse de la genèse et des transformations des politiques. En effet, une politique publique peut être définie selon l'ACF comme le produit d'un système spécifique de croyances, qui émerge de la confrontation continue et des compromis successifs entre les systèmes de croyances de chaque coalition au sein d'un sous-système politique donné (à savoir ici la gestion des pêches côtières fidjiennes). Au sein d'un sous-système, les coalitions "*(a) partagent un ensemble de croyances normatives et causales et (b) s'engagent dans un degré non-trivial d'activité coordonnée dans le temps*" (Sabatier 1998:103)". En plus d'être cohérents avec mes perspectives constructivistes et historiques sur la gestion des ressources naturelles, ces deux domaines de recherche se croisent et se complètent sur divers points d'attention, notamment sur l'importance de considérer les processus et les relations multi-scalaires.

Par ailleurs, pour approfondir l'analyse de la genèse et de la mise en œuvre de mesures de gestion des pêches et de l'environnement, la sociologie de la gestion a fourni des outils théoriques importants, notamment avec les travaux de Lascoumes et Le Galès (2004) sur les politiques publiques environnementales. Leur approche de l'action publique environnementale propose de s'intéresser aux instruments de gestion, qu'ils définissent comme "*un ensemble plus ou moins coordonné de règles et de procédures destinées à régir les interactions et les comportements des acteurs et des organisations*" (Lascoumes and Le Galès 2004:15). Je m'intéresse ainsi à la manière dont les instruments de gestion suggèrent différents modes de qualification et de problématisation des pêcheries, en d'autres termes comment ils matérialisent un régime de pratiques donné.

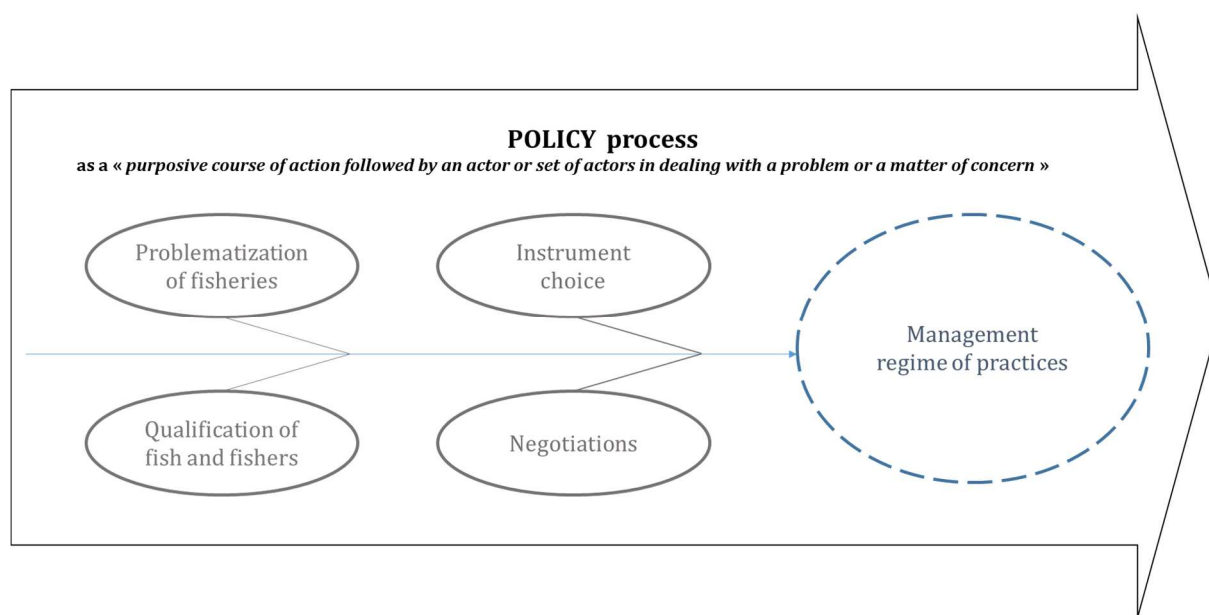
Finalement, caractériser ce qui a façonné au fil du temps et ce qui façonne aujourd'hui la gestion des pêches côtières nécessite de poser des questions assez simples, auxquelles les différents concepts et théories développés dans ce chapitre permettent de répondre (**Tableau 1** de la thèse)

**Tableau 1. Outils théoriques pour caractériser le sous-système de gestion des pêches côtières**

Sous-système politique	Caractérisation	Outils et approches théoriques
Gestion de la pêche côtière	<i>De quoi ?</i>	Qualification / problématisation (poissons, pêcheurs, pêcheries...)
	<i>Par qui ?</i>	Coalitions et relations de pouvoir
	<i>Comment ?</i>	Instruments, pratiques, discours
	<i>Pourquoi ?</i>	Système de croyance (ACF)

Ce cadre me permet de délimiter les contours de ce qui constitue la "gestion des pêches côtières" à Fidji à différentes périodes, pour différentes coalitions, et à chaque fois, de décrire ce qui émerge comme un nouveau *régime de pratiques*. Plus important encore, il me permet d'étudier les tensions entre le développement et la conservation enchâssées dans ces régimes.

Je propose dans la **Figure 2** de la thèse une représentation schématique des différents concepts introduits dans ce chapitre pour circonscrire la manière dont j'aborde la gestion des pêches dans cette thèse.



**Figure 2. Représentation schématique du cadre conceptuel élaboré pour aborder la gestion des pêches :** un régime de pratiques constitué par des processus de qualification, de problématisation, puis de choix d'instruments de gestion et de négociations entre coalitions d'acteurs.

Dans le chapitre 2, j'aborde les méthodes et approches de recherche qui ont structuré les presque 4 années de ce travail de thèse. Pour cette étude, j'ai développé une approche empirique, inductive et multi-échelle et mené un travail de terrain de 7 mois dans quatre des 333 îles de Fidji (3 mois) ainsi qu'en Nouvelle-Calédonie (4 mois). Les données ont été principalement collectées au cours de ce travail de terrain basé sur des méthodes socio-anthropologiques. Grâce à des entretiens semi-structurés et à des observations *in situ* et en ligne, j'ai rencontré de nombreux acteurs appartenant au sous-système politique de la gestion des pêches côtières, et exploré avec eux les questions de gouvernance, de gestion et de conservation des ressources marines côtières. Afin de mieux comprendre et de contextualiser les points de vue des acteurs sur ces sujets, j'ai également effectué une analyse documentaire approfondie comprenant un large éventail de littérature grise, de médias en ligne (journaux et réseaux sociaux) et d'archives coloniales fidjiennes. Les archives en particulier ont permis d'approfondir mon enquête sur les (dis)continuités historiques des régimes de gouvernance et de gestion, et des pratiques de pêche et de gestion.

Tout au long des différentes phases de cette recherche, j'ai utilisé une approche de "*suivi des politiques publiques*" (selon les approches "*follow the policy*" de Peck and Theodore (2012)) pour collecter des données sur les différentes politiques de gestion de la pêche côtière. Cette approche s'appuie sur l'ethnographie multi-située pour faciliter la recherche sur la mobilité et la mutation des politiques (Peck and Theodore 2012) : pour collecter des données sur une politique "mobile", il faut voyager avec elle, en suivant ses transformations à travers les espaces géographiques et politiques. Cette

approche ne consiste pas à confronter les "réalités" locales et les logiques décisionnelles nationales/internationales, mais à démêler les (dis)continuités, adaptations et transformations entre ces différentes sphères. Elle permet de révéler la nature hautement dynamique, fluide et de plus en plus politisée de sujets tels que la gouvernance et la gestion environnementale ou la conservation participative dans l'économie mondiale et de rendre compte des mobilités croissantes et diversifiées qui découlent de la mondialisation. (Peck and Theodore 2012). Cela s'opère notamment par une attention spécifique au mouvement et aux transformations conséquentes des idées, des discours et des politiques, qui apparaissent par exemple dans des événements internationaux ou régionaux (comme les Regional Technical Meeting on Coastal Fisheries (RTMCF) ou la Convention sur le commerce international des espèces de faune et de flore sauvages menacées d'extinction (CITES) - voir chapitre 6) et se déploient ensuite dans les arènes nationales et locales.

Par ailleurs, la pandémie de Covid-19 a, comme pour la plupart des chercheurs dans le monde, affecté drastiquement la réalisation des travaux de terrain prévus ainsi que le déroulement plus général de mon projet de recherche. J'explore dans ce chapitre méthodologique les conséquences de cet événement marquant, principalement avec le passage d'une recherche comparative entre les études de cas de Nouvelle-Calédonie et de Fidji en une monographie centrée sur le cas fidjien. Je décris et réfléchis aux différentes réponses que l'équipe de SOCPacific<sup>222</sup> et moi-même avons proposées face à cet événement global afin de poursuivre nos activités de recherche sur un terrain déjà lointain mais alors inaccessible : en déplaçant les activités de recherche en ligne, en favorisant des collaborations de recherche étroites avec des chercheurs locaux et en renforçant la perspective historique de cette étude grâce à une analyse documentaire approfondie.

## **Partie II. Divergences. La constitution de régimes de pratiques incompatibles**

Dans la deuxième partie de la thèse, j'explore la formation de plusieurs institutions, pratiques et normes de gestion des pêches et de l'environnement et j'étudie les contextes sociopolitiques dans lesquels celles-ci se sont développées. J'identifie ainsi deux principaux régimes de pratiques, que j'appelle les régimes de *management-as-development* et de *management-as-conservation* étant donné la prédominance des discours et des pratiques de développement et de conservation, respectivement, dans ces propositions de gestion. J'explique dans cette partie comment ces deux régimes se distinguent, dans la façon dont ils qualifient les poissons et les pêcheurs et problématisent les pêcheries, dans les coalitions

---

<sup>222</sup> Cette thèse s'inscrit dans le cadre du projet SOCPacific ([www.socpacific.net](http://www.socpacific.net)), un projet franco-allemand financé par l'ANR (France) et la DFG (Allemagne) entre 2018 et 2022 qui vise à explorer le vaste réseau de connexions socioculturelles, géopolitiques et politiques au sein duquel les pratiques de pêche se produisent afin de réinscrire les pêcheries côtières et océaniques dans leur contexte plus large. Le projet se concentre sur trois zones d'étude : la Nouvelle-Calédonie, le Vanuatu et les Fidji.

impliquées, dans les instruments que ceux-ci décident de déployer, ainsi que dans les valeurs et les croyances qu'ils mettent en avant, et explicite les tensions qui en résultent.

Dans le chapitre 3, j'explique comment les gouvernements coloniaux puis postcoloniaux ont inscrit les poissons et les pêcheurs dans l'économie nationale sur la base de l'objectif de développement économique, ainsi que le rôle joué par le développement de la pêche industrielle sur la gestion de la pêche côtière. Je souligne plusieurs phases durant lesquelles des institutions, normes et pratiques dédiées à la gestion des poissons et des pêcheurs se sont structurées à Fidji. Au début du vingtième siècle, au-delà des discussions sur *comment* gérer, les premiers moments de la gestion coloniale des pêches côtières dans les années 1920 sont caractérisés par trois débats sur (1) la possibilité ou non d'une surpêche des ressources marines, (2) la faisabilité de la mise en œuvre de restrictions de pêche que les fidjiens iTaukei respecteront, (3) le niveau de décentralisation le plus adéquat pour cette mise en œuvre. Les premières mesures de formalisation territoriale et de recensement des activités de pêche donnent lieu à un premier régime de « proto » gestion durable des ressources naturelles (Rodary 2008).

A partir des années 1940, un régime technoscientifique déployé dans un premier temps pour organiser et développer les pêcheries industrielles est « traduit » pour s'adapter aux pêcheries côtières, constituant ainsi un régime de management-as-development, c'est-à-dire une forme de gestion au service d'objectifs de développement étatiques et internationaux. Suite à l'émergence de préoccupations liées à la surpêche de plusieurs espèces marine à la fin des années 1970 et à l'intégration de ces préoccupations par le Département des pêches à la fin des années 1980, les activités de pêche côtière sont alors problématisées comme un domaine nécessitant un contrôle attentif pour rester simultanément productif tout en évitant les problèmes de surexploitation. Au milieu des années 1990, à mesure que le discours sur la surpêche se renforcent, la Division des pêches est "*forcé*"<sup>223</sup> de s'orienter vers une gestion plus attentives aux impacts environnementaux des activités de pêche, et modère alors ses objectifs de développement afin de diminuer la pression exercée sur les ressources côtières. Cependant, il est noté par des observateurs de l'époque que ces mesures se limitent finalement à l'élaboration d'alternatives permettant de diminuer l'impact environnemental des pêcheries côtières tout en maintenant, ailleurs, le développement des activités de pêche commerciale (par exemple en développant les techniques d'aquaculture et d'élevage sur récif, ou bien en implémentant des dispositifs de concentration des poissons). L'halieuthe Robert Gillett note par exemple que ces mesures ont montré des résultats limités en termes de réduction de la surpêche côtière et ont constitué, à l'époque, de simples "distractions" par rapport à d'autres mesures de gestion, plus efficaces mais aussi plus complexes et coûteuses à mettre en place, telles que l'élaboration et l'application de restrictions de pêche sur l'ensemble du territoire côtier

---

<sup>223</sup> « La division était auparavant orientée vers la production, mais, face à une augmentation de la surexploitation, elle est maintenant forcée de prendre en compte les problématiques de gestion et de conservation » (Fisheries Division 1996, ma traduction).

fidjien (Gillett et al. 2014). L'intégration des considérations environnementales a plus largement coïncidé avec un délaissement des activités de gestion des pêches côtières, la Division des pêches se tournant de plus en plus à cette époque sur la gestion des pêches hauturières.

A Fidji comme dans le reste du monde, la question environnementale a amené de nombreux questionnement institutionnels, idéologiques et techniques qui ont conduit de nouveaux acteurs (notamment les ONG et bailleurs de fonds de la conservation, les associations, les communautés et autorités locales) à obtenir une nouvelle légitimité dans la gestion des ressources naturelle, auparavant limitée aux acteurs étatiques. A la fin des années 1990, à Fidji, la constitution du réseau des zones marines fidjiennes gérées localement (Fijian locally managed marine areas network – FLMMA network) modifie considérablement les modes de gouvernance et de gestion des ressources marines côtières. Dès le début des années 2000, sous l'influence de cette nouvelle coalition, les approches communautaires deviennent alors « *l'approche la plus largement acceptée en matière de gestion des ressources naturelles et de conservation de la biodiversité aux Fidji* » (Clarke and Jupiter, 2010:37) et se concentrent sur la mise en place massive d'aires marines gérées localement (locally managed marine areas – LMMAs), un instrument hybride et multiforme. Bien que construit dès sa création sur objectifs de gestion des ressources de subsistance, ce réseau montre dans ses débuts un fort tropisme vers la conservation de la biodiversité en raison de ses sources de financement (les organisations philanthropiques de conservation, voir **Tableau 5** de la thèse) et des nombreuses ONG internationales de conservation comptant parmi les premiers membres de la FLMMA.

**Tableau 5. Résumé des arguments expliquant le tournant des bailleurs de la conservation vers la gestion communautaire des pêches à Fidji**

Catégorie d'argument	Arguments
<b>Écologique</b>	Richesse de la biodiversité et endémisme Proximité du Triangle de Corail
<b>Politique</b>	Existence d'initiatives locales soutenues par des chercheurs fidjiens et non fidjiens. L'implication limitée de l'État dans la gestion des pêches côtières
<b>Culturel</b>	Recours aux fermetures temporaires de la pêche ( <i>tabou</i> ) et proximité avec les instruments d'AMP Hiérarchie établie et régime coutumier reconnu par les fidjiens iTaukei

Je discute dans la dernière section les propositions de (re)connexion offertes par le régime de pratiques de *management-as-conservation* formé par cette coalition, entre les connaissances et pratiques modernes et coutumières ; les dimensions environnementales et socio-politiques de la pêche ; les

échelles globales et locales ; et les acteurs et intérêts étatiques et non étatiques. Cependant, je montre que ces tentatives connectives ont atteint des limites et que la promesse holistique dans son ensemble est restée largement discursive. Là où l'ambition connective a le mieux réussi, c'est dans la construction de ponts entre les visions de deux groupes initiaux constitués de personnes portant respectivement des valeurs localistes et conservationnistes. Avec ce régime de *management-as-conservation*, de nouveaux modes de qualification ont émergé dans les années 2000 : les poissons et les pêcheurs deviennent des acteurs à part entière car ils participent à la création de liens entre des parties prenantes défendant initialement des objectifs différents et ayant des visions distinctes de ce qui est à gérer et pourquoi. En ce sens, malgré les limites de l'ambition connective du régime, c'est peut-être cette agentivité et cette capacité de liaison des poissons et des pêcheurs, qui permettent d'engager ensemble des activités de conservation, de développement et de gestion auparavant déconnectées, qui est à noter.

Les deux régimes de pratiques identifiés proposent des réponses différentes à la question de savoir comment gérer les pêcheries côtières, mais plus important encore, ils sont alimentés par ce que les acteurs des différentes coalitions considèrent comme leurs valeurs fondamentales. Alors que le premier fait appel à des valeurs de progrès économique, scientifique et social, le second attire principalement l'attention sur de nouvelles entités (e.g. les poissons et les communautés locales) et met en avant le patrimoine naturel et culturel pour soutenir son action politique et environnementale.

### **Partie III. Convergences. L'émergence d'une coalition hybride**

Dans la troisième partie, j'interroge la manière dont les discours et les dynamiques d'intégration ont émergé à Fidji et dans la région du Pacifique Sud, et ont remis en question les régimes de *management-as-development* et de *management-as-conservation* en proposant une "réforme de la pêche côtière fidjienne" (Prince 2019). J'étudie les forces qui ont mis en mouvement les discours d'intégration et qui initient ce que Barros-Plataiu and Maljean-Dubois (2017) ont identifié comme des processus de "défragmentation" institutionnelle et organisationnelle. Ces auteurs montrent en effet comment les appels à la durabilité et à l'intégration dans la gestion et la planification des activités marines ont abouti, au niveau mondial, à des processus de "défragmentation" institutionnelle qui favorisent de nouvelles collaborations et orchestrations, et contrastent avec les dynamiques de fragmentation et de spécialisation institutionnelle antérieures. A Fidji, mais aussi dans la région du Pacifique Sud, et plus globalement dans les arènes environnementales internationales, je montre que ces processus de défragmentation sont permis par des trajectoires convergentes ancrées dans des discours sur la durabilité issus des mondes de la conservation et du développement.

Le chapitre 5 décrit la mise en place d'une nouvelle coalition d'acteurs étatiques et non étatiques suite à la convergence de deux trajectoires : (1) l'adoption et l'appropriation d'un programme de

croissance bleue par le gouvernement fidjien, dans le cadre d'ambitions environnementales et économiques "bleues" renouvelées aux échelles régionales et nationales ; et (2) la décision d'organisations philanthropiques de faire évoluer leurs pratiques de financement de la conservation en accord avec les priorités de l'état fidjien. Dans le cadre de ces deux trajectoires, la pêche côtière a représenté un secteur clé autour duquel des coalitions auparavant déconnectées ont établi un "lien de durabilité" ("*sustainability bond*"), sur la base de l'idée qu'il ne peut y avoir "aucun développement sans durabilité ; aucune durabilité sans développement" (Sachs 2010:28). Cependant, à Fidji, le travail des ONG du milieu des années 1990 à la fin des années 2000 (à travers la promotion de la gestion communautaire des pêches et l'expansion du réseau FLMMA, voir le chapitre 4) se sont largement fait en parallèle de l'action environnementale (limitée) de l'État sur le milieu marin côtier. Le début des années 2010 marque un changement, lorsque les organisations de conservation se sont vues proposer de nouvelles directives et des nouveaux objectifs pour mettre en place des actions de conservation à Fidji ainsi que dans le reste de la région. Je montre dans ce chapitre comment ces changements ont été largement insufflés par les bailleurs de fonds historiques de ces ONG, qui ont vu dans les collaborations État-ONG la possibilité de gagner en efficacité, notamment dans le domaine de la gestion de la pêche côtière. Au même moment, l'engouement du gouvernement Fidjien en faveur d'une croissance bleue adaptée aux spécificités de Fidji et des autres PICTs région a participé au développement de ce que Fry and Tarte (2015) ont appelé la "nouvelle diplomatie du Pacifique". A Fidji en particulier, l'adoption et l'appropriation du paradigme global de la croissance bleue a joué un rôle central dans sa stratégie visant à se positionner comme un grand État insulaire océanique leader dans la région du Pacifique Sud. La rencontre de ces deux mouvements a généré un nouvel espace de collaboration au sein duquel les ONG et le ministère de la pêche ont pu travailler ensemble pour concevoir et mettre en œuvre le nouvel agenda de la croissance bleue, dans lequel le secteur de la pêche côtière retrouve une place centrale.

Les années suivantes, dans un contexte où beaucoup avaient mis en doute la capacité de l'État à rendre la pêche côtière durable (en ce qui concerne notamment l'évaluation défavorable des stratégies de développement précédentes, voir FLMMA 2015, Gillett et al. 2014, Lees 2007), des appels à un nouveau modèle de développement ont émergé au sein et en-dehors du gouvernement. De l'intérieur, des évolutions institutionnelles et organisationnelles majeures ont accompagné cette ambition d'intégrer plus largement les enjeux environnementaux et notamment marins/côtiers dans sa stratégie de développement. En particulier, le remaniement des responsabilités ministérielles a apporté, selon de nombreuses personnes interrogées, un vent de changement dans le panorama politique fidjien, notamment pour les questions de pêche. Pour mettre en œuvre son programme de croissance bleue, le soutien technique et financier des ONG et des organisations philanthropiques a été décisif. De l'extérieur, pour les ONG et les donateurs, l'élaboration et l'application des politiques (qui relèvent toutes deux de la compétence de l'État) sont devenues un moyen de développer leurs champ d'application et d'obtenir des résultats plus permanents et durables. Dans le cadre de cet agenda



mutuellement bénéfique, la "réforme de la gestion de la pêche côtière fidjienne" (Prince 2020) occupe une place centrale. En ce sens, la gestion de la pêche côtière peut être considérée comme un objet "passerelle" par lequel les parties prenantes peuvent trouver un terrain d'entente pour satisfaire leurs intérêts respectifs afin de former une nouvelle *coalition hybride*. Je montre enfin que les deux virages stratégiques décrits dans ce chapitre ont non seulement contribué à repositionner la pêche côtière comme une question publique centrale à Fidji et dans la région, mais qu'ils ont également représenté un pilier important sur lequel Fidji s'est appuyé pour affirmer sa place de leader vis-à-vis de la question environnementale, dans la région et au niveau international.

Afin de replacer cette nouvelle coalition hybride rassemblant acteurs étatiques et non-étatiques dans des dynamiques plus globales de rapprochement entre développement et conservation, j'explore dans le chapitre 6 l'évolution du champ d'application et du fonctionnement de la Convention sur le commerce international des espèces de faune et de flore sauvages menacées d'extinction (CITES) au cours des dernières décennies. Je m'intéresse tout particulièrement à l'inclusion des espèces marines exploitées et de considérations liées à l'impact des restrictions liées à ces espèces sur les activités commerciales et de subsistance des populations côtières dans des discours et pratiques à l'origine préservationnistes. En effet, la prise en compte plus large par la CITES des impacts socio-économiques de ses réglementations sur les espèces marines a marqué une rupture progressive avec sa philosophie préservationniste initiale. Je propose de questionner la manière dont cette trajectoire remet en cause les cadres institutionnels et normatifs précédents, tout en remodelant les délimitations sectorielles antérieures entre la conservation de la biodiversité et la gestion des pêches, au sein de l'organisation CITES elle-même mais aussi pour les agences régionales et fidjiennes impliquées dans la mise en application de cette convention. En accordant une attention particulière à l'inscription en 2019 des holothuries et des requins à la COP18 sur les listes de la CITES, et au déploiement de ces restrictions dans le Pacifique Sud, j'illustre comment cette trajectoire a remis en question, et remet encore en question aujourd'hui, les cadres institutionnels et normatifs antérieurs.

Il apparaît notamment que les transformations internes de la CITES ont participé à soulever des débats sur la nature des instruments à déployer (par exemple, les interdictions complètes de commerce, les procédures d'avis de commerce non préjudiciable (*non-detrimental findings* – NDF) ainsi que sur l'identité et la légitimité des acteurs impliqués dans les processus décisionnels. Ces ajustements permettent ainsi de discerner les dynamiques actuelles des relations de pouvoir en jeu dans les secteurs de la conservation de la biodiversité et de la gestion des pêches dans le Pacifique Sud. En particulier, les phases de préparation et de mise en œuvre des inscriptions de trois espèces d'holothuries dans le Pacifique Sud ont rappelé à toutes les parties prenantes la complexité de la gestion des ressources côtières à haute valeur ajoutée. Elles ont suscité des discussions sur les principes directeurs fondamentaux de la CITES, qu'il s'agisse de la conservation des espèces basée sur des données

biologiques jugées "objectives", ou d'un équilibre social-environnemental-économique loué par des approches de développement durable. En revanche, les préparatifs de l'inscription de 18 espèces de requins en 2019 montrent que les rapprochements entre les ONG et les gouvernements discutés dans le Chapitre 5 ont participé à légitimer et à renforcer la présence des ONG de conservation dans les processus de prise de décision, de plaidoyer et, plus globalement, dans la définition des futurs objectifs de la CITES.

Ce chapitre met en évidence comment les différents valeurs et statuts associés aux espèces marines (tels que la valeur intrinsèque d'une biodiversité marine à préserver, ou la valeur nutritionnelle et économique de ces « ressources » naturelles) génèrent des négociations permanentes sur les modalités de leur gestion. Cette prise de recul par l'étude de cas de la CITES permet de replacer l'émergence d'une coalition hybride à Fidji dans une dynamique plus large de convergences de plus en plus fréquentes entre les secteurs de la conservation de la biodiversité et de la gestion des pêches. Ce chapitre permet ainsi d'appréhender les processus de défragmentation à l'échelle globale, et donc d'explorer les nouvelles relations qui se sont développées à de multiples échelles depuis que les questions de conservation de la biodiversité (et les institutions qui les soutiennent, au premier rang desquelles les ONG) sont devenues si centrales dans la gestion des océans et des littoraux.

#### **Partie IV. Intégrations. Vers un régime hybride de pratiques**

La partie IV explore différents dispositifs de gestion issus de la réforme de la pêche côtière initiée par la nouvelle coalition hybride. En examinant plus spécifiquement la manière dont cette hybridité se déploie et ce qu'elle signifie, je me penche sur les nouveaux discours et pratiques produits par les différents groupes de la coalition. Ce concept d'hybridité permet de saisir ces évolutions, en particulier les frontières de plus en plus floues entre développement et conservation, et permet d'évaluer "*dans quelle mesure les ingrédients fusionnent ou ne font que coexister sous des formes non connectée*" (Frank et Stollberg 2004:76).

Dans le chapitre 7, je retrace les phases de conception et de mise en œuvre de plusieurs campagnes nationales de gestion des pêches développées aux Fidji depuis 2014 sur la base d'approches de la conservation fondées sur le changement de comportement. Avec ces campagnes, je soutiens que nous assistons à la fois (1) à une prolongation des approches de gestion communautaire des pêches constitutives du précédent régime de pratiques de *management-as-conservation*, et (2) à une rupture avec les stratégies et les approches de conservation de l'environnement qui étaient déployées auparavant à Fidji et dans la région.

En effet, les récentes initiatives de changement de comportement aux Fidji, qui reposent sur l'idée que certaines pratiques et normes liées à la pêche doivent être modifiées afin de changer les comportements et les dispositions des individus vis-à-vis de l'"environnement", s'appuient explicitement sur l'ambition d'initier un processus de "changement progressif" vers la conservation et de générer de nouvelles formes d'"environnementalité" (Agrawal 2005b). La rupture avec les stratégies précédentes vient du (1) passage d'une focalisation sur la promotion des *valeurs* environnementales à la valorisation des *pratiques et des actions* écologiques, et (2) la mise en place d'un nouveau paradigme managérial basé sur la responsabilisation individuelle et collective.

Dans ce chapitre, j'explore tout d'abord les principes qui sous-tendent la théorie du changement comportemental et retrace les phases de conception et de mise en œuvre des campagnes qui ont eu lieu aux Fidji. En particulier, je détaille les mécanismes en jeu dans la campagne 4FJ initiée en 2014 et qui vise à promouvoir une interdiction de pêche saisonnière pour 27 espèces de mérous et de loches, sur la base des modèles de "gestion volontaire" et d'une approche basée sur le changement des comportements. Ces mécanismes impliquent : la formulation et la diffusion d'informations simples (présentées comme opposées à la complexité des informations scientifiques parfois diffusées comme support à la conservation) à l'échelle nationale ; la formation d'un réseau autour de l'idée de préservation d'un "mode de vie fidjien" où divers groupes (notamment ethniques) et différents secteurs (notamment la conservation et la pêche) coexistent ; et la reconsidération de normes et de pratiques incompatibles avec les objectifs de la campagne (par exemple, la pêche dans les frayères ou la pêche de petits poissons).

Dans le chapitre 8, j'analyse trois politiques développées par le ministère de la pêche en 2019 et 2019, à savoir la mise en place de restrictions de pêche (de saison, de taille, d'espèce) légales, la mise en place d'aires marines protégées gérées par le gouvernement, et la formalisation d'un modèle de gouvernance basé sur une cogestion des ressources marines par le gouvernement et les communautés côtières. En m'appuyant sur les travaux de Pierre Lascoumes, je considère ces récentes politiques publiques comme des "*fenêtres d'opportunités*" [...] (Lascoumes 2012:35) suivant la construction d'un nouvel agenda politique. En effet, les politiques publiques permettent aux différentes coalitions d'acteurs de formaliser certains enjeux sociétaux - auparavant présents dans l'espace public mais non institutionnalisés - tout en proposant une vision de ce que sont les solutions les plus pertinentes à ces enjeux. A Fidji, cet ensemble de politiques publiques produites dans un délai très court dans le cadre de la réforme des pêches côtières met en avant ce qui est désormais reconnu comme des pratiques de "bonne gestion" et de "bonne gouvernance" - ou ce qui a été arbitré comme tel par la nouvelle coalition hybride. Cela permet ainsi de saisir comment les décideurs, les gestionnaires et les praticiens distribuent les nouveaux rôles et responsabilités dans la gestion de la pêche et de l'environnement, et redéfinissent ainsi où chaque acteur est censé être et agir.

Bien qu'elles touchent à différents domaines, approches et thèmes constitutifs des régimes de gestion des pêches, la confrontation de trois politiques récentes de gestion des pêches illustre les mutations récentes qui se déploient dans le cadre de l'opérationnalisation d'une réforme de la pêche côtière à Fidji. Différentes pratiques d'hybridation sont alors identifiées, tel que le recours à certains discours « légitimés » dans un nouveau cadre (par exemple avec le recours à un discours de "gestion communautaire" dans la proposition d'un modèle de cogestion mené par les services de l'Etat).

Dans ce processus, l'hybridité apparaît comme un mécanisme déployé pour (ré)assembler des pratiques et des normes qui impliquaient auparavant des points de vue incompatibles sur la manière d'utiliser les ressources et les espaces côtiers et marins (i.e. des régimes de pratiques de *management-as-development* et de *management-as-conservation*). De nouvelles gouvernances ainsi qu'une nouvelle "géographie des compétences" (Akrish 1991) apparaissent, car les rôles et les responsabilités de toutes les parties prenantes sont redéfinis dans ce qui apparaît comme un nouveau *régime hybride*.

Enfin, le chapitre 9 propose une discussion des différents résultats obtenus afin de mieux caractériser ce "moment d'intégration" en train de se faire. Je propose dans ce Chapitre 9 l'idée d'un élargissement de l'éthique environnementale mise en avant par les acteurs impliqués dans la gestion de la pêche côtière à Fidji et de l'avènement d'une position pragmatique de l'éthique environnementale : diverses valeurs de la 'nature' peuvent coexister, et celles-ci doivent être reconnues et intégrées par les pratiques de gestion. Sous cette vision, qui était déjà visible au sein du réseau FLMMA mais de façon moins explicite, le poisson devient un objet pluriel et multiforme, qui peut prendre part à des relations avec les humains basées sur des valeurs *à la fois* économique, esthétique, symbolique et nourricière. Les pêcheurs sont être considérés à la fois comme des acteurs clés de l'économie nationale, des gardiens de la mer/de l'océan, des détenteurs de droits fondamentaux et porteurs de revendications politiques. Ces résultats contrastent avec d'autres travaux qui ont mis en avant les pratiques et les discours de "retour aux barrières" d'acteurs étatiques et non étatiques dans d'autres contextes.

Ainsi, les processus de qualification et de problématisation, qui constituaient le cœur des régimes de gestion précédents, ne sont plus pertinents dans le cadre du régime hybride. Je montre que, tout comme les modes de qualification précédents caractérisaient (et donc distinguaient) les régimes de gestion en tant que développement et de gestion en tant que conservation, la *non-qualification* caractérise mieux ce régime hybride. Cette intégration de processus de qualification et de problématisation auparavant incompatibles s'incarne dans les approches de changement de comportement et l'importance qu'elles accordent à l'*action* et aux *pratiques* environnementales plutôt qu'à l'entretien d'une *sensibilité* environnementale. Pour les bailleurs de fonds et les praticiens de la conservation, ces reconfigurations ont entraîné une révision des modèles de conservation précédents (inscrits dans des approches dites « fortress », néolibérales ou participatives) dans lesquels une valeur intrinsèque de la "nature" et des "ressources naturelles" était à défendre et à promouvoir. Je précise

comment les discours (ré)conciliants sur l'intégration et la durabilité ont remplacé (dans une certaine mesure) les discours "purs" développementalistes, conservationnistes et localistes mobilisés par les acteurs des régimes de gestion précédents. Je propose dans le **Tableau 8** de visualiser les résultats des chapitres précédents afin de mettre en évidence ce que j'ai identifié comme les caractéristiques les plus saillantes des régimes de pratique de *management-as-development*, de *management-as-conservation* et en tant du régime hybride.

Sur la base de ces résultats, je soutiens l'idée que dans le cadre du moment intégré, *l'agrégation* des valeurs, des pratiques, des normes et des discours semble prévaloir sur une véritable *réconciliation* des dualismes antérieurs dans lesquels la tension entre conservation et exploitation était ancrée. Dans cette optique, les antagonismes sont dissimulés plutôt qu'effacés par l'élaboration de solutions "gagnant-gagnant" présentées comme des passerelles possibles entre toutes les parties prenantes (humaines et non humaines). En niant les antagonismes au lieu de les aborder, et en présentant l'idée intégrative à travers la promesse d'une réconciliation, les processus de négociation sont dissimulés, bien que toujours présents. Pourtant, nous avons vu que ces processus sont déterminants dans la définition des régimes de gestion des pratiques, qui proposent des moyens (par exemple, des instruments, des systèmes de connaissances) pour organiser la place et les comportements des poissons et des pêcheurs. Si elle est formulée dans le cadre de tels discours gagnant-gagnant, comme par exemple lorsqu'elle se base sur un modèle de « croissance bleue », l'idée intégrative comporte des risques de dépolitisation des questions relatives aux relations entre l'homme et la nature, qui sont, pourtant, par essence hautement politiques.

**Tableau 8. Caractérisation des trois régimes de pratiques identifiés dans la thèse**

Sous-système politique	Caractérisation	Outils théoriques	Management-as-developmmt	Management-as-conservation	Régime hybride
Gestion de la pêche côtière	De quoi ?	Qualification	Le poisson en tant que ressource et les pêcheurs en tant que potentiel productif	Les poissons et les pêcheurs faisant partie du <i>vanua</i> Fidjien + les poissons en tant qu'éléments de la biodiversité	Non-qualification : les poissons et les pêcheurs doivent être flexibles pour participer au régime hybride.
		Problématisation	Gestion pour une production maximale mais durable	La gestion comme nécessitant une « bonne » gouvernance (i.e. contrôle local, respect des modes de production traditionnels et compatibilité avec les objectifs de conservation de la biodiversité). Principe de gagnant-gagnant	La gestion doit trouver un juste milieu pour plus d'efficacité. Principe de gagnant-gagnant étendu.
	Par qui ?	Advocacy coalitions	Ministère de la pêche, organisations scientifiques et de gestion régionales/internationales, bailleurs de fonds pour le développement, pêcheurs...	ONG et bailleurs de fonds pour la conservation, chercheurs de l'USP, groupes de pêcheurs locaux et dirigeants locaux.	Ministère de la pêche, ONG et financeurs de la conservation, institutions environnementales internationales (CITES, CBD...)
	Comment ?	Instruments, stratégies	Subventions, inventaires, modèles (ex: RMD)	LMMA et <i>tabu</i>	L'AMP reste un instrument central car flexible Approches hybrides et nouvelles gouvernances : approches volontaires + coercitives
	Pourquoi ?	Système de croyance / Discours	Développementalistes et néolibéraux	Conservationnistes et localistes	Développementaliste + néolibéral + conservationniste + localiste

## Conclusion

Cette thèse, qui vise à déployer une écologie politique de la gestion des pêches côtières à Fidji, s'appuie sur des outils et des concepts issus à la fois de l'écologie politique et de l'analyse politique. Ces deux courants de recherche en sciences sociales se croisent et se complètent sur différents points d'attention, notamment les processus multi-scalaires, les relations de pouvoir entre les acteurs impliqués dans les arènes environnementales, ou encore la prise en compte des acteurs étatiques et non-étatiques et de leurs modes de gouvernance respectifs. Cette recherche repose sur une recherche ethnographique multi-située et multi-scalaire, elle déploie une approche "*follow-the-policy*" (Peck and Theodore 2012), et s'est construite grâce à des méthodologies variées telles qu'une ethnographie événementielle, la réalisation d'entretiens semi-dirigés, ainsi que d'observations participantes et non-participantes. Cette étude empirique a été très affectée par la pandémie de Covid-19, qui a représenté un revers majeur mais a également favorisé des formes de créativité et d'innovation dans les manières de conduire une recherche ethnographique malgré que le terrain d'étude soit devenu physiquement inaccessible.

J'ai abordé la gestion des pêches comme une façon d'organiser, d'encadrer et de contrôler les poissons, les pêcheurs ainsi que les interactions entre les deux, en d'autres termes comme une façon de les gouverner. Cette définition de la gestion diffère de celle utilisée par certaines parties prenantes et certains chercheurs, qui considèrent la gestion comme étant réduite à ses dimensions techniques et scientifiques.

Les premiers chapitres délimitent les contours des premiers régimes de gestion des pêches côtières à Fidji établi par différentes coalitions depuis 1870 jusqu'à aujourd'hui, et d'étudier comment les tensions entre développement et conservation ont été traitées dans chaque période identifiée. Les régimes de *management-as-development* et de *management-as-conservation* ont affiché pendant de nombreuses années des incompatibilités idéologiques et pratiques majeures. Puis, un régime hybride a émergé au début des années 2010 de la rencontre de deux trajectoires : (1) le programme de croissance bleue lancé par le gouvernement fidjien dans le cadre d'ambitions à la fois environnementales et économiques pour un Pacifique bleu, dans lequel Fidji est placé comme un état leader ; et (2) la nouvelle stratégie imposée par les bailleurs de fonds de la conservation à leurs ONG bénéficiaires. Au point de convergence entre ces deux trajectoires, les pêcheries côtières ont émergé comme un élément central pour des coalitions auparavant disjointes, qui se sont alors connectées autour d'un lien de durabilité.

Le concept d'hybridité a été mobilisé pour saisir ces évolutions, en particulier pour analyser les frontières de plus en plus floues entre le développement et la conservation, et pour évaluer "*dans quelle mesure les ingrédients fusionnent-ils, ou coexistent-ils simplement sous des formes non connectées ?*" (Frank et Stollberg 2004:76). J'ai démontré comment les instruments (par exemple les AMP, les campagnes de communication sur les restrictions de pêches) et les approches (par exemple la gestion

communautaire des ressources de pêche) de la conservation ont été hybridés, et donc transformés, suite à leur rencontre avec les normes et les pratiques de l'État. Dans le régime hybride qui a émergé de cette rencontre, la conservation et le développement deviennent des forces mutuellement constitutives et font preuve de divers degrés d'adaptabilité, de cooptation ou d'accommodation. Les discours conciliants sur l'intégration et la durabilité ont remplacé (dans une certaine mesure) les discours "purs" développementalistes, conservationnistes et localistes mobilisés par les acteurs des régimes de gestion précédents. J'ai alors démontré que les processus de qualification et de problématisation, qui constituaient le cœur de ces précédents régimes de gestion, ne sont plus pertinents dans la formation du régime hybride : la non-qualification peut donc être considérée comme caractéristique de ce régime.

Le moment intégré est donc mis en avant comme une voie vers la réconciliation en ce qu'il permet de dépasser les limites posées par les dualismes précédents (i.e. conservation/exploitation, mais plus largement nature/culture, sciences naturelles/sciences sociales, occidental/non occidental, etc.) Cependant, cette étude a montré que, peut-être plutôt qu'une réconciliation, le moment intégré et les processus d'hybridation qu'il apporte semblent produire l'*agrégation* de différentes positions et vues (par exemple sur les relations homme-océans, sur les poissons et les qualifications des pêcheurs, etc.) Dans les « agrégats » qui en résultent, les pratiques, normes et discours incompatibles semblent rester prégnants mais sont plutôt dissimulés, déproblématisés et donc dépolitisés. En effet, comme l'ont montré d'autres études de *political ecology* auparavant, la rhétorique du gagnant-gagnant repose, en partie, sur l'invisibilisation ou la minimisation de l'apport des acteurs non dominants qui restent souvent à l'écart de ce qui reste de véritables négociations politiques, même si celles-ci ne sont plus présentées comme telles (Chaigneau et Brown 2016, Bennett 2015). Pourtant, dans le cas d'étude Fidjien, ces incompatibilités refont occasionnellement surface et leur charge politique se manifeste alors, laissant entrevoir la centralité des relations politiques entre, et des systèmes de valeurs des différentes parties prenantes de la gestion.

Enfin, cette thèse se conclue avec l'analyse de différentes dimensions et points de vue sur l'intégration qui coexistent et sont ancrées dans les discours et les pratiques produits sous le régime hybride. Notamment, les notions de *flexibilité* et de *pluralisme*, toutes deux associées par différents acteurs à l'idée intégrative, font appel à des visions et des approches différentes de l'intégration, à savoir une intégration ancrée dans l'idéologie néolibérale et une intégration articulée à des formes régionalistes de libéralisme culturel-politique. Bien sûr, ces deux visions de l'intégration (c'est-à-dire comme permettant une flexibilité nécessaire aux programmes néolibéraux ou comme soutien à un pluralisme océanien) ne concordent pas et ne s'alignent pas sur de nombreux aspects, et peuvent même être considérées comme aspirant à des objectifs opposés. Cependant, je montre comment, à travers la diffusion de discours intégrés similaires, ces deux visions s'alimentent mutuellement, notamment dans leur recours à des modèles conceptuellement flous comme la croissance bleue, l'économie bleue ou à



des rhétoriques de développement durable qui visent à dissimuler les tensions persistantes. Ce faisant, les deux visions participent au même mouvement intégrateur (*all-encompassing*) que des auteurs comme Chiapello et Boltanski (1999) ou Rodary (2019) ont identifié dans d'autres contextes.<sup>224</sup>

## Perspectives

Cette étude représente une base solide pour de futures recherches sur la gestion de la pêche et de l'environnement marin, et j'espère que les chercheuses et chercheurs, en particulier celles et ceux de la région du Pacifique Sud, s'en saisiront. Suite aux restrictions amenées par la pandémie mondiale de Covid-19, certains axes de recherche n'ont pas pu aboutir et mériteraient d'être réintégrés dans de futures recherches. Les questions suivantes restent par exemple à explorer : comment les groupes de pêcheurs locaux et les individus participent-ils, défient-ils ou contournent-ils le régime hybride que j'ai identifié et décrit ? Comment se positionnent-ils et s'engagent-ils dans les tensions restantes entre conservation et développement ? Quel avenir pour la pratique de la conservation à Fidji ? Et quel avenir pour les pêcheries côtières dans un monde de pandémie Covid et post-Covid ? De plus, l'approche comparative initialement prévue pour mettre en perspective les cas fidjien et néo-calédonien a été abandonnée, au profit d'une recherche ethnographique plus développée sur le cas Fidjien. La réalisation de cette étude comparative apporterait sans aucun doute de l'épaisseur aux travaux présentés dans cette thèse.

Une autre question stimulante pour compléter la présente étude serait : dans quelle mesure les non-humains, et notamment ici les poissons, se retrouvent-ils *intégrés* dans les différents régimes décrits ? Quelle place leur est laissée et quelle place acquièrent-ils eux-mêmes dans les processus de gestion ? De nombreux travaux de recherche plaident de plus en plus en faveur de la prise en compte de l'agentivité des non-humains (vivants et non vivants) dans les processus de gestion, de gouvernance et de planification de l'environnement. Les chercheurs inscrits dans le champ des humanités environnementales (Emmett et Nye 2017) explorent notamment la politique plus qu'humaine des interactions et des relations entre humains et animaux dans l'environnement marin. L'article co-écrit avec Juliette Kon Kam King sur la gestion des requins par la planification spatiale à Fidji et en Nouvelle-Calédonie pose des bases intéressantes pour explorer cette question (Kon Kam King et Riera 2022). Cet article analyse l'intégration des requins dans la gestion spatiale marine et discute de la manière dont la "bonne place" respective des requins et des humains en mer est en permanence renégociée et redéfinie.

---

<sup>224</sup> En effet, ces auteurs ont reconnu un mouvement de conciliation de ce qui était auparavant en tension, voire en conflit, c'est-à-dire le capitalisme et la critique de gauche/artistique du capitalisme pour Chiapello et Boltanski et les connexions établies par les politiques de conservation pour relier la "nature" et les personnes, ou les frontières nationales et les réseaux internationaux pour Rodary.

De telles réflexions, appliquées par exemple à l'interdiction de pêche saisonnière du mérrou et de la loche explorée dans le Chapitre 7, enrichiraient certainement l'analyse des politiques "humaines" qui ont été au cœur de la présente étude.

Enfin, les questions suivantes, posées depuis plusieurs décennies par un grand nombre de penseurs Océaniens (notamment Bambridge et al. 2021, voir aussi Rapp 2004 pour une revue de la littérature sur ce sujet) et non-Océaniens me paraissent cruciales : *face aux limites des solutions technoscientifiques aux crises socio-environnementales, comment les PTIP peuvent-ils porter et représenter une voix alternative pour transformer la gouvernance et la gestion des ressources naturelles, dans cette région et au-delà ? Comment les États et les populations des PTIP peuvent-ils profiter du moment d'intégration pour remettre en question les modèles de gestion et de gouvernance « classiques » dans les arènes environnementales internationales ?* Pour aller dans ce sens, les gestionnaires de la région du Pacifique Sud doivent non seulement aborder la question des multiples connaissances, pratiques et relations avec la "nature" présentes dans la région (ce qui est de plus en plus le cas), mais doivent aussi faire face à la diversité des histoires politiques qui ont continuellement façonné la souveraineté océanienne. La prise en compte, l'*intégration*, de cette pluralité de voix océaniques et des visions alternatives qu'elles soutiennent, devrait donc constituer la principale priorité pour la réflexion et la pratique futures de la gestion.

# Zusammenfassung der Dissertation auf Deutsch

## **Integration von Schutz und Nutzung mariner Ressourcen in einem sich schnell verändernden Pazifischen Ozean**

Die Ozeane und die rapiden Veränderungen, denen sie ausgesetzt sind, werden zunehmend in der lokalen und internationalen Öffentlichkeit diskutiert, im Gegensatz zu dem langen politischen Schweigen, dem sie zuvor ausgesetzt waren. Parallel dazu werden die Stimmen der Menschen lauter, die direkt mit diesen Veränderungen konfrontiert sind und zurecht mehr Beachtung, Gerechtigkeit und Maßnahmen einfordern. Infolgedessen haben die Ozeane in den letzten Jahren einen zentralen Platz auf der globalen und nationalen politischen Agenda eingenommen, wie die Verabschiedung der Agenda 2030 der Vereinten Nationen im Jahr 2015 und das darin enthaltene Ziel 14 für nachhaltige Entwicklung (SDG 14) zeigen, das darauf abzielt, *"die Ozeane, Meere und Meeresressourcen für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung zu erhalten und nachhaltig zu nutzen"*. In jüngster Zeit haben auch die Verpflichtung von 84 Ländern auf dem One Ocean Summit 2022, bis 2030 30 % der Meeresgebiete zu schützen, sowie die Betonung der Rolle der Ozeane in den letzten Berichten des Zwischenstaatlichen Ausschusses für Klimaänderungen (IPCC 2022) dazu beigetragen, dass maritime Belange in internationalen Verhandlungen und in der Öffentlichkeit stärker in den Vordergrund gerückt sind.

Insbesondere in der Meeresumwelt wird ein "silostrukturiertes Management", das sich auf einzelne Sektoren oder Ressourcen konzentriert, zunehmend als unzureichend und unangemessen dargestellt, da die Vernetzung des Weltozeans und seiner ökologischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Dimensionen immer mehr anerkannt wird (Aswani *et al.* 2018). Dementsprechend haben sich in den letzten Jahren die Forderungen nach ganzheitlicheren Ansätzen mit verschiedenen, sich teilweise überschneidenden Modellen wie "ökosystembasiertes Management", "marine Raumplanung" oder "integriertes Küstenzonenmanagement" verstärkt. Diese "integrierten" Ansätze werden von neuen Akteurskoalitionen, die neue Diskurse und Praktiken vorschlagen, geprägt und formen diese Koalitionen im Gegenzug. Sie stellen Versuche dar, die oft konkurrierenden Ansprüche auf Meeresräume und -ressourcen mit neuen Modalitäten für den Zugang, die Nutzung und die Kontrolle über diese Räume und Ressourcen nachhaltig zu organisieren, sowie neue Vorschläge für die Planung menschlicher Aktivitäten im gesamten Meeresbereich zu entwerfen.

Die Sektoren Fischerei und Erhaltung der biologischen Vielfalt im Meer wurden besonders nachdrücklich aufgefordert, ihre Ansichten und Praktiken im Hinblick auf eine gemeinsame, integrierte Vision in Einklang zu bringen. Eine solche Versöhnung wird oft als schwierig dargestellt. Einerseits wurde das Fischereimanagement historisch so gestaltet, dass es nationalen Entwicklungszielen diene, die die Fortsetzung oder Ausweitung der menschlichen Nutzung von Ökosystemen mit dem Ziel der Erfüllung gegenwärtiger menschlicher Bedürfnisse erfordern (FAO 2015, World Bank 2015, Hills *et al.*

2019). Andererseits jedoch erfordert die Erhaltung in ihrem historischen und strengen Sinne die Begrenzung (oder drastische Minimierung) der menschlichen Nutzung von Ökosystemen zum Nutzen sowohl der heutigen als auch künftiger Generationen (CBD 2011, IUCN 2011). Um das letztgenannte Ziel zu erreichen, wurde von der internationalen Gemeinschaft ein weltweites System von Schutzrichtlinien geschaffen, das in der Regel auf die quantitative Einrichtung von Meeresschutzgebieten als Reaktion auf die zunehmenden globalen und lokalen Bedrohungen der Meeres- und Küstenökosysteme abzielt (CBD 2011, IUCN 2011).

Die Vereinbarkeit von Fischerei- und Naturschutzaktivitäten in der Meeresbewirtschaftung und -governance erscheint daher konzeptionell, pragmatisch sowie epistemologisch komplex. Als Teil des globalen Integrationsprozesses vervielfachen sich jedoch die Verbindungen zwischen den beiden Sektoren, vor allem durch zwei parallele und multiskalare Bewegungen: (1) das Mainstreaming von Naturschutzdiskursen und -praktiken im Fischereimanagement (Friedman et al. 2018), und (2) die Entfaltung "entwicklungspolitischer Konfigurationen" durch Naturschutzorganisationen und ihre verstärkte Einbindung in Fischereimanagementaktivitäten (Hart et al. 2006, Rodary 2008). Infolgedessen wird das Fischereimanagement sowohl auf See als auch an der Küste, und von der globalen bis zur lokalen Ebene zunehmend reformiert, um den Zielen der Nachhaltigkeit der Bestände und der Erhaltung der biologischen Vielfalt Rechnung zu tragen (De La Croix and Mitroi 2020). Diese Ökologisierung<sup>225</sup> der Bewirtschaftungspraktiken wurde durch den Eintritt neuer Akteuren:innen in das Fischereimanagement begünstigt und hat die Art und Weise, wie die Meeresressourcen genutzt, bewirtschaftet und verwaltet werden, stark beeinflusst. Vor allem Nichtregierungsorganisationen (NRO) aus dem Bereich des Naturschutzes haben sich zunehmend an den Schauplätzen des Fischereimanagements beteiligt und zu diesem Zweck ihre Diskurse, Praktiken und Arbeitsweisen angepasst. Dies sowohl intern als auch in der Art und Weise, wie sie mit anderen Akteuren:innen zusammenarbeiten (z. B. staatlichen Behörden, lokalen Gemeinden, Fischereiorganisationen). Diese beiden parallelen Bewegungen wurden bisher nur unzureichend dokumentiert, und die Anpassungen und Spannungen, die sie hervorrufen, sind insgesamt nur unzureichend bekannt (siehe jedoch Hart et al. 2006; Salomon et al. 2011; De La Croix and Mitroi 2020).

Die Suche nach "Win-Win"-Strategien, die es ermöglichen, gleichzeitig die Integrität des Ökosystems und die Bedürfnisse des Menschen zu erfüllen, oft durch mehr oder weniger partizipative Ansätze, wird bestenfalls als Herausforderung dargestellt und ansonsten als mit begrenzten oder keinen Auswirkungen auf die Fischbestände- oder menschliche Populationen verbunden (Stöhr *et al.* 2014,

---

<sup>225</sup> Ich beziehe mich hier auf die Definition von (Ginelli 2017:2) der die Ökologisierung als ein "*Unternehmen des kognitiven und normativen Reframings - eine Veränderung der Denkweise und der Beurteilung eines sozialen Verhaltens - sieht, das auf eine mehr oder weniger starke ökologische Beugung der (gesetzlichen oder impliziten) Normen und sozialen Praktiken abzielt, die in dem betreffenden Bereich gelten*" (meine Übersetzung aus dem Französischen).

Brockington *et al.* 2018). Meistens wird der Rückgriff auf vage definierte nachhaltige und integrative Logiken beklagt, die real stattfindende Kompromisse und Verhandlungen (z. B. zwischen Nutzungs- und Schutzzielen) weitestgehend vernachlässigen. Genau diese Kompromisse und Verhandlungen, die den Konzepten der Nachhaltigkeit und Integration im Umwelt- und Fischereimanagement zugrunde liegen, stehen im Mittelpunkt dieser Studie.

### **Spannungen zwischen Schutz und Nutzung mariner Ressourcen in Ländern und Gebieten des Pazifischen Ozeans (PICTs)**

Die tropischen Riffe, Mangroven und Lagunen der PICTs bieten einen reichhaltigen Kontext um die Verflechtungen zwischen Naturschutz und Fischerei beim Management von Küsten- und Meeresökosystemen zu untersuchen. Diese Ökosysteme sind nicht nur von zentraler Bedeutung für die sozialen Beziehungen, die Souveränität, die Identität und die Kultur der Bewohner der PICTs, sondern stellen auch eine wichtige Quelle für die globale Biodiversität und einen Hauptpfeiler der nationalen Wirtschaft und der lokalen Lebensgrundlagen dar. Dennoch sind sie heute durch Raubbau an den Ressourcen, Verschmutzung, Tiefseebergbau, Urbanisierung der Küstengebiete, Versauerung der Meere und vor allem durch die zunehmende kommerzielle Fischerei besonders gefährdet (Gillett 2014). In den letzten zehn Jahren sahen sich die zahlreichen Interessengruppen, die an der Bewirtschaftung von Meeresgebieten und -arten auf mehreren Ebenen beteiligt sind, zunehmend mit der schwierigen Aufgabe konfrontiert, produktive Tätigkeiten für den lokalen Lebensunterhalt und die nationale Wirtschaft aufrechtzuerhalten, und gleichzeitig die Unversehrtheit reicher Ökosysteme und der biologischen Vielfalt der Meere zu gewährleisten. Solche Verflechtungen werden von den Institutionen, die die regionale Umweltpolitik gestalten, durchaus anerkannt (SPC 2015, SPREP 2016, PIF 2017).

Neben der Hochseefischerei, dem Tourismus und dem Bergbau ist die Küstenfischerei<sup>226</sup> einer der wichtigsten Wirtschaftszweige in den PICTs - und das in zunehmendem Maße seit der Covid-19-Pandemie (Ansell *et al.* 1996, Gillett and Cartwright 2010, Walters *et al.* 2021). Diese nicht-industrielle Fischerei wird häufig in zwei Gruppen unterteilt: nicht-kommerzielle Fischerei (d. h. Subsistenzfischerei, in der der Fang zu Hause verzehrt oder an Freunde und Verwandte weitergegeben, aber nicht verkauft wird) und kommerzielle Fischerei (d. h. handwerkliche Fischerei, in

---

<sup>226</sup> Küsten-/Inshore-/Nearshore-/Kleinfischerei ist vielfältig und pluralistisch und daher schwer zu definieren, wird aber im Allgemeinen der industriellen, hochkommerzialisierten Offshore-Fischerei gegenübergestellt. Ich beziehe mich hier auf die Definitionen von Gillett *et al.* (2014) in der die Küstenfischerei sowohl die kommerzielle als auch die nichtkommerzielle Kleinfischerei umfasst und eine große Vielfalt an Fangtechniken in unterschiedlichen Ökosystemen beinhaltet.

der der Fang ganz oder teilweise verkauft wird)<sup>227</sup> (Gillett 2014). Obwohl die Küstengewässer im Durchschnitt weniger als 1,5 % der Gewässer unter der Gerichtsbarkeit der PICTs ausmachen, trägt die Küstenfischerei etwa die Hälfte zum Bruttoinlandsprodukt der PICTs bei und leistet einen großen Beitrag zur Proteinversorgung, zum Lebensunterhalt, zum Einkommen und zur Beschäftigung (Govan 2018). Trotz ihrer wirtschaftlichen, kulturellen und sozialen Bedeutung sind die Mittel, die für die Bewirtschaftung der Küstenfischerei auf nationaler und regionaler Ebene eingesetzt werden, denen für die Bewirtschaftung der lukrativeren Hochseefischerei (insbesondere Thunfisch) weitgehend unterlegen (Gillett *et al.* 2014). Infolgedessen werden diese Aktivitäten immer wieder untererfasst und unterbewertet. Selbst in Fidschi, wo die kommerzielle Küstenfischerei zahlenmäßig größer ist als in jedem anderen PICT, war das Küstenfischereimanagement in der Vergangenheit durch den fehlenden politischen Willen geprägt, angemessene Finanzmittel für ein wirksames Management der Küstenressourcen bereitzustellen, das in der Vergangenheit im Aufbau lokaler und nationaler Fischereikapazitäten bestand (Veitayaki *et al.* 2003, Gillett *et al.* 2014).

Darüber hinaus wurden die Bewirtschaftung und Steuerung der reichen, natürlichen Ressourcen und der biologischen Vielfalt der Region in der Vergangenheit auf der Grundlage westlicher Praktiken und Narrativen konzipiert und umgesetzt, die eine Vision der Welt und des Ozeans widerspiegeln, die in vielerlei Hinsicht im Gegensatz zu den pazifischen relationalen Ontologien steht. Dieser historische Trend erfuhr in jüngster Zeit einen neuen Impuls durch den "neuen Wettkampf um die Meere", der im Südpazifik besonders ausgeprägt ist (Fache *et al.* 2021), in dem die Privatisierung und Planung der Meere, sowie Projekte zur Abgrenzung von Meeresräumen und -leben neue Grenzen errichten, die auf naturalistischen Weltanschauungen beruhen, die Natur und Kultur trennen (Descola 2005, McCormack 2021). Gestützt auf tiefe und lebendige kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen mit dem Ozean haben die PICTs in den letzten Jahren aktiv ihre Identität als Inselstaaten im Großen Pazifischen Ozean<sup>228</sup> neu formuliert. Eine Identität, aus der sich souveräne Rechte über den "Blauen Pazifik" ergeben (Bambridge *et al.* 2021). Diese Dynamik hat zu einer geopolitischen Wende hin zu einem pazifischen Regionalismus beigetragen, in dem eine "ozeanische Souveränität" (verwurzelt in den engen

---

<sup>227</sup> In der Kategorisierung von Gillett werden Fänge aus der Freizeitfischerei als Produktion für den Eigenverbrauch und damit als Bestandteil der Subsistenzfischerei betrachtet.

<sup>228</sup> In der Literatur über den Südpazifik wird häufig von pazifischen LOIS, PICTs oder pazifischen "Small Island Developing States" - PSIDS (aber auch von "pazifischen Inseln" oder "ozeanischen Staaten") gesprochen, wobei diese Ausdrücke leicht unterschiedliche Bedeutungen und Voraussetzungen haben. Die PSID tauchten auf dem Erdgipfel 1992 als eine Gruppe von Nationen auf, die ähnliche und einzigartige Anliegen teilen und ihre Ansichten über den Pazifischen Ozean und seine Ressourcen vertreten. Das Konzept der großen Inselstaaten im Pazifik (Pacific Large Ocean Island States, LOIS) wurde entwickelt, um die geopolitische und kulturelle Bedeutung der Meeresgebiete für diese Länder und Gebiete besser zu verdeutlichen. PICTs ist der in der wissenschaftlichen und grauen Literatur am häufigsten anzutreffende Begriff und hat den Vorteil, dass er auch überseeische Gebiete von nicht pazifischen Ländern einschließt. Dieser Begriff wird zum Beispiel von regionalen Institutionen wie SPC, SPREP und dem Fischereiministerium verwendet. In dieser Arbeit beziehe ich mich hauptsächlich auf PICTs, um die regionale Dynamik zu erörtern, werde aber auch den eher geopolitischen Begriff der pazifischen LOIS diskutieren.

Beziehungen zum Ozean) der Schlüssel dazu ist, die Geschichte, Gegenwart und Zukunft der PICTs miteinander zu verweben (ebd.). Die bedeutenden Fortschritte, die sie in den letzten Jahren in der globalen Ozean-Governance gemacht haben, beruhen vor allem auf einer regionalen Vision von integrativem und nachhaltigem Ozeanmanagement und -Governance, die sich aus ihren gemeinsamen historischen und grundlegenden Verbindungen zum Ozean ergibt (Pratt und Govan 2010). Der Pazifische Ozean war in den letzten Jahrzehnten mit einem großen Ansturm auf seine Räume und Ressourcen konfrontiert, was die PICTs dazu veranlasste, die enge Verflechtung von Klima, Biodiversität und Ozean auf internationaler Ebene zu thematisieren (Fache et al. 2021) und sie damit zu wichtigen Akteuren in neuen Koalitionen, die sich mit Umweltfragen befassen, werden zu lassen.

Die Frage der Führungsrolle bei der Verwaltung und Bewirtschaftung der Ozeane wird umso wichtiger, als neue "blaue" Politiken (z. B. Blaues Wachstum, Blaue Wirtschaft) in der Region zunehmend gefördert und umgesetzt werden (Midlen 2021). Diese blauen Strategien, die größtenteils von internationalen Akteuren:innen wie der Weltbank, dem Umweltprogramm der Vereinten Nationen (UNEP) und dem World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) entwickelt und gefördert werden, werden von einer Vielzahl von Akteuren:innen im Südpazifik, die mit Meeresaktivitäten zu tun haben (z. B. Staaten, private Akteuren:innen, Entwicklungsorganisationen), aufgegriffen und gefördert. So wird beispielsweise eine 2014 von Fidschi gebilligte Agenda für blaues Wachstum, als ein Weg zu neuen Formen regionaler und nationaler Souveränität vorgestellt (Ministry of Strategic Planning, National Development and Statistics 2014). Dieses "*hausgemachte*" Blaue Wachstum<sup>229</sup> ist eingebettet in einen umfassenderen Versuch, die Anerkennung der PICTs und anderer Inselstaaten und -territorien weltweit als "Hüter der Ozeane" zu stärken und Fidschi eine Führungsrolle in der "neuen pazifischen Diplomatie" zu übertragen (Fry and Tarte 2015). Insbesondere der Vorschlag Fidschis für eine "Ocean Pathway Partnership"<sup>230</sup> als Folgemaßnahme zu seiner Präsidentschaft der COP23, der Klimarahmenkonvention der Vereinten Nationen (UNFCCC), und die Ausrichtung der ersten Ozeankonferenz der Vereinten Nationen (UNOC), in New York im Jahr 2017, haben dazu beigetragen, die Geschichte, die Themen und die Bedürfnisse der pazifischen LOIS auf der internationalen Bühne sichtbar zu machen.

In diesem Zusammenhang und über eine rein diskursive Positionierung hinaus hat sich der Gedanke der Integration in der Umweltpolitik in den letzten Jahren in verschiedenen Politiken und Einrichtungen in Fidschi und im Südpazifik durchgesetzt. Der allgemeine Trend zu mehr Zusammenarbeit und Partnerschaften im Küstenfischereimanagement hat sich in den letzten zehn Jahren

---

<sup>229</sup> "Opening Address at The PM's Green Growth Framework Summit" *Fijian Government* (online, 12/06/2014) Verfügbar unter <https://www.fiji.gov.fj/media-centre/speeches/english/rear-admiral-j-v-bainimarama-opening-address-at> (Zugriff am 23/03/2022).

<sup>230</sup> Fidschi hat die Ocean Pathway Partnership ins Leben gerufen, um die Ozeane in die Klimaschutzagenda der UNFCCC zu integrieren. COP23 (online, August 2018) Verfügbar unter <https://cop23.com.fj/the-ocean-pathway> (Zugriff am 28/03/2021).

auf mehreren Ebenen beschleunigt: zwischen Sektoren (z. B. Fischerei, Naturschutz, Tourismus, Landwirtschaft, nationale Planung), zwischen Interessengruppen (Staat und NRO sowie privaten Akteuren:innen, die in dieser Arbeit jedoch nicht behandelt werden) und zwischen verschiedenen Ebenen (regional, national und lokal).

## **Forschungsfragen**

Das allgemeine Ziel dieser Arbeit ist das Verstehen:

- der vergangenen und gegenwärtigen Veränderungen der Bewirtschaftung der Küstenfischerei in Fidschi, insbesondere im Hinblick auf ihre Übereinstimmung mit den Naturschutznormen und -politiken;
- der Entwicklung der Diskurse und Praktiken der Koalitionen von Akteuren:innen, die an diesen Transformationen beteiligt sind.

In dieser Arbeit vertrete ich die These, dass diese vielschichtigen Akteurskoalitionen in Fidschi historisch unterschiedliche Küstenfischereimanagementsysteme geformt haben, indem sie entweder die Priorisierung wirtschaftlicher Entwicklungs- oder Biodiversitätserhaltungsziele verteidigten oder sich an der Verflechtung von Ausbeutungs- und Schutzzielen für nachhaltige und integrierte Ozeane beteiligten. Ausgehend von dieser Ausgangslage habe ich mich bei meiner Analyse von zwei Hauptforschungsfragen leiten lassen:

- Wie werden die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung und die Politik zur Erhaltung der biologischen Vielfalt derzeit miteinander verknüpft, um ein "integriertes" Küstenfischereimanagement zu schaffen?
- Wie verändert die Operationalisierung einer "integrierten" Managementagenda die Machtverhältnisse zwischen den Beteiligten, vor allem zwischen staatlichen und nichtstaatlichen Akteuren:innen, die am Management beteiligt sind?

## **Teil I. Theoretischer und methodologischer Rahmen**

In Teil I erläutere ich den theoretischen und methodischen Rahmen, den ich für die Untersuchung dieser Forschungsfragen genutzt habe. Im ersten Kapitel schlage ich vor, die Aufmerksamkeit der politischen Ökologie für die Machtdynamik in Umweltmanagement-Arenen mit Instrumenten der Politikanalyse zu kombinieren, um herauszufinden, wie sich Koalitionen von Akteuren:innen bei der Konstituierung eines angewandten Managementregimes bilden. Im zweiten Kapitel beschreibe ich die Methoden, die in den verschiedenen Phasen dieser, auf empirischen, induktiven und multiskaligen Ansätzen basierenden, Untersuchung zum Einsatz kamen.



In dieser Arbeit betrachte ich die Bewirtschaftung natürlicher Ressourcen als eine Gesamtheit von Praktiken, Normen und Diskursen, die durch verschiedene Wissenssysteme (z. B. juristische, wirtschaftliche, religiöse und wissenschaftliche) gestützt werden, welche im Laufe der Zeit entwickelt wurden, um die Beziehungen zwischen den Menschen und ihrer Umwelt (und genauer gesagt der menschlichen Nutzung dieser Umwelt) zu gestalten. Aufbauend auf der Arbeit von Lockwood und Davis (2010) schlage ich daher vor, Fischereimanagement als ein Regime von Praktiken zu verstehen, das sich durch Qualifizierungs- und Problematisierungsprozesse konstituiert. Die Qualifizierung erfolgt durch Prozesse, die das Objekt selbst abgrenzen - was es ausmacht und was nicht -, während die Problematisierung die damit verbundenen Probleme beschreibt (z. B. bei Fischbeständen die Möglichkeit ihrer Erschöpfung; Auswirkungen der Fischerei auf die biologische Vielfalt). Im Bereich der Fischerei geschieht dies durch die Vorgabe angepasster Praktiken und Verhaltensweisen derjenigen, die im und vom Meer leben: Fischereimanagement ist keineswegs auf seine technischen Dimensionen reduziert, sondern stellt eine Möglichkeit dar, Fische und Fischer:innen anzuzuleiten, d.h. sie zu organisieren, zu gestalten und zu kontrollieren.

Bei der Untersuchung der Dynamik zwischen Schutz und Entwicklung, die sich in der Nutzung, Bewirtschaftung und Steuerung der Fischerei verankert hat, habe ich meine theoretischen, methodischen und analytischen Überlegungen auf einen großen Teil der Literatur aus der politisch-ökologischen Forschung gestützt. Politische Ökologie wird oft als *"empirische, forschungsbasierte Untersuchung zur Erklärung von Zusammenhängen im Zustand und Wandel von Sozial- und Umweltsystemen unter ausdrücklicher Berücksichtigung von Machtverhältnissen"* betrachtet. (Robbins 2011). Insgesamt fechten die politischen Ökologen die Vorstellung an, dass die Umweltzerstörung das Ergebnis objektiver Probleme ist, die durch Wissenschaft und Technik (z. B. durch Umwelttechnik) gelöst werden können. Stattdessen zeigen sie, dass Ökosysteme in sozio-politische Beziehungen verstrickt sind, und versuchen, die "Natur" als dauerhaft eingebettet in menschliche historische und geografische Kontexte zu betrachten.

Darüber hinaus haben Politikwissenschaftler:innen zahlreiche Konzepte und Rahmenwerke entwickelt, um dem Problem des politischen Pluralismus in den Bereichen Umweltgovernance und -management Rechnung zu tragen. Noch heute stellt Paul Sabatiers Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) (Sabatier 1998) einen der vollständigsten und anregendsten Rahmen für die Analyse der Modalitäten der Ausarbeitung und Umsetzung öffentlicher Maßnahmen in pluralistischen politischen Kontexten dar (Jenkins-Smith et al. 2018, Ma et al. 2020, Cisneros 2021). Die Stärke von Sabatiers ACF liegt insbesondere in der Berücksichtigung kognitiver, normativer und strategischer (oder instrumenteller) Dimensionen, die in anderen sozialwissenschaftlichen Modellen oft eher getrennt betrachtet werden. Sabatiers Arbeit über Advocacy-Koalitionen unterstreicht, dass öffentliches Handeln eine zutiefst kognitive Funktion hat und dass Ideen und Interessen, Instrumente und Institutionen bei

der Analyse der Entstehung und des Wandels von Politiken berücksichtigt werden müssen. In der Tat kann eine öffentliche Politik im Rahmen des ACF als das Produkt eines spezifischen Systems von Überzeugungen definiert werden, das aus der kontinuierlichen Konfrontation und den sukzessiven Kompromissen zwischen den Überzeugungssystemen jeder Koalition innerhalb eines bestimmten Teilsystems (d. h. in diesem Fall des fidschianischen Küstenfischereimanagements) hervorgeht. Innerhalb eines Teilsystems *teilen* Koalitionen "(a) eine Reihe von normativen und kausalen Überzeugungen und (b) engagieren sich im Laufe der Zeit in einem nicht-trivialen Ausmaß an koordinierten Aktivitäten" (Sabatier 1998:103)". Abgesehen davon, dass sie mit meiner konstruktivistischen und historischen Sichtweise des Managements natürlicher Ressourcen übereinstimmen, überschneiden und ergänzen sich diese beiden verwandten Forschungsbereiche in verschiedenen Punkten. Zum Beispiel in Bezug auf die Bedeutung der Berücksichtigung multiskalarer Prozesse und Beziehungen.

Um sich eingehender mit dem Aufbau und der Umsetzung von Fischerei- und Umweltmanagement zu befassen, war die Managementsoziologie eine wichtige Inspiration, insbesondere die Arbeit von Lascoumes und Le Galès (2004) über öffentliche Umweltpolitiken. Ihr Ansatz für öffentliches Handeln im Umweltbereich empfiehlt, die Managementinstrumente genauer zu betrachten, die sie als "*eine mehr oder weniger koordinierte Reihe von Regeln und Verfahren zur Regelung der Interaktionen und des Verhaltens von Akteuren und Organisationen*" definieren (Lascoumes and Le Galès 2004:15, my translation from French). Ich bin daran interessiert herauszufinden, wie Managementinstrumente verschiedene Arten der Qualifizierung und Problematisierung der Fischerei vorschlagen. Mit anderen Worten, wie sie ein bestimmtes Regime von Verfahren und Herangehensweisen materialisieren.

Um abschließend zu beschreiben, was das Küstenfischereimanagement im Laufe der Zeit geprägt hat und was es heute prägt, müssen recht klare Fragen gestellt werden, auf die die verschiedenen in diesem Kapitel entwickelten Konzepte und Theorien eine Antwort geben können (**Tablelle 1**).

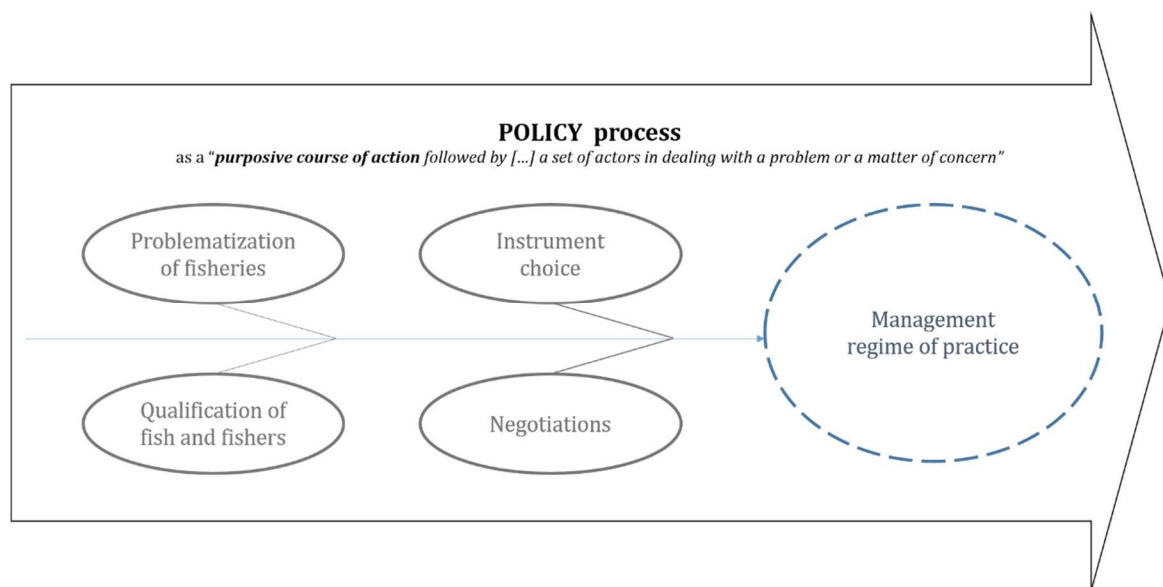
**Tablelle 1. Theoretische Instrumente zur Charakterisierung des Teilsystems Fischereimanagement in Küstengebieten**

Politisches Teilsystem	Charakterisierung	Theoretische Instrumente und Ansätze
Fischereimanagement in Küstengebieten	<i>Wovon?</i>	Qualifizierung / Problematisierung (Fisch, Fischer:innen, Fischerei...)
	<i>Von wem?</i>	Koalitionen und Machtverhältnisse
	<i>Wie?</i>	Instrumente, Diskurse

	<i>Und warum?</i>	Glaubenssystem (ACF)
--	-------------------	----------------------

Dieser Rahmen ermöglicht es mir, die Konturen dessen abzustecken, was "Küstenfischereimanagement" zu verschiedenen Zeiten und für verschiedene Koalitionen ausmacht, und zu beschreiben, was sich als neues *Praxisregime* herausbildet. Wichtig ist, dass ich damit die Spannungen zwischen Entwicklung und Erhaltung untersuchen kann, die diese aufeinanderfolgenden oder sich überschneidenden Regime mit sich bringen.

In **Abbildung 2** stelle ich eine schematische Darstellung der verschiedenen, in diesem Kapitel vorgestellten Konzepte vor, um zu beschreiben, wie ich das Fischereimanagement in dieser Arbeit erschließe.



**Abbildung 2. Schematische Darstellung des konzeptionellen Rahmens für das Fischereimanagement:** ein Praxisregime, das aus Prozessen der Qualifizierung und Problematisierung besteht, gefolgt von der Wahl der Managementinstrumente und Verhandlungen zwischen den Akteuren:innen.

In Kapitel 2 gehe ich auf die Forschungsmethoden und -ansätze ein, die die verschiedenen Phasen strukturiert haben, die die fast vierjährige Arbeit an dieser Promotion ausmachen. Für diese Studie habe ich einen empirischen, induktiven und mehrstufigen Ansatz entwickelt und eine siebenmonatige Feldforschung auf vier der 333 Inseln Fidschis (3 Monate) sowie in Neukaledonien (4 Monate) durchgeführt. Die Daten wurden während dieser Feldforschung hauptsächlich mit sozio-anthropologischen Methoden erhoben. Durch semi-strukturierte Interviews und Beobachtungen, sowohl vor Ort als auch online, traf ich auf verschiedene Interessensgruppen, die am Fischereimanagement beteiligt sind, und untersuchte mit ihnen Fragen der Governance, des Managements und der Erhaltung

der Meeresressourcen in den Küstengebieten. Um die Ansichten der Akteure:innen zu diesen Themen besser zu verstehen und zu kontextualisieren, führte ich außerdem eine umfassende Literaturrecherche durch, die ein breites Spektrum an grauer Literatur, Online-Medien (Zeitungen und soziale Netzwerke) und die kolonialen Archive Fidschis umfasste. Insbesondere die Arbeit in Archiven ermöglichte es mir, die Forschung zu historischen (Dis-)Kontinuitäten von Governance- und Managementregimen sowie von Fischerei- und Managementpraktiken zu vertiefen.

Während der verschiedenen Forschungsphasen habe ich einen "follow the policy"-Ansatz (Peck and Theodore 2012) angewandt, um Daten zu verschiedenen politischen Maßnahmen zu sammeln, die im Rahmen des Küstenfischereimanagements ergriffen wurden. Dieser Ansatz stützt sich auf die multi-lokale Ethnografie, um die Mobilität und Veränderung von Politikmodellen zu untersuchen (Peck and Theodore 2012). Er basiert auf der Prämisse, dass man, um Daten über eine "mobile" Politik zu sammeln, mit ihr reisen und ihre Veränderungen in verschiedenen geografischen und politischen Räumen verfolgen muss, was mit dem von mir vorgeschlagenen multiskalaren und historischen Ansatz vereinbar ist. Bei diesem "Follow-the-Policy"-Ansatz geht es nicht darum, lokale "Realitäten" und nationale/internationale Entscheidungslogiken miteinander zu konfrontieren, sondern darum, die (Dis-)Kontinuitäten, Anpassungen und Transformationen zwischen diesen zu entschlüsseln. Er ermöglicht es, die hochdynamische, fließende und zunehmend politisierte Natur von Themen wie Umweltmanagement und Governance oder partizipativer Naturschutz in der globalen Wirtschaft offenzulegen und die wachsende und sich diversifizierende Mobilität, die sich aus der Globalisierung ergibt, zu berücksichtigen (Peck and Theodore 2012). Dies geschieht vor allem durch eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit für die Bewegung und die daraus resultierenden Veränderungen von Ideen, Diskursen und Vorgehensweisen, die zum Beispiel bei internationalen oder regionalen Veranstaltungen (wie der RTMCF oder CITES, siehe Kapitel 6) entstehen und sich dann in nationalen und lokalen Arenen entfalten.

Darüber hinaus hat die Covid-19-Pandemie, wie bei den meisten Forscher:innen weltweit, die Durchführung geplanter Feldforschungen sowie die generelle Entfaltung meines Forschungsprojekts drastisch beeinträchtigt. In diesem Kapitel gehe ich auf die wichtigsten Folgen dieses einschneidenden Ereignisses ein, vor allem auf die Umwandlung einer vergleichenden Untersuchung zwischen neukaledonischen und fidschianischen Fallstudien in eine Monographie, die sich auf den Fall von Fidschi konzentriert. Ich beschreibe und reflektiere die verschiedenen Reaktionen, die ich und das SOCPacific-Team<sup>231</sup> angesichts dieses globalen Ereignisses vorgeschlagen haben, um unsere

---

<sup>231</sup> Diese Doktorandenstelle war Teil des SOCPacific-Projekts ([www.socpacific.net](http://www.socpacific.net)), eines deutsch-französischen Projekts, das von 2018 bis 2022 von der ANR (Frankreich) und der DFG (Deutschland) finanziert wird und darauf abzielt, das große Netz soziokultureller, geopolitischer und politischer Verbindungen zu erforschen, in dem Fischereipraktiken stattfinden, um die Küsten- und Meeresfischerei wieder in ihren größeren Kontext einzubetten. Das Projekt konzentriert sich auf drei Untersuchungsgebiete: Neukaledonien, Vanuatu und Fidschi.

Forschungsaktivitäten an einem ohnehin schon weit entfernten, und damals gänzlich unzugänglichen Ort fortzusetzen. Diese waren die Verlagerung von Forschungsaktivitäten ins Internet, die Förderung einer engen Forschungszusammenarbeit mit lokalen Forschern und die Stärkung der historischen Perspektive in der vorliegenden Studie basierend auf einer umfassenden Literaturanalyse.

## **Teil II. Divergenzen. Die Konstituierung von zwei Regimen von Praktiken**

Im zweiten Teil der Arbeit untersuche ich die Entstehung verschiedener Fischerei- und Umweltmanagementinstitutionen, -praktiken und -normen sowie die soziopolitischen Kontexte, in denen sie entstanden sind. Ich identifiziere zwei Hauptthesen, die ich als Management-als-Entwicklung und Management-als-Schutz bezeichne, da in diesen Managementthesen Entwicklungs- bzw. Erhaltungsdiskurse und -praktiken vorherrschen. In diesen Kapiteln erkläre ich, wie sich diese beiden Regime in der Art und Weise unterscheiden, wie sie Fische und Fischer:innen darstellen und interpretieren, und die Fischerei problematisieren, in den beteiligten Koalitionen, in den Instrumenten, die diese zu aktivieren beschließen, und, ursprünglich, in den Werten und Überzeugungen, die sie vorbringen; danach gehe ich auf die daraus resultierenden Spannungen ein.

In Kapitel 3 gehe ich der Frage nach, wie die kolonialen und dann die postkolonialen Regierungen auf der Grundlage der Ziele der ländlichen Entwicklung sowohl Fische als auch Fischer:innen in die nationale Wirtschaft einordneten, und welche Rolle die Entwicklung der industriellen Fischerei für das Management der kleinen Küstenfischerei spielte. Ich zeige mehrere Phasen auf, die den Aufbau von Institutionen, Normen und Praktiken zum Management von Fischen und Fischern in Fidschi im Laufe des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts strukturiert haben:

- **1880-1940:** Proto-nachhaltige Bewirtschaftung der natürlichen Ressourcen - erste Diskussionen über das Management und die Steuerung von Fischereiresourcen und Fischer:innen und über ein angemessenes Verwaltungssystem;
- **1940-1950:** Voraussetzungen für die Industrialisierung der Hochseefischerei - Import westlicher Standards;
- **1950-2000:** Subventionen und dann neoliberale Reformen zur Entwicklung der Küstengebiete - Strukturierung der Entwicklungskoalition und ihres Regimes "Management-als-Entwicklung";
- **1980er-2000er Jahre:** Beginn der Integration von Diskursen über Überfischung und Neuformulierung des Managements als Regulierung einiger Fischereien und Entwicklung anderer (hauptsächlich über FADs, Aquakultur).

Abgesehen von den Diskussionen über die *Art und Weise* der Bewirtschaftung sind die ersten Momente des kolonialen Fischereimanagements in den 1920er Jahren durch drei Hauptdebatten gekennzeichnet: (1) die Möglichkeit der "Überfischung" der aquatischen Ressourcen, (2) die Durchführbarkeit von Beschränkungen, an die sich die fidschianischen Itaukei halten werden, (3) der angemessenste Grad der Dezentralisierung. Nach der Unabhängigkeit im Jahr 1970 führte eine multidisziplinäre Entwicklungscoalition (bestehend aus staatlichen Behörden, regionalen Fischereiwissenschaftlern, internationalen Entwicklungsorganisationen usw.) verschiedene technisch-wissenschaftliche Instrumente ein, die auf Zensus, Lizenzen, Karten und ökologischen Erhebungen basierten und den Manager:innen halfen, die Fischereiaktivitäten an der Küste zu planen und zu organisieren. Die Koalition führte neue Managementrationalitäten ein, um die Nutzung der Meeresressourcen zur Unterstützung der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des Landes zu organisieren. Ich nenne Management-als-Entwicklung das Regime von Praktiken, die aus diesen Unternehmen hervorgingen, damit die wirtschaftlichen Entwicklungsziele des Staates erreicht werden konnten.

Nach den ersten Überlegungen der Regierung zu den Auswirkungen der Überfischung, in den späten 1970er Jahren, wurde die Küstenfischerei als ein Bereich problematisiert, der einer sorgfältigen Kontrolle bedarf, um gleichzeitig produktiv zu bleiben und Überfischungsprobleme zu vermeiden. Dies bedeutet Fischeiresourcen und Fischer:innen so zu regeln und zu managen, dass sie innerhalb dieses engen Rahmens bleiben. Weit davon entfernt, das bisherige, auf Quantifizierung und Kommodifizierung basierende Regime in Frage zu stellen, wurde es durch Narrative, die sich auf die Überfischungsrisiken konzentrierten, noch verstärkt - ganz nach dem wirtschaftlichen Grundsatz, dass "was gemessen wird, auch angemessen verwaltet wird". Als sich der Diskurs über die Überfischung verstärkte, wurden die staatlichen Fischereidienste Anfang der 1990er Jahre "gezwungen", schrittweise zu einer Fischereimanagementpolitik und -praxis überzugehen, die die Auswirkungen der Fischerei auf die Umwelt stärker berücksichtigt. In der staatlichen Planung wurden Anpassungen vorgenommen, um die zuvor eindeutigen Entwicklungsziele abzuschwächen, aber die Maßnahmen zur Bewältigung dieser Probleme beschränkten sich auf die Entwicklung von "Alternativen", die den Druck von der Küstenfischerei nehmen und gleichzeitig die Entwicklung der kommerziellen Fischereitätigkeit aufrechterhalten sollten (z. B. durch Aquakultur, Fischesammler oder Riffzuchttechniken). Die von der Regierung vorgeschlagenen Steuerungsmaßnahmen bestanden also in der Entwicklung von Aktivitäten, die den Fischereisektor fördern und neue Märkte für Meeresressourcen erschließen könnten. Nach Ansicht des Fischereiexperten Robert Gillett haben diese Bemühungen in dieser Zeit jedoch nur sehr begrenzte Ergebnisse bei der Eindämmung der Überfischung in den Küstengewässern erbracht und schienen damals nur eine Ablenkung zu sein von anderen (wirksameren, aber komplexeren und kostspieligeren) Maßnahmen wie der Durchsetzung der bestehenden Fischereivorschriften für das

gesamte fidschianische Küstengebiet (Gillett et al. 2014). Abgesehen von diesen "Ablenkungsmanövern" fielen Umweltüberlegungen im Fischereimanagement damit zusammen, dass die Fischereibehörden die Aufgaben des Küstenfischereimanagements insgesamt abgaben und sich auf die industrielle Hochseefischerei konzentrierten.

Wie in vielen anderen Kontexten führte die Umweltfrage auch in Fidschi zur Formulierung institutioneller, ideologischer und technischer Fragen, die dazu führten, dass neue Interessengruppen (z. B. Naturschutz-NGOs, Naturschutzspender, Verbände, lokale Gemeinschaften und Behörden) eine Legitimität erlangten, die zuvor auf staatliche Politiksysteme beschränkt war. Das Auftreten dieser nichtstaatlichen Akteure:innen und die Bildung einer neuen Koalition, des Netzwerks FLMMA (Fijian Locally Managed Marine Areas), hat die bisherige Verwaltung der Meeresressourcen in Fidschi erheblich verändert. In den späten 1990er- und frühen 2000er-Jahren wurden gemeinschaftsbasierte Ansätze schnell zum *"am weitesten akzeptierten Ansatz für die Bewirtschaftung natürlicher Ressourcen und die Erhaltung der biologischen Vielfalt in Fidschi"*. (Clarke and Jupiter, 2010:37). Obwohl die Koalition von Anfang an auf lokaler Ebene mit dem Ziel der Ressourcenbewirtschaftung zur Sicherung des Lebensunterhalts und der Nachhaltigkeit verbunden war, hat sie aufgrund der Herkunft ihrer Hauptfinanzierungsquellen (d. h. philanthropische Geber:innen im Bereich des Naturschutzes) und der vielen internationalen Naturschutz-NRO, die Mitglieder der FLMMA sind, einen starken Naturschutzbezug. Diese fidschianische Version des gemeindebasierten Managements entstand in den 1990er Jahren aus dem Zusammentreffen dieser Naturschutzakteure, die aus verschiedenen Gründen an der Arbeit in Fidschi interessiert waren (Tabelle 5 der Dissertation), University of South Pacific (USP)-Forscher:innen und Initiativen von Küstengemeinden über das facettenreiche LMMA-Instrument.

**Tabelle 5. Zusammenfassung der Argumente für philanthropische Geber, sich auf CBFM in Fidschi zu konzentrieren (Ende der 1990er - Anfang der 2000er Jahre)**

Kategorie des Arguments	Argument
<b>Ökologisch</b>	Reichtum an biologischer Vielfalt und Endemismus Nähe zum Korallendreieck
<b>Politisch</b>	Vorhandensein lokaler Initiativen, die von fidschianischen und nicht-fidschianischen Forscher:innen unterstützt werden Leichte staatliche Beteiligung am Küstenfischereimanagement: Gelegenheit, die Lücke zu schließen
<b>Kulturelles</b>	Rückgriff auf vorübergehende Fischereisperren ( <i>Tabu</i> ) und Nähe zu MPA-Instrumenten Etablierte Hierarchie und gewohnheitsrechtlicher Besitz, der von den iTaukei-Fidschianern anerkannt wird

Im letzten Abschnitt diskutiere ich die Vorschläge für eine (Wieder-)Verbindung, die das von der FLMMA-Koalition gebildete Regime von Praktiken des Management-als-Erhaltung zwischen modernem und gewohnheitsmäßigem Wissen und Praktiken; ökologischen und sozialpolitischen Dimensionen der Fischerei; globalen und lokalen Maßstäben; sowie staatlichen und nichtstaatlichen Akteuren:innen und Interessen bietet. Ich zeige jedoch, dass solche verbindenden Versuche an Grenzen stießen und dass das ganzheitliche Versprechen insgesamt nicht über den diskursiven Rahmen hinausging. Am erfolgreichsten waren die verbindenden Bestrebungen beim Brückenschlag zwischen den Visionen zweier ursprünglicher Gruppen, die lokalistische bzw. naturschützerische Visionen vertraten. Ein gemeinsames Narrativ über eine gemeinsame Naturschutzethik, die aus anthropologischer Sicht umstritten ist, sowie die Kultivierung des *Umweltbewusstseins* der Ressourcennutzer:innen auf der Grundlage von Verantwortungsübernahmeprozessen haben dazu beigetragen, diese Brücken zu bauen.

In den 2000er Jahren entstanden neue Formen der Qualifizierung als Teil dessen, was ich als Management-als-Erhaltung-Regime bezeichnet habe, da sowohl Fische als auch Fischer:innen zu integralen Akteuren:innen wurden, die sich daran beteiligten, Verbindungen zwischen Interessengruppen herzustellen, die ursprünglich unterschiedliche Ziele vertraten und unterschiedliche Vorstellungen davon hatten, was zu managen ist und warum. In diesem Sinne ist es trotz der verbindenden Grenzen des Regimes vielleicht gerade diese vermittelnde und verbindende Rolle von Fischen und Fischer:innen, die es zu beachten gilt, die dazu beiträgt, dass zuvor unverbundene Schutz-, Entwicklungs- und Managementaktivitäten zusammengeführt werden.

Die beiden ermittelten Praxisregime geben unterschiedliche Antworten auf die Frage, wie die Küstenfischerei zu bewirtschaften ist, aber noch wichtiger ist, dass sie von den Grundwerten der Akteuren:innen der verschiedenen Koalitionen getragen werden. Während sich die erste Koalition auf



Vorstellungen von wirtschaftlichem, wissenschaftlichem und sozialem Fortschritt beruft, lenkt die zweite Koalition die Aufmerksamkeit vor allem auf neue Wertobjekte (z. B. Fische und lokale Gemeinschaften) und führt das natürliche und kulturelle Erbe zur Unterstützung ihrer politischen und ökologischen Maßnahmen an.

### **Teil III. Konvergenzen. Das Entstehen einer hybriden Koalition**

In Teil III stelle ich die Frage, wie die Diskurse und die Dynamik der Integration in Fidschi und im Südpazifik entstanden sind, und stelle mithilfe des Vorschlags einer *"fidschianischen Küstenfischereireform"* (Prince 2019) sowohl das Management-als-Entwicklung als auch das Management-als-Erhaltung in Frage. Ich untersuche also die Kräfte, die die Integrations-Diskurse in Bewegung gebracht haben und die das initiieren, was Barros-Platau and Maljean-Dubois (2017) als multiskalare Dynamik der institutionellen und organisatorischen *"Defragmentierung"* identifiziert haben. Diese Autor:innen zeigen, wie Forderungen nach Nachhaltigkeit und Integration für das Management und die Planung von Meeresaktivitäten auf globaler Ebene zu Prozessen der institutionellen *"Defragmentierung"* geführt haben, die neue Kooperationen und Orchestrationen fördern und im Gegensatz zu früheren Fragmentierungsdynamiken und institutioneller Spezialisierung stehen. In Fidschi, in der Region des Südpazifiks und auf globaler Ebene in internationalen Umweltarenen zeige ich, dass diese Defragmentierungsprozesse durch konvergierende Bahnen von Schutz- und Entwicklungswelten ermöglicht werden, da diese Bahnen zunehmend in globalen, nationalen und lokalen Nachhaltigkeitsdiskursen verankert werden.

In Kapitel 5 wird die Bildung einer neuen Koalition staatlicher und nichtstaatlicher Akteure:innen beschrieben, die auf das Zusammentreffen zweier Entwicklungen zurückzuführen ist: (1) die Verabschiedung und Aneignung der Agenda für blaues Wachstum durch die fidschianische Regierung als Teil der erneuerten regionalen und nationalen "blauen" Umwelt- und Wirtschaftsziele und (2) die strategische Entscheidung philanthropischer Geber:innen, die Naturschutzpraktiken auf ein neues Finanzierungsprinzip umzustellen, das der Regierung folgt. Im Rahmen dieser beiden Entwicklungen hat sich die Küstenfischerei zu einem Schlüsselsektor entwickelt, auf dem zuvor unzusammenhängende Koalitionen ein "Nachhaltigkeitsband" aufgebaut haben. In vielen Ländern des so genannten Südens zementiert dieses "Nachhaltigkeitsband" NROs und Staaten als Handlungspartner, die auf der Idee basieren, dass es "keine Entwicklung ohne Nachhaltigkeit und keine Nachhaltigkeit ohne Entwicklung" geben kann (Sachs 2010: 28). In Fidschi verlief die Arbeit der NRO von Mitte der 1990er bis Ende der 2000er Jahre (durch die Förderung des CBFM und die Ausweitung des FLMMA-Netzwerks, siehe Kapitel 4) jedoch eher parallel zu den (begrenzten) staatlichen Umweltmaßnahmen in Bezug auf die Meeresumwelt. Die frühen 2010er Jahre brachten einen frischen Wind mit sich, und den pazifischen

Umweltschützer:innen wurden neue Richtlinien und Ziele sowie neue Praktiken vorgeschlagen, da ihre Geldgeber für eine effektivere Zusammenarbeit zwischen Staat und NRO eintraten, vor allem im Bereich des Küstenfischereimanagements. In den frühen 2010er-Jahren gab es auch einen bedeutenden Impuls für ein auf die Region zugeschnittenes blaues Wachstum und dessen Einbeziehung in die Wirtschaftsplanung der Pazifikinseln, um das zu entwickeln, was Fry and Tarte (2015) die sogenannte "neue pazifische Diplomatie" nannten. Insbesondere in Fidschi spielte die Übernahme und Aneignung des globalen Blue-Growth-Paradigmas eine zentrale Rolle in der Strategie des Landes, sich als führender großer Ozeanstaat im Südpazifik zu positionieren. Das Zusammentreffen dieser beiden Bewegungen hat einen neuen Raum der Zusammenarbeit geschaffen, in dem NRO und das Fischereiministerium zusammenarbeiten können, um die neue Agenda für blaues Wachstum zu entwerfen und umzusetzen, in der der Küstenfischereisektor wieder einen zentralen Platz einnimmt.

In einem Kontext, in dem viele die Fähigkeit des Staates, die Küstenfischerei nachhaltig zu gestalten, in Frage gestellt hatten (insbesondere im Hinblick auf die ungünstige Bewertung früherer Entwicklungsstrategien, siehe FLMMA, 2015; Gillett et al. 2014; Lees, 2007), wurden innerhalb und außerhalb der Regierung Forderungen nach einem neuen Entwicklungsmodell laut. Innerhalb der Regierung gingen wichtige institutionelle und organisatorische Entwicklungen mit dem Bestreben einher, Umwelt- und insbesondere Meeres- und Küstenfragen anzugehen. Vor allem die Neuordnung der ministeriellen Zuständigkeiten brachte nach Aussage vieler befragter Personen frischen Wind in das politische Panorama Fidschis, insbesondere in Fischereiangelegenheiten. Für die Umsetzung der Agenda für blaues Wachstum war die technische und finanzielle Unterstützung durch NRO und philanthropische Geber:innen entscheidend. Von außen betrachtet sahen NRO und Geber:innen in der Gestaltung und Durchsetzung der Politik (die beide in den Zuständigkeitsbereich des Staates fallen) eine Möglichkeit, ihre Aktivitäten auszuweiten und dauerhaftere und nachhaltigere Ergebnisse zu erzielen. Im Rahmen dieser für beide Seiten vorteilhaften Agenda nimmt die Reform des Fischereimanagements an der Küste Fidschis (Prince 2020) einen zentralen Platz ein. In diesem Sinne kann das Küstenfischereimanagement als ein "Brückenobjekt" betrachtet werden, über das die Interessengruppen eine gemeinsame Basis finden könnten, um ihre jeweiligen Interessen zu erfüllen. Mit anderen Worten, um eine neue, *hybride Koalition* zu bilden. Darüber hinaus trugen die beiden parallelen strategischen Wendungen, die ich in diesem Kapitel beschrieben habe, nicht nur dazu bei, die Küstenfischerei als zentrales öffentliches Anliegen zu etablieren und sie in den politischen Arenen des Landes neu zu positionieren, sondern sie stellten auch eine wichtige Säule für Fidschi dar, um seinen Platz in der Region und auf internationaler Ebene zu behaupten.

Indem ich diese neue hybride Koalition mit der globalen Dynamik in Verbindung bringe, untersuche ich in Kapitel 6 die wichtigsten Trends in der Entwicklung des Geltungsbereichs und der Funktionsweise des Übereinkommens über den internationalen Handel mit gefährdeten Arten

freilebender Tiere und Pflanzen (CITES) in den letzten Jahrzehnten. Genauer die Einbeziehung sowohl von ausgebeuteten Meeresfischen als auch von Überlegungen zum menschlichen Lebensunterhalt in die ursprünglich bewahrenden Diskurse und Praktiken. Die umfassendere Einbeziehung der sozioökonomischen Auswirkungen der CITES-Regelungen auf die marinen Arten stellt einen fortschreitenden Bruch mit der ursprünglichen Schutzphilosophie dar. Ich möchte hinterfragen, wie diese Entwicklung frühere institutionelle und normative Rahmenbedingungen in Frage stellt und gleichzeitig frühere sektorale Abgrenzungen zwischen dem Schutz der biologischen Vielfalt und dem Fischereimanagement innerhalb der CITES-Organisation selbst, aber auch für regionale und fidschianische Behörden, die an CITES-Prozessen beteiligt sind, umgestaltet. Mit besonderem Augenmerk auf die 2019 auf der CITES COP18 aufgenommenen Holothurien (Seegurken) und Haie und deren Einsatz im Südpazifik zeige ich auf, wie diese Entwicklung frühere institutionelle und normative Rahmenbedingungen in Frage stellte und auch heute noch stellt.

Es zeigt sich, dass die internen Veränderungen von CITES dazu beigetragen haben, Debatten über die Art der einzusetzenden Instrumente (z. B. vollständige Handelsverbote, Verfahren zur Feststellung der Nichtschädlichkeit) sowie über die Identität und Legitimität der an der Entscheidungsfindung beteiligten Akteure:innen auszulösen. Darüber hinaus lassen sich anhand dieser Anpassungen die aktuellen Machtverhältnisse erkennen, die im Bereich der Erhaltung der biologischen Vielfalt und des Fischereimanagements im Südpazifik sowie in internationalen Institutionen auf dem Spiel stehen. Die Vorbereitungs- und Umsetzungsphasen der Seegurkenlisten im Südpazifik erinnerten alle Beteiligten an die Komplexität der Bewirtschaftung hochwertiger Küstenressourcen und lösten Diskussionen über die zentralen Leitprinzipien von CITES aus, sei es der Artenschutz auf der Grundlage biologischer Daten, die als "objektiv" gelten, oder ein sozial-ökologisches und wirtschaftliches Gleichgewicht, das durch Ansätze mit dem Etikett "nachhaltige Entwicklung" gepriesen wird. Die Vorbereitungen für die Haifischliste 2019 in Fidschi und in der Region zeigen, dass die Annäherungen zwischen NRO und Regierungen dazu beigetragen haben, die Präsenz von NRO im Entscheidungsfindungs-, Interessenvertretungs- und Agenda-Setting-Prozess von CITES zu legitimieren und zu stärken.

Dieses Kapitel verdeutlicht, wie die unterschiedlichen Werte und Status, die mit marinen Arten verbunden sind (von einem intrinsischen Wert als Teil einer zu erhaltenden marinen Biodiversität bis hin zu einer natürlichen Ressource, einer Quelle von Ernährungs- und Wirtschaftswert) zu ständigen Verhandlungen über die Modalitäten ihrer Bewirtschaftung führen. Dieser Schritt zurück ermöglicht es, die Entstehung einer hybriden Koalition auf den Fidschi-Inseln in eine breitere Dynamik der gegenseitigen Bereicherung und der wachsenden Konvergenzen zwischen den Sektoren der Erhaltung der biologischen Vielfalt und des Fischereimanagements einzubetten. Er zeigt die neuen, vielschichtigen und komplizierten Beziehungen, die sich entwickelt haben, seit Fragen der Erhaltung der biologischen

Vielfalt (und der sie unterstützenden Institutionen, vor allem der Nichtregierungsorganisationen) im globalen Ozean an Bedeutung gewonnen haben.

#### **Teil IV. Integrationen. Auf dem Weg zu einem hybriden Regime der Praxis**

In Teil IV werden verschiedene Managementvorschläge untersucht, die aus der von der neuen hybriden Koalition initiierten Reform der Küstenfischerei hervorgegangen sind. Ich untersuche genauer, wie sich diese Hybridität entfaltet und was sie bedeutet, und befasse mich mit den neuen Praktiken und Diskursen, die in die von staatlichen und nichtstaatlichen Akteuren:innen vorgeschlagenen integrierten Visionen eingebettet sind. Ich setze das Konzept der Hybridität ein, um diese Entwicklungen zu erfassen, insbesondere die zunehmend verschwimmenden Grenzen zwischen Entwicklung und Naturschutz und um zu beurteilen, ob die Hybridisierung in einem *"Schmelztiegel oder einer Salatschüssel"* besteht. "Mit anderen Worten: *"Inwieweit verschmelzen die Bestandteile oder existieren sie lediglich in unverbundenen Formen nebeneinander?"* (Frank und Stollberg 2004:76).

In Kapitel 7 gehe ich auf die Planungs- und Umsetzungsphasen mehrerer nationaler Fischereimanagementkampagnen ein, die in Fidschi seit 2014 auf der Grundlage von Ansätzen zur Verhaltensänderung im Umweltschutz entwickelt wurden. Ich behaupte, dass man mit diesen Kampagnen zu einem bedeutenden Wandel in den Strategien und Ansätzen des Umweltschutzes beiträgt und stelle die Hypothese auf, dass dieser Wandel (1) den Übergang von der Förderung von *Umweltwerten* zur Aufwertung ökologischer *Praktiken und Handlungen*, und (2) die Einführung eines neuen Managementparadigmas auf der Grundlage individueller und kollektiver Verantwortung bedeutet.

Zunächst untersuche ich die Grundsätze, die der Theorie der Verhaltensänderung zugrunde liegen, und verfolge die Planungs- und Umsetzungsphasen der Kampagnen, die in Fidschi stattgefunden haben. Insbesondere gehe ich auf die Mechanismen ein, die bei der 2014 gestarteten 4FJ-Kampagne zur Förderung eines saisonalen Fischereiverbots für Zackenbarsch- und Korallenforellenarten auf der Grundlage von Modellen des "freiwilligen Managements" und der "Verhaltensänderung" eine Rolle spielen. Diese Mechanismen umfassen: die Aufbereitung und Verbreitung einfacher Informationen, um ein landesweites Interesse zu wecken, die Bildung eines Netzwerks, das bereit ist, eine bestimmte "fidschianische Lebensweise" zu bewahren, und das Überdenken unvereinbarer Normen und Praktiken (z. B. das Fischen in Fischlaichgebieten oder der Fang kleiner Fische). Verschiedene Kommunikations- und Marketinginstrumente werden eingesetzt, um maßgeschneiderte Informationen über Fisch und Fischerei zu formulieren und zu verbreiten, wodurch eine Vielzahl von Narrativen zur "Rettung der Fische" entsteht.

Anschließend zeige ich auf, dass Initiativen zur Verhaltensänderung in gewisser Weise eine Verlängerung von Ansätzen des gemeinschaftsbasierten Fischereimanagements (CBFM) darstellen, die für das frühere Management-als-Erhaltungs Regime von Praktiken konstitutiv sind, und zeige auf, wie diese Initiativen tatsächlich vorschlagen, die früheren Grenzen des CBFM zu überschreiten. Jüngste Initiativen zur Verhaltensänderung in Fidschi, die auf der Idee beruhen, dass bestimmte Praktiken geändert werden müssen, um das Verhalten und die Einstellung des Einzelnen gegenüber der "Umwelt" zu verändern, stützen sich ausdrücklich auf das Bestreben, einen Prozess des "schrittweisen Wandels" in Richtung Erhaltung einzuleiten und eine neue *Umweltqualität* zu schaffen (Agrawal 2005b). Die inkrementelle Veränderung in Richtung Umweltschutz ist eine Strategie, die darauf abzielt, die Menschen dazu zu bringen, einen ersten Schritt zu tun, der ihnen in einer späteren Phase die Beteiligung an anderen Umweltmaßnahmen erleichtert. Abschließend zeige ich, wie über eine bloße Änderung der Praktiken hinaus im Rahmen von Initiativen zur Verhaltensänderung neue Staatlichkeit entsteht, die auf dem Bestreben beruht, *neue soziale Normen* zu schaffen und die individuelle und kollektive Verantwortung für die Umwelt zu fördern.

In Kapitel 8 analysiere ich drei politische Maßnahmen, die das Fischereiministerium 2018-2019 entwickelt hat - legale Fischereiverbote, kleine staatliche Küsten-MPAs und die Formalisierung des gemeinsamen Fischereimanagements zwischen der Regierung und den Küstengemeinden. In Anlehnung an die Arbeit von Pierre Lascoumes betrachte ich diese jüngsten öffentlichen Maßnahmen als "*Fenster der Möglichkeiten*" (Lascoumes 2012:35, eigene Übersetzung aus dem Französischen), die auf den Aufbau einer neuen politischen Agenda folgen. Die Politik ermöglicht es Akteurskoalitionen, bestimmte gesellschaftliche Probleme zu formalisieren, die zuvor im öffentlichen Raum präsent, aber nicht institutionalisiert waren, und gleichzeitig eine Vision für die wichtigsten Lösungen für diese Probleme vorzuschlagen. Auf den Fidschi-Inseln zeigt diese Reihe öffentlicher Maßnahmen, die innerhalb eines engen Zeitrahmens als Teil der Reform der Küstenfischerei erarbeitet wurden, was als "gutes Management" und "gute Regierungsführung" anerkannt wurde - oder was von der neuen hybriden Koalition als solche festgelegt wurde. Außerdem lässt sich so nachvollziehen, wie Entscheidungsträger:innen, Manager:innen und Praktiker:innen die neuen Rollen und Zuständigkeiten im Fischerei- und Umweltmanagement verteilen und somit neu festlegen, wo die einzelnen Akteure:innen stehen und handeln sollen.

Obwohl sie verschiedene Bereiche, Ansätze und Themen berühren, die für das Fischereimanagement konstitutiv sind, veranschaulicht die Gegenüberstellung dreier neuerer Fischereimanagementpolitiken die jüngsten Veränderungen, die sich im Rahmen der Operationalisierung einer Reform der Küstenfischerei in Fidschi vollziehen. In diesem Kapitel wird die Hybridität in der Art und Weise am deutlichsten, wie Naturschutzinstrumente und -ansätze (insbesondere Social Marketing, MPAs und CBFM) neu verwendet und umgestaltet werden, um sie mit

staatlich geführten Praktiken kompatibel zu machen. Insbesondere sind verschiedene Hybridisierungspraktiken (identifiziert von Tania Li (2007)): (a) die Veredlung neuer und die Überarbeitung alter Elemente; (b) die Kopplung intakter Elemente, die von früheren Regimen vorgeschrieben wurden; (c) der Rückgriff auf bestehende Diskurse zu neuen Zwecken (z. B. für den Übergang von Kampagnen zu Politiken); oder (d) die Übertragung der Bedeutung von Schlüsselbegriffen, die es ermöglicht, dass frühere Formen der Herrschaft in einem neuen Regime fortbestehen (z. B. der Rückgriff auf einen Diskurs über "gemeinschaftsbasiertes Management" zur Unterstützung eines staatlich geführten Ko-Management-Governance-Modells).

In diesem Prozess erscheint Hybridität als ein Mechanismus, der eingesetzt wird, um Praktiken und Normen (wieder) zusammenzufügen, die zuvor unvereinbare Ansichten über die Nutzung von Küsten- und Meeresressourcen und -räumen beinhalteten (d.h. Management-als-Entwicklung und Management-als-Erhaltung). Es entstehen neue Zuständigkeiten und eine neue "Geografie der Kompetenzen" (Akrish 1991), da die Rollen und Verantwortlichkeiten aller Beteiligten in einem neuen, *hybriden Regime* neu definiert werden.

In Kapitel 9 schließlich werden die verschiedenen Ergebnisse diskutiert, um diesen "integrierten Moment" weiter zu charakterisieren. Ich schlage die Idee einer Erweiterung der Umweltethik vor, die in den letzten Jahren von den am Küstenfischereimanagement in Fidschi beteiligten Akteuren:innen vertreten wurde. Außerdem die Annahme einer pragmatischen Position in der Umweltethik: verschiedene Werte der "Natur" können nebeneinander bestehen und müssen für ihr Management anerkannt und "integriert" werden. In dieser Sichtweise, die in der FLMMA bereits vorhanden, aber weniger explizit ist, wird der Fisch zu einem pluralen und vielgestaltigen Objekt, das auf der Grundlage *sich überschneidender* wirtschaftlicher, ästhetischer, symbolischer und ernährungsbezogener Bedeutungen an den Beziehungen zum Menschen teilhaben kann. Die Fischer:innen werden *gleichzeitig* als Hauptakteure der nationalen Wirtschaft, als Hüter:innen der Ozeans und als Inhaber:innen grundlegender Rechte und politischer Ansprüche gesehen. Diese Ergebnisse stehen im Gegensatz zu anderen Arbeiten, die Praktiken und Diskurse staatlicher und nichtstaatlicher Akteure in anderen Kontexten als "Rückkehr zur Barriere" bezeichnet haben.

Auf der Grundlage dieser Ergebnisse zeige ich weiter, dass Qualifizierungs- und Problematisierungsprozesse, die den Kern früherer Managementregime bildeten, als Teil des hybriden Regimes nicht mehr relevant sind. Ich zeige, dass genau wie frühere Formen der Qualifizierung das Management-als-Entwicklung und das Management-als-Erhaltung charakterisierten (und somit unterschieden), die *Nicht-Qualifizierung* dieses hybride Regime besser charakterisiert. Für Geber:innen und Praktiker:innen des Naturschutzes haben diese Umgestaltungen zu einer Revision früherer Naturschutzmodelle geführt (die in Festungen, neoliberalen oder partizipativen Ansätzen verankert waren), in denen ein intrinsischer Wert der "Natur" und der "natürlichen Ressourcen" zu verteidigen

und zu fördern war. Ich habe dargelegt, wie (wieder) versöhnliche Diskurse über Integration und Nachhaltigkeit (bis zu einem gewissen Grad) die "reinen" entwicklungspolitischen, naturschützerischen und lokalistischen Diskurse ersetzt haben, die von den Akteuren:innen in den früheren Bewirtschaftungsregimen mobilisiert wurden. Ich visualisiere die Ergebnisse der vorangegangenen Kapitel und dieses Abschnitts in **Tabelle 8**, um die hervorstechendsten Merkmale des Managements als Entwicklung, des Managements als Erhaltung und der hybriden Regime herauszuarbeiten.

Auf der Grundlage dieser Ergebnisse habe ich weiter argumentiert, dass im Rahmen des integrierten Moments *die Akkumulation* von Werten, Praktiken, Normen und Diskursen Vorrang vor einer angemessenen *Versöhnung* früherer Dualismen zu haben scheint, in die das Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Erhaltung und Ausbeutung eingebettet war. In dieser Sichtweise werden Antagonismen durch die Ausarbeitung von "Win-Win"-Lösungen, die als mögliche Brücken zwischen allen (menschlichen und nicht-menschlichen) Interessengruppen dargestellt werden, eher verdeckt als beseitigt. Indem Antagonismen geleugnet werden, anstatt sie anzusprechen, und indem der integrative Gedanke mit dem Versprechen der Versöhnung verbunden wird, werden Verhandlungsprozesse zwar verdeckt, aber dennoch lebendig. Wir haben jedoch gesehen, dass diese Prozesse entscheidend für die Definition von Managementregimen und Praktiken sind, die Wege (z. B. Instrumente, Wissenssysteme) vorschlagen, um den Platz und die Verhaltensweisen von Fischen und Fischer:innen zu organisieren. Wenn die integrative Idee im Rahmen eines solchen Win-Win-Diskurses formuliert wird, birgt sie die Gefahr einer Entpolitisierung von Fragen, die sich mit den Beziehungen zwischen Mensch und Natur befassen, die ihrem Wesen nach höchst politisch sind.

## **Schlussfolgerung**

In dieser Arbeit habe ich eine politische Ökologie des Küstenfischereimanagements in Fidschi entwickelt, die sich auf Instrumente und Konzepte sowohl der politischen Ökologie als auch der Politikanalyse stützt. Diese beiden Bereiche sind nicht nur kohärent mit meinem konstruktivistischen und historischen Ansatz zum Fischereimanagement, sondern überschneiden und ergänzen sich auch in verschiedenen Aspekten, wie : multiskalare Prozesse, Machtbeziehungen zwischen Akteuren:innen, die in Umweltarenen involviert sind, und die Berücksichtigung sowohl staatlicher als auch nichtstaatlicher Akteure und ihrer jeweiligen Regierungsformen. Diese Untersuchung stützt sich auf eine ethnographische Forschung mit mehreren Standorten und Skalen, die einen "Follow-the-Policy"-Ansatz, Ereignisethnographie, semi-direkte Interviews sowie teilnehmende und nicht-teilnehmende Beobachtungen umfasst. Diese empirische Studie wurde stark von der Covid-19-Pandemie beeinflusst, die zwar eine große Störung darstellte, aber auch Formen der Kreativität und Innovation bei der Durchführung der Forschung förderte.

**Tabelle 8. Charakterisierung der drei in der Studie ermittelten Praxisregime**

Politisches Teilsystem	Charakterisierung	Theoretische Instrumente	Management als Entwicklungsregime	Management als Erhaltungsregelung	Hybrides Regime
<b>Fischereimanagement in Küstengebieten</b>	Wovon?	Qualifizierung	Fisch als Ressource und Fischer:innen als produktives Potenzial	Fische und Fischer:innen als Teil der Vanuas und Fische als Element der biologischen Vielfalt	Nicht-Qualifizierung: Fische und Fischer:innen müssen flexibel sein, um an der Hybridregelung teilzunehmen
		Problematisierung	Management für eine maximale und dennoch nachhaltige Produktion	Management als Mittel zur Erreichung einer guten Regierungsführung (lokale Kontrolle unter Berücksichtigung traditioneller Produktionsmethoden und Vereinbarkeit mit den Zielen der Erhaltung der biologischen Vielfalt)	Das Management muss den "Mittelweg" für mehr Effizienz finden
	Von wem?	Advocacy-Koalitionen	Fischereiministerium, regionale/internationale Wissenschafts-/Managementorganisationen, Entwicklungsfinanzierer:innen, Fischer:innen...	Nichtregierungsorganisationen und Naturschutzfonds, USP-Forscher:innen, örtliche Fischereigruppen und lokale Führer:innen	Fischereiministerium, NRO und Naturschutzorganisationen, internationale Umweltinstitutionen (CITES, CBD...)
	Wie?	Instrumente, Ansätze	Subventionen, quantitative Erhebungen, MSY	LMMAs und Tabu-Institutionen	MPA bleibt zentral, weil flexibles Instrument Hybride Ansätze und neue Gouvernamentalität: freiwillige und zwangsweise Ansätze
	Und warum?	Glaubenssystem / Diskurs	Entwicklungspolitisch und neoliberal	Naturschützer:innen und Lokalpolitiker:innen	Entwicklungspolitiker:innen + Neoliberaler + Naturschützer:innen + Lokalpolitiker:innen



Ich habe das Fischereimanagement als eine Art der Organisation, als vorgegebener Rahmen für die Kontrolle von Fischereiresourcen und Fischer:innen betrachtet, mit anderen Worten als eine Art Steuerung. Diese Definition des Managements unterscheidet sich von der einiger Interessengruppen und Wissenschaftler, die das Management auf seine technische und praktische Dimension reduzieren. Ich habe mich auf die Instrumente konzentriert, die im Laufe der Zeit entwickelt wurden, um die Beziehungen zwischen Mensch und Meer zu regeln und die kognitive Vielstimmigkeit in Bezug auf öffentliche Umweltbelange zu reduzieren. In Fidschi stehen im Bereich der Küstenfischerei die Spannungen zwischen Entwicklungs- und Erhaltungsdiskursen und -praktiken seit jeher im Mittelpunkt dieser Vielstimmigkeit.

In den ersten Kapiteln wurde vorgeschlagen, die Konturen dessen abzustecken, was das "Küstenfischereimanagement" in Fidschi im Laufe der Zeit und heute für verschiedene Koalitionen ausmacht und zu untersuchen, wie die Spannungen zwischen Entwicklung und Erhaltung in den einzelnen Zeiträumen angegangen wurden. Ich habe gezeigt, dass unterschiedliche Formen der Qualifizierung und Problematisierung von Fischen und Fischer:innen, die die sich entwickelnden Beziehungen zwischen Mensch und Meer veranschaulichen, die Grundlage für die Entstehung und Anwendung unterschiedlicher Managementregime bilden. Management-als-Entwicklung und Management-als-Erhaltung wiesen viele Jahre lang große ideologische und praktische Inkompatibilitäten auf. In den frühen 2010er Jahren entstand dann ein hybrides Regime aus dem Zusammentreffen zweier Entwicklungen: (1) das ehrgeizige Blue-Growth-Programm der fidschianischen Regierung als Teil der erneuerten regionalen und nationalen ökologischen und wirtschaftlichen Ambitionen für einen blauen Pazifik; und (2) die neue *Follow-the-government*-Strategie, die die Geber von Naturschutzmaßnahmen ihren NRO-Empfängern auferlegt haben. Infolgedessen ist die Küstenfischerei zu einem zentralen Punkt geworden, an dem sich zuvor unzusammenhängende Koalitionen im Sinne der Nachhaltigkeit zusammenschließen.

Ich habe das Konzept der Hybridität ins Spiel gebracht, um diese Entwicklungen zu erfassen, insbesondere die zunehmend verschwimmenden Grenzen zwischen Entwicklung und Erhaltung. Weiter um zu beurteilen, "*inwieweit die Bestandteile miteinander verschmelzen oder lediglich in unverbundenen Formen koexistieren?*" (Frank und Stollberg 2004:76). Ich habe gezeigt, wie Naturschutzinstrumente (z.B. MPAs, Kommunikationskampagnen) und -ansätze (z.B. CBFM) mit staatlichen Standards und Praktiken hybridisiert- und somit transformiert wurden, um sie in dem neuen hybriden Regime handlungsfähig zu machen. In letzterem werden Naturschutz und Entwicklung zu sich gegenseitig konstituierenden Kräften, die ein unterschiedliches Maß an Anpassungsfähigkeit, Kooptation oder Akkommodation aufweisen. Versöhnliche Diskurse über Integration und

Nachhaltigkeit haben (bis zu einem gewissen Grad) die "reinen" entwicklungspolitischen, naturschützerischen und lokalistischen Diskurse ersetzt, die von den Akteuren:innen in früheren Bewirtschaftungsregimen mobilisiert wurden. Ich habe auch gezeigt, dass Qualifizierungs- und Problematisierungsprozesse, die den Kern dieser früheren Managementregime ausmachten, bei der Bildung des hybriden Regimes nicht mehr relevant sind. Die Nicht-Qualifizierung kann somit als eine Charakterisierung dieses Regimes angesehen werden, so wie frühere Qualifizierungsmodi Management-als-Entwicklung und Management-als-Erhaltung charakterisierten (und somit unterschieden).

Diese Wege haben antagonistische Ideologien ersetzt, und das integrierte Moment wird daher als ein Weg zur Versöhnung vorgeschlagen, um frühere Grenzen des Dualismus zu überwinden (d. h. Erhaltung/Nutzung, aber auch im weiteren Sinne Natur/Kultur, Naturwissenschaften/ Sozialwissenschaften, westlich/nicht-westlich usw.). In der Einleitung dieser Arbeit habe ich einen Vorschlag gemacht, wie ich das Wort "versöhnen" (auf Englisch: „reconcile“) auf der Grundlage der ersten Definition im Oxford English Dictionary angehe: "*to reunite in harmony, concord, agreement; to bring back in favor; to fit or adjust to make smooth an inequality; to make compatible in fact or in one's mind*" (Oxford English Dictionary, 1386). Im Lichte dieser Definition habe ich untersucht, inwieweit im Rahmen des integrierten Moments die Erhaltung und Nutzung "kompatibel" gemacht wurden, insbesondere durch die Hybridisierung von Praktiken, Diskursen und Instrumenten. Das Ergebnis dieser Studie ist, dass das integrierte Moment und die Hybridisierungsprozesse, die es vorschlägt, vielleicht eher als eine Versöhnung die *Aggregation* verschiedener Positionen und Ansichten hervorbringen (z.B. über die Beziehungen zwischen Mensch und Meer, über die Qualifikationen von Fischen und Fischer:innen usw.). In den daraus resultierenden Aggregaten scheinen antagonistische Praktiken, Normen und Diskurse lebendig zu bleiben, werden aber eher verborgen (und somit entpolitisiert, entproblematisiert) unter dem Versprechen, dass die integrative Idee Lösungen für die Spannungen zwischen Schutz und Ausbeutung und ihre doppelten Folgen bietet. Da die Antagonismen jedoch in verschiedenen Aspekten lebendig bleiben, taucht ihr politisch aufgeladener Charakter von Zeit zu Zeit auf und verweist auf die zentrale Bedeutung der politischen Beziehungen und die Unmöglichkeit, *alle* Parteien zufrieden zu stellen. Wie politische Ökologen in anderen Kontexten gezeigt haben, beruht die Win-Win-Rhetorik zum Teil auf der Unsichtbarmachung oder Minimierung des Beitrags nicht-dominanter Akteure, die oft von den eigentlichen politischen Verhandlungen ausgeschlossen bleiben, auch wenn diese nicht mehr als solche dargestellt werden (Chaigneau und Brown 2016, Bennett 2015).

Abschließend wird in dieser Arbeit gezeigt, dass verschiedene Dimensionen (und Ansichten) von "Integration" nebeneinander bestehen und in den Diskursen und Praktiken eingebettet sind, die im Rahmen des hybriden Regimes entstehen. Wenn sich die Akteure beispielsweise auf Begriffe wie

*Flexibilität* oder *Pluralismus* berufen, die mit dem Begriff der Integration einhergehen, so sind damit unterschiedliche Visionen und Ansätze verbunden, nämlich eine Integration, die in die neoliberale Ideologie eingebettet ist, und eine Integration, die sich auf regionalistische Formen des kulturell-politischen Liberalismus bezieht. Während diese beiden Dimensionen als gegensätzlich und widersprüchlich angesehen werden könnten, zeige ich in diesem letzten Abschnitt, wie sie sich durch die Unterstützung ähnlicher und sich überschneidender "integrativer" Diskurse tatsächlich in dem Versprechen eines allumfassenden historischen, *integrierten Moments* vereinen, in dem vergangene Dualitäten und Unvereinbarkeiten irrelevant geworden sind. Natürlich stimmen diese beiden Visionen der Integration (d.h. als Ermöglichung einer für neoliberale Agenden notwendigen Flexibilität oder als Unterstützung eines ozeanischen Pluralismus) in vielen Aspekten weder überein noch übereinstimmen sie miteinander. Man kann sogar davon ausgehen, dass sie entgegengesetzte Ziele anstreben. Ich behaupte jedoch, dass sie sich auch gegenseitig befruchten können, wenn sie auf Integrationskonzepte zurückgreifen, die zunehmend in konzeptionell unscharfe Begriffe wie "blaues Wachstum", "blaue Wirtschaft" oder eine lockere Rhetorik der "nachhaltigen Entwicklung" eingebettet sind, die verbleibende Spannungen und Dualitäten verbergen. Dabei sind beide Visionen Teil derselben allumfassenden Bewegung oder desselben integrierten historischen Moments, den auch Autoren wie Chiapello und Boltanski oder Rodary in unterschiedlichen Kontexten und zu unterschiedlichen Themen festgestellt haben. In der Tat haben diese Autoren eine Bewegung der Versöhnung dessen erkannt, was zuvor in Spannung oder sogar in Konflikt stand. Die beinhaltet Kapitalismus und künstlerische Kapitalismuskritik bei Chiapello und Boltanski, und Verbindungen, die in der Naturschutzpolitik entstanden sind, um "Natur" und Menschen oder nationale Grenzen und internationale Netzwerke zu verbinden bei Rodary.

## **Perspektiven**

Diese Arbeit stellt eine fruchtbare Grundlage für künftige Forschungen dar, und ich hoffe, dass vor allem Forscher:innen aus Fidschi und dem Südpazifik sie für ihre künftige Arbeit nutzen können werden. Einige Forschungsfragen und -themen wurden jedoch in dieser Studie ausgelassen, vor allem wegen der durch die Covid-19-Pandemie verursachten Schwierigkeiten. Der ursprünglich vorgesehene vergleichende Ansatz, der die Fälle in Fidschi und Neukaledonien miteinander in Beziehung setzen sollte, wurde aufgegeben, ebenso wie eine umfassendere ethnografische Forschung, bei der ich mehr Zeit mit einer Vielzahl von Akteuren:innen (z. B. lokalen Fischereikomitees, Fischer:innen, Verkäufer:innen, Tourismusunternehmen) verbringen sollte, um ein vollständigeres Bild der in dieser Arbeit behandelten Themen zu erhalten. Infolge dieses Nachteils bleiben eine Reihe von Fragen unbeantwortet und eine Reihe von zwingenden Wegen, die es zu erkunden gilt. Wie beteiligen sich beispielsweise lokale Fischereigruppen und Einzelpersonen an dem von mir ermittelten und

beschriebenen hybriden Regime. Fordern sie es heraus oder umgehen es? Wie positionieren und engagieren sie sich in den verbleibenden Spannungen zwischen Naturschutz und Entwicklung? Welche Zukunft hat die Naturschutzpraxis in Fidschi? Und welche Zukunft hat die Küstenfischerei in einer Welt der Covid-Pandemie und danach?

Ein weiterer überzeugender Forschungsansatz, den ich identifiziert habe, ist die Untersuchung der Frage, *wie man nicht-menschliche Lebensformen besser in diese integrative Bewegung einbeziehen kann*. Ein großer Teil der Forschung plädiert zunehmend für die Einbeziehung von (lebenden und nicht-lebenden) nicht-menschlichen Akteuren:innen in Umweltmanagement, Governance und Planungsprozessen. Wissenschaftler, die dem Bereich der "Umwelt-Humanwissenschaften" angehören (Emmett and Nye 2017) erforschen insbesondere die übermenschliche Politik der Interaktionen und Beziehungen zwischen Mensch und Tier in der Meeresumwelt. Der gemeinsam mit Juliette Kon Kam King verfasste Artikel über das Haimanagement durch Raumplanung in Fidschi und Neukaledonien bildet eine interessante Grundlage für die Untersuchung dieser Frage (Kon Kam King and Riera 2022). Er untersucht die Anwendung des Raumordnungsmanagements auf nicht-menschliche Lebewesen (hier Haie) und erörtert, wie der "richtige Platz" von Haien und Menschen im Meer ständig ausgehandelt, definiert und durchgesetzt wird. Solche Überlegungen würden die "menschenzentrierte" Politik, auf die sich diese Arbeit konzentriert hat, sicherlich bereichern. So würde beispielsweise die Analyse des saisonalen Fangverbots für Zackenbarsch und Korallenforelle von der Anerkennung dieser Fische als eigentliche und mächtige Akteure dieser Politik profitieren. Neben anderen Aspekten bieten die räumlichen und zeitlichen Verflechtungen dieser Fische (wann und wo sie sich zur Fortpflanzung treffen und warum gerade dann und dort) einen spannenden Ansatzpunkt, um das Potenzial dieses Verbots als ein mehr-als-menschliches Managementinstrument zu untersuchen.

Abschließend möchte ich eine Frage aufgreifen, die von einer Vielzahl von Ozeanier:innen (see Rapp 2004 for a review of the literature on this topic) wie auch von Denkern außerhalb des Pazifiks initiiert wurde: *Wie können die PICTs angesichts der zahlreichen und multifaktoriellen Grenzen westlicher Lösungen für sozial-ökologische Krisen eine "alternative" Stimme für die Umgestaltung der Governance und des Managements natürlicher Ressourcen in dieser Region und darüber hinaus darstellen? Wie können die Staaten und Menschen in den PICTs den integrativen Moment nutzen, um das Business-as-usual-Management und die Governance in internationalen Umweltarenen in Frage zu stellen?* Um dies zu erreichen, sollten sich Manager:innen und Naturschützer:innen nicht nur mit dem vielfältigen Wissen über und den Beziehungen zur "Natur" auseinandersetzen, sondern auch mit der Vielfalt der politischen Geschichte, die die ozeanische Souveränität kontinuierlich geprägt hat.

# Detailed table of contents

Abstract	1
Résumé	2
Zusammenfassung	3
Statement of authenticity	4
Remerciements	5
Table of contents	8
List of Acronyms	10
List of Figures	12
List of Tables	14
List of Boxes	14
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>16</b>
Conservation and exploitation ‘integration’ in fast changing oceans	16
Toward an integrated coastal fisheries management in PICTs and in Fiji	20
Research questions and outline of the thesis	24
<b>PART I. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>Chapter 1. A research at the crossroads of political ecology and policy analysis</b>	<b>30</b>
1.1. Environmental and fisheries management in public policies	31
1.1.1. Public policies to address societal matters of concern	31
1.1.2. Fisheries management as a regime of practices	32
1.1.3. Decisions on ‘how to manage’: an instrument-based approach	33
1.2. Conservation-development tensions in political ecology	35
1.2.1. Political ecology of conservation, development and fisheries: state of the art	35
a. Introduction to political ecology	35
b. Political ecology of conservation	37
c. Political ecology of development	39
d. Political ecology of fisheries: unbalancing the weight of fisheries sciences in management	41
1.2.2. Political ecology tools and approaches – Constructions, discourses and scales	43
a. To understand the making of fish as a ‘natural resource’	43
b. To see discourses as a way of <i>signifying the world</i>	45
c. To untangle multi-scalar processes and relations	48
1.3. Management as a mode of governing fish and fishers	50
1.3.1. Addressing pluralism in fisheries management: the Advocacy Coalition Framework	51
1.3.2. Situating the question of power in resource management: interests and beliefs	54
1.3.3. The arts of governing: governmentality, environmentality and hybridity in management	55
Conclusion of Chapter 1	57
<b>Chapter 2. Research context and methods</b>	<b>60</b>
2.1. Research context and settings	61
2.1.1. Positioning myself in the research	61
2.1.2. A North-South research project	63
2.1.3. Distant and inaccessible field sites: Covid-19 pandemic setbacks and adaptations	66
a. Getting online	68
b. Working with local researchers	69
2.2. Fijian context and study sites	71
2.2.1. Short history of South Pacific Island and overview of Fijian fisheries	71
2.2.2. Study sites	81
2.3. Mixed ethnographic methods to explore coastal fisheries management	83
2.3.1. Deploying an inductive approach	83
2.3.2. Introductions and protocols	85
2.3.3. Follow the policy for a multi-sited ethnography	89
2.3.4. Informal and semi-structured interviews	91
2.3.5. Participant and non-participant observations	94

2.3.6.	Other methodologies	98
2.4.	Literature review and document analysis	102
2.5.	Analysis of collected data	103
	Conclusion of Chapter 2	106
<b>PART II. DIVERGENCES. THE CONSTITUTION OF TWO REGIMES OF PRACTICES</b>		<b>108</b>
<b>Chapter 3. Management-as-development to make fish and fishers manageable for state development</b>		<b>112</b>
3.1.	Territorial management and the insertion of fisheries into Fiji's economy	113
3.1.1.	Formalizing colonial territories to organize land and sea activities	113
3.1.2.	Discussing and formalizing coastal management	118
3.1.3.	Developing commercial coastal fisheries: entrepreneurship and subsidization	122
3.1.4.	Structuring state administration for the management of resources	125
3.2.	Censuses, licenses, maps: introduction and support of western fisheries management	129
3.2.1.	International and regional (financial and technical) support for coastal fisheries development	129
3.2.2.	Fish surveys, fishers censuses, maps: organizing fish and fishers' interactions	132
3.2.3.	From underfished to overfished stocks: 'overfishing' narratives in state development plans	136
3.3.	A management-as-development to make fish and fishers legible and productive	139
	Conclusion of Chapter 3	143
<b>Chapter 4. Management-as-conservation to protect coastal fisheries with community-based management</b>		<b>146</b>
4.1.	The constitution of a Fijian conservation coalition on CBFM matters	148
4.1.1.	Tourism and philanthropy: the introduction of conservation norms and practices	148
a.	The necessary protection of interlaced natural and cultural 'Fijian heritage'	148
b.	Conservation philanthropic donors and NGOs influx	150
4.1.2.	South Pacific and Fiji as fertile grounds for CBFM	152
4.2.	FLMMA's CBFM: model, stakeholders and instruments	155
4.2.1.	Conservation funding for Fijian CBFM: the origins of the 'experiment'	155
a.	Multifold origins of conservation's interest for Fijian coastal fisheries	155
b.	From biodiversity conservation to fisheries management: an experiment	157
4.2.2.	The FLMMA coalition to reshuffle the cards of coastal fisheries governance	158
a.	Communities empowerment and politicization of FLMMA	159
b.	Ideological and political gap with the Ministry of Fisheries	160
c.	Role and influence of international NGOs	163
4.2.3.	Locally Managed Marine Areas: a multi-facet management instrument	164
4.3.	Management-as-conservation: (re)connective and hybrid propositions	167
4.3.1.	Management-as-conservation as a (re)connective regime of practices	167
4.3.2.	The hybridization of localist and conservationist discourses	171
a.	Conservationism and the qualification of fish as biodiversity	171
b.	Localism and <i>duty of care</i> : the qualification of fish and fishers as elements of the <i>vanua</i>	172
c.	<i>Tabu</i> as an instrument of convergence between conservationist and localist discourses	174
	Conclusion of Chapter 4	177
<b>Conclusion of Part II</b>		<b>180</b>
<b>PART III. CONVERGENCES. THE EMERGENCE OF A HYBRID COALITION</b>		<b>186</b>
<b>Chapter 5. The reforming of coastal fisheries for an integrated, Fijian blue growth</b>		<b>192</b>
5.1.	Appropriation of blue growth discourses in the Pacific region and in Fiji	194
5.1.1.	Green and blue growth for a new sustainable development	194
5.1.2.	A new development model for a Pacific regionalism	196
a.	"We need to forge a new development model"	197
b.	"This Green Growth Framework will be one that is truly home-grown..."	200
c.	... "[blue growth will] serve as a model for our island neighbors, who look to us for leadership"	202
5.1.3.	Consequences for inshore fisheries management	204
5.2.	Philanthropic conservation donors shift for a more integrated management	207
5.2.1.	A necessary 'reality check' on conservation's outcomes	208
5.2.2.	Thinking and organizing the shift	213
5.2.3.	Consequences for inshore fisheries management: a policy focus for an international reach	214
a.	A momentum for policy-making and capacity-building approaches	215

b.	A new coalition to bring Fiji’s coastal fisheries into international environmental arenas	216
5.3.	Challenges of and limits to initial integration attempts	220
	Conclusion of Chapter 5	223
<b>Chapter 6.</b>	<b>Thinking beyond the fish: a marine and multi-scalar ‘livelihood turn’ in CITES policies</b>	<b>226</b>
6.1.	Making fish matter	229
6.1.1.	Obstacles and outcomes of fish integration in CITES	229
6.1.2.	The diversification of CITES conservation actions to account for fish	232
6.2.	Making livelihoods matter	234
6.2.1.	From a preservationist vision to a sustainability vision	234
6.2.2.	Accounting for fisheries’ livelihoods: successes and limits	236
6.3.	Multiscalar exploitation-conservation governance reconfigurations in the South Pacific	238
6.3.1.	International partnerships within CITES (with FAO and IUCN)	238
6.3.2.	Regional agencies as stewards for CITES vision of sustainable fisheries	239
6.3.3.	NGOs as brokers and advocates	242
a.	New perimeter for NGOs’ agenda-setting and advocacy work	242
b.	Limits of this new role	245
	Conclusion of Chapter 6	247
	<b>Conclusion of Part III</b>	<b>249</b>
<b>PART IV.</b>	<b>INTEGRATIONS. TOWARD A HYBRID REGIME OF PRACTICE</b>	<b>253</b>
<b>Chapter 7.</b>	<b>Behavioral change for individual and collective environmental responsabilization</b>	<b>258</b>
7.1.	Introduction to behavioral change and to cChange campaigns	259
7.1.1.	Behavioral change: a new strategy for the conservation sector?	259
7.1.2.	cChange behavioral change campaigns in Fiji	262
7.2.	The implementation of behavioral change strategy in Fiji	266
7.2.1.	Communication as a cornerstone of behavioral change	266
a.	Frame and spread information to create environmental <i>concern</i>	266
b.	Communication over data	272
c.	Communication beyond cChange	273
7.2.2.	Correcting entrenched beliefs and self-interest under a new ‘Fijian way of life’	274
a.	Identify what can be change or not	274
b.	Build on a collective Fijian <i>way of life</i>	276
c.	The Pledge as a formalization of the large 4FJ community	278
7.2.3.	Accompanying a change of practices: “how to put the fish back in the water”	279
7.3.	“It’s not just about the fish”: incremental change for a new environmentality	282
7.3.1.	Incremental behavioral change	282
7.3.2.	Foster ‘good practices’ to generate a new environmentality	285
7.4.	Change in practices and responsabilization	289
7.4.1.	The second life of empowerment and responsabilization processes	289
7.4.2.	The responsibility of the guardians of the sea	291
7.4.3.	An intimate government or/and a government at distance?	293
	Conclusion of Chapter 7	298
<b>Chapter 8.</b>	<b>Conservation instruments, state appropriations and hybrid fisheries policies</b>	<b>302</b>
8.1.	Three policies and three approaches of the coastal fisheries reform	303
8.1.1.	Fishing bans: from campaigns to policy	303
8.1.2.	MPA gazettement: the formalization of no-take areas	306
8.1.3.	The uptake of CBFM discourses	310
8.2.	From conservation instruments to hybrid policies	313
8.2.1.	From behavioral incentive to fishing law	313
a.	Voluntary <i>and</i> coercive management for more efficiency	313
b.	A parallel with the institutionalization of market-based approaches	316
8.2.2.	From LMMAs to state MPAs	318
8.2.3.	From CBFM to co-management	320
8.2.4.	Instrument hybridity to make them ‘acting’	323
8.3.	(Re)distribution of roles and responsibilities	324
8.3.1.	Between NGOs and Government services	325

8.3.2.	Between communities and ‘external stakeholders’, co-management and MPA gazettement	328
8.3.3.	What place for FLMMA and for communities in a state-led co-management regime?	331
	Conclusion of Chapter 8	335
<b>Chapter 9.</b>	<b>Characterization, successes and limits of the hybrid regime of practice</b>	<b>338</b>
9.1.	Diversifying instruments and evolving problematization and qualification processes	339
9.1.1.	The diversification of fisheries management instruments and approaches	339
9.1.2.	The evolution of fisheries problematization	341
9.1.3.	From fish and fishers qualification to their non-qualification	344
9.2.	Parallel trajectories of development and conservation coalitions to achieve integration	346
9.2.1.	The broadening of conservation actions and ethics: a ‘pragmatic’ turn	348
9.2.2.	The ‘blueing’ trajectory of the Fijian Government	351
a.	An internationally performative environmental discourse	351
b.	The limits of the Fijian “golden partnership”	352
c.	A sector to further develop?	353
9.3.	Integration as concurring to a neoliberal <i>flexibility</i> and to an Oceanian pluralism	356
9.3.1.	Integration as neoliberal-inspired <i>flexibility</i>	356
9.3.2.	Integration as an Oceanian-inspired pluralism	358
9.3.3.	Two overlapping dynamics?	361
<b>FINAL CONCLUSION</b>		<b>364</b>
	Retrospective	364
	Perspectives	366
<b>REFERENCES</b>		<b>370</b>
	Bibliography	370
	Online sources	388
Appendices		<b>390</b>
	Summary of the thesis in English	408
	Résumé de la thèse en français	430
	Zusammenfassung der Dissertation auf Deutsch	454
	Detailed table of contents	480





