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**Recasting Rights in the Caribbean:
The Politics of the Barbadian Flyingfish
Fishery**

by

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degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Politics and International Studies

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“Each generation must discover its mission, fulfil it or betray it, in relative opacity.”
— *Frantz Fanon*

Declaration

I hereby declare that the content of this thesis contains neither material from any prior theses nor any material that has already been published. This thesis is my own work submitted for the degree of PhD in Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick, United Kingdom, and has not been presented for examination at any other institution. Unless stated otherwise, all tables and figures are original.

Signature: *Lisa K. Soares*

Date: September 27th 2018

List of Abbreviations

BARNUFO	Barbados National Union of Fisherfolk Organisations
BLP	Barbados Labour Party
BFC	Bridgetown Fisheries Complex
BPOA	The Barbados Programme of Action
CARICOM	Caribbean Community and Common Market
CERMES	Centre for Resource Management and Environmental Studies
CNFO	Caribbean Network of Fisherfolk Organisations
CRFM	Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism
CSME	Caribbean Single Market and Economy
DLP	Democratic Labour Party
EEZs	Exclusive Economic Zones
FAC	Fisheries Advisory Committee
FMP	Fisheries Management Plan
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ITQ	Individual Transfer Quotas
IR	International Relations
PAHO	Pan-American Health Organisation
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TURFS	Territorial User Rights in Fisheries
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UN	United Nations
UWI	University of the West Indies
WECAFC	Western Central Atlantic Fisheries Commission

Abstract

This thesis explores how rights to the Barbadian flyingfish fishery are understood, legitimated, and contested. It addresses three overarching research questions: 1) who gets the fish and on what basis; 2) how is this system of allocation governed and why in this way; and, 3) is this governance challenged? Answers to these questions matter to coastal communities in Barbados and for the analysis of resource governance more broadly. The existing literatures on fisheries tends to study governance from the top-down. Omitted are the social motivations of actors targeted by such governance. Furthermore, these accounts fail to recognise both the legitimacy gaps created by top-down governance, and, the alternative forms of bottom-up governance practiced by fisherfolk and local communities.

This thesis adopts an ethnographic methodology situated within an International Relations critical constructivist theoretical approach to capture these localised perspectives. My key argument is that to understand how this resource is governed, and by extension, the rights afforded to Barbadian fisherfolk, there is a need to be attentive to socio-political norms that have shaped what is deemed appropriate. This study's empirical findings foreground regional and development norms as the two areas most pertinent. Tensions *between* the norms of regional community and national sovereignty have undermined attempts to formally demarcate regionally-shared distributive rights to the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery, though fisherfolk have enacted their own kind of informal regionalised governance. Tensions *within* the norm of sustainable development have left unresolved the issue of whether fisherfolk should have access rights to valuable coastal spaces occupied by the luxury tourism industry, with local communities using the language of social sustainability to make the case that they should have access to preserve their livelihoods and associated cultural traditions.

Introduction

The distribution of communally-held resources, like fisheries, has long been at the centre of debates in international politics, for example, on air (cf. Soroos, 1988); on forests (cf. Iwamoto, 1995); the internet (cf. Hess, 1995); and oceans (Delaney and Hadjimichael, 2017). These debates often surround conflicts and tensions regarding: who should own and have access to these resources; if these resources should be viewed as property with associated rights; what do these property regimes and associated rights look like and who do they represent; and, how best to conserve these resources for future generations?

These debates often boil down to concerns related to resource governance, and, have been addressed from economic and environmental bases with emphasis tending to be placed on managing the resource itself rather than the resource users. This is noteworthy because while having measures in place to manage natural resources like fisheries is important, what is often overlooked are the social interactions between actors that makes governance work or not, and by extension, the allocation of rights to these resources legitimated or not. This study is significant in that it is grounded in an unconventional social sciences approach to investigating fisheries governance. McConney (1995, pp. 43) suggests that the argument for integrating social science approaches in fisheries governance rests on the fact that the implementation of policy involves social change. This is certainly a sound argument given that “one doesn’t manage fish, one manages people” (Orbach, 1986, pp. 105). Consequently, in this study I explore the political tensions related to communally-held resources like fisheries, particularly the under-researched social aspects of governance. This is accomplished through a case study on the politics of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery.

Barbados¹ and its’ flyingfish fishery present an interesting case as a small Anglo-Caribbean island nation in the North Atlantic, lying as the most easterly of the Lesser Antilles entirely surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean². Fisheries, particularly, its flyingfish fishery, are of significant traditional, cultural, environmental, and economic importance to the country (Mohammed et al., 2015, pp. 1). Known as *the land of flyingfish*, Barbados and its flyingfish fishery operate in one of the most compact multi-national archipelagos of the world (CRFM Secretariat 2014, pp. 10). Furthermore, governance of its flyingfish fishery has

¹ Please see Appendix A for a list of statistics on Barbados’ People, Economy, Geography and Government.

² Barbados is the only Caribbean/CARICOM country entirely surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean. The other states are in or touch the Caribbean Sea basin.

been riddled by political tensions on global to local scales especially over the past three decades.

On November 28th 2011, *the Daily Nation*, one of Barbados' most prominent news sources, reported the statement by the Acting Attorney General of Barbados, Michael Lashley: "THE ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT of ten Barbadian fishermen who allegedly strayed into Tobago's waters is *a slap in the face of regional integration*" (Daily Nation, 2011a, *emphasis mine*). This statement is significant because tensions particularly have been premised on the long-standing dispute between the neighboring Anglo-Caribbean states, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago, to formally demarcate distributive rights to their regionally shared Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery. Despite this lack of resolve, Barbadian fisherfolk have continued to normalise the practice of catching flyingfish in Tobagonian waters. These concerns raise questions about how the norms of regional community and national sovereignty have influenced political tensions regarding: traditional rights to resources; defined borders; transnationality; and, the interface between regional and national identities.

Consider also, on September 22nd 2014, *Nation News*, one of Barbados' other prominent news sources reported the headline "Rally Behind Six Men's folk" and that "it is up to the rest of Barbados to defend the residents in Six Men's, St. Peter, who have been told they are squatters" (Nation News, 2014). This headline is significant because Barbados was the first black British slave society, and therein exists deeply embedded stratifications of race/colour, and class. This has led to a present-day political agreement between blacks controlling the state and whites the economy, and ultimately, socio-political tensions relating to "white privilege" particularly regarding the uneven distribution of productive land resources (Beckles, 1990, 2004a, 2004b). The highly uneven distribution of productive land resources has been prevalent on the island's north-west coast, described locally as the platinum coast, and has influenced the development of the island's fishing communities in its north-west, like at Six Men's.

It is noteworthy that where other Caribbean British colonies supplemented the diets of the enslaved and poorer classes mainly with imported salt fish, it was flyingfish that supplemented the protein requirements of poor and disenfranchised Barbadians. Essentially, flyingfish became a part of Barbados' social structure as a "slave fish" with the traditions and cultural values attached to flyingfish cemented as a food that has

sustained the life and diet of the “ordinary” Barbadian— of whom about ninety percent are of Afro-Caribbean and mixed descent (McConney, 1995; Welch, 2005; World Population Review, 2017). These facts matter because locals with an interest in fisheries have expressed concerns that despite several political promises to develop northern fisheries over the past three decades, their livelihoods have been marginalised because of white Barbadian interests in luxury tourism. Moreover, local communities (mostly black Barbadians) have expressed that their socio-cultural traditions are at risk of being lost, because luxury tourism, which is visibly more lucrative than fisheries, is competing for, and getting preferential access to, valuable coastal space. These concerns raise questions about how development norms framed *within* discourses of sustainable development have influenced political tensions regarding: maintaining cultural traditions and heritage; distributive justice claims of access to resources based on divisions in race/colour and class; and, the importance of placing socio-cultural concerns as a significant facet of overall development planning.

Research Aims and Approach

This study explores the above stated political concerns by addressing three overarching research questions:

- 1) who gets the fish and on what basis;
- 2) how is this system of allocation governed and why in this way; and,
- 3) is this governance being challenged?

This study’s empirical chapters answer these questions by interpreting how regional norms framed *between* understandings of national sovereignty and regional community, and, development norms framed *within* discourses of sustainable development have shaped the governance of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. Answering these questions matter for the livelihoods of coastal communities in Barbados and for the analysis of resource governance more broadly. This is because in the existing literature on resource governance, approaches to governing resources, like fisheries, are couched largely within prescriptive rationalist assumptions. I argue that particularly in the context of International Relations (IR), these perspectives do not provide an adequate understanding of the social motivations of actors in enacting governance, and by extension, rights (see chapter 2). Rooted in IR constructivist theory, I therefore adopted a critical constructivist theoretical approach in this study as the way to get to the root of these social motivations.

This study's critical constructivist research agenda is based on uncovering and understanding legitimacy gaps in governance and is grounded on an IR critical constructivist stance of "norms mattering". I accomplish this by building on Wiener's (2014) *A Theory of Contestation*, which is useful in locating legitimacy gaps in governance in international settings and explaining how norms emerge and come to be accepted and/or contested. However, Wiener's, and other dominant IR critical constructivist accounts to investigating the function and effects of norms are top-down. I therefore make the case for adjusting Wiener's typology of norms by including local norms in this study's conceptual framework to capture actors' social motivations in enacting governance (see chapter 3). I employ the use of ethnographic methods along with archival document analyses to capture these localised perspectives as well as the way in which shared and contested social meanings are understood (see chapter 4).

It is important in introducing this study's research approach to emphasise that it has broad implications for governing fisheries in Small Island Developing States (SIDS). This is because most SIDS are tropical and surrounded by the marine environment. Thus, fishing and fisheries are extremely important components of traditions, culture and economy. Tropical SIDS are the smallest countries in the world in terms of both land area and population. Those in the Western Central Atlantic, including the Caribbean Sea, the geographical area of this study, are some of the smallest. Therefore, their small size and 'island-ness' have undoubtedly influenced how fisheries and fisherfolk are placed as part of the SIDS development agenda. Most SIDS lack the enabling institutional and infrastructural environment for fisheries governance, particularly in the era of extended jurisdiction and sovereign claims to marine resources. Their fisheries are mainly classified as artisanal or small-scale commercial—with the former tending to be traditional, while the latter have developed or expanded with the introduction of extended maritime jurisdiction (Mahon, 1996, pp. 298-299, 301; COFI, 2014). Fishing and fisheries are a significant source of food security in SIDS and provide livelihoods for poor and marginalised communities. Despite this, the economic and particularly the socio-cultural contributions of fisheries in SIDS have been largely overlooked and/or undervalued as part of the development agenda and on policy and political platforms in the IR literature. This is striking when one considers that fishing and fisheries are, more often than not, classified by locals in SIDS as one of the most important industries contributing not only economically but also to social welfare.

The geographical area of this study, i.e., the Caribbean sea, is generally classified as a region with low fisheries productivity, meaning that fewer fish are caught compared to the global average³. The most productive waters are off the coasts of Venezuela, the north point of Trinidad, and the Brasil-Guianas shelf, otherwise known as the South and Eastern Caribbean sea (Ballah, 1992; Fanning et al., 2009). The region's fishery resources have been characterised as among the most overexploited in the world with fifty-five percent of commercially harvested fishery stocks being overexploited or depleted⁴ and forty percent of stocks currently fully exploited⁵ (FAO, 2014). A 2014 FAO report noted that “the growing population and reduced fish production in the Eastern Caribbean states results in more than forty percent of fish consumed being imported” (FAO, 2014, pp. 1). Despite the region's generally low productivity, the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery is by far one of the most important fisheries in the region. Apart from being commercially lucrative to all Eastern Caribbean states, but particularly to Barbados as a source of food, it is also a part of an ocean pelagic multi-species fishery with the principal species being flyingfish and dolphinfish (mahi mahi)⁶. Scientific reports indicate that in all cases “these resources are shared on either a regional or international basis” and are classified as “straddling and migratory pelagic stocks” (Mahon, 1990; Ministry of Agriculture Barbados, 1992, pp. 99).

Given this high dependence on fisheries, it is surprising that Caribbean governments have been struggling to develop cogent and coherent policies and political institutions both nationally and regionally to properly conserve and replenish these resources, and, support the people who depend on them. Indeed, a general sentiment shared by foreign as well as regional and national practitioners is that Caribbean fisheries, fishing and fisherfolk sit low on the development agenda. My interest in exploring the disconnect between the importance of fisheries to Caribbean livelihoods and the lack of visibility of the sector and its people is fuelled by my being a descendant of the Caribbean. Given that fisheries governance is often addressed from economic and environmental purviews in academic IR literature, this study seeks to capture the oft-overlooked and under-researched human experience of Caribbean fishing. The actors who are in the business of developing

³ For more information (cf. Heileman, 2007; Fanning et al., 2009; Heileman and Mahon, 2015).

⁴ A stock is considered “overexploited” if it is being exploited above a level that is believed to be sustainable in the long term, evident from the steady decline of the stock. A stock is said to be depleted if catches are well below historical levels, irrespective of the amount of fishing effort exerted (World Ocean Review, 2010).

⁵ The term “fully exploited” means that a fishery is operating at or close to an optimal yield level, with no expected room for further expansion (World Ocean Review, 2010).

⁶ Oxenford et al. (2007) explain that the large ocean pelagics are predators of juvenile and adult flyingfish and are typically harvested on the same fishing trips as flyingfish, and/or for which flyingfish are the primary bait (cf. Mahon et al. 1986). These large ocean pelagics consist of wahoo, tuna, swordfish, billfish and shark (Ministry of Agriculture Barbados, 1992).

Caribbean fisheries governance are usually foreigners aligned with international agencies and mandates, whereas, regional and national practitioners are largely natural scientists or resource management specialists. What this study contributes to the fisheries governance literature is a unique assessment of the social aspects of Caribbean fisheries that is explored on the basis of knowledge of the scales of governance (international to local) as well as indigenous knowledge of human interactions in the Caribbean. As explained above and demonstrated throughout this study, the Barbadian flyingfish fishery is extremely complicated and politically charged within local, national and regional spheres of influence. As such, this case of the politics of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery is well-matched to provide insight into the social motivations of actors' in constructing governance and rights to communally-held resources, like fisheries.

Key Findings

Governance assessments⁷ for Barbados' flyingfish fishery by any standard international, regional, national or local are virtually non-existent (cf. CERMES, 2012). The key argument of this study is that to understand how this resource is governed, and by extension, the rights afforded to Barbadian fisherfolk, there is a need to be attentive to socio-political norms that have shaped what is deemed appropriate. As mentioned earlier, the thesis argues that regional norms framed *between* understandings of national sovereignty and regional community, and development norms, framed *within* discourses of sustainable development are particularly pertinent in constructing governance of the fishery. The study's key findings and how they collectively constitute a contribution to knowledge then are as follows.

The first key finding of this study is a significant socio-political insight into how norms become propagated. My research reveals that the regional and development norms pertinent to this study have been forged through the social relations of race/colour, class, nationality and gender. This finding provides a socio-political dimension often absent in research on the Barbadian flyingfish fishery, i.e. the essential 'human dimensions' of the fishery. This led to the study's second key finding: how the evolution of these social relations underpins both the present-day governance of the fishery, and the political tensions surrounding the distributive rights and access rights to the fishery being explored

⁷ Governance assessments can come from many sources and for many reasons and vary according to the interests, needs and culture of the assessor. How the assessment is conducted and who is included often depends on the interests and ideas of the group, organization or champions that initiate the process. For more information on governance assessments (cf. UNDP, 2009).

in this study. The study's third key finding speaks to the wider literature on resource governance. Rooted in International Relations (IR) constructivist theory, the critical constructivist research agenda utilised in this study provides a way to demonstrate how top-down and bottom-up perspectives interact to achieve or frustrate governance goals via my typology of norms. A major finding of this study therefore is how practices of informal governance are enacted within a top-down and bottom-up governance regime. These key findings collectively constitute a contribution to knowledge theoretically, methodologically and empirically.

Main Research Contributions

The study's main research contributions are rooted in revealing localised perspectives on enacting governance and the social motivations for them via an IR critical constructivist framework. Theoretically, my work is grounded in the importance of understanding norms at the level of the locale, to truly analyse how norms are understood, legitimated, and contested (see chapter 3). Methodologically, to be thus embedded in the local, I used ethnographic methods triangulated with archival document analyses, rather than discourse analysis which is the more conventional IR critical constructivist approach. I was able through empirical analysis to generate insights into localised perspectives of governance that could not be gleaned solely through the written word. In this way, the thesis provides insights into how the social motivations behind local norms influence actors' ways of enacting governance (see chapter 4). This approach provides a framework for studying local/bottom-up governance, which the thesis argues is needed to better give recognition to and understand the perspectives of actors who are often marginalised in the policy making process but are expected to implement policy (see chapter 2).

The study's main contributions to knowledge are also found in its distinctive empirical analysis of Barbadian fisheries by focusing on normative tensions around 'the region' and 'development'. First, the study had a significant contribution to knowledge by expanding on the sparse literature that can account for essentially the 'human dimensions' of the fishery (see chapter 5). Regarding constructing governance of a regional fishery, I argue that tensions between the norms of regional community and national sovereignty have undermined attempts to formally demarcate regionally-shared distributive rights to the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery from the top-down, though fisherfolk have enacted their own kind of informal regionalised governance from the bottom-up. The significant

empirical contribution here is that enactments of bottom-up governance illustrated informal acts of reciprocity constructing governance of the fishery, in that, Barbadian fisherfolk indicated that they have been able to co-operate in demarcating shared distributive rights to the fishery based on their shared identity as a regional community of fisherfolk with shared interests in the multi-pelagic flyingfish fishery (see chapter 6). Regarding constructing governance of Barbadian national development priorities, I argue that tensions within the norm of sustainable development have left unresolved the issue of whether fishing communities should have access rights to valuable coastal spaces occupied by the luxury tourism industry in the island's north-west. The major empirical contribution here is that enactments of bottom-up governance suggest that the principle of social sustainability and the inclusion of culture factor highly in the local discourse, with local communities using the language of social sustainability to make the case that they should have access to preserve their livelihoods and associated cultural traditions (see chapter 7). These research contributions also highlight how this study contributes to key debates in international politics.

In emphasising the need for localised perspectives of governance and advocating for empirical analysis as the methodology for revealing the underlying social motivations, I have chosen to intervene in the pragmatic debate surrounding how small-scale fisherfolk should be included and integrated as part of the development agenda and in policy and political platforms. This brings into scope a related policy debate about who controls governance, and by extension, what governance regime is believed to be better, i.e., bottom-up or top-down. Essentially, this study makes the argument that top-down (hierarchical) governance is often the preferred form of governance regime. The thesis makes the case that particularly small-scale fisherfolk and fisheries are often not included as part of the development agenda or in policy and political platforms. In contributing to these pragmatic and policy debates, my research has found that despite top-down governance being imposed on these small-scale fisherfolk (who lack representation and inclusion in the policy making process) that they are able to formulate their own informal means of governance and co-operation. It is important therefore to be cognisant of the context-specific nuances of governing communally-held resources, like fisheries. This leads to my claim that perspectives of bottom-up governance ought to be included in analysis, because up to this moment no form of top-down governance regime has been successful in fisheries management. The fisherfolks' informal means of governance and

co-operation are unaccounted for in high-level fisheries governance or development policy. It is my position that fisherfolk ought to be included at the negotiating table particularly when policy decisions affect them.

The second debate in which I have chosen to intervene, is a critical constructivist theoretical debate regarding how identity shapes practices of governance. Identities shape how we see the world and our capacities to act in it (Bechhofer and McCrone, 2009). Given that critical constructivists see identities as fluid and not fixed, this study was able to explore varied identities enacting governance, and by extension, rights to the Barbadian flyingfish fishery on multiple scales of analysis (from international to the local). In the case of this study, my contributions to this theoretical debate are rooted in the study's ability to illustrate that in constructing governance of a regional fishery, elite actors have not resolved the political tensions surrounding formally demarcating shared distributive rights to the shared regional Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery. I suggest that the identities of elite actors, and specifically political actors, have propelled them to uphold a long-standing pre-occupation with national sovereignty and to perpetually reproduce political contentions that have hindered the achievement of a viable Anglo-Caribbean regional community. I was also able to demonstrate that despite there being a lack of resolve in the policy-making process, through the ability of Barbadian fisherfolk, as they indicate, to enact a shared identity and mutual interests in the multi-species regional flyingfish fishery, they were more likely to practice upholding a regional community, and to co-operate in governance and informally demarcating shared distributive rights so that livelihoods would not be jeopardised. The fisherfolk who were interviewed in this study shared the strong sentiment that when politicians conduct negotiations all fails. This research contribution reveals the important distinction between the contentious practices of elites upholding nationalistic divisions through policy and enforcement frameworks versus fisherfolk's practices creating successful regional cooperation through mutually beneficial relationships. I was also able to demonstrate that embedded stratifications of race/colour and class have shaped the governance of Barbados' national development priorities around the sectors of fisheries and tourism, and thus, the identities of communities vying for rights to own and physically access valuable coastal space in Barbados' north-west. Consider that the long-standing political agreement with whites controlling the economy and blacks controlling the state has influenced uneven distribution of the island's productive land resources. In my research,

I have demonstrated that local communities and fisherfolk do not feel welcome on the island's platinum coast, where the luxury tourism product is designated. Furthermore, I have highlighted the significance that local communities and fisherfolk have reproduced the label of being "black Barbadians" as a way to lay claim that they ought to be included in the governance of Barbadian national development—in this case, by way of maintaining the cultural traditions and heritage of northern fisheries. These insights into racial and class identity are important for any understanding of the fisheries sector in Barbados and the region generally.

The empirical contributions of the study discussed here also highlight how this study contributes to a key political and policy debate for SIDS within the Caribbean. This is regarding to what extent can SIDS, like Barbados, legitimise fisheries development and policy. In the Caribbean region there have been continual struggles to place fisheries as a visible and viable part of regional and national development agendas and on policy and political platforms. This is quite worrying for the region's development prospects seeing that the majority of SIDS in the Caribbean depend quite heavily on their marine environment to sustain food security and livelihoods of the masses. This study as such aids in bringing attention to the political concerns surrounding the inability of high-level actors to viably recognise Caribbean fisheries and fisherfolk as part of the region's development. The overarching question is how a paradigmatic shift can be engaged to look at these human dimensions of governing Caribbean fisheries before it is too late?

Chapter Outline

Chapter 2, Theories of Maritime Governance: presents a literature review of the dominant theories of maritime governance pertaining to fisheries as framed between Hardin's and Ostrom's focus on property rights to the emerging focus on human rights. The importance of integrating social and cultural concerns in the concept of sustainable development as it is applied to the contemporary fisheries governance discourse is also discussed. Also offered is an explanation of how top-down and bottom-up governance are understood in this study. This chapter's key findings are that the dominant theories of fisheries governance are built on prescriptive rationalist assumptions. I argue that particularly in the context of international relations, these perspectives do not provide an adequate understanding of the social motivations of actors in enacting governance, and by extension, rights. This literature review therefore feeds the debate concerning the

International Relations (IR) critical constructivist theoretical approach adopted in this study to get to the root of these social motivations.

Chapter 3, On the Legitimation and Contestation of Norms: introduces and justifies the use of critical constructivism and its positions on “norms mattering” as this study’s theoretical approach rooted specifically within the context of IR. I build on Wiener’s (2014) *A Theory of Contestation* to situate this study’s conceptual schema. Wiener offers a typology of norms that is useful to locate legitimacy gaps in governance in international settings that encapsulates three levels of norms: fundamental norms (type 1 norms), organising principles (type 2 norms) and standardised procedures (type 3 norms). This conceptual framework offers a starting point to explain how norms emerge and come to be accepted and/or contested. The conventional IR critical constructivist approach to investigating the function and effects of norms is top-down. Consequently, the conceptual space needed to explore how norms are validated at the level of the locale is lacking, and therefore the perceptions of actors are unaccounted for in those places where governance is implemented. Chapter 3 thus makes the case for adjusting the typology of norms that *A Theory of Contestation* offers by including local norms in this study’s conceptual framework. In doing so, this chapter makes a contribution to IR critical constructivist research agendas by arguing that it is necessary to include in empirical analysis the effects of local norms on actors. This study thus adopts a conceptual framework which distinguishes legitimacy gaps between top-down governance being shaped via fundamental principles and standardised procedures (type 1 and 2 norms) and bottom-up governance being shaped by local norms (type 3 norms). The theoretical adjustments I propose insist that in understanding norms within the context of IR, critical constructivists should remember that local norms also matter.

Chapter 4, Methods: explores the methods used in this study and how they complement this study’s conceptual schema (see chapter 3). The central aim of chapter 4 is to explain how to locate both the texts and practices which constitute how norms of governance come to be shared or contested in the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. In departing from conventional IR critical constructivist methodology of discourse analysis, this chapter makes the case for utilising ethnographic methods, i.e., interviews and non-participant observation as the best complement to this study’s conceptual schema. This is because of their ability to elicit, particularly, localised perspectives constructing governance of the fishery. Also explained is the importance of archival document analyses for triangulating

shared and contested perspectives of constructing governance of the flyingfish fishery. The chapter also explains why Barbados and its flyingfish fishery were chosen as an interpretive case study, and, why the Bridgetown Fisheries Complex (the main landing site in the island and commercial fishery) and Six Men's Bay (an artisanal rural fishing community) as comparative social settings. In doing so, the chapter also explains how the regional and development norms of under investigation in this study have emerged inductively from the field research process. A detailed reflective account of how the ethnographic methods used in this study as described above were coded and interpreted in line with the study's conceptual schema is also provided. In line with this, this chapter also provides critical reflection on my own positionality and reflexivity within the research and the limitations of the methodological approach taken.

Chapter 5, A Socio-Political Chronology of Governing the Barbadian Flyingfish fishery: presents a socio-political chronology of governing the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. It ought to be read as a bridge between this study's theoretical and empirical chapters, and methodologically, as a partially descriptive/partially empirical chapter. It contributes by expanding on the sparse literature that can account for the socio-political dimensions of governing the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. My observations foreground the political tensions underpinning how the regional and development norms under investigation in this study have been forged through the social relations of race/colour, class, nationality and gender. From this, an understanding is gained of how the distributive and access rights afforded to Barbadian fisherfolk to the fishery have been shaped by the historical institutional environment constructing the top-down governance of the fishery.

Chapter 6, Constructing the Region: is the first of two which present this study's empirical findings. It is set in the context of constructing governance of the regional Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery. The central question is: whether there is acceptance of or contention regarding the idea of shared distributive rights to the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery, and why or why not. This chapter's findings ultimately suggest that although the norms of regional community and national sovereignty have both been widely accepted as guiding fundamental principles—they have also been contested institutionally (type 1 norms), procedurally (type 2 norms), and at the level of the locale (type 3 norms). This has led to the failure of elite actors to resolve the establishment of a regional fishing agreement between the neighbouring Anglo-Caribbean states of Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago for over 20 years. I found that there were legitimacy

gaps in governance given that state and technocratic actors constructed governance from the top-down in contrast with fisherfolk who constructed governance from the bottom-up. These legitimacy gaps pointed to two overarching ways in which the top-down governance of the regional fishery is being challenged: 1) the appropriateness of high-level negotiations to conclude a fishing agreement between the states, and, 2) the inclusivity of fisherfolks' interests in these high-level negotiations.

Chapter 7, Constructing Development: is the second of the study's empirical chapters. Its analysis is set within the frame of constructing governance of Barbadian national development priorities. The central question is: whether there is acceptance or contention over the idea of granting reciprocal rights to luxury tourism and fisheries to own and physically access valuable coastal space in Barbados and why or why not. My observations are based on the developments of two luxury marinas and the Six Men's fishing community alongside each other in Six Men's, St. Peter. This chapter's empirical findings ultimately suggest that the norm of sustainable development has been accepted as a way of talking and thinking about development, and, has shaped the rhetoric around achieving sustainable fisheries and sustainable tourism. However, there has been obvious friction because sustainable development has different meanings and uneven acceptance institutionally (type 1 norms), procedurally (type 2 norms) and at the level of the locale (type 3 norms). This has led to the failure of elite actors to resolve if the two sectors ought to be granted reciprocal rights to own and physically access coastal space in Barbados' north-west through several political pronouncements. I found that there were legitimacy gaps in governance given that the state and private sector actors constructed governance from the top-down in contrast with fisherfolk and the local community who constructed governance from the bottom-up. These legitimacy gaps pointed to two overarching ways in which the top-down governance of Barbadian national development priorities is being challenged: 1) the appropriateness of integrating sustainable fisheries and sustainable tourism as pillars of national development in Six Men's, and, 2) the inclusivity of ordinary Barbadians interests (particularly in the Six Men's locale) in constructing national development priorities.

The Conclusion: provides a brief recap of the study's chapters and offers a detailed reflection on the study's key findings on a whole and the implications of the study's main contributions to knowledge. It also provides insight into the limitations of this study and possible areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2 THEORIES OF MARITIME GOVERNANCE

Introduction

This chapter presents a literature review of the dominant theories of maritime governance pertaining to fisheries. This chapter's key findings are that the extant literature details conventional and emerging approaches to fisheries governance that are built on prescriptive rationalist assumptions. I argue that particularly within the context of international relations, these perspectives do not provide an adequate understanding of the social motivations of actors in enacting governance, and by extension, rights.

Section 1 describes how the concept of fisheries governance has come to be understood through the prisms of top-down and bottom-up governance. It goes further to explain the evolution and importance of the concept of property rights in fisheries and how it has come to influence the major debates about the governance of fisheries under the doctrines of *Mare Liberum* (freedom of the high seas) and *Mare Clausum* (the enclosed seas). Section 2 provides an overview of the major theories of maritime governance as underpinned by theses of Garrett Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons' and Elinor Ostrom's 'governing the commons'. I make the argument that the concept of property rights has remained central in these governance paradigms. Hardin's thesis laid the foundation for the dominant institutional arrangements for governing fisheries under the classifications of state-controlled property and private property, and, influenced the more contemporary institutional arrangement of rights-based-fisheries reforms built on free market principles. Ostrom's thesis provided the foundation for alternative institutional arrangements for governing fisheries through participatory collective action via community-based management and co-management. Section 3 then goes on to document the recent paradigmatic shift from a focus on property rights to human rights and the importance of integrating social and cultural concerns in the concept of sustainable development as it is applied to the contemporary fisheries governance discourse. The key takeaway from these dominant paradigms of fisheries governance is that none provide the conceptual space to locate how governance emerges. The conclusion sums up this chapter's findings.

1. Understanding Governance and Rights in the Fisheries Literature

1.1. Top-down vs. Bottom-Up Governance

Governance has become a central concept in the social sciences and in the policy world (Kooiman et al., 2008, pp. 1). This is perhaps because “the need for governance exists any time a group of people come together to accomplish an end” (Institute of Governance, 2018). Broadly, governance is defined as “a system of formal and/or informal rules that apply to certain activities, like fishing” (Carley and Christie, 2000, pp. 44). But the concept has different meanings for different people which “often revolve around the perceived role of the state” both normatively and analytically (Kooiman et al., 2008, pp. 1). The concept has often been traditionally related to “governments and what they do” (Jentoft and Chuenpagdee, 2009, pp. 554). It is important nevertheless to distinguish governance from the term government (Carley and Christie, 2000, pp. 17). Jentoft and Chuenpagdee (2009, pp. 554) explain that “government is not the only governor”. Governance therefore is the “shared, collective effort of government, private business, civic organisations, communities, political parties, universities, the media and the general public” (Ibid, 2009, pp. 554). Furthermore, governance should be understood as the “interaction between institutions ... creating an orderly framework for action— not only at the global level, but also at the regional, national and local levels” (Carley and Christie, 2000, pp. 18). Governance essentially determines then “who has power, who makes decisions, how other players make their voice heard, and how account is rendered” (Institute of Governance, 2018). From this, it can be suggested that good governance “therefore requires co-operation (or even, in the best circumstances, partnership)” between the actors “which represent the broad diversity of interests in any given society” (Carley and Christie, 2000, pp. 18). The concept of governance ought to also be differentiated from management. This is because according to Jentoft and Chuenpagdee (2009, pp. 555) “governance is broader than management”. Management is a technical issue that involves a set of tools that are applied to solving a concrete task with clear goals and measurable outcomes. On the other hand, governance encapsulates the deliberation and determination of these goals “including the values, norms, and principles underpinning them” (Ibid, 2009, pp. 555).

It is important to understand that crafting governance for fisheries/coastal resources has historically been based on their communally shared status. The importance of this

“commons” characteristic is expanded on later in this chapter. Given that various actors must interact in the governance process to organise, co-ordinate, and implement policy at varied levels— international, regional, national, local—there needs to be collective action between the different levels so that “bottom-up” and “top-down” efforts are aligned on governance outcomes (Carley and Christie, 2000, pp. 12). Despite this, the significant literature on resource governance does not align top-down and bottom-up governance perspectives. Moreover, these literatures are largely built on prescriptions of rational choice theory which sees “humans as self-interested, short-term maximisers” (cf. Ostrom, 1998, pp. 2). This thesis makes the argument that these governance approaches, omit actors’ social motivations in enacting governance, and in doing this demonstrates how top-down and bottom-up perspectives interact to achieve or frustrate governance goals. It is necessary then to provide an explanation about what is meant by top-down and bottom-up governance within this study’s context.

Another important characteristic of fisheries governance is that “the rules that dictate social and economic policy considerations are often developed at the international level” (ICAR, 2018). However, policies usually meet resistance because they appear reasonable but often prove difficult or impossible to implement in practice because of political fissures between the policy making elite and the reality of life at the level of the locale (Carley and Christie, 2000, pp. 22; Jentoft and Chuenpagdee, 2009, pp. 556). With this in mind, Donovan (2007b, pp. 972) explains that a top-down approach to governance:

is characterised by a powerful, hierarchical state where a political elite devises policy that is then implemented through a strict, sequential and stable chain of command via bureaucrats and service providers. It emphasises national planning, rationality, command, control, obedience, and constraints, and evokes notions of red tape and bureaucracy.

Here, the state uses regimented clear lines of authority “to enforce its norms and objectives and to minimize any conflict or deviation from its aims” (Donovan, 2007b, pp. 972). Top-down governance has often been characterised as the ideal type of governance due to its emphasis on prescriptive rational analysis and models. Despite this, top-down

approaches have drawn heavy criticism because their rational assumptions are flawed in theory and practice when compared with every-day political life (Ibid, 2007, pp. 972). To explain, top-down decisions tend to lose sight of highly contextualised local knowledge (Linden et al., 2017). These accounts tend to overlook whether a policy is successfully implemented and also the dynamism in the policy process. Essentially then the top-down approach to governance has come to be characterised as devoid of human interaction and grossly oversimplifying the complexity of implementation. Therein, the relationship between policy and action is depoliticised and notions of power and dependence between agencies and actors are underplayed. Consequently, there is no way to account for the complex patterns of human motivations, behaviour and interests (Donovan, 2007b, pp. 972). As it relates to fisheries resources, Rova (2006, pp. 3-4) explains that top-down governing — what he calls ‘hierarchical governing’ — often relies upon centralised command and control decision-making, and is based on legal and administrative tools. The reasons that many top-down systems fail are numerous and complex, including mostly “high information costs, lack of adequate monitoring devices, lack of trained personnel and/or financial resources, and subordination of environmental concerns to shorter-term economic or political interests”. Top-down governance thus emphasises regulatory incentives, while omitting normative incentives that particularly influence fisherfolk to participate in enacting governance (Ibid, 2006, pp. 3-4).

Bottom-up approaches to governance are an alternative way of thinking about and understanding governance. Donovan (2007a, pp. 50) explains that a bottom-up approach to governance:

takes the view that policy and action simply cannot be separated; hence, policy implementation is an essentially political process. It is concerned with the dynamism that bureaucrats and street-level service providers bring to the policy process.

Bottom-up approaches therefore “demonstrate that policy making does not stop when a policy is approved because it is continually being remade as it is administered” (Donovan 2007a, pp. 50). Essentially then, bottom-up approaches to governance have been characterised as “an antidote to rationalist, prescriptive, top-down models where policy is

devised by elites and mechanically implemented...” (Ibid 2007a, pp. 50). Herein, conflict and bargaining viewed as dysfunctional under top-down approaches are embraced as features in the governance process. Implementation is therefore understood “as another form of politics within the sphere of unelected power” (Ibid 2007a, pp. 50). It should be noted that bottom-up approaches to governance have drawn their own criticisms because of the removal of traditional barriers between elected representatives, public servants, and the general populace (Ibid 2007a, pp. 50). Indeed, as it relates to fisheries resources, Rova (2006, pp. 4) posits for example that “bottom-up approaches lead to insufficient conservation, since there are wider public interests in conservation that are unlikely to be fully internalised into the calculations of fishermen themselves”. Despite this, with bottom-up governance, human interactions are seen as central to successful policy implementation. Political scientists thus focus on investigating these interactions that link actors’ social motivations to behaviour (Donovan 2007a, pp. 50).

The purpose of providing this explanation about how bottom up and top-down approaches to governance are understood as a political phenomenon in this study is not to assert whether either governance approach is better. As Rova (2006, pp. 4) argues neither bottom-up nor top-down governance approaches can be expected to work on their own. Moreover, “there are no basic and fixed governance structures that apply to all types of fisheries” (Ibid 2006, pp. 4). Rather, the purpose of these explanations is to suggest that there is the need for co-ordination and inclusivity of all actors in the governance process, thereby “pushing decisions down to the lowest level of governance possible”⁸ (Carley and Christie, 2000, pp. 23). If this is accomplished, what is mitigated is the fragmentation and incoherent action that top-down global governance prescriptions often evoke at the regional, national and local levels (Ibid, 2000, pp. 23). This thesis makes the case that when governing resources like fisheries, a more holistic recognition of local/bottom-up governance is needed to understand the contextual nuances of policy implementation not gained elsewhere (cf. Linden et al., 2017).

⁸ Aligning top-down and bottom-up approaches to governance can be characterised as vertical integration of governance (Carley and Christie, 2000). Here, it is noted that governance frameworks can also be understood horizontally. Take for example, Kooiman’s framework on interactive governance (cf. Kooiman, et al. (eds), 2005).

1.2. The Evolution of Property Rights for Fisheries

The concept of enforceable property rights has been an enduring problematic for establishing effective maritime governance. Yet, how rights to particularly fisheries have been understood has taken on varied forms within the literature (Carley and Christie, 2000, pp. 43). It is therefore relevant to explain the dominant paradigms that have provided the basis upon which the current debates about fisheries governance have been built. Fisheries resources have been viewed as inexhaustible. This notion was reinforced over a 100 years ago by Thomas Huxley, an influential British philosopher, who famously stated "...probably all the great sea fisheries are inexhaustible; that is to say that nothing that we do seriously affects the number of fish..." (qtd in Baden and Noonan (eds), 1998, pp. 19). Huxley's remarks were made at the opening of the 1883 International Fisheries Exhibition in London, United Kingdom. At the time free, open and unrestricted access to and harvesting of fisheries resources had become an accepted practice among states both within territorial waters and on the high-seas. It has been widely documented that this practice became entrenched through legal argument via the doctrine of the "freedom of the high seas" in the early seventeenth century. Dating back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the great maritime powers had claimed large areas of the ocean, for example, the division of the Atlantic Ocean between Portugal and Spain (Carley and Christie, 2000, pp. 53; Gagern and van den Bergh, 2013, pp. 376). As these claims became increasingly opposed by emerging maritime powers, in 1609, the Dutch Jurist, Hugo Grotius⁹, argued in his famous treatise, *Mare Liberum* "that property rights could exist only if the holder was able to defend them against others" (Carley and Christie, 2000, pp. 53). Furthermore, "Grotius also argued that fishery resources were so abundant that no benefit would accrue from exclusive jurisdiction" (Ibid, 2000, pp. 53). Grotius' position became accepted as customary international law in that "the high seas are open to all states: the high seas and the fish within it belong to no one: they are *res nullius*" (Ibid, 2000, pp. 54). In early applications of the *mare-liberum* paradigm, a state's territorial sea or marine sovereign territory was situated as the narrow strip along the coast, no more than 3 nautical miles wide. This practice became globally recognised as open-access rights within which peoples of all states could harvest fish found on the high-seas (Ibid, 2000, pp. 54). The freedom of the high-seas doctrine did not go unchallenged. In 1635, the British jurist, John Selden, famously presented his doctrine on *Mare Clausum*¹⁰ or the closed

⁹ Hugo Grotius is known as the father of international law (cf. Feenstra, 2009).

¹⁰ The concept of *Mare Clausum* actually dates back to the medieval era or the age of discovery when it served the political aims of the now erstwhile great maritime powers, Spain, Portugal, the Nordic countries, and England. For more information on the *mare-clasum* doctrine (cf. Theutenberg, 1984).

seas. Selden's doctrine claimed that at least parts of the sea should belong to specific countries (Ziskind, 1973).

The opposing paradigms of *mare-liberum* and *mare-clasum* continue to fuel the debates around effective fisheries governance today. The principle of free and open-access was widely accepted among states through to the middle of the twentieth century. Things began to change by the end of World War II when scientists had generally rejected the paradigm that fisheries were inexhaustible. The historical precedent of free and unregulated open-access led to the exploitation of the global marine commons, and, brought about the collapse and depletion of many of the world's major fisheries stocks, for example, the collapse of the Atlantic Halibut fishery in the nineteenth century (Grasso, 2008). This prompted a response from the international community to redefine the governance of fisheries/coastal resources with the first United Nations conference on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) in 1958¹¹. Coastal states were set on expanding their national fishing zones and their territorial sea limits. By 1960, the territorial sea or national fishing zone was generally regarded at 12 nautical miles. By the 1970s, most countries had established 200 nautical mile national fishing zones under UNCLOS III (1972-1982). In 1994, the 200 nautical mile national fishing zones became officially codified into international law as Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs). The advent of UNCLOS III was fuelled by the desire of newly independent developing states joining the international community to secure a fair share of ocean's wealth, the concern of overfishing and stock collapse, as well as the climate of a 'new international economic order' and the concept of the 'common heritage of mankind'¹² (Carley and Christie, 2000, pp. 44, 54). Despite this global governance framework advocating for the establishment of property rights in fisheries, it is important to also mention that local governance frameworks have played a role in the designation of property rights to fisheries resources. It has been historically common for coastal fishing communities to establish rights to exclusive use of coastal fishing grounds that were normally known good fishing areas relatively close to the community (Carley and Christie, 2000, pp. 54). Focus is now turned to explaining the dominant theories of maritime governance, and by extension, how rights to fisheries resources have been understood in the literature.

¹¹ There were 3 United Nations conferences on the Law of the Sea. The first in 1958 established four conventions: on the High Seas, the Continental Shelf, the Territorial Sea, and the Contiguous Zone. The second in 1960 was to discuss the breadth of the territorial sea and proposed fishing zone. Both UNCLOS 1 and II ended in failure. UNCLOS III beginning in 1982 was hailed as the only successful Law of the Sea conference (cf. United Nations, 1982; Nemeth et al., 2014).

¹² For more information on the new international economic order and the concept of the common heritage of mankind (cf. Vogler, 2012).

2. Hardin's Law and Ostrom's Law

2.1. Hardin's Law

Governing fisheries/coastal resources has long been classified as a problem of collective action in the commons. According to Carley and Christie (2000, pp. 15, *authors' emphasis*):

the term 'commons' is derived from the shared grazing system on the village greens of feudal England. It refers to an important form of resource management involving land and natural resources held communally. These pose a special economic problem, in that natural resources are a form of *public good* subject to degradation or even destruction from overuse.

It has been the case that most commons debates related to fisheries surround property, around which there are varied interpretations of property rights (Feeny et al., 1990). The first debate to highlight is the conventional "theory of common property resources" (CPR theory). According to Ciriacy-Wantrup and Bishop (1975) the "theory of common property resources" is summarized by the maxim "everybody's property is nobody's property". This is also known as the open-access problematic. Ciriacy-Wantrup and Bishop suggest that at one time or another, this concept of open access or free-for-all has been applied to an array of resources including fisheries, grazing lands, forestry, groundwater, oil, air, campgrounds, etc. CPR theory sees the individual as the unit of analysis and his or her rational choices under a set of constraints that must be explained or controlled (Saunders, 2014, pp. 641-644). Here, it is important to make note of the definitional disagreements regarding the concept of common property resources. Bromley (1990, pp. 1-2) challenges that:

there is no such thing as a common property resource— there are only resources controlled and managed as common property, or as state property, or as private property. Or, and this is where confusion persists in the literature, there are

resources over which no property rights have been recognised. We call these latter resources open access resources (*res nullius*).

In other words, to avoid confusion, common property resources ought to be classified as common-pool resources that may be owned by national, regional or local governments, by communal groups, by private individuals or corporations, or used as open-access resources for whomever can gain access (Feeny et al., 1996; Ostrom and Hess, 2008). Distinctions of open-access are the source of major tensions in commons discourses (Bromley, 1990). This is because, as Feeny et al. (1996) describe, under open access regimes (*res nullius*), there is an absence of well-defined property rights, i.e., access to resources are unregulated, free and open to everyone. As noted earlier, many offshore ocean fisheries before the twentieth century, and until recently, most marine resources outside of the 3-12-200 nautical mile coastal zones clearly fell into this category. It has been argued in this regard that the governance problem lies with the perception of open access resources having no restrictions on aspiring users to refrain from exploiting the resource (Bromley, 1990).

It is widely accepted in the resource governance literature that these prophecies of open-access doom are built on ecologist, Garrett Hardin's, classic and seminal article, *The Tragedy of the Commons* (Hardin, 1968). The extant literature suggests that Hardin's foretold tragedy is relatable to open-access fisheries through the economic theory of fisheries launched by Scott Gordon in 1954 (Feeny et al., 1996; Campling and Havice, 2014). Mansfield (2004, pp. 315) explains that Gordon's 1954, *The Economic Theory of Common Property Research: The Fishery* is regarded as one of the first efforts to apply systematic economic analyses to fisheries. Gordon outlined that if fisheries were treated as a common rather than private resource, economic inefficiencies and overexploitation were inevitable. Gordon's thesis was based on the argument that "fish in the sea are valueless to the fisherman, because there is no assurance that they will be there for him tomorrow if they are left behind today" (Gordon, 1954, pp. 135). Because "in the sea, fisheries, the natural resource, are not private property the rational fisher will catch as many fish today as possible" (Ibid, 1954, pp. 130-131). From Gordon's perspective, the solution then was to focus on ways to reform property rights to harness individual decision making to both market and ecological realities (Mansfield, 2004, pp. 316). In the succeeding years, Hardin

is cited to have popularised the most widely accepted explanation of the over-exploitation of open-access resources via his ‘tragedy of the commons’ thesis:

Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom in the commons brings ruin to all (Hardin, 1968, pp. 1244).

Almost parallel to Scott’s 1954 predictions, Hardin’s seminal article advocated a pessimistic view of actors’ interests in the commons by drawing on the divergence between individual and collective rationality. Therein, Hardin is recognised to have championed the notion that resource degradation was inevitable unless the “commons” was converted to private property¹³ or government regulation of uses and users was instated. Thus, in Hardin’s thesis, without this formal allocation of property rights, there is an ungoverned space. Hardin generally recognised two general solutions and no others—private enterprise and centralized government control (Sharma, 2001, pp. 1).

Hardin’s recommendations to govern fish as private property or state-controlled resources prompted a shift in the contemporary fisheries governance discourse to a focus on rights-based-fisheries market reforms. According to Mansfield (2004, pp. 316) for the first few decades following the inception of modern fisheries economics, while not unaffected by economic analysis, governing fisheries was primarily based on direct restrictions on fishing activity. In so doing, limiting entry to individual fisheries was viewed as a way of moving towards secure property rights. Thus, at the centre of the emerging and influential field of fisheries economics was the commons—increasingly cast as a market failure. The belief was that in the absence of clearly specified property rights, rational individual economic behaviour leads to economic and environmental problems. Regarding this, Mansfield suggests that the neo-classical economic paradigms of the 1950s and 1960s which advocated for state involvement in fisheries prefigured, by several decades, the free market themes requiring state intervention to ensure a market society, for example, through enforceable property rights. By the 1980s, fisheries economists had largely adopted the perspective that enforceable property rights were best served to

¹³ In much of the economics literature, private property is defined as equivalent to alienation (cf. Ostrom and Hess, 2008, pp. 9).

govern communally held resources, like fisheries. Strikingly like Hardin's *tragedy of the commons* thesis, the paradigm of rights-based-fisheries market reforms¹⁴ proposed that the only way to avoid environmental as well as economic havoc in the management of oceanic fisheries was by introducing private property rights and a market to govern them. The theme of market privatisation has evolved as being central to the birth of most social sciences approaches to fisheries today; and, in the current political economy discourse on fisheries refer to, for example, Individual Transferable Quotas (ITQs) and territorial user rights in fisheries (TURFS). Here, the World Bank has been chief among the institutional players steeped in the orthodox approach and analysis in offering an economic justification for fisheries reform (Campling and Havice, 2014). It is important to mention that this paradigmatic shift in the fisheries governance discourse was influenced by the realities of fisheries development in the era of extended jurisdiction. One could argue then, that the tenets of UNCLOS III were premised on the several decades of economic theory on the commons, and particularly the promotion of 'secure' property rights through enclosure and privatisation (Campling and Havice, 2014; Pedersen et al., 2014).

It is fundamental to my thesis to explain how rights to fisheries resources are understood under the institutional arrangements influenced by Hardin's thesis. Under a state-controlled system, rights to the resource are vested exclusively in the government i.e. crown or state, which in turn makes decisions concerning access to the resource and the level or nature of exploitation afforded to users. Herein, the crown/state has coercive powers of enforcement. It is important to mention that the state governs most fisheries resources in Small Island Developing states. On the other hand, when a resource is classified as private property, the rights to exclude others from using the resource and to regulate the use of the resource are vested in an individual or group of individuals, for example, households, partnerships or corporations. Private property rights are generally recognised and enforced by the state and are usually exclusive, tradeable and transferable (Feeny et al., 1990; Steins and Edwards, 1999).

Hardin's thesis has received significant criticism in the extant literature (cf. Berkes, 1987; Bromley, 1990; Ostrom, 1990). Feeny et al. (1996, pp. 187) explain that overexploitation has indeed occurred, but its incidence is not exclusive to situations of open access as

¹⁴ For more information on rights-based fisheries market reforms (cf. Carley and Christie, 2000; Chuenpagdee and Song, 2012; Campling and Havice, 2014; Pedersen et al., 2014).

implied by Hardin. In fact, overexploitation has also occurred under private and state property regimes. Hardin's thesis is therefore perceived as oversimplified and as overly restrictive in describing the motivations of fisherfolk (Pomeroy, 1994, pp. 25; Sharma, 2001). Additional criticisms have been levelled against Hardin's state-control model in that it has inadequate understanding of social organisation while concentrating power in the hands of elites (Chuenpagdee and Song, 2012, pp. 310). The notion of private property rights as encapsulated by rights-based-fisheries market reforms has also received a significant amount of disapproval from scholars and practitioners alike. Campling and Havice (2014, pp. 707-727) observe that social goals beyond economic efficiency are not explicit. Economic efficiency is assumed to generate socially desirable conditions by stimulating productivity and limiting waste, but this is likely to spur power inequalities and varied priorities of governance. In so doing, Pedersen et al. (2014) argue that rights-based-fisheries reforms, including those that claim to be based on human rights principles, fail to recognise the political and social roots of unsustainable use of marine resources, and, also omit from the heart of the debate the communities whose livelihoods and food sovereignty depend on the resources. Chuenpagdee and Song (2012, pp. 311) equally raise the concern that these reforms ignore rising issues with respect to equity and erosion of community identities. Issues of scale are also important. It has been suggested that Hardin's thesis focused on addressing issues of a global commons, whereas, there have been several realistic successful empirical cases of governing local commons (Berkes, 1989; Ostrom, 1990; Araral, 2014). This now leads to a discussion on Ostrom's Law as her thesis has provided the foundation for alternative paradigms for governing maritime resources in the commons, like fisheries.

2.2. Ostrom's Law

During the 1980s, scholars in anthropology, institutional economics, and geography were challenging the idea that the "commons" is the ultimate cause of environmental and economic problems associated with resource access and use (Mansfield 2004, pp. 317). In fact, Feeny et al. (1990) charge that until the 1980s, many scholars had presumed that the users of such resources could not self-organize to manage them, and so, recommended the imposition of government or private ownership. However, scholarly reports began to raise serious questions about the wisdom of imposing these particular institutional arrangements. Mansfield (2004, pp. 317) notes that researchers found numerous case studies from around the world, of fisheries and otherwise, in which local

people successfully managed common resources. Within this empirical work, scholars offered the commons not as the underlying cause of resource problems, but rather as a potential solution (cf. McCay and Acheson, 1987; Berkes, 1989; Bromley, 1992). These approaches have come to be known in the extant literature as participatory collective action solutions to governing the commons.

Ostrom's (1990)¹⁵ influential work *Governing the Commons* is heralded as leading the charge in emphasising participatory collective action solutions in the commons in academic and policy fora. It is important to mention that throughout her career Ostrom was keen to avoid crude ideological labelling of left vs. right confrontations (Pennington, 2012). Nevertheless, it has been argued by Ostrom and her colleagues that her thesis on governing commons sits firmly within the tradition of classic liberal political economy, and broadly, within the rational choice tradition in economic and political theory¹⁶. Ostrom's framework recognises that individuals are purposeful actors that respond to incentives. Institutions shape these incentives¹⁷ (Ostrom et al., 2012, pp. 15, 22). According to Ostrom et al. (2012, pp. 22):

Institutions refer both to formal and 'hard' institutions, such as the relative extent of the individual, communal and state-owned property rights and a legal system which enforces these rights; and to informal or 'soft' institutions such as cultural attitudes towards promise-keeping, and preferences for long or short-term gain.

Ostrom's thesis was built on the argument of "moving beyond the dichotomy between privatisation and government regulation" as advocated by Hardin (Ostrom et al., 2012, pp. 21). As such, Ostrom's work on the commons has been crucial to identify what alternative property institutions might look like (Ibid, 2012, pp. 21-22). Ostrom's work is often misrepresented as refuting the paradigm of private property rights to govern the commons (Pennington, 2012). Although highly critical of free market principles and the notion of centralised planning, Ostrom's thesis was not in conflict with these concepts

¹⁵ Ostrom has at least three major legacies to environmental governance: 1) a critique of Hardin 2) for establishing an international research agenda to identify determinants of collective action in the commons; and 3) for establishing the Bloomington school of institutional analysis otherwise known as the Ostrom workshop (cf. Araral, 2014).

¹⁶ For more on how Ostrom engages with rational choice theory (cf. Ostrom, 1998).

¹⁷ Ostrom is also the professed founder of the paradigm of new institutionalism or new institutional economics. This paradigm was built off her empirical work on governing local commons (cf. Nee, 2005; Vijge, 2013).

entirely. In fact, she appreciated that in context-specific circumstances controlled property institutions like the state or market may be better placed to incentivise resource conservation (Ostrom et al., 2012). What Ostrom's work did was provide an alternative to a top-down reading of governing the commons to incorporate the expertise of local actors that central planning cannot. As Ostrom et al. (2012, pp. 25) explain, the aim of Ostrom's thesis "is to discover what factors are most likely to result in bottom-up solutions to potential common-pool problems and what factors are likely to thwart the development of these solutions".

Essentially, Ostrom's approach to theorising about the commons was to debunk the conventional textbook analysis of the 'tragedy in the commons' by traditional ecologists like Hardin by using rigorous empirical case study analysis via a pre-defined set of institutional principles¹⁸ (Ostrom et al., 2012). Contrary to conventional thinking, Ostrom's work suggested that communities were able to self-organise and that communal ownership worked (The Library of Economics and Liberty, 2018). Based largely on field work, multi-method and multi-disciplinary approaches, Ostrom's research agenda explored more broadly what forms of property rights are deemed most relevant to govern commonly held resources in context-specific cases (Ostrom et al., 2012; Pennington, 2012). In fact, Ostrom has been lauded for overturning the conventional wisdom of Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons' through emphasizing that tragedy is not inexorable and cannot be generalised. This Ostrom inspired research agenda covered, for example, governance of fisheries in Maine and Mexico, ancient irrigation in Nepal, Arizona, Spain and the Philippines; forestry in India, Nepal, Guatemala, Colombia, Bolivia; pasture in Kenya, etc. (Ostrom et al., 2012; Araral, 2014). Ostrom's thesis has been useful to draw attention to the largely informal institutions which underpin governance. This has laid the institutional foundation for fisheries governance in two major forms: community-based management and co-management.

Community based management emphasises a self-governing institution where customary traditions are intricately linked to and inseparable from community functioning (Chuenpagdee and Song, 2012, pp. 310). In this regard, scholars have argued that Ostrom's thesis raised the possibility of self-governance as a viable solution to collective action problems in the commons. Indeed, in the context of market and state panaceas, if

¹⁸ For more information on Ostrom's institutional design principles for governing the commons (cf. Cox, et al., 2010).

rational self-interested individuals and countries can learn to trust each other, the possibility of self-governance has a powerful intuitive appeal (Araral, 2014, pp. 14). In the contemporary era, this notion of self-governance in the commons has largely been driven by donor/policy support of government and non-governmental organizations (Chuenpagdee and Song, 2012, pp. 310). Pomeroy (1994, pp. 1) argues that the growing realisation of the need for a stronger community role in resource management can be seen in a wide range of programs and policies worldwide. Both increased local participation and institutional restructuring have given the community and resource users greater control of resource management. Pomeroy goes on to suggest that community-based ‘management starts from the premise “that people have the innate capacity to improve their quality of life. Often, support is needed to organise and educate people to mobilise available resources to meet their needs” (Pomeroy, 1994, pp. 2). The potential advantages of community-based management therefore include effectiveness and equity. This self-management approach can also be more economical as it relates to administration, monitoring and the enforcement of rules because responsibility for governing falls on the community (Pomeroy, 1994, pp. 2).

The other type of institutional arrangement that has been influenced by Ostrom’s thesis is that of co-management. This approach to governing fisheries is considered a hybrid and “typically manifests as a sharing of responsibility between government and local level fishery organisations” (Chuenpagdee and Song, 2012, pp. 311). Berkes et al. (1991) similarly describe co-management as partnerships, where the national government and community share authority. The amount of authority that the national government and the community shares differs and depends on the country and site-specific conditions. Co-management focuses on shared authority, whereas, community-based management focuses on self-governing solutions. Property rights are still at the core of community-based management and co-management institutional approaches to fisheries governance (Pomeroy, 1994). How rights are granted and legitimated are situation specific. For the former, rights of access and use are defined and designated by community leaders and members (Warner, 2000). For the latter, the state is seen as facilitating oversight of rights of access and use (Jentoft, 1989).

Like Hardin, Ostrom’s thesis has been heavily criticised by scholars and practitioners alike. There is little dispute that participatory collective action via community-based

management and co-management can be used to solve issues of governing the commons. However, according to Rova (2006, pp. 3) “the challenge is much of this research has focused on locally situated small user groups and communities” (cf. Pinkerton, 1989; Tang, 1991; Baland and Platteau, 1996). It is important to highlight here that within the context of the resource governance literature in international relations, this thesis departs from the underlying principles of Ostrom’s thesis. With regards to this focus on local level empirics, Cox et al. (2010, pp. 12) argue that Ostrom’s empirical design principles¹⁹ are overly precise with respect to the range of conditions to which they might be applied—for example, the characteristics of the community or institution, such as scale, village size, homogeneity, or the ability to exclude outsiders. From Cox et al’s perspective, in empirical analysis, these prescriptive characteristics do not capture or explain how the social mechanisms that keep an institution or community alive over time emerge or evolve.

It’s also worth critiquing how the concept of community is applied in Ostrom’s work because it affects how rights holders are conceived in empirical analysis. Carley and Christie (2000, pp. 66) contend that “the distinctive demographic, social and cultural characteristics of the community harvesting the resource will necessarily influence the form rights should take”. Drawing on Kearney et al. (2007, pp. 81), within the context of this thesis, the term community also carries with it, implicitly or explicitly, a reference to the norms and social institutions that characterise these social settings. Moreover, various fields of social science point to the interdependence of people living in a community in developing their identity, sense of meaning, values, as well as economic well-being. In other words, it would be incorrect to understand communities as homogenous entities with fixed values, identities and interests as implied in Ostrom’s thesis. Rather, it is more substantive to view communities as highly complex and differentiated “fluid associations formed through processes of cultural struggles in the contexts of unequal power” (Singh, 2006, pp. 313).

It is also important to be cognisant then that coastal communities who rely on natural resources are subject to a mix of jurisdictions, and, more often than not, governance is guided by international norms – municipal, provincial and federal governments as well as

¹⁹ See supranote 19.

First Nations²⁰ (Kearney et al., 2007, pp. 80). Additional criticisms have been levelled against Ostrom's underlying rationalist assumptions. According to Blomley (2008, pp. 320) Ostrom's assumptions of self-interested rationality, rule-guiding behaviour and maximising strategies are inadequate for capturing the ethical and political issues involved in resolving conflicting understandings of public interest and public ownership among local actors. Moss (2014, pp. 460) suggests that Blomley's point is not just about the absence of certain dimensions, such as, political contestation from much commons research. It is also about how commons are the product of social interaction. As Blomley articulates, "commons [are] not so much found as produced" (Blomley, 2008, pp. 320). So, while Ostrom emphasises the importance of local level empirics, as the empirical cases of this study also do, Ostrom's thesis provides no way to understand how these governance forms emerge, are legitimated and contested. This thesis will continue to expand on the importance of this, particularly in context-specific cases as is this study.

²⁰ First Nations is another name used for indigenous communities (cf. Kearney et al., 2007, pp. 80).

3. Human Rights and Sustainable Development

3.1. From Fishing Rights to Human Rights

Over the past twenty years, policy prescriptions for strengthening fisheries governance have been dominated by the theses of Hardin and Ostrom (Allison et al., 2012, pp. 14). These governance approaches have been uniquely concerned with establishing property rights for fisheries via greater economic efficiency and participatory collective action (Ibid, 2012, pp. 16). Allison et al. (2012) argue that these approaches do not capture the less obvious long-term shortfalls in the social, economic, and cultural dimensions of fishing communities, particularly in developing countries, manifest as poverty and social exclusion (Allison et al., 2012, pp. 16, 19).

These policy and political considerations have prompted a recent paradigm shift in the fisheries governance literature from a focus on fishing rights as debated through the discourse on property rights to human rights (Allison et al., 2012; Ratner et al., 2014). In recent years, the notion of human rights has gained prominence in international development policy as a response to capturing essential components of the human side of development that economic indicators fail to capture (Ratner et al., 2014, pp. 120). Ratner et al. (2014, pp. 120) explain that:

in its application to natural resource management, a human rights-based framework draws attention to the institutions and power structures that determine resource allocation and access, as essential contributions to livelihoods and wellbeing, sometimes framed as environmental entitlements.

Proponents of this approach have validated their claims by making use of the existing legal framework that supports the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Allison et al., 2012, pp. 15). This notion of human rights-based development thus “aims to use the framework of international human rights law and its codification in national legal systems as a basis for securing the rights of groups of citizens who the state — or its partners in the development industry—are currently neglecting or harming” (Allison et al., 2012, pp. 19). Ratner et al. (2014, pp. 120) explain that recent years have seen an explicit adoption

of human rights principles in international norms in the fisheries sector. Since 2007, this has been increasingly notable with the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) along with its range of civil society partners increasingly framing policy support and governance advice in the small-scale fisheries sector in terms of human rights (cf. FAO, 2007, 2009, 2012). In 2015, the FAO *Guidelines on Securing the Rights of Small-Scale Fisheries* were ratified by its' 192 Member states, thereby setting the basis for the institutionalisation of human rights approaches to the sector (FAO, 2015).

Ratner et al. (2014) highlight three major reasons for this shift to human rights in the fisheries governance discourse. The first, “is the institutionalisation of human rights approaches to development in the UN system, with particular emphasis on implementing the Right to Food”²¹ (Ibid, 2014, pp. 120-121). Second, “is the recognition that small-scale fisherfolk tend to be marginalised in social, economic, and political terms, and, often include indigenous groups, disadvantaged castes and other groups who face particular obstacles to participation in broader development decision-making” (Ibid, 2014, pp. 121). Third, is the rise of civil society movements to secure “traditional and communal tenure systems in the face of state and private-sector led moves to strengthen private property rights or state ownership and private leasing arrangements” (Ibid, 2014, pp. 121).

Indeed, this human rights-based approach has been particularly useful for indigenous fishing communities in their wider quest for self-determination and equal rights. Nevertheless, in small-scale fishing communities, particularly in developing countries, fisherfolk are often excluded from the processes of development planning. This is often because they are mobile (sometimes unregistered migrants), living in remote marginal areas, or because the roles and contributions of fisherfolk to society and economy is poorly known and undervalued. It is no secret that many inhabitants of small-scale fishing communities lack the power, education and cohesive social institutions to be aware of their rights, self organise, articulate their demands, and to negotiate with government officials to fulfill their responsibilities of resource stewardship. It has been proposed that these issues of social exclusion can be addressed by adopting a human rights approach to fisheries governance. Here it is up to fisheries departments and communities to work together to form partnerships with emerging grassroots democratic processes, new

²¹ For more information on the debate surrounding the Right to Food (cf. United Nations, 2012).

alliances of power, for example, between environmental NGOs and local communities to establish fair fishing agreements (Allison et al., 2012, pp. 20-21).

Applying the human rights approach to fisheries governance is still rather new in the fisheries governance discourse²². It has been characterised as useful to capture the complex social relationships that exist between poverty, resource access and the wider economic and political context, especially when applied to small-scale fisheries in developing countries (Ratner et al., 2014, pp. 121). It is important to mention that the human rights approach does not reject or promote any specific institutional property rights arrangements for fisheries. What it does is address the fundamental issues of poverty and social exclusion that often cause these arrangements to fail (Allison et al., 2012, pp. 25). Despite its utility for improving understandings of the social conditions faced by fisherfolk, and, the potential impacts of tenure reform processes, the human rights approach to fisheries governance has received criticism. According to Ratner et al. (2014, pp. 121, *authors' emphasis*), “human rights approaches are being promoted with limited empirical and conceptual understanding of the relevance and desirability of this turn to *rights-talk*”. Moreover, “this is compounded by the fear that, in the international organisations at least, the human rights agenda may be lofty and idealistic rhetoric, unmatched by political commitment and action” (Ibid, 2014, pp. 121). Therefore, it is important to consider, as Sen (2005, pp. 151) argues, that the notion of human rights is seen by many to be frail, lacking in foundation and “perhaps even in coherence and cogency”. It’s also important to add that within the context of the extant literature on fisheries governance, human rights is presented as a top-down internationalised concept, which, may be deemed politically naïve because of the lack of rigorous empirical analysis of the meaning and application of the concept in the fisheries sector (cf. Charles, 2011; Lewis et al., 2017; Zheng, 2018).

3.2. Socio-Cultural Sustainability and Fisheries

The concept of sustainable development has also long been an underlying tenet of achieving effective fisheries governance. The concept officially rose to prominence in 1987 with the World Commission on Environment and Development’s publication of the *Brundtland Report* (WCED, 1987, pp. 43). From its inception, the norm of sustainable

²² There are also shifts in the fisheries discourse to an interactive governance approach, whereby the interactive study of poverty and governance in fishing communities is brought together in empirical analysis (cf. Kooiman et al., 2008). These paradigms which see fisheries as linked social-ecological systems are out of the scope of this chapter. For more information (cf. García et al., 2003; Ratner and Allison, 2012).

development has encompassed three principles: economic sustainability, meaning generating prosperity at different levels of society and addressing the cost effectiveness of all economic activity; social sustainability, meaning respecting human rights and equal opportunities for all in society; and, environmental sustainability, meaning conserving and managing resources (cf. UNCED, 1992b).

Within the contemporary fisheries governance discourse, the debate has often been framed around achieving environmental and economical sustainability. However, there has been a paradigm shift accelerated by the United Nations Development Program's publication of Human Development Reports beginning in 1991. "Earlier ideas about the centrality of economic growth in development policy (increases in real GDP per head) were being replaced by broader notions of development as a human-centred rather than a commodity-centred process" (Throsby, 2008, pp. 2). This paradigm shift was further accelerated by the writings of economist Amartya Sen, "who characterised development as 'human capability expansion', i.e. enhancement of the capacities of people to lead the sorts of lives they desire, including their access to cultural resources and cultural participation"²³ (Ibid, 2008, pp. 2). The principle of social sustainability and the inclusion of culture as an essential part of a human-centred sustainable development paradigm was therefore brought into focus by the international community. This human-centred approach to sustainable development was further validated with the adoption of the 1992 Agenda 21²⁴ as well as the introduction of the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UNDESA, no date; UNCED, 1992a). The Agenda 21 declaration was important because it encompassed a compact set of 27 principles, within which, promoted, *inter-alia*, were notions of the centrality of human beings to the concerns of sustainable development (Principle 1) (UNDESA, 2011). The 2015 SDGs further advanced this human-centred approach by bringing together the three aspects of sustainable development – the economic, environmental and social - and includes 17 global goals, 169 targets and 230 indicators that apply to all countries, with the aim of achieving them by the year 2030²⁵ (Institute of Development Studies, 2017). However, there have been

²³ See for example, Development as Capacity Expansion (Sen, 1990).

²⁴ The 1992 Agenda 21 is titled *the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*. Agenda 21 is a non-binding comprehensive plan of action to achieve sustainable development to be undertaken globally, nationally and locally. It was adopted by more than 178 Governments at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 3 to 14 June 1992. The principles of Agenda 21 were strongly reaffirmed at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) held in Johannesburg, South Africa from 26 August to 4 September 2002. (cf. UNCED, 1992a).

²⁵ The successor to Agenda 21 was the 2000 Millennium Development Goals that were later replaced with the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) known in the international development community as the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is titled *the Future We Want*. For more information (cf. UNDESA, no date).

criticisms levelled against implementing sustainable development by way of the SDG principles declared in 2015, whereby, while economic and environmental sustainability are well understood, more attention needs to be paid to understanding social sustainability (Verbeek and Dill, 2017). Integrating social and cultural concerns has thus become an important facet of achieving sustainable fisheries governance in the global sustainable development agenda. This undoubtedly is linked to the goal of this thesis of gaining a better recognition and understanding of bottom-up perspectives in the contemporary fisheries governance discourse.

Conclusion

This chapter provided a review of the literatures of the dominant theories of maritime governance. Given that governance and rights are two overarching concepts that are addressed throughout this study, Section 1 first explained how they evolved in the extant literature and how they are applied within the literature on fisheries. Within the context of international relations, a main contribution of this thesis is that the significant literature on resource governance does not adequately capture the extent to which bottom-up analysis goes beyond rationalist insights to genuinely capture the social motivations of actors. Notwithstanding, rights to fisheries have come to be defined in the extant literature on resource governance through the dominant prism of property rights, which has been built on the long-standing debates concerning the paradigms of *mare-liberum* (freedom of the high seas) and *mare-clasum* (the enclosed seas). Section 2 described how the dominant theories of maritime governance have been influenced by rational choice theoretic assumptions, and, how they have evolved via the theses of Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons' and Ostrom's 'governing the commons'. Hardin's thesis influenced notions of how property rights to fisheries establish effective governance through state-controlled, private property and later rights-based fisheries market reforms. Conversely, Ostrom's thesis influenced notions of how property rights to fisheries establishes effective governance through participatory collective action in the form of community-based management and co-management. Section 3 then goes on to document the recent paradigmatic shift from a focus on property rights to human rights and the importance of integrating social and cultural concerns in the concept of sustainable development as it is applied to the contemporary fisheries governance discourse. Despite these divergent positions of enacting fisheries governance, within these documented approaches the conceptual space for capturing the social motivations of actors who would enact governance and uphold rights is not adequately recognised or understood. Indeed, a major limitation of the rational theories of fisheries governance documented in this chapter is that they do not capture adequately the influence of ideas, values, and norms on the identities and interests of actors. This study seeks to support these claims and is directly concerned with identities, discourses, and discursive practices constructing governance of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery, also contributing to the sparse literature on the socio-political dynamics of the fishery. Focus is now turned to explaining the critical constructivist theoretical framework adopted in this study as a way to get to the root of these social motivations.

CHAPTER 3 ON THE LEGITIMATION AND CONTESTATION OF NORMS

Introduction

This chapter makes the case for a critical constructivist research agenda rooted in uncovering and understanding legitimacy gaps in governance. It offers a theoretical framework grounded in International Relations (IR) constructivist approach to explain how the regional and development norms constructing governance of the fishery have shaped actors' perceptions about their rights to the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. To accomplish this, Section 1 introduces IR constructivism and particularly critical constructivism as the best theoretical approach to underpin this study's research agenda. I argue that it is particularly cogent as an alternative theoretical approach to rationalist theories, in that it adequately captures the influence of ideas, values, and norms on the identities and interests of actors. Section 2 posits the use of IR critical constructivism and its positions on "norms mattering" as the basis for this study. In Section 3, I build on Wiener's (2014) *A Theory of Contestation* to situate this study's conceptual schema. Wiener offers a typology of norms that is useful to locate legitimacy gaps in governance in international settings and a starting point to explain how norms emerge and come to be accepted and/or contested. At the same time, Wiener's approach, and arguably other dominant IR critical constructivist approaches to investigating the function and effects of norms is top-down. Omitted from these research agendas is the theoretical space to explore how norms are validated at the level of the locale. By failing to account for the perceptions of actors who are affected by governance in implementation, Wiener and other IR constructivists are unable to fully account for why governance is resisted or reworked from the bottom-up. Section 4 thus makes the case for adjusting the typology of norms that *A Theory of Contestation* offers by including local norms in this study's conceptual framework. In doing so, I contribute in this chapter to the wider IR critical constructivist research agenda.

1. Constructivism in International Relations

1.1. A Middle Ground Theory

Chapter 2 explained that the major theories of maritime governance as applied to fisheries have been couched in rationalist thinking. This rationalist thinking assumes the regularity and consistency of behaviour, whereby, norms are regarded as standards of behaviour, defined in terms of fixed rights and obligations (Bjorkdahl, 2002, pp. 13). A major limitation of these rational theories is that they do not “capture adequately the influence of ideas, values, and norms on the identities and interests of actors” (Ibid, 2002, pp. 9). Given critical constructivism’s theoretical strength in providing such understandings of actors’ social motivations specifically within the context of International Relations (IR), this theory is introduced here as the conceptual approach that underpins this study’s empirical findings.

Constructivism is an IR theory that gained prominence during the 1980s as a “middle-ground” between rationalism and reflectivism²⁶ (Adler, 1997; Guzzini, 2000; Wiener, 2006). From the 1990s, the principal axis of the academic debate lay between rationalists and constructivists²⁷ (Wendt, 1992; Price and Reus-Smit, 1998; Katzenstein et al., 1998; Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001; Reus-Smit, 2013). Rationalist theories, i.e. neo-realism and neo-liberalism institutionalism encapsulated by the ‘neo-neo’ debate, are constructed “upon choice theoretic assumptions”²⁸ (Reus-Smit, 2013, pp. 220). The former has a focus on conflict and anarchy, and the latter, on interdependence and cooperation in IR (Choi 2015). After the end of the Cold-War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, it became clear to IR theorists that the material explanatory methodology of neo-realists and neo-liberal institutionalists could not predict or adequately comprehend the systemic transformations reshaping the global order (Reus-Smit, 2013, pp. 223). Indeed, before constructivism, ‘neo-neo’ solutions to world politics were the dominant framework to address collective action dilemmas (Olson, 1965). Neo-liberal institutionalism introduced by Keohane and Nye (1972) emphasises that institutions and regimes regulate interests among states and shapes their behaviour. By emphasising intentions and preferences, neo-liberal institutionalists are most concerned with issues related to economic welfare

²⁶ Rationalism and reflectivism as constructivism’s main analytical competitors is also defined as the debate between materialist and individualist theories. Materialist theories see political behaviour as determined by the physical world alone, and individualist theories treat collective understandings as simply epiphenomena of individual action and deny that they have causal power or ontological status (cf. Finnemore and Sikkink 2001, pp. 392-393).

²⁷ It is acknowledged that this is a very Western-centric reading of constructivism in International Relations.

²⁸ For more information on the foundations of the ‘neo-neo’ debate (cf. Nye, 1988; Baldwin, 1993).

and international political economy and other issues unrelated to international security and anarchy, for example, international environmental concerns (Baldwin, 1993, pp. 4-8). It is worth mentioning here that given Ostrom's focus on institutions shaping incentives and also being the professed founder of new institutionalism or new institutional economics that her thesis does hold affinity with Keohane (cf. Nee, 2005; Vijge, 2013). In fact, in *Local Commons and Global Interdependence*, Keohane and Ostrom eds. (1995) sought to bridge the common pool resource and international relations literatures by exploring which design principles or processes lead to effective institutional development. Keohane (2010) has also advanced the Ostrom research agenda by exploring the evolution of institutions of collective action. Power-based neo-realism on the other hand, advanced by Waltz (1979), is premised on two fundamental assumptions: one, that the international system is anarchical; and, two, states are primarily interested in their own survival. Waltz argued that in order for states to ensure their survival, states must maximise their power (Reus-Smit, 2013, pp. 218-219). In other words, neo-realists see neo-liberal institutionalists as exaggerating the impact of institutions and regimes on state behaviour. As such, neo-realists emphasise that anarchy causes states to be preoccupied with relative power, security and survival. Consequently, neo-realists are more inclined to investigate issues related to international security and the causes of war (Baldwin, 1993, pp. 4-8; Jervis, 1999, pp. 45).

As argued in Chapter 2, the theses of Hardin (1968), Ostrom (1990), and the more recent paradigmatic shift from property rights for fisheries to human rights are couched in such rationalist assumptions. This is because rationalists believe that actors' interests are exogenously determined, i.e., preferences are treated as determined *a priori* to social interaction. They consciously exclude interest formation because they are not interested in where these preferences come from, but only in how actors pursue them strategically (Reus-Smit, 2013; Price and Reus-Smit, 1998). Although there are stark differences in their approaches to world politics, Reus-Smit (2013, pp. 220) presents three shared theoretical assumptions about neo-liberal institutionalism and neo-realism: "First, political actors – be they individuals or states – are assumed to be atomistic, self-interested and rational". Second, actors' "interests are assumed to be exogenous to social interaction". This means "social interaction is not considered an important determinant of interests". Third, "society is understood as a strategic realm in which individuals or states come together to pursue their predefined interests". Thus, despite the diverse

theoretical frames in which they approach world politics, rationalist theorists do not treat actors as inherently social and thus products of their social environment. The shared view among constructivists was that neo-liberal institutionalism and neo-realism were “under-socialised” because of their insufficient attention to “the ways in which actors in world politics are socially constructed” (Wiener, 2006, pp. 9).

As a response to rationalist assumptions then, constructivists “focus on the role of ideas, norms, knowledge, culture, and argument in politics, stressing in particular interest in the role of collectively held or ‘inter-subjective’ ideas and understandings on social life” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001, pp. 392). It is an approach to social analysis that holds three primary assumptions to be true: 1) “human interaction is shaped primarily by ideational factors, not simply material ones; 2) the most important ideational factors are widely shared or “inter subjective” beliefs, which are not reducible to individuals; and, 3) these shared beliefs construct the interests and identities of purposive actors” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001, pp. 393).

1.2. Living in a World of Our Making – A Constructivist Ontology

Constructivists see states much the same as individuals living in a “world of our making” (Onuf, 1989). Constructivism, as such, is not a substantive theory of politics. Rather “it is a social theory that makes claims about the nature of social life and social change” (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001, pp. 393). Essentially, “constructivism is about human consciousness and its role in international life” (Ruggie, 1998, 8pp. 56) and focuses on what Searle (1995) has called “social facts” i.e. things like money, sovereignty, and rights, which have no material reality but exist only because people collectively believe they exist and act accordingly²⁹. Understanding how social facts change and the ways these influence politics is the major concern of constructivist analysis in IR (Finnemore and Sikkink 2001, pp. 391). Consequently, IR constructivists have adopted research agendas focused on Foucauldian analyses of the power of discourse (Keeley, 1990; Price, 1995); theories of agency and culture (Bukovansky, 2001); self-presentation in public life (Barnett, 1998); security communities (Adler and Barnett, 1998); theories about organizational behaviour (Finnemore, 1996a, 1996b; Barnett and Finnemore, 1999); social movement theory (Keck and Sikkink, 1998); and Habermasian theory about communicative action (Risse, 2000).

²⁹ The concept of “social facts” was first introduced by sociologist, Emile Durkheim in 1895 (cf. Durkheim, 1895).

IR constructivists are split between conventional and critical variants (Hopf, 1998; Checkel, 2006; Wiener, 2014; Choi, 2015). While they share an ontological basis, they differ epistemologically (Price and Reus-Smit, 1998). Here, I explain the ontological commonalities of the theory. All constructivists hold in common three core ontological positions: First, *Normative or ideational structures are as important as material structures in shaping the behaviour of social and political actors*. For constructivists, “material resources only acquire meaning of human action through the structure of shared knowledge in which they are embedded” (Wendt, 1995, pp. 73). In other words, normative and ideational structures are thought to shape the social identities of political actors, for example, the institutionalised norms of the academy s

haping the identity of a professor (Reus-Smit, 2013, pp. 224). Second, *Identities constitute interests and actions*. Constructivists argue that “understanding how interests are constituted or how actors develop their interests is the key to explaining a wide range of international political phenomena that rationalists ignore or misunderstand” (Reus-Smit, 2013, pp. 224). Third, *Agents and structures are mutually constituted*. “Constructivists stress the way in which normative or ideational structures define the meaning and identity of the individual actor and the patterns of appropriate economic political and cultural activity engaged in by those individuals” (Price and Reus-Smit, 1998, pp. 267.) In other words, institutional norms and ideas would not exist without the knowledgeable social practices of actors, and “it is through reciprocal interaction that we create and instantiate the relatively enduring social structures in terms of which we define our identities and interests” (Reus-Smit 2013, pp. 225). If this study is used as an example then, the norms that govern the Barbadian flyingfish fishery give actors attached to the fishery an identity as a Barbadian fisher, which shapes appropriate conduct, for example, a particular way of harvesting or marketing fish. However, “it is only through the routinised practices of” Barbadian fisherfolk “that such norms exist and are sustained” (Ibid, 2013, pp. 225). Indeed, the mutual constitution of agents and structures means that actors “consciously *and* unintentionally replicate *and* challenge institutionalised routines and prevailing assumptions” thereby leaving room to address empirical questions of contestation and change (cf. Klotz and Lynch, 2007, pp. 12, *authors' emphasis*).

1.3. A Critical Constructivist Epistemology in International Relations

The main dividing line between conventional and critical constructivism is the distinction between their causal and constitutive claims, i.e., their epistemology³⁰ (Hopf, 1998; Klotz and Lynch, 2007). The articles and essays presented in *The Culture of National Security* (ed. Katzenstein, 2006) and *Cultures of Insecurity* (eds. Weldes et al., 1999) best illustrate this epistemological divide. The former has a focus on generalisation and hypothesis, and the latter, on anthropological insights (Klotz and Lynch 2007, pp. 17). In *the Culture of National Security*, the authors claim to not depart from “normal science” or a positivist epistemology (Hopf, 1998, pp. 182). Many of them focus on particular norms either prohibiting or encouraging strategic behaviour, for example, patterns of conventional weapons proliferation (cf. Eyre and Suchman, 1996) and taboos on the use of chemical and nuclear weapons (cf. Price and Tannenwald, 1996). In other words, they make causal claims about the impact of norms on the identities of actors to explain actor preferences (Chul, 2009, pp. 82). For conventional constructivists, the meanings of culture and identity can be stable and knowledge independent of interpretive biases³¹ (Klotz and Lynch, 2007, pp. 17-18). Thus, while expecting to uncover differences in identities and multiple understandings, conventional constructivists assume they can “specify a set of conditions under which one can expect to see one identity or another” (Hopf, 1998, pp. 183). Consequently, they are apt to adopt positivist conventions “sample characteristics, methods of difference, process tracing, and spurious checks in their empirical designs” (Ibid, 1998, pp. 183).

On the other hand, critical constructivism which has roots in critical theory draws on a constitutive epistemology, and so, rejects the positivist conventions of conventional constructivism (cf. Price and Reus-Smit, 1998; Hopf, 1998; Chul, 2009; Wiener, 2014). For example, in *Cultures of Insecurity*, Klotz and Lynch (2007, pp. 18), point out that instead of identifying a stable military culture that predictably influences policies, the contributors in the volume start by assuming that identity and culture is never fixed and/or constant. In seeking a deeper understanding of state identity, where “conventional constructivism is unable to interrogate the practices that constitute the states themselves” critical

³⁰ Conventional constructivism concentrates on the sociolinguistic construction of subjects and objects in world politics, and critical constructivism focuses on the relationship between power and knowledge (Price and Reus-Smit, 1998, pp. 268).

³¹ Klotz and Lynch (2007, pp. 17) suggest that the authors in *The Cultures of National Security* isolate the variables of culture from other characteristics of social life, to be treated as variables that explain the choices states make in military policy, offering a comparison across cases.

constructivists “see the state as open and malleable, and, have a non-essentialist view of its subjectivity”³² (Cho, 2009, pp. 88-89). To illustrate this, many of the contributors focus on how discourses produce dominant representations of threat in areas as diverse as the Middle East (cf. Niva, 1999) and cyberspace (cf. Ballinger, 1999). In other words, critical constructivists adopt post-positivist or constitutive methods that can “capture the creation of meanings and accompanying processes of communication” through discourses and their associated social practices (Klotz and Lynch, 2007, pp. 19). Essentially, from an IR purview, where conventional constructivists treat identities as possible causes of action, critical constructivists expose the underlying social processes associated with identity formation. These constructivists, with whom I align in this thesis, “self-consciously recognise their own participation in the reproduction, constitution, and fixing of the social entities they observe” and “realise that the actor and observer can never be separated” (Hopf, 1998, pp. 184). Critical constructivists thus claim, “an interest in change, and a capacity to foster change” that according to Hopf (1998, pp. 184) “no conventional constructivist could make”.

This study has an explicit focus on exploring how governance of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery is understood, legitimated, and contested. In introducing why critical constructivism was chosen as the most appropriate theoretical approach for this study then, my key argument is that to understand how this resource is governed there is a need to be attentive to socio-political norms that have shaped what is deemed appropriate. This study’s subsequent chapters go on to demonstrate that regional norms framed *between* national sovereignty and regional community, and, development norms framed *within* sustainable development are the two areas in which this is most pertinent. Essentially, from time in the field and archival research, this study has established that these norms have emerged out of the process of changing social relations that are understood with the remit of race/colour, class, nationality and gender (the latter being not an explicit empirical focus of this study). From an IR perspective, these social constructs are undoubtedly all associated with exposing the underlying social processes of identity formation that critical constructivism can address.

³² Drawing on *Cultures of Insecurity*, for critical constructivists, the state cannot exist of its own accord, for it has no ontological foundation apart from the many discursive practices of self/other and inclusion/exclusion bring that into being (Cho, 2009).

It is also important to draw attention to the fact that Barbados has a particular material and cultural history as one of Britain's most valued former colonies. Arguably, a significant amount of this particularity is premised on the cultural significance of and the traditions attached to Barbados' flyingfish fishery. However, research that explores the socio-political dimensions of the flyingfish fishery from pre-colonial times through to the present day is relatively scant (cf. McConney, 1995, 1997; Cecil, 1999; McConney et al., 2003a; Cumberbatch and Hinds, 2013). This is a bit surprising given that flyingfish has been formative to Barbadian life and identity and can be characterised as the belly of ordinary Barbadian society. This study thus contributes to the sparse literature that addresses these socio-political dynamics of the fishery through the prism of governance and rights. Chapter 5 expands on this.

2. Critical Constructivism and Norms

2.1. Constructivism and Critical Theory

As mentioned in Section 1 of this chapter, this thesis draws specifically on IR constructivist theory, and as such, is very much critical within those parameters. It is therefore useful to explain what is meant by critical constructivism within the context of IR constructivist theory. Critical constructivism in IR has its intellectual roots in critical social theory and was inspired by Frankfurt school scholars, Anthony Giddens, Antonio Gramsci, Jurgen Habermas, and Michel Foucault, among others (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001, pp. 398; Price and Reus-Smit, 1995). The foundational element of critical research is to confront injustices in society and explain social change as it occurs in relation to social struggle. Consequently,

critical researchers aim to understand the relationship between societal structures (especially those economic and political) ideological patterns of thought that constrain the human imagination and thus limit opportunities for confronting and changing unjust social systems (Schofield, n.d., pp. 1).

Given critical constructivism's grounding in critical theory, the theoretical approaches have shared assumptions: a) *Interpretation*: Both disciplines are more interested in offering interpretations than conclusions based on causality; b) *Rejection of Positivism*: Both argue that dynamic social structures open up the possibility of social change, rather than distinguishable variables which constrain human action; and c) *Meaning and language*: Both stress that meaning and language are socially constructed and are interested in how meanings may remain the same or change over time (Schofield, n.d., pp. 2).

Despite their commonalities, critical theory has been criticised by IR critical constructivists because of its perceived lack of conceptual elaboration and sustained empirical analysis (cf. Price and Reus-Smit, 1998, pp. 264). IR critical constructivists have therefore extended their critical project by employing theoretical propositions, conceptual frameworks and methods of critical social theory to inquire about and explain diverse aspects of world

politics (Schofield, n.d., pp. 2). The following is elaborated from Kincheloe et al. (2011) to provide a brief description of the basic tenets of critical constructivism:

- a) The world is socially constructed. This means what we know about the world always involves a knower and that which is to be known. How the knower constructs the known constitutes what we think to be social reality.
- b) All knowers are historical and social subjects. As such, spatial and temporal settings always shape our constructions of the world.
- c) As the world is socially and historically constructed, people and the knowledges they possess are also socially and historically constructed.
- d) Isolated facts and truths are not enough to explain the construction process. Critical constructivists instead are concerned with the processes through which certain information becomes validated knowledge and the processes through which other information is rendered invalid.

Ontologically, IR critical constructivists seek to understand how socio-historic dynamics influence and shape an object of inquiry. Epistemologically, they explore how the content-specific foundations of knowledge surround and impact their object(s) of inquiry. Although it shares the core features of conventional constructivism identified in Section 1 of this chapter, critical constructivism adds the belief that social constructions of reality reflect, enact, and reify relations of power, and that, certain powerful groups and institutions play a privileged role in the process of knowledge production. These proprietors of knowledge maintain the legitimacy of their claims by continuously undermining alternative knowledges. The task of the IR critical constructivist scholar then, is to unmask these ideational structures of domination and facilitate the imagining of alternative worlds which are marked by inclusivity, contingency, and open-endedness (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001, pp. 398). As such, critical constructivism is characterised as an emancipatory theory and used as an approach to dismantle status-quo teaching and research practices that, perhaps unknowingly, are complicit in the reproductions of systems of class, race, cultural and gender oppression³³ (cf. McDonald, 2012; Weber, 2014). It aims, as such, to encourage reflexivity, the questioning of dominant systems of knowledge production, and the opening-up of critically aware dialogue. Critical constructivism, therefore, is the practice of searching out alternative discourses and new

³³ Many critical approaches, for example, postcolonial, de-colonial and feminist theories are similar to critical constructivism in their practices of exposing elitist assumptions embedded in existing knowledge, questioning dominant forms of knowledge production, and the rejection of western epistemologies so as to include previously excluded and marginalised knowledge in mainstream discourse (cf. Manning n.d.).

ways of thinking, while, at the same time, exposing subjugated knowledge claims (cf. McDonald, 2012).

2.2. Norms Matter in Critical Constructivist Research

This study has an explicit focus on norms and their contested meanings. Norms have always been a central focus of both conventional and critical constructivist research in International Relations (IR) (Chul, 2009; Weber, 2014; Wiener, 2014). Florini (1996, pp. 364) explains that in departing from the dominant IR rationalist theories which assume that norms “are unexplained sources of exogenously given preferences of actors,” IR constructivists focus on norms to investigate the role of social construction in shaping behaviour. In other words, rationalists view norms as mere reflections of fixed preferences having no explanatory power, whereas, for constructivists, norms have explanatory power independent of structural and situational constraints that help to determine actor preferences (Florini, 1996, pp. 363). In their theoretical approaches to norms then, constructivist scholars speculate that norms and their associated social understandings often have different influences on different agents (Finnemore and Sikkink 2001, pp. 398). Essentially, “norms matter” in IR constructivist research. Identifying these differences in how norms influence actors’ behaviour is therefore the bedrock IR constructivist task (Katzenstein, 1996a).

Constructivists working in IR define norms³⁴ as “shared expectations about appropriate behaviour held by a collectivity of actors” that are social inter-subjective facts within international society³⁵ (Checkel, 1999, pp. 83). Constructivists thus view norms as a “set of inter-subjective understandings, readily apparent to actors that make behavioural claims on those actors” (Finnemore, 1994, pp. 2). Norms should thus be viewed as constituting actors’ interests and identities, and, creating expectations as well as prescribing “what appropriate behaviour ought to be” (Bjorkdahl, 2002, pp. 21). Because they are inter-subjective or shared, norms leave broad patterns that once embedded in social institutions, act like structures shaping behaviour (Thompson, 1993, pp. 72). The distinctiveness of a norm for an IR constructivist is the sense of *an ought* of how an actor should behave (this can apply to the individual or the assessor) (Florini 1996, pp. 364,

³⁴ The best known definition of norms is found in the regimes literature (Krasner, 1983; Florini, 1996, pp. 364). Here norms are considered to be one component of regimes that determine ‘standards of behaviour defined in terms of rights and obligations (Krasner 1983, pp. 3). Constructivist critics of regime theory (cf. Florini 1996; Wiener 2006) argue however, that there is no reason to restrict a norm to the confines of a given issue area.

³⁵ This study looks not just at function of norms in international society but also national and local society.

emphasis mine). Indeed, as Florini (1996) contends, the most important characteristic that IR constructivists ascribe to a norm is that it is considered to be a legitimate behavioural claim. In other words, “no matter how a norm arises, it must take on an aura of legitimacy before it can become a norm. Norms are thus obeyed not because they are enforced, but because they are seen as legitimate” (Ibid, 1996, pp. 365).

Not surprisingly, conventional and critical constructivists differ in their epistemological approach to the study of norms. Conventional constructivists focus on the structuring power of norms and their influence on the behaviour of states in world politics (Checkel, 2001). However, conventional constructivism falls short on explaining the *processes or constitution of* norm construction and diffusion, i.e., where norms come from in the first instance, and how they become accepted and validated (Chul, 2009, pp. 83, *emphasis mine*). Glaringly absent is a discursive consideration of power. Conventional constructivism’s lack of focus on such research matters helps to explain why a critical constructivist approach was deemed more relevant, particularly as this study’s observations are based in a region where development, policy and practice are always informed by unequal power relations.

Wiener (2014, pp. 19) explains that critical constructivism is interested in the historical emergence and normative meaning of norms. Consequently, in Wiener’s view, normative meaning is established via the practice of re-/enacting norms. Critical constructivists apply the critical theoretic assumptions of reflexivity and *ought-ness* or ‘normativity’ of societal change (cf. Hopf, 1998; Zehfuss, 2002; Fierke, 2006, *emphasis mine*). According to Wiener (2009, pp. 179), critical constructivists’ interest in norms “enhances the understanding of how inter-subjectivity plays out in international relations”. Consequently, it is a theoretical approach that “is therefore receptive of the interrelation between agent-centred and structural change” (Ibid 2009, pp. 179). Being post-positivist in epistemology, critical constructivists do not attribute essential properties to social facts. In contrast to conventional approaches, for critical constructivists, actors can agree on, for example, what constitutes human rights at a particular point in time, while these meanings are also contested, particularly by marginalised actors (cf. Schwellnus, 2009; Park, 2009; Klotz and Lynch 2007, pp. 14). Essentially, critical constructivists treat knowledge as truth claims rather than objective fact, knowledge thus becomes intertwined

with power, resulting in what Klotz and Lynch (2007, pp. 14) call “regimes of truth” that perpetuate particular (un-equal) relationships.

This focus on the historicisation and contingent nature of the normative meaning of norms invokes two distinct analytical perspectives in critical constructivist research: 1) are norms considered appropriate and how are they implemented; and, 2) how are norms re-/constructed based on their normative meaning? Here, how a norm is understood and/or contested may either “generate changing normativity through critical approval or identify disapproval. All depends on how normative substance is perceived by the respective agents” (Wiener, 2014, pp. 19). Critical constructivists thus emphasise the fluidity of social practices. In other words, they view the norms (institutions and power relations) that underlay the production of identities and interests as neither fixed or constant entities (Hopf, 1998, pp. 183). For critical constructivists, meanings therefore are inherently unstable. They do however accept enough stability in meanings, while acceding to the possibility that those very meanings could shift, depending upon the context, to make use of language, describe discourses and theorise about power (Klotz and Lynch, 2007, pp. 13-14).

3. A Conceptual Schema of Norms

3.1. On Shared vs. Contested Meanings of Norms

Park (2009, pp. 97) points out that what has been specifically overlooked in International Relations (IR) constructivist research on norms is the “contingent, historically situated and contextually specific nature of norms”. IR Constructivists therefore should not only focus on the structural power of international norms in shaping actors’ behaviour and identity, “but also how norms are made meaningful within specific contexts” (Ibid, 2009, pp. 97). Following from this, Wiener (2007a, pp. 5) contends that any IR constructivist work on norms will proceed from the premise that “norms — and their meanings — evolve through interaction in context. Norms, therefore, are contested by default”. Consequently, to analyse how norms acquire meaning in divergent contexts requires going beyond an examination of how a norm emerged to influence actors’ behaviour, to include how it became recognised as appropriate within specific social contexts (Park, 2009, pp. 97). The question then is how to identify these multiple meanings-in-use?

3.2. Unpacking the features of *A Theory of Contestation*

This subsection explains the relevant features in Wiener’s (2014) *A Theory of Contestation* that are adopted in this study to identify when norms become shared and/or contested as re-/enacted through their meaning in-use. Wiener’s (2014) *A Theory of Contestation* is an IR critical constructivist approach that is useful to identify a norm’s multiple meanings-in-use by locating legitimacy gaps in governance in international settings. It works with three underlying assumptions. First, is that norms have a dual quality. That is “... while stable over particular periods, they always remain flexible by definition” and can evolve over time (Wiener, 2014, pp. 27). Second, is that social life is recursive and constituted through social practice. This means “norms are constituted and reconstituted through a continual process of social interaction between agents and structures. Consequently, social structures are cast as routinized discursive and physical practices that define the meaning of actions in a given context” (Wiener, 2007, pp. 4). It follows that the normative quality or the *ought-ness* of a norm is generated through the social practice of re-/enacting structures of normative meaning in use (Wiener, 2009, *emphasis mine*). Third, is that the shared-ness vs. contested-ness of norms is revealed through how norms are practiced in specific social contexts. This means that in the process of constructing normative meaning, acceptance and/or contestation arises from individually-held background

experience that is dependent on distinct cultural validations and social contexts of normative meaning (Wiener, 2014, pp. 27).

The first and most important feature of *A Theory of Contestation* is *three types of norms*. *A Theory of Contestation* suggests distinguishing between three levels of norms: fundamental norms (type 1), organising principles (type 2) and standardised procedures (type 3). According to Wiener (2014, pp. 36), these levels “capture both the diversity of meanings-in-use and the diversity of the involved” and “based on this information, multiple actorships and distinct meanings can be related”.

According to Wiener’s (2014) typology, type 1, fundamental norms, are meta-level universal moral claims or global norms that are widely shared in principle, for example, the principle of non-intervention or human rights (Wiener, 2014, pp. 36). Fundamental norms keep the community together. They include both core constitutional norms that are most commonly used with reference to nation-state constitutions, such as, rule of law, fundamental freedoms, human rights, democracy, and equal citizenship; and, with reference to world politics, norms most commonly applied in IR theory, for example, sovereign equality, respect for human rights, and non-intervention in other countries sovereign affairs (Wiener, 2007a, pp. 9). Wiener contends that “given the formal validity as well as the moral weight attached to fundamental norms and which is sustained through the formal treaties, conventions, or universal declarations within the framework of international organisations or covenants, these norms are highly likely to be agreed to in principle” thus least likely to be contested morally. However, when implementing “these norms ‘on the ground’ they are most likely to be contested in practice” (Wiener, 2014, pp. 36).

Type 2 norms, organising principles, “structure the behaviour of individuals or groups” and “evolve through the very practices of policymaking, jurisprudence or political processes” (Wiener, 2007a, pp. 9; 2014, pp. 37). These therefore “inform political procedures and guide policy practices” (Wiener, 2007a, pp. 9). As organising principles³⁶, they include, for example, principles of legality, accountability, transparency, legitimacy, and gender mainstreaming (Ibid, 2007a, pp. 9). These norms enjoy a more balanced

³⁶ As organising principles are subject to contestation, they can also be upgraded to the status of a fundamental norm. For example, the norm of accountability may be understood both as an organising principle with reference to one particular policy process in one policy, yet it may well be a fundamental norm in another (Wiener, 2009, pp. 185).

degree of legitimacy in theory and practice as their moral claims evolve in direct relation in practice (Wiener, 2014, pp. 37).

Type 3 norms, standardised procedures, include specifically defined standards, rules and regulations for specific policy measures. As such, they provide detailed and clearly articulated advice for policy specific activities and prescriptions for action. Consider for example, a state manual that details specific fishing procedures for their country based on declarations made in specific treaties or conventions. It holds that these norms are rarely expected to generate moral issues, but they are likely to conflict with individual interests, thereby leading to a high degree of contestation at the implementing stage (Wiener, 2007a, pp. 9; 2014, pp. 37).

The second relevant feature to explain is how these norms come to be legitimated and/or contested. *A Theory of Contestation* upholds the notion that contestation is a social activity. Regarding this, Wiener (2014, pp. 1) posits that the ways norms can be legitimated or contested depends on the respective environment in which contestation takes place i.e. courts, regimes, societal, academic contexts (Wiener 2014, 1). Because *A Theory of Contestation* sees contestation as a social activity that involves discursive and critical engagement with norms of governance, “whether voiced or voiceless, contestation is constitutive of social change” (Wiener, 2014, pp. 2). The study of actors’ social practices is therefore, in and by itself, meaningful (Ibid 2014, pp. 28).

To explain, in *A Theory of Contestation* type 1, fundamental norms have a constitutive function and are thought of as being formally validated via a political community, for example, international society or national community (Wiener, 2014, pp. 19). Herein, the formal validity of a norm is contestable in the process of drafting a constitution, treaty, or convention. At this stage, a norm is most likely to be contested by “constitutive powers or their representatives who bestow formal validity to selected norms by signing international treaties” (Wiener, 2014, pp. 29-30). Second, type 2, organising principles, have a referring function and are appropriate indicators of behaviour or sources of social obligation held by a group, for example, regime, organization, or another type of social environment (Wiener, 2014, pp. 19). Here, the social recognition of a norm is contestable when different social groups do not agree about the appropriate behaviour in a given situation. At this stage, any type of actor that acts in a societally structured context of a

community that makes “habitual reference to common socially recognised norms or rules will refer to norms without contestation. In turn, social groups that are not part of the community are expected to contest the norm” (Wiener, 2014, pp. 29-30). Third, type 3, standardised procedures otherwise known as implementing norms, or norms ‘on the ground’ are culturally validated through individual experience, i.e., by individual norm users, including policy-makers, public servants, firms, corporations, political parties or organisations (Wiener, 2014, pp. 19). Here, the cultural validity of a norm is contestable when individuals bring their respective background experiences to bear. It is the choice of the individual to engage with the norm through giving it normative meaning-in-use. As such, contestation is likely when actors who meet lack an inter-subjective understanding of the others background experience. Here, individual actors or groups “are expected to contest norms, rules, and procedures according to their individual interests” (Wiener, 2014, pp. 30).

The key takeaway here is Wiener’s assertion that a high degree of contestation is expected at the implementing stage (i.e. where standardised procedures come to be culturally validated) is not surprising. Consider, the fundamental norm of sustainable fishing. Fisherfolk generally share the idea of sustainable conservationist approaches to fishing, but yet when asked to implement specific changes that might affect their harvesting of the resource, for example, implementing specific net sizes or fishing catch quotas, there is a high likelihood that the fisherfolk will contest the state dictated and mandated quotas. This leads to two critical assumptions when locating legitimacy gaps in governance. On the one hand, while there is a high acceptance of fundamental norms, both by signatories of international treaties as well as with the wider public; on the other, the standardised implementation of “specific procedures and regulations stands to be highly contested on the ground by designated norm-followers” (Wiener, 2014, pp. 34). Essentially then, Wiener’s overarching theoretical contribution is that there is a need to examine individual interpretations that actors ascribe to a meaning of a norm. This provides an additional dimension of analysis that allows for identifying the cultural validation of a norm based on everyday experience, i.e., enacting a norm’s meaning-in-use. Structures of meaning-in-use are thus defined as:

inter-subjective structures [...] that provide the categories through which we represent and

understand the world. They therefore offer a reference frame for empirical studies that seek to reconstruct the respective meanings of norms which have been enacted at a particular point in time by particular actors (Wiener, 2009, pp. 180).

The features of *A Theory of Contestation* thus offers a conceptual toolkit for critical constructivist empirical research on norms to be equipped to identify legitimacy gaps via the ‘shared-ness’ or contestability of a norm in any sector of global governance (Wiener, 2014, pp. 7). Consequently, *A Theory of Contestation* “aims to move beyond empirical observations about how norms work (i.e., how given norms influence behaviour), to thereby address the more substantive normative questions about whose norms count” (Ibid, 2014, pp. 4).

It is nevertheless critical to recognise that while the features of *A Theory of Contestation* are useful to locate legitimacy gaps in governance in international settings³⁷, its typology of norms does not capture perspectives of actors’ social motivations for enacting governance. In other words, although *A Theory of Contestation* attributes a significant amount of weight to implementing norms or ‘norms on the ground’ encapsulated by standardised procedures (i.e. policy/political prescriptions) being culturally validated through individually-held background experiences, there is no room to explore how norms come to be shared or contested at the level of the locale. Of course, this has conceptual implications. Constructivists largely agree that issues of identity are central to the social construction of norms (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001; Wendt, 1994). Actors in world politics construct a social reality that is based on a division between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Klotz and Lynch, 2007, pp. 74). People make sense of the world by noticing differences in routine discursive practices, for example, nationality, language, political affiliation, gender, race, and religion (Ibid, 2007, pp. 75). It follows then, that the recognition of norms in this study is sustained by the meaning ascribed to it by actors through discursive practice (Wiener, 2007a, pp. 6). It is the case then that omitting local norms in *A Theory of Contestation’s* conceptual design excludes the locally derived alternative knowledge claims of actors that might be subjugated in the governance process. This important

³⁷ In Wiener’s conceptual schema, understanding is never unmediated but subsequent to interpretation against the background of individual experience. Therefore, individually experienced and enacted expectations about norms hold the key for comparing interpretations in international settings (2009, pp. 179).

conceptual problem with the features of *A Theory of Contestation* brings us to Section 3. In order to get a more encompassing understanding of the domestic processes that allow for an understanding of how norms come to be validated at the level of the locale, thereby opening up the possibility to adequately discuss propositions for social change, two adjustments to the features of *a Theory of Contestation* are proposed.

4. The Politics of Change

4.1. Norms are What Actors Make of Them: Contestation and Legitimacy in Practice

For a critical constructivist, the interest in change and the capacity to foster change is important. This emphasis on change is also normatively linked to predispositions of how knowledge produces power³⁸(Hopf, 1998, pp. 184). Critical constructivism's ontological and epistemological positions are in harmony with exploring these questions of change, particularly questions of moral inclusion and exclusion. In this study, this is explicitly linked to understanding whether the governance mechanisms of the fishery are being challenged.

It is certainly noteworthy that Wiener and Puetter (2009, pp. 7) claim that we know little about how norms come to be culturally validated³⁹. Given that this study adopts the critical position that there are divergent interpretations of meanings of norms, this means that once norm interpretation and implementation occur in various contexts, the meaning attached to a norm is likely to differ according to actors' respective experiences with a norm (Wiener and Puetter, 2009, pp. 9). A good example of contested norms research being applied in practice is Schweltnus' (2009) study on *The Domestic Contestation of International Norms*. Schweltnus provides an analysis of the "fundamental norm of minority protection within the domestic context of Polish politics" (Wiener and Puetter, 2009, pp. 15). According to Wiener and Puetter (2009, pp. 15), Schweltnus demonstrated that despite the fundamental norm of minority protection "being more and more codified within the international and European context after the Cold War", and thus gaining "increased importance for the reform of domestic legislation, the very process of norm application" revealed the potential for contestation. In other words, despite institutional attempts to codify minority rights, they remained contested when actors re-/enacted their own perceptions of minority rights' normative meaning-in-use (Schweltnus, 2009, pp. 124). Hence, as Wiener and Puetter (2009, pp. 4) put it, "norms are what actors make of them"⁴⁰ and are as "just, fair, and legitimate as what actors make them out to be". In other

³⁸ Based in the framework of critical theory, it is not surprising that critical constructivists are concerned with the role power plays in research construction and validation processes, particularly the ways in which these processes privilege some people and marginalise others. Understanding the ways in which power works within and around the research context is the basis of understanding how meanings are produced, reproduced, represented and changed (Steinberg 2014, pp. 205).

³⁹ Students of both international law and international relations have been inclined to concentrate on the norms become formally validated and socially recognised and accepted (Wiener and Puetter, 2009, pp. 16).

⁴⁰ Cf. Wendt (1992) "Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power".

words, norms may entail formal validity via a legal framework (constitution, treaty), and have achieved social recognition (appearing as appropriate to the group); “yet, successful norm diffusion ultimately depends on cultural validation” (Ibid, 2009, pp. 5). It is interesting that Wiener and Puetter (2009, pp. 5) suggest that normative approaches see the impact of norms as crucially dependent on the acceptance of norms and where these encounters develop. They go on to argue that who is involved in international encounters, where, and how often are the key questions which allow for a more specific assessment of the role of norms. As the previous section argued however, Wiener’s typology of norms does not align with capturing localised perspectives that the term cultural validation seems to imply. In the case of this study then, I rephrase Wiener and Puetter’s statement to say that who is involved in encounters at all political levels of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery, and especially, at the domestic community level, *is* the important consideration.

Two adjustments to *A Theory of Contestation’s* conceptual schema are therefore proposed. First, it has been noted that in *A Theory of Contestation* the highest degree of contestation takes place at the implementing stage, i.e., where standardised procedures come to be culturally validated. This brings into scope how Wiener (2014) characterises norms. Consider here, Wiener’s definition of type 1 and 2 norms. The former, fundamental norms are meta-level universal moral claims purportedly widely shared in principle, and the latter, organising principles evolving through consensual policy, legal or political processes. There seems to be a forced separation of the normative processes establishing organisational principles that would inform fundamental norms. In other words, if under Wiener’s conceptual outline, type 1 norms evolve from policy and political processes, there should be some accompanying normative principle(s) to shore up such political processes. In Wiener’s conceptual map, this is captured through organising principles (type 2 norms). Consider for example, the fundamental norm of non-intervention being shored up by the organising principle of a culture of equal sovereignty. Consequently, fundamental norms and organising principles really should be pooled together as type 1 norms. Continuing, Wiener classifies type 3 norms, i.e. standardised procedures, as clearly articulated specifically defined standards, rules and regulations that are culturally validated at the implementing stage where individual dispositions come to bear. Essentially, Wiener casts standardised procedures as regulatory normative re-enactments by individuals. This view is not compelling enough to refer to the routine habituated practices of actors

legitimizing governance at the level of the locale that this study seeks to explore. This leads to the second adjustment.

In order to understand the background experiences of actors that would lay claim to not only situating the cultural validity of a norm, but a more wholly encompassing view of how a norm is validated in the locale, it is necessary to include another level of norm in the study’s conceptual design, in the form of local norms. This would allow this study to capture the differences in the domestic processes and perceptions of actors charged with actually implementing governance. These norms are thus needed to explore the effects of the locale which are highly contested through practice. A framework is now provided to gauge how norms come to be shared and/or contested ‘on the ground’ in implementation, and to explore possibilities for social change. Table 1 below is a roadmap of the typology of norms used to inform this study’s empirical chapters and their accompanying definitions. Thus, when thinking about how the flyingfish fishery is governed, one can situate what norms are, how they function or operate, and where those norms come from the global to local.

Table 1: The Empirical Road Map

<u>Type of Norm</u>	<u>Function</u>	<u>How Validated</u>
Fundamental Principles (Type 1 norms)	Constituting	Formal Validation
Standardised Procedures (Type 2 norms)	Referring	Social Recognition
Local Norms (Type 3 norms)	Implementing	Validation in the Locale

This study adopts the following typology of norms as its conceptual framework to guide empirical analysis: Type 1, fundamental principles merge *A Theory of Contestation’s* definitions of fundamental norms and organising principles. These are widely shared universal moral claims and the accompanying normative principles that shore up such political processes. Type 2, standardised procedures being prescriptive to policy development aligns with the definition offered by *A Theory of Contestation*. The new type

3, local norms, that this study identified as a layer of analysis needed to capture the social motivations of actors at the level of the locale are defined and operationalised in this study as the habituated discursive practices of state and non-state actors, be it the individual or local community, that result from grassroots social interaction and background experiences. These norms are located through actors' practices of implementing type 1 and type 2 norms. In other words, as implementing norms, or norms 'on the ground', local norms validate the shared-ness or contested-ness of type 1 and 2 norms through the individual and collective experiences and practices of actors engaging with a norm through giving it normative meaning in use. Contestation is thus likely when actors lack an inter-subjective understanding of the other's individual or collective background experience (Wiener, 2014, pp. 30).

This conceptual roadmap rooted in International Relations (IR) constructivist theory highlights a typology of norms that is useful in locating legitimacy gaps in governance, particularly, in historically contingent and content-specific cases as is this study. It broadens the empirical focus from solely exploring the effects of fundamental principles at an institutional level, and the political plans and management manuals which dictate prescriptive action at the procedural level, to understanding how norms governing the Barbadian flyingfish fishery are understood, legitimated, and contested by actors implementing governance at the local level. These conceptual adjustments to *A Theory of Contestation's* typology of norms illuminates several broader theoretical hypotheses which orient this study.

First, there is a working assumption that the regional and development norms that have emerged to determine 'who gets the fish' in the Barbadian flyingfish fishery have been constituted through complex and contested processes involving multiple interest groups on multiple scales (international, regional, national and local). Therefore, actors' perceptions of the legitimacy of their rights to the fishery would be subject to their own experience with the norms being explored. These actor perceptions may converge or conflict on multiple political scales that can now be captured in empirical analysis. Second, there is a working assumption that actors are more likely to legitimate and/or contest the regional and development norms constructing governance of the fishery by way of their habituated practices of interacting with the fishery at the level of the locale. This means that the conventionally accepted IR constructivist foci on explaining instances

of normative change from the top-down (global to local) is shifted to a bottom-up (local to global) reading. In other words, if emphasis is to be placed on exploring if the governance mechanisms of the fishery are being challenged, the conceptual space is now provided to understand how the norms come to be validated in the locale, and so, accepted and/or contested by actors who are directly attached to the fishery. Third, bringing the conceptual focus to include local norms, addresses the analytical concern that much of the literature of norms in IR constructivism lacks an engagement with, and analysis of, power relations between dominant and marginalised actors. This is particularly pertinent as chapter 5 goes on to historically unpack how the guiding fundamental principles of region and development have been forged through the social relations of race/colour, class, nationality and gender in Barbadian society. Moreover, larger normative concerns can be addressed about dominant actor theorising in empirical analyses from an IR critical constructivist purview. For example, chapter 4 explains that it is important to locate who has access to or control over public discourse as it is a powerful resource (cf. van Dijk, 1997; Mackenzie and Sesay, 2012, pp. 161).

To rephrase the famous characterisation of norms from Checkel's (1997; 1998) essays⁴¹ then, including local norms in empirical analysis conceptually captures the view that not only do state and non-state actors react differently to the same norms (global to local), but the mechanisms by which norms are internalised/legitimised by state and non-state actors also differ. Therefore, by providing the conceptual space to understand how domestic processes function via local norms, an understanding can be gained about the political effects of how actors and social structures interact from the *local to global in world politics* (cf. Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001, pp. 298).

4.2. Local Norms, Contestation and Change

The question at this point of the chapter is perhaps how local norms have been operationalised by others? Weiss and Wilkinson (2018, pp. 194-195, *authors' emphasis*) argue that the field of global governance “remains firmly focused on understanding who governs and how they do it rather than who *is* governed and how that governance is experienced”, essentially exploring the experiences of the governors rather than the governed. With regards to understanding the effects of global governance on the

⁴¹ Checkel's essays (cf. 1997; 1998) illuminate, not only do different states react differently to the same international norms, but the mechanisms by which norms are internalised/legitimised within states also differ. So, without an understanding of how domestic processes function, we cannot understand the political effects of global social structures (cf. Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001, pp. 298).

governed then, it is important to consider that local norms are often foundational to a group (Acharya, 2004). As Acharya (2004, pp. 248) contends:

They may derive from deeply ingrained cultural beliefs and practices or from international legal norms that had, at an earlier stage, been borrowed and enshrined in the constitutional documents of a group. In either case local norms have already become integral to the local group's identity, in the sense that they constitute actors' identities and interests and not simply regulate behaviour.

With this in mind, the adjustments proposed to *A Theory of Contestation* are largely premised on Mackenzie and Sesay's (2012) account of *No Amnesty from/for the International: The Production and Promotion of TRCs as an International Norm in Sierra Leone*. This piece was particularly pertinent because in literature searches for explanations of norm formation it provided a cogent explanation for the inclusion of local/community norms in constructivist research. I mentioned in the introduction of this chapter that constructivist norm research, both conventional and critical, largely focus on the effects of international norms on domestic actors⁴². I draw on one particular critique Mackenzie and Sesay (2012) raise about how these dominant constructivist accounts examine the tensions between international norms and local/community norms. Mackenzie and Sesay suggest that these “dominant accounts of norms” are primarily “white” Western accounts which assume that “norms emerge from equal relationships between states” (Mackenzie and Sesay, 2012, pp. 147). This assumption denies the marked economic and socio-political inequalities between *all* global actors. Arguably then, the dominant IR constructivist formula for investigating the effects of norms, largely disregards the fact that intense political contestations emerge, and thus, occur between state and non-state actors, particularly at the level of the locale⁴³ (Ibid, 2012, pp. 147).

⁴² IR constructivists accounts of the importance of international norms are commonplace (Park, 2009, pp. 97).

⁴³ I acknowledge that scholarly work beyond IR constructivism, for example, thinkers in the field of post-structuralism and post-development like Arturo Escobar and James Scott (anthropologists) could be helpful in setting a theoretical frame to give recognition to and understand local political contestations between state and non-state actors (cf. Scott, 1985; Escobar, 1995).. This is expanded upon in the study's conclusion.

It is important to highlight that Mackenzie and Sesay (2012) derive their understanding of local norms from Kothari (2001). In *Power, Knowledge and Social Control and Participatory Development*, Kothari (2001) argues that notions of “local,” “indigenous,” or “people’s” knowledges are socially constructed. However, in development policies, these knowledges are cast as fixed entities which can be found and represented (cf. Mackenzie and Sesay, 2012, pp.148). Critics have argued (cf. Mohan and Stokke, 2000), that rather than trying to understand and represent the “local”, development actors have defined and constructed these representations based on their own biases and project objectives (Mackenzie and Sesay, 2012, pp. 148). The potential consequences of this, as Kapoor (2005, pp. 1213) summarises, is “before long, what were once select do’s and don’ts—reflective of elite/institutional complicities—are taken for granted”, i.e., they become, naturalised, passing off as “consensus,” “community will,” or “traditional knowledge” when in fact this is not the case (cf. Mackenzie and Sesay, 2012, pp. 148). I expand on these critiques to say that IR constructivists have also been guilty of imposing elite claims in their research on norms which tends to homogenise local communities. As such, dominant IR constructivist approaches disregard local (and indigenous) political claims to contestation, whereas, this study seeks to surface and foreground these claims. This leads me to pose the question of how IR constructivists choose the norms that matter in their research, and, as Weber (2014, pp. 525) puts it, go beyond “an interest in the fact that norms matter, toward investigating which norms should command respect, and why?” This study seeks to be critical in its approach to answering this question. Therefore, as empirical analysis unfolds at multiple political scales (local to global), and through the multiple contested meanings of regional and development norms in use, to truly analyse how these norms are understood, legitimated, and contested it is important to give them attention at the level of the locale.

Conclusion

Rooted in the discipline of International Relations (IR), this chapter introduced and justified the use of critical constructivism and its positions on “norms mattering” as the theoretical basis for this study. It then demonstrated how this study’s conceptual schema is built on Wiener’s (2014) *A Theory of Contestation* as a starting point to explain how norms emerge and come to be accepted and/or contested. Within the context of IR constructivism, Wiener offers a typology of norms that is useful to locate legitimacy gaps in governance in international settings. This typology encapsulates three levels of norms: fundamental norms (type 1 norms), organising principles (type 2 norms) and standardised procedures (type 3 norms). Despite the utility of the relevant features of *A Theory of Contestation*, I argued that Wiener’s approach to investigating the function and effects of norms entails a top-down research agenda. Consequently, the perceptions of actors are left unaccounted for in the social settings where governance is actually implemented. This chapter built on the challenge articulated best by Wiener and Puetter (2009, pp. 16), for IR critical constructivist research to develop more encompassing definitions of norms, so as to situate the importance of understanding the role of norms from multiple cultural contexts and perspectives. In this chapter, I argued for adjusting the typology of norms that *A Theory of Contestation* offers by including local norms in this study’s conceptual framework. This study’s conceptual framework which distinguishes legitimacy gaps between top-down governance being shaped via fundamental principles and standardised procedures (type 1 and 2 norms) and bottom-up governance being shaped by local norms (type 3 norms) was explained and justified.

This study offers broader theoretical contributions to IR critical constructivist research on norms as expressed and contested on multiple political scales (global to local). This is particularly because it includes in analysis, a more holistic view of how norms emerge and come to be understood, legitimated and contested at the level of the locale. The result is that more specific analysis can take place around the divergence and convergence of normative meanings which play a role in governance encounters of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. By taking this perspective, this study offers an alternative understanding to the dominant IR constructivist state-centric view that tends to mask complex global-local connections that highlight the mutability of identities, interests, and norms (cf. Klotz and Lynch, 2007, pp. 72). The theoretical adjustments that are proposed herein therefore stress that particularly in historically contingent context-specific cases, IR critical

constructivists should remember that local norms also matter. Consequently, the theoretical approach this study adopts answers the concern that critical constructivists rooted in the discipline of IR need to build cogent arguments about domestic politics into their approaches and integrate factors across different levels of analysis (cf. Checkel, 2006, pp. 13). The following chapter will now explain the methods that I used to uncover the discursive practices that will lay claim to unearthing the multiple contested meanings of regional and development norms which have shaped governance of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery and the rights afforded to Barbadian fisherfolk.

CHAPTER 4 METHODS

Introduction

This chapter explains the methods used to research the governance of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. To recap, this study poses three overarching research questions: 1) who gets the fish and on what basis; 2) how is this system of allocation governed and why in this way; and, 3) is this governance being challenged? This study's empirical chapters answer these questions by interpreting how regional norms framed *between* national sovereignty and regional community, and, development norms framed *within* sustainable development have shaped the governance of, and by extension, the rights afforded to Barbadian fisherfolk to their flyingfish fishery. Section 1 explains the methodological implications of the theoretical approach adopted in the last chapter. It highlights the use of ethnographic methods to capture localised perspectives constructing governance rather than discourse analysis, which is arguably more conventional in International Relations critical constructivist literature. Section 2 provides justification for choosing Barbados and its flyingfish fishery as the case study, and the two primary research sites of Bridgetown Fisheries Complex and the Six Men's Fishing Village within this. Section 3 discusses the ethnographic methods used in the research, namely interviews and non-participant observation as the primary means of data collection, and how these are triangulated with archival document analyses. Section 3 also offers critical reflection on my positionality and reflexivity in the research and the limitations of the methodological approach taken. The conclusion provides an overview of the way in which these methods fit with the theoretical approach outlined in the previous chapter, and how this will inform this study's empirical findings.

1. Methodological Implications

1.1. A Critical Constructivist Interpretive Ethnographic Methodology

The previous chapter argued that in dominant International Relations (IR) constructivist accounts of norms (cf. Kratochwil and Ruggie, 1986; Wendt, 1994; Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001; Guzzini, 2003; Stahl, 2013), none provide conceptual schematics to analyse and reflect on the degree to which norms emerge and come to be shared and/or contested through their meaning in use (cf. Wiener, 2008; 2009; 2014). Given the clarion call for all constructivists, especially critical constructivists in IR, to take more care in explaining and operationalising their argument at the level of methods (cf. Guzzini, 2000; Adler, 2002; Zehfuss, 2002; Neumann, 2003; Waever, 2004; Checkel, 2006), the methodological implications of the conceptual schema proposed for this study in the previous chapter are explained below.

At the core of their approach, all constructivists need methods that can capture inter-subjective meanings and recognise that all research involves interpretation (Finnemore and Sikkink 2001, pp. 395). Critical constructivists in the discipline of IR in particular seek to understand the ways in which the world is socially constructed by exploring, particularly, the constructive power of language via the written word (cf. Hopf, 1998; Zehfuss, 2002; Fierke, 2006). Critical scholars in IR, have indeed had a tendency to uphold the ‘linguistic turn’ “which has generated a wealth of text-based analyses of global politics” (Vrasti, 2008, pp. 292). As such, it is common for critical constructivists in IR to base their findings on textual evidence and socio-historical context to capture a broad notion of power and the dynamics of constitutive processes (Klotz and Lynch, 2007, pp. 105).

Consequently, most critical constructivists in IR have employed discourse analysis as their preferred methodological and interpretive tool (cf. Hopf, 1998; Weldes et al., 1999; Zehfuss, 2002; Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002; Schwellnus, 2009; Park, 2009; Wiener, 2014). The prominence placed on discourse analysis via textual narratives as constitutive of the substantive meaning of norms is not shared between all critical constructivists, however (Wiener 2007b, pp. 10). For critical constructivists in IR, Checkel (2006, pp. 7) argues that what is needed is the proper balance between textual approaches and those emphasising practice. For critical constructivists in IR then, the empirical move has been

to look beyond linguistic evidence to incorporate the practices of the every-day by triangulating methods that also bring a wealth of contextual data from the field (Vrasti, 2008, pp. 294).

Here, Foucault's definition of discourse is helpful to explain this study's interpretive tools. Foucault's definition of discourse "refers not only to language (text), but also to language and practices that operate to produce objects of knowledge"⁴⁴ (Barrett, 2006, pp. 2). According to Barrett (2006, pp. 2, *emphasis mine*), Foucault was concerned with understanding the particular historical context that allowed certain regimes of truth to prevail, and, the apparatuses or discursive formations, i.e., "webbed connections that link knowledge, power, institutions, regulations, philosophical and scientific statements, administrative and *other practices* – that regulate conduct and support or determine what counts as knowledge"⁴⁵ (Foucault, 1972 in Barrett, 2006, pp. 2). Within this context, this study departs from conventional critical approaches in IR. Instead, it seeks to probe for discursive practices by triangulating varied forms of discourse, not only represented through language in text, but also as represented by the spoken word (interviews), and through (non-participant) observation⁴⁶ (Foucault, 1972; Bacchi and Bonham, 2014).

This interpretation of discourse that accounts for the interpretation of norms not only through language via text, but also the spoken word and observations allows this study's conceptual schema to compensate for the way in which "differently positioned social actors see and represent life in different ways" (Fairclough 2001, pp. 231). To explain, "discourses are diverse representations of social life" (Ibid 2001, pp. 231). Meaning, in the case of this study, how actors understand the meaning of norms will vary. Consider, for example, that the discursive practices of fisherfolk and government officials are represented through different discourses which correspond to their positions as social actors. This study also locates discourses and discursive practices in varied social settings. It holds true the assumption that how actors understand their place in constructing governance will also vary dependent on the social context where these discourses and discursive practices are gathered, i.e., a rural artisanal fishing community or an urban commercial fishery (see Section 2.2 of this chapter). Therefore, this research seeks not to

⁴⁴ Foucault's central analytic point is that discourses are practices or, more specifically, sets of practices. For Foucault the term "discourse" refers to knowledge, what is "within the true", rather than to language (cf. Bacchi and Bonham 2014, pp. 174).

⁴⁵ For a more detailed discussion of Foucault's treatment of discourse as language and practice (cf. Foucault, 1972; Barrett, 2006)

⁴⁶ It is acknowledged that there are many variations or definitions of the terms discourse and discursive practices in the social sciences. It is the aim of the study not to engage in a broad debate around these matters. cf. Bacchi and Bonham (2014) for more detailed analysis of this debate.

impose an order on things, but rather is keen on exposing the disorder, conflict and disjuncture/s which constitute norms of governance of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery.

The next element of the research design is to locate how the norms of governance being explored in this study come to be shared or contested in the *actual* locale of Barbados. Here, it is important to operationalise, as situated in the previous chapter, the methodological implications of what is meant by norms being contested. In revisiting this study's conceptual schema (see chapter 3), the concept of contestation is operationalised by the contexts in which it is practiced (cf. Wiener 2017, pp. 113). However, as argued in the previous chapter, in Wiener's account of norms, there is a methodological gap in locating how norms come to be validated in the locale, i.e., how norms come to be shared or contested at the level of the community. To explain, it will be relatively easy to establish both the formal validity as well as social recognition of norms based on textual evidence. However, the additional interest this study has in understanding the social realities and drivers of the actors who play a role in the day-to-day activities and governance of the fishery requires tools that can elicit localised perspectives. If this study were to follow conventional IR critical constructivist methodology of linguistic discourse analysis, it would be difficult to probe these discursive interventions of practice, particularly in the realm of the locale. Methods were therefore needed to also observe the discursive practices which express approval or disapproval of norms, which dependent on the type of norm, is expressed differently by actors in the actual locale of Barbados (cf. Wiener, 2014, pp. 1).

Consequently, I found it appropriate to utilise ethnographic methods to complement the study's conceptual schema. Ethnography as a methodological tool has a long and rich history, and "is most heavily associated with the field of cultural anthropology, especially the famed anthropologists, Bronislaw Malinowski, Franz Boas, and, later, Clifford Geertz" (Kanazawa, 2017, pp. 206-207). These anthropologists were interested in understanding culture through lived experiences by immersing "themselves in the culture, both by observing and participating in day-to-day life for a significant period of time" (Ibid, 2017, pp. 206-207). Theirs was a focus on studying and observing native peoples in their authentic settings (Vrasti, 2008, pp. 295). From its origins in cultural anthropology, the practice of ethnography has spread to contexts outside what were traditional

community settings in non-western cultures, and into the disciplines of sociology and more recently International Relations⁴⁷ (Vrasti, 2008; Kanazawa, 2017; Montsion, 2018).

As discussed in chapter 3 and earlier in this chapter, this study's critical constructivist theoretical approach is rooted in an IR perspective. Mainstream approaches to IR have often utilised quantitative methodologies based on rationalist and positivist precepts. In contrast, critical scholarship in IR has been inspired by post-positivist and reflexive approaches by focusing on non-state voices as key actors. It is within these constructs that ethnography has become associated with IR scholarship, i.e. "as a methodological counter-weight to mainstream quantitative approaches in the field" (Montsion, 2018, pp. 1-2). It is true that IR scholars generally opt for a top-down or deductive approach to their study of global politics, whereas ethnographic methods as invoked by social anthropologists, allow for a bottom up viewpoint of investigating the world (Ibid, 2018, pp. 3). In IR, ethnography is sometimes used in empirical analysis as "built on a mix of interviews, documentary analyses and some ethnographic observations" (Kuus, 2013, pp. 117). For critical IR scholars, these methods have been used to move beyond the mainstream state-centric analysis offered by conventional IR scholars so as to incorporate a focus on the "every day and bottom-up ways of conducting research" thereby making linkages between local and global realities (Montsion, 2018, pp. 1-2). IR's version of ethnography has been adapted from "some anthropological scholarship focused on connections and associations among different territorial sites" (Montsion, 2018, pp. 5). For critical IR scholars then, the use of ethnography has become less focused on traditional embeddedness in a community or culture to more broadly "understand a locally experienced, multi-location, inter-cultural, and globalised world" (Ibid, 2018, pp. 5). Indeed, for critical IR scholars, these research tools are "deemed useful in their ability to generate first-hand knowledge of authentic forms of living, relations of power, embodied states and social actions" (Vrasti, 2008, pp. 284).

For critical IR scholars in the discipline of constructivism, ethnographic methods have been particularly useful for moving beyond "a purely discursive understanding of social reality" (Vrasti, 2008, pp. 292). Indeed, in moving beyond this empirical focus on linguistic discourses, ethnographic methods have been used to explore and observe

⁴⁷ In International Relations, feminist scholars, for example, (Cohn, 1987), have been at the forefront of the trend in utilizing ethnographic methods. Social constructivists, for example, (Nuemann, 2002) and postcolonialists, for example, (Ling, 2002) have also followed suit. These IR scholars have at times been criticized for their limited reading of ethnography. For more information (cf. Vrasti, 2008).

everyday life “as a prime site of international inquiry by providing an empirically nuanced account derived from ‘being there’ on a daily basis” (Montsion, 2018, pp. 2). Ethnographic contributions to IR are therefore seen as forwarding an emancipatory empiricist research agenda that can lay claim to a much-desired policy voice as well as highlighting the importance of inter and multi-disciplinary efforts (Vrasti, 2008, pp. 295). For critical IR scholars who I align with the appeal of utilising ethnographic methods is that “it complements discursive analyses, moves beyond the mainstream perspectives of conventional actors such as states and international organisations, and sheds light on underexplored knowledge, linkages, and understandings of world politics” (Montsion, 2018, pp. 2). Furthermore, these ethnographic methods have helped to “secure a stable middle ground between rationalist (realist or liberal) and reflexivist (critical and post structuralist) approaches (Vrasti, 2008, pp. 291).

With this in mind, this study characterises ethnography as a genre of research “that enables the study of behaviours, norms, beliefs, customs, values, applied human patterns and human phenomena as these are expressed in practice...both cultural and political as reflected in daily conversations and local events” (Shagrir 2017, pp. 19-20). The use of ethnographic methodologies therefore ties in well with the study's conceptual schema because they allow for a focus on revealing localised individual and collective insights constructing governance of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. This enables a bottom-up analytical approach that establishes a link between the everyday discursive practices of norm validation which this study views as being shaped through local norms (type 3 norms); and, fundamental principles and standardised procedures (type 1 and 2 norms) through textual forms of discourse. The use of ethnographic methods therefore allows for an exposing of “subjugated knowledges based on how different collectives and individuals experience the international” as well as local “on their own terms” thereby “bringing representations of everyday life into the study of world politics (Montsion, 2018, pp. 8). Indeed, for a critical constructivist, ethnographic methods are deployed as a way to “unpack sites of struggle, compliance and production of IR...” thereby putting “representations and perceptions of various actors front and centre” (Montsion, 2018, pp. 10). The specific ethnographic methods utilised in this study are interviews and non-participant observation and are triangulated with archival document analyses. These methods are described in detail in Section 3 of this chapter.

2. Locating the Field: The Case Study of Barbados and its Flyingfish fishery and the primary research sites

2.1. The Case Study: Barbados and its Flyingfish Fishery

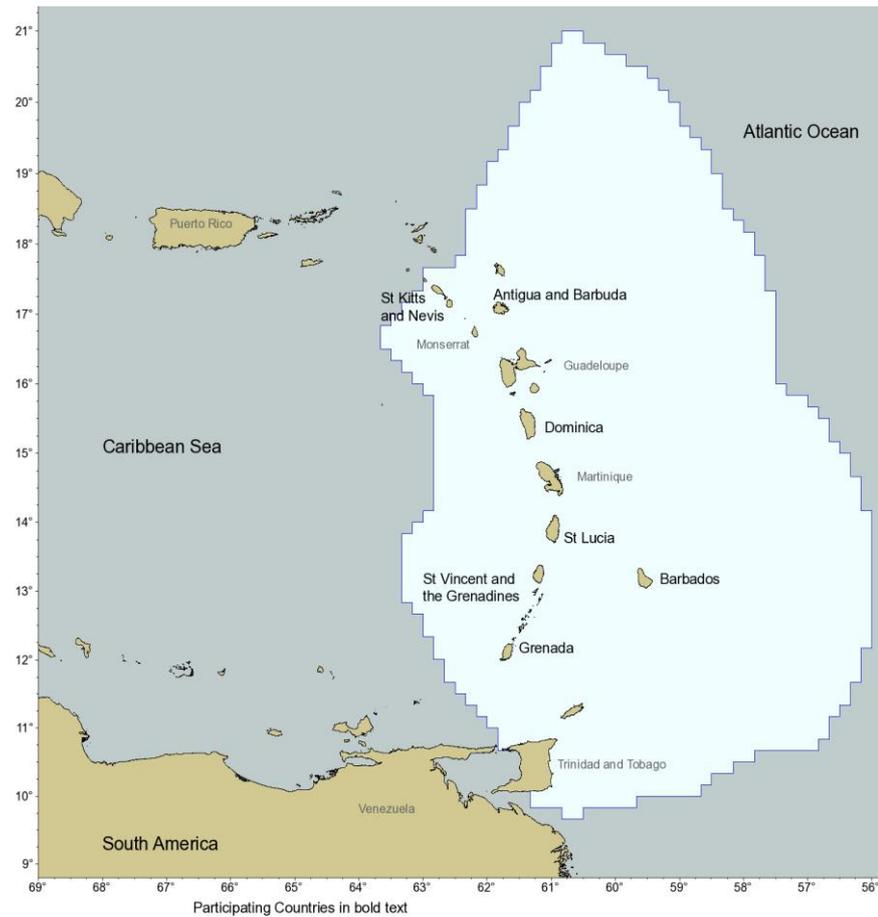
As a political scientist based at a British institution with no prior engagement with Barbados and its flyingfish fishery—and no prior background in marine science or natural resource management—it was critical for me to first get familiar with the case study and primary research sites. This was accomplished through a formal Visiting Researcher Agreement with the Centre for Resource Management and Environmental Studies (CERMES) at the University of the West Indies (UWI), Cave Hill, Barbados, from February 2016 – October 2016. CERMES is the leading academic research and policy centre for flyingfish fisheries management and governance in the Eastern Caribbean. Through this affiliation, I gained a level of authority to credibly position myself within the community to proceed with the data gathering process.

Barbados and its flyingfish fishery present a well-suited case to explore how governance of fisheries in Small-Island-Developing-States have been socially constructed. This is because the Barbadian flyingfish fishery is extremely complicated and politically charged within local, national and regional spheres of influence. In this section, I discuss how the contested regional and development norms have inductively emerged from the field research process to inform this study's subsequent empirical chapters. Barbados is a small island nation in the North Atlantic, lying as the most easterly of the Lesser Antilles entirely surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean⁴⁸. Fisheries are of high importance to the country (Mohammed et al., 2015, pp. 1). However, the majority of Barbados' culturally and economically important fisheries are shared resources among the countries of the South Eastern Caribbean (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003). It is the case that Barbados' flyingfish fishery is part of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery and is a shared resource exploited by seven countries⁴⁹ (Oxenford et al., 1995; Oxenford et al., 2007) (see Figure 1).

⁴⁸ Barbados is the only Caribbean/CARICOM country entirely surrounded by the Atlantic. The other islands are in or touch the Caribbean Sea basin.

⁴⁹ These countries include: Trinidad and Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Barbados, St. Lucia, Dominica and France (Martinique) (UNDP-GEF, 2016). All the islands are independent islands most belonging to the Commonwealth, with the exception of Martinique which remains a department of France (CRFM Secretariat 2014, 10). All the English-speaking islands are member to the Anglo-Caribbean regional organization CARICOM as well as its fisheries subsidiary body, the CRFM.

Figure 1. Map showing the Distribution of the Eastern Caribbean Flyingfish



(Source: Fanning and Oxenford 2008, pp. 3)

Research suggests that in comparison to other Eastern Caribbean states, Barbados has long had the best developed flyingfish fishery (cf. Bannerot and Harding 1986, pp. 79-80). Fanning and Oxenford (2008, pp. 5) document that “almost the entire catch, excluding the small amount used at sea for bait, is sold for human consumption”. Furthermore, although there are also important fisheries in Tobago, Martinique and St Lucia for human consumption—when compared to Barbados—these islands do not realise the same degree of value-added benefit. Barbados also has the largest flyingfish fishery in the Eastern Caribbean, and, when compared with other commercially viable fisheries in the region, the largest domestic, cultural, and commercial stake in the fishery (Oxenford et al., 2007; Cumberbatch and Hinds, 2013; CRFM Secretariat, 2014). The traditional and continuing economic importance of flyingfish in Barbados is due, in part, to limited demersal resources, i.e. shallow water or coastal reef resources. This has led to *the present day* traditional Barbadian focus on pelagic fishing wherein ice-boats undertake

long-range fishing away from the shore⁵⁰(Bannerot and Harding, 1986; Parker 2002, *emphasis mine*). Flyingfish typically accounts for around 65% of total Barbadian fish catch on an annual basis (Parker 2002, pp. 18). Barbados also lands the majority (~65%) of the reported regional catch on an annual basis (Fanning and Oxenford 2008, pp. 5; Cumberbatch and Hinds 2013, pp. 120).

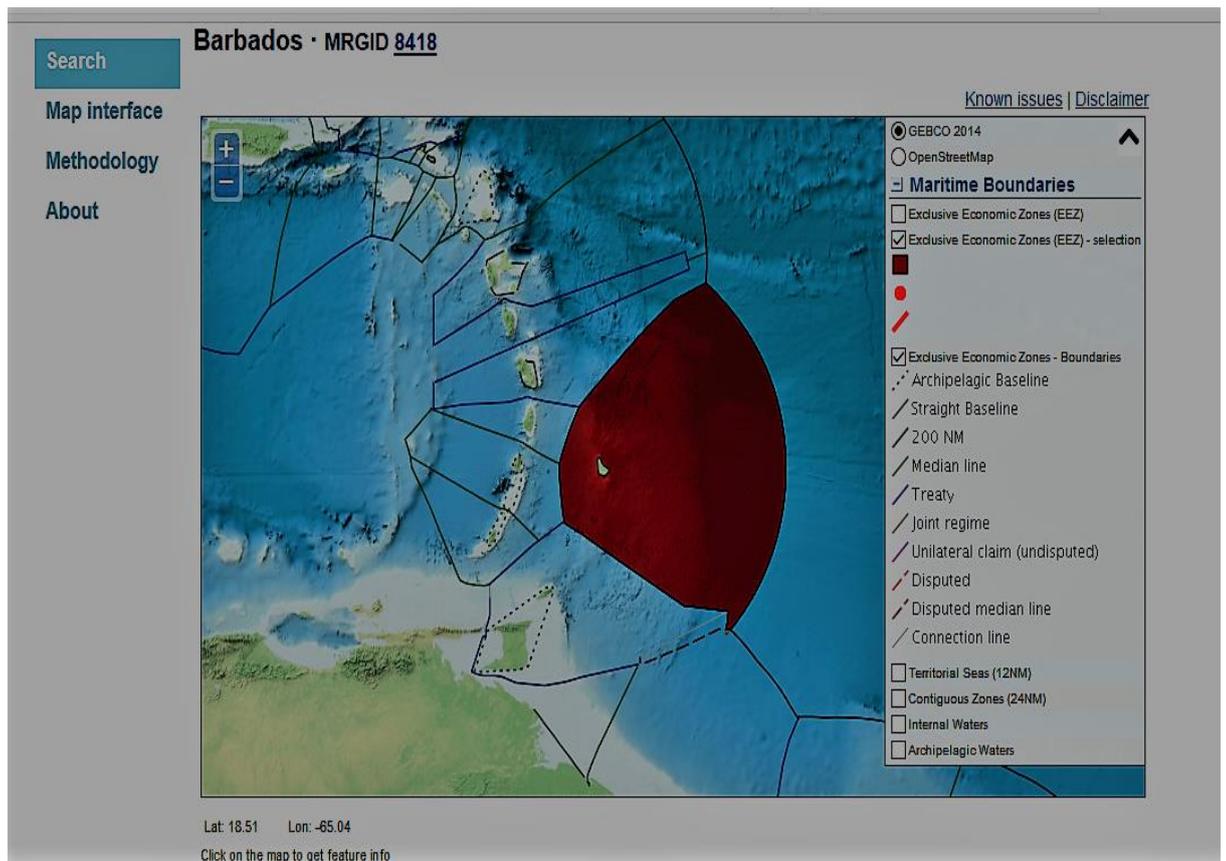
As part of the Eastern Caribbean sub-region, Barbados and its flyingfish fishery operate in one of the most compact multi-national archipelagos of the world (CRFM Secretariat 2014, pp. 10). Therein, all of the Eastern Caribbean countries have declared 200 nautical miles Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs) giving them exclusive sovereign rights to marine territory and resources under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) III (CRFM Secretariat 2014, pp. 10). However, Barbados is less than 200 nautical miles from neighbouring islands in the north, west and south (see Figure 2). Therefore, all of Barbados' maritime boundaries overlap with its neighbouring states⁵¹. The same, of course, is true of Barbados' neighbouring states, many of which are much closer to each other. These geo-political facts have been significant for establishing the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery. Between 1991-2016, numerous proposals were put forth for a regional vision of a shared flyingfish fishery⁵² (FAO, 2002, 2010; CRFM Secretariat, 2014; Mohammed, 2016). Despite this, there have been on-going historical tensions, particularly between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago, to define and demarcate their exclusive sovereign distributive rights to the shared flyingfish resources of the Eastern Caribbean. This problematic provides an interesting case to reveal important political dynamics of the regional governance of the fishery.

⁵⁰ The primary range of the fishery expanded from the vicinity of Barbados to approximately 140 miles to the South-South West to the primarily productive waters of the Lesser Antilles, between Tobago and Grenada. Total catches of both flyingfish and other larger pelagics have increased significantly with this advancement (Bannerot and Harding, 1986; Oxenford, 2007).

⁵¹ In 2003, it was reported that Barbados had yet to settle any of its maritime boundaries with its neighbours (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003). Recent developments however illustrate that positive strides have been made with Barbados settling maritime boundaries with both St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines (The Commonwealth Secretariat, 2015, 2016).

⁵² This vision for a shared regional fishery is known as the Sub-Regional Management Plan for flyingfish of the Eastern Caribbean. This was noted to be a collaborative project to be implemented jointly between the University of the West Indies and McGill University as well as the Fisheries Divisions of Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia, Barbados, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Grenada, and Trinidad and Tobago (Oxenford et al., 1987).

Figure 2. Map of the Wider Caribbean showing potential EEZs



(Source: CRFM Secretariat, 2014; VLIZ, 2017). Note that not all countries have accepted the proposed boundaries.

Known as the *land of flyingfish*, the flyingfish fishery is also a quintessential aspect of Barbadian heritage—a *symbol of pride and industry*—the country’s national motto. It is a part of the island’s national dish/cuisine ‘flyingfish and cou-cou’, adorns the silver dollar coin, and is on the logo of the Barbados Tourism Authority (see Figure 3). While flyingfish is not unique to Barbadian waters nor to the people of Barbados, it has generated a sense of possessive national ownership, and, to the tourists that visit, cultural value which benefits the Barbadian economy (Cumberbatch and Hinds, 2013, pp. 118; Mahon et al., 2007). Locally, the flyingfish fishery plays an important role not only in contributing to Barbadian food security, but also the livelihoods of many coastal dwellers and the actual fisherfolk who make the fishery possible (Sobers, 2010; Cumberbatch and Hinds 2013, pp. 120). It is also an extremely high value-added fishery, especially through sales in the tourism sector (Mahon et al., 2007). However, in recent years, traditional flyingfish fishing practices and fishing communities seemingly are in conflict with the encroaching interests of tourism, particularly on the island’s platinum coast. This has led to conflict between

how the sectors share reciprocal rights to own and physically access valuable coastal space. This problematic validates that there are important political dynamics to be revealed surrounding the governance of Barbadian national development priorities around the sectors of fisheries and tourism. Taken together, these case studies substantiate the choice of Barbados and its flyingfish fishery to answer this study's overarching research questions.

Figure 3. Flyingfish Logo engraved on Barbados Silver Dollar Coin

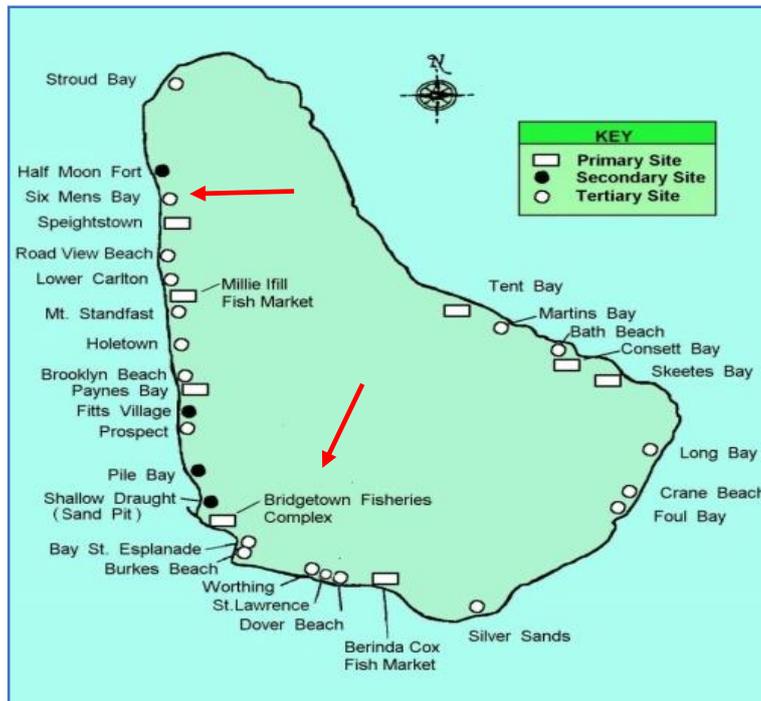


(Source: Vacation in Barbados, 2011)

2.2. The Primary Research Sites

It was important to choose primary research sites that would allow for a comparison of social settings. As referenced earlier in this chapter and also chapter 2, contextualising social settings was an important factor to situate how the norms constructing governance of the fishery are understood. Consequently, the primary sites of analysis chosen for this study were the Bridgetown Fisheries Complex (BFC) (an urban commercial fishery) and Six Men's Bay (a rural artisanal fishing community) (see Figure 4). Although the national context of Barbados is held constant, this emphasis on grounding empirical analysis on varied social settings can be used to test the assumption that how actors validate their rights to the fishery will vary with respect to the setting where discursive practices (particularly interviews and non-participant observation) are located.

Figure 4. Map of the Primary Research Sites in Barbados



(Source: Ministry of Agriculture Barbados, 2015). Note, this map shows the primary research sites and other fisheries landing sites around the island.

BFC is located on the south-west coast of the island in Bridgetown, the capital of Barbados. It is a primary landing site and *the major landing site* for the Barbadian flyingfish fishery (Willoughby, 1989; Oxenford et al., 2007, *emphasis mine*). Opened in 1989, BFC is the most modern, largest and best-equipped public fishing market in Barbados (Parker, 2010). Parker (2002, pp. 12), estimates that 68% of the Barbadian flyingfish catch is landed and processed at BFC. Its facilities include a fishing harbour for 150 boats, a processing hall, vendor stalls for display and sale of fish, a boat-yard for service and repair of boats, refrigeration facilities, locker facilities and fuel outlets (see Figure 5). Findings based on actors' social interactions operating at BFC provide the potential for gaining an understanding of social meanings related to governance that are distinctly nationalised and internationalised⁵³ components of the flyingfish fishery.

⁵³ Vendors, fisherfolk, boat owners, consumers come from all over the island to utilize BFC as their place of business in fisheries.

Figure 5. Processing and Marketing Facilities at the Bridgetown Fisheries Complex



(Source: Soares, 2016, taken by author on site). Note, this picture shows some male vendors conducting business transactions at the modern facilities at the BFC.

BFC also offered a broad empirical base to identify the norms being explored in this study. I considered the fact that the majority of the Barbadian ice-boat fleet is housed and land flyingfish at BFC⁵⁴—yet day-boats also land flyingfish there (see Figure 6). As such, the majority of the flyingfish from Tobago landed by ice-boats, as well as the domestic catch landed by day-boats (i.e. fish harvested from Barbadian territorial waters) converge at the BFC (cf. Parker, 2002). It was assumed then, that there would be conflicting accounts in actors' perceptions of the benefits to be gained from fishing solely in Barbadian sovereign marine borders versus that of a shared regional fishery with Trinidad and Tobago. In addition, because BFC is located in the capital, and so, characterised as urban — it was assumed that influences of traditional fishing practices and rural fishing communities would not be necessarily visible. As a case site, BFC does provide for further research on Barbadian development perspectives, particularly, with regards to the interactions of ice-boats and day-boats in the fishery, as well as the interactions of the fishery with urban tourism interests.

⁵⁴ See Chapter 6 of this thesis for a more detailed explanation on why ice-boats are an important factor for increasing the fishing efficiency of the Barbadian fleet, particularly with fish landed from Tobago.

Figure 6. The BFC Fishing Boat Harbour



(Source: Soares, 2016: taken by author on site). Note, the BFC is the central landing site for the Barbados ice-boat long-range flyingfish fishery fleet.

Next, Six Men's Bay. This is a small rural artisanal fishing community located on the north-west coast of the island (see Figure 4 above). It sits just past Speightstown⁵⁵ in the parish of St. Peter, one of two parishes that span both the West and East coasts of the island⁵⁶. As a small rural fishing community, it is useful as a site to explore social meanings that relate to the distinctly localised components of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. Consequently, it was assumed that the social setting of Six Men's would bring quite the opposite perspective of actors' interactions in the fishery than BFC. Largely because of its proximity to Speightstown, it is considered an important tertiary landing site for the flyingfish fishery. Tertiary landing sites comprise open beaches with no fisheries related infrastructure. These include the most basic amenities for fish processing, namely, a concrete slab for cutting and boning the fish and a sink supplied with running water (see Figure 7) (Alleyne-Greene, 2015). Highlighting these characteristics of the Six Men's locale matters because Six Men's is classified in this study as one of Barbados' remaining fishing communities that still utilises traditional fishing practices. In this study, fishing communities are defined as coastal communities situated directly on or adjacent to a fishing beach, wherein the majority of the community's inhabitants' livelihoods depend

⁵⁵ Speightstown is the first settlement in Barbados and is known as the only major primary landing site for flyingfish in the North of the island. In recent years, however, Speightstown has become known as the 'sleepy town' and is said to have lost its standing as a central fishing landing site in Barbados, for more see, Chapter 6, *Constructing Development*.

⁵⁶ The other parish that spans both the East and West coasts of Barbados is St. Lucy.

on the fishery. Because long-range flyingfish fishing via ice-boats has been characterised as the ‘modern’ fishing technique, this study defines the erstwhile technique of using day-boats as the traditional practice to exploit the fishery (cf. Parker, 2002; Willoughby, 2007).

Figure 7. The Six Men’s Fishing Beach and Concrete Slab



(Source: Alleyne-Greene 2015, pp. 38). Note, this photograph illustrates the narrow stretch of highway and the small beach from where the Six Men’s fishing transactions are conducted. Traditional day boats facing the highway line the beach.

In contrast to BFC, Six Men’s offered an intrinsically localised empirical base to identify the norms being explored in this study. I anticipated that as a small rural artisanal fishery there would be a significantly large number of day-boats engaged in the fishery⁵⁷. Although ice-boat owners do reside in the community, the majority of their catches are landed at BFC (Alleyne-Greene, 2015). Moreover, customers seem to have an aversion to purchasing iced-fish in the island’s rural areas⁵⁸ (Parker, 2002). Meaning that day-boat fish is preferred by local consumers of flyingfish in the island’s north-west. In fact, in an interview with one of the fish vendors in the Six Men’s Community, she postured that “people come from all over the island just to buy the freshest fish from us here” (SXMF2

⁵⁷ See Chapter 6 and earlier in this chapter for a more detailed explanation on why ice-boats are an important factor in increasing the fishing efficiency of the Barbadian fleet, particularly with fish landed from Tobago.

⁵⁸ All of the ice-boats land and sell approximately 80% to 90% of their catch at the Bridgetown Fisheries Complex, and the remainder is sold at Six Men’s Bay. On the other hand, the day-boat launches and moses owners land and sell 90% to 95% of their fish catch at the Bay (Alleyne-Greene, 2015, pp. 20).

interview, 2016). In recent years however, the Six Men's near-shore fishery has been losing an abundance of its resources⁵⁹ (Alleyne-Greene 2015, 34). It was assumed then, that there would certainly be conflicting accounts regarding the benefits to be gained from, on the one hand, a day-boat fishery that can only be serviced from sovereign marine borders, and, on the other, an ice-boat long-range shared regional fishery with Trinidad and Tobago. Moreover, Six Men's was *a* primary site of interest because there are a number of national development reports and political declarations which document the community being promised an infrastructural upgrade to their fishing facilities by the Barbadian government to potentially serve as the new commercial centre of fishing in the island's north-west (cf. Mahon and Jones, 1998; Design Collaborative, 1999; BLP, 2003). Nevertheless, none of these plans have materialised. Given that the west-coast of the island has been dubbed the "platinum coast" by Barbadian tourism interests (Platinum Coast Barbados 2017), there are competing claims whether interests in luxury tourism have upended the interests of locals to retain the cultural traditions of Six Men's as a fishing community and important facet of the island's northern fisheries.

Focus is now turned to explaining and justifying the ethnographic methods used to gather data, i.e., interviews and non-participant observation and how they triangulate with archival document analyses. Also discussed is how the data gathered are to be interpreted using the study's conceptual schema (see Table 4, chapter 3). I also offer critical reflection on my own positionality and reflexivity in the research and the limitations of the methodological approach taken. The ethical principles adhered to in this study are bound by the institutional ethical codes and guidelines of the University of Warwick's Politics and International Studies Department, as well as through my Visiting Researcher Agreement with the Centre for Resource Management and Environmental Studies (CERMES), University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, Barbados.

⁵⁹ The fishing activities of the local fisherfolk at Six Men's Bay have changed since the reduction in fish abundance. For instance, once before fisherfolk of moses' or dayboat vessels could cast seine nets 3 metres away from the near-shore to fish for pelagic, however nowadays fishing a few metres away from shore is unlikely. Presently fisherfolk of moses'/dayboat vessels fish 1.6 kilometres or more away from the near-shore (Alleyne-Greene, 2015, pp. 34).

3. The Methods

3.1. Interviews

The type of interview method employed in this study was a semi-structured approach. These interviews were formed from a series of predetermined open-ended questions and were useful for eliciting narrative data that would help to reconstruct and describe events, as well as actors' social experiences, opinions, beliefs and feelings (Shagrir 2017, pp. 11). In the conceptual schema, these interviews provided an understanding of how norms function that could not be gained from textual data, offering insight into the discursive practices of actors validating norms in the locale in their own words and terms. Preliminary web research and conversations with lead academics at CERMES largely helped me to identify actors in the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. Within the study's empirical chapters, interviews are referenced with acronyms identifying the station of the interviewee or the location of the interview. For example, SXMM2 references a male interviewee from Six Men's. In total sixty-one semi-structured interviews were conducted. Appendix B lists the biographical information, date of interview, and length of interview for each research participant. Fifty-nine were face to face interviews conducted on site in Barbados. Two interviews were conducted remotely with the regional representatives of the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism (CRFM). The CRFM is the regional body with regulatory authority for fisheries governance in the Anglo-Caribbean. It has coordinated and facilitated regional negotiations surrounding the adoption of the Caribbean Community & Common Market (CARICOM) Common Fisheries Policy, the Sub-Regional Fisheries Management Plan for Flyingfish in the Eastern Caribbean, and the Caribbean Large Marine Eco-System Project, among others. Table 1 below lists the breakdown of the station of this study's Key Informants (KIs), each chosen because of their unique social interactions with the Barbadian flyingfish fishery.

Table 1. Interviewees and their stations

<u>Station</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Gender Breakdown</u>
Academics/Technocrats	7	5 males, 2 females
Government Officials Identified government representatives with responsibility for the environment, as well as agriculture and fisheries; Identified government representatives charged with negotiating regional and national fisheries and maritime governance mandates	10	10 males
Regional Fisheries Officials Identified representatives from regional fishery bodies such as the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism	2	2 females
BARNUFO Representatives from the Barbados National Union of Fisherfolk Organizations (BARNUFO)—the umbrella organization for local fisher organizations	5	3 females, 2 males
Bridgetown Fisheries Complex Individual local small-scale and commercial fisherfolk	13	7 males, 6 females
Six Men’s Fishing Village Individual local small-scale and commercial fisherfolk	16	11 males, 5 females
Fish Processors/Large Scale Distributors large-scale commercial processors that deal with imports and exports	3	3 males
General Community/Customers	5	5 males

Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to identify this study's research participants. With purposive sampling, strategic individuals and institutions were selected for the important information they provided (cf. Maxwell 1997, pp. 87). These included national and regional government representatives and institutions, private sector representatives, as well as academics and members of civil society, for example, BARNUFO, easily recognised from media and development reports, as well as policy documents. Analytically, these individuals and institutions were selected because they represent expertise in researching, writing, and enforcing governance mandates in the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. In the conceptual schema, their narratives are operationalized as 'elite' perspectives that provide some insight into how, particularly, standardised procedures and local norms (type 2 and 3 norms) are formed and validated. In fact, the narratives gained from these actors in regulatory authority yielded insights as to how certain governance positions and instruments might serve to marginalise certain actors.

Second, the snowball sampling method typically involves research participants from the purposive sample identifying other potential participants in the study (cf. Morgan, 2008). Given the credibility afforded to me as a Visiting Researcher with CERMES, I was able to quickly make secondary connections by tagging along to market visits and professional industry meetings. Contact with fisherfolk (including artisanal and commercial fisherfolk) was made using this technique. This study classifies fisherfolk in the broad categories of processors (industrial commercial), fisherfolk in the harvest sector including boat-owners (mostly men), and vendors/hawkers including boners of flyingfish (mostly women)⁶⁰. This study assumes that these fisherfolk are, more often than not, the recipients and not the makers of *high-level* governance mandates. Consequently, their narratives were expected to produce contrasting views to those in regulatory authority. Given their individual and collective roles and interests in the day-to-day success of the fishery, in the conceptual schema these actors illuminated, particularly, how local norms (type 3 norms) come to be validated in the locale. In doing so, I was able to identify and explore the legitimacy gaps between type 1 and 2 norms constructing top-down governance and type 3 norms constructing bottom-up governance. This is significant because although fisherfolk are not in regulatory authority per se, they do command authority in the locale

⁶⁰ In a 2007 report titled, *The Value of Barbados' fisheries: A preliminary assessment* (Mahon et al., 2007) the distribution channels of the flyingfish through the harvest and post-harvest sector are identified. This study identifies fisherfolk active in the fishery based on the categorisations presented herein.

as they have the largest stake and say in how norms governing the fishery are understood and implemented in practice.

All interviews were conducted in Barbadian English and/or Barbadian creole⁶¹. A review of this study's informed consent form and ethical procedures were conducted before any interview commenced⁶². Most research participants declined to sign the informed consent form. Those that did (mainly government representatives and academics) opted to keep the form as a personal overview of the study for their records. Once the researcher received consent (verbally or signed), the interviews were recorded and stored as iPhone voice memos (synonymous to a tape recorder) and then uploaded to an internet cloud⁶³. In situations where consent for recording the interview was declined, hand notes were used to transcribe the interview on-site. These situations were few and occurred mainly with representatives of the government and private sector. Research participants were also briefed that their participation was entirely voluntary, and, assured that the data collected from them will be processed and reported anonymously where possible⁶⁴. In cases where interviews were permitted to be recorded, participants were also guaranteed of their rights to stop the recording at any time and/or to provide "off the record" perspectives.

Next, I offer some critical reflections on the use of interviews in this study and my positionality and reflexivity in the research process. Apart from being able to locate the legitimacy gaps between top-down (type 1 and 2 norms) and bottom-up (type 3 norms) governance, these personal narratives were also useful for locating how contestation emerged. Cohen et al. (2007, 29) suggest that interviewing is also "a valuable method for exploring the construction and negotiation of meanings in a natural setting". Indeed, efforts were made to conduct the interviews at a place and time comfortable and convenient for the research participant. These natural settings included: vendors' stalls at

⁶¹ English is the lingua-franca of Barbados. Despite this, it's important to take note that Barbadian English is a variety of English that differs from standard received English in phonetic and phonological features (accent, intonation, delivery etc) and vocabulary and discourse practices. Barbadian Creole is not English, but a distinct language related to other Caribbean creoles such as Jamaican patois.

⁶² All research participants were presented with a one-page summary of the study's objectives and goals. This one-page summary also served as an informed consent instrument documenting the ethical guidelines of the study, as well as the contact information of my supervisors at the University of Warwick if participants wished to report any complaints or abuse.

⁶³ They were some situations where the research participant was not comfortable with reading written statements. In these cases, the researcher read the consent/ethics clauses to the participants and ensured they understood what was being asked of them before proceeding with the interview.

⁶⁴ They are certain situations that even if anonymity is upheld in reported findings that certain identifiers or characteristics can be traced back to the individual. Given the size of Barbados and the proximity of the communities, the likelihood of this is taken into account, particularly with individuals who hold positions of authority and or are seen to wield power over governance mechanisms of the fishery. The reverse is true for those who are community leaders or directly active in the harvest and post-harvest aspects of the fishery.

the Bridgetown Fishing Complex and the Six Men's Fishing Village, fisherfolks' boats, fisherfolks' beaches, and, on a few occasions, the personal homes of fisherfolk and community members. As might be expected, all of the elite interviews were conducted in office settings. These natural settings allowed for additional opportunities to observe localised insights about how these actors' lives had been socially constructed around such parameters.

Given this study's normative emphasis on critical scholarship, it is perhaps unsurprising that I had to engage with research participants who held opinions that oppose this study's research scope (cf. McGinn 2008, pp. 712). Despite this, in departing from conventional critical constructivist studies in International Relations (IR) (cf. Weldes et al., 1999; Zehfuss, 2002; Park, 2009; Schwellnus, 2009; McDonald, 2012), I did not impose upon the research participants, *a priori* or *ex post facto* assumptions or presumptions of societal injustices and inequalities, nor their desires to challenge the status-quo of how the Barbadian flyingfish fishery is governed. Rather, to make credible this study's critically emergent approach, it was important for me to apply in empirical analyses Palmer's (1987, pp. 2) claim that "every way of knowing contains its own moral trajectory". Regarding this, studies have equally shown that research participants prefer to establish relationships with researchers who they identify as having a similar social identity or cultural background (cf. Shagrir 2017, pp. 10-11). This led to an interesting balancing of my insider/outsider status⁶⁵. In the field, I did encounter less than a handful of interview situations, namely with persons in positions of political or management authority in Barbadian fisheries, who were either cynical about or averse to speaking to a researcher, especially, a *non-Barbadian* woman of Jamaican heritage, studying *the politics of their flyingfish fishery*. Although regionalism and the interspersing of nationals is a strong social construct throughout the English-speaking Caribbean, there has historically been suspicion about what may be perceived as nationalist or protectionist political agendas of host countries⁶⁶ (Girvan, 2001; Bravo, 2006). For Jamaicans navigating in the Anglo-Caribbean, arguably, the social construction of societal relations has often been an 'us' vs. 'them' mentality. Nevertheless, these constructs of 'us' vs. 'them' are social constructs, i.e. malleable and content specific. In most cases, my social identity as a higher-educated Jamaican woman made way for this study's critical normative agenda to harness integrity—particularly with

⁶⁵ Scholars have written about insider/outsider status frequently to discuss the relative strengths and weaknesses of various configurations of researcher-participant relationships (McGinn, 2008).

⁶⁶ This has mostly been illustrated in the tensions surrounding the free movement of working nationals throughout the English speaking Caribbean through the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME) (Council on Hemispheric Affairs, 2005).

civil society, academia, and Barbadian fisherfolk. I was accepted as an insider ‘Caribbean sister in arms’, so to speak. Furthermore, my affiliation with CERMES was particularly useful in gaining access to these sceptical research participants. Yet, access was only part of the equation. It was also a necessity for me to cement my credibility as an informed researcher, i.e., knowledgeable about Barbadian life, culture and fishing. The main limitation with gathering and interpreting data from these settings was these research participants declining authorisation for their interview to be recorded⁶⁷. While these interviews were being conducted, hand-notes were taken on-site. Admittedly, the transcription process was short-hand and rushed in these circumstances.

Additional lessons learned were that conversations with fisherfolk, in contrast to elites (i.e., academics, civil society or government officials) were, more often than not, shorter and blunter. On a few occasions, there were also no-shows to confirmed interviews with fisherfolk, and, on a handful of occasions, it proved easier to buy a few snappers and flyingfish from a vendor and/or hawker⁶⁸ before a revealing conversation could take place. Nonetheless, while establishing relationships with fisherfolk were timely processes, it meant that I amassed numerous opportunities to interact with a large cross section of fisherfolk participating at varied levels of the fishery. In revisiting the earlier account that interviews were conducted in Barbadian English and/or Barbadian creole, I admit that during the interview conversations (especially with the local fisherfolk), there were some challenges in understanding the Barbadian creole. This is a significant point to highlight because it relates to the use of language and power relations. Typically, the more formally “educated” actors in positions of power, whether public or private, were more likely to use Barbadian English. On the other hand, actors from the working class, typically less formally educated and more likely to be fisherfolk or vendors, were more likely to use Barbadian Creole. However, given that most English-speaking Caribbean islanders have similar/identifiable creole or linguistic patterns, it was useful being born and raised in Kingston, Jamaica, the largest English-speaking island in the Caribbean known for the Jamaican *patois* creole, and, to have travelled extensively in the Caribbean. Further mitigating challenges with the linguistic barriers, all the interviews were transcribed as narrative scripts with the help of a local Barbadian student. More importantly, as mentioned earlier, critical constructivists in IR prefer to use discourse analysis as their

⁶⁷ Appendix B, Item 1 details the modality of each research interview i.e. whether recorded or research participant declined recording.
⁶⁸ These conversations were especially with vendors/hawkers (mostly women but some men) and provided significant insights about the political perils being faced by everyday fisherfolk.

primary methodology and tool for interpretation. Arguably, this is largely based on the concern that “interview research in social science has been fraught with a taken-for-granted assumptions... in relation to participants’ experiences, attitudes, beliefs, identities and orientations toward a wide range of social and cultural phenomena” (Cho 2014, pp. 43).

Here it is crucial to highlight that issues of positionality and reflexivity are undoubtedly important in critical scholarship. This is because the researcher’s choice of methods influences interpretation and knowledge production and is impacted by the context of institutional, social and political realities of the research undertaken (Sultana, 2015). In further reflecting critically on my own positionality and reflexivity in this study, although I provide empirical observations on the regional governance of the fishery as bound by relations between actors from Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago (see chapter 6), it is essential to state that I did not have an opportunity to interview fisherfolk nor elite or technocratic actors from Trinidad and Tobago. I acknowledge the potential biases of this omission, for example, the likelihood of Barbadian interviewees downplaying overfishing of the flyingfish fishery. However, the study’s methodological approach does mitigate this through its framework of checking claims against other sources of data and avoiding basing firm conclusions on anecdotal evidence. The study also explored issues of race/class and colour relations as it pertained to Barbadian development priorities on the island’s platinum coast (see chapter 7). Here, it is important to indicate that the perspectives of the elites on the ground who played a role in crafting Barbadian national development priorities on the island’s platinum coast were not captured in the study’s empirical findings. This was not for my lack of trying, but these actors chose not to participate. However, this means that a balanced perspective of the actors in development on the island’s platinum coast was omitted. Having not captured these alternative perspectives in the interview process, it is important for me in reflecting on my positionality to indicate that the findings presented in chapter 7 are not devoid of my own personal biases about the political tensions underpinning race/colour and class relations in Anglo-Caribbean society. In once again drawing attention to this study’s emphasis on critical scholarship, this of course includes an acknowledgement of my own formal and informal assumptions about the inferiority of Barbadian fisherfolk and every-day locals in policy and political processes of crafting national development.

Therefore, in acknowledging my positionality and reflexivity in the interviews conducted, it was important for me to keep in mind that research participants might just be relaying experiences they believe the researcher wants to hear from what has been insinuated from the context of the interview. So, despite the insights gained from these personal narratives, to have credible data on which to build the findings of this study, it was important to triangulate the evidence gained from interviews with data gathered from other methods, i.e., non-participant observation and archival document analyses.

3.2. Non-participant Observation

Non-participant observation served as an important ethnographic complement to the interviews. Williams (2008, pp. 562) describes non-participant observation as a relatively unobtrusive qualitative research strategy for gathering primary data about an aspect of the social world⁶⁹. In the conceptual schema, these observations provided the ability to particularly locate and explore local norms (type 3 norms), and how these came to be validated by actors in the locale. As a non-participant observer, I did not take part in or facilitate fishing activities or the governance thereof, for example, boning, selling, leading community meetings, etc. Moreover, the research participants had no say about the mandate or outcomes of the study. No covert means were used to engage research participants or to observe research participants at the case study sites (see section 2.2 of this chapter). My field observations involved weekly observation visits to the Fisheries Division, Bridgetown Fisheries Complex and the Six Men's Fishing Village, other popular fishing sites such as Silver Sands, Oistins and Conset Bay (see Figure 4 above), as well as attending a BARNUFO Board election meeting, and a Speightstown (North-East Barbados) community meeting on fishing. The time spent on these observations ranged from 1 to 5 hours dependent on the social setting, and provided perspectives on how actors and structures in the fishery interfaced on a day-to-day basis, such as: the physical layout of the market and the village and how each were perceived in their respective surrounding communities; why certain leaders were recognised as leaders or seemed to have more authority in the day-to-day governance of the fishery, i.e., setting the daily price for flyingfish; fisherfolk interactions with the Food and Agriculture Organisation pushing education or advocacy initiatives; fisherfolk interactions with civil society representatives

⁶⁹This approach is differentiated from participant observation where the researcher takes part in everyday activities related to an area of social life through the observation of events in their natural contexts (McKechnie, 2008). They are thin lines between the two methods of observation as they both serve the purpose of providing the researcher with a deep understanding of a particular topic or situation through the meanings ascribed to it by the individuals who live and experience it (Ostrower, 1998).

from the Fisheries Division, for example, inspectors; a boat trip with some fishermen revealing interactions between boat-owners and crew as well as insight about the harvest process; observing the post-harvest process via a floor tour of the factory of one of the large-scale processors and distributors of flyingfish; and, observing the post-harvest process via the offloading of flyingfish ice-boats at BFC (see Figure 8 below) and day-boats in Six Men's. This also included observing transactions between customers, vendors, processors, boat-owners, fisherfolk, etc. in the fishery.

Figure 8. The Bridgetown Fishing Complex Loading Dock



Source: (Soares, 2016: taken by author on-site). Note, the picture shows the offloading of a couple thousand flyingfish from an ice-boat at the Bridgetown Fisheries Complex.

I was also invited on several occasions to socialise with fisherfolk⁷⁰. It was mostly through these informal interactions that I was able to gain non-narrative insights about *the actual* practices of actors' re-/enacting the politics of the fishery. Revisiting the significance of varied social settings, it is certainly worth noting that at the BFC, the business of fish is fast paced, and customer oriented towards commercial processors and bulk demand. In

⁷⁰These opportunities occurred both at the Bridgetown Fisheries Complex and the Six Men's Fishing Village.

Six Men's, as a small tight knit artisanal rural fishing community, the business of fish is more community oriented toward the drive or walk up customer. I highlight these site nuances here because observations provided insight to both the alignment and divergences of discursive practices with the verbal accounts provided by interviewees as well as the written accounts imprinted in texts. Of course, navigating critically and maintaining credible ethical procedures with non-participant observation is somewhat of a blurred line between research and non-research interaction. An example of this is that I was able to mitigate these concerns by ensuring that non-research interactions were few and limited, for example, to attending the birthday party of the daughter of a local fisherman upon invitation. Given that these non-research interactions were personal (and more often than not took place after interviews with fisherfolk) they helped in lending me additional credibility with actors in the fishery in the community settings where actual non-participant observation took place, i.e., bars or fisherfolks' vending stalls (see Figure 9). Even though the data gleaned from these observations were informal, non-participant observation was an important supplement needed to triangulate the reconstruction of the competing knowledge claims revealed in the empirical chapters.

It is important to also further reflect critically on my positionality and reflexivity in the non-participant observation process. Kanazawa (2017, pp. 207) poses the question of "is it the job of the ethnographic researcher merely to faithfully describe what she observes?". In answer, Kanazawa argues that the ethnographic researcher should not merely observe, but also interpret. However, in doing so, "that any particular interpretation should be regarded as only one among many possible interpretations" and to also "be aware that others may interpret things differently"(Kanazawa, 2017, pp. 207). As discussed in Section 1 of this chapter, the goal of mainstream ethnography is for the researcher to become a part of the group and culture they are studying to so understand the lived day-to-day experiences of their research participants. It was also discussed in Section 1, that this study had adopted ethnographic methodologies situated within an International Relations (IR) critical constructivist purview. Given that this study's theoretical parameters are rooted in critical constructivist IR, in utilising non-participant observation as an ethnographic research method, though while not dwelling with my research participants, I did indeed make efforts to establish relationships with my research participants to understand their day-to-day lived experiences of governing the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. As I've alluded to, this certainly presented a blurred line in my

insider/outsider status with the study's research participants, particularly fisherfolk. It was important for me therefore to be cognisant of my positionality by remaining objective of the observations gleaned yet the subjectivity of the research process and the study's research participants. In doing so, it would be remiss for me as a researcher to assert that the informality of the non-participant observation process was neutrally value free. Of course, I had to make decisions about my positionality, especially from the insider/outsider perspectives discussed prior. Certainly, as a light-skinned educated Jamaican woman, it was probably the case that I was given more access than a 'regular Caribbeaner' or foreign researcher to amass these non-participant observations. However, it is important for me to highlight that it was certainly my contextual knowledge of living and working within the Anglo-Caribbean that situated the importance of me taking an informal approach to the non-participant observation process. Thus, in relaying empirical findings from non-participant observations, it was critical for me to be cognisant of my negotiating my various positionalities in the research process. Moreover, like Bachmann (2011, pp. 364) contends, even more significant was for me to maintain reflexivity that the research process "always has to be contextualised with the social relations of both the researcher and the researched, as well as with those between them, including aspects such as gender, nationality, race, social status etc."

Figure 9. Braddy's Bar, Six Men's Village



Source: (Soares, 2016: taken by author on-site). Note, Braddy's Bar is the local Bar in the Six Men's Fishing Village. You would find fisherfolk here when they are not at sea.

3.3. Archival Document Analyses

It was also important to locate the discursive practices of how actors understand the norms governing the fishery via textual accounts. To locate these discourses, I spent time in the field sifting through Barbadian archives for primary and secondary data sources which could assist in the reconstruction of these social realities, interactions and political tensions. Institutional sources for these secondary data and historical documents were: The Barbados Museum and Historical Society; The Barbados National Library; The Barbados National Archives; and, the official Agriculture Library housed at the Ministry of Agriculture (the latter under which the Fisheries Division is designated).

Archival documents were purposively selected as both primary⁷¹ and secondary sources⁷². Primary document sources included: The Nation, the Barbados Advocate and Barbados Government Information Service (BGIS) media clips (newspaper on-line, print and video); Legal and regulatory instruments of Barbadian fisheries and the flyingfish fishery: including Laws, Acts, Fisheries Development, Policy and Management Plans; Political manifestos published by the two major political parties in Barbados: the Barbados Labour Party and the Democratic Labour Party (1940-present); Official agreements with fisherfolk organisations specifically via the Barbados National Union of Fisherfolk Organisations (BARNUFO); and, Political speeches. Secondary document sources included: Historical books and accounts of Barbados and its' flyingfish fishery; Published and unpublished theses; Journal articles; Research papers and reports connected to the Barbadian or Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery and/or research sites; National Development reports and plans (1940-present); and, Physical Development Plans (1940-present).

Here, I offer distinctions for the use and meanings of institutional and official government documents as well as state-owned and privately-owned media sources. First, institutional and official government documents: According to Flick (2006, pp. 250) institutional documents are meant to record institutional routines and also simultaneously record the information necessary for legitimising how things are done. Institutional documents therefore carry a lot of weight as regulatory directives, especially if one considers Finnemore's and Sikkink's (2001) assertion that institutions *can* act as "norm

⁷¹ Primary data is data collected solely by the researcher for purposes of his/her study (Flick, 2006, pp. 248).

⁷² Secondary archival documentary sources are data that were originally collected for other research purposes (Flick, 2006, pp. 248).

entrepreneurs”. Similarly, official government documents are supposed to illustrate the official position of the state on social, cultural, political and economic matters. In the conceptual schema, these data provide rich material for pinpointing, the bridge between how fundamental principles and standardised procedures (type 1 and 2 norms) come to be formally validated and gain social recognition. Political speeches equally represent discourses that lay claim to type 1 and 2 norms by acknowledging politicians’ personal narratives and vision for how state and non-state actors ought to engage in governance of the fishery.

Second, media sources: This study considers state-owned media as well as privately owned media to both represent and reproduce discourses, but in different ways. The main newspapers (on-line and print) in Barbados are *The Nation* and *The Barbados Advocate* which are privately owned. Government owned media is disseminated through the Barbados Government Information Service (BGIS) website or office. Similar to government or institutionally sourced documents, the data from state-owned media provided insight into how type 1 and 2 norms gain formal validity and social recognition. There is the assumption that state-owned media portrays the official position of the government. On the other hand, media that is *supposedly* privately-owned reaches and is representative of a wider segment of the Barbadian society⁷³. Thus, private media is operationalised as a different form of discourse wherein power and knowledge are more widely dispersed. For example, media/news reports from BGIS compared to *the Nation* newspaper⁷⁴ will more than likely highlight different and perhaps competing perspectives that construct the social realities of Barbadian society and the flyingfish fishery.

In critical constructivist research it is important to consider that archival documents are not just simple representations of facts and reality: “Someone (or an institution) produces them for some (practical) purpose” (Flick, 2006, pp. 248). Important questions when reporting empirical findings then, are: “who has produced this document, for which purpose and for whom? What were the personal and institutional intentions that produced the document and where is it stored?”⁷⁵ (cf. Flick, 2006, pp. 248). Flick (2006, pp. 50) also suggests that when analysing these documents, the researcher should

⁷³ The term ‘supposedly privately-owned media’ is meant to acknowledge that privately-owned media is sometimes in coercion with or controlled by government. My research in Barbados leads me to believe that this is not the case (at least not on the surface level).

⁷⁴ For example, letters to the editor or editorials that conjure an alternate dominant perspective to that of the state.

⁷⁵ Considering the features of the document and the particular conditions of their production is therefore crucial element of this study’s empirical findings.

especially consider, what has been left out in producing the record, by whom and why? In constructivist studies, criticisms are largely levelled about the selection of texts used to reconstruct norms only confirming a particular historical reading (cf. Zehfuss, 2002; Klotz and Lynch, 2007, pp. 230). However, it was the case in this research that sometimes the necessary documents were not available, accessible or simply lost. In other cases, there were gatekeepers who blocked access to the needed or requested documents. These roadblocks mainly existed because of political reasons, and included, the lack of accessibility to development bids and plans, as well as environmental impact assessment (EIA) reports for the Six Men’s Fishing Village (see chapter 7). Generally, it was also very difficult to access documents from the Fisheries Division library. The Custodian explained that it needed to be organised. Although challenging, these roadblocks did not disrupt data gathering or empirical analyses. Conversely, they provided a perspective on the political nuances of governing fisheries in contemporary Barbadian society. To sum up the methods section, Table 2 below acts as a reference point for the reader to identify with ease how the conceptual schema was used to code the data gathered from what has been documented above.

Table 2. Linking Methods with the Conceptual Schema

<u>Method</u>	<u>Type of Data</u>	<u>Type of Norm</u>	<u>How Validated</u>
Semi-Structured Interviews	Oral Narratives /Social Practices		
High Level		Standardised Procedures (Type 2 norms)/Local Norms (Type 3 norms)	Social Recognition/Validation in the locale
Fishers and Local Community		Local Norms (Type 3 norms)	Validation in the locale
Non-Participant Observation	Social Practices In Real Time	Local Norms (Type 3 norms)	Validation in the Locale
Archival Documents	Historical Textual/Written Narratives	Fundamental Principles & Standardised Procedures (Type 1 & Type 2 Norms)	Formal Validation/ Social Recognition
Government & Institutional Sources			
Government Media			
Archival Documents	Historical Textual/ Written Narratives	Standardised Procedures (Type 2 norms) & Local Norms (Type 3 norms)	Social Recognition/ Validation in the locale
Privately Owned Media			

Conclusion

This chapter explored the methods used in this study and how they complement its conceptual schema (see chapter 3). Section 1 made the case for utilising ethnographic methods, i.e. interviews and non-participant observation, as the best complement to this study's conceptual schema because of their ability to elicit localised perspectives constructing governance. Also explained was the importance of archival document analyses for triangulating shared and contested discourses. Section 2 explained why Barbados and its flyingfish fishery were chosen as an interpretive case study, and, why the Bridgetown Fisheries Complex (BFC) (a commercial urban fishery and the main landing site in Barbados) and Six Men's Bay (a small rural artisanal fishing community) as comparative social settings. Section 3 provided a detailed reflective account of the methods used in this study as described above. How the data gathered from each of the methods were coded and interpreted in line with the study's conceptual schema was also explained. I also offered critical reflections of my positionality and reflexivity in the research process and the limitations of the methods undertaken. The implications of these methodological criteria allow this study to situate how a norm is understood, legitimated and contested from global to local scales. Structurally this maintains the study's critical constructivist agenda, i.e., unearthing documented political promises vs. every-day political realities. Ultimately then, the goal in the following empirical chapters is to reconstruct actors' perceptions about the legitimacy of their rights to the Barbadian flyingfish fishery through how they understand the regional and development norms constructing governance of the fishery, be it shared or contested perspectives.

CHAPTER 5

GOVERNING THE BARBADIAN FLYINGFISH FISHERY: A SOCIO-POLITICAL CHRONOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter presents a socio-political chronology of the governance of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. Its contributions are significant to this thesis because my observations revealed that the regional and development norms deemed pertinent for constructing governance of the fishery have been forged through the social relations of race/colour, class, nationality and gender. This chapter aims therefore to present a summative account of how these social forces have shaped the present-day politics of the fishery explored in the empirical chapters (see chapters 6 and 7). Given that gender in Barbadian fisheries is significantly under-researched thereby leaving little material to draw on, the narrative is heavily weighted towards exploring the social constructions of race/colour, class, and nationality. The chapter however opens the space for further exploration of the fishery's gendered dynamics. Because of its historical premise, this chapter ought to be read as a bridge between this study's theoretical and empirical chapters, and methodologically, as a partially descriptive/partially empirical chapter. My observations are based on archival and secondary data including newspaper articles, academic articles, government reports. These are supplemented with accounts from Key Informants (KIs). The findings reported from the study's KIs are from a Barbadian perspective and documented with anonymity to the extent possible.

I present an understanding of how the norms explored in this study have emerged, what it means to be a Barbadian, and how Barbadian fisherfolk and the rights afforded to them have been constituted. This chapter's importance is thus evidenced through its key findings. The flyingfish fishery has been formative to Barbadian life and national identity. Barbadian society nevertheless has been constructed through embedded stratifications of race/colour and class evident in distinction between a white elite, poor whites (descendants from white indentured servants), and blacks (descendants of enslaved Africans). These stratifications have informed a power sharing agreement between white capital and black politics, and thus, tensions abound regarding who controls the island's productive resources. Regarding this, fishing has been characterised as a peasant industry and fisherfolk are principally from the black peasantry. Therefore, fisherfolk and their rights have largely been excluded from high-level decision-making and governance.

Notwithstanding, a significant amount of attention has been placed by the Barbadian authorities on developing the fishery domestically and expanding it regionally⁷⁶. This is attributed to Barbados' early political leadership forging both a national and regional identity. It is also notable that although under-researched, gendered roles have impacted the distribution of power in the industry via the harvest and post-harvest sub-sectors—with men dominating the former and women the latter.

The chapter is divided into two main sections. Section 1 covers the period of 1627-1970 and unearths the historical background fuelling the emergence of how this study's fundamental principles (type 1 norms) have come to be constituted. Its subsections discuss the impact of the Indigenous, Africans and Europeans in shaping the early governance of the fishery (1627 -1834); how governance of the fishery evolved during emancipation and the early colonial era (1834 –1950); and, during the birth of an independent Barbados (1950-1970). The overall narrative is also heavily weighted towards the historical era because of the availability of primary and secondary literature. Section 2 covers the period from 1970 – present day. An understanding is gained of how the fishery's standardised procedures (type 2 norms) have been shaped by the historical institutional environment described in Section 1 to establish top-down governance. Its subsections discuss governing the flyingfish fishery in contemporary Barbados; and, the impact of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery's key stakeholders in shaping the contemporary governance of the fishery. The structure of Section 2 departs from Section 1 as it rests heavily on empirical data gathered from the field in 2016. The conclusion sums up the chapter's findings.

⁷⁶ An academic KI has argued of the need to realise that this has not been consistent due to the lack of sustained energies to develop Barbadian fisheries (cf. ACDM4, interview, 2016).

1. The Plantation, Colonial Fisheries, and Independence

1.1. The Beginnings: Indigenous, Africans and Europeans (1627 -1834)

Barbados' first formal settlement was established by British colonists in 1627⁷⁷ (Beckles, 1990, pp. 7). However, before the arrival of the colonists, the islands of the West Indies, of which Barbados is a part, had already been settled by aboriginal natives (Parry, Sherlock and Maingot, 1987). Historic literary sources observe that fish was an important source of food security for the Barbadian aboriginal natives (cf. Bair, 1962; Welch, 2005). This claim has been shored up by archaeological findings which reveal excavated flyingfish as well as other pelagic fish bones and fishing tools in the North and South of Barbados⁷⁸ (cf. Barton, 1953; Drewett and Oliver, 1997; Fitzpatrick, 2000). Within these sources however, there is minimal detail regarding how the Europeans interacted with the aboriginal natives to develop Barbadian fishing traditions. This is perhaps because as several academic KIs relayed "Barbadians were taught in school that there were no or few Amerindians here when the British settled"⁷⁹ (ACDM3 cf. ACDM1, ACDM4, interviews, 2016).

The mainstay of the early British Barbadian colonists was the production of tobacco and cotton, for which, a significant labour force was amassed based on enslaved labour⁸⁰. Interestingly, with Barbados' it was white indentured servants who first bore the burden of Barbadian labour. White indentured servants were poor British men and women who were contracted for up to 7 years to work as servants for white planters⁸¹. By 1637, sugar was introduced to the island along with enslaved Africans to cultivate the sugar plantations. Unlike the indentured whites, Africans were enslaved for life and their offspring born into slavery (Beckles, 1990, pp. 15; Alleyne, 1998, pp 46). What emerged is the beginnings of a highly stratified Barbados with a rich agro-mercantile elite whose labour demands were satisfied by both enslaved blacks and poor white indentured servants (McConney et al., 2003a, pp. 14). I draw attention to these domestic divisions of

⁷⁷ The first official colonial settlement was on the leeward coast of Barbados, present day Holetown. For a precise history of the early colonial Barbadian settlements (cf. Beckles, 1990).

⁷⁸ Drewett and Oliver's (1997) study reveals pre-historic Amerindian presence and evidence of fishing at one of the study's research sites, i.e. the Six Men's, Heywoods. Heywoods is the site on which Port St. Charles is now located. This is discussed further in chapter 7.

⁷⁹ While British colonists produced the first formal Barbadian settlement, both Spanish and Portuguese conquistadors reported landing there in the early 16th century. Throughout the West Indies the native Amerindian population were largely wiped out by the Spanish. For more information (cf. Parry, Sherlock and Maingot, 1987; Beckles, 1990).

⁸⁰ This model of slave labour was formalised through the plantation system created by the Spanish and later cemented by the British (cf. Beckles, 1990).

⁸¹ The contributions of white indentured servants to the early Barbadian plantation economy is often over-looked in the literature (cf. Beckles, 1990).

race/colour, class, and nationality because these early social dynamics helped to shape the rights afforded to these plantation labourers. Moreover, they influenced how fishing came to be characterised as the main peasant industry in colonial Barbados.

The social order of early colonial Barbados had the plantocracy controlling the island's political and social system. Blacks were at the bottom. White indentured servants on the other hand, although the conditions of their employment were akin to black slavery, were not slaves. In fact, they were afforded rights, such as the right to complain about ill treatment from their masters (Beckles, 1990, pp. 17, 33). Despite sugar's dominance, one of the most common themes in Barbados' early colonial literature is the abundance of flyingfish in Barbadian waters (cf. Ligon, 1657; Hughes, 1750; Schomburg, 1848). This literature details scenes which suggest that a flyingfish fishery was well established on the island within the early days of European settlement. Welch (2005, pp. 22) provides illustrations from two British surgeons. The first from John Atkins, who in 1722 observed:

the way of feeding such a Multitude, and of providing the
Necessaries in an island yielding little besides sugar is
principally by their fisheries and importations. The sea
gives them plenty of fish ...particularly flying fish [sic].

The second is from George Pinckard in the late 18th century, whose vivid imagery detailed that "...the fish is about the size of a herring. They are caught in great numbers near Barbados, where they are pickled, and salted, and used as a very common food" (Welch, 2005, pp. 22). According to Welch, these observations illuminate the importance of flyingfish to the early Barbadian diet. This was particularly so in a time when most of the arable land that could be utilised to grow local food crops was set aside for planting sugar, and the bulk of food required to maintain the diets of free and enslaved people imported (Ibid, 2005, pp. 22). Barbados' dependence on imported foods during the early colonial days, particularly dried salt fish harvested in the North Atlantic, to supplement the diets of enslaved Africans is well documented. This was a common practice throughout the British Caribbean's plantation system (cf. Williams, 1944; Halcrow and Cave, 1947; Welch, 2005). Antoine-Belle (2011) observes the reason for this was that despite the Caribbean's exploitable maritime bounties, salt fish was cheaply imported, and so long as it remained

competitive with other meats, there was no incentive to develop or expand local fisheries. Local fisheries therefore were not an organized industry during early colonial Barbados (Bair, 1962).

Literature that speaks to the social dimensions of Barbados' early colonial fish trade provides only a generalised account. Price's (1966) *Caribbean Fishing and Fishermen: A Historical Sketch* observed that enslaved plantation workers who also fished (mostly men) occupied a unique position in the plantation's social strata due to their exchanges of fishing techniques with the early colonists. According to Price, the enslaved who fished were therefore perceived to be non-threatening to the plantation economy and culture. The accuracy of Price's account is debatable however, particularly given that the most basic precepts of justice that would provide for the rights of slaves were certainly not secure (Antoine-Belle 2011). How fisherfolk were constituted by their gendered roles is also important. This is because, as Welch (2005, pp. 28) highlights, the practice of fishing did not only include fishermen. In urban market centres enslaved persons and free coloureds⁸² were identified participating in the early fishing industry through fish sales, vending, and frying. Although Welch does not explicitly document females dominating these occupations, the evolution of gendered roles in the fishery indicate this was probably the case. A distinguishing feature of Barbados' enslaved black population was its female majority. There was no sexual division of field labour⁸³ (Beckles 1990, pp. 51). However, this was presumably different for women in fisheries, i.e. men's roles were limited to the sea and females to the land⁸⁴.

These domestic social realities crafting early governance of the fishery would also be influenced by the ideas and traditions attached to Anglo-Caribbean regionalism as a formative aspect of British colonialism. The project of Anglo-Caribbean regionalism dates to the pre-emancipation era. Initially, it was a construct of the British colonial authorities as an administrative cost-saving device for their colonial holdings (Revauger, 2008, pp. 856). The first attempt was in 1663 to federate the Leeward Islands that were being governed from Barbados (Sewell, 1997, pp. 14-15). The second attempt where Barbados

⁸² Free coloureds were identified as the descendants of white slave owners who slept with slave women and fathered mulatto children. These children born into slavery had to be granted manumission from their white slave owner fathers. Manumission is referred to freedom as a gift. They were also free blacks who were granted who were granted manumission (Beckles, 1990, pp. 63-66).

⁸³ For more information on the history and role of enslaved women in early Barbadian society (cf. Beckles, 1989)

⁸⁴ An academic KI closely tied to the history of Barbadian fisheries, relayed that one of Barbados' prominent female vendors, Berinda Cox, shared with him that women going to sea, at least occasionally, was more prevalent in her childhood (early 1900s) than in the 1990s (cf. ACDM3 interview, 2016).

was as the centre of Anglo-Caribbean regionalism was in 1876, where the governor of Barbados, John Pope Hennessy, sought to establish a confederation comprised of Barbados, the Windward Islands (St Lucia, Dominica and Grenada) and Tobago. These efforts failed largely because the white planters of Barbados wanted to maintain autonomy and control over the island's fiscal resources (Williams, 1942, pp. 139). In this chapter, I will continue to explain why Barbados' centrality in actualising Anglo-Caribbean regionalism is important for understanding how regional governance of the flyingfish fishery came to be constituted.

1.2. Emancipation and Colonial Fisheries (1834 –1950)

The plantation labour of enslaved blacks and white indentured servants greatly influenced Barbados' colonial social structures. A society was constructed wherein the ownership of land and property—alongside race/colour and class—determined one's social status and political power (Alleyne, 1998, pp. 46). The political tide which had justified the practice and traditions of enslaved labour to fuel the Caribbean British plantation system began to shift with the abolition of slavery in 1834 and emancipation in 1838 (McConney et al., 2003a, pp. 14). However, the white plantocracy did not easily relinquish its social and political power over the island's newly free but largely poor population (Alleyne 1998, pp. 46). Beckles (2004a) explains that the colonial agenda for emancipation was to construct a “landless freedom” for the newly free black community. Beckles suggests this was so because “landlessness for blacks was considered the principal modality by which the White community could maintain its monopoly hold on the economy, the political process, and ensure white elitism” (Beckles, 2004a, pp. 44). White indentured servants also had limited opportunity to acquire land after their contract of servitude expired, thereby creating a white working proletariat. Given their lack of land rights after emancipation, most of the poor whites settled in rural Barbados and took part in subsistence farming (Beckles, 1990, pp. 47). On the other hand, newly freed blacks tended to congregate near urban centres like Bridgetown where skilled apprenticeships and wage labour was readily available (Beckles, 2004b). This highly uneven distribution of productive land resources based on a divisive creed of race/colour and class influenced the development of the island's fisheries, and particularly its fishing communities. In this chapter, I will show how these social divisions of race/colour and class positioned fisheries as one of Barbados' national development priorities.

According to Welch (2005, pp. 3), “one of the first post-slavery references to fishing relates not to Africans, but to poor whites”. Welch cites a report from Major Colthurst⁸⁵, a stipendiary magistrate, documenting:

that the greater number of the lower order of whites were born in the colony and are a most idle and good for nothing set – proud, lazy, and consequently miserably poor. They usually live around the coast as fishermen (Ibid, 2005, pp. 30).

Halcrow and Cave (1947, pp. iv-v) also observed that many of the former enslaved Africans did not have the opportunity to own land until 1895⁸⁶. This is important because fisherfolk were mostly characterised as being from the black peasantry competing for scarce non-plantation land after slavery (McConney, 1995, pp. 35, 37).

The rights afforded to former enslaved Africans and poor whites in Barbadian fisheries during abolition and emancipation are not well-documented. However, Welch (2005, pp. 31) also provides an account from the 1868 memoir of John Bezsins Tyne, a white Barbadian, who captured the racial divisions of labour in the fishery. Tyne observed “a few of the poorest classes of whites ‘fish for a living’ literally ...but the Negroes are the chief fishermen”. Interestingly, contrasting with other British colonies that supplemented the diets of their poorer classes with mainly imported salt fish, flyingfish was also important to the freed blacks and poor white population of Barbados. This was due to the abundance and ease of harvesting flyingfish in Barbadian waters, particularly at a time when imported salt fish was priced out of the reach of underpaid labourers (Welch, 2005). The importance of flyingfish to the Barbadian diet during this era was captured in an 1897 British weekly newspaper, *The Graphic*. Here again, a gendered division of labour is evident. *The Graphic* described:

how flying fish [sic] were harvested, transported to market, and procured by fishwives clad in white with short skirts showing bare shiny black legs, who hoist

⁸⁵ Welch’s summary of Major Colthurst’s report is adapted from Marshall’s (1977) *The Colthurst Journal*, pp. 237 (cf. Welch, 2005, pp. 30).

⁸⁶ Halcrow and Cave (1947, pp. iv-v) claim that numerous Barbadians of African origin went to work in Panama or elsewhere, and, as a result, gained improved purchasing power in the Barbadian economy.

the baskets containing flying fish [sic] on their heads,
and cry their wares through the town (Cumberbatch
and Hinds, 2013, pp. 121).

The early post-emancipation era also brought with it social transformations in the years following World War 1 (1914-1918) due to black political mobilisation. This is a significant point because a radical political movement which sought to enfranchise the black working class took root. Emboldened by the teachings of Jamaican visionary, Marcus Garvey and his transatlantic Pan-Africanism, as well as British Fabian and Marxist socialism, the need to forge an alternative path of anti-colonial consciousness for the labouring working class was born. However the legislative influence of the working class population was limited due to the lack of universal suffrage⁸⁷ (Beckles, 1990, pp. 154-157). Indeed, throughout the colonial West Indies, this lack of universal suffrage gave rise to labour movements in the form of trade unionism as an outlet to mobilise support for the social and political demands of the working class (Revauger, 2008, pp. 858).

The empirical evidence suggests that no formal governance apparatuses existed for British colonial fisheries in general until the onset of World War II (1940-1944). In Barbados however, it was the riot of 1937 that prompted its colonial authorities to take a keen interest in developing the local fishing industry (Bair, 1962; Parker, 2002). The Barbadian economy and social life suffered because of sugar's demise in the early 20th century. Fuelled by a century of "landless freedom" and the rise of the labour movement, the 1937 riot was largely the result of rapidly deteriorating socio-economic conditions upon the working class of Barbados. Barbadian national identity was again evolving. This was the first attempt to significantly shift the power structure of democracy on an island mired by racial stratification⁸⁸ (Beckles, 2004a, pp. 56).

The entry of Grantley Adams into Barbadian politics during the early 1930s is important in this regard. According to Beckles (1990, pp. 159-161), Adams, a coloured Barbadian educated at the University of Oxford, was viewed as the formulator of conservative political opinions. Adams represented the liberal black middle class who, on the one hand, wanted an alternative to the radical politics of black nationalism and socialism, and on the

⁸⁷ Beckles (1990, pp. 157) documents that Barbados' 1901 Representation of the People Act had placed an income qualification on the voting franchise of £50 per annum and a freehold qualification of the rental of land and properties at £5 or more annually.

⁸⁸ Other Caribbean scholars outside of Beckles have written on the social and economic history of the Caribbean. See for example, the work of (Brewster and Thomas, 1967; Lewis, 2004).

other, wanted to limit the white plantocracy's domination over the economy. Yet this remained stymied by Barbados' socio-political structures. Although the post-emancipation Barbadian black community was highly educated⁸⁹, there was no parallel growth of their participation or representation in the institutions of resource ownership (Beckles, 2004a, pp. 56, 60). Here it is important to explain the relationship between race/colour and class in post-emancipation Anglo-Caribbean society. Throughout the Anglo-Caribbean, one's identity and the entitlements afforded to them have largely been structured on stratifications particularly borne of British plantation society. As Premdas (1996, pp. 6) explains "today, for the most part, the Black-White cleavage has been institutionalised mainly in a colour-class system of stratification in which race, culture, and economic factors are combinationally [sic] nuanced"⁹⁰. This undoubtedly affected the formation of a hierarchical Barbadian national identity within which the rights afforded to one to participate or be represented in institutions of resource ownership was based on a long-standing creed of race/colour and class relations.

Notwithstanding, the 1937 riot led to a visit in 1938 from the Royal Commission to conduct investigations into all facets of the island's economic life, including fisheries. Their findings indicated that the large imported quantities of salt fish provided evidence that fish was a popular item in the Barbadian diet. The Commission therefore engaged the idea that if fresh fish was available it would be preferred. With the food shortages brought by the onset of World War II, initial efforts to formally govern Barbadian fisheries were then enacted by the British government (Bair, 1962). This was done alongside attempts to consolidate governance of the colony islands under the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission⁹¹. Part of the mandate of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission (not to be confused with the Royal Commission) was on improving the "coordination of research related to human nutrition, agriculture, forestry and fisheries" (Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, 1943, pp. 1). Barbados was chosen as the administrative centre of the British headquarters of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission and for the Royal Commission. This naturally enhanced the importance of Barbados to the British empire and illuminates the centrality of Barbados'

⁸⁹ Beckles (2004a) explains that these landless masses constituting former freed black slaves cultivated a deep obsession with education as the only way up from poverty and despair. For more information on the literacy levels of post-emancipation Barbadian society (Beckles, 2004a, pp. 196).

⁹⁰ A good resource to understand race/colour and class relations in post-emancipation Anglo-Caribbean society is (Holt, 1992).

⁹¹ The Anglo-American Caribbean Commission was an official international advisory body which represented the interests of the United Kingdom, United States, France and Netherlands, particularly during the onset and aftermath of World War II. For more information on the work of the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission (cf. McConney et al., 2003a; Gilbert-Roberts, 2013).

role as a regional centre for the Anglo-Caribbean and colonial fisheries (Ibid, 1943, pp. 1).

During the post-World War II era, the pursuit of political independence was widespread throughout the Caribbean. Rooted in nationalist thought and linked to the labour movements of the 1930s, there were calls for unification and integration amongst the Anglo-Caribbean's domestic political leaders. The rise of the labour movements was significant because, in 1938, Barbados' first major political party, the Barbados Labour Party (BLP), was founded⁹². However, its leader, Adams, was characterised as a colonial moderate by several of the BLP's rank and file (Beckles 1990, pp. 168). As Beckles (1990, pp. 169) explains, Adams "was considered the kind of man the Colonial Office wanted to lead ... to undermine radical black nationalists and socialists alike", and, as such, had "cemented his reputation in the Colonial Office as a man to be trusted to protect British colonial interests (Ibid 1990, pp. 184). Despite this, having to appease his political base, Adams became a staunch advocate for Barbados' labour movement and the fight for universal adult suffrage throughout the 1940s (Ibid 1990, pp. 177-178).

By the 1940s, Barbados claimed the reputation of having the most developed political and judicial administration of the British colonies (Beckles, 2004a, pp. 62). This too was reflected in the regulatory beginnings of the island's fisheries. The first detailed and comprehensive report of Barbados' fisheries was conducted in 1942 by British scientist, H.H. Brown. Upon Brown's recommendations, the Fisheries Division was established in 1944 to be overseen by a Fisheries Officer and assisted by a Fisheries Advisory Committee (Parker, 2002). Much of the developments in the fishing industry in the subsequent half-century focused on economic and technological advancements⁹³. In comparison, social changes affecting Barbadian fisherfolk and the rights afforded to them are not well-documented (McConney et al., 2003a, pp. 14). The following therefore provides some insight into these social changes leading up to Barbados' independence in 1966.

⁹² The Barbados Labour Party changed its name to the Barbados Progressive League in 1938 and later back to the Barbados Labour party in 1944 (Beckles 1990).

⁹³ See Appendix C, Exhibit 1 for a timeline of these economic and technological advancements.

According to Barbados' first Fisheries Officer, Dudley Wiles⁹⁴, who was a white Barbadian:

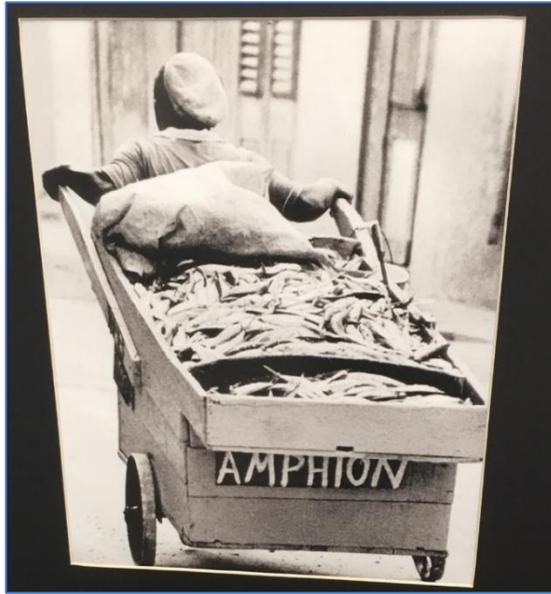
prior to 1942, little to no attention had been paid to the fishing industry by the Government, so much so, that the Barbadian fisherman found himself in a class below that of the agricultural labourer economically; as such, he set his own standards, which to him may have been satisfactory, but to other more intelligent people repulsive, unreliable and uncooperative (Wiles, 1949, pp. 68).

Wiles' observations could have been due to the perception that fisherfolk had low socio-political status in Barbadian society. It is also worth mentioning that legislative price controls were instituted by the Barbadian colonial government in 1942 to ensure that staple commodities, like fish, did not become targets of the black-market⁹⁵ during World War II. Because of this, the formal emergence of gendered dynamics also factored in the early governance of the flyingfish fishery. Before the development of primary landing and distribution sites, excess landings were normally sold to women, generally vendors and hawkers— the latter who transported fish further inland (see Figure 1).

⁹⁴ The available literature and personal reports from the study's Key Informants indicate that Wiles was presumably descendant from the plantocracy or white indentured servants.

⁹⁵ Within this study's context this term black-market means illicit or contraband.

Figure 1. Picture of Barbadian Hawker Woman Transporting Flyingfish



Source: (Soares, 2016 via Barbados Fisheries Division). Photograph taken by author at Barbados Fisheries Division during the 2016 Fisherman's week Display.

However, it has been generally considered that when the legislative price controls were instituted, a process began whereby Barbadian fishermen have continued to express a sense of marked disadvantage to Barbadian female fish vendors⁹⁶. This is because as women began to solidify their status in Barbados' public markets particularly after World War II, and especially when landings of flyingfish were low, fishermen (excluding boatowners) were seen to have limited bargaining power and not able to amass any substantial profits. The perception existed (and still exists to present-day) about vendors and hawkers (mostly women) habitually colluding on the price they pay fishermen for flyingfish. This resulted in fishermen having a low self-perception of their status in Barbadian society (Bair, 1962; Parker, 2002). The evolution of these 'inverse' gendered norms wherein women are seen as superior to men within Barbados' flyingfish fishery economy are certainly worthwhile themes to explore in further research.

By 1944, one of the mandates of the newly minted Fisheries Division was the upgrading of fish landing and marketing sites. This point is important because it provides insight about the distribution of land and capital for fisheries development pre-independence. In 1947, the Barbadian fishing industry was still characterised as a peasant industry wherein

⁹⁶ The legislated price controls of fish were lifted in 1972. For more information (cf. Parker 2002).

all landed fish was consumed locally (Halcrow and Cave, 1947, pp. vii). Fishing was characterised as a small-scale individualistic operation. It was a common practice for fishermen, who normally owned their own boats, to land and sell their catches close to home from the beach where their boat operated. Their customers were largely people who had foregathered and who lived in the immediate community, thereby establishing true fishing communities (Bair, 1962).

1.3. The Birth of a Nation (1950 – 1970)

By the 1950s, Barbados' colonial authorities had a clear interest in advancing local fisheries. This was evidenced with the first Fishing Industry Act being passed in 1952 as well as the investments in new and upgraded landing sites close to the island's major marketing centres—Bridgetown, Oistins and Speightstown (Colonial Office, 1954; Parker, 2002). Throughout the 1950s-70s, Barbados' socio-political structures would again be transformed. Beckles (2004a, pp. 83) has documented that due to the attainment of universal adult suffrage in 1950, with a black majority populace, the white Barbadian elite recognised “the ‘only way’ to protect their economic power was to accommodate black political power within the context of popular democracy”. At the same time, the global and regional landscape of the British West Indies was also evolving. The United Kingdom put its colonies on a formally federated path of regionalism as well as nationalised self-government. It was in this context that Barbados' present-day dominant political parties were established. Adams' BLP government successfully contended the 1951 elections. However, Adams' political conservatism and protection of the white corporate elite would be challenged by socialist factions within his own party through the leadership of Errol Barrow. Barrow and his followers ceded from the BLP to establish the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) in 1955. Adams and the BLP were nevertheless successful in the 1956 elections (Beckles 1990, pp. 185-193). Perhaps given his close alliances with both the British colonial agenda and calls for nationalised Anglo-Caribbean independence, Adams' re-election was significant as his politics continued to fuel the construction of a Barbadian national identity tied to both Caribbean regionalism and nationalism.

The idea of integrating the Caribbean through a federalised union had been a priority of the colonial authorities especially after World War II. It is therefore relevant to explain the history behind Anglo-Caribbean regional integration to understand how the regional

norms governing the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery have emerged. In the years leading up to Barbadian independence, regional integration of the Anglo-Caribbean was accomplished through the formation of the Federation of the British West Indies. Federation discussions date back to the 1947 Montego Bay conference in Jamaica. This led to the official creation of the Federation in 1958 established by the British Caribbean Federation Act of 1956 with the mandate of establishing a political union among its members. The Federation comprised the ten British colonial territories of: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, the then St Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, Saint Lucia, St Vincent and Trinidad and Tobago⁹⁷ (Revauger, 2008, pp. 859; The Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011). Arguably for Britain, the idea of a 'Federation' grew out of the desire to disassociate from the unpopular legacy of colonial slavery and to prepare the colonies for their collective desire for independence (Brzovic 2015, pp. 13-14). In 1958, Adams emerged as both Premier of Barbados and Federal Prime Minister of the British West Indies⁹⁸. It is notable that the main countries that stood behind the Federation were Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana. These territories were considered the most economically important islands in Britain's Caribbean colonial empire due to their population, land mass, potential for development and colonial interests. Essentially, the Federation laid the political foundations for the establishment of a contemporary regional community for the Anglo-Caribbean colonies. It was headquartered in Trinidad where Adams took up his post (Beckles, 1990, pp. 194-195).

From its inception however, the Federation's prospects were hindered by differences in national political jurisdictions, geographical distance and economic wealth. Most problematic was the reluctance of the larger countries, chiefly, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, to assume financial responsibility for the smaller Anglo-Caribbean states (Brzovic, 2015, pp. 13). Furthermore, Beckles (1990, pp. 196-197) suggests that Adams' liberal politics was considered "anachronistic by both the radical nationalist Eric Williams and Fabian socialist Norman Manley" of Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, respectively. By 1960, the Federation was crumbling due to the Anglo-Caribbean leaders' inability to come to terms on how integration would be actualised. Its most ardent supporters were

⁹⁷ For more information about evolution of the Anglo-Caribbean's regional institutions (cf. The Caribbean Community Secretariat, 2011).

⁹⁸ Before Anglo-Caribbean colonies achieved independence, the title of Premier was used to refer to the first/head of government. The title of Federal Prime Minister was used to refer to first/head of government of the British West Indies Federation colonies each of which had their own Premier. After the Anglo-Caribbean colonies achieved independence the title of Prime Minister was used to refer to the first/head of government.

also replaced by new Anglo-Caribbean leaders who were anti-federal in ideology. The political priority for the region's new political leaders shifted to securing independence and establishing true self-government. The Federation's impending collapse and Adams' absence from Barbados' domestic scene eventually led to his political demise. In 1961, Barrow of the DLP was elected as next Premier of Barbados⁹⁹. By 1962, the Federation was fully dissolved. Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago were the first two islands to gain independence in 1962 with Barbados and British Guiana following suit in 1966 (Brzovic, 2015, pp. 14; Payne, 2008).

By the mid-1960s, most of Britain's other Caribbean colonies were also on a path to achieving self-government. Embarking as newly independent states with limited financial and political resources, integration remained high on the regional political agenda. This led to the conception of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) in 1968, then the Caribbean Community in 1973, and later, in 2001, the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM)¹⁰⁰. Barbados continued to play a central role as a founding nation-state in establishing the regional governance mechanisms of the present-day CARICOM, including those for fisheries. However, the viability of the CARICOM integration project continues to be questioned, insofar as it is hindered by Anglo-Caribbean state's interests in maintaining national sovereignty, thereby foregrounding the normative tensions around what a regional community ought to mean (cf. Bravo, 2006; Bishop and Payne, 2010; Gilbert-Roberts, 2013).

On the domestic scene, Beckles (1990, pp. 201) argues that the election of Barrow and his DLP government represented a progressive departure from Barbados' colonial foundations. By 1966, distinct ideologies had come to characterise the island's two main political parties. The first was Adams' BLP that drifted to the right for the protection and enhancement of the powerful corporate elements of the former white planter elite. The second, Barrow's DLP, maintained its image of being left of centre and was seen to be in opposition to big business. Yet, the DLP had also amassed significant mercantile support and going into the post-independence era, there were criticisms levelled against both parties by the black majority populace that they were too cautious about addressing white

⁹⁹ See supranote 106.

¹⁰⁰ The decision to establish the Caribbean Community was brought into fruition at the Eighth Heads of Government Conference of CARIFTA held in April 1973 in Georgetown, Guyana. Original signatories to the Treaty were Prime Ministers Errol Barrow for Barbados; Forbes Burnham for Guyana; Michael Manley of Jamaica; Eric Williams for Trinidad and Tobago (cf. The CARICOM Secretariat, 2011). For more information on the phases of Caribbean integration and the regionalism project (Bishop and Payne, 2010; Gilbert-Roberts, 2013).

economic domination (Beckles, 1990, pp. 204; 2004a, pp. 85-86). This foregrounds the argument presented in Chapter 7 that Barbados' working-class interests were constructed to be less important to that of the economic interests of the white elite in forging Barbados' national development priorities.

Barrow served as Barbados' Premier from 1961-1966 and Prime Minister from 1966-1976¹⁰¹. Under his leadership, the embedded stratifications of the colonial era continued to define Barbados' social structures. Beckles (2004a, pp. 87) explains that Barrow, a staunch labour advocate, sought to loosen the white commercial elite's hold over policy and the economy by diversifying the country's economic base away from sugar to tourism. With the decline of sugar, throughout the Anglo-Caribbean, tourism was positioned as the main driver of national development and economic growth because harnessing the wealth of natural coastal resources had proved lucrative. However, in Barbados, Barrow failed to achieve a corresponding structural change in the white elite's ownership of the island's productive resources because of the embedded stratifications of the colonial era. This affected how Barbadian fisherfolk and the rights afforded to them to access Barbados' valuable coastal space were constructed in early post-independent Barbados. Regarding this, McConney et al. (2003a, pp. 17) observe the settlement patterns along the Barbadian coast, whereby, a few landing sites became associated with fishing communities. Interestingly, part of the mandate of the Fisheries Division was also to secure ownership for access to beach areas for fisheries development. Bair (1962, pp. 44) documents that "fishermen were to be assured free use of beaches and unmolested entry to them". Quite strikingly, Bair also captures the potential of political undercurrents, intimating that rivalry with tourism for valuable coastal space would be inevitable, this time foregrounding the normative tensions around what 'sustainable development' ought to mean.

Notwithstanding, during the 1960s-1970s, Barbadian fisheries and fisherfolk were still receiving significant attention from its government authorities. Official aid and direction for the industry was received from Barbadian development partners, such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation and the United Nations Development Programme¹⁰². However, the dominant theme was increased production and expanding the range of

¹⁰¹ See supranote 106.

¹⁰² Noted is that this development assistance for Barbadian fisheries was focused on expanding the distant water shrimp fleet and not necessarily the flyingfish fishery (ACDM3 interview, 2016).

fishing activities; institutionalising the rights of Barbadian fisherfolk was not a priority (McConney et al., 2003a). The colonial reports for the years 1956 and 1957 still refer to the island's fishing industry as a peasant industry, thereby intimating that the rights of Barbadian fisherfolk were not a part of any formal regulatory colonial agenda (Colonial Office, 1959). In fact, the interests of ordinary Barbadian fisherfolk were not represented until 1961 on the Fisheries Advisory Committee (FAC) that was established almost 20 years prior. McConney et al. (2003a, pp. 23) note that the early FAC comprised elite actors, namely, civil servants and sports fishing businessmen. Notwithstanding, fishing was still perceived to be an insecure occupation, and, both men and women involved in fisheries were of low socio-political status. Nevertheless, the Barbadian flyingfish fishery has attracted much of the attention of the Barbados Fisheries Division over the last 50 years because of the fishery's importance to the island's food security (Parker, 2002).

2. Governing the Flyingfish Fishery in Contemporary Barbados (1970 – Present)

2.1. Contemporary Governance Dynamics of the Barbadian Flyingfish Fishery

Continued social relations of race/colour, class, nationality and gender have been reproduced in the contemporary governance structures of the island's flyingfish fishery. This is important because the fishery's standardised governance procedures (type 2 norms) have been shaped by the historical institutional environment described in Section 1 of this chapter to establish top-down governance. Moreover, these reproductions of top-down governance have affected how Barbadian fisherfolk and the rights afforded to them have come to be constructed in contemporary Barbados. To explain, Barbados' post-independence environment essentially resulted in a socio-political arrangement between white corporate power dominating the economy and black political power the state. Control over the state has vacillated between the islands two main political parties the Barbados Labour Party (BLP) and the Democratic Labour Party (DLP)—with the former ideology right of centre and the latter left of centre (Beckles, 2004a).

The historical accounts documented in Section 1 of this chapter identified that poor whites and blacks have contributed to the development of the fishing industry; however, with blacks dominating its labour-intensive aspects. In the present-day, whites, many descended from white indentured servants, are recreational fisherfolk (i.e. tournament anglers, sport fisherfolk) (ACDM3 interview, 2016). It is worth mentioning here that governing responsibilities for Barbadian fisheries have historically fallen on the government agencies directly concerned with it (McConney, 1995). In post-independence Barbados, this is now the Ministry Agriculture, Food, Fisheries, and Water Resource Management (BIG, 2018). The government agencies with direct portfolio oversight are the Ministry of Agriculture's Fisheries and Markets Divisions – the former's emphasis is on the industry's harvest and the latter its post-harvest activities¹⁰³ (McConney et al., 2012). Governance is formally administered from the top-down by the Minister of Agriculture, the Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture (who acts as the sector's executive decision maker), and the Chief Fisheries Officer. These actors are

¹⁰³ See Appendix C, Exhibit 7 for a sex disaggregated illustration of the current governance structure of the Barbados Fisheries Division. See Appendix C, Exhibit 8 for an illustration of the current governance structure of the Barbados Markets Division. There is a significant amount of overlap between the jurisdictions of the Fisheries and Markets Divisions especially as it pertains to the activities at public markets, and thus, post-harvest activities of the fishery. Explaining those overlaps is out of the scope of this study. For more information (cf. GOB Fisheries Division, 2003; McConney et al., 2003a).

advised by the Fisheries Advisory Committee (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003). After Wiles' departure in 1967, Barbados' second appointed Fisheries Officer was also a white Englishman Robert Hastings. Hastings was relieved of his post in 1983 (ACDM3 interview, 2016). Since then, the Chief Fisheries Officer¹⁰⁴ and Minister of Agriculture have been black Barbadians. Despite this, McConney (1995, pp. 174) has charged that the ties between fisherfolk and government are few and weak. A reason for this could be that fisherfolk are still characterised as being from the former black peasantry. Moreover, the social image of fisherfolk being "uncooperative" captured earlier being expressed by Wiles, Barbados' first Fisheries Officer, has persisted (McConney, 1995, pp. 37). In turn, Barbadian fisherfolk have come to "hold stereotypical images of government officials as self-serving and oppressive of lower classes", and so, unable to communicate effectively on matters particularly affecting their rights (Ibid, 1995 pp. 90).

Since the late colonial era, national regulatory oversight of Barbadian fisheries has received minimal attention. Nevertheless, by the early 1990s, the contemporary governance environment for Barbados' flyingfish fishery has been shaped by the following instruments detailed at length in Appendix C. Their political implications are discussed in the study's subsequent empirical chapters. Barbados is signatory to several binding international agreements and a member of several international and regional inter-governmental organizations that have stakes in the contemporary governance of Caribbean flyingfish, the most notable being, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), the Food and Agriculture Organisation's Western Central Atlantic Fisheries Commission (FAO-WECAFC), and the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism (CRFM)¹⁰⁵. Barbados also has several domestic government agencies and departments as well as non-governmental organizations and institutions that have a direct association with the contemporary governance mechanisms of the fishery, the most notable being, the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries, Food, Water and Resource Management and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade¹⁰⁶. There are also several pieces of national legislation that are the core of the island's fisheries policies,

¹⁰⁴ The title of Chief Fisheries Officer was only created in 1990 before that the head of the Barbadian fisheries department was simply characterised as Fisheries Officer (ACDM3 interview, 2016).

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix C, Exhibits 2 and 3 for the international agreements that Barbados is signatory to as well as the international and regional inter-governmental organizations of which Barbados is a member that are relevant to the contemporary governance of its flyingfish fishery.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix C, Exhibits 4 and 5 for the local Barbadian governance agencies and departments and non-governmental organisations and institutions that are relevant to developing the contemporary governance mechanisms of the flyingfish fishery.

though none are specific to the flyingfish fishery¹⁰⁷. The most significant are the Fisheries Act (1993, amended 2000) and the Fisheries (Management) Regulations (1998). There also exists the 2004 – 2006 Barbados Fisheries Management Plan¹⁰⁸ (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003).

It is worth briefly unpacking how Barbadian fisheries are governed by its most significant national regulatory instruments. The Fisheries Act of 1993, as amended in 2000, is largely based on the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean states harmonised legislation¹⁰⁹. The Act covers: fisheries management and development schemes; the establishment of a fisheries advisory committee; fisheries access agreements; local and foreign fishing licensing; sport (recreational and game) fishing; registration of fishing vessels; construction and alteration of fishing vessels; fisheries research; inspection and safety at sea; fisheries enforcement; obligation to supply information; and, prohibiting the use of explosives, poisons or other noxious substances. Section 4(1) of the Fisheries Act mandates the Chief Fisheries Officer to “develop and keep under review schemes for the management and development of fisheries in the waters of Barbados” (McConney et al., 2003b, pp. 27). This was accomplished in 1997 through a fisheries management planning process which resulted in the island’s first Fisheries Management Plan (FMP). The Fisheries (Management) Regulations of 1998 were borne as an output of the 1997 fisheries management planning process (McConney et al., 2003b, pp. 27). The regulations cover prohibited fishing methods and closed seasons for specific fisheries, such as, the sea-egg fishery; the harvesting of lobsters and turtles carrying eggs; the regulation of tuna catch sizes; and, the protection of coral (ILO, 2014). The 2004-2006 Barbados FMP is the island’s third. This FMP covers the period 1st January 2004 to 31st December 2006 and contains information on the status of the local fishing industry and planning processes. It also outlines broadly the strategies for the development and management of the fishing industry and is said to inform the basis for fisheries policy, management and administration and guide the formulation and implementation of fisheries legislation (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003). Although these instruments impart a significant amount of governance oversight, the rights of Barbadian fisherfolk are not articulated or represented, nor, as mentioned before, is there any specific governance guidance related

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix C, Exhibit 6 for the Barbadian legislations that are relevant to the contemporary governance of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery.

¹⁰⁸ This is the third iteration of the Barbados Fisheries Management Plan.

¹⁰⁹ Barbados is not a member of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States. The political reasons for Barbados’ adoption of harmonised legislation and the island’s lack of Membership in this sub-regional Eastern Caribbean organisation is out of the scope of this thesis.

to the flyingfish fishery. Moreover, through to the present-day, attempts to revise these policy instruments have been patchy at best.

In fact, there exists only two main mechanisms for the formal inclusion of fisherfolks' interests in the contemporary decision-making apparatuses of the fishery. The first is the Fisheries Advisory Committee (FAC) slated to be representative of industry occupations¹¹⁰. However, academic studies (cf. McConney et al., 2003a), as well as reports from this study's KIs, highlight that conflict exists between state officials with oversight for Barbadian fisheries and the FAC. Several academics as well as fisherfolk who served in leadership roles on the FAC claimed that the FAC is now largely defunct (cf. ACDF1, ACDF2, ACDM4, BNFF1, BNFF2, interviews, 2016). Several of these academics also expressed strong sentiments that "ninety percent of the Ministers [we've] had don't care about fisheries anyway" (cf. ACDF1 and ACDM3 interviews, 2016). Interestingly, a government official attached to the Markets Division equally shared that "governance of the island's fisheries has been archaic". Ironically, he went further to charge that "there is a dependency on fisherfolk to lead and guide the management and development initiatives of the industry". This official suggested that because of this "responsibilities for governing Barbadian fisheries should be removed from the state and transferred to the fisherfolk" (GOVMM5 interview, 2016). It is perhaps unsurprising that the then Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture was uncertain of any strategic plan being in place for Barbados' fishing industry, and, described the sector as an "informal industry" (GOVMM2 interview, 2016). The second mechanism is the Barbados National Union of Fisherfolk Organisations (BARNUFO). BARNUFO was conceived in 1999 to interface with the state as an umbrella fishing organisation representative of the interests of its member fisherfolk organisations and individuals (Blackman et al., 2013; McConney et al., 2017). This study's subsequent empirical chapters reveal that although BARNUFO has been welcomed by the state, Barbadian fisherfolk tend to be wary that BARNUFO is not holistically representative of their interests.

Despite the perception that Barbadian fisherfolk have weak status and political authority in contemporary Barbados, they have received support and benefitted from several government concessions. Namely, direct subsidies and subsidised services including: tax

¹¹⁰ See Appendix C, Exhibit 9 for a composition of the Fisheries Advisory Committee.

and duty-free subsidies on fishing equipment and boat repair; a \$0.75 cents (BDS)¹¹¹ daily charge for the use of marketing facilities for fish vending; and, free use of water and electricity at boatyards and landing sites. Moreover, most persons attached to the industry do not pay any taxes or simply avoid doing so¹¹². Since 2000, the Barbadian government has also provided an annual subvention of \$50,000 (BDS) to facilitate the operations of BARNUFO (cf. McConney, 2011, pp. 67; GOVMM2; SXMM5; BNFF1; BNFF2 interviews, 2016). One might question then the socio-political implications of characterising the industry as “informal” captured earlier being expressed by the then Ministry of Agriculture’s Permanent Secretary. The Permanent Secretary who went as far to equate Barbados’ fisherfolk to “people selling nuts and coconuts on the side-walk” explained that “these peasant industries thrive when the economy is suffering because they are easy to join” (GOVMM2 interview, 2016). However, several older fishermen viewed the government’s support and incentives as an issue of dependence on the state, fuelling the belief that fisherfolk are not recognised as adequately contributing to the economy (SPTM1 and BTGM 3 interviews, 2016). The latter accounts sit in stark contrast to the perception that Barbadian “fishermen feel government should look after them” (Cecil, 1999, pp. 15), and also supported by an academic who expressed that, “fisherfolk don’t pay anything and think that government is supposed to give them everything” (ACDF1 interview, 2016).

2.2. The Barbadian Flyingfish Fishery’s Key Local Stakeholders

How the social intersections of race/colour, class, nationality and gender have continued to factor in the constitution of the fishery’s key local stakeholders are also relevant. This is because despite the industry’s perceived informality, the surprising and overwhelming view held by this study’s KIs is that fishing is the island’s second most important industry behind tourism. Of course, this sentiment expressed by the study’s KIs might be construed as a biased assessment given that they are involved in fisheries. Nevertheless, the flyingfish fishery as a local industry has been particularly beneficial for the livelihoods and food security of the poorer classes of Barbadians. The sector has supported several small businesses and self-employed persons who otherwise would have limited opportunities (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003).

¹¹¹ The Barbados dollar is fixed to the US dollar and pegged at an exchange rate of 2:1.

¹¹² Note that there is a fish landing ‘toll’ – a tax usually paid by boatowners (when not cheating the system) as mostly the primary landing sites, like the Bridgetown Fisheries Complex (ACDM3 interview, 2016).

The most significant underexplored social theme in the contemporary era is how gendered dynamics have continued to play a role in constructing governance. Although not much has changed in the labour divisions of the flyingfish fishery from the earlier accounts, gender in Caribbean fisheries has significant potential for important research findings¹¹³. For example, recent research has focused on aligning the regional and national policy space with the normative declarations found in various global instruments which seek to link fishing rights with human rights¹¹⁴ (cf. CERMES - GIFT, 2017). In Barbados, the extant research on gender in fisheries has evaluated the social relations of kinship ties, social networks and livelihoods in the industry's harvest and post-harvest sub-sectors (cf. McConney, 1995, 1997; McConney et al., 2012). The socio-political implications of the distribution of power in the gendered relations of the fishery do not factor in these studies however. It is appropriate then to briefly unpack how these gendered relations have influenced the constitution of the fishery's key local stakeholders and the distribution of power in the industry via its harvest and post-harvest sub-sectors.

Men tend to dominate the harvest sub-sector of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery with the primary stakeholders being fishermen and boat-owners. A distinction should be made here between fishermen characterised as having limited bargaining power— and boat-owners characterised as having more rights and power in the industry. The post-harvest sub-sector is dominated by women. It involves the activities of the fishery after the catch is landed until it reaches the consumers. In the Barbadian flyingfish fishery women tend to occupy the roles of vendors, small-scale processors, hawkers, boners, scalers and exporters (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003). According to the current President of BARNUFO, who is a woman, it is important also to account for “women as wives of fishermen and boatowners” (BNFF1 interview, 2016). Her point was that gendered relations affect the distribution of power in the fishery from the marketplace to the household, for example, women being in control of the sale of fish and how money is spent in the household.

It is also worth drawing attention to the evolution of gendered roles in the flyingfish industry. It was mentioned earlier in Section 1.2, that after World War II, women

¹¹³ Gender in fisheries is generally a relatively new research space. For more information (cf. Gee, 2016; FAO, 2017b).

¹¹⁴ The push to solidify the Caribbean research agenda on gender in fisheries has been guided recently by the 2012 Voluntary Guidelines for the Responsible Governance of Tenure (Part 3B, Section 4), as well as the 2015 Voluntary Guidelines to Secure the Rights of Small-Scale Fisheries (Part 2, Section 8). For more information (cf. FAO, 2012, 2015).

benefitted from the introduction of formal public markets. According to a high-level official attached to the Fisheries Division:

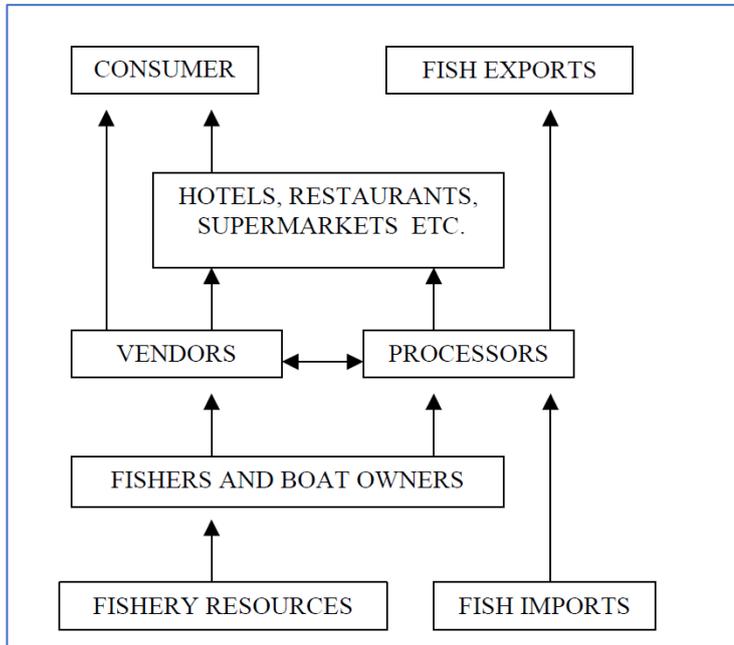
from a cultural and socio-economic standpoint, women have benefited from education. Females are no longer interested in going home and boning and scaling fish with their mother (GOVMM5 interview, 2016).

Moreover, it was documented in Section 1 of this chapter that surprisingly going against gendered norms, Barbadian fishermen often feel marginalised by Barbadian female fish vendors and hawkers due to the latter's practices of colluding on the price of fish after it is landed (Parker, 2002). My field observations in 2016 indicate that these sentiments have continued. Despite this, in recent years, and particularly at times of high unemployment, gendered divisions of labour have been eroded in the flyingfish industry. Historical roles held by men and women have continued to evolve and along with it the distribution of power. There are a handful of women who do go out to sea with their male counterparts, and there are also several women who are boat-owners. Male vendors also exist, and more men have been joining the industry occupying roles of boners and scalers predominantly held by women. Gendered relations have also factored in the high-level decision-making apparatuses of the fishery. Although positions of authority are largely male dominated, women have occupied and continue to hold strategic roles in administering governance. Namely, Former Chair of the Fisheries Advisory Committee, Deputy Chief Fisheries Officer (current), and past President and current President of BARNUFO (McConney, 1995; Burke, 2016).

Divisions of race/colour and class continue to influence who dominates control over the island's productive resources, including fisheries. To explain, the industrialised commercial sector (i.e. the large-scale processors) also has substantial investments in both harvest and post-harvest activities. There are currently five large processing plants identifiable by person and not anonymous corporate structure. They harvest and sell fish for export and to major local retailers like supermarkets and hotels (McConney, 1995; GOB Fisheries Division, 2003). This is highlighted because there exists a minimally

discussed politics surrounding the distribution of power amongst the fishery’s ‘elite’ and ‘ordinary’ stakeholders (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Simplified illustration of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery’s primary harvest and post-harvest stakeholders



Source: (McConney et al., 2003a)

Regarding the minimally discussed politics surrounding the distribution of power between the fishery’s ‘elite’ and ‘ordinary’ stakeholders, my field observations in 2016 revealed that the founding owners of the large processing plants are mostly white Barbadian men. McConney (1995, pp. 150) explains that the dominant perception has existed that the post-harvest sector yields the most power in the industry, while the state is subordinate to the elite in the post-harvest sector. Indeed, McConney et al. (2003a, pp. 17) intimate that the power hierarchy which “puts large-scale processors over vendors, boat owners and fisherfolk in that order” reflects the income earning ability and political influence of these stakeholders. Further understanding is required of the socio-political implications of the distribution of power among the industry’s ‘elite’ and ‘ordinary’ key local stakeholders, thereby highlighting an area for extended research.

In foregrounding the study’s subsequent empirical chapters, it is certainly notable that throughout history, the Barbadian fishing industry, particularly its flyingfish fishery, has undoubtedly served as a safety net for the marginalised and poor coastal dwellers of

Barbados. However, present day Barbadian societal tastes and values have transformed the flyingfish fishery (Cumberbatch and Hinds, 2013). My observations indicate that Barbadian fisherfolk and the rights afforded to them have been influenced by local and regional politics emerging since the 1970s and the proclivity of elites to enact top-down governance. This study's empirical chapters thus go on to demonstrate how top-down and bottom-up perspectives interact to achieve or frustrate the governance goals of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery.

Conclusion

This chapter presented a socio-political chronology of governing the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. Its contribution to the thesis was to build on the sparse literature addressing the socio-political dimensions of the fishery's evolution, bridging between the study's theoretical and empirical chapters. It unearthed the emergence of the norms being explored in this study and thus the historical basis upon which rights afforded to Barbadian fisherfolk have been constructed. Within this context, the norms being explored in this study were seen to have been forged through the social constructions of race/colour, class, nationality and gender. The narrative was weighted towards exploring the constructions of race/colour, class and nationality because of the scarcity of research in gender in Barbadian fisheries. This however opened several areas for further study, which are revisited in the concluding chapter.

The chapter was divided into two main sections. The first, *the Barbadian Plantation, Colonial Fisheries and Independence*, covered the period of 1627-1970. The second, *Governing the Flyingfish fishery in Contemporary Barbados*, covered the period of 1970 – present-day. The narrative was also weighted heavily towards the former historical era because of the availability of primary and secondary literature. Section 1 highlighted the beginnings of the normative tensions constructing governance of the fishery explored in this study's subsequent empirical chapters. The first of these tensions was the emergence of the norms of a Caribbean regional community and Caribbean national sovereignty as guiding fundamental principles constructing the regional governance of the fishery. The development of these norms is particularly significant because one could argue that they evolved in tension based on Barbados' early political leaders' ideologies of forging both a national and regional identity. The second of these tensions was the emergence of the norm of development as framed *within* sustainable development and its application to fisheries and tourism as national priorities. How these norms evolved are also important because one could argue that they were built on a political agreement between white capital and black politics, whereby, the white elite's continued control over the island's productive resources, including tourism and fisheries, has produced tensions about who has precedence to access Barbados' valuable coastal space. Even though a significant amount of attention was paid to developing the fishery both regionally and domestically, solidifying the rights of Barbadian fisherfolk and fishing communities was not a political priority.

Section 2 described the contemporary governance of the fishery. It situated how the emergence of this study's standardised procedures (type 2 norms) were reliant upon the historical institutional environment described in Section 1, and thus, the establishment of a top-down governance environment. Section 2 also demonstrated that the social constructions of race/colour, class, nationality and gender continued to influence the constitution of the contemporary governance apparatuses of the fishery as well as that of its key stakeholders. This affected the constitution of the rights afforded to Barbadian fisherfolk in the contemporary era. Having laid out this extensive empirical and descriptive context, the thesis progresses to its empirical chapters.

CHAPTER 6 CONSTRUCTING THE REGION

Introduction

This chapter is set in the context of constructing governance of the regional Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery. Empirically it draws on observations related to the long-standing maritime/fisheries dispute between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. However, the information presented in this chapter is solely from a Barbadian perspective. In chapter 5, I demonstrated that the norms of regional community and national sovereignty emerged as guiding fundamental principles constructing governance of the regional Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery. This chapter's findings ultimately suggest that although the norms of regional community and national sovereignty have both been widely accepted as guiding fundamental principles—they have also been contested institutionally, procedurally, and at the level of the locale. I found that there were legitimacy gaps in governance given that state and technocratic actors constructed governance from the top-down, in contrast with fisherfolk who constructed governance from the bottom-up. These legitimacy gaps pointed to two overarching ways in which the top-down governance of the regional fishery is being challenged: 1) the appropriateness of high-level negotiations to conclude a fishing agreement between the states, and, 2) the inclusivity of fisherfolks' interests in these high-level negotiations.

This chapter's key findings are the following: The historical foundation of governing the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery was built upon regional exchanges between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. Nevertheless, despite the political foundations bolstering a regional community, enactments of top-down governance embolden the maintenance of national sovereignty, and, are challenged by conflicting meanings of borders and competing national vs. regional identities. Enactments of bottom-up governance by Barbadian fisherfolk however demonstrate recognition of a regional community of fisherfolk with a shared identity and stakes in harvesting Eastern Caribbean flyingfish resources, thereby highlighting fisherfolks' practices of informally demarcating shared distributive rights to the fishery¹¹⁵. Consequently, acknowledging bottom-up governance is important because it presents an alternative account to top-down governance by including the perspectives of often marginalised actors in the policy and

¹¹⁵ Given that Trinidadian and Tobagonian fisherfolk were not interviewed this study, an alternative reading of this chapter's findings could be that Barbadian fisherfolk have a stake in harvesting fish outside of their country's territorial waters because their own stocks are over-exploited and Tobagonian fisherfolk have a stake in stopping the Barbadian fisherfolk.

political process. This leads to the finding that the nuances of governing informally need to be considered as a veritable part of governing this regional fishery. Essentially then, as the bearers of implementing the regional governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery, fisherfolks' interests ought to be democratically represented as an inclusive part of the governance process.

Section 1 provides a descriptive historical background of the distributive mechanisms governing 'who gets the fish' in the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery. Section 2 documents the fundamental principles and standardised procedures (type 1 and type 2 norms) which undergird the top-down governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery and shows how these political dynamics created legitimacy gaps in governance. Section 3 brings to the fore local norms (type 3 norms) and unearths the bottom-up governance of the regional fishery as well as showing the way in which top-down governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery is being challenged. The conclusion sums up the chapter's findings.

1. A Shared Eastern Caribbean Flyingfish Fishery

1.1. Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean Flyingfish Fishery

Scientific reports indicate that Eastern Caribbean flyingfish are shared resources “on either a regional or international basis” and are classified as “straddling and migratory pelagic stocks” (Ministry of Agriculture Barbados, 1992, pp. 99). Comprehensive regional and national stock assessments for the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery are relatively few and dated. The available data illustrates that in terms of proportion of total fish catch, Barbados and Tobago have the largest stakes out of the seven Eastern Caribbean states involved in the regional flyingfish fishery¹¹⁶ (Oxenford, 2007, pp. 46). Within these Eastern Caribbean states that have overlapping maritime borders, the fishery is either targeted as bait or food, the latter predominantly for Barbados¹¹⁷. Chapter 4 documented that Barbados is the *land of flyingfish* and has the largest domestic, cultural, and commercial stake in the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery (Oxenford et al., 2007; CRFM Secretariat, 2014). Historically, flyingfish typically accounts for around 65 % of the total Barbadian fish catch on an annual basis. Barbados also lands the majority (~65%) of the reported regional catch (Parker, 2002, pp. 18). A cultural and dietary staple—flyingfish is the most widely eaten fish in the country by both locals and tourists (Nyman, 2012, pp. 146).

Following on from chapter 5, very little has been recorded about Barbados’ role in establishing the early regional flyingfish fishery (cf. Parker, 2002; Cumberbatch and Hinds, 2013). What is known is that technological advances in Barbados’ fleet influenced the later politics of the states demarcating shared distributive rights to the fishery. From the 1800s through to the mid-1950s, Barbadian fishermen harvested the fishery using 18 to 28 ft. wooden sail-boats that ventured offshore no more than five miles. In the late 1950s sail-boats were replaced by day-boats powered by diesel engines, allowing fisherfolk to stay out to sea for the entire day to a range of up to thirty miles offshore (see Figure 1) (Willoughby, 2007). In the late 1970s through to the early 1980s ice-boats were introduced to Barbados (see Figure 2) (Parker, 2002).

¹¹⁶ The Eastern Caribbean states that have stakes in the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery are: Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Grenada, and Martinique (a territory of France) – see also Chapter 4. Trinidad does not have substantial flyingfish landings. If interested in detailed stock assessments of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery, you can find the available data in (cf. Oxenford et al., 1994; Gomes et al., 1997; Samlalsingh et al., 2007; Medley et al., 2009).

¹¹⁷ St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent and Grenada largely are also largely bait fisheries (GOVRF2 interview, 2016).

Figure 1. Illustration of a typical Barbadian day-boat.



Source: (My Guide Barbados, 2017)

Figure 2. Illustration of a typical Barbadian ice-boat



Source: (My Guide Barbados, 2017)

Departing from the traditional near shore fishing practices of a day-boat flyingfish fishery, ice-boats brought an increased capacity for Barbadian fisherfolk to stay longer at sea (up to around two weeks), and, to fish further from Barbados in areas of potentially higher fish densities (up to 400 miles offshore) (FAO, 2005; Mohammed et al., 2015, pp. 16). The available data indicates that the current Barbadian flyingfish fleet comprises approximately 240 day-boats and 168 ice-boats (FAO, 2010, pp. 71).

These facts matter because Barbados had positioned itself as the only Eastern Caribbean state that had built the capacity for a long-range commercial flyingfish fishery. To meet local demand, Cumberbatch and Hinds (2013, pp. 124) explain that “the abundance of [flyingfish] in Barbadian waters is not so much a matter of the fish being available, but rather where they are at a particular point in time”. Historically, the resource was plentiful around Barbados and could be bought very cheaply at any fish market along the coast. In recent years however, the fish have been migrating south, particularly to Tobagonian waters (Blake and Campbell, 2007, pp. 328; BGT3 interview, 2016). There are also claims from KIs at all levels of interaction with the fishery that, in the past 5 years, the abundance of flyingfish in Barbadian waters has been further affected by external environmental factors, such as, climate variability and change, as well as an influx of sargassum¹¹⁸. This has led to unpredictability in the supply and price of flyingfish. It was suggested that these external environmental factors have further propelled some Barbadian fishermen to harvest flyingfish in what they believe are the more productive waters of Tobago—as one fisher based in Bridgetown stated, “simply because of the abundance of flyingfish in the area”¹¹⁹ (BGT3 interview, 2016).

As mentioned, the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish are a shared straddling and migratory stock. Thus, in constructing governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery, it is important to keep in mind that Barbadians attribute intrinsic cultural values and social needs for accessing flyingfish resources. The dominant view as expressed by a retired fisherman was that:

Barbados is one of the only countries in the world that has created an entire industry off harvesting and processing flyingfish and the way it is cooked. Consequently, a lot of the decisions made about fishing in Barbados are based on flyingfish alone (BNFM1 interview, 2016).

¹¹⁸ According to local and regional fisheries experts, data collection has deteriorated significantly, resulting in the fisheries statistic department having no real proof of the matter of fisheries landings declining because of an influx of sargassum (ACDF1 interview, 2016). Sargassum is a genus of large brown seaweed (a type of algae) that floats in island-like masses (NOAA, 2018).

¹¹⁹ During field observations in Barbados in 2016, it was reported by some fishermen that landings could top over 40,000 flyingfish per trip, particularly if the fishermen had ventured into Tobagonian territory (BGT3 interview, 2016).

Indeed, there are reports which suggest that as a traditional Barbadian food source, Barbadian fisherfolk believe they have a right to catch flyingfish wherever they may be (cf. Blake and Campbell, 2007, pp. 328; Nyman, 2012, pp. 146). Some might argue then, that Barbadian cultural identity is best served by allowing them to catch flyingfish even in the waters of other states, in this case, its twin-island neighbour, Trinidad and Tobago.

1.2. Trinidad and Tobago and the Eastern Caribbean Flyingfish fishery

Flyingfish is also an important economic resource for Trinidad and Tobago. Despite limited quantities off the north and east coasts of Trinidad, the fish concentrate to spawn in the inshore and coastal waters of Tobago between November and July each year (i.e. the stated flyingfish season). This has made Tobagonian waters a prime fishing ground in the Eastern Caribbean (Jordan, 1984, pp. 177-178). It is worth noting that the Tobagonian flyingfish harvesting season is between February and March, whereas, Barbadians harvest the fishery throughout the entire November – July season¹²⁰ (Jordan, 1984; BGTM2 interview, 2016). The relevance of this is later explained in Section 3 of this chapter.

Little is also known about Tobago's role in establishing the early regional fishery (Ballah, 1992; Samlalsingh et al., 2007). However, according to one of Barbados' prominent historians, "Barbados and Tobago have a long history of regional exchanges. In fact, at one point, Tobago was under Barbadian control during British colonial reign" (ACDM1 interview, 2016). This historian was referring to the fact revealed in chapter 5 that Barbados had long served as the regional administrative centre for the Anglo-Caribbean's colonial interests. These regional exchanges notwithstanding, Tobago's flyingfish industry was reported as being established in 1962 by a Barbadian entrepreneur, who became aware of the abundance of fish off the Caribbean coast of Tobago and with the help of experienced Barbadian fishermen, introduced commercial harvesting to Tobago. Catches were either taken back to Barbados for human consumption or sold as bait. These Barbadian fishermen are reported to have settled in the western part of Tobago (Jordan, 1984; SXMM4 interview, 2016). There are also personal reports which claim that the Tobagonian flyingfish industry continued to develop under Barbadian influence during the 1970s and 1980s with assistance from Ms. Carlita Fraser, one of Barbados' most prominent nutritionists. According to a government representative:

¹²⁰ Given that Trinidadian and Tobagonian fisherfolk were not interviewed this study, an alternative argument could be made here that Barbadian fisherfolk, technocratic and political authorities have a responsibility to engage in conversation to rebuild the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish stocks.

Ms. Fraser travelled often to Tobago where she trained many persons in the art of preparing flyingfish. Consequently, the Trinidadian and Tobagonian citizens started to understand the value of flyingfish and its importance to livelihoods both in Trinidad and Tobago (GOVM1 interview, 2016).

Despite these regional exchanges, what is particularly different about the Tobagonian flyingfish fishery is the capacity and size of their fleet which consists of 126 pirogues and just one ice-boat (see Figure 3) (FAO 2010, pp. 71). This is important because unlike Barbadian fisherfolk who concentrate on a full day's journey in day-boats, and long-distance fishing for up to two weeks in ice-boats, Tobagonian fisherfolk normally fish only five to eight miles from shore in waters that are on average only one hour away (Parker, 2002; Samlalsingh et al., 2007). Furthermore, Tobago also has a very small population to satisfy.

Figure 3: Photograph of a pirogue used for fishing in Trinidad and Tobago



Source: (Peake Yacht Services, 2017)

Another significant difference is that flyingfish is not viewed as a traditional food source for either Tobagonians or Trinidadians¹²¹ (Jordan, 1984). According to a female fisher, “Tobagonian fishermen tend to target larger pelagics like marlin, tuna and dolphin-fish” which are a part of the multi-pelagic fishery (BNFF2 interview, 2016). Notwithstanding,

¹²¹ This is attributed to taste preferences and also the preparation of the fish, removing numerous bones and cooking (Jordan, 1984).

to the present-day, there exists in Tobago a thriving processing industry retailing flyingfish, particularly to Barbados via exports (Jordan, 1984; BGTM3 interview, 2016). It was also reported by several KIs representative of government and the fishing industry that a few of Barbados' prominent fish processors established businesses in Tobago to export flyingfish to Barbados. These business strategies were viewed by many of this study's KIs as a problem affecting an already competitive local flyingfish industry (cf. GOVM1, BGTM2, FPM1, FPM2, BNFF2, interviews, 2016). These historical foundations forged the interdependent interests of the states in governing the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery and influenced how the distributive rights afforded to Barbadian fisherfolk to this shared fishery came to be constructed.

2. Constructing Governance of the Eastern Caribbean Flyingfish Fishery from the Top-Down

2.1. The Principled Governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery (Type 1 Norms)

Governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery has largely been politicised through two key institutional arrangements: the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and the United Nations Convention Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). It has been where the principled norms of regional community and national sovereignty found their expressions, and where shared distributive rights to the fishery have come to be legitimated and managed from the top-down. The CARICOM was formally officially established in 1973 under the Treaty of Chaguaramas¹²² (CARICOM Secretariat, 2010). To recall from chapter 5, there has been a history of regional projects in the contemporary era. The precursors to CARICOM were the West Indies Federation (1958-1962) and the Caribbean Free Trade Association (1965-1973) (Malcolm, 2004; Bravo, 2006; Bishop and Payne, 2010). The dominant view expressed by several of the Barbadian government representatives interviewed for this study was that CARICOM's integration is a perpetual battle between Caribbean regionalism and national sovereignty, wherein different identities clash. In making an appeal to a lost common Anglo-Caribbean identity, a government representative lamented that, "despite there being a regional vision of community shared by the four Prime Ministers behind CARICOM who studied together at the University of the West Indies (Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Guyana), we now find ourselves in a position where we don't know what we want for the region" (GOVM5 interview, 2016). Similar sentiments were expressed by other Barbadian government representatives, one of whom said that "there has always been high tensions in an integrated area and this occurs when one set of people believe that they are better than the others. Indeed, everyone has a Caribbean identity, but their destiny lies to a greater degree in their own hands"¹²³ (GOVM2; cf. GOVM9 interviews, 2016).

Regarding this, chapter 5 argued that Caribbean regionalism was a formative aspect of Barbadian national identity. Indeed, the dominant position reported from the Barbadian

¹²² The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) that was established in 1973 was later re-branded as the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) in 2001 under the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas. See this chapter for more.

¹²³ Good resources on Caribbean regionalism and the Anglo-Caribbean integration project include (Bishop and Girvan, 2011; Knight, Castro-Rea and Ghany, 2016).

perspective was that “Barbados, particularly, has always been at the forefront of the regional integration movement.” Moreover,

historically, Barbadians, particularly Barbadian governments, have perceived themselves as the intellectual power house of the Anglo-Caribbean. It is not surprising then, that within this context, a lot of leadership [on regional issues] would come from Barbados— including, recently, advancing the Caribbean Single Market and Economy and the CARICOM Common Fisheries Policy (ACDM4; cf. GOVM1 interviews, 2016).

It can certainly be suggested that in national discourse, it is very important for Barbadians to proclaim a leadership role on regional issues. Indeed, the perception shared between an academic and government KI was that “Barbados has earned the right to be respected and acknowledged because of its strength in supporting regionalism”. At the same time, they both acknowledged that “what the priorities are for integration” throughout the region has hindered the progress of the movement” (ACDM4; cf. GOVM1 interviews, 2016). An interpretation of these sentiments relayed by these interviewees could mean that it remains unclear if the development of CARICOM ought to be actualised through a union or as a collective of sovereign islands. The view expressed by another government KI however, was that because Barbados is isolated in the Atlantic “the Eastern Caribbean is Barbados’ only sphere of influence” (GOVM9 interview, 2016). Perhaps it is because of this perception of isolation that Barbados has advocated Caribbean regionalism. The sentiments held here are not new, as there is much literature that addresses the long-standing institutional hindrances to Anglo-Caribbean regionalism (Bishop and Payne, 2010; Girvan, 2013a). Although these facts highlight that the norm of regional community has found weak institutional expression in CARICOM, CARICOM is the standing institutional basis upon which the top-down governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery has come to be constructed.

The second institution is the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS III). Before the end of World War II, national sovereignty was understood to end at the outer edge of a state territorial sea, three nautical miles from a nation’s shoreline. However, there was no consensus on the limit of a state’s claims to resources

of the sea or seabed (Nemeth et al., 2014). Traditionally, marine resources, including fisheries, were, in principle, treated as part of a *res communes* i.e. a commons or as common property¹²⁴ (Pomeroy, 1994; Munro, 2007). As discussed in chapter 2, fisheries were open-access resources that could be harvested beyond the territorial waters of a state by anyone (Watson, 2012). Historically, straddling and migratory stocks, like flyingfish have been treated as open-access resources (cf. Watson, 2012). However, with UNCLOS III (1973-1982)¹²⁵, formally ratified in 1994, the fundamental principle of national sovereignty became rooted with the concept of Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs). Defined in Articles 55 and 56 of UNCLOS III, the EEZ is an area which usually extends 200 nautical miles off the coast, and, where relevant, also includes an extended continental shelf of up to 350 nautical miles (cf. United Nations, 1982). EEZ provisions essentially changed fishing rights from open-access common property to property under the exclusive sovereign control of a country.

The proposed adherence to the EEZ principles enshrined in UNCLOS III was significant because, in February 1978, Barbados first passed an “Act to provide for the establishment of Marine Boundaries and Jurisdiction”. Barbados then formally ratified UNCLOS III in 1994 (Government of Barbados, 1978; Office of Legal Affairs, 2012). In 1986, Trinidad and Tobago passed its “Archipelagic Waters and Exclusive Economic Zone” Act and also ratified UNCLOS III in 1994 (Government of Trinidad & Tobago, 1986; Office of Legal Affairs, 2012). However, there have been challenges raised about the viability of applying the EEZ concept in coastal CARICOM states like Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. These challenges have been centred around a geographical reality of coastal states, like those found in CARICOM, being unable to delimit the full extent of their 200 nautical miles EEZ without encountering the adjacent boundaries of neighbouring states (Lovell, 2008, pp. 1). Indeed, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago’s overlapping EEZs contain not just migratory flyingfish but also proven hydrocarbon sources (Griffin, 2012, pp. 186). Pragmatically implementing the norm of national sovereignty borne from UNCLOS III’s provisions was therefore politically problematic because what was an open-access flyingfish fishery for Barbadians off the coast of Tobago was now under the

¹²⁴ See Chapter 2 for more detail on the commons, common property and common pool resources.

¹²⁵ UNCLOS III formalised a complex governance system in 17 parts, 320 articles, and 9 annexes – dealing with a broad array of human uses of marine resources. Its negotiation period was 1973-1982, being formally ratified as international law in 1994 (cf. Behuniak, 1978; Barnes, 2009).

exclusive control of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago (Blake and Campbell, 2007, pp. 327).

2.2. Negotiating Competing Perspectives of the Region in the Policy Making Process (Type 2 Norms)

Given the conflicting institutional mandates of CARICOM and UNCLOS III, it is perhaps unsurprising that normative tensions abound in constructing the top down governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery. However, standardised procedures were put in place to resolve these normative tensions. In Articles 63 and 64 of UNCLOS III and the 1995 UN Fish Stocks Agreement for the “Management of Straddling and Highly Migratory Stocks” (cf. United Nations, 1982, 1995), declarations were also made to account for the technicalities of the migratory characteristics of resources, like flyingfish. As signatories to both instruments, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago were urged to “agree upon measures necessary to conserve straddling and highly migratory stocks”, like their shared flyingfish fishery, and to cooperate “either bilaterally or through appropriate sub-regional, regional or international organizations” (Watson, 2012, pp. 8).

These UN declarations which urge co-operation in shared fisheries are important because they situated a procedural space for the norm of regional community to be enacted from the top-down. Given Barbados’ and Trinidad and Tobago’s interests in CARICOM, the states both agreed membership of CARICOM’s Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism (CRFM)¹²⁶. The states also maintain membership in larger multi-lateral regional commissions like the FAO-Western Central Atlantic Fisheries Commission (FAO-WECAFC). For both institutions, the management of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery is a central part of their governance agenda (Singh-Renton and Haughton, 2004; CRFM, 2015; FAO, 2017a). Therefore, with both Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago supporting the mandates of CARICOM, as well as the CRFM and the FAO-WECAFC, it seemed that the principled norm of regional community backing co-operation in a shared fishery was secure. But influenced by the principled norm of national sovereignty, strengthened by UNCLOS III’s EEZ provisions, the states would

¹²⁶ The CRFM’s members are Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago and the Turks and Caicos Islands (cf. CRFM, 2015).

repeatedly contest the notion of shared distributive rights to the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery.

The argument could be made here that there does not exist a popular culture or viable history to apply the principled norm of regional community to fisheries procedurally. There is support for this claim. An academic KI suggests that, “the lack of commitment and a pre-programmed failure in the policy and political space for implementing Caribbean regionalism has translated to a lack of precedence upon which to base governance of regional fisheries” (ACDM1 interview, 2016). This sentiment is significant to this case study, because, as far back as 1944, scientific reports indicated that Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago ought to pursue efforts to create and coordinate policy for the management of their shared flyingfish fishery (cf. Brown, 1942a; Brown, 1942b). However, formalised procedures would not be introduced until the late 1970s.

The first agreement was bi-lateral and authorised on April 30th, 1979. “Both countries entered a Memorandum of Understanding on Matters of Cooperation that covered, *inter-alia*, hydrocarbons exploration and fishing” (Griffin, 2012, pp. 185). However, with Barbados gaining the capacity for a long-range fishery and both states ratifying UNCLOS III, top-down enactments of the norm of national sovereignty were seemingly taking precedence while the norm of regional community violently exploded. From as early as 1988, Trinidad and Tobago’s coast guards began to arrest Barbadian fishermen for illegally fishing in their EEZ (United Nations, 2008). In Barbados, these arrests were largely seen to be in disaccord with the norm of a CARICOM regional community. This initial disagreement over shared distributive rights afforded to the fishery led the governments of Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago to negotiate and make public their first and only official fishing agreement in November 1990, i.e. the “1990 Fishing Agreement”¹²⁷ (Willoughby, 2007; Nyman, 2012). The agreement lasted for one full year from November 23, 1990 to December 31, 1991 and advised, *inter-alia*, the following:

1. Access of up to 40 Barbadian boats to fish in Trinidad and Tobago’s EEZ;
2. A license fee of USD\$800.00 for Barbadian vessels which permitted five trips per season;

¹²⁷ The Agreement is formally referred to as the “Fishing Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago and the Government of Barbados” (cf. Government of Barbados and Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 1990).

3. Trinidad and Tobago to grant licenses to export up to 300 metric tonnes of flyingfish and associated pelagic species to Barbados; and
4. The Government of Barbados was to grant, if requested, Trinidad and Tobago unlimited access to Barbados' EEZ (Government of Barbados and Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 1990).

Several KIs attached to academia and who work as fisherfolk viewed the 1990 Fishing Agreement to have been poorly negotiated because of what they perceived to be inequitable conditions for Barbadian fisheries to harvest flyingfish in Tobago's EEZ. Here, it is important to point out that existing in Article XI of the 1990 Agreement is the "Preservation of Rights" language (Government of Barbados and Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 1990, pp. 11). The Government of Barbados held the position that while the states had entered into a "fishing agreement", this did not mean Barbados would recognise Tobago's sovereignty over the disputed EEZ area in the form claiming ownership over the disputed resources (United Nations, 2008, pp. 177). The arrests of Barbadian fishermen for illegally fishing flyingfish without formal rights to harvest resources in Trinidad and Tobago's EEZ continued. A major premise for Trinidad and Tobago to conclude a new fishing agreement was the need for stock assessments due to their claim of the stock being overfished (Government of Trinidad & Tobago, 2004; GOVM1 interview, 2016). This proposed need for stock assessments once again highlights the contestability of borders in negotiating governance arrangements for rights to harvest straddling and migratory stocks like flyingfish.

Negotiations restarted in 2002 and came to head in 2004 (Blake and Campbell, 2007). During this period, there were reports of several heated exchanges between the Prime Minister of Barbados, Owen Arthur, and the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Patrick Manning. The Barbadian Prime Minister threatened Trinidad and Tobago with economic sanctions, i.e., "they were going to restrict imports from Trinidad and Tobago just as the Barbadian fisherfolk were restricted from fishing" (Nyman, 2012, pp. 149). This was controversial not least because Trinidad and Tobago has a large trade surplus with Barbados (Ibid 2012, pp. 149). More significantly, at the time, the idea of applying the norm of regional community to fisheries was ostensibly being strengthened with the "Revised Treaty establishing the Caribbean Community and Common Market" in 2001

(The CARICOM Secretariat, 2011). Guided by the Revised Treaty¹²⁸ and endorsements particularly from Prime Minister Arthur, the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME) negotiations which date back to 1989 was also officially established in 2001 (Nyman 2012, pp. 158). The CSME is the plan and intention of CARICOM Member states that there will be one single market for all CARICOM countries. It also includes provisions for the free movement of skilled workers, capital and businesses across the region without discrimination based on nationality, including those connected to fisheries (Haughton, 2007; The CARICOM Secretariat, 2010). CARICOM could now be viewed as having a common market including for fisheries, at least in theory (Griffin 2012, pp. 187). Prior to, there had been no formal policy suggesting the removal of the fixed and unfixed borders of CARICOM Member states and the ceding of sovereignty to the supra-national (Haughton, 2007). However, as Nyman (2012, pp. 159) suggests, “given Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago are two of the most prosperous and politically powerful members of CARICOM and the CSME, conflict with each other over rights to flyingfish resources detracted from their message of Caribbean unity and co-operation”. These normative tensions continued to evolve when the states’ enactments of the norm of national sovereignty yet again took precedence.

Apart from negotiating a fishing agreement, between 2000-2003, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago were also holding bi-lateral discussions to legally demarcate their maritime boundaries and EEZs. These negotiations also came to a stalemate due to Barbados’ objection of the 1990 “Treaty between the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago and the Republic of Venezuela on the delimitation of Marine and Submarine areas”. Griffin (2012, pp. 187) explains that the Government of Barbados took the position that Trinidad and Tobago appropriated to “Venezuela and Tobago an enormous part of Barbados’ and Guyana’s maritime territory”. The dominant view held among this study’s elite actors and supported by secondary literature was that the maritime border issue was much larger than flyingfish and really about access to and control of potential hydrocarbon resources (cf. Griffin, 2012; Cumberbatch and Hinds, 2013). This is because, in 2003, Barbados discovered by happenstance, “a Memorandum of Understanding between Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela related to commercial oil exploitation in the disputed area” (Blake

¹²⁸ The Revised Treaty is a binding document which was signed on 5th July 2001 by all Heads of Government of CARICOM countries to promote, among other things, efficiency in the production of goods and services in the region, and to make easier access by nationals of all CARICOM countries to the resources of the region without discrimination (Haughton, 2007).

and Campbell, 2007, pp. 329). This sentiment was supported by Barbados' Deputy Prime Minister at the time, Mia Mottley, being quoted saying, "...this dispute goes deeper than where flyingfish swim" (Gollop, 2003 qtd. in Griffin, 2012, pp. 186). The empirical findings suggest that, arguably, it was Trinidad and Tobago's disregard for the principle of regional community that really brought the dispute over distributive rights to the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery to a head. Indeed, the dominant sentiment expressed by a Barbadian academic KI and shared between other academics as well fisherfolk in leadership roles was that "the act of Trinidad and Tobago clandestinely negotiating with its non-CARICOM brother against the interests of its CARICOM brothers did not sit well, particularly for promoting the idea of CARICOM regional community" (ACDM4, cf. ACDM3, ACDF1, ACDF2, BNFF1, BNFF2 interviews, 2016).

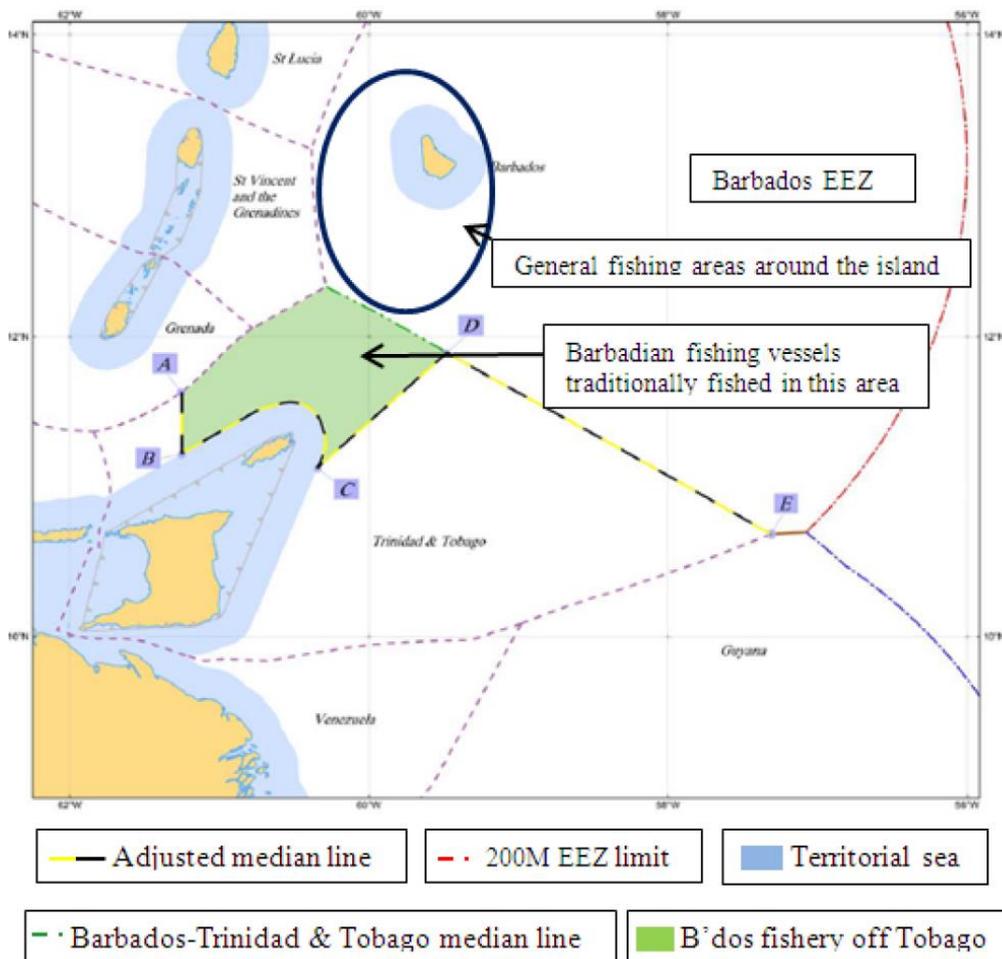
Given that Barbados' and Trinidad and Tobago's conflicting national interests were indeed delegitimising their bi-lateral attempts to share regional maritime resources, in this case, fisheries and/or hydrocarbons, Barbados, on February 16th, 2004, triggered its right under UNCLOS III to initiate arbitration dispute settlement procedures (United Nations, 2008). Seeking mediation from an external international authority, the Barbadian government requested, among other things, to be granted what they considered to be their traditional rights to fish flyingfish off the coast of Tobago; whereas, Trinidad and Tobago called for all exclusive rights to the fishery to be held under its control (Blake and Campbell 2007, pp. 329). It is worth noting here that during the arbitration, there are claims that Deputy Prime Minister Mottley, was instructing Barbadian fisherfolk to continue to fish in Tobagonian waters (cf. Nyman 2012, pp. 151). Notwithstanding, the Tribunal's conclusions are noteworthy. The Tribunal found that:

it had no jurisdiction to allow Barbadian fisherfolk access to the flyingfish stocks in Trinidad and Tobago's EEZ. The Tribunal also determined that Barbadian fisherfolk had not traditionally fished in the area concerned but had only fished there since the late 1970s; nor would a loss of access to the area in question catastrophically impact the livelihoods of the fisherfolk or the economy of Barbados. Trinidad and Tobago however, was reminded of its obligations under

UNCLOS and the 1995 UN Fish Stocks Agreement, to negotiate in good faith and conclude an agreement that will accord fisherfolk of Barbados access to fisheries within its EEZ¹²⁹ (Cumberbatch and Hinds, 2013, pp. 125).

Figure 4 below illustrates the final award of the EEZ allotted to Barbados and its relative fishing areas by the Arbitral Tribunal “Barbados vs. Republic of Trinidad and Tobago” in 2006.

Figure 4. Barbados’ EEZ and Relative fishing areas



Source: (United Nations 2008)

¹²⁹ For a more detailed account of the Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago UNCLOS Arbitration Findings cf. (United Nations 2008, pp. 221-227).

After the Arbitration Tribunal's verdict, by January 2007, through their government representatives, the states agreed to advance a new draft fishing agreement. However, Trinidad and Tobago raised again the issue of the need for stock assessments to again provide evidence that Eastern Caribbean flyingfish was not overfished in their national waters (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade Barbados, 2011). The states agreed to initiate stock assessments this time through regional instruments, namely, the FAO Western Central Atlantic Fisheries Commission's (FAO-WECAFC's) and the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism's (CRFM's) Sub-Regional Fisheries Management Plan for the flyingfish of the Eastern Caribbean (Sub-Regional FMP for the EC)¹³⁰ (FAO, 2002; FAO, 2010; Mohammed, 2016). To recall, the governance mandates of the CRFM and the FAO-WECAFC validated the procedural application of the norm of regional community to fisheries. Highlighting the centrality of Barbados' and Trinidad and Tobago's co-operation in realising the Caribbean vision for a regional fishery, is an academic's claim that "the Sub-regional FMP was really written only for Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago, but the plan was pushed as a trial for how the region could work together to share resources" (ACDF1 interview, 2016). However, the negotiations surrounding the Sub-Regional FMP have also been contested. Scientifically-based governance assessments suggest that the implementation of the Sub-Regional FMP had stalled largely because both technical and political co-operation were being undermined by Barbados' and Trinidad and Tobago's insistence on their sovereign distributive rights to the fishery (cf. Mohammed, 2016).

Indeed, despite these international and regional attempts, bi-lateral negotiations stalled in 2011 due to the arrests of Barbadian fishermen by the Tobagonian authorities for illegal fishing yet again (Daily Nation, 2011b; Cumberbatch and Hinds, 2013). Given that the 1990 fishing agreement was deemed unsuccessful and over twenty years of varied high-level negotiations have failed to conclude a new fishing agreement, it can be argued that resolving the normative tensions of the principled norms of national sovereignty and regional community from the top-down has been an ill-fated political exercise. There is certainly tremendous contestation around the question: was the government of Barbados arbitrating a fishing agreement that considered the traditional rights of their fisherfolk or

¹³⁰ The negotiations of the Sub-Regional FMP date back to 1987, conceived through the 1987-1993 IDRC Eastern Caribbean Flyingfish Project. The Project was then taken over by the FAO-WECAFC Ad Hoc Working Groups on flyingfish, whose reports served as the basis for negotiations for the Sub-regional FMP for the EC which was authorised for implementation by the CRFM Ministerial Sub-Committee in May 2014 (Hunte, 1987; Oxenford et al., 1993; FAO, 2002; FAO, 2010; Mohammed, 2016).

rather a maritime boundary agreement which would give Barbados more access to hydrocarbons? Regarding this, an academic involved in the UNCLOS Arbitration proceedings stated, “Barbados really sought to illustrate the supporting relationships between the fishing agreement and the boundary demarcation”. More importantly, he explained his perspective on how UNCLOS’ provisions on national sovereignty ought to be interpreted:

Persons can put their own construction on things. [In his view] UNCLOS preserves yet disputes sovereignty because UNCLOS is not interested in allocating resources, but in delimiting boundaries. For example, UNCLOS is not responsible for the allocation of fish, oil or mining resources to any country. Once the delimitations and the conditionality’s of boundaries are set by UNCLOS, the various countries are expected to come together to form an agreement as to how the maritime space, particularly, the overlapping portion to which both are entitled will be used. Therefore, it is not solely about the oil or about fish, but about protecting and owning the maritime space to which you are entitled (ACDM2 interview, 2016).

This academic also challenged the “ownership” of migratory stocks by arguing that “the notion that fish are born in one country and therefore are owned by the country is untrue” (ACDM2 interview, 2016). It is also certainly worth noting the then Barbadian Chief Negotiator’s¹³¹ supporting remarks on the matter who claimed, “fishing has always been derivative secondary to the wider picture of demarcating boundaries”. The Chief Negotiator also claimed that Trinidad and Tobago’s non-adherence to CARICOM principles of regional community due to their clandestine agreement with Venezuela influenced the weight placed on fisheries compared to the boundary: “Barbados saw the move as an alliance in oil and felt that its intellectual identity as a regional leader and the

¹³¹ Barbados’ Chief Negotiator of the fishing agreement who was also Barbados’ Ambassador assigned to the CARICOM retired from office in 2017. A new envoy has assumed duties of Barbados’ CARICOM Ambassador on January 2018. It is not clear if the new envoy has the responsibilities of continuing to negotiate a fishing agreement with Trinidad and Tobago.

ownership of its maritime space had been compromised”. The Chief Negotiator also lamented the style of rationality used to negotiate the fishing agreement [dating back to the 1990 fishing agreement]. Meaning, on the one hand, “the inequitable conditions of granting reciprocal access rights to harvest the fishery” and, on the other, “giving Trinidad and Tobago the rights to sell fish back to Barbados”. In his view, “Barbados possessed no other points which could be used to lure Trinidad and Tobago to the table. Trinidad has nothing to gain. Barbados wants their fish and Trinidad and Tobago doesn’t want anything from [us]”. Drawing on the norm of regional community as perhaps the only equitable standing between the states politically, he argued, “therefore, the CSME, with its proposed establishment of free movement of skilled labour is an important negotiating tool” (GOVM1 interview, 2016).

The Chief Negotiator also said that differences in the states’ national identities were political factors influencing bi-lateral negotiations. This meant that promoting the idea of a regional community premised on a shared regional identity was still fractured. To recall, before the UNCLOS Arbitration came to a head, there were heated exchanges between the Prime Ministers of Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. It was the Chief Negotiator’s view that because “Trinidad and Tobago’s Prime Minister at that the time was a Tobagonian, he did not want to seem to be compromising the rights of his local countrymen to access the fishery”. In fact, this social recognition of the difference between sovereign national identities certainly factored in how the Chief Negotiator planned to construct his diplomacy in future negotiations. In his words:

Prior negotiations between the states, recognised the presence of two different sovereign states, and as a result, national interests come above all other matters. However, when viewing interests from different angles such as regional, national and local— the local level is of the utmost importance to each country. Therefore the interests of the locale should not be placed in any compromising situations which can be disadvantageous (GOVM1 interview, 2016).

The Chief Negotiator’s perspective on not placing the interests of the locale in any compromising situations could certainly be viewed as an electoral issue. However, this perspective also shores up the argument that a better understanding is needed of how local norms i.e. bottom-up governance interacts with top-down governance to frustrate or achieve governance goals. Essentially, these top-down accounts constructing governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery illustrate contested perspectives of Anglo-Caribbean sovereignty, particularly, conflicting meanings of CARICOM’s borders and competing regional vs. national identities.

Despite this, fisherfolk attached to civil society were finding a different expression in enacting the norm of regional community through their own bottom-up negotiations. After the 2011 arrests, the Barbados Union of National Fisherfolk Organizations (BARNUFO)—the umbrella organization representing Barbadian fisherfolks’ interests—initiated a fact-finding mission to Tobago to reduce tensions arising from the UNCLOS Arbitration and the arrests of Barbadian fisherfolk. This resulted in discussions between representatives of BARNUFO and the All Tobago Fisherfolk Association. The organisations are considered to have a co-operative relationship by the representatives of BARNUFO that were interviewed¹³². This was demonstrated through the proposed outcomes of their discussions that were based on what these organisations would ask their respective governments to agree. These outcomes covered, *inter-alia*, sovereign rights over fisheries resources within their respective EEZs; access to markets and surplus fishery resources between the states; and, the enforcement of fisheries laws and regulations (BARNUFO, 2011). Although no formal arrangement was reached between the fisherfolk organisations to conclude a fishing agreement, it is worth noting that the 2011 negotiations initiated by the fisherfolk organisations provided the political will for the only formal reciprocal cooperation in fisheries between the states by way of the “2014 Fishing Protocol” (Government of Barbados and Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, 2014; GOVM1 interview, 2016). Regarding how the protocol ought to be enacted, the then Chief Representative of Barbados negotiating the protocol, Ambassador Morris, stated:

¹³² As indicated no interviews took place with Tobagonian fishers or members of the All Tobago Fisherfolk association to fully substantiate these claims made by the representatives of BARNUFO.

the protocol formalises common procedures related to the arrest of crew and detention of fishing vessels. Furthermore, the protocol sets the basis for a fishing agreement to be negotiated in the future, in that, it sets out best practices in terms of how Barbadian fisherfolk are dealt with if they are found in the waters of Trinidad and Tobago (qtd. in Joseph, 2014).

Ambassador Morris also signalled that the conclusion of any fishing agreement in the future should be predicated on CARICOM's regional development model of the CSME that allows for the free movement of capital, labour and services (cf. Joseph, 2014). As it relates to the interaction of the states' national politics aligning with the regional vision for a shared fishery, the Ambassador's assertion certainly carries a tremendous amount of weight. This is because irrespective of the states' sovereign claims to the fishery, with the protocol now in place, the norm of regional community still factored as a political force in high-level negotiations. However, as explained earlier this study's empirical findings indicate that the CSME is still contested, particularly because the idea of an integrated borderless CARICOM commons in which skilled nationals, goods, and services move freely has been difficult to substantiate in practice (cf. 9b). Indeed, the dominant sentiment shared between KIs involved in the political process was that "the issues we have over free movement of people not only occurs in CARICOM, it also happens in the European Union. People want to maintain sovereignty"¹³³ (GOV1M; cf. GOVM3, GOVM5, GOVM4, interviews, 2016).

This inability of the states to reconcile the norms of regional community and national sovereignty on either international, regional or bi-lateral terms points to two overarching ways in which the top-down governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery is being challenged: 1) the appropriateness of high-level negotiations to conclude a fishing agreement between the states, and, 2) the inclusivity of fisherfolks' interests in these high-level negotiations. This study's empirical evidence suggests that replacing the norm of an open-access fishery with one mandating exclusive ownership rights over fisheries

¹³³ From the author's own knowledge of the state of Anglo-Caribbean politics, it should be stated that it is not just about sovereignty, but development disparities also factor.

resources is the major strain in the regional fishery's top-down governance that has created a legitimacy gap. Regarding this, according to both local academic and regional experts, "getting the governments to co-operate in providing or sharing data is impossible" (ACDF1; cf. GOVRF1 interviews, 2016). The experts attributed the lack of co-operation between the governments towards them wanting to maintain their sovereign claims to the flyingfish resources of the Eastern Caribbean. This has led to adverse perceptions among elite actors about the prospect of formal/exclusive fishing rights being implemented in practice. Consequently, "when discussing the specifics of how the stock would be distributed, for example, individual country quota allocations of 5,000MT of flyingfish, negotiations would break down" (ACDF1; cf. GOVRF1 interviews, 2016).

The empirical evidence also points to the lack of Barbadian fisherfolks representative interests in the high-level negotiations as the additional overarching strain in the top-down governance of the regional fishery that has created a legitimacy gap. The dominant view shared amongst the study's KIs at all levels of interaction in the fishery was that the ideas governing Caribbean regionalism in fisheries are negotiated at political and technical levels—and then directives need to be communicated in the locale by politicians, technical experts, and civil society—to then be implemented by the fisherfolk. One might wonder then, how are fisherfolks' interests represented in high-level negotiations? According to a regional expert, "it is the responsibility of Member states to conduct fisher consultations and to ensure that they bring their fisherfolks' interests to bear" (GOVRF1 interview, 2016). An academic involved in high-level negotiations indicated however that:

the various levels of meetings present conflicting interests...some are high-level ministerial, or science-based or sub-committees. More importantly, very rarely is there adequate communication of directives between technocrats and politicians. This results in no directions being sent down to the community (ACDF1 interview, 2016).

Interestingly, the dominant view held by both academics and technocrats, and substantiated by secondary data, was that, there is generally a low response rate from

government representatives to regional management or governance assessments of fisheries (cf. CERMES, 2012). The claim that technocratic governance assessments are indeed contested by political representatives was supported. The Barbadian Chief negotiator explained that “it’s mainly due to the language of exclusion and restricted access”. Consequently, “[he] can’t be expected to negotiate an agreement and provide a report to fisherfolk that says fisheries needs to be controlled” (GOVM1 interview, 2016).

Up to submission of this thesis in 2018, a formal fishing agreement is yet to be concluded between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. These findings ultimately show that despite the political foundations bolstering a regional community to construct governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery, enactments of top-down governance have instead emboldened the maintenance of national sovereignty. This proclivity for elite actors to embed sovereign claims in their negotiations has made the idea of formally demarcating shared distributive rights to the fishery seemingly unlikely. This now leads to the question: have actors in Barbados’ locale accepted or contested the mechanisms which underpin how their distributive rights to the fishery have been shaped by top-down governance, and, as such, is the top-down governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery being challenged?

3. Constructing Governance of the Eastern Caribbean Flyingfish Fishery from the Bottom-Up (Type 3 norms)

3.1. Informally Demarcating Shared Distributive Rights to the Eastern Caribbean Flyingfish fishery

Section 2.2 of this chapter highlighted a legitimacy gap in governance wherein I questioned whether attempts to conclude a fishing agreement from the top-down were perceived to be appropriate by actors in Barbados' locale. In answer, this study's empirical evidence suggests that while the principled norm of national sovereignty is still a legitimating factor constructing governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery in Barbados' locale, Barbadian fisherfolk have found a different expression in enacting the norm of regional community. As the Barbadian fisherfolk have indicated this was demonstrated through their enactment of a shared identity as Eastern Caribbean fisherfolk with shared stakes in harvesting Eastern Caribbean fisheries.

Contrary to the expectation that fisherfolk who are not formally engaged in politics or the political process might not be aware of the norm of regional community, they clearly demonstrate that they are. Referencing CARICOM's instruments, Barbadian fisherfolk also mentioned the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME) to lay claim to their shared distributive rights to the fishery. In also making an appeal to CARICOM's strained regional identity conflicting with a culture of regional exchanges, a fisher stated, "we are Caribbean neighbours, especially with the CSME in play... how can you deal with me on one hand and line [our] supermarkets with goods from Trinidad and Tobago, and on the other not finish the fishing agreement...do they have double standards in fisheries?"¹³⁴ (SXMM1 interview, 2016). The dominant view among Barbadian fisherfolk was also that the mind-set of ownership and sovereignty will prevail in political negotiations. It could be argued then that the fruitless efforts of elite actors to conclude a fishing agreement on international, regional or bi-lateral terms via the UNCLOS Arbitration marginalised views from the locale, particularly those of Barbadian fisherfolk.

¹³⁴ The perception shared by this fisher about the commercial dominance of Trinidad and Tobago is a Caribbean wide problem. Apart from Trinidad and Tobago's imports dominating the produce found on Barbadian supermarket shelves, they also now own several businesses in Barbados that used to be locally owned. In Jamaica, there have also been waves of calls for boycotting the imports and purchase of goods from Trinidad and Tobago, especially over disagreements about the free movement of citizens within CARICOM. It should be stated there also exists border politics between Barbados and Guyana about the free movements of citizens within CARICOM.

Intriguingly, Barbadian fisherfolk who were both involved and on the side-lines of the UNCLOS Arbitration were conflicted about the utility of the Arbitration to conclude a fishing agreement. This is largely because the dominant view shared among the study's KIs was that the Arbitration proceedings were predominately about the politics of oil. However, given the Arbitration's verdict (see Section 2.2 of this chapter), several Barbadian fisherfolk did express feelings of marginalisation on the premise that from "Trinidad's point of view, Tobago gained more confidence in the fishing industry than Barbados" (cf. BNFF1 and BNFF2 interviews, 2016). Arguably, it was the case that the Barbadian national identity best served by exploiting the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish was being threatened. Indeed, in Carol Williams', *L.A. Times* article, *Island's Icon Up in the Air*, Williams documented that the Arbitration dispute and the sanctions enforced by Trinidad and Tobago not only left many Barbadian fisherfolk idle but had also bruised national pride (Williams, 2004). Cumberbatch and Hinds (2013, pp. 125) explain that Barbadians were obliged to "depend on the imported catches of Tobagonian fishermen— many of whom were trained by Barbadians, but sadly don't know how to fillet flyingfish properly". Nevertheless, in drawing on the shared regional identity being enacted by fisherfolk, a Barbadian fisher claimed, "it is so funny that Tobago was once considered a part of Barbados, so the fact that, we, fisherfolk, must pay for our governments' disagreements is ridiculous" (BGTm3 interview, 2016).

It is also worth mentioning that fisherfolk tied to the leadership of BARNUFO and the then Barbadian Chief Negotiator reported that a few regional exchanges occurred between Barbadian and Tobagonian fisherfolk during and just after the Arbitration. Regarding an exchange that exposed the Tobagonians to a typical Oistins Friday Night Fish Fry (a cultural Barbadian tourist commodity), the Chief Negotiator put forward an important claim that:

part of the negotiations was to build relationships with alliances, where Barbados needed access to the flyingfish and Trinidad needed aid in establishing a business based on tourism in Tobago. From this vantage, it was less about extractive negotiations, but rather, paying more attention to collaboration and an understanding of

our shared Caribbean heritage (GOVM1 interview, 2016).

It can be argued here that Barbadian identity is being spatialized by fisherfolk to account for their cultural desires to catch flyingfish even in the waters of other nations, in this case, Tobago. Furthermore, Barbadian fisherfolk also accept that Trinidad and Tobago's interests are best served by accessing Barbadian heritage and waters. In fact, several fisherfolk based at Bridgetown shared, "we have no problem with the Trinidadian and Tobagonian fisherfolk, the St. Lucians and our other neighbouring Caribbean fisherfolk coming to fish in our waters. These informal agreements between us fisherfolk sharing Eastern Caribbean fishery resources are a common practice" (BGTM3 interview, 2016; cf. BGTM2, BGTM5, BGTM6 interviews, 2016). It is the case then that Barbadian fisherfolk claim that fisherfolk on both islands seem to be happy to acquiesce to these demands for reciprocity. This is at odds with the top-down notion of existing in a bounded territory in which no divisibility of shared distributive rights to the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery can be accepted.

The UNCLOS Arbitration also brought to bear how the meaning of traditional rights to the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery were interpreted within the locale. This is significant because the sentiment relayed by a female fisher involved in the Arbitration proceedings was that "when the decision was finally taken by the Barbadian government to include [us] in negotiations, [our] affidavits to support [our] traditional fishing rights were merely used as pawns" (BNFF1 interview, 2016). This was supported by other fisherfolk who also serve in leadership roles with BARNUFO, as well as an academic (cf. BNFF2, BNFM1, ACDM3 interviews, 2016). This meant that even though Barbadian fisherfolk claim traditional rights to the flyingfish resources of the Eastern Caribbean, the context in which the testimonials from fisherfolk were used as a basis to justify Barbadian claims was contested. This is because the meaning of "traditional rights" had not been validated within the locale. Regarding this claim, Section 2.2 of this chapter documented that the first instance the rights of Barbadians to the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery were formally evoked in negotiations was in the "Preservation of Rights" language used in the 1990 Fishing Agreement. Consequential is the then Barbadian Chief negotiator's interpretation of this language. He claimed:

The Barbadian government was trying to give the impression that they were given a right in history based on action. Throughout the world, this has always been a major part of fishing agreements [artisanal rights]. Therefore, the argument that you were destroying the livelihoods and traditional rights of a special group of people was a strong one. Trinidad however argued that what was once traditional practice in terms of a day-boat fishery is now long gone. What we are talking about now is a modern industrial commercial fishing business driven by a long-range ice-boat fishery” (GOVM1 interview, 2016).

It could also be challenged then that the notion of traditional rights made dominant by elites marginalised localised perspectives. To explain, the then Chief Negotiator also charged that “there was a deliberate attempt by the Barbadian government of the time to persuade fishermen to fish in Trinidad and Tobago’s waters”. He claimed, “this was political manoeuvring because, Barbados, in reciprocity, accepted Trinidad and Tobago’s rights to arrest our fishermen” (GOVM1 interview, 2016). To recall, section 2.2 referenced claims of the then Deputy Prime Minister doing just this. A fisher and leader of BARNUFO reflecting on the matter also stated, “the arrests have been used as a political tool to cause or prolong regional conflict” (BNFF1 interview, 2016). Tellingly, a leading academic held the perception then that, “if [Barbadians] can continue the practice of fishing at will with knowing that there is a diplomatic resolve, then they will continue to do so. Therefore, any serious regional effort to manage and govern flyingfish may not actually benefit Barbados as a nation drastically” (ACDM1 interview, 2016). It is indeed unclear if the Barbadian government advocated for the arrests of its fisherfolk to undermine the high-level negotiations of concluding a new fishing agreement because such an agreement would inevitably leave the distributive rights of Barbadian fisherfolk to the fishery worse off.

For their part, Barbadian fisherfolk were split on the issue of whether their traditional rights to the fishery ought to be actualised based on the terms of national sovereignty or a regional community. There were reports from some boat-owners and fisherfolk that it was important to recognise and respect a county's sovereign territorial rights and borders. In addition, if Barbados was put in a similar situation [they] would be equally opposed to any agreement that could potentially threaten the livelihoods of their countrymen and women (cf. BGTF1, BGTF2, BGTF3 BGTM1, BGTM4, OISM2 interviews, 2016). There were also claims from small-scale artisanal and industrial commercial fisherfolk of the benefits to be gained from Barbadians being unable to openly access Tobagonian waters. They shared that "Tobagonian waters would be flooded, creating an influx of flyingfish in the Barbados market and a reduction of the fish price" (BGTF2 cf. FPM3 interviews, 2016). Intriguingly, there were also reports from fisherfolk and shared by the then Chief Negotiator, that the fishermen are the ones to blame for conflicting enactments of Barbados' traditional rights. The perception was that "due to ice-boats being equipped with GPS technology, fishermen are aware of the co-ordinates of Trinidad and Tobago's EEZ, and thus, the illegality of their actions" (SPTM1, cf. BNFF2, GOVM1 interviews, 2016). There were, however, competing views from fisherfolk and government officials about fishermen not being adequately educated about the boundaries, and, as mentioned before, due to the migratory and straddling nature of flyingfish, fishermen will indeed follow the fish. As several KIs explained in their own terms, "fish don't pay attention to the boundaries" (BNFM1 interview, 2016) and "if we share a Caribbean Sea, and the fishermen go where the flyingfish migrate, but not with the aim of purposely breaking the law, how can you penalize them?" (GOVM3; cf. BGTM4 interviews, 2016).

These contested meanings of CARICOM's borders and traditional rights has a temporality to it, especially in terms of the politics of the flyingfish season. Surprisingly, Barbadian fisherfolk were evenly split on the supposed need to go to Tobago to harvest the fishery. There were conflicting reports from the then Chief Negotiator and some fisherfolk, that during certain times of the year, flyingfish could be caught in abundance and easily in the South-East of the island to supply Barbadian local demand (cf. GOVM1 BGTF1, BGTM1, BGTM3, OISM2 interviews, 2016). It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that Tobago's flyingfish season begins very early during February and April, whereas, Barbadian fishermen tend to recognise the entire November to July season.

According to a Barbadian fisherman based at Bridgetown this adherence to seasonal standards, “influences fishermen to travel to Tobago to be ‘early’ in the race to catch flyingfish” (BGTM2 interview, 2016). This adherence to normative seasonal standards highlights that of course there is a dominant territorial politics to dispute surrounding flyingfish being a shared resource or not and how to police distributive rights to it. But, there is another often marginalised politics then that leaves unasked the question: do Barbadians need to catch flyingfish in waters considered to be illegal?¹³⁵

One of the most intriguing findings of this study is that fisherfolk were engaged in informal acts of reciprocity constructing governance of the fishery from the bottom-up. The dominant view held by Barbadian fisherfolk is that they and Tobagonian fisherfolk co-operate daily in demarcating shared distributive rights in the multi-species fishery. Barbadian fisherfolk attributed this to different interests in the fishery, meaning, “the Tobagonians largely want to target larger pelagics like mahi-mahi and the Barbadians the flyingfish.” These fisherfolk therefore “end up sometimes sharing bait and even informing one another where fish can be found in abundance” (BGTM3 cf. BGTM5, SXMM4, interviews, 2016). As mentioned earlier by a fisherman based at Bridgetown, these informal agreements between fisherfolk sharing the fisheries resources of the Eastern Caribbean are a common practice (BGTM3 interview, 2016). It was also documented earlier in this chapter that on-the-ground negotiations occurred between the leaders of BARNUFO and the All Tobago Fisherfolk Organisation, mainly to reduce tensions arising from the UNCLOS Arbitration and the arrests of Barbadian fishermen. According to members of BARNUFO, this was a collaborative regional effort coordinated through the Caribbean Network of Fisherfolk Organisations (CNFO). In recent years, the CNFO has been positioned as the institutional space for Caribbean fisherfolk to get a seat at the policy negotiating table to advocate for policy change, especially that related to the rights of small-scale fisherfolk. Herein, national fisherfolk organisations like BARNUFO and the All Tobago fisherfolk organisation have mobilised to form a basis for a regional network of fisherfolk, further advancing the notion of a regional community of Caribbean fisherfolk (Lay et al., 2013).

¹³⁵ I am aware that this could be addressed by natural scientists in the terms of programmatic policies for alternative livelihoods, vulnerabilities and resilience. However, addressing these questions of scientific governance assessments is out of the scope of this study.

Notwithstanding, representatives of BARNUFO charged that “when the politicians became aware of the regional exchanges, particularly of Barbadians going to Tobago, [our] presence was denied”. The perception was held therefore that “even if the Tobagonian fisherfolk were interested in co-operation, and from Barbadian assistance, further developing their flyingfish industry, when politicians are included in negotiations, all fails” (cf. BNFF1, BNFF2, BNFM1 interviews, 2016). Here it is worth noting an academic’s interpretations of the political value of these informal regional exchanges between fisherfolk, who argued:

whether we want to acknowledge them or not, there were de-facto informal agreements among the fisherfolk that were working. What has occurred is that co-operation [in fisheries] has now been triggered by circumstances where a country seeks the need to assert their sovereign de-jure rights (ACDM2 interview, 2016).

It can certainly be suggested then that bottom-up governance was conceived much differently from the earlier top-down governance accounts constructing governance of the regional fishery. This has been demonstrated through how the norm of regional community has been given recognition by Barbadian fisherfolk to make way for acts of reciprocity to realise shared distributive rights in the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery. In illustrating why local norms matter then on this account, on the one hand, the norm of regional community cannot viably be enacted to conclude a fishing agreement without first accounting for the differences between national and regional identities, i.e. CARICOM as a union and CARICOM as a collective of sovereign states. On the other hand, even though the actors that are implementing governance, namely fisherfolk, do have conflicting enactments of the norm of national sovereignty, over-time, Barbadian fisherfolk have indicated that they also have been able to co-operate based on a shared identity as a regional community of fisherfolk with shared stakes in the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery. This has been actualised principally through their informal means of demarcating shared distributive rights to the fishery.

3.2. Inclusivity and Representation of the Barbadian Fisher – A Bottom-Up Reading

Section 2.2 of this chapter also positioned the lack of fisherfolks representative interests in the policy-making process of concluding a fishing agreement as an overarching tension imposed by top-down governance, thereby highlighting whether fisherfolk ought to have a seat at the negotiating table. This also highlighted a legitimacy gap in governance wherein I questioned whether the debates to conclude a fishing agreement were publicly accessible to Barbadian fisherfolk, and, as such, their minority positions counted as a collective and inclusive part of the negotiating process?

The empirical findings indicate that the fisherfolk whose distributive rights would be most affected by the efforts to negotiate a fishing agreement do perceive the lack of their democratic representation to be restraining the conclusion of a positive outcome. This exclusion of fisherfolks interests in the policy making process was the contested factor through which fisherfolk expressed the most dissatisfaction with top-down governance of the regional fishery. The sentiments expressed by the leader of BARNUFO and supported by an academic was that “Barbadian fisherfolk had to fight for a seat at the negotiating table” (BNFF2 cf. ACDM3 interviews, 2016). Validating the concern which questioned the true inclusivity of top-down governance, the leader of BARNUFO lamented that, “getting [them] to do a report that you can relate to and then communicate with the fisherfolk is impossible” (BNFF2 interview, 2016). Perhaps, more importantly, although the fisherfolk that were not involved in negotiations were largely aware of the political disputes that were taking place bi-laterally, and in the international arena like the UNCLOS Arbitration, they were largely unaware of how their distributive rights would be affected. For example, most fisherfolk expressed no knowledge of regional efforts like the Sub-Regional Fisheries Management Plan for flyingfish of the Eastern Caribbean. Furthermore, if fisherfolk were invited to, or attended meetings, they found the negotiations to be premised on scientific approaches and/or political jargon that did not account for their minority positions. Instead strong statements were made insinuating a schism between the interests of political representatives and fisherfolk as part of a collective and inclusive negotiating process. The sentiment shared by a fish vendor based in Bridgetown and a local fish processor was that “the governments of the Eastern Caribbean focus only on their interests” (BGTF2 cf. FPM2 interviews, 2016). The dominant perspective held by fisherfolk and shared by local academics, was that,

fisherfolk believe that decisions are made on their behalf without a true representation of the politics of the fishery on the ground. In this case, despite the political encumbrances of contested borders, as well as competing national vs. regional identities, understanding the informal agreements that shore up how Barbadian fisherfolk have been able to cooperate, as they indicate daily with fisherfolk from Trinidad and Tobago in their shared fishery.

The empirical evidence also points to an absence of institutional mechanisms for fisherfolk and fishery managers to converse on issues of governance outside their national space. The fact that the Barbadian government body negotiating with Trinidad and Tobago over fishery issues was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and not the Fisheries Division was highly contested. It is true that there exists no national institutionalised space where the interests of fisherfolk can be communicated and debated, and so, accounted for as a part of the governance process. The perception expressed by fisherfolk attached to BARNUFO and shared by academics was that, “when it got to the 'big' man level they shut down the fisherfolks’ negotiations. It was clear that unlike the politicians, fisherfolk have a willingness to work together” (BNFF1, BNFF2 cf. ACDF1, ACDF2 interviews, 2016).

The argument could also be made however, that there is also a disconnect between how Barbadian fisherfolk at large perceive their democratic interests to be represented by the governing body mandated to do so, in this case, BARNUFO. For example, in terms of future interactions to conclude a fishing agreement, the “2014 Fishing Protocol” that was established between representatives of the Governments of Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago, stipulates the rights and duties of the states if a Barbadian fisher is caught fishing illegally in Tobagonian waters (Government of Barbados and Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, 2014). The empirical findings suggest that although fisherfolks’ interests were represented in negotiations by way of BARNUFO—there were no tangible consultations with the fisherfolk themselves who would be affected by the Protocol. Because of political approaches trumping community approaches, the marginalised view among Barbadian fisherfolk best expressed by the leader of BARNUFO was that, as a sector, “the Barbadian flyingfish fishery is struggling to gain legitimacy as it is in a constant battle to secure identity and attention from its governments” (BNFF1 interview, 2016). Indeed, a former leader of BARNUFO also

lamented, “many governments have passed since the ‘fisheries dispute’ first started, but there has been no form of resolution forcing us to assume, the fisheries industry is not in their best interest and that a fishing agreement will not be achieved” (BNFF2 interview, 2016). This study’s empirical findings ultimately suggest that state interests have upended fisherfolks’ democratic interests and minority positions in the policy-making process. Why local norms matter ultimately matter then within this context of the claims given by Barbadian fisherfolk that they co-operate daily with Tobagonians in the fishery, is because, these practices including their negotiations, demonstrate a regional community driven by the informality of bottom-up governance.

Conclusion

This chapter explored whether there is acceptance or contention of the idea of shared distributive rights to the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery, and why or why not. Section 1 demonstrated how the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery has been built on regional exchanges between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. Section 2 illustrated how the top-down governance of the fishery was constructed. First, it explained how the norms of national sovereignty and regional community have evolved as fundamental principles constructing governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery in tension. Furthermore, it traced how despite over twenty years of varied high-level negotiations, the inability to resolve the normative tensions borne from fundamental principles in the policy making process lead to the failure of elite actors to conclude a fishing agreement. Examining how the top-down governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery was constructed highlighted that there is a degree of acceptance regarding how shared distributive rights to the fishery ought to be actualised, particularly because of Barbados' continued desire to enact the norm of regional community. However, it was shown that when high-level negotiations incorporated the prospect of ceding sovereignty to the supra-national through the prospect of putting fishing rights into practice, unsurprisingly contention occurred between political representatives and other elite actors. Furthermore, Barbadian fisherfolks' interests were arguably not democratically represented in high-level negotiations. I then argued that this inability of the states to reconcile the norms of regional community and national sovereignty via top-down governance created legitimacy gaps in governance. These legitimacy gaps pointed to two overarching ways in which the top-down governance of the regional fishery is being challenged: 1) the appropriateness of high-level negotiations to conclude a fishing agreement between the states, and, 2) the inclusivity of fisherfolks' interests in these high-level negotiations.

Section 3 brought to the fore the effects of local norms on actors implementing governance. It is significant to this study's analytical design because an understanding was gained of governing the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery from the bottom up from a Barbadian perspective. This was important because in interpreting the effects of local norms on actors, this study was able to account for the perspectives of often marginalised actors in the policy and political process of constructing governance of the regional fishery in Barbados. The key findings of this chapter suggest that bottom-up governance constructed a regional community of fisherfolk willing to engage in acts of reciprocity to

actualise their shared rights to the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery. This presented an alternative view of constructing governance of the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery. Therein, how the norm of regional community was enacted by Barbadian fisherfolk within the locale would be at odds with enactments of top-down governance emboldening the maintenance of national sovereignty illustrated taking precedence in section 2 of this chapter. Certainly in dominant constructivist assessments of constructing a regional fishery, local norms might typically go un-noticed. Why accounting for local norms matter then in this case, is an understanding that top-down and bottom governance align to achieve or frustrate the governance goals of a *shared* Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery and the distributive rights afforded to Barbadian fisherfolk via actors' identities.

CHAPTER 7 CONSTRUCTING DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

This chapter's analysis of fisheries governance is framed by Barbadian national development priorities, and the idea of granting reciprocal rights to luxury tourism *and* fisheries to own and physically access valuable coastal space in Barbados. Empirically, it draws on observations related to the developments of two luxury marinas alongside the Six Men's fishing community in St. Peter. Chapter 5 argued that the norm of sustainable development has been accepted as a way of talking and thinking about development, and, has shaped the rhetoric around achieving 'sustainable fisheries' and 'sustainable tourism'. This chapter's findings suggest that there has been obvious friction because sustainable development has different meanings and uneven acceptance institutionally, procedurally, and at the level of the locale. I found that there were legitimacy gaps in governance given that the state and private sector actors constructed governance from the top-down in contrast with fisherfolk and the local community who constructed governance from the bottom-up. These legitimacy gaps pointed to two overarching ways in which the top-down governance of Barbadian national development priorities is being challenged: 1) the appropriateness of integrating sustainable fisheries and sustainable tourism as pillars of national development in Six Men's, and, 2) the inclusivity of ordinary Barbadians interests (particularly in the Six Men's locale) in constructing national development priorities.

The chapter's key findings are the following: In Barbados' north-west, there exists two Barbados built on embedded stratifications of race/colour and class (see chapter 5) and vacillating between cultural traditions and economic interests. Therein, white Barbadian nationals have economic interests in advancing luxury tourism on the platinum coast, whereas, largely black Barbadians who describe themselves as "ordinary" Barbadians, have interests in maintaining the traditions tied to northern fisheries. In enactments of top-down governance the principle of social sustainability and the inclusion of culture is often-overlooked in the sustainable development debate. This highlights that the socio-cultural traditions and heritage of the Six Men's fishery and community is at risk of being lost because of encroaching luxury tourism interests. Enactments of bottom-up governance however demonstrate that tensions between how local black and white

Barbadians have developed their interests in the sectors has shaped the island's national development priorities, particularly in the north-west. Regarding this, the interests of ordinary Barbadians in constructing development in the north-west are being marginalised. Essentially then, enactments of bottom-up governance present an alternative way of thinking about sustainable development, in that, the socio-cultural sustainability of Six Men's is predicated on the sectors having reciprocal rights to own and physically access the Six Men's land and beachfront.

Section 1 provides a descriptive background of how competing constructions of development framed *within* sustainable development have socially constructed the locale of Six Men's St. Peter. Section 2 documents the fundamental principles and standardised procedures (type 1 and type 2 norms) which undergird the top-down governance of Barbadian national development priorities around the sectors of fisheries and tourism, showing how these political dynamics created legitimacy gaps in governance. Section 3 brings to the fore local norms (type 3 norms) and unearths the alternative construction of Barbadian national development priorities. From this, it is shown how the top-down governance of national development priorities around the sectors of luxury tourism and fisheries is being challenged. The conclusion sums up the chapter's findings.

1. A Tale of Two Barbados

1.1. Competing Constructions of Development and of Sustainable Development

Six Men's, St. Peter, is characterised as one of Barbados' last remaining 'true' fishing communities whose rights to own and physically access coastal space have become encumbered by luxury tourism interests. It is thus important to provide a background to how these sectoral interchanges have influenced notions of contested development, and of sustainable development, in the island's north-west. The social and cultural fabric of most coastal communities throughout the Caribbean has been historically shaped by fishing as the main economic activity (Welch, 2005). Specific to Barbados, chapter 5 highlighted that since the 1970s, the traditions attached to fisheries have been transformed via the introduction of public markets and infrastructure for fisheries development. At the same time, since the 1970s, tourism has been positioned as the main driver of the Barbadian economy and has been massively subsidised. Given that both sectors have been integral to sustaining Barbadian life and economy, this has inevitably led to competition for rights to own and physically access prime beachfront and coastal space, particularly in this case of Six Men's, St. Peter.

Barbados is the fourth most densely populated country in the Americas with a land area of only 166 square miles and with an estimated population of 285,719. About 90% of Barbadians are of Afro-Caribbean and mixed descent. The rest of the population is comprised of Europeans (4%) mostly from Ireland and the United Kingdom as well as Asians (World Population Review, 2017). These facts matter because almost half of the island's over 280,000 present-day inhabitants live in an urban belt extending the length of the sheltered and protected sandy beaches of the south, south-west, west, and north-west coasts (Alleyne, 1998; Barbados Statistical Service, 2013; Peterson et al., 2014). As mentioned in chapter 5, working class blacks tended to settle around Bridgetown in the south of the island, the capital of commerce and trade. Poor whites and the white elite tended to settle further west and north. Although blacks did settle in the west and north as well—their land tenure has been largely insecure (Beckles, 2004a; Welch, 2005). This is important because white dominance over the Barbadian economy certainly created spatial disparities in the distribution of the rich, middle and poor classes of communities in Barbados (Beckles, 2004a).

As a prime vacation destination, tourism plays an important role in Barbadian society and economy. In 2016, the island boasted record stay-over arrivals of 631,513, i.e. triple the permanent population (Ministry of Tourism, 2017). In 2017, the travel and tourism sector had a total contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 50.6% or \$1.9 billion (USD)¹³⁶. In 2017, the sector also directly and indirectly supported 52,500 jobs, 40.5% of the island's total employment (WTTC, 2018). The sector therefore impacts all business sectors on the island directly or indirectly including fisheries.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, Barbados is known as *the land of flyingfish*. According to Cumberbatch and Hinds (2013, pp. 121) “flyingfish presents an interesting blend of being a tangible, yet intangible heritage resource, and is simultaneously a part of the island's natural and cultural heritage”. The fisheries sector has also proven to be an important industry for Barbados through its contributions to domestic food security, livelihoods, foreign exchange earnings, as well as providing significant support for Barbados' tourism industry. Given the socio-cultural status of flyingfish, it is not surprising that the motif of flyingfish has become associated with the Barbadian tourism product as a trademark icon (see Figure 1) (PCSI, 2009, pp. 30).

Figure 1. Barbados Tourism Logo (with iconic flyingfish)



Source: (PCSI, 2009)

It has been reported that the fishery employs over 6,000 people directly (from harvesting and related activities)¹³⁷, approximately 2% of the Barbadian population¹³⁸ as well as an undocumented number indirectly (from related services such as tourism) (Sobers, 2010;

¹³⁶ The total contribution of Travel & Tourism includes its 'wider impacts' (i.e. the indirect and induced impacts) on the economy (WTTC, 2018, pp. 2).

¹³⁷ Excluded from this number are family dependents, and those who, among other things, cook fish, whether in exclusive restaurants, at fish fry's, or at numerous rum shops around the island; build and maintain boats; and, transport fish around the island (Mahon et al., 2007; Monnereau, 2016).

¹³⁸ According to (McConney, 2011) the statistics reported here is a rough estimation based on fisher registration.

McConney, 2011; FAO, 2017a). It should be noted that there are major differences in how the contributions of fisheries and tourism to the Barbadian economy are statistically documented. Scientific reports indicate that the contributions of the Barbadian fishing industry to GDP has been historically undervalued and seldom reported with accuracy (McConney, 1998; Mahon et al., 2007). This is perhaps unsurprising given that chapter 5 revealed Barbadian fisheries are viewed by those in political authority as an “informal industry” (GOVMM2 interview, 2016). Fisheries contributions are usually cited as ranging between \$12 - \$16 million USD per annum, approximately 0.1% of the island’s total GDP¹³⁹ (FAO, 2017a).

The documented contributions of the sectors to the Barbadian economy are highlighted because this purview of focusing solely on economics provides an understanding of development which suggests that what ought to be valued is GDP growth and formal sector jobs. However, this study’s empirical findings reveal that as it pertains to constructing Barbados’ national development priorities around the sectors of fisheries and luxury tourism in its north-west, the development debate has become framed and understood in terms of socio-cultural sustainability. This is significant because while not discounting the importance of economic sustainability and the sectors contributions to that, maintaining the ties between Barbadian fisheries and socio-cultural traditions and heritage, particularly in rural Barbados, factored heavily in the local discourse. What this chapter is interested in then is exploring this context of constructing Barbadian national development priorities in Six Men’s, St. Peter.

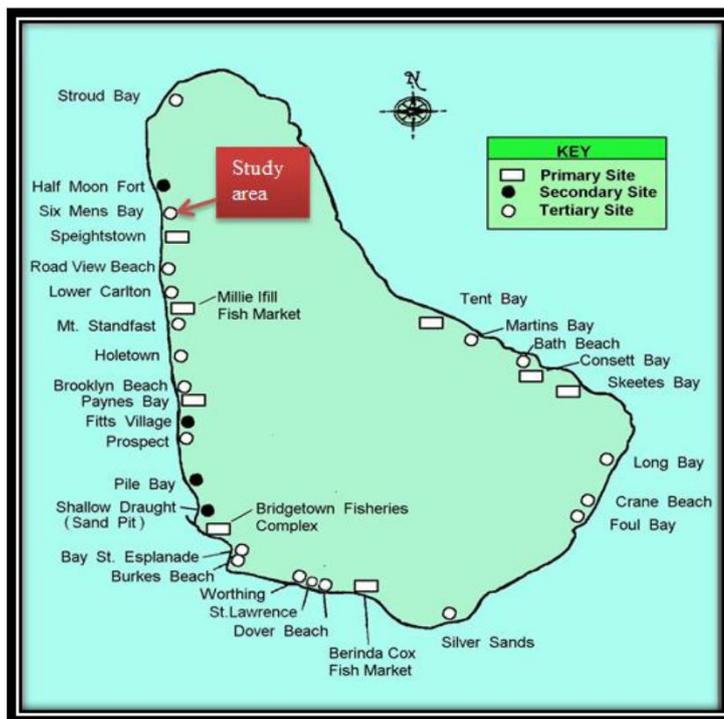
1.2. The Six Men’s Fishing Community and Struggles over Rights of Ownership

The sectors of fisheries and luxury tourism have undoubtedly played an important role in shaping national development priorities in Six Men’s. The locale (see Figure 2) is significant because, to recall, the land tenure of working-class blacks that settled in the west and north has been largely insecure (Beckles, 2004a). Since the former plantocracy/white elite has maintained control over the island’s economy and productive resources, like tourism, Barbadian fisherfolk have been described as largely from the black peasantry competing for scarce non-plantation land after slavery (McConney, 1995, pp. 35, 37). The importance of the Six Men’s locale is therefore predicated on its

¹³⁹ The calculation of fisheries contributions to total GDP is based on ex-vessel and retail prices collected at major markets. Ex-vessel value refers to the raw unprocessed fish that is landed at the port and sold directly to vendors or processors (cf. Mahon et al., 2007).

characterisation as one of Barbados’ last remaining ‘true’ fishing communities¹⁴⁰ (cf. Alleyne, 1998; Mahon and Jones 1998, pp. 18; GOVMM2 interview, 2016). Here, the term “true fishing community” refers to a fish landing site as well as the associated fishing enterprises and infrastructure (Alleyne-Greene, 2015, pp. 2). Indeed, the people of Barbados refer to Six Men’s as a true fishing community precisely because it embodies the rich traditions and heritage of artisanal fishing. To recall, Barbados’ fish landing sites are categorised as primary (markets), secondary (sheds) and tertiary (beaches) (Ministry of Agriculture Barbados, 2012). Retail and landing data are only collected from Barbados primary and secondary landing sites. Landings and prices at tertiary sites, like, Six Men’s are not counted in official statistics (FAO, 2017a).

Figure 2. Map of The Six Men’s study site and other landing sites around Barbados



Source: (Alleyne-Greene, 2015, pp. 3)

As a tertiary landing site, the Six Men’s fishing community has been a significant part of the socio-cultural traditions and heritage of the island’s north-west. Therein, the surrounding settlement is highly dependent on fisheries and most of the fisherfolk reside

¹⁴⁰ Note that characterising Six Men’s as a ‘true’ fishing community is not an objective claim. It is a historical construct and label that others have used to describe the community.

in the community or in neighbouring communities. The actual fish landing site which lacks critical physical infrastructure, such as, a jetty, ice storage and diesel supply is located on a narrow beach adjacent to two watercourses (see Figure 3). Fish vendors operate mostly on this narrow strip along the highway (see Figure 4). Flyingfish historically contributes between half to all of the landed fish in the Six Men's fishery (Alleyne-Greene, 2015).

Figure 3. Picture of Six Men's Bay Landing Site



Source: (Soares, 2016: taken by author on site)

Figure 4. Picture of Six Men's and a cutting slab for fish and Male Fisher/Vendor



Source: (Soares, 2016, taken by author on site)

As it is today, the Six Men's fishing community was built by Caribbean nationals from neighbouring islands St. Lucia and St. Vincent in the 1950-1970s. It is worth noting that there exists no academic research or technical surveys which can account for the migration patterns of Barbadian fisherfolk and moreover other Caribbean nationals that have a stake in the Eastern Caribbean fisheries, thereby highlighting another area for further research. It is arguable that largely because of the geographical proximity of the islands of the Eastern Caribbean, there has always been an interspersing of nationals. The retired fisherfolk from Six Men's that were interviewed shared that even though they were originally from neighbouring islands, they have been integrated in Barbadian society and assumed Barbadian identity where other 'locals' also see them as Barbadian (cf. SXMM8, SXMM9, SXMM6, interviews, 2016). This brings into scope that there are different layers of identity and belonging in Anglo-Caribbean society not the least because of the shared colonial legacies of slavery, but also the embedded stratifications of race/colour and class borne of the colonial era that have been reproduced¹⁴¹. Essentially, this could be interpreted to mean that these retired fisherfolk from St. Lucia and St. Vincent who built the Six Men's community have assimilated into the general social contract of being a black Barbadian, and more broadly, as descendants of enslaved Africans borne of British plantation society.

Notwithstanding, there have been disputes plaguing the Six Men's fishing community regarding who owns the legal rights to Six Men's land, including the beachfront. The tensions date back to the 1980s, when a local preacher/entrepreneur, Reverend Broomes, is reported to have acquired Six Men's under the registered name of Mount Six Men's Limited. It is claimed that Reverend Broomes, a local black Barbadian, put forward the original development proposal for the area to the Barbadian government through the Town Planning Department, calling for, among other things, the development of a marina and boatyard (The Nation, 1995, 1996; SXMF6 interview, 2016). However, news reports and personal reports from KIs in Six Men's indicate that, since 1985, Mount Six Men's Limited has been in a legal battle with the Crown over the rights of ownership to Six Men's land and beachfront. Moreover, this legal battle has been exacerbated by an influx of local Barbadian informal settlers to the area (The Nation, 1996; Barbados Today, 2015; SXMM4 interview, 2016). In fact, according to the Managing Director of Mount

¹⁴¹ Jill Sheppard's "The Redlegs of Barbados" offers a fascinating read on the race/colour and class constructs of the Barbadian colonial era (cf. Sheppard, 1977).

Six Men's Limited, "squatters now number upwards of 300 people, most of which are located on the Six Men's main-road facing the beachfront" (SXMF6 interview, 2016). This legal dispute has caused confusion about the status of the Six Men's fishing community, described in newspapers, for instance, as Six Men's is "no man's land" (The Nation, 1996).

1.3. The Developments of Port St. Charles and Port Ferdinand

By the 1990s, Six Men's started to experience significant changes to its coastal landscape. Located just south of Six Men's Bay, Port St. Charles officially opened in 1996. The award-winning facility dubbed the "showpiece of the North", offers town-house luxury villas with private yacht berths ranging from \$350,000 (USD) - \$1.5 million (USD) (see Figure 5) (cf. Lewis, 1997; Action, 1998).

Figure 5. Port St. Charles Marina



Source: (Port St. Charles, 2017)

It is perhaps unsurprising that the developers of Port St. Charles are local white Barbadians recognised as leaders in corporate Barbados (Alleyne, 1998). The project was pursued as a joint venture between the Williams brothers, Sir Charles and Ralph 'Bizzy', operating under the name of C.O. Williams Construction Group and Williams Industries, respectively, and, Bjerkhavn Associates operating under the name of JADA Construction Group (Sunday Advocate, 1996; Daily Nation, 1997). According to a KI representing Port St. Charles, apart from Port Ferdinand, "JADA Construction, owned by Bjorn Bjerkhavn, has built several of the other high-end properties on Barbados' west coast" (SXMM2 interview, 2016). These three Barbadian companies behind the Port St. Charles development were working closely with the Barbadian government to expand the island's

luxury tourism brand and image (Alleyne, 1998, pp. 80). In fact, a representative of Port St. Charles relayed that:

even though whites may be in the minority, they control the economic power in Barbados. So, this was a pipe dream of the three developers who always wanted somewhere to park their boats right outside their homes (SXMM2 interview, 2016).

Intriguingly, the representative of Port St. Charles also shared that:

Port St. Charles and Port Ferdinand were presented as a joint project of sister luxury marinas to the government. When the development of Port Ferdinand was proving challenging due to ‘politics’, Sir Charles and Bizzy Williams got out of that side of the project. Bjerkhavn then found new foreign investors so the development of Port Ferdinand could continue (SXMM2 interview, 2016).

Port Ferdinand officially opened in 2014. It is also an award-winning facility located on a 15-acre site across the street from Port St. Charles and adjacent to the Six Men’s fishing community. Port Ferdinand was conceptualised with the same high-end design of Port St Charles—and price points ranging up to \$6.5 million (USD) (see Figure 6) (Carter, 2014).

Figure 6. Port Ferdinand



Source: (Ojomu, 2015)

The representative from Port St. Charles reported that the significant difference in the facilities is that “apart from the price points of Port Ferdinand being much higher, they have a fantastic layout, but a very small beach. On the other hand, Port St. Charles has an entire beachfront” (SXMM2 interview, 2016). The Six Men’s coastal landscape therefore supports not only a fishing community, but also two luxury marinas—one to the south and the other adjacent to the fishing community (see Figure 7).

Figure 7. Aerial view showing Six Men’s in relation to Port St. Charles and Port Ferdinand



Source: (Barbados Property List, 2017)

The development of the first marina, Port St. Charles, initially brought about conflict due to claims that its construction “wrecked the reef” and damaged inshore fish habitat (Morris, 1997; Alleyne-Greene, 2015). However, this study’s empirical findings suggest that, in recent years, local tensions have been particularly high because of Port Ferdinand’s construction. According to several members of the Six Men’s fishing community and an academic, it is widely believed that “the developers of Port Ferdinand are interested in acquiring the Six Men’s land and beachfront that has been held up in court claims” (SXMM5 cf. SXMF7, SXMM1, ACDM4 interviews, 2016). These seemingly competing constructions of development, and of sustainable development, affecting Six Men’s prompted a letter to the editor of one of Barbados prominent newspapers from a retired fisherman and former executive of BARNUFO, titled, “The Tale of Two Islands” (Cummins, 2011). The letter essentially spoke to a notion of two Barbados’ being built on embedded stratifications of race/colour and class and vacillating between maintaining cultural traditions and advancing economic interests. Essentially then, how the norm of sustainable development has been constituted and understood from the top down compared to the bottom-up has significant consequences for the future of Six Men’s. This is particularly with regards to the rights afforded to the Six Men’s fishing community to own and physically access prime beachfront and coastal space alongside luxury tourism interests.

2. Constructing Development from the Top-Down

2.1. The Principled Governance of the Sustainable Development of Fisheries and Luxury Tourism (Type 1 Norms)

In struggles over rights to coastal space in Barbados the discourse of sustainable development has been central. This is an important point to highlight because in interpreting the meaning of achieving sustainable development around the sectors of luxury tourism and fisheries in Barbados, both directly influence the attainment of the island's economic and environmental sustainability. Nevertheless, there is an oft-unaddressed element of achieving sustainable development to explore regarding how the sectors have contributed to the island's socio-cultural sustainability.

For Barbados, the international norm of sustainable development has indeed held institutional significance and found traction amongst the island's political actors as a widely accepted concept. As host to the 1994 Global Conference on the Sustainable Development for Small-Island-Developing-States (SIDS), the island was at the centre of the adoption of "the Barbados Programme of Action (BPOA) for the Sustainable Development of SIDS" (UNDESA, 1994). This was a significant institutional episode because the BPOA influenced Barbadian political authorities to define what the norm of sustainable development meant within the context of the island's own national development. This was:

Development which optimises the quality of life of every person without over-exploiting natural and environmental assets and services, or jeopardizing social and economic development (Ministry of Housing, Lands, and the Environment, 2004, pp. 8).

According to Barbados' Ministry of Housing, Lands, and the Environment that published the island's only standing national sustainable development policy:

The lynch-pin of this interpretation of Sustainable Development is that the pursuit of economic growth (economic capital) and social development (social capital)

in Barbados, ought to be balanced and in harmony with the inherent limits of our ecological capital (Ministry of Housing, Lands, and the Environment, 2004, pp. 8).

Despite this, this study's empirical evidence clearly suggests that there is contestation around the meaning of the norm when constructing governance of the island's national development priorities from the top-down vs. bottom-up in its north-west. While not discounting that economic and environmental sustainability are important facets of achieving sustainable development, this study's empirical evidence demonstrates, as Barbados' national sustainable development policy alludes to, that attention should be paid to the principle of social sustainability as a significant pillar of achieving sustainable development in Barbados.

It is necessary to explain how the sustainable development discourse has shaped the governance of tourism and fisheries in Barbados. First, the concept of sustainable tourism was formally introduced to the international community at the 1994 Global Conference on the Sustainable Development for SIDS, which, as mentioned before, was hosted in Barbados. The concept was adopted and reaffirmed through several subsequent conferences hosted by the United Nations World Tourism Organization¹⁴² (UNWTO, 2017). In 2005, sustainable tourism was officially defined by the World Tourism Organization as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities" (UNEP and UNWTO, 2005, pp. 12). It could be argued here that exploring the effects of tourism through an environmental or economical sustainability lens has been the status-quo. This is because the sector is the main contributor to the economies of particularly SIDS, like Barbados. Notwithstanding, the international community has also been urged to apply a human-centred approach to achieving sustainable tourism as validated with declarations made within the 2015 SDGs¹⁴³ (Kariithi, 2016). Therein, Member states were advised, among other things, to "improve the welfare and livelihoods of local communities"¹⁴⁴ (United Nations, no date). This social sustainability emphasis in the SDGs would also be accompanied by

¹⁴² For more information on the evolution of the concept of sustainable tourism and its application to Small Island Developing States (cf. UNEP and UNWTO, 2005; UNWTO, 2017a).

¹⁴³ Tourism is expected to contribute to all the 2015 SDG goals. The parameters for achieving sustainable tourism are particularly reflected in Goals 8, 12 and 14 on inclusive and sustainable economic growth, sustainable consumption and production (SCP) and the sustainable use of oceans and marine resources, respectively (Kariithi, 2016).

¹⁴⁴ See Paragraph 130 of *A Future We Want* (cf. United Nations, no date).

declarations made about the principles of sustainable tourism by the World Tourism Organisation. These declarations called the international community to, *inter-alia*, “respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance” (UNWTO, 2017). This chapter thus aims to account for this shift in development rhetoric, whereby, sustainable tourism is seen as a driver for the promotion and protection of socio-cultural heritage (cf. Kariithi, 2016). Here, cultural heritage as a concept has significant bearing on the construction of social identities, in that, “the definition of cultural heritage....relates not only to material expressions such as sites and objects, but also intangible expressions such as language and oral tradition, social practices, rituals....” (Robinson and Picard, 2006, pp. 11).

It is important to note that this study’s empirical evidence has revealed that the concept of sustainable tourism has only recently been integrated as a part of Barbados’ national development agenda. As stated prior in this and previous chapters, by the mid-1970s, Barbados prioritised tourism to advance its development goals and earn foreign exchange (cf. Fitzpatrick, 2000). Despite this, criticisms have been lodged against Barbados’s tourism industry, and there are heightened concerns about the social impact of tourism. These social impacts have been largely attributed to the annual influx of tourists historically outnumbering the local population, which, the statistics presented in 2017, report to be approximately 3:1 (Greenidge and Greenidge, 2007; WTTC, 2017). Locals have complained about loss of beach access, dislocation from areas of traditional economic activity, as well as being pushed out from their traditional Barbadian lodgings by the white Barbadian elite and foreign oligarchs with large monetary interests in Barbadian tourism (cf. Greenidge and Greenidge, 2007; Bootle, 2018).

These concerns are particularly pertinent throughout the west coast of Barbados, known both by locals and tourists, as the “platinum coast”. This is because, according to the representative from Port. St Charles, “Barbados’ luxury tourism brand has historically been restricted to the west and north-west coast and this has continued as a trend” (SXMM2 interview, 2016). It is perhaps unsurprising then, that fishing communities, particularly in Barbados’ north-west, like Six Men’s, have had to compete with high-end tourism developments for rights to own and physically access prime beachfront and coastal space. Essentially then, achieving socio-cultural sustainability in Six Men’s as a

luxury tourism host community can only be understood in tandem with that of achieving the socio-cultural sustainability of Six Men's as a fishing community.

The concept of sustainable fisheries was formally introduced to the international community at the 1991 Food and Agriculture Organisation's (FAO's) Committee on Fisheries (FAO, 1995). Notwithstanding, chapter 2 mentioned that throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, the concept has been directed to its biological/ecological dimensions “in the effort to bring stocks back to sustainable levels and to protect the marine environment” (Urquhart et al., 2014, pp. 1). Thus, while the sustainable fisheries concept is not new, conservation and rationalisation paradigms have largely “omitted consideration of social and cultural dimensions that are integral to understanding the idea of sustainable development” (Urquhart et al., 2014, pp. 2).

The first formal global declaration of achieving the socio-cultural sustainability of fisheries was in Chapter 17 of Agenda 21. Therein, it was stipulated that the international community ought to “take into account the traditional knowledge and interests of local communities, small-scale artisanal fisheries and indigenous people in development and management programmes” (Urquhart et al., 2014, pp. 3). Agenda 21 led to the formalisation of the 1995 Global Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries, which, in Article 6.9, calls for states to ensure that their fisheries are integrated into coastal area management, development and planning¹⁴⁵ (FAO, 1995 pp. 6). Although no specific mention is made about sustaining the socio-cultural heritage of fishing communities, the FAO Committee on Fisheries has also validated this human-centered approach to sustainable fisheries by way of the 2015 SDGs¹⁴⁶ (COFI, 2016). Integrating the social and cultural concerns of achieving sustainable fisheries in the global sustainable development agenda has been shored up in recent years by several FAO instruments— specifically the *2012 Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure* and the *2015 Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries*, which call for the secure tenure,¹⁴⁷ meaning, access rights, either formal or customary of fisherfolk to coastal space (FAO, 2012, 2015). This normative ideal of securing the tenure rights of small-scale fisheries and

¹⁴⁵ The Global Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries is a non-binding voluntary instrument. For more information on the Code and its principles (cf. FAO, 1995).

¹⁴⁶ Fisheries are related to several SDGs. However, the sector is particularly relevant to the achievement of SDG 1 (end poverty in all forms); SDG 2 (end hunger); and SDG 14 (conserve and sustainably use oceans, seas, and marine resources for sustainable development). For more information (cf. COFI, 2016).

¹⁴⁷ How people, communities and others gain access to land, fisheries and forests is defined and regulated through systems of tenure. These tenure systems determine who can use which resources, for how long, and under what conditions. For more information on understanding secure tenure (cf. FAO, 2013, 2017b).

fisherfolk is very relevant for small-scale artisanal fishing communities, like Six Men's. This is because in fisheries policy development "the idea of community has not been given a high priority" (Jentoft, 2000; Urquhart and Acott, 2014, pp. 258). Moreover, there are studies which argue that the contributions of fisheries to the social and cultural fabric of rural coastal communities is often-overlooked in the sustainable development discourse (cf. Urquhart and Acott, 2014; Khazad and Griffith, 2016). This is significant when one considers that "coastal communities exist on the littoral boundary between land and sea" and that fishing activity bounds up relational processes and encounters that lead to the "creation of particular individual and community identities linked to a fishing way of life" (Urquhart and Acott, 2014, pp. 257).

Like the concept of sustainable tourism, the concept of sustainable fisheries has not been overtly articulated in Barbados' national development plans. Despite this, Barbados' flyingfish fishery, its fisherfolk, and the communities which fisherfolk inhabit have undoubtedly played a significant role in the island's national development, and, are certainly a feature of the island's socio-cultural heritage. To recall, flyingfish was the main source of protein for the enslaved black Barbadian population, whose descendants comprise the majority of Barbados' present-day population. In fishing communities like Six Men's then, wherein fisherfolk have been characterized as the black peasantry, the traditions and cultural values attached to flyingfish were cemented as part of Barbados' social structure as a "poor man's food"¹⁴⁸ or "slave fish" (McConney, 1995; Welch, 2005; ACDM1 interview, 2016). Indeed, the dominant view amongst this study's KIs was that Barbados' flyingfish fishery has sustained the life and diet of the "ordinary" Barbadian, because the resource was caught easily close to shore and bought cheaply (GOVMM2, GOVMM10, FPM2, BGTm2 interviews, 2016).

Highlighting these socio-cultural dynamics of the fishery is important. In fact, case studies and personal reports from local community members recall that, during the 1960s, Six Men's benefitted from a small-fish processing plant owned by a white Barbadian in the area that is now occupied by Port Ferdinand (cf. Alleyne-Greene, 2015; SXMM7 and SXMF1 interviews, 2016). As a rural fishery with limited infrastructure— the fishery has

¹⁴⁸ The gendering of this term is not intentional. It is reported as relayed by the KI: ACDM1.

thrived off the inputs of the erstwhile near-shore fishing of day-boats¹⁴⁹ (Alleyne-Greene, 2015). This is significant because historical records and personal reports from KIs in Six Men's observe the local Barbadian preference for purchasing fish directly from the beach, and, specifically, un-iced flyingfish directly from day-boats¹⁵⁰ (cf. Crown Agents, 1990; Cecil, 1999; ACDF1, GOVMM6, SXMM7, interviews, 2016). Several Six Men's fish vendors also reported that their fish is sold either to locals, returning customers or general passers-by, and because of the association of Six Men's with "fresh fish", the fish is mostly sold at marked-up prices¹⁵¹ (SXMF1, SXMF2, SXMF3 interviews, 2016). These traditions of openly accessing fresh fish on the beach of the Six Men's fishing community have become a recognised part of the socio-cultural traditions and heritage of locals in the island's north-west. Despite this, given the luxury tourism developments of two port marinas encroaching upon the community, as well as the legal dispute over who owns the rights to the Six Men's land and beachfront, the dominant perspective shared by this study's KIs was that the future of the Six Men's fishing community is uncertain. It is the case then that in exploring how Barbadian national development priorities have come to be constructed via top-down governance in Six Men's, it is important to acknowledge that the locale is both a fishing community and luxury tourism host community with significant socio-cultural sustainability concerns. Namely, whether luxury tourism interests in Six Men's are promoting and protecting the socio-cultural traditions and heritage of Six Men's as fishing community with secure tenure rights.

2.2. Negotiating National Development Priorities in the Policy Making Process (Type 2 Norms)

It can be argued at this point in the chapter that to achieve socio-cultural sustainability around luxury tourism and fisheries in Six Men's, both sectors ought to have reciprocal rights to own and physically access the Six Men's land and beachfront. This means that how the sectors have been positioned as national development priorities in the policy-making process carries a significant amount of weight. In the case of fisheries, there is academic literature which claims that the sector has received minimal policy attention in

¹⁴⁹ To recall, the traditional practices of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery evolved from a fleet of sail-boats to an inshore day-boat fishery and an off-shore long-range ice-boat commercial fishery (see Chapters 5 and 6). Near-shore within this context is meant as fishing in Barbadian territorial waters up to 30 miles offshore. For more on the fishing practices of the Barbadian fleet (cf. Willoughby, 2007; Mohammed et al., 2015 and Chapter 6).

¹⁵⁰ Fish landed from day-boats have had to contend with phytosanitary and HAACP concerns to validate the health of un-iced fish. Most of the larger processors in the industry thus are of the idea that iced-fish are of a better quality, but this does not align with local Barbadian traditions (GOVMM6, FPM2, FPM3, interviews 2016).

¹⁵¹ These marked up prices that the Six Men's fish vendors speak of are correlated with the going prices at the Bridgetown fisheries complex. Bridgetown, located in the south of the island, is the major primary market for Barbadian fisheries.

Barbados' national development plans. Indeed, the space allotted to fisheries development has been remarkably short, about a-half to one-page out of fifty to one-hundred pages on average, and detail is often centred on infrastructural and technical developments, as well as increased production and fleet expansion. There have been minimal specifics articulated about the social and cultural state of the island's fisheries or fisherfolk (cf. Cecil, 1999, pp. 138-139; ACDM3 interview, 2016).

As documented in chapter 5, the Ministry of Agriculture, Food, Fisheries and Water Resource Management of Barbados has primary responsibility for oversight of the island's fisheries. Fisheries are governed by the Fisheries Act (1993, amended 2000); Fisheries Management Regulations (1998); and, the 2004-2006 Barbados Fisheries Management Plan (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003; FAO, 2017a). Within these national governance instruments for Barbadian fisheries no specific reference is made about securing the tenure rights of Barbadian fishing communities, and, for over ten years, there have been no viable updates to these governance instruments. Nevertheless, academics expressed that the "idea is that fisheries are self-governing, particularly the tertiary sites, like Six Men's, so they are left alone" (ACDF1; cf. ACDM4 interviews, 2016). This notion of tertiary sites like Six Men's being self-governing is intriguing because chapter 5 mentioned that when the Fisheries Division was established in 1944, part of their stated mandate was to secure the rights of Barbadian fisherfolk to own and physically access beach areas for fisheries development; an intention that has been encumbered by how much attention the fisheries sector has received as a vehicle for national development.

In contrast to the fisheries sector, tourism has arguably received a significant amount of policy attention from the Barbadian authorities. The governing authority for coordinating the sector's various stakeholders is the Ministry of Tourism along with several other public and private sector interests¹⁵². The regulatory environment for tourism is guided by two primary pieces of legislation: the Tourism Development Act (2002)¹⁵³ and the Special Development Areas Act (1996, 2001). Of particular interest to this thesis is the Special Development Areas Act which declares "defined geographical areas within

¹⁵² There are several public and private sector agencies which have been established to work in conjunction with the Ministry of Tourism to promote the Barbados tourism product and investments globally. For example, the Barbados Tourism Authority which was established in 1985, Barbados Tourism Marketing Inc. and the Barbados Tourism Investment Inc. (BTA, 2015; BTI, 2017; BTMI, 2017).

¹⁵³ The 2002 Tourism Development replaced the 1956 Hotel Aids Act.

Barbados” for tourism development (Government of Barbados, 2001; PCSI, 2009, pp. 46). These designated areas include Speightstown and its environs in St. Peter¹⁵⁴ (BTI, 2017). The Barbadian government has also commissioned both a White Paper on the Development of Tourism in Barbados¹⁵⁵ and the Barbados Tourism Master Plan (2014-2023). In both policy instruments, provisions are made about the necessity to respect the status of host communities (Strategic Solutions, 2012; HLA Consultants, 2014). It is thus relevant to unpack how Barbadian coastal space has been appropriated for tourism development in the policy-making process.

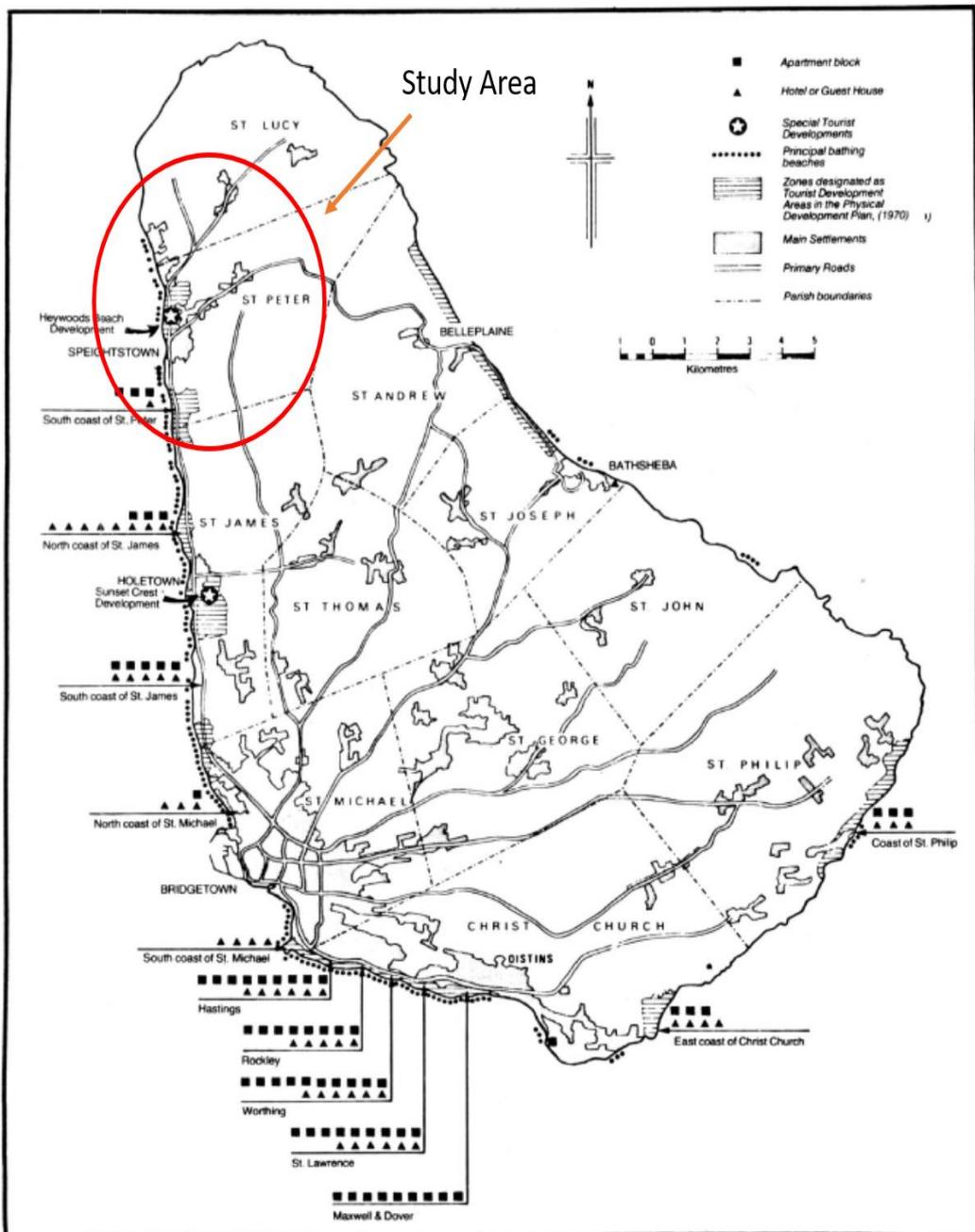
Potter (1983) explains that the spatial distribution of hotels has coincided with the principal beaches on the sheltered south and west coast of the island (see Figure 8). Note that these areas later became “Special Development Areas” under the 2001 Special Development Areas Act. Potter (1983) goes on to observe that the 1979-1983 Barbados Development Plan¹⁵⁶ states the physical development strategy for tourism is “concerned essentially with matching social and economic market strata with particular zones”. Meaning the spatial distribution of land has been based on class constructs. Arguably, it is because of this policy that the west, particularly the north-west, has been designated for luxury tourism (Potter, 1983, pp. 47). Interestingly, prefiguring the discourse on sustainable development, the 1979-1983 Barbados Development Plan also states that “ultimately, the survival of tourism in Barbados depends on the continued positive and healthy attitude of Barbadians to visitors...” (pp. 76 in Potter, 1983, pp. 49). This can be read as concern about a second-class Barbadian citizenry being socially constructed as subservient to luxury tourism on the west coast. This brings into focus how top-down governance has reconciled whether the sectors ought to have reciprocal rights to own and physically access prime coastal land and beachfront.

¹⁵⁴The other defined areas under the Special Development Areas Act are the Carlisle Bay Redevelopment area in St. Michael; St. Lawrence Gap in Christ Church; The Scotland District Conservation Area (BTI, 2017).

¹⁵⁵The 2012 “White Paper on the Development of Tourism in Barbados” was preceded by the 2001 “Green Paper on the Sustainable Development of Tourism in Barbados – A Policy Document”. For more information (cf. Strategic Solutions, 2012).

¹⁵⁶The 1979-1983 Barbados Development Plan positions on tourism development were based off recommendations from the Organization of American States (OAS) produced 1977 Barbados Tourism Development Plan (cf. Potter, 1983).

Figure 8. Tourism Development Zones in Barbados, circa 1980.



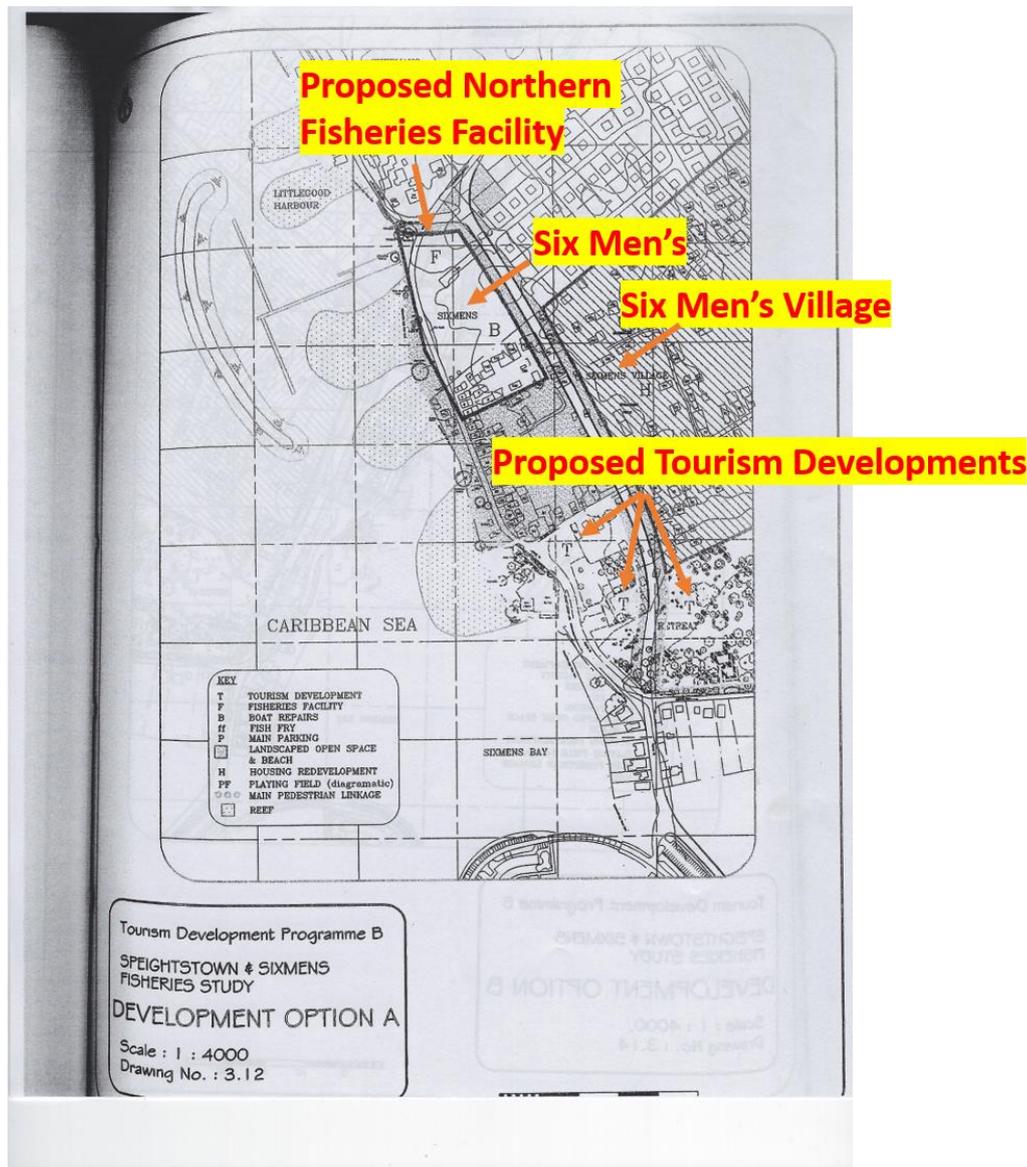
Source: (Potter, 1983, pp. 48)

The declaration of Speightstown, St. Peter, as a Special Development Area was particularly significant because that area would extend from Speightstown to Six Men's (The Barbados Advocate, 1996). It is worth noting that before luxury tourism, fisheries was the national development priority for the area. There is academic literature which indicates that as far back as 1953, there were plans for the development of a fishing facility in the north of the island to be situated somewhere between Speightstown and Six Men's,

and that, political considerations were paramount in deciding the location (Cecil, 1999, pp. 112). Here, it is important to highlight that St. Peter was the parliamentary constituency of Prime Minister Owen Arthur (1994-2008) and was his constituency until he announced his retirement from electoral politics in early 2018. Notwithstanding, it was also documented that 1997 brought renewed government interest in establishing primary fish markets in St. Peter. Cited in Cecil (1999, pp. 78) is an October 10, 1997, *Nation News* report which relays that Prime Minister Arthur announced an ultra-modern fisherfolk and boat building facility for Six Men's. In 1998, the government then commissioned a study for a "Northern Fisheries Development Plan". This Plan called for the revitalisation of fishing infrastructure in both Speightstown and Six Men's, St. Peter. Within the Plan, Six Men's was noted as the preferred location for a northern fisheries complex, largely because of its representation as a "true fishing community" (Mahon and Jones, 1998, pp. 18).

Arthur's Barbados Labour Party (BLP) 1999 political manifesto also made declarations about the government's intentions to construct a northern fisheries complex (BLP, 1999). Interestingly, in the final report of the 1999 "Barbados Tourism Development Programme", illustrations were included about where the northern fisheries facility should be located in Six Men's as there also "would be some tourism development opportunities" (Design Collaborative, 1999, pp. 51). Indeed, in Figure 9 below, clearly marked is the development space that was to be allotted for both sectors to operate in tandem. This illustration is therefore quite significant because it provides hard evidence that there was acceptance, via national development policy, of reciprocal rights being granted to both sectors to own and physically access the Six Men's land and beachfront.

Figure 9. Illustration showing where the proposed northern fisheries facility would be in conjunction with tourism developments in Six Men's.



Source: (Design Collaborative, 1999)

Subsequent declarations were also made in the 2003 Amended Physical Development Plan for Barbados, as well as the BLP's 2003-2008 "Agenda" and 2008 political manifesto about the intentions of the government to construct a new fishing facility in Six Men's (Government of Barbados, 2003, pp. 7-7; BLP, 2003, pp. 39; BLP, 2008 pp. 41). BLP's 2003-2008 Agenda even went as far to state that efforts should be made to integrate "into the planning process those communities which live on or make a living from the sea", and, where applicable, that "the Pan-American Health Organisation (PAHO)-Six Men's model will be utilized for developing projects with coastal communities" (BLP, 2003, pp.

51). Apart from this declaration in the 2003-2008 BLP Agenda, I was unable to locate any additional references that could explain what exactly the PAHO – Six Men’s model would entail. Despite this, it could be argued that as a high-ranking black political figure who was both the Prime Minister and Member of Parliament for the area, Arthur’s involvement in setting the Six Men’s national development agenda seemed to validate the vision of holistically integrating luxury tourism and fisheries in the island’s north-west. Nevertheless, the dominant perspective expressed by KIs in Six Men’s was that luxury tourism interests have upended the development plans for northern fisheries.

Regarding this, when the BLP rose to power in 1994, its manifesto depicted tourism “as the principal engine for economic development” and that numerous measures were to be introduced to assist it (BLP, 1994, pp. 13). Specific mention was made about the development of marinas in Bridgetown and Speightstown (Alleyne, 1998, pp. 80). Similarly, in the BLP’s 2003 and 2008 political manifestos, tourism was also depicted as the prime catalyst energising other sectors of the economy (BLP, 2003a, 2008). These political declarations are important because despite the northern fisheries proposal being on the table, in 1996, Port St. Charles was officially opened. This was not without technical opposition. The site was of significant archaeological importance and due to the altering of the coastal landscape rigorous environmental impact assessments were required (cf. Alleyne, 1998; Fitzpatrick, 2000). In fact, Alleyne’s (1998, pp. 85) case study observed that the Chief Town Planner relayed that the project could not be sustainable from an environmental perspective. However, recognising the liability of an unfulfilled manifesto promise, the project was authorised to proceed. On this account, several KIs in Six Men’s as well as the representative of Port. St. Charles shared that the Six Men’s community was largely in accord with Port St. Charles because the development legally sits on property of the Crown. Moreover, in 2005, the Six Men’s fishing community benefitted from the introduction of seven stalls for fish processing and vending provided by the government (cf. SXMF1, SXMM4, SXMM6, SXMM7 interviews, 2016). Despite this, the sentiment shared by the leader of BARNUFO and supported by a long-time Six Men’s resident and fisherman, was that “this was the government’s attempt to quiet the confusion about the northern fisheries project and appease the fisherfolk with improved facilities. The stalls from Six Men’s were transferred from the Oistins fish market in the south of the island”—the latter which was being transformed into a tourist attraction and fish fry (BNFF1 interview, 2016; cf. SXMM6, interview, 2016). The donations of the

fishing stalls could indeed be viewed as political concessions, particularly given that the designated stall owners also benefit from free water and temporary electrical supply (see Figure 10) (Alleyne-Greene 2015; SXMF1 interview, 2016).

Figure 10. A Six Men’s Vendor’s Fish Stall while vendor is filleting and selling flying-fish



Source: (Soares, 2016 taken on-site by author)

By 2008, the development vision for Six Men’s began to shift. Arthur and the BLP lost the 2008 election. While Prime Minister Arthur remained the parliamentary representative for St. Peter, power over the state was transferred to Prime Minister David Thompson (2008-2010) and the Democratic Labour Party (DLP)¹⁵⁷. Chapter 5 noted that since Barbadian independence in 1966, control over the state has vacillated between the islands two main political parties, the Barbados Labour Party (BLP) and the Democratic Labour Party (DLP), with the former’s ideology right of centre and the latter left of centre. Moreover, it has also been noted that the Barbadian populace has been largely critical of the efforts of both political parties to regulate the white elite’s control over the economy (Beckles, 2004a). This is an intriguing point because esteemed Barbadian historian, Beckles, argues that part of Arthur’s mandate was to exorcise white racial domination of the Barbadian economy and to uplift the oppressed spirits of the black political majority

¹⁵⁷ Prime Minister David Thompson died from pancreatic cancer in 2010. The Democratic Labour Party (DLP) remains in power under the leadership of Prime Minister Freundel Stuart (2010 – 2018). Political power over the state has once again transferred to the BLP under the leadership of Prime Minister Mia Mottley with the May 2018 elections.

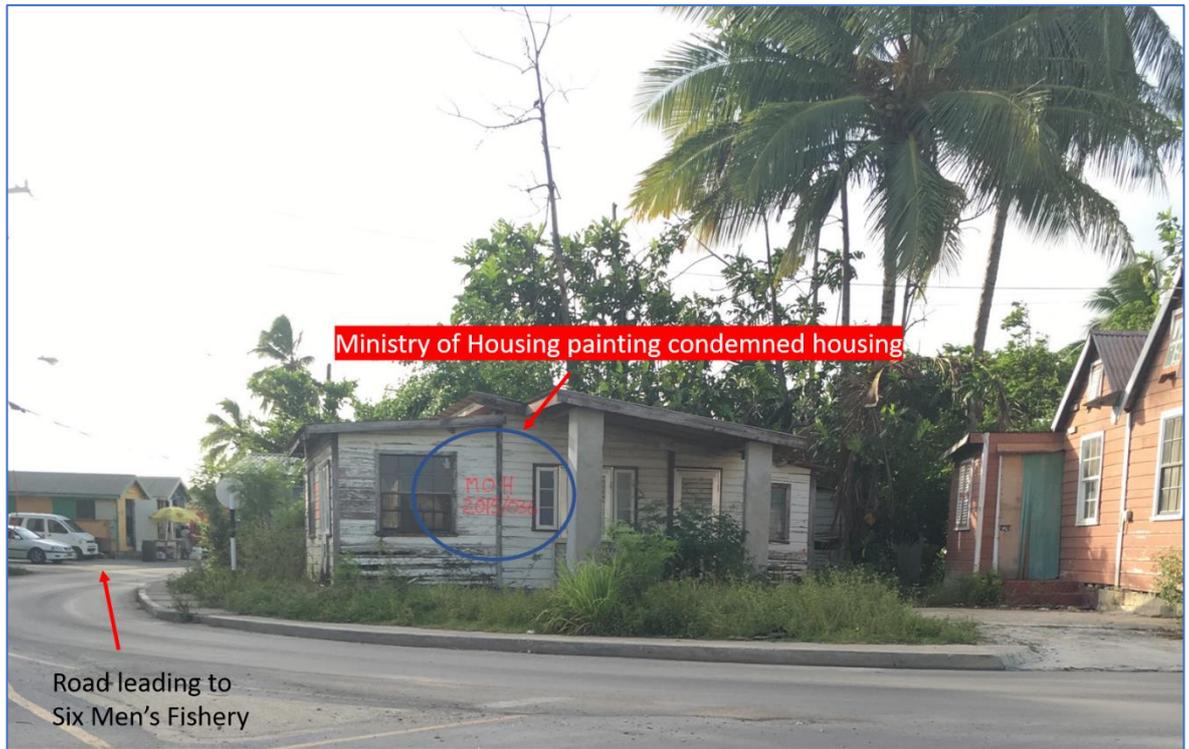
in post-colonial Barbados (Beckles, 2004a, pp. 161-162). Understanding the effects of these identity dynamics of Barbadian race/colour and class underpinning the port developments is pertinent to this study. This is because, as previously mentioned, Port St. Charles and Port Ferdinand were conceived as sister projects, but when “politics” started to challenge the Port Ferdinand development, the projects were separated. Intriguingly, the local community seemed to be more accepting of the Port St. Charles development on the premise of being familiar with the white Barbadian nationals and their ostensibly known interests in constructing development in Six Men’s. However, when the Williams brothers pulled out of Port Ferdinand’s development, and Bjerkhamn partnered with foreign investors, this same project was viewed quite differently. This is certainly an important finding of identity politics around the development plan and the people involved in constructing development priorities in Six Men’s. Namely, because this can be interpreted as local white capital and control over the Barbadian economy is perceived as legitimate, or at least, inevitable. However, foreign capital and infrastructural investments are viewed with skepticism.

It should be stated that my efforts to contact representatives from Bjerkhamn’s JADA company were unsuccessful. Nonetheless, in seeking some background on the “politics” surrounding Port Ferdinand’s construction, two long-time Six Men’s community members who are also retired fisherfolk shared conflicting accounts. On the one hand, there was the view that “Owen Arthur wanted to sell out and completely eradicate Six Men’s” (SXMM7 interview, 2016). This contrasted with the view that:

Owen Arthur said that St. Peter didn’t need another marina, so they [the white corporate elite] decided to canvas against him and the BLP. They refused to sell Mr. Arthur [by way of the Crown/state] the land to build the Six Men’s fish market. The current government [led by the DLP] however gave Bjerkhamn and Port Ferdinand the approval to build where the old fish market we had in the 1960s used to sit (SXMM6 interview, 2016).

Of course, the question remains if ‘socio-cultural sustainability’ would have been advanced and whether reciprocal rights would have been granted to the sectors if Arthur and the BLP had remained in political power. This will never be known. What is known is that PM Thompson and his DLP government certainly had a different development vision for Six Men’s. In the DLP political manifestos I reviewed, no mention is made of there being any plans for a northern fisheries facility (cf. DLP, 2008, 2013). Taking this into account, there is indeed a lot of confusion surrounding the legality of the Port Ferdinand development and their rights to own and physically access Six Men’s land and beachfront. A *Nation News* article titled “Squatters Forever” articulated that squatting was not just for “the preserve of the poor and underprivileged....the brazen rich do too” (cf. Brandford, 2014). In fact, it was documented that, in 2013, the Barbados Auditor General issued a damning report about the “illegal occupation of Crown lands” since 2009 by a private developer. Not explicitly referring to Port Ferdinand, it was stated that, “the occupation and utilisation of land at Six Men’s, St. Peter, for a marina by the private developer is not keeping with the public purpose for which it was acquired” (Brandford, 2014). Yet, nothing much seems to have come from the Auditor General’s report particularly given that Port Ferdinand is still in operation, and the insecure tenure of the Six Men’s fishing community has only increased. Indeed, a long-time resident pointed out that the Ministry of Housing has started to paint condemned housing on some of the local residences (see Figure 11). Indeed, Beckles (2004a, pp. 112) charges that up to the present-day rural blacks remain “essentially a landless, resourceless [sic], alienated people, squatting on lands to which they have an unquestionable moral right to own and use”. Present day reports also quite strikingly indicate that blacks who could afford to purchase land on the west coast, now also known as the platinum coast, have expressed concerns about their rights to prime coastal land being challenged by continued racial divide. Particularly, that they are being “pushed out” because of the local white elite’s interests in luxury tourism and the plethora of oligarchs that are not welcoming of “a black man on the beach” (Bootle, 2018).

Figure 11. Picture of local house in Six Men’s being condemned by the Ministry of Housing



Source: (Soares, 2016: taken on-site by author)

Several of the members of the Six Men’s fishing community expressed that because of these labels they feel like they are “second class citizens being pushed out from the Six Men’s coast and not welcome around the tourism product” (SXMM7 cf. SXMF1, SXMF2, SXMF3 interviews, 2016). By 2016, things proved even more uncertain for the Six Men’s fishing community. In the 2016 Supplementary Budget address, it was mentioned by the Minister of Finance that plans were in place to re-zone the northern corridor, including the Six Men’s area and beyond, to benefit from tourism under the Tourism Development Act and the Special Development Areas Act (GOB Ministry of Finance, 2016, pp. 34).

Essentially then, despite reference to the fundamental principle of sustainable development, the reciprocal rights of access and ownership advanced in conceptualisations of sustainable tourism and sustainable fisheries has not been realised by top-down governance. This pointed to two overarching ways in which the top-down governance of Barbadian national development priorities is being challenged: 1) the appropriateness of integrating sustainable fisheries and sustainable tourism as pillars of

national development in Six Men's, and, 2) the inclusivity of ordinary Barbadian interests (particularly in the Six Men's locale) in constructing national development priorities.

This study's empirical evidence suggests that the idea of integrating luxury tourism and fisheries on Barbados' platinum coast is the major strain in constructing the top-down governance of Barbadian national development priorities. This, in turn, has created a legitimacy gap. When questioning the top official in the Fisheries Division about what did or did not happen with the northern fisheries plan, he replied, "that is politics, so I will not get into it" (GOVMM6 interview, 2016). Nonetheless, an academic who has championed much of the flyingfish research in Barbados, relayed that "when the northern fisheries plan was being reviewed ten years ago, they were not well separated from the port developments...placing multi-million-dollar yachts in the same area as a fishing community was not a very good idea" (ACDF1 interview, 2016).

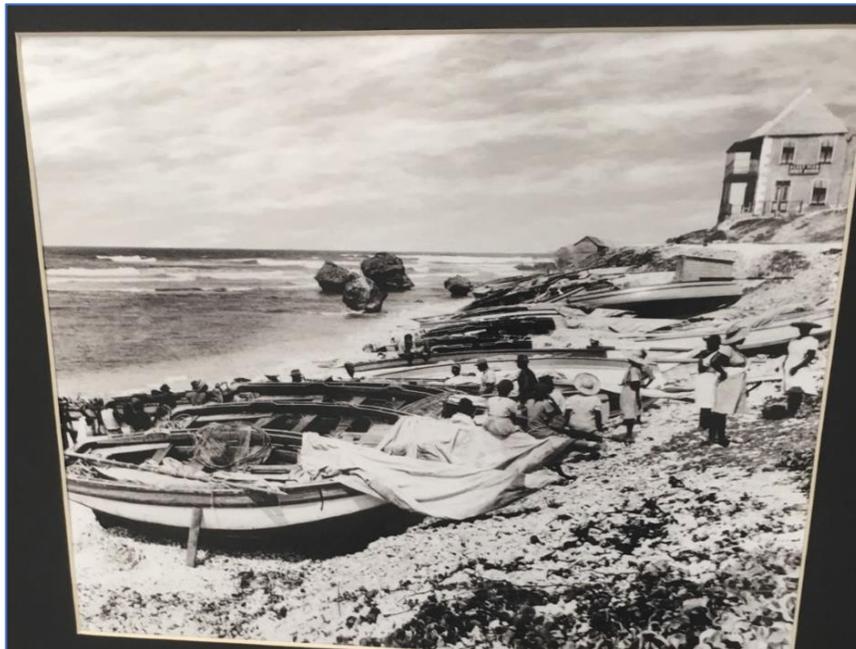
Central to this politics has been the way in which local white Barbadian corporate interests have been privileged over local black Barbadian interests in national development. It's worth pointing out here, that within the National Strategic Plan of Barbados 2005 – 2025, specific declarations are made about the need to achieve social cohesion by reconciling the differences of class, race, and generation in Barbadian society. The Plan goes on to articulate the need to enfranchise "ordinary Barbadians" and to "break down the old paradigm of the black community functioning in the public sector and political life, and the white and other minorities in the private sector" (Research and Planning Unit, 2005, pp. 43-44). However, several news reports suggested that the inclusion of the "small man"/ "ordinary Barbadian" in development activities slated to improve the local Six Men's community has been virtually non-existent (cf. Scantlebury, 1995; Cummins, 2011). Moreover, the Managing Director of Mount Six Men's boldly stated that because [she] is a "black Barbadian" perhaps [she] is "not the right person to speak to about development, especially of prime beachfront" (SXMF6 interview, 2016). Indeed, up to the submission of this thesis in 2018, the Six Men's fishing community has not received any formal recognition of their secure tenure rights, nor, has there been any further formal indication about the future of their status as a respected luxury tourism host community. This now leads to the exploration of the local norms underpinning the challenges and alternatives to the top-down governance of the sectors of luxury tourism and fisheries in Six Men's.

3. Constructing National Development Priorities from the Bottom-Up (Type 3 norms)

3.1. Integrating Sustainable Tourism and Sustainable Fisheries from the Bottom-Up

Section 2.2 of this chapter highlighted a legitimacy gap in governance wherein I questioned the appropriateness of integrating sustainable fisheries and sustainable tourism as pillars of national development in the Six Men's locale. In answer, the study's empirical evidence demonstrates that there is no question that flyingfish remains a part of Barbados' preserved history, traditions and heritage as a cultural and dietary staple (Cumberbatch and Hinds, 2013). However, no longer is the only evidence of fishing activities the presence of fishing boats drawn up on the beach or moored a few hundred yards off the coast (see Figure 12) (Bair 1962, pp. 45). With the introduction of ice-boats in the late 1970s, today, the Barbadian fleet is highly commercialised (see Figure 13) (Willoughby, 2007).

Figure 12. Picture illustrating the tradition of Barbadian fishing boats being moored on the beach and the community gathering in rural Barbados.



Source: (Soares, 2016 - taken by author at the 2016 Fisherman's week display at the Barbados fisheries division).

Figure 13. Picture illustration of the modern commercial Barbadian fleet at the Bridgetown Fishing Complex in South-East Barbados



Source: (Soares, 2016 - taken by author on site). Note that this is flyingfish being off-loaded from ice-boats.

Despite the commercialisation of the modern Barbadian fleet, a significant element of the local discourse has been about the challenges associated with sustaining the socio-cultural heritage and traditions of northern fisheries alongside luxury tourism. In interpreting how Barbadian national development priorities have been constructed from the bottom-up in Six Men's then, this study's empirical evidence suggests that embedded racialised/colour and class dynamics as well as cultural spatialities have shaped actors' perceptions about the appropriateness of integrating the two sectors. The Six Men's community members, including the fisherfolk who are not involved in the political process, intimated that the rights of 'ordinary' Barbadians to own and physically access prime Barbadian beachfront and coastal on the platinum coast had not been legitimated like luxury tourism. A prominent Barbadian historian explained, "it is common in Barbados for fishing communities to be pushed out from prime beachfront on the platinum coast because of the standard conflicts between luxury tourism and fishing communities as social stratum" (ACDM1 interview, 2016). This historian's statement could be interpreted to mean that fishing communities on the island's platinum coast have not been accorded equitable social status alongside luxury tourism, particularly for being recognised as a significant contributor to the Barbadian economy. This however has not been a standard of development throughout the island. This historian and fisherfolk from Six Men's

acknowledged Oistins in the south of the island as a prime area where tourism and fishing communities *are* successfully co-existing and supporting each other (ACDM1, SXMM4, SXMM7 interviews, 2016). My field observations during 2016 suggest that because the south has been designated for middle class tourism and affordable living, fisherfolk have not been noticeably forced out of prime beachfront, nor did there exist any sentiments from locals about exclusion from property due to price inflation borne from tourism developments. What is particularly conflicting about the development vision for the north of the island is that the 1998 Northern Fisheries Development Plan observed that northern fisheries should be “prepared with reference to lessons learned from the operation of Oistins and the Bridgetown Fisheries Complex (BFC)” — both of which are located on the south of the island (cf. Mahon and Jones, 1998, pp. 18). One might ask then why efforts have been unsuccessful to integrate the sectors in the north. The historian continued to explain that:

What has happened in the case of St. Peter is that tourism is more ‘up-market’ in the north. Consequently, social life which was focused on the locals arguably no longer exists in that part of the island. Furthermore, [they] haven’t placed the fishing community in the context of development on that side of the coast. No space has been created for co-existence to occur (ACDM1 interview, 2016).

Section 2.2 of this chapter also documented how Barbados’ tourism development strategies have explicitly catered to luxury developments on the west and north-west coast (Potter, 1983). How, then, did locals contest this trajectory? It is worth mentioning that Speightstown, St. Peter benefitted from a new fisheries facility, as per the 1998 northern fisheries plan. After improved fishing infrastructure was introduced in Six Men’s in 2005 via government donated stalls, in 2006, the new Speightstown fish market was opened. Its opening was not without local opposition. A long-time St. Peter resident explained that “the development of the new fish market was not parallel to structures of local fish markets. [It] resembles a fish supermarket, and so, locals tend not to want to buy fish from there” (SXMF7 interview, 2016). The leader of BARNUFO thus described the tensions:

The Speightstown fish market was built for tourists. Because of this, the market is largely dead. The politicians were interested in making the markets more European while throwing away Barbados' traditional and cultural markets. A traditional Barbadian fish market is an open market where you can walk up to a vendor and view your fish being cut, while observing all the other activities in the market (BNFF1 interview, 2016).

A government official attached to the Markets Division also lamented that “the Speightstown fish market has collapsed because it strayed from its traditional historical roots” (GOVMM5 interview, 2016). Two long time St. Peter residents supporting this assertion also shared that “we now go to Six Men’s to buy fish because the people standing on the road-side and open access to fresh fish is what we prefer as ordinary Barbadians” (SPTM1; cf. SXMF7 interviews, 2016). Clearly this notion of being an “ordinary” Barbadian is intimately linked to maintaining the socio-cultural traditions and heritage of openly accessing fisheries in St. Peter. This raises the question of whether the normative idea of achieving socio-cultural sustainability in Six Men’s as both a fishing community and luxury tourism host community has been endorsed in the locale.

As observed in section 2.2 of this chapter, the Six Men’s fishing community are seemingly in accord with the Port St. Charles development. In addition, both the Six Men’s fisherfolk and the representative of Port St. Charles documented positive interactions between the entities that have been driven by an informal governance arrangement demarcating reciprocal rights to access coastal space. According to the representative of Port St. Charles:

particularly when there is an approaching hurricane or bad weather, Six Men’s fishing boats are allowed to come into Port St. Charles. It’s important to share your surroundings and support the fisherman’s livelihood. These are things which Bajans appreciate (SXMM2 interview, 2016).

Nevertheless, in providing insight to the community politics surrounding the construction of the port developments alongside the fishing community, the representative from Port St. Charles shared that:

although Bjorn Bjerkhamn and JADA has stakes in both ports, Port Ferdinand's development was very forced and unnatural...initially there was to be a fishing village connected to Port Ferdinand by a canal which went right up to Six Men's. However, the Six Men's village is made up of squatters. If this was to be done, the squatters would have to be relocated and they are refusing to move. It became a challenge which was delaying the Port Ferdinand project, so Port St. Charles was separated from it (SXMM2 interview, 2016).

Here, it is worth highlighting perspectives from the locale about the appropriateness of Bjerkhamn's vision of development, especially given that Bjerkhamn's interests in luxury tourism in St. Peter could indeed be deemed as having taken precedence to that of northern fisheries. It was documented in a 2010 news report that residents in St. Peter would soon see "many of their community's beachside chattel houses give way to new luxury residential developments" (see Figure 14). Local reactions were mixed. It was reported by a fisherman that those who will get new houses as well as cash settlements are "lucky" (George, 2010). However, criticisms were lodged against Bjerkhamn that he has taken advantage of local landowners and renters. One woman went as far to state that due to "the enduring 'slave mentality' in Barbados people are afraid to challenge Bjerkhamn's vision, which sees workers tearing up the beach for foreign interests much the way they used to toil on sugar plantations" (Ibid, 2010). This brings into focus the implications of these feelings of marginalisation and second-class citizenry, particularly as it regards the socio-cultural sustainability of Six Men's as a fishing community and luxury tourism host community.

Figure 14. Picture of archetypical Barbadian chattel houses lining Six Men’s main-road



Source: (Soares, 2016: taken on-site by author)

The highlighted race/colour and class dynamics, though, are not entirely black and white. Chapter 5 highlighted some intriguing identity dynamics constructing the early governance of the fishery. Herein, apart from fisherfolk being classified as being largely from the black peasantry, the industry’s development, particularly in the north, benefitted from the inputs of the descendants of white indentured servants. Regarding this, it was a noteworthy finding that a long-time Six Men’s resident and fisherman along with his business associate, the latter being a white Barbadian, expressed that “it was not a whisper in Barbados that Port Ferdinand wants the land where Six Men’s sits because the developers think the Six Men’s fishery is degrading to the port’s ambience”. They went on to charge that the “Port Ferdinand developers are on a mission to destroy the Six Men’s community both morally and mentally” (SXMM4 cf. SXMM5 interviews, 2016). These sentiments are significant within the context of the race/colour and class dynamics foregrounded because it would appear that the poor whites, descendants of the white indentured, share the concern of the marginalised in Barbadian society being destroyed both psychologically and through the inequitable allotment of physical space for development. Despite this, the representative of Port St. Charles postured that:

it will be quite difficult to destroy the Six Men’s fishing community because neither Bjerkhavn or the government have been able to get rid of the squatters,

and, with the on-going legal dispute over who owns the rights to the Six Men's land and beach, for Port Ferdinand's interests to prevail, this will not be a quick fix (SXMM2 interview, 2016).

Nevertheless, the white Barbadian business associate of the Six Men's fisher referenced earlier charged that:

using the idea that the presence of locals is either degrading to the investors or tourists to push out black people happens a lot in Barbados, and, most of the coastal communities that are being pushed out are small fishing communities. Some people are of the view that you can't expect Barbados to develop if you're stuck in old ways. That's true to a point, but how can you push someone off their property just for money. Many of the locals are not interested in money, but in preserving their traditional rights to a piece of the Barbadian pie (SXMM5 interview, 2016).

This sentiment highlights the competing conceptions of development, and of sustainable development, where actors in the locale, particularly blacks and descendants of white indentured servants, are depicted as valuing sustaining the socio-cultural traditions and heritage of northern fisheries rather than monetary economic gains. In illustrating why local norms matter on this account then, essentially, the locals view the integration of the sectors through the granting of reciprocal rights to the Six Men's land and beachfront as the way to achieve socio-cultural sustainability in the locale. The dominant perspective from the Six Men's fishing community was that they desire "a proper fish market with a place to cook, serve food and entertain tourists—without that, tourists cannot successfully integrate with the fishery" (SXMM1 cf. SXMF1, SXMM6, SXMF5, interviews 2016). However, there was also a fear that tourism will always be considered more "developmental" than fisheries, particularly on the platinum coast, and, consequently, the sustainable future of the Six Men's fishing community with secure tenure rights and a respected tourist host community would be lost (SXMM1 cf. SXMF1, SXMM6, SXMF5, interviews 2016).

3.2. The Inclusivity and Representation of the ‘ordinary’ Barbadian – A Bottom-Up Reading

Section 2.2 of this chapter also hypothesised a legitimacy gap in top-down governance resulting from the absence of ‘ordinary’ Barbadians (particularly in the Six Men’s locale) in the policy-making process constructing development in Six Men’s. Returning to this now, as far back as 1999, media reports have documented that northern fisheries have been left out of the Barbadian national development agenda (Cecil 1999, pp. 78). In the case of Six Men’s fishing community, it is arguable that they lack representation because of a defunct Six Men’s Fisherfolk Organisation (cf. Alleyne-Greene 2015). This exclusion of the interests of ordinary Barbadians in national development was *the* prism through which actors in the Six Men’s locale expressed most dissatisfaction with top-down governance of the fishery.

First, it is worth highlighting the sentiments of an academic closely involved in consultations with the local Six Men’s community around the construction of Port St. Charles. He stated:

the Town and Country Planning Department, tasked to oversee Barbadian land developments, demands public consultations through town-hall meetings and stakeholder consultations. With the Port St. Charles consultations, when it got down to the local level, the main concern was with fisherfolk who thought the marina would take over their fishing ground. Other locals living in the area also voiced their concerns about the beach area becoming private thus prohibiting their access, but in the end, it turned out not to be the case (ACDM5 interview, 2016).

This academic went on to explain that “public consultations are needed, but there has to be a level of fairness in terms of how you allocate the resources and what is allowed and not allowed” (ACDM5 interview, 2016). This statement could be interpreted as although there were concerns from fisherfolk and the local Six Men’s community about their social

and economic displacement, other uses of coastal space, like tourism, that bring in substantial economic revenue streams for the island ought to take priority.

Interestingly, the inclusivity of the consultations surrounding the port developments in Six Men's was contested by several KIs. According to the leader of BARNUFO that attended a few meetings concerning the developments of both Port St. Charles and Port Ferdinand:

the persons in authority created a 'flashy' image of the benefits which the local community would receive if they agreed to the development of the ports. Moreover, the persons in authority were fully aware that the fisherfolk would not possess the level of tenacity needed to comprehend the situation. The fisherfolk were also more interested in the exquisite markets and other benefits which they were supposed to receive without considering the impact it would have on the true future of the Six Men's fishery and their livelihoods (BNFF1 interview, 2016).

It's worth exploring here if the Six Men's fishing community's perceived lack of democratic representation is underpinned by a racial divide. First, it was observed that in response to some of the initial push back that the Port St. Charles development was experiencing, that two of its main investors, who, to recall, are white Barbadians—Sir Charles and his brother Ralph 'Bizzy' Williams — were documented in two separate op-eds in the *Barbados Advocate*. Sir Charles relayed that the “marina was being criticized with one charge being that it is against the poor people of Barbados” and that charges were also being made about wanting to take the country back to slavery (Barbados Advocate, 1997). 'Bizzy' also stated that “all this talk about us paying black people pennies to look after expensive houses and yachts is nothing but propaganda being spewed by people desperate for political power” (Williams, 1997). The public consultations surrounding the construction of Port Ferdinand was also mired in racialized controversy. It was documented in a well-known Barbadian blog that black Barbadians did not take part in the Port Ferdinand consultations. Particularly, it was observed in a *Nation News* report, that factually in representation were white Barbadians with no “locals” present (Barbados Underground, 2008).

How access to bathe and swim in Barbadian waters has been shared between tourists and locals is also important. This is because locals particularly in Barbados' north-west also perceive their rights and democratic interests to unimpeded beach access through a racialized prism. Barbados prides itself on having open access beaches for fishing communities, fisherfolk, local bathers, and tourists to enjoy in synchrony (NCC, 2014). However, with the proliferation of tourism particularly on the south and west coasts, local Barbadians have sought ways to protect their traditional rights to unimpeded access to the sea (Ibid, 2014). In fact, an active campaign was created by local conservationists known as the "Windows to the Sea" group. Their mandate was to lobby the Barbadian government against tourism acting as both physical and visual barriers to locals on the seaward side of major western and southern coastal roads (Potter, 1983, pp. 47). However, a long-time resident of St. Peter lamented that the Windows to the Sea campaign has lost steam, particularly in the north-west. It was shared that:

while [we] do have public beach access, it is now down a narrow path that, in most cases, are hidden if you are not familiar with the new developments. There is also the matter of how locals feel to know that they no longer have ready access to the island's public beaches and feelings of inferiority, especially on the west coast, when, at times, white bathers have been known to depart from the water when a black Barbadian enters (SXMF7 interview, 2016).

There are also charges being levelled against how both port developments have hindered the local community's access to the Six Men's beachfront. In the case of Port St. Charles, two long-time residents of Six Men's reported that the coastal space designated for the yacht berths have cut off what was once unimpeded access for locals to walk the entire coast from Speightstown to Six Men's (see Figure 15) (SXMM3 and SXMM7, interviews, 2016). Port Ferdinand has also built a retractable bridge to accommodate its yachts. It was observed in a news report that because of the bridge some residents in the Six Men's community can no longer access the beach which is "virtually in their backyards" (see Figure 16) (Bradshaw, 2012). The dominant perspective shared by the Six Men's fishing community and wider residents of St. Peter therefore, was that, "the ports are there to

benefit rich white Barbadians and tourists and not the average St. Peter resident” (SPTM1 cf. SXMF1, SXMM3, SXMM6, SXMM7 and others, interviews, 2016).

Figure 15. Picture of Port St. Charles breakwater and jetty cutting off coastal access



Source: (Soares, 2016: taken by author on site)

Figure 16. Picture of Port Ferdinand Bridge



Source: (Pinterest, no date)

The loss of unimpeded access to the sea by the locals of St. Peter is quite significant for understanding how access to coastal space is informally governed on the island’s platinum coast. It is a known fact that all of Barbados’ beaches are public (Barbados.org, 2018). Indeed, there are no formal rules mandating that locals including fisherfolk cannot access the beach and waters occupied by both ports. However, because of the labels that have been cast on the locals of the Six Men’s community and sentiments of being unwelcome

around the island's luxury tourism product, many fisherfolk have shared that they will not dock their boats or fish beside million-dollar yachts (cf. SXMM3, SXMM6, SXMM7 and others, interviews, 2016). This is a type of informal governance that shows that there are immaterial barriers at work, especially with regards to how identity dynamics have reinforced racial and class segregation in the Six Men's locale.

It is questionable, however, whether this issue of political exclusion can be overcome simply through procedural forms in consultation and the like. Again, indicating why local norms matter in this case, several KIs attached to the Six Men's community expressed that:

the black people of Barbados have a very quiet culture. Unlike Jamaicans, Barbadians do not retaliate against perceived injustices. We are scared to be victimised and labelled as a troublemaker. The government will do that, and, this is a small island. I think it's [our] fault because we have become reliant on government to give us the permission to act and stand up for our God-given Barbadian rights¹⁵⁸ (SXMM4 cf. SXMM5, SXMF2 SPTM2, interviews, 2016).

On reflection, it seemed that if Six Men's is to ever realise socio-cultural sustainability as a fishing community and a luxury tourism host community in tandem, the locals need to find a way to democratically assert their interests in the national development agenda. If they don't, they will probably continue to be slowly be pushed out from the area. Nevertheless, there was hope in finding resolve for a fair and sustainably developed Barbados with the interests of both blacks and whites accounted for. The sentiment was expressed by several long-time Six Men's locals that "we are black Barbadians and deserve rights to have our dreams realised too" (SXMF1 cf. SXMF6, SXMM8, SXMM9, interviews, 2016).

¹⁵⁸ It's worth noting in regard to this sentiment of being labeled a trouble maker that topography also matters in such local Barbadian politics. Barbados is also flat with nowhere to run. There is no history of 'maroonage' like that found in Jamaica, for example.

Conclusion

This chapter explored whether there is acceptance or contention of the idea of granting reciprocal rights to luxury tourism and fisheries to own and physically access coastal space in Barbados, and why or why not. Section 1 demonstrated how competing constructions of sustainable development have come to shape the governance of luxury tourism and fisheries in the locale of Six Men's. Section 2 illustrated how the top-down governance of Barbadian national development priorities around the sectors was constructed. First, it explained that the norm of sustainable development has shaped the rhetoric around achieving sustainable tourism and sustainable fisheries in tension. Furthermore, it traced how despite efforts to integrate the sectors, the inability to resolve the normative tensions borne from the principle of sustainable development in the policy making process led to the failure of elite actors to grant reciprocal rights to the sectors to own and physically access the Six Men's land and beachfront. Examining how the top-down governance of Barbadian national development priorities have been constructed, highlighted concerns that luxury tourism interests in Six Men's championed by the white Barbadian elite are not promoting and protecting the socio-cultural traditions and heritage of the Six Men's fishing community—the latter who are largely black and describe themselves as “ordinary” Barbadians. The socio-cultural sustainability of Six Men's as a fishing community with secure tenure rights is also uncertain. Furthermore, there were sentiments of marginalisation and second-class citizenry, whereby, the interests of “ordinary” Barbadians are not democratically represented in the national development agenda. I then argued that these political dynamics expressive of top-down governance created legitimacy gaps in governance. These legitimacy gaps in governance pointed to two overarching ways in which the top-down governance of Barbadian national development priorities is being challenged: 1) the appropriateness of integrating sustainable fisheries and sustainable tourism as pillars of national development in Six Men's, and, 2) the inclusivity of ordinary Barbadians interests (particularly in the Six Men's locale) in constructing national development priorities.

Section 3 brought to the fore the effects of local norms. It is significant in this study's analytical design because an understanding was gained of governing national development priorities around the sectors of luxury tourism and fisheries in Six Men's from the bottom-up. This was important because interpreting the effects of local norms of actors showed an alternative view of governance that would help to account for the perspectives

of often marginalised actors in the policy and political process of constructing Barbadian national development. The key findings here were that embedded stratifications of race/colour and class that have long been part of Barbados' social structures have reconstituted political tensions between how local black and white Barbadian interests in the sectors of fisheries and luxury tourism have shaped the island's national development priorities, particularly in the north-west. Quite strikingly, it is an important finding that locals value sustaining the socio-cultural traditions and heritage of northern fisheries rather than economic gains from luxury tourism. Certainly, in dominant accounts of sustainable development, the status-quo has been to achieve economic and environmental sustainability. However, the principle of social sustainability and the inclusion of culture factored highly in the local discourse. Why local norms matter in this case then, is that, recognition ought to be given to the competing identities constructing development in the island's north-west.

Conclusion

This thesis has engaged with debates in international politics dealing with the distribution of communally-held resources, in this case, fisheries. The case was made for the need of a more nuanced understanding of the constitutive role of norms in governance from global to local scales that considers the ways in which local actors can also play important roles in norm development. The key argument of the study is that there is a need to be attentive to socio-political norms that have shaped what is deemed appropriate. How governance, and by extension, rights to the Barbadian flyingfish fishery have been understood, legitimated, and contested is the empirical case I utilised to explore these claims by focusing on normative tensions regarding ‘the region’ and ‘development’.

Brief Chapter Recap

I began this thesis by outlining the rationale for its enquiry, its key findings and how these collectively constitute contributions to knowledge (see introduction). In chapter 2, I presented a literature review of the dominant theories of maritime governance pertaining to fisheries. I argued that the documented theories are built on prescriptive rationalist assumptions and do not provide an adequate understanding of the social motivations of actors in enacting governance. In chapter 3, critical constructivism was introduced as an International Relations (IR) theoretical approach suitable for understanding the social motivations of actors in enacting governance by way of studying local/bottom-up governance via a typology of norms. Here, I made the case for including local norms in this study’s conceptual framework to distinguish legitimacy gaps between top-down governance and bottom-up governance (see chapter 3). I then justified this study’s use of ethnographic methods within this IR critical constructivist approach. I also justified Barbados and its flyingfish fishery as an interpretive case study, and, the Bridgetown Fisheries Complex and Six Men’s as comparative social settings. I also offered critical reflection on my positionality and reflexivity and the limitations of the methodological approach taken (see chapter 4).

In chapter 5, I contributed to the sparse literature on the socio-political dimensions of governing the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. Here, my observations revealed that the regional and development norms pertinent to this study have been forged through the social relations of race/colour, class, nationality and gender. In chapter 6, the first of the study’s empirical chapters, I argued that tensions *between* the norms of regional community

and national sovereignty have undermined attempts to formally demarcate regionally-shared distributive rights to the Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery from the top-down, though fisherfolk have enacted their own kind of informal regionalised governance. In chapter 7, the second of the study's empirical chapters, I argued that tensions *within* the norm of sustainable development have left unresolved the issue of whether fishing communities should have access rights to valuable coastal spaces occupied by the luxury tourism industry in the island's north-west, with local communities using the language of social sustainability to make the case that they should have access to preserve their livelihoods and associated cultural traditions.

Reflections: Research Questions and Concluding Findings

The introduction of this study detailed three key findings a) socio-political insight into how norms become propagated; b) how the social relations of race/colour, class, nationality and gender influence governing priorities for the Barbadian flyingfish fishery; and, c) how practices of informal governance are enacted within a top-down and bottom-up governance regime. I offer below concluding reflections on how these key findings relate to the answers to the study's main research questions.

This study addressed three overarching research questions:

- 1) who gets the fish and on what basis;
- 2) how is this system of allocation governed and why in this way; and,
- 3) is this governance being challenged?

The first research question was addressed in Section 1 of this study's empirical chapters and relates to the study's finding regarding socio-political insight into how norms become propagated. In respect to constructing the region, I demonstrated in chapter 6 that the historical foundations of demarcating shared distributive rights to the fishery was built upon regional exchanges between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago. In respect to constructing Barbadian national development priorities around the sectors of luxury tourism and fisheries, I illustrated in chapter 7 a notion of two Barbados being built on embedded stratifications of race/colour and class and vacillating between maintaining cultural traditions of northern fisheries and advancing the economic interests of luxury tourism. From these findings, the premise was set to explore the tensions between top-down and bottom-up enactments of governance.

The second research question was addressed in Section 2 of this study's empirical chapters and relates to the study's finding regarding how the social relations of race/colour, class, nationality and gender influence governing priorities for the Barbadian flyingfish fishery. An understanding was gained of the failed attempts to resolve the political tensions brought about by top-down governance, and, how these failed attempts created legitimacy gaps. In respect to constructing the region in chapter 6, enactments of top-down governance highlight the proclivity for elite actors, especially political actors, to embed sovereign claims in their negotiations. This makes formally demarcating shared distributive rights to the fishery unlikely. In respect to constructing Barbadian national development priorities around the sectors of luxury tourism and fisheries in chapter 7, enactments of top-down governance suggest that what ought to be valued in implementing sustainable development are the principles of environmental and economic sustainability. Despite these findings evidencing top-down governance, in both chapters 6 and 7, the thesis has also shown that tensions exist in terms of how such regional and development norms are framed and how they are implemented in practice on the ground, where it becomes evident that local actors are also able to exert constitutive influence.

The third research question was addressed in Section 3 of this study's empirical chapters and was concerned with if and how the top-down governance of the fishery is being challenged. Regarding this, a key analytical premise of this study was to make the case for why local norms matter in critical constructivist research, and, how top-down and bottom-up perspectives interact to achieve or frustrate governance goals. This relates to the study's finding on how practices of informal governance are enacted within a top-down and bottom-up governance regime. In respect to constructing the region, in chapter 6 enactments of bottom-up governance illustrated that the will of political representatives to exclude themselves from the informal acts of reciprocity governing the fishery from the bottom-up is an important governance consideration. In respect to constructing national development priorities around the sectors of luxury tourism and fisheries, in chapter 7 enactments of bottom-up governance suggested that an important governance consideration is that the principle of social sustainability and the inclusion of culture factor highly in the local discourse. Indeed, at the level of the locale, i.e., the site where governance is implemented, there has largely been contestation between elite and non-elite state and non-state actors. Consequently, actors have sought to normalise/validate

their rights to the fishery based on their individual and collective interactions with and benefits gained from the resource within the locale.

Reflections: Implications of the Main Contributions to Knowledge

In this study I presented the argument that in international politics governance studies of regional and national fisheries have lacked a focus on localised perspectives on enacting governance and the social motivations for them. What I have done to try and address these claims is shored up by the implications of this study's theoretical, methodological and empirical contributions to knowledge.

The study's theoretical contributions were grounded in an IR constructivist approach suitable to explore enactments of top-down and bottom-up governance and is very much critical within those parameters. To get to the root of actors' social motivations for enacting governance, the study's methodological contributions were to gain insight into local perspectives constructing governance by utilising ethnographic methods triangulated with archival document analyses, rather than discourse analysis which is the more conventional IR critical constructivist approach. These theoretical and methodological contributions do not discount the work of post-development/post-structural scholars who have conducted ethnographic research beyond the parameters of IR constructivism to explore how political contestations emerge and thus occur between state and non-state actors, particularly at the level of the locale (cf. Scott, 1985; Escobar, 1995). In reflecting on the implications of the study's methodological and theoretical contributions then, these were to widen the scope of empirical analysis from the conventional top-down deductive approaches in critical constructivist IR scholarship so that insight could be gained about the power relations between dominant and marginalised actors in the governance process.

The study's significant contributions to knowledge were also found in its distinctive empirical analysis of Barbadian fisheries by focusing on normative tensions around 'the region' and 'development'. Given the implications of this study's critical constructivist stance on supporting a politics of change, I believe it is imperative to also offer a few policy prescriptions. This is done in the vein of recognising my own normative premises for the inclusion of oft-marginalised bottom-up voices in the development and implementation of fisheries policy mandates. With regards to demarcating shared

distributive rights to the regional Eastern Caribbean flyingfish fishery as examined in chapter 6, the representative interests of actors on the ground charged with implementing governance, in this case, Eastern Caribbean fisherfolk, ought to be validated and included a legitimate part of the governance process. Similarly, with regards to granting reciprocal rights to luxury tourism and fisheries to own and physically access valuable coastal space as examined in chapter 7, the interests of ordinary Barbadians in constructing national development in the north-west ought to be accounted for in the political process. Indeed, in revisiting the commons literature (see chapter 2), it could be argued that there is a rationalist preference for these normative prescriptions that is derived from Ostrom's extensive analysis on the local commons whereby local communities are able to partake in self-governance over communally-held resources, like fisheries. My case does support this-perspective, however, what Ostrom does not capture are the social rifts or alliances (i.e. the social interactions) between elite and local actors that makes governance work or not, and by extension, the allocation of rights to these resources legitimated or not. The empirical implications of these policy prescriptions then, is while they may be construed as normative, if the implementation of policy/governance mandates are to gain any substantive traction, particularly in a region where much of the international and regional governance prescriptions are agreed to by elite actors, but lack substantive grassroots implementation, it is imperative to get local actors at the negotiating table. True governance requires such people's active engagement.'

The additional implication of the study's empirical contributions is that when considering how top-down and bottom-up perspectives interact to achieve governance goals, there is no homogenous outcome. This was based on actors varied identities and interactions with the fishery. Consider that chapter 6 provided optimistic insights into how fisherfolk can work together through informal arrangements to demarcate shared rights to a regional fishery. On the other hand, chapter 7 provided more pessimistic insights into how informal arrangements have set the premise for how coastal space is governed by reinforced racial and class segregation in the Six Men's locale. Essentially, these contested meanings of norms shaping governance of the fishery are not contested internationally but are contested locally precisely because they are inherently historically contingent and context-specific to the actors involved in the Barbados flyingfish fishery.

In further reflecting then on how the study has contributed to key debates in international politics, it is hoped that the case has been made for including and integrating small-scale fisherfolk as part of the SIDS development agenda and on policy and political platforms. Moreover, it is hoped that the importance of understanding the contextualities regarding how governance is implemented from the top-down and bottom-up and the social motivations for doing so has been situated. Even more critical, is acknowledging that the benefits of incorporating the informalities of governance practiced by small-scale fisherfolk needs to be taken more seriously. Particularly for the SIDS of the Anglo-Caribbean, fisheries ought not to be considered an informal industry but rather as a concrete pillar of development. If it is the case that SIDS, like Barbados, cannot find a way to legitimise fisheries development and policy, there is a potential development disaster on the horizon.

Reflections: Study Limitations and Future Research

Here I offer some reflections on this study's limitations and opportunities for future research. Empirical limitations with the case study as presented in chapter 6 were that in exploring the political tensions between Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago, no field research was completed in Trinidad and Tobago nor were there any interviews conducted with fisherfolk or technocratic and elite actors from Trinidad and Tobago. In further reflecting critically on my own positionality and reflexivity, I conceded that the findings presented on this case of regional governance of the fishery are from a Barbadian perspective. Consequently, I acknowledged the potential biases of this omission, for example, the likelihood of Barbadian interviewees downplaying overfishing of the flyingfish fishery. Therefore, the perspectives of Trinidadian and Tobagonian officials and fisherfolk ought to be accounted for in future studies. It was also mentioned in chapter 4 that there were some roadblocks with data collection which were largely associated with political reasons, namely a few elite actors declining to be interviewed. This mainly affected analysis in chapter 7. Here, it is important to restate that I did not get an opportunity to interview representatives from JADA Construction Group or Port Ferdinand, whose interests in the development of the Six Men's area were discussed at length. In further reflecting here on my positionality and reflexivity, this meant that the findings presented were not balanced by the perspectives of the elites on the ground who played a role in crafting Barbadian national development priorities on the island's platinum coast ; and, were also not devoid of my own personal biases about the political

tensions underpinning race/colour and class relations in Anglo-Caribbean society. Generally, it was also very difficult to access documents from the Fisheries Division library and the lack of accessibility to development bids and plans, as well as environmental impact assessment reports for the Six Men's fishing village (see chapter 7). Therefore, to provide a more holistic assessment of how governance of Barbadian national development priorities around the sectors of luxury tourism and fisheries in Six Men's has come to be constructed, access to these documents ought to be gained. Moreover, it is recommended that the perspectives of the elite actors in crafting Barbadian national development priorities on the island's platinum coast, namely, representatives from JADA Construction Group and Port Ferdinand ought to be accounted for in future studies.

More broadly, as mentioned, a key analytical premise of this study was to make the case for why local norms matter in critical constructivist research in International Relations, and, how top-down and bottom-up perspectives interact to achieve governance goals. This study's empirical findings suggest that there has been a proclivity to shape governance of the Barbadian flyingfish fishery from the top-down. Indeed, it can be argued that the accounts of bottom-up governance that were presented in the study's empirical chapters were largely concerned with fisherfolks' attempts to get elites to agree or reject a formal 'top-down' governance system. Despite this, what this thesis has done is to provide a theoretical framework to get at the tentative pieces of evidence that bottom-up governance does exist through analysing local norms and their associated practices. This amendment of including local norms in the study's conceptual schema essentially matters because the study's empirical findings clearly shows how top-down norms frequently impact on people on the ground in unforeseen and negative ways, with people on the ground forced into working out their own solutions. Nevertheless, there is scope here for further research to try and understand bottom-up governance better and what is happening on the ground in terms of the informal rules, customs and institutions of implementing governance. This could be accomplished through future research that has been structured as a longitudinal study.

A large analytical aspect of this study was to also foreground the post-colonial space and formal and informal covenants of Anglo-Caribbean fisheries governance. In this regard, this study highlighted complicated questions about intra-regional migration and identity.

It is necessary indeed to recognise the fluidity of the Anglo-Caribbean, and particularly the Eastern Caribbean, and how this has affected the construction of national and regional identities. It is arguable that because of the close proximity of the island-states and the traditions of inter-island migration, there is no homogenous island-state in the Anglo-Caribbean. This brings into scope that there ought to be a fluid notion of Anglo-Caribbean identity. On this account, understanding Barbadian identity within *trans-nationalised* contexts should also be considered. Here, it is particularly worth re-stating as documented in chapter 7, that there are no known academic or technical studies that can account for the migration patterns of Barbadian fisherfolk and other Caribbean nationals that have a stake in the Eastern Caribbean fisheries. Therefore, understanding the fluidity of Anglo-Caribbean identity and how this has shaped governance of fisheries resources is a fruitful area for further research.

This study also brought attention to the fact that gender in Barbadian fisheries is significantly under-researched. Indeed, throughout the world, exploring gender in fisheries is a relatively new research space (cf. Kunatuba, 2017; GIFT, 2018). It is interesting that this Barbados case presents a diversion away from conventional gendered norms in that male fisherfolk largely feel marginalised by female vendors. This is noteworthy given that this study documented that gendered roles have impacted the distribution of power in the industry via the harvest and post-harvest sub-sectors— with men dominating the former and women the latter. The evolution of these ‘inverse’ gendered norms wherein women are seen as superior to men within Barbados’ flyingfish fishery economy, albeit in a context where men still dominate the upper echelons of government and business, are certainly worthwhile themes to explore in further research. Another fruitful area for further research is uncovering the socio-political implications of the distribution of power among the industry’s ‘elite’ and ‘ordinary’ key local stakeholders. Elite in this context means large-scale commercial distributors and ordinary means small-scale fisherfolk. These considerations of the distribution of power in the industry can certainly be explored beyond the scope of Barbados.

In concluding this study, it is hoped that insight has been gained about the importance of situating social science approaches to studying issues of resource governance. Moreover, it is hoped that voice has been given to the perspectives of the oft-marginalised actors who are charged with receiving and implementing governance of one of the world’s most

important natural resources, in this case, fisherfolk-and wild marine fish. It is important to revisit the claim that “one doesn’t manage fish, one manages people” (Orbach, 1986, pp. 105). In broad terms then, it is hoped that what this study has contributed to the discourse is an understanding of the human interactions and social motivations of actors implementing governance.

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Appendix A

About Barbados

GEOGRAPHY	
Location	Caribbean, island in the North Atlantic Ocean, northeast of Venezuela, 13 10 N, 59 32 W
Land and Coastal Areas	land: 430 sq km Coastline: 97 km
Maritime Claims	territorial sea: 12 nm exclusive economic zone: 200 nm
Climate	tropical; rainy season (June to October)
Terrain	relatively flat; rises gently to central highland region
Marine natural resources	Oil, gas, fish, beaches, coral, sand
Population Distribution	most densely populated country in the eastern Caribbean; approximately one-third live in urban areas
GOVERNMENT	
Type	parliamentary democracy (Parliament) under a constitutional monarchy; a Commonwealth realm
Capital	name: Bridgetown
Administrative divisions	11 parishes and 1 city*; Bridgetown*, Christ Church, Saint Andrew, Saint George, Saint James, Saint John, Saint Joseph, Saint Lucy, Saint Michael, Saint Peter, Saint Philip, Saint Thomas
Independence	30 November 1966 (from the UK)
Constitution	adopted 22 November 1966, effective 30 November 1966; amended several times, last in 2007 (2016)
Legal System	English common law; no judicial review of legislative acts
Suffrage	18 years of age; universal
Elections	House of Assembly - last held on 24 May 2018 (next to be held in 2023)
Executive Branch	British Monarch, Governor General, Prime Minister, Cabinet
Legislative Branch	bicameral Parliament
Chief of State	Queen ELIZABETH II (since 6 February 1952); represented by Governor General Sandra MASON (since 8 January 2018)
Head of Government	Prime Minister Mia MOTTLEY (since 25 May 2018)

Source: (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003; CIA, 2018)

PEOPLE	
Population	292,336 (July 2017 est.) country comparison to the world: 180
Population Growth Rate	0.28% (2017 est.) country comparison to the world: 174
Ethnicity	black 92.4%, mixed 3.1%, white 2.7%, East Indian 1.3%, other 0.2%, unspecified 0.3% (2010 est.)
Language	English (official), Bajan (English-based creole language, widely spoken in informal settings)
Literacy	97.6%
Unemployment Rate	total: 29.6% male: 27.9% female: 31.5% (2016 est.)
Fish Consumed	24-30kg/person/year
ECONOMY	
GDP	\$5.244 billion (2017 est.) \$5.159 billion (2016 est.) \$5.111 billion (2015 est.) note: data are in 2017 dollars
GDP by Sector	agriculture: 1.4% industry: 4.8% services: 93.8% (2016 est.)
Per Capita GDP	\$18,700 (2017 est.) \$18,400 (2016 est.) \$18,300 (2015 est.) note: data are in 2017 dollars
Product Real Growth Rate	0.9% (2017 est.) 1.6% (2016 est.) 1% (2015 est.)
Inflation Rate	4.4% (2017 est.) 1.5% (2016 est.)
Exports	\$482.5 million (2017 est.) \$516.9 million (2016 est.) manufactures, sugar, molasses, rum, other foodstuffs and beverages, chemicals, electrical components US 38%, Trinidad and Tobago 10.2%, Guyana 5.5%, Jamaica 5%, China 4.8%, St. Lucia 4.6% (2017)
Imports	\$1.515 billion (2017 est.) \$1.54 billion (2016 est.) consumer goods, machinery, foodstuffs, construction materials, chemicals, fuel, electrical components US 38.5%, Trinidad and Tobago 14.6%, China 7.1%, UK 4.7% (2017)
Main industries	tourism, sugar, light manufacturing, component assembly for export
Agriculture	sugarcane, vegetables, cotton
Exchange Rates	Barbadian dollars (BBD) per US dollar - 2 (2017 est.) 2 (2016 est.)

Source: (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003; CIA, 2018)

Appendix B

Interview Participants

R = RECORDED

DR = DECLINED TO BE RECORDED

61 TOTAL PARTICIPANTS

ACADEMICS					
	<u>Organisation/Institution</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Gender</u> <u>M/F</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>
A001R	CERMES/ Caribbean Meteorology Institute (CMI)	PhD Graduate	F	July 24 th 2016	30 minutes (formal)
A002R	CERMES/Regional Consultant	CERMES	M	April 19 th 2016	1hr 10 min
A003R	CERMES	CERMES	F	May 23 rd 2016	1hr 11 min
A004R	CERMES/Ministry of Environment/Coastal Zone Management Unit (CZMU)	CERMES	M	August 19 th 2016	1hr 6 min
A005R	CERMES/Fisheries Division	CERMES	M	May 24 th 2016	1hr 30 min
A006R	UWI/History	UWI HISTORY	M	July 6 th 2016	1hr 9 min
A007R	UWI	UWI ACADEMIC	M	June 26 th 2016	40 minutes
7 ACADEMICS					
GOVERNMENT					
	<u>Organisation/Institution</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Gender</u> <u>M/F</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>
G001R	Government of Barbados	High ranking official of opposition party BLP	M	April 30 th 2016	29 minutes
G002R	Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Foreign Trade	Ambassador	M	July 21 st 2016	1 hr 20 minutes
G003R	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries	Permanent Secretary	M		
G004DR	Fisheries Division	High ranking official	M	April 21 st 2016	Declined recording
G005DR*	Fisheries Division	High ranking official	M	April 21 st 2016	declined recording
G006R	Fisheries Division	High ranking Official	M	April 26 th 2016	1 hour 18 minutes
G007R	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries	Technocrat	M	July 19 th 2016	56 minutes
G008R	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries	Technocrat/High ranking official	M	July 14 th 2016	57 minutes
G009R	Barbados Army/Coast Guard	High ranking official	M	August 22 nd 2016	34 minutes
G010R	Barbados Coast Guard	High ranking official	M	August 22 nd 2016	34 minutes
10 GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES					

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES					
	<u>Organisation/Institution</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Gender</u> <u>M/F</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>
R001DR	CRFM	High ranking official	F	July 1 st 2016	Interview questions/responses relayed via email
R002R	CRFM	High ranking official	F	February 2 nd 2017	SKYPE Interview/ 1hr and 10 minutes
3 REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES					

BARNUFO					
	<u>Organisation/Institution</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Gender</u> <u>M/F</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>
B001R	BARNUFO	Executive team	F	June 16 th 2016	37 minutes
B002R	BARNUFO	Former member of Executive team	M	April 3 rd 2016	1 hr 35 min
B003R	BARNUFO	Executive team – High ranking	F	April 14 th 2016/July 31 st 2016	2hrs 20 min/ 37 minutes
B004R	BARNUFO	Former member Executive team – High ranking	F	August 31 st 2016	1hr 9 min
B005R	BARNUFO	Executive team	M	April 14 th 2016	2hrs 20 min
5 BARNUFO REPRESENTATIVES					

BRIDGETOWN FISHERIES COMPLEX					
	<u>Organization/Institution</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Gender</u> <u>M/F</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>
BGT001R		Restaurateur/Fish Supplier/Ice Boat Owner	M	July 4 th 2016	38 minutes
BGT002R		Fisherman/ Ice Boat Captain	M	July 24 th 2016	1 hr
BGT003R		IceBoat Owner	F	July 4 th 2016	31 minutes
BGT004R		Fish Vendor/Hawker	F	June 27 th 2016	55 minutes
BGT005R		Fish Vendor/Stall owner	F	June 27 th 2016	35 minutes
BGT006R		Ice Boat Owner/Retired Fisherman	M	August 16 th 2016	13 minutes
BGT007R		Fisherman/ Ice Boat Captain	M	August 18 th 2016	18 minutes
BGT008R		Fish Vendor/Stall Owner	M	August 13 th 2016	19 minutes
BGT009R		Fish Vendor	M	July 31 st 2016	31 minutes
BGT010R		Fish Boner	F	March 9 th 2016	1hr 19 min
BGT011R		Fish Boner	F	March 9 th 2016	1hr 19 min
BGT012R		Fish Vendor/Hawker	F	June 20 th 2016	34 minutes
BGT013R		Conch Fisherman/Day Boat Owner	M	April 15 th 2016	1hr
13 FISHERFOLK OF BRIDGETOWN FISHERIES COMPLEX					

SIX MEN'S FISHING VILLAGE

	<u>Organisation/Institution</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Gender</u> <u>M/F</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>
SX001R		Fisherman/Spear Fisher/ Former Day boat owner/Long time resident	M	September 13 th 2016	46 minutes
SX002R		Retired Fisherman	M	September 13 th 2016	11 minutes
SX003R		Fish Vendor/ Stall Owner	F	June 21 st 2016	48 minutes
SX004R		Fish Vendor/Stall Owner	F	June 24 th 2016	17 minutes
SX005R		Fish Vendor Stall Owner	F/M	August 17 th 2016	27 minutes
SX006R		Iceboat Owner/Retired Fisherman/Fish Vendor/Stall Owner	M	April 30 th 2016	49 minutes
SX007R		Community Leader	M	June 24 th 2016	17 minutes
SX008R		Day Boat Fisherman	M	June 24 th 2016	17 minutes
SX009R		Retired Day Boat Fisherman/Long time community member	M	July 26 th 2016	1 hr
SX010R		Boat Builder/Ice Boat Owner/Fisherman	M/M	July 8 th 2016	1 hr 4 minutes
SX011R		Long time Community Member	F	July 26 th 2016	13 minutes
SX012R		Ex-patriate/Long time community member	M	July 26 th 2016	1hr 1 min
SX013R		Port St. Charles	M	June 18 th 2016	1 hr
SX014R		Port. St. Charles	M	August 16 th 2016	49 minutes
SX015R		Six Men's community leader	F	August 23 rd 2016	No recording/phone interview
SX016R		Long time resident	F	September 26 th 2016	Declined Recording
16 FISHERFOLK AND LOCAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS OF SIX MEN'S					

FISH PROCESSORS/LARGE COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTORS

	<u>Organisation/Institution</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Gender</u> <u>M/F</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>
FP001R	Morgans Fish House	Manager	M	August 15 th 2016	Declined recording
FP002R	Ocean's Fisheries	Manager	M	August 6 th 2016	1 hour 10 min
FP003R	Premium Seafoods	Manager	M	August 8 th 2016	52 minutes
3 FISH PROCESSORS/LARGE COMMERCIAL DISTRIBUTORS					

GENERAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS IN BARBADOS

	<u>Organisation/Institution</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Gender</u> <u>M/F</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>
O001R	Silver Sands Community	Ice Boat Owner/ Community Leader	M	July 31 st 2016	43 minutes
O002R	Speightstown	Ice Boat Owner/ Community Leader	M	August 15 th 2016	1hr 42 minutes
O003R	Speightstown Parish Council	Speightstown	M	August 10 th 2016	44 minutes
O004R		Customer	M	September 1 st 2016	No recording
O005R		Customer	M	August 24 th 2016	No recording
5 GENERAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS IN BARBADOS					

Appendix C

Exhibit 1. Key Events in the History of Barbadian Fisheries Governance

Year	Event
1940	Fishing fleet consists of 371 sailboats and 165 rowboats employing 1200 fishers
1942	Report on the industry by H.H. Brown recommends a Fishery Department
1943	Fishing Boat Loan Scheme administered by the first Fisheries Advisory Committee
1944	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Fishery Division established with Colonial Development and Welfare funds ◆ First Fishery Officer and one Clerk appointed ◆ A new Fisheries Advisory Committee chaired by the Director of Agriculture
1945	Fishing included in the first development plan for Barbados
Year	Event
1947	Fishing Industry Act (FIA) requires boats to be inspected and registered
1949	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Colonial government finances Fisheries Division after CD&W grant expires ◆ Tractor with winch at Tent Bay to replace manual labour for hauling boats ◆ Fishery experimental boat "Investigator" launched ◆ Amendment to FIA requires fishers to be registered annually
1952	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Gill net for flyingfish capture is introduced to fishers after 2 years of trials ◆ Boatyard set up at Fishery Experimental Station and "Calvert" design introduced ◆ Fisheries Division has a staff of 17 people ◆ Boat motorization started
1955	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Hurricane Janet destroys many fishing boats ◆ Supply of wood from felled trees facilitates boat rebuilding and motorization
1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Fishing cooperatives introduced as savings societies ◆ Formation of the Barbados Marketing Corporation (BMC)
1962	The Barbados Fishing Vessels Co-operative Insurance Society formed but inactive
1963	Workmen's Compensation Act amended to include fishers as employees
1964	Most fishing savings societies converted into full cooperatives
1967	UNDP/FAO Fishery Project introduces chilled fish through the BMC
1968	Most fishing cooperatives have disbanded or become inactive
1971	Barbados Development Bank makes its first loan to the fisheries sector
1972	UNDP/FAO Fishery Project termination
1974	First small iceboat operated briefly
1976	First large iceboat is commercially operational
1980	Sand Pit fishers form group to counter relocation by the Barbados Port Authority
1981	First locally built fibreglass iceboat is commercially operational
1982	Iceboat owners form Barbados Fish Processing Ltd., to market their catches
1983	Fish gluts caused by iceboats overwhelm the market
1985	Short-lived attempt to form a Fisherman's Association
1986	Barbados Fishing Cooperative Fishing Society Ltd. (BARFISHCOS) registered
1987	Sea egg fishery closed for a two-year period to facilitate population recovery
1991	Barbados Union of Fishery Workers (BUFW) registered as a trade union
1993	A Fisheries Act, drafted to facilitate fisheries management planning, is passed
1994	Barbados United Fisherfolk Association (BUFFA) formed
1995	First Fisheries Advisory Committee is appointed under the Fisheries Act
1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ First fisheries management plan (FMP) is approved for 1997-2000 ◆ Fisherfolk Organisation Development Project commences
1998	Fisheries (Management) Regulations are passed into law based on FMP Sea egg fishery closed for a three-year period to facilitate population recovery

Year	Event
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Barbados joins the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas ◆ Barbados becomes party to the UN Fish Stocks Agreement ◆ Barbados becomes party to the FAO Compliance Agreement ◆ Fisheries Act amended to expand the Fisheries Advisory Committee
2001	Second fisheries management plan (FMP) is approved for 2001-2003
2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Barbados joins the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism of CARICOM ◆ Barbados promotes development of a regional fisheries policy and regime

Note: This timeline represents historical and technological advancements

Adapted from Source: McConney et al., 2003a, pp. 14-16).

Exhibit 2. Main International Agreements Relevant to the Contemporary Governance of the Barbadian Flyingfish Fishery

Main International Agreements Relevant to the Contemporary Governance of the Barbadian Flyingfish Fishery
1982: United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)
1982: Brundtland Commission - concept of Sustainable Development conceived.
1992: Amended to the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development; Agenda 21
2015: Further amended to the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals
1995: United Nations Fish Stocks Agreement for the Conservation and Management of Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks
1995: Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries

Adapted from Source: (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003; McConney et al., 2003a).

Exhibit 3. Main International and Regional Inter-Governmental Organizations Relevant to the Contemporary Governance of the Barbadian Flyingfish fishery

Main International and Regional Inter-Governmental Organizations Relevant to the Contemporary Governance of the Barbadian Flyingfish Fishery
1945: United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) 1973: FAO Western Central Atlantic Fisheries Commission (WECAFC)
1973: The Caribbean Community established with the Treaty of Chaguaramas 2001: Amended 2001 the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) with the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas
2003: Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism (CRFM) a subsidiary body of CARICOM

Adapted from Source: (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003; McConney et al., 2003a).

Exhibit 4. Main Local Governmental Agencies/Departments Relevant to the Contemporary Governance of the Barbadian Flyingfish Fishery

Main Local Governmental Agencies/Departments Relevant to the Contemporary Governance of the Barbadian Flyingfish Fishery
Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries, Food and Water Resource Management Fisheries and Markets Divisions Agricultural Planning Unit Fisheries Advisory Committee
Ministry of Town and Development Planning Coastal Zone Management Unit
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade Barbados Coast Guard

Adapted from Source: (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003; McConney et al., 2003a).

Exhibit 5. Main Local Non-Governmental Organizations Relevant to the Contemporary Governance of Flyingfish

Main Local Non-Governmental Organizations/Institutions Relevant to the Contemporary Governance of the Barbadian Flyingfish Fishery
Barbados National Union of Fisherfolk Organizations (BARNFUO) Fisherfolk Organisations
University of the West Indies (UWI) Centre for Resource Management and Environmental Studies (CERMES)
Bellairs Research Institute of McGill University
Gulf and Caribbean Fisheries Institute (GCFI)

Adapted from Source: (GOB Fisheries Division, 2003; McConney et al., 2003a).

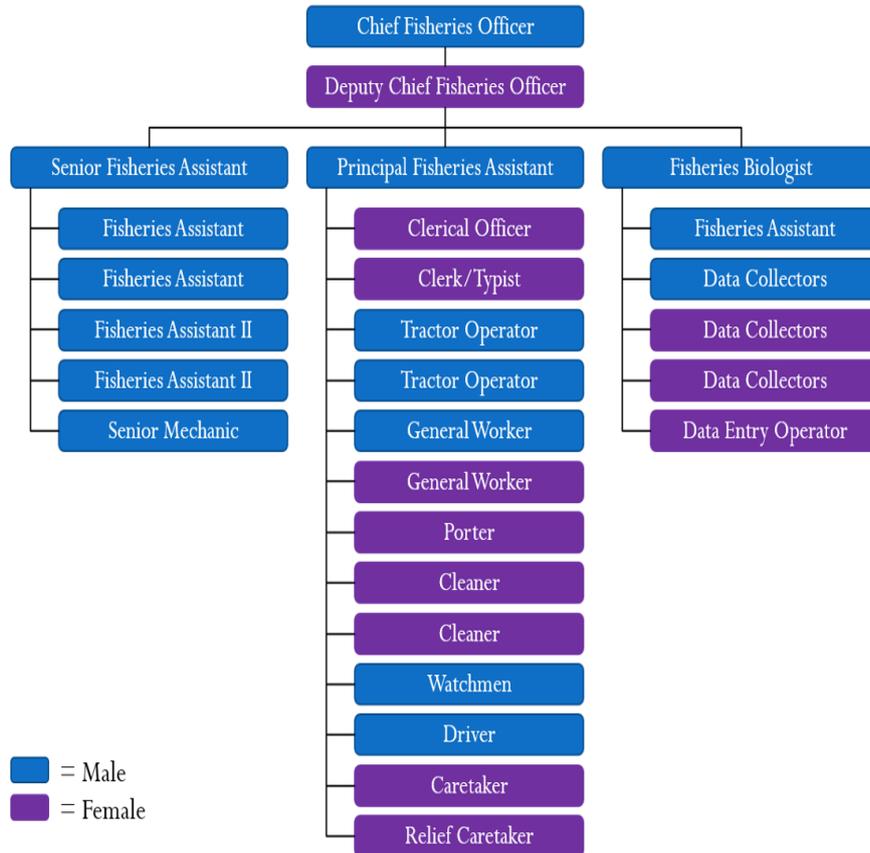
Exhibit 6. Barbadian Legislations specific to the Governance of Barbadian Fisheries

Legislation	Summary of content or purpose
Fisheries (Management) Regulations (1998)	Regulates seine nets; fish traps; trammel and other entangling nets; lobsters; marine turtles, eggs and parts; sea eggs; tunas; aquarium flora and fish; and corals.
Fisheries (Sea eggs closed season) notice (1998)	Imposed a three year (1998-2001) moratorium on the harvesting, sale and possession of the white sea urchin, <i>Tripnuestes ventricosus</i> .
Draft Fish Quality and Inspection Act	Will cover seafood safety and quality assurance to international standards in relevant areas, particularly affecting public health and trade.
Draft Fisheries (Fees) Regulations	Sets fees for registration, inspection, licences, tractor and other services. As an incentive, fees of fishing industry organisation members are intended to be 33% of those to be paid by non-members.
Draft Fisheries (Operations) Regulations	Deals with almost everything else not specifically covered such as foreign fishing, safety at sea, scheduled forms, registration of fishing industry organisations, sportsfishing, aquaculture, etc.
Markets and Slaughterhouses Act (1958)	Registration of fish vendors, operation of fish markets, collection of fish tolls. This Act is expected to be repealed and replaced.
Barbados Territorial Waters Act (1977)	Defines territorial and internal waters.
Marine Boundaries and Jurisdiction Act (1978)	Defines waters of EEZ, and important in ongoing boundary delimitation negotiations.
Defense Act (1979)	Control and surveillance in the EEZ and territorial waters.
Shipping Act (1994)	Registration and inspection of large vessels, and includes the fishing vessel register by default.
Coastal Zone Management Act (1998)	Coastal resource management and planning.
Marine Pollution Control Act (1998)	Prevention, reduction and control of marine pollution.

Adapted from Source: (McConney et al., 2003a, pp. 38).

Exhibit 7. Governance Structure of the Barbadian Fisheries Division (Sex Disaggregated)

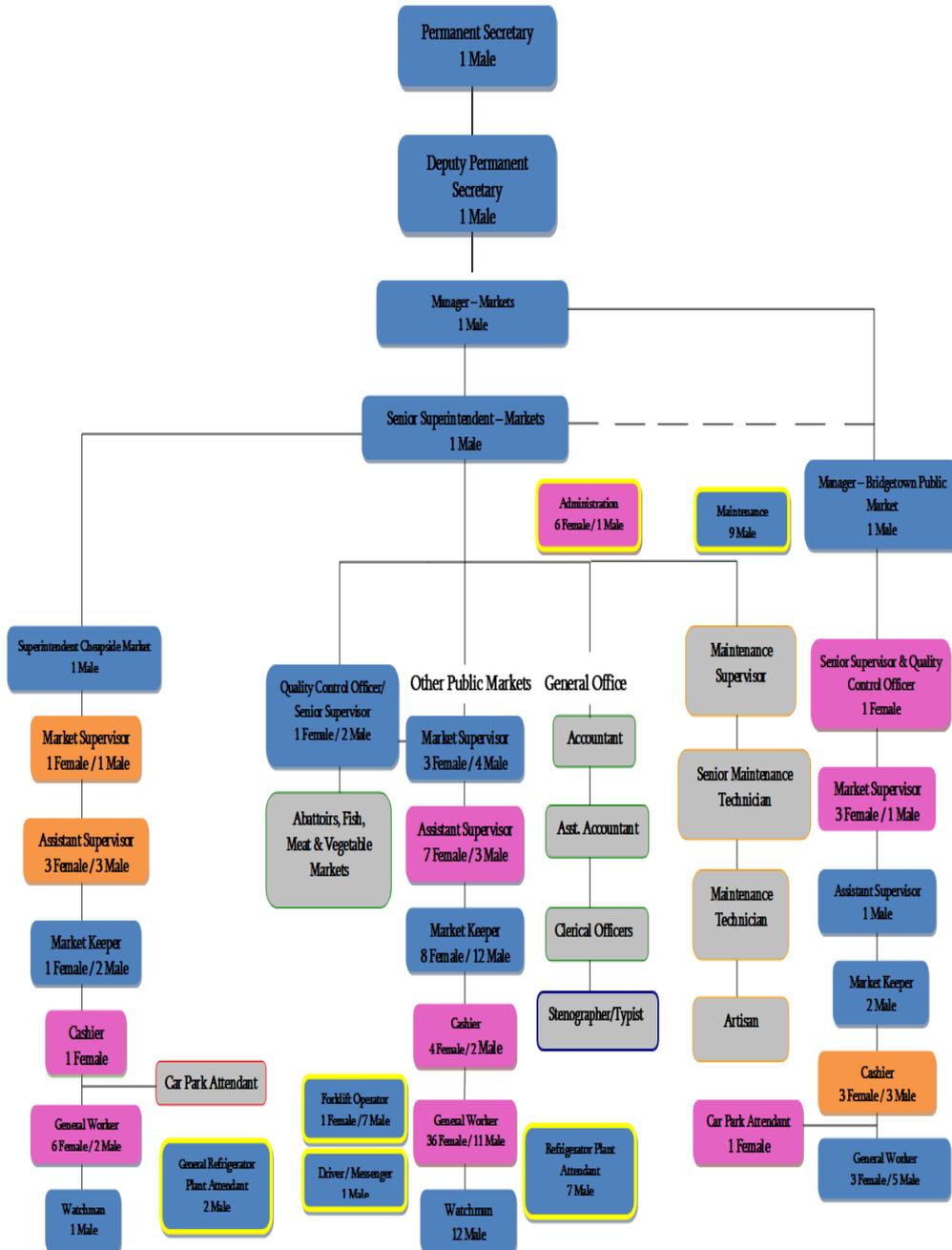
Sex Disaggregated Data Fisheries Division



Adapted from Source: (Burke, 2016)

Exhibit 8. Governance Structure of the Barbados Markets Division (Sex Disaggregated)

Markets Division



Adapted from Source: (Burke, 2016)

Exhibit 9. The Composition of the Fisheries Advisory Committee

The Fisheries Advisory Committee consists of

- (a) the Chief Fisheries Officer or his nominee *ex officio*;
- (b) a biologist who specialises in fisheries;
- (c) a representative of the Ministry of the Environment;
- (d) four other persons engaged in the fishing industry, who are recommended by the Chief Fisheries Officer;
- (e) a representative of the Markets Division; and
- (f) a representative of the registered fishing associations.

Source: Fisheries Act

Adapted from Source: (McConney, Mahon and Oxenford, 2003, pp. 38)