

## **The role of intersectoral north-south partnerships in sustainable fisheries Crossing multiple borders for sustainable development**

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### **Abstract**

Increasingly, governments, business and civil society work together in partnerships to contribute to sustainable development. Often, these partnerships emerge in areas where governments have not been willing or able to regulate, and thus have not been effective. Numerous partnerships are trying to tackle one of the largest problem areas in the field of natural resource use, unsustainable fisheries. This paper researches two new partnerships for sustainable fisheries and aquaculture from a governance perspective. It analyzes the way in which and the extent to which these partnerships contribute to the effectiveness and legitimacy of the international fisheries governance system. This governance system is the total of all international public and private initiatives for sustainable fisheries. The paper focuses on intersectoral north-south partnerships, partnerships between government, business, and/or civil society representatives from a developing and a developed country, since these partnerships often operate in circumstances that are especially relevant for sustainable development. In these partnerships, the cultural differences, the different approaches of the different sectors of society, and the different power relationships between sectors of society in developing and developed countries have to be bridged. One of the main subjects of the paper is the role of governments in fisheries governance, both in the partnerships described and the interrelationship between government policy and the concerning partnerships.

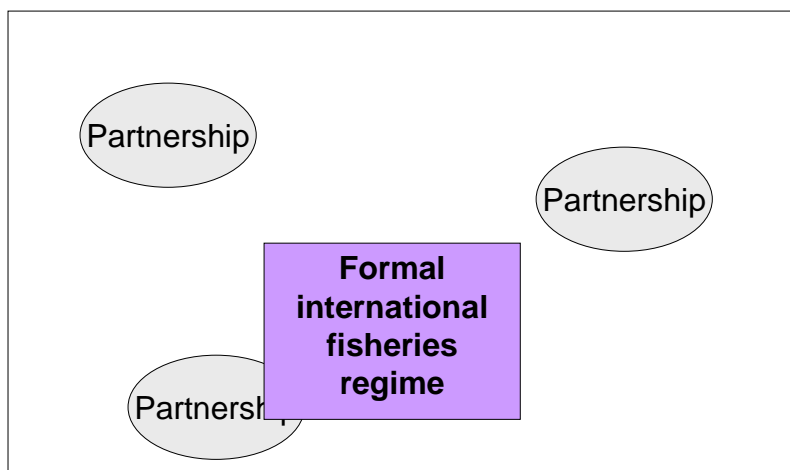
### **1. Introduction**

One of the largest threats to marine biodiversity worldwide is fisheries. Several species of fish are threatened with extinction due to overfishing. Destructive fishing methods impact marine ecosystems. Bycatch is another major problem in fisheries, when fishermen catch not only the fish they want to catch, but all kinds of other marine species, that are often thrown overboard, and do not survive due to the injuries incurred. The development of aquaculture is one of the major trends in the global fish market. Aquaculture is one of the most fast-growing food producing industries, with an annual global growth rate of about nine percent since 1950. Today almost half of the fish consumed is produced by aquaculture (FAO, 2006). Aquaculture could become a sustainable alternative to catching fish, lowering the pressure on marine biodiversity. However, the current aquaculture industry has several sustainability problems of its own. Often, fish produced in aquaculture are carnivorous species. The fishmeal and fish oil they consume comes from fish caught in the wild. The industry also copes with pollution, and the farms are often built in ecologically important areas, which are destroyed due to these developments. Also, the industry often has a negative impact on the livelihoods of local communities.

In this paper, we focus on international initiatives for sustainable fisheries, including aquaculture: the international fisheries governance system. It includes both the formal international governmental regime and initiatives by businesses and/or civil society. Relatively new phenomena in the international fisheries governance system are intersectoral partnerships, strategic alliances between government, business, and/or civil society (see figure 1). The most well known and one of the first intersectoral partnerships for sustainable fisheries is the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC), an organization for the labeling of sustainably caught fish (Potts and Haward, 2006). The development of many other intersectoral partnerships, since the formation of the MSC in 1996, has received much less attention.

Figure I.

### International fisheries governance system

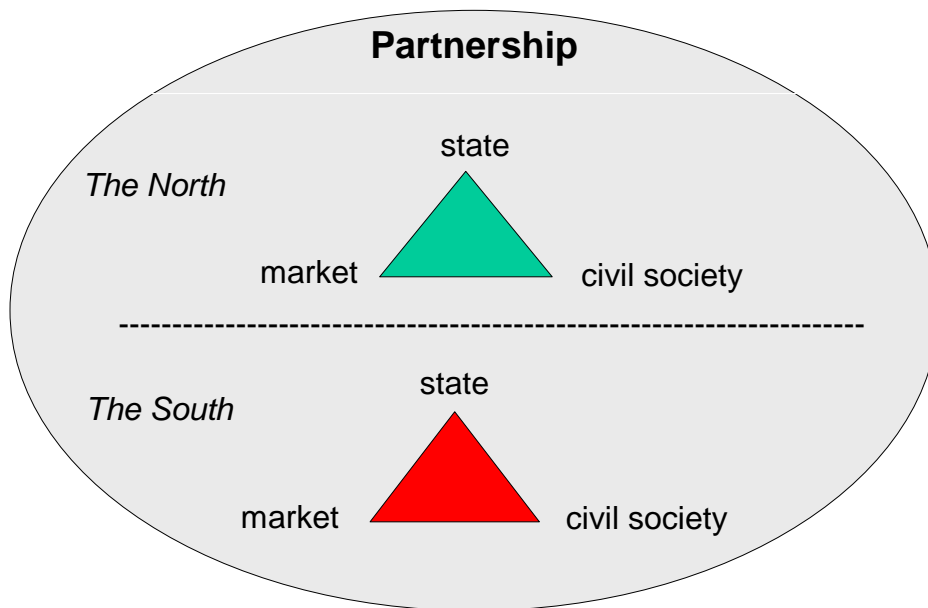


The fisheries trade is global. Often, fish is produced in developing countries for markets in the developed part of the world. The governance system for sustainable fisheries is starting to follow these trade routes. Governments, the industry, and civil society groups from both the producing and the market countries are developing partnerships to try and solve the sustainability problems created by the trade. These intersectoral north-south partnerships are especially interesting (see figure II). In these partnerships, the cultural differences, the different approaches of the different sectors of society, and the different power relationships between sectors of society in developing and developed countries have to be bridged. Several relationships can be distinguished.

- The government, industry and civil society groups (NGOs) in the developed country each have established positions in society, and interact in a way that is culturally accepted in this country. In developed countries, NGOs often have a strong societal position; it has become normal for governments and industry to consult them regularly. However, because in the partnership they are working together instead of exchanging views, they are interacting in a renewed and intensified manner.
- The government, industry and NGOs in the developing country have different positions in society. In developing countries, the NGOs usually do not have a strong position, are not respected as much as in developed countries. Government and industry on one hand and NGOs on the other are not used to talking to each other, let alone work together.
- The governments have a common history of cooperating in bilateral and multilateral governmental regimes, not only on sustainability issues, but on all issues. These earlier and other relations shape their cooperation in the partnership.
- The industry representatives in the developing and developed countries usually have a supplier-buyer relationship. Often the buyer is the more powerful economic actor.
- The NGOs are often part of a (global) network of NGOs, and/or the NGO in the developed country funds the NGO in the developing country.

Thus, usually the relationships before the partnerships were either nationally intersectoral or internationally sectoral. For example the government of the developed country did not have a relationship with NGOs in the developing country. In the partnership, these new relationships are born. Therefore these intersectoral north-south partnerships can have huge potential. They bring together all relevant actors for a specific sustainability problem. More indirectly, they can also have a large contribution to sustainable development, by strengthening the position of civil society in developing countries, thus contributing to the legitimacy of the governance system.

Figure II.



Central question of this paper is: In what way and to what extent do intersectoral north-south partnerships contribute to the effectiveness and legitimacy of the international fisheries governance system?

Inspired by Aligica (Aligica, 2006), we have used the dynamic case study methodology to focus in on two partnerships for sustainable fisheries. This methodology focuses on actors, institutions and processes. In this manner, the impact of the specific context of the partnerships is taken into account, and the focus is on social change. We have used the analytical model in figure II to implement this methodology. With this model, we can analyze the role of the different actors and their relationships.

The effectiveness of partnerships is analyzed, based on the methodology of Underdal, in terms of output, outcome and impact (Underdal, 2002). Examples of output are new policy or a signed agreement; output can be assessed with criteria for the policy stringency and its inclusiveness. Outcome is for example the number of target groups using the new policy. Impact are the changes realized by the new policy. Legitimacy is defined as fairness, for example fair decision-making procedures, and acceptance, for example the opinion of actors outside of the partnership.

We will analyze two case studies, the shrimp and the anchoveta partnership. These partnerships were chosen because they are intersectoral north-south partnerships, are a few years old and thus can be researched, have the same northern country (the Netherlands) involved enabling comparison, and focus on fisheries with a high environmental and market impact. Both are involved in aquaculture; the shrimp partnership focuses on shrimp produced by aquaculture, and anchoveta is used as feed in aquaculture. The results presented are preliminary, based on the analysis of partnership documents received from interviewees, desk research and the first ten interviews in the Netherlands.

## **2. The international fisheries governance system**

The international fisheries governance system is the total of all international initiatives for sustainable fisheries (see figure I). It includes both the formal international governmental regime and private initiatives, like partnerships.

The main international governmental institutions and agreements include the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), the Convention on Biological Diversity, the United Nations Fish Stocks Agreement, The United Nations FAO Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries, the Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals (CMS), and the UN regional fishery management organizations. Rules on deep sea fisheries are being developed.

Numerous international partnerships for marine biodiversity have been developed. They can be categorized as follows. Partnerships:

- That focus on a certain fishery, and its specific sustainability problems (for example tuna, shrimp);
- That focus on a certain ecoregion, that work on all sustainability problems in that region;
- That work on certification of sustainable fish;
- That focus on a type of ecosystem, for example coral reefs or wetlands;
- Between individual NGOs and companies that focus on making the company more sustainable.

## **3. The shrimp partnership**

About 30-40 percent of the global shrimp production comes from aquaculture; the rest is caught. Tropical shrimp aquaculture is the second largest aquaculture sector in terms of market value, and sixth in terms of quantity (FAO, 2006). The Netherlands is one of the largest shrimp importers, mainly for the trade.

The catch and production of shrimp causes environmental and social sustainability problems. Shrimp farms are frequently developed in mangrove forest areas. There is a discussion on the percentage of mangrove forest destruction that can be attributed to shrimp aquaculture. The industry is of the opinion that about five percent of mangrove forest destruction is due to shrimp aquaculture development, civil

society groups say it is about thirty percent. Because often a lot of chemicals are used in shrimp aquaculture, farms can only be used for a few years, and new locations have to be developed. The abandoned farms are extremely polluted. The development of shrimp aquaculture also has negative consequences for local communities, who use the mangrove forest, for example to fish. When the forests are destroyed, these sources of income and food disappear. Formerly publicly accessible land with many resources is transformed into privately owned farms. Shrimp trawl fisheries are the fisheries with the most bycatch globally, both measured in weight and numbers (Alverson et al., 1994). For one kg of shrimp, about 10-17 kg of bycatch is caught. These bycatch levels are so high because shrimp fisheries use small-maze nets, and they fish near the shore, where nurseries are located for many other kinds of fish.

There are several partnerships for sustainable shrimp. There is a partnership between the Netherlands and Vietnam, a partnership between Denmark and Vietnam on fisheries, including shrimp, and a partnership between Germany and Vietnam.

There are also several initiatives to certify sustainably produced shrimp. Some of them are still developing their standard; others are already certifying shrimp. They include:

- The International Principles for Responsible Shrimp Farming by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the Network of Aquaculture Centres in Asia-Pacific (NACA), the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), the World Bank Group (WB), and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) (NACA, 2006);
- The Aquaculture Certification Council (ACC);
- The International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements (IFOAM);
- Fairtrade Labeling Organizations (FLO);
- Walmart and Global Aquaculture Alliance (GAA);
- Naturland.

#### **The partnership organization and focus**

The shrimp partnership between the Netherlands, Indonesia and Malaysia was agreed at the World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg in 2002 (Anonymous, 2003). It is part of a larger WSSD partnership called "Market access through meeting quality standards for food and agricultural products", with more countries involved and on more products. The Dutch government has reserved eight million euros for the whole partnership on market access. The partnership between Indonesia, Malaysia and the Netherlands works on palm oil, shrimp, and tropical fruits and vegetables.

The organization of the shrimp partnership was unclear for a long time. For several partner organizations the decision-making procedures, financing, agenda setting process, and voting procedures were not transparent. In order to create more clarity, an organizational scheme was developed. There is a trilateral committee, in which the representatives from the three countries decide on the focus of the partnership, the work program, etc. The trilateral committee meets about twice a year. It is the intention for representatives of the three sectors of society (government, business, and civil society) of all three countries to be represented on the trilateral committee. In each of the three countries, there is a national committee that decides on the national implementation of the partnership. The three sectors of society should also be represented in these committees. In principle, decisions are taken by consensus.

Until today, the following organizations have been involved in the trilateral committee: the governments of the three countries, the Dutch Federation of Fish Importers (VIV), the European Seafood Importers & Processors Alliance (SIPA), Dutch importing companies, the Dutch Committee of the World Conservation Union (IUCN NL), Oxfam Novib, Friends of the Earth Netherlands (Milieudedefensie), the Malaysian Shrimp Industry Association, the Malaysian National Fishermen's Association (NEKMAT), Friends of the Earth Malaysia (CAP), Indonesian business representatives, and WWF Indonesia.

The following organizations have been involved in the Dutch national committee: the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality (LNV), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, VIV, SIPA, the importing companies Heijploeg, Mooijer-Volendam, W.G. den Heijer, and LedaFish, IUCN NL, Oxfam Novib, and Milieudedefensie. Within the Dutch government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs finances the partnership and the Ministry of LNV coordinates the partnership.

The following organizations have been involved in the Malaysian national committee: the Malaysian government and CAP.

In Indonesia, the following organizations have been involved in the national committee: the Indonesian government, WWF Indonesia, and Oxfam Great Britain in Indonesia. The potential participation of two Indonesian NGOs, the Coalition on Fish for People (KIARA) and Friends of the Earth Indonesia (Walhi) was problematic. First they were invited to the partnership, but did not want to participate due to the market access focus. Later, they wanted to join, but were not invited by the Indonesian partners. Oxfam GB Indonesia felt the Indonesian part of the partnership was not transparent enough; the decision making process was exclusionary. Also, important actors were not involved, such as the main producers and investors, and local governments that decide on local shrimp industry development.

The partnership started more as a multilateral governmental agreement than an intersectoral partnership. Governments took the initiative, some businesses were involved, but civil society was invited later. The discussions on the focus of the shrimp partnership were started in this phase. At the start, the partnership clearly had an economic focus. The governments of Indonesia and Malaysia wanted the partnership to focus on ensuring that farmed shrimp from these countries fulfilled the European food safety and quality demands. Some scandals had taken place about residues of antibiotics in tropical shrimp imported into the European Union from Asia. The Indonesian and Malaysian governments wanted support from the Netherlands in improving their control systems for food quality and safety. The government of the Netherlands wanted the partnership to create "networks of interest groups", thus making the partnership an intersectoral partnership. Throughout the duration of the partnership, elements of the multilateral agreement character remained. For example, the minutes of the trilateral committee were always signed by representatives of the three countries only.

At the start, environmental or social issues were not the main focus of the partnership. Later, environmental and social issues became part of the focus of the partnership, but the struggle for the aims of the partnership continued. The development of the working plans shows this struggle. In the background paper to the first workshop of the partnership (Anonymous, 2003) the wording on solving the food safety issues is very strong, and the wording on sustainability extremely weak, even though it was also concluded that issues of food safety and sustainability should be addressed equally. In the working plan, adopted during this first workshop, several activities on sustainability were mentioned: activities to implement the principles of Good Aquaculture Practices (GAP), the formulation of a certification scheme and a logo activities for GAP, a mangrove rehabilitation program, plans to include a wider participation of small and medium farmers, and the promotion of environmentally sound catches.

The working plan adopted by the second trilateral meeting in 2004 organized the different activities into three sets of projects:

- "Chain management (capacity building on the elaboration of Maximum Residue Levels, the improvement of shrimp product quality and safety, including through enhancing laboratory capacities for shrimp testing);
- Promotion of sustainable production (assessment of factors affecting shrimp quality, towards harmonized criteria for sustainable shrimp production and trade, development of integrated environmentally-friendly shrimp culture);
- Market development (trilateral cooperation at the next European Seafood exposition)" (Anonymous, 2004).

During the meeting, Malaysia proposed to concentrate on the capacity building activities; Indonesia expressed interest in the activities proposed. The meeting "acknowledged that the focus of the activities in Indonesia and Malaysia would vary according to the specific situation and needs" (Anonymous, 2004).

In June 2005, Milieudefensie stopped its participation in the partnership, because the organization was worried about the direction of the partnership. In September 2005, IUCN NL and Oxfam Novib withdrew from the partnership. The organizations concluded that the balance between the partnership goals of market access and sustainability that was realized on paper, partly due to their input, was not being realized in practice. Criteria for becoming active again concerned agreement in the partnership on sustainability, transparent implementation and decision making, involvement of local NGOs as equal partners, the involvement of the right partners, and attention for the long term effects and a cost-

benefit analysis of shrimp aquaculture. IUCN NL withdrew because they had too little impact. They were invited into the partnership too late, they often received information too late to really make a difference, and they felt that they and their partners in the other partnership countries were not taken seriously by the governments. Also, the NGOs received a lot of criticism from other NGOs. Globally, civil society groups have different views on sustainable tropical shrimp aquaculture. Many groups are of the opinion that sustainable shrimp aquaculture for export markets is not possible. Therefore they oppose processes or initiatives that promote certification of shrimp. Local groups in many developing countries, including Indonesia and Malaysia, European NGOs and several international NGOs have this position. CAP, a Malaysian NGO involved in the trilateral partnership, is one of the NGOs campaigning for a moratorium on any process to establish minimum standards or criteria. The Swedish Society for Nature Conservation (SSNC) has successfully campaigned against the consumption of tropical shrimp. In Sweden, three major retailers have stopped selling shrimp, and the top ten percent of restaurants do not sell shrimp on their menus. In fact, only a few NGOs are of the opinion that in theory, industrial tropical shrimp aquaculture can be sustainable. WWF, Oxfam Novib and IUCN Netherlands are part of this group. An international NGO seminar on shrimp was organized in April 2005 to discuss these different strategies.

The partnership continues, despite the lack of participation by civil society.

### **Effectiveness and legitimacy**

The output of the partnership includes several implemented projects. In 2004, a training program was organized on Maximum Residue Levels (MRL). Also training of laboratory analysts took place in 2005. Plans for a project for mangrove rehabilitation in Malaysia were making progress in 2005. In 2005, a secretariat was set up to coordinate the partnership activities. A WWF representative was the first employee. The main tasks of the secretariat were the organization of the "road show" and the presentation of the partnership at the European Seafood Exhibitions. The "road show", originally a proposal of WWF, was a tour planned in 2005 to thirteen locations in Indonesia and four locations in Malaysia to create awareness of sustainability and product safety issues in shrimp aquaculture. Oxfam Novib wanted local communities to be involved in the road show, but this did not happen. The road show did take place. Further research is needed to evaluate the outcome and impact of the implemented projects.

The main reasons for the problems of the partnership have been the fact that shrimp aquaculture as an export crop is a controversial issue, especially among NGOs, that the partnership is in practice not a partnership for sustainable development, but for market access, and the fact that the partnership was not truly a partnership between equal partners. These factors undermined the legitimacy of the partnership.

Because of the market access goal of the partnership, the northern NGOs were not able to convince their southern partners to get involved. Therefore, not all relevant parties were involved in the partnership. The relationships in Indonesia and Malaysia between the sectors of society did not change.

The Dutch government and the Malaysian and Indonesian governments have a long diplomatic history of negotiation on natural resources, especially timber. The Dutch representatives in the partnership were the same people as in international forest negotiations. These experiences could have influenced the shrimp partnership process.

The Dutch government acted like the partnership coordinator, and became "stuck" between the wish of the Indonesian and Malaysian governments to mainly focus on market access issues and Dutch civil society groups to really make the partnership a partnership for sustainable development, including social and environmental issues. Also, the Dutch ministries have different priorities. The Ministry of Agriculture was interested in improving the market access of agricultural products from developing countries; it wants to support the development of these countries in this manner. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is more interested in sustainable development. Because the Ministry of LNV had the lead in this partnership, the focus was more market access oriented.



### **The Dutch private partnership**

Parallel to the shrimp partnership, the Dutch NGOs continued their campaigns on shrimp. As part of this campaign, the NGOs asked the Dutch shrimp industry to agree to minimum criteria for shrimp imports. The industry agreed to the minimum standards relatively quickly; an NGO letter was sent in July 2004, and agreement was reached in October of the same year. The organizations involved largely overlap with the Dutch business and NGO members of the trilateral shrimp partnership. New organizations are the companies Klaas Puul B.V. and Primstar B.V.

The minimum criteria demand that, the shrimp that is traded, processed or sold by the Dutch industry:

- Has not caused the recent destruction of mangrove forest or other ecologically important areas;
- Comes from farms that adhere to "Good Aquaculture Practices" or is caught using "Good Fishery Practices";
- Does not come from farms or fisheries with social conflicts: no social unrest, no labor conflicts, no conflicts around (access to) land or water;
- Comes from farms and processing companies of farmed and wild shrimp that minimally adhere to local law, including laws concerning freedom of workers' organization, child labor, forced labor, and environmental pollution.

Also, the Dutch industry and its suppliers agreed to work towards transparency and traceability of the production chain.

Starting with this agreement, a dialogue between the importers and the NGOs started. The NGOs developed the minimum criteria into detailed environmental and social criteria for sustainable aquaculture shrimp. The industry wanted to take the initiative to propose to integrate these criteria in the Eurep Gap certification system, a commonly used certification system of the European retail industry. The dialogue participants spoke of a Eurep Gap +. If this succeeds, these sustainability criteria could become widely used relatively quickly. The company Heijploeg has already integrated the criteria in its buyers' manual. It has performed two internal benchmarks, to investigate whether its suppliers in India and Indonesia would meet the extra criteria. Oxfam Novib, IUCN NL, Indian NGOs, and the retailer Albert Heijn, a major customer of Heijploeg, were involved in the benchmarks. IUCN NL brought Heijploeg into contact with the local NGOs for the benchmark. Heijploeg also presented its activities during a Eurep Gap meeting. Eurep Gap set up a formal working group to further develop the sustainability criteria for shrimp. Heijploeg is chairing the working group.

This partnership produced certification criteria for sustainable shrimp aquaculture, which could be endorsed by the majority of the European retail industry. Also, it could be the start of Eurep Gap including more sustainability criteria in its system. Until today, Eurep Gap mainly focuses on food safety standards. It must be said that caught shrimp is not included in this system. The sustainability problems in these fisheries are so severe that certification can only be achieved in the long term. The company Heijploeg mostly imports caught shrimp; about three-quarters of its import is caught in the wild.

It is interesting to conclude that a purely private northern intersectoral partnership seems to be more effective than the north-south intersectoral partnership. Apparently, the actors that really wanted to work on sustainability are cooperating in a different setting. In this northern intersectoral partnership, the potential of a north-south partnership is realized: the northern NGOs have involved southern NGOs in the benchmarks that were performed. It is unclear to what extent the successes achieved in this partnership have influenced the decision of the NGOs to leave the trilateral partnership.

### **4. The anchoveta partnership**

Aquaculture is a very fast growing business. Already, one third of the fish caught globally is used to produce fishmeal and fish oil, most of which is used as fish feed in aquaculture. Around half of the fishmeal produced is now used in aquaculture; the other half is mostly used in pig and poultry feed. About three-quarters of the produced fish oil is used by aquaculture. Peru is the world's main supplier of fishmeal and fish oil. More than a third of the world production comes from the Peruvian anchoveta fisheries. Anchoveta is a pelagic fish, and a member of the anchovy family. For Peru, this fishery is one of the major sources of income. Other major producers are Chile, Denmark and Norway. Important buyers are China, the EU, and Japan.

The current aquaculture development is not a sustainable alternative to catching fish, since the fish produced in aquaculture are often carnivorous species, and the fish feed often does not come from sustainable fisheries. Also, the feed conversion rate is very high: The weight of the fish caught to produce fishmeal and fish oil is higher than the weight of the fish that is farmed. The industry is working towards improving this conversion rate. Also, alternative sources for fish feed are being used. Soy is mentioned as replacement for fishmeal and fish oil. This would only move the problem, however. In South America large areas of primary forests are already being converted into agricultural land for soy production.

### **The partnership organization and focus**

The anchoveta partnership is the only known partnership on this fishery, and started as a partnership between the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the company Nutreco, and IUCN Netherlands. It developed out of the "transition biodiversity process" organized by the Dutch government, an interactive process to develop long term strategies to conserve biodiversity. The partnership partners were all part of this process. Nutreco is the world's largest fish feed producer, with a forty percent market share. The company is aware of the strongly increasing demand for natural resources, due to the development of new products that use the same resources as the food industry, like biofuels, and the economic development of Asia, especially China and other countries. "We have to start managing scarcity", as the interviewee put it. Nutreco wants Peru to produce sustainably, because the company wants to ensure its supplies in five to ten years. Skretting is the Nutreco daughter company responsible for fishmeal and fish oil production.

The partnership has organized two conferences. Even though the organizational form and membership of the partnership are not formally arranged, one could say that in the process of organizing these conferences, the Peruvian government and industry, and maybe even the International Fishmeal and Fish Oil Organization (IFFO) have joined the partnership. Peruvian civil society groups are not partners in the partnership. The first partnership conference was the first time the Peruvian fisheries industry and civil society groups were both active participants in the same meeting. This was already a major step for the parties involved.

The preparations for the first conference took about a year. The Dutch partners talked to all the Peruvian relevant actors to make sure the right representatives of the right organizations would be present at the conference. The first conference, "Conference on the sustainability of the Peruvian industrial anchoveta fisheries" was held in Peru in the fall of 2005. It was hosted by the governments of Peru and the Netherlands, and was co-hosted by the Sociedad Nacional de Pesquería (SNP), which represents over seventy percent of the fishing industry in Peru. The meeting was co-sponsored by Nutreco and IUCN Netherlands. The conference was attended by about fifty people, representing different governments, intergovernmental organizations, research institutions, certification organizations, industry, Chilean industry, and local and international civil society groups.

During the meeting, it became clear that much is already being done to make the anchoveta fisheries more sustainable: several regulations are in place and SNP has implemented a third party self-monitoring system to fight illegal fisheries. Problems that remain are the effects of the fisheries on the ecosystem, the management of the southern stock of anchoveta, which is shared with Chilean fisheries, overcapacity of the fishing fleet, social issues, pollution by the factories, and the public availability of information.

Output of the meeting was a joint statement by the Peruvian and Dutch governments. The governments want to develop a joint workplan, in which the following subjects need to be included: "evaluation criteria for economic and social effects of the fishery, mechanisms to disperse the latest scientific and technical experience to the public in and outside Peru, and further development of integrating the ecosystem components in the anchoveta fisheries management" (Anonymous, 2005). The governments also expressed the wish to continue the dialogue started by the conference. The joint statement was prepared during the conference by a small working group, representing different interests. When presented to the plenary, all the participants agreed.

The second conference was organized in the Netherlands in the spring of 2006. Its topic was "Analysis of sustainability issues in the fishmeal chain: achievements and challenges." It was organized by the

Dutch and Peruvian governments, SNP, IFFO, Nutreco and IUCN Netherlands. Many of the people who attended the first meeting were present again.

Just like the shrimp partnership, this partnership shows again how different the approaches of the different Dutch ministries are. The Dutch Ministry of LNV is not involved in the anchoveta partnership. During the partnership meeting in the Netherlands, representatives of LNV were present. They mentioned the fact that the Netherlands would like to buy fishing capacity in the national Peruvian waters, even though one of the major issues of discussion in the partnership was the fact that there is overcapacity in the fishing fleet, and Peruvian and Chilean fishers already endure competition from a Dutch large trawler that is active right outside of their national waters. This intervention by LNV almost undermined the goodwill that had been developed by the partnership process.

During the meeting, the idea for a roundtable for sustainable fishmeal came up. The roundtable would not only focus on Peruvian fishmeal and fish oil, but would try to involve other regions. Conclusions of the meeting included the initiative of IFFO to research the possibilities of a global roundtable for sustainable fishmeal and fish oil, the initiative of Nutreco for a business to business working group to map potential issues, and the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs to coordinate the follow-up actions.

### **Effectiveness and legitimacy**

The Peruvian government and industry distrusted the interest of the northern parties in the way Peru manages its fish stocks. The industry also felt pressured to start working with the MSC. Nutreco explained that they feel increasing pressure from society to ensure their products are sustainable. Therefore, Nutreco wants to cooperate with its suppliers to improve the sustainability. The fact that these issues have been discussed openly is an important output of the partnership.

The fact that the Peruvian government, industry, and civil society groups discussed these issues together is also an important output. The industry almost left the meeting when international NGOs described the sustainability problems of the sector. Also, NGOs and universities openly discussed the inaccuracy of and lack of transparency on fishing statistics. Due to the partnership, this discussion has taken place between these actors for the first time. Some of the Peruvian organizations have had follow-up meetings together after the first partnership meeting.

Until today, the partnership has mainly been successful in agenda setting. Major outputs of the partnership are attention for transparency, ecosystems, and independent certification. No new sustainability measures have been implemented due to the partnership.

An outcome of the partnership is the fact a few Peruvian participants in the partnership conferences are organizing an international conference on the marine ecosystem. Also, after the first partnership meeting in Peru, Nutreco presented its vision on sustainability during an IFFO conference, involving more actors in the sector in sustainability issues.

Most important outcome could be the development of a global roundtable on sustainable fishmeal and fish oil. The partnership is almost organically developing into a roundtable. This outcome was not foreseen at the start. Important reason to try to organize a global roundtable is to involve other major actors, like the Chinese. Negative side effect of the development of a global roundtable could be that there will be less attention to the specific Peruvian problems and the implementation of the partnership action plan. This is already the case. The implementation of the action plan is put on hold until there is more clarity on the possibilities of a roundtable.

An important success factor has been the fact that Peru has actually taken some progressive measures to make the fishery more sustainable, and that the partnership acknowledged this progress and enabled the Peruvian government and industry to present these developments in an international forum.

All three involved Dutch organizations are convinced of the added value of the fact that government, business and civil society are involved on the Dutch side. Together, the initiative had the weight it needed to make progress. Also, the fact that a Dutch NGO was a partner enabled participation of Peruvian NGOs. The Dutch partner from each sector was able to find the right Peruvian people in its own sector.

## **5. Discussion and conclusions**

The fundamental question is whether shrimp aquaculture and the production of fishmeal and fish oil for aquaculture belong in a future system of sustainable fisheries. In such a system, sustainable aquaculture will be the answer to the growing demand for fish. In this sustainable bulk production, only herbivorous fish, that do not consume fishmeal or fish oil from fish caught in the wild, should be farmed in closed systems that use little energy. Fish caught in the wild will become luxurious fish, not consumed very often. In order to sustain healthy fish populations in the wild protected areas, where no fishing is allowed, and selective fishing methods are needed. By focusing on shrimp aquaculture and the production of fishmeal and fish oil, the partnerships legitimize sectors that are in essence unsustainable.

Another fundamental question is whether the development of an export crop industry, like aquaculture shrimp and fishmeal and fish oil, can contribute to sustainable development in developing countries. Often, a few companies profit from these developments, and they contribute to the development of the country by paying taxes. It has proven to be extremely difficult to let local populations also profit from this development. In aquaculture, the local population loses the access to lands that they have used for their food and livelihoods. In fisheries, large fishing companies compete with local smaller fisheries. By the development of these export crop industries, more and more resources and basic products are being produced in the south for northern markets. This is not only the case in fisheries, but this is a broader trend, including among others soy and palm oil: protein is being exported from poorer countries to richer countries, instead of being used by the local population. Partnerships that aim to make these export sectors more sustainable do not question this trend.

An additional question is whether partnerships can help solve these equity problems created by export industries. The fishmeal and fish oil industry are "sitting on roses", as one interviewee described it. The demand for fishmeal and fish oil by the aquaculture industry will continue to increase dramatically. In this situation, it may be possible to address the division of income between the large and small fishers, since the issue is the redistribution of more income. Another interviewee is of the opinion that partnerships are the only way to solve these fundamental problems, because problems are becoming more complex and large-scale.

Through the intersectoral north-south partnerships, the manner in which sustainability issues are being discussed in the north is being "exported", as one interviewee put it, to the south. In the anchoveta partnership, it has been successful until now. In the shrimp partnership it failed.

In both partnerships the governments have stuck to their normal way of working. They sign minutes of partnership meetings and joint statements as if they were bi- or multilateral agreements. This can have either a negative or a positive influence. In the shrimp partnership, this behavior by the governments played an important role in the fact that the partners from the different sectors of society were not equal partners. In the anchoveta partnership, the formal relationship between the two governments was "used" to formalize the decision making process. Since no organizational form had been set up, this was the only way to anchor the progress made. The Dutch government financed the two partnerships, in the anchoveta partnership together with Nutreco. The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs also financed the participation of IUCN NL in the anchoveta partnership. Important function of the Dutch government in the anchoveta partnership was facilitating the dialogue with the Peruvian government, universities and NGOs: it ensured transparency. It played a traditional governmental role of promoting good governance.

The role of the local government is crucial in the management of natural resources. The government makes laws and policies on fisheries, including reforming the industry in case of overcapacity of the fleet, and the fishing industry is often an economic sector of national interest. Partnerships can not ignore these formal roles of the government.

In the shrimp partnership, it seems the Dutch Ministry of LNV had not gotten used to working with NGOs in partnerships. The ministry did not involve the NGOs as equal partners, but treated them, in the "old-fashioned" manner, as lobby groups. LNV now recognizes that it was not effective to not involve civil society from the start of the partnership, and will do this differently when setting up new partnerships in the future. In the anchoveta partnership, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs treated IUCN NL as an equal partner, enabling the NGO get its Peruvian partners involved.

Comparing both north-south intersectoral partnerships, the formal representation of all three sectors of both countries in the partnership organization is not important. More important is that all relevant actors are part of the process and feel that they can influence the process.

Main success factors may lie outside of the partnership, in society. In the shrimp partnership, the pressure from NGOs outside the partnership on the NGOs in the partnership was enormous. The international NGO community did not agree with the fact that its colleagues were part of a partnership for market access. Partly due to this pressure, the northern NGO partners had less patience for the partnership to become more successful. Also due to this strong resistance, they had difficulty finding southern NGOs that were willing to become part of the partnership. In the anchoveta partnership, societal pressure on Nutreco to become more sustainable was one of the driving forces of the partnership. The governance system was indeed following the trade routes. In this case the buyer developed a partnership with its suppliers, trying to solve the shared sustainability problems.

Based on the analysis of the partnerships, intersectoral north-south partnerships can contribute to the international fisheries governance system. The partnerships are still too young to make a final analysis of their contribution, both in terms of effectiveness and legitimacy. It must be concluded, however, that intersectoral north-south partnerships do have a specific potential added value: bringing together all relevant actors for a specific sustainability problem.

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