

Methods to use fishers' knowledge for fisheries assessment and management

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ABSTRACT

Fisher's knowledge (FK) pertains to all the components of a fishery, conceived as a social-ecological system: the target resources and the ecosystems of which they are part, the fishing process, and the social, cultural, economical and governance subsystems. We consider FK from two different perspectives: utility and governance. The first focuses on the content and value of FK; the second emphasizes the role of fishers in assessment and the management process. Under the utility perspective, fishers are providers of information. Critical aspects are the assessment of reliability of the information provided, including the identification of various forms of cognitive biases, and the design of methodological approaches that minimize these biases. Under the governance perspective, collaboration is seen as an intellectual partnership between fishers, scientists and managers, in contrast to cooperative activities in which fishers assist in the execution of particular tasks but have no significant intellectual contribution. We discuss merits and limitations of the two related modes of fishers' engagement in assessment and management –as information providers and as collaborators– and illustrate them with a selection of examples from artisanal and industrial fisheries, mostly from the Americas. Finally, we highlight guidelines for the success of collaborative action derived from the cumulative experience from a number of projects, and emphasize the importance of the institutional context within which FK is communicated and used in assessment and management. Institutional ambits for collaboration need to be established at multiple scales, from the local scale of the fishing communities to the regional scale at which strategic management issues are addressed.

RESUMEN

El conocimiento de los pescadores (CP) es pertinente a todos los componentes de una pesquería, concebida ésta como sistema socio-ecológico: los recursos-objetivo y los ecosistemas de los que forman parte, el proceso de pesca, y los subsistemas social, cultural económico y de gobernanza. Aquí consideramos el CP desde dos perspectivas diferentes: utilidad y gobernanza. La primera se focaliza en el contenido y valor del CP; la segunda enfatiza el role de los pescadores en los procesos de evaluación y manejo. Bajo la perspectiva utilitaria, los pescadores son proveedores de información. La evaluación de la confiabilidad de la información provista, incluyendo la identificación de varios tipos de sesgo cognitivo, y el diseño de metodologías que minimicen esos sesgos son aspectos críticos de la perspectiva utilitaria. Bajo la perspectiva de gobernanza, la colaboración es entendida como una asociación intelectual entre pescadores, científicos y administradores, en contraste con las actividades cooperativas

en las que los pescadores asisten en la ejecución de tareas particulares pero no tienen una contribución intelectual significativa. En este documento discutimos los méritos y limitaciones de los dos modos de involucrar a los pescadores en la evaluación y el manejo –como proveedores de información y como colaboradores– y los ilustramos con una selección de ejemplos, primariamente de las Américas. Finalmente, resaltamos algunas pautas para el éxito de acciones colaborativas, derivadas de la experiencia acumulada en un número de proyectos, enfatizando la importancia del contexto institucional dentro del cual el CP es comunicado y utilizado en la evaluación y el manejo. Los ámbitos institucionales para la colaboración deben ser establecidos a múltiples escalas, desde la escala local de las comunidades pesqueras hasta la escala regional a la cual se consideran los aspectos estratégicos del manejo.

INTRODUCTION

“Fisheries”, whether industrial or artisanal, can be understood as complex social-ecological systems (SESs), composed of multiple subsystems: resource, users, governance and their interactions (Ostrom, 2007, 2009). This notion is congruent with FAO’s Ecosystem Approach to Fisheries (FAO Fisheries Department, 2003). Attention to all the components that comprise a fishery is particularly relevant for the assessment and management of small-scale and artisanal fisheries (Berkes *et al.*, 2001; García *et al.*, 2008), where fishers, fishing communities, resources and the environment are inextricable for the purposes of analysis and praxis. In this context “fisheries assessment” pertains to all the components of the fishery, in contrast to “fisheries stock assessment”, which has been the centerpiece of classical fishery science. The assessment of fisheries must be approached at a hierarchy of levels, from the construction of conceptual models of entire SESs to models (whether formal or conceptual) of specific subsystems (e.g. harvested resources). This process requires the organization of large amounts of heterogeneous information, both research- and experience-based. The latter, which includes fishers’ knowledge (FK), is of particular significance in the case of “data poor” fisheries which, paradoxically, tend to be those in which complexity is often irreducible.

We use a working definition of “fishers’ knowledge” (FK) that is deliberately broad: the body of experiential knowledge and insights that fishers have about a fishery, including the ecological resource base and the ecosystem, fishing practices, fishing communities and livelihoods, governance and markets, and their dynamic relationships. Our working definition of FK is wider in scope than the notions of Traditional, Local or Indigenous Ecological Knowledge (TEK/LEK/IEK), as knowledge may not be traditional in the sense of being handed down through generations by cultural transmission, and may or may not be shared. The main distinguishing characteristic of FK is that it is experience-based. Fishers’ knowledge has long been used in stock assessment and other branches of fishery science, albeit often not explicitly. This is the case of logbook programs (whether voluntary or mandatory), usually rich in information about fishers’ behavior (e.g. spatial or temporal patterns of fishing effort allocation), which is reflective of FK. More recently, indirect use of fishers’ knowledge on stock distribution and habitat suitability has become available through GPA data-loggers (e.g. Fernández-Boan *et al.*, 2013) and Vessel Monitoring Systems (VMS, Lambert *et al.*, 2012). Yet, explicit acknowledgement of the value of fishers’ knowledge, its potential use in many areas of assessment and management, and ways of integrating it with scientific knowledge did not gain momentum until the late 1990s (Johannes *et al.*, 2000).

Fishers’ knowledge can be considered from two different perspectives (Daw 2008): (1) the **utility perspective**, under which it is important to determine whether fishermen can perceive, recall and report fish abundances in a way that is sufficiently reliable to support assessment or management, and (2) the **governance perspective**, emphasizing

fishers' roles in fisheries assessment and the management process. Related to these two perspectives, two modes of fishers' engagement may be distinguished (Daw, 2008, p. 91): "extractive", and "participatory" or "collaborative" (in the sense of NRC, 2004; Kay *et al.*, 2012). The extractive mode emphasizes the utility of FK: fishers are a source of knowledge which, once collected, can be stored, processed, reported, "integrated" with other sources of information, and eventually used in assessment or management, separately from fishers themselves (typically by scientists and/or managers). There is an extensive scholarly literature that explicitly or implicitly adheres to this approach, emphasizing the capture of FK, the assessment of possible biases, and the extent to which FK coheres with other types of information (typically scientific knowledge). Results are usually discussed with regards to their potential significance, but in most cases are not immediately used in support of assessment or management. A subset of the literature addresses the *a posteriori* "integration" of scientific and fishers' knowledge, once the latter has been gathered. In contrast to the extractive mode, in collaborative approaches fishers themselves are involved in the identification of knowledge gaps and priorities, survey design, monitoring, and the conduction of research projects. Their knowledge is directly integrated in the context of participatory governance structures, where fishers contribute to the management process.

In this report we examine a number of cases in which the value of FK has been considered in relation to management and/or assessment, including both extractive and collaborative approaches, with an emphasis on fisheries in the Americas. We identify and illustrate aspects in which these approaches are most valuable, and draw some general conclusions as to how to apply FK to fisheries assessment and management.

HOW CAN FK BE INFORMATIVE?

Fishers' knowledge is a highly valuable source of information for many aspects of fisheries assessment and management, including target resources, the fishery and potential responses to regulations (TextBox). Thornton and Maciejewski Scheer (2012) made an extensive compilation of cases in which local and traditional knowledge (LTK) on the marine environment has been explicitly documented, with an emphasis on bridging LTK and science. Over the last decade, extractive surveys have extensively documented the scope of FK and its degree of consistency with other sources of information; a selection of examples is summarized in Table 1. Extractive surveys may include questionnaires, fishers and households interviews, focus group meetings, participatory mapping, workshops and participant observation (Table 1)³. Although not indicated in the table, fishers' knowledge derived indirectly through logbook programs or VMS records is a case of the extractive mode. The contribution of FK in the context of collaborative partnerships is discussed in a subsequent section. While "ecological" knowledge (whether local, traditional or indigenous) tends to be emphasized in the literature documenting extractive-type studies, FK useful for assessment and management also pertains to the merits of alternative regulations considered for implementation, to access and tenure systems, and to social, cultural and economical aspects- in other words, to all the subsystems of *fisheries* when considered as SESs (e.g. Kalikoski and Vasconcellos, 2003).

What specific aspects of assessment and management can be informed by FK?

Assessment

- Design of monitoring, sampling and survey protocols
- Performance of fishing gear and fine-tuning of survey gear operations.
- Habitat mapping

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³ Discussion of the various extractive methods is outside the scope of this paper.

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- Spatial distribution of target resources
- Temporal trends in resource abundance or ecosystem conditions
- Interpretation of catch statistics, and of CPUE and effort allocation data
- Parameterization of simulation models used for management strategy evaluation
- Evaluation of harvest controls (size, sex, season, rotation, spatial closures)

Management

- Perception and acceptance of management regulations; gauging behavioral responses of fishers to management action
- Baselines and recovery targets
- Planning of direct intervention to enhance productivity (habitat and prey manipulation, control of predators or competitors, recruitment enhancement)
- Design of spatially explicit strategies
- Evaluation of alternative methods to regulate access, including informal tenure systems
- Definition of access rights and privileges
- Design of marine protected areas

TABLE 1
Cases of FK gathered through the extractive approach, with indication of actual or potential use in assessment or management

| System | Reference | Type of study | Subject of FK | Use of info-Assessment/ Management |
|--|---|---|--|---|
| HABITAT | | | | |
| New England industrial fisheries, U.S. | Hall-Arber & Pederson, 1999 | Questionnaires, focus group meetings, fishers' records | Importance of habitat for productivity; perceptions of changes in habitat as affecting fish abundance | Specific aspects on which FK could (or was) assisting with data collection identified; findings based on FK should be incorporated into the management process. |
| Lough Nea, Northern Ireland | McKenna & al., 2008 | Interviews and written questionnaires | Mental map of substrate types | |
| SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES | | | | |
| Small-scale fisheries, northern Gulf of California, Mexico | Moreno-Baez <i>et al.</i> , 2010 | Interviews, participatory mapping and post-survey workshops | Spatial distribution of different fisheries | Information incorporated to GIS platform; potential support for management discussed |
| Artisanal fisheries, gulf of Honduras | Heyman & Granados-Dieseldorff, 2012 | Interviews and participant observation | Status and trends in marine resources, spatial and temporal dynamics of fishing | Brings to attention fishers' suggestions for improved conservation and management, many already implemented |
| Benthic fisheries, Region X, S Chile | Chinquihue Foundation, 2010 | Participatory mapping | Spatial distribution of various benthic resources | Study required by the fisheries authority; information compared and combined with survey data |
| Artisanal fishery, Los Patos Lagoon estuary, Brazil | Schafer & Reis, 2008 | Participatory mapping and collaborative fieldwork | Location, categories and extension of fishing areas; landmarks and toponyms | Incorporation of georeferenced FK to GIS platform; potential implications considered |
| Scallop fishery, Alaska | Turk, 2000; Orensanz <i>et al.</i> , 2005 | Skippers' logbooks | Location and boundaries of fishing beds | Trawl survey design shown to be inadequate for assessing scallop stocks |
| LIFE HISTORY, ECOLOGY, MIGRATIONS | | | | |
| Small-scale fisheries, Sao Paulo, Brazil | Leite & Gasalla, 2013 | Interviews | Temporal/spatial occurrence of mature females and juveniles. Fishing grounds identified, essential fish habitats defined and seasonality specified for three fisheries | Delphi-method used to consolidate results from interview program; specific guidelines offered for future management (zoning, gear regulations, seasonal closures) |

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)

| System | Reference | Type of study | Subject of FK | Use of info-Assessment/Management |
|--|--|--|---|--|
| Artisanal snapper fishery, Brazil | Begossi <i>et al.</i> , 2011 | Interviews | Fish habitat, reproductive season and diet | Possible generic implications discussed |
| Bluefish, Brazil | Silvano & Begossi, 2010 | Interviews | Fish diet, reproduction and migrations | Research project seen as contributing to development of co-management |
| Cod, Newfoundland and Labrador, E Canada | Murray <i>et al.</i> , 2008 | Interviews and workshops, combined with scientific information | Stock complex with multiple populations; evidence of movements and stock structure at the local scale | Complement science-based information at small (local) scale. Hope study will assist active ocean stewardship; fisheries authority emphasizes joint stewardship and devolution of management responsibility |
| Inshore cod, Newfoundland and Labrador, E Canada | Wroblewski & al., 2005 | Interviews, summary of previous studies | Cod migration and color phenotypes; existence of inshore and nearshore stocks inferred | Hypothesis on recolonization of offshore spawning grounds by inshore cod; support for development of local co-management |
| Land crab gathering, Puerto Rico | Govender, 2007 | Interviews | Gatherers have clear understanding of crab ecology, tuning harvest schedules in accordance to crab life cycle | Recommended that TEK be considered to modify management plan, disregarded by gatherers |
| TRENDS IN SIZE AND ABUNDANCE | | | | |
| Intertidal chiton harvests, Kenai Pa., Alaska | Salomon & al., 2007 | Interviews | Abundance of several benthic invertebrates declined serially since 1960s, coincidentally with changes in human behavior and reestablishment of sea otters | |
| Fisheries of lower Tocantins River, Brazilian Amazonia | Hallwass <i>et al.</i> , 2013 | Interviews, combined with field and historical data | Long-term impacts of dam construction on fish abundance | Potential use of LEK in management discussed |
| Reef fishes, eastern Brazil | Bender <i>et al.</i> , 2013 | Interviews | Decline of several fish species, mostly snappers and groupers | Setting a baseline of fish abundance; baseline offered as support for recovery targets and future management strategies in an MPA |
| Multiple marine species, northern Gulf of California, Mexico | Ainsworth, 2011 | Interviews, and CPUE from logbooks (a few boats) | General decline in species abundance across fished and unfished taxa, with a few exceptions | Support for EBFM-oriented modelling; merit of combining multiple sources of information, fuzzy logic approach |
| Artisanal fisheries, Colombian Caribbean coast | Cuello & Duarte, 2009 | Interviews conducted as part of participatory workshops | Change in composition of the catch and reduction of individual size | Support for possible temporal or partial closures |
| Gulf grouper, Gulf of California, Mexico | Saenz-Arroyo & al., 2005a | Interviews combined with other sources of information | Abundance and size started to decline well before statistics started to be recorded | Reconstruction of past levels of abundance (baselines) |
| Scallop diving fishery, San Jose Gulf, Argentine Patagonia | Orensanz <i>et al.</i> , 2006 | Interviews | CPUE decline and post-closure recovery | Support for consensus about status of the fishery in a participatory management context |
| SPECIES INTERACTIONS | | | | |
| Lobster fishery, Gulf of St. Lawrence, E Canada | Davis <i>et al.</i> , 2004 | Collaborative field work | Fishers' perceptions suggest hypothesis of white hake predation affecting lobster recruitment | Possible consideration of predator-prey interaction in assessment dismissed |
| Lobster fishery, Gulf of Maine, east coast of US | Boudreau & Worm, 2010 | Interviews | Cod is a significant lobster predator | |
| RESOURCE QUALITY | | | | |
| Sea urchin diving fishery, South Chile | Barahona <i>et al.</i> , 2005; Moreno <i>et al.</i> , 2006 | Participatory mapping | Geographic pattern of sea urchin roe quality (color) | Interpretation of fishing intensity patterns; implications for zoning (including reproductive reserves) considered in participatory context |

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)

| System | Reference | Type of study | Subject of FK | Use of info-Assessment/ Management |
|--|-----------------------------|--|--|---|
| ACCESS AND TENURE | | | | |
| TURF system for benthic fisheries, Chile | Cinti, 2006 | Interviews and questionnaires | Collaboration among fishers, income derived from the TURFs, occupational security, participation in management, taxation, and equity | An enhanced role of fishers in management decisions was recommended |
| Bivalve fisheries, Seri people, Gulf of California | Basurto, 2005 | Participant observation and interviews | Informal tenure system documented, including rules to grant access to outsiders | |
| FISHERS PREFERENCES AND RESPONSE TO REGULATIONS | | | | |
| Shellfish diving fishery, Bahia Kino, Gulf of California, Mexico | Cinti <i>et al.</i> , 2010 | Interviews and participant observation | Support for implementing regulatory measures | Assessment of management system, access rules, monitoring, enforcement; preliminary baseline for specific management plans, as required by Mexico's fisheries act |
| Shrimp trawl fishery, southern Gulf of California, Mexico | Foster & Vincent, 2010 | Interviews | Fishers identify problems generated externally, distancing themselves from responsibility for management | Identification of candidate trawl-free areas that might find acceptance among fishers; conclusions relative to viability of trawl-free areas and capacity reduction |
| SS reef fishing in MPA, Veracruz, Mexico | Jiménez-Badillo, 2008 | Questionnaires, field obs., focus group discussions | Socioeconomic characterization of fishery in MPA used to develop management system balancing livelihoods and conservation needs | Regulations unviable, fishing gear inoperative in zones where fishing would be allowed. Proper communication channels not established, recommended |
| Small scale fisheries, Paraty, Brazil | Lopes & al, 2013 | Interviews and participatory mapping | Fishers perception of MPAs | Changes suggested in the design of MPAs that would likely reduce conflict between fishers and enforcement agencies |
| Scottish demersal fisheries, UK | Rossiter & Stead, 2003 | Interviews | | Fishermen favored an effort control system (days at sea) and abolition of quotas |
| LIVELIHOODS | | | | |
| Hook-and-line fishing in lakes, Yucatan Peninsula, Mexico | Arce-Ibarra & Charles, 2008 | Fishers interviews | Minor significance of fishing for subsistence; recreation significant | |
| Caiçara communities, coastal Brazil | Hanazaki & al., 2013 | Household interviews | Fishing is a livelihood activity for 70 % of the households, main declared activity for 16 %; food insecurity transitory | External threats to SS fishery identified; provide baseline against which future livelihood resilience and food security may be measured |
| Aquarium fish, Peruvian Amazonia | Moreau & Coomes, 2008 | Participant observation, household interviews | Fishery described in two villages of the Peruvian Amazon; differences in participation, reliance and organization explained | Understanding microeconomic conditions at multiple levels (household, village, region) considered essential to adjust management to fishers' needs and avoid inadequate interventions |
| SOCIAL NETWORKS | | | | |
| TURFs in benthic fisheries, Chile | Marín & Berkes, 2010 | Participant observation, questionnaires and interviews | Networks of actors, functions of actors in co-management, and fishers' perceptions about Chile's co-management arrangement | Highlights challenge in this top-down system of implementing adaptive management to deal with problems as they come up |

POTENTIAL BIASES OF FK

The analysis of the reliability of information provided by fishers is critical from a utility perspective. The information provided [i] is often not neutral relative to the interests and expectations of the providers (e.g. it may influence regulatory measures), [ii] may depend on the context in which it was generated and the specific experiences

of the providers (e.g. different groups of fishers or fleet sectors, permit holders vs. deck-hands), and [iii] can be influenced by survey design. Interviewed subjects, for example, may gauge the social desirability of their answers, and may attempt to match expectations of the interviewer, eventually led (even if inadvertently) by the latter (Bodreau and Worm, 2010).

Perhaps the most serious impediment for the effective integration of FK in fisheries assessments is the notion that intentional bias can be expected in favor of fishers' vested interests, to the extent that the information retrieved may influence regulations and opportunities (Hall-Arber, 2003; Daw, 2008). Although it is in the best interest of fishers to attend to the long-term viability of resources and fisheries upon which their livelihoods depend, many factors (e.g. poverty, indebtedness, lack of access security, uncertainty about management, distrust) result in a short-term view and a tendency to seek out increased short-term catch opportunities. This short-term view may consciously or unconsciously introduce an optimistic bias in fishers' reports with regards to abundance trends and resource status (Daw, 2008), or a tendency to blame factors other than fishing (e.g. pollution, environmental effects) for declining catch rates.

The high variability in catch rates experienced by fishers limits the ability to discern general trends in abundance from the effects of spatial variability, weather, technological improvements, etc. and may easily lead to a wide range of perceptions (van Densen, 2001). In addition, the ability to recall quantitative information about historical events is generally limited, and cognitive research indicates that respondents faced with questions about "how much", "how long ago", or "how often" resort to inference mechanisms that can be very unreliable (Bradburn *et al.*, 1987). Given these uncertainties and memory limitations, biases in perception may be easily introduced, for example, to reduce uncomfortable incongruence between opinions and actions (i.e. "cognitive dissonance", see Festinger, 1985), deflecting responsibility for declining trends or failing to recognize indicators of "bad news" (Daw, 2008).

There are various other forms of cognitive biases that may impact FK, especially, but not exclusively, the perception of historical trends in resource and ecosystem status. A well-documented source of cognitive bias is the so-called shifting-baseline syndrome (Pauly, 1995), whereby the state of a population or ecosystem used as reference to judge current status shifts over time as populations/ecosystems change, reflecting people's own experience in a form of "generational amnesia" (Papworth *et al.*, 2009). Numerous examples exist in which the magnitude of a reported declining trend in fish abundance or fish size increases with the age and years of experience of an interviewed subject (Saenz-Arroyo *et al.*, 2005b; Bunce *et al.*, 2008; Ainsworth *et al.*, 2008; Ainsworth, 2011); when coupled with evidence of actual biological trends, the change in perception with age is indicative of a shifting-baseline syndrome (Papworth *et al.*, 2009). In this case, relying on more recent accounts of past trends would underestimate the extent of resource depletion relative to unexploited levels.

Other forms of retrospective bias may have the opposite effect of exaggerating reported trends. For example, fishers reports of past catch rates may be biased towards extreme, more memorable events (Daw, 2010; O'Donnell *et al.*, 2010a) due to "availability heuristics" (Tversky and Kahneman, 1973), a form of memory illusion that results from a tendency to evaluate probability of events based on the ease with which an event comes to mind. Also, interview data has been shown to underestimate the frequency of zero catches, when compared with more systematic collections of data such as from logbook programs, leading to overestimation of "normal" catch rates (O'Donnell *et al.*, 2012a). Discrepancies between different sources of data (e.g. interviews versus logbook) may be indicative of such biases, but care needs to be taken to account for the effects of spatial coverage and other sources of variability that affect all types of data compared, whether reported by fishers or collected through monitoring programs. Unfortunately, interviews with fishers are often the only source

of information available to set a historic baseline. Questions can be phrased to reduce these biases by enquiring about low, medium and high catch rates separately (Daw *et al.*, 2011), and sensitivity to different assumptions and interpretations of past data need to be evaluated (O'Donnell *et al.*, 2010a,b). Availability heuristics may also affect other types of FK by overestimating the importance of observations that have special meaning for users, for example the impact of predation of some species on the target resource (e.g. Davis *et al.*, 2004).

As argued by Davis and Ruddle (2010), “rational skepticism” needs to be exercised when interpreting and applying FK, similar to any kind of scientific data. This requires critical analysis and the establishment of a firm basis of evidence before a claim is accepted as valid. The importance of following a systematic methodology to gather FK, including explicit establishment of the bases for identifying and selecting informants (Davis and Ruddle, 2010), and contrasting results with other data sources whenever possible, cannot be overemphasized.

COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH, ASSESSMENT AND MANAGEMENT

In addition to research projects designed with the explicit goal of extracting and documenting FK, partnerships between scientists and fishers often provide effective channels through which FK is shared and applied; two-way cross-fertilization between experience-based and research-based knowledge develops as a result. This is generally the case when fishers participate in the assessment and management process, whether or not partnerships are institutionalized through formal co-management arrangements. Regular interactions often lead to collaboration in the development of survey or fishing gear, participation of fishers in survey design and monitoring, direct input in interpretation of fisheries data, and evaluation of management alternatives. Cash *et al.* (2003: 8089) explain how “*collaboration creates a process more likely to produce salient information because it engages end-users early in defining data needs. It can increase credibility by bringing multiple types of expertise to the table, and it can enhance legitimacy by providing multiple stakeholders with more, and more transparent, access to the information production process.*”

It is opportune to make a distinction between **cooperative** and **collaborative research** (NRC, 2004). While collaborative research involves an intellectual partnership between fishers and scientists, cooperative activities are defined as those where fishers assist in the execution of particular tasks with no significant intellectual contribution (Wendt and Starr, 2009). An example of a cooperative activity is the chartering of fishing boats to conduct surveys or deploy equipment. In the Chilean system of territorial use privileges granted to artisanal fishers' organizations (AMERBs), assessments are conducted by hired “consultants”, who are required by the fishery administration as a condition for approval of mandated baseline studies, management plans and follow-ups (Schumann, 2010). While consultants of the AMERB system were initially envisioned as co-management agents that would facilitate true collaborative partnerships, many of them have become by default quota appraisers, enlisting fishers and their boats to cooperate in conducting diving surveys according to a pre-established design (González *et al.*, 2006; San Martín *et al.*, 2009). Merits of cooperative and collaborative research were reviewed in detail by a panel appointed by the U.S. National Research Council (NRC, 2004), which evaluated case studies from industrial fisheries from the U.S. and other countries (New Zealand, Canada) and developed guidelines for successful collaborative research.

In recent years there have been initiatives in different countries towards the promotion of partnerships between fishers, scientists and other stakeholders. The California Collaborative Fisheries Research Program (CCFRP) is an interesting case in the development of collaborative fisheries research. Formally created in 2006 as a group of scientists, fishers, and resource managers (Wendt and Starr, 2009), the

CCFRP was motivated by provisions of the California's Marine Life Protection Act with the goal of engaging the expertise of fishers and skippers in the development and execution of research programs, and to collect data that could be utilized in stock assessments of nearshore species. One of the most interesting initiatives to foster partnerships between fishers and scientists is the Fishermen and Scientists Research Society (FSRS, www.fsrs.ns.ca/index.html) from eastern Canada, and in association the NSERC-promoted Canadian Fisheries Research Network (www.cfrn-rcrp.ca/Public-Home-EN). The Society was formally established as a nonprofit organization in 1994, after a series of discussions between fishers and a small group of fishery scientists. Its goals included establishing and maintaining a network of personnel within the fishing industry to collect information on the long-term sustainability of the marine fishing industry and to collaborate in fisheries research projects. In New Zealand, individual transferable quotas and a cost-recovery policy have created strong incentives for fishers' participation in assessment, while maintaining the quality standard required by the fisheries authority (NRC, 2004). The industry has collected biological data to be used in assessment and management since the mid 1990s (Harte, 2001; Starr, 2010).

Below we present a collection of selected cases from artisanal and industrial fisheries, mostly from the Americas, to illustrate the engagement of FK in successful collaborative research projects. These cases pertain to collaborative sampling and monitoring, participatory surveys, design of survey methods or gear, gear modifications to avoid bycatch, harvest strategies, evaluation of harvest controls and management strategies, access and tenure systems, and development of management plans. In all the cases there is indication of substantial contribution of FK to the solution of specific management or assessment problems.

Collaborative sampling and monitoring:

- Fishing cooperatives on the Pacific coast of central Baja California, grouped into a federation (FEDECOOP), target lobsters (among other resources) within their territorial concessions. The cooperatives and the fisheries authority collaborate in monitoring the fishery, participation being a formal requisite of the management regime (Ponce-Díaz *et al.*, 2009). Despite the fact that this legal requirement is relatively recent, the cooperatives have collaborated since the 1970s with various institutions (academic, governmental) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to co-produce information relevant for management. Exchange and collaboration has been profuse between fishers and technical personnel of the fisheries authority, from the joint collection of data to discussion of research results. A technical committee organizes annual workshops where results are presented and recommendations for management (including harvest levels) are discussed before they are submitted to the fisheries authority for approval. Workshops are held to define monitoring protocols for the upcoming season. The federation had a leading role in pursuing the certification of the lobster fishery by the Marine Stewardship Council (MSC), achieved in 2004 and renewed in 2011. This was the first artisanal fishery from a developing country to be certified by the MSC.
- The well-organized lobster fishers of Juan Fernández Archipelago (off central Chile) approached scientists within academia to develop their own spatially explicit indicators of stock status and fishery performance, which were then made available to the fisheries authority and used in fostering strategies compatible with the informal but effective traditional tenure system in place in the fishery (Ernst *et al.*, 2010). A collaborative effort led to the design and implementation of a cost-effective logbook-sampling program. Under this bottom-up arrangement, data are shared voluntarily by individual fishers and compiled with assistance from the "sindicato" (a type of fishers' organization). The spatially explicit information collected has been used since 2004 to compute and standardize an index of lobster abundance.

- Culver *et al.* (2010) engaged fishers from a Californian trap fishery in a monitoring program, integrating data collection with fishing activities to provide catch-based indicators of crab populations' status. Their findings substantiated several recommendations: well-defined goals, hands-on training for participants, validation of the collected data, well-defined procedures for handling confidential data, and timely and consistent reviews of the data. The program proved adequate for obtaining comprehensive fishery information in a more cost-effective manner than was then available.

Collaborative surveys:

- 'Sentinel surveys', a special type of collaborative survey, are conducted on a regular basis on the east coast of Canada through partnerships between the fisheries authority and the fishing industry. They are limited commercial operations designed to maintain a continuous record of fishery-dependent data during temporal closures [<http://slgo.ca/bio/index.jsp?source=4&lg=en>]. Motivated by the collapse of the cod fishery during the early 1990s, their implementation followed recommendations by the Fisheries Resource Conservation Council (which has participation of managers, scientists and the industry). The fishing industry (ca. 20 organizations) is directly involved in the assessment process. Surveys can reach areas that government trawl surveys cannot access (inshore waters and untrawlable bottom), making use of local knowledge and expertise. An evaluation of the program (NRC, 2004) noticed that *"there is a tension between the rigorous scientific design and adherence to predefined protocols demanded by scientists and the more adaptive 'sizing up' approach used by fishermen to determine resource status. This is an important area of discussion and mutual compromise between the partners. Achieving a workable balance between fishermen's expertise and a defensible statistical design is essential for the effective implementation of cooperative surveys. The discussions leading to this compromise are most effectively achieved through a process of coeducation. Changes in the design, implementation, and analysis of cooperative survey data are continually proposed by both partners and are indicative of a healthy debate and an open dialogue"*.
- Because Atlantic halibut is not well estimated with the otter-trawl surveys conducted by the Canadian fisheries authority, collaborative surveys were initiated in 1998 to develop an index of abundance (Zwanenburg and Wilson, 2000). Participating fishers contributed in the development of an annual standardized estimate of commercial CPUE (one of the components of the program). Each year, following the completion of the survey, results are presented in meetings attended by all participants. Results consist of maps showing CPUE for Atlantic halibut and other species of interest, and estimates of fixed station and commercial CPUE. Extensive feedback includes detailed accounts of anomalous observations and ancillary information not formally included in the data collection protocols. Surveys have been successful in increasing the knowledge base for this species and in fostering an effective working relationship between halibut fishers and fishery scientists. Keys to success were (among others) the degree of responsibility assumed by the industry participants, agreement on survey design and protocols, feedback of results to participants on an ongoing basis, and willingness by both partners to commit to a relatively long-term project (NRC, 2004). The high value of halibut was a major incentive.
- The San Diego Watermen's Association (California), which includes commercial sea urchin divers, initiated a data collection program in collaboration with independent scientists and biologists from the fisheries authority (Prince, 2003b). Schroeter *et al.* (2009) explain how both fishery-dependent and fishery-independent data on the local red sea urchin fishery are gathered, organized and

analyzed. Data are collected to support periodical stock assessments needed for management of red sea urchins and the kelp forest ecosystem on which this and other fisheries depend.

- Kay *et al.* (2012) reported the results of a collaborative fisheries research program designed in part to test whether reserves at the Santa Barbara Channel Islands, U.S., led to spillover that influenced trap yield and effort distribution near reserve borders. Industry training of scientists allowed sampling within reserves; data were then analyzed jointly with pre-reserve fishing records, port sampling records, LEK, and other pieces of information. It was concluded that if spillover had an effect, this was too weak to be detected.

Collaborative research on the design of survey methods or gear:

- A program was started in 1998 in the Jarauá area of the Mamirauá Reserve, Brazilian Amazonia, to promote sustainable fisheries (Castello *et al.*, 2009). The area, controlled by four communities, has about 562 km² of várzea, a type of floodplain that is subject to marked seasonal flooding. Collaborative research efforts initially focused on developing a method to count pirarucú (*Arapaima* spp.), pulmonate fishes, when they come to the surface to breathe. Two experienced fishers, together, counted pirarucú in a few lakes using an improvised method, later standardized over six months of close collaborative work with a graduate student (Castello, 2004). The protocol consisted of counting large pirarucú (longer than 1 m) during a period of 20 min within an area no larger than 2 ha. Fishers were able to count pirarucú by differentiating among surfacing individuals on the basis of subtle visual and acoustical cues, skills developed only by fishers very experienced in harpooning (Castello, 2004). Comparison between counts and mark-recapture estimates in experimental areas were highly encouraging. In 2000 other fishers started to receive training in the protocol, showing that the technique could be passed from one fisher to another. This method used to count the pirarucú has the advantage of being very cost-effective; it is ~ 200 times faster and less expensive than the mark-recapture method. Use of the method expanded, and is currently utilized for the recommendation of catch quotas.
- During the early 1970's there was concern about the collateral ecological effects of scallop dredging in San Jose Gulf, Argentine Patagonia, after a comparable scallop fishery collapsed in a neighboring region. A partnership was established in 1973 between prospective commercial divers, some skippers and biologist from a regional research center to evaluate diving as an alternative to dredging (Orensanz *et al.*, 2006). Equipment was developed by trial and error, and the ecological effects of dredging were documented in the field. The fisheries authority opened the commercial diving fishery in 1976, and dredging has been effectively banned ever since.
- Fishers' cooperatives from western Baja California (México) have a long history of collaboration with academic institutions and fishery authorities. Following collaborative experimentation, escape vents were incorporated to lobster traps by fishers to improve selectivity. Vents were later incorporated by the fisheries authority as a formal regulation (DOM, 2007).
- Annual bottom trawl surveys of the upper continental slope of the west coast of the U.S. provide information on several indicators of groundfish resources. The validity of the slope time series was challenged in 1993 when a representative of the fishing industry, invited to participate on the survey cruise, observed inconsistencies with the design and operation of the survey trawl (Lauth *et al.*, 1998). Scientists, with input from the fishing industry and net manufacturers, reevaluated the design and operation of the survey trawl. It was concluded that steps should be taken to improve the standard survey trawl's performance

and, consequently, the credibility of the survey. Experimental gear research was conducted because of concerns about the performance of the survey trawl, and as a result gear designed used in surveys was improved. These changes had effective implications for the setting of quotas.

Collaborative research on gear modifications to avoid bycatch:

- An apparently effective turtle excluder device (TED) was developed during the 1980s by the U.S. National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) to be used in shrimp trawl fisheries (NRC, 2004). Extensive demonstrations with fishers, however, met with opposition as operation of the gear proved to be too cumbersome. Seeking a more acceptable device from within the fishery, agency personnel conferred with industry leaders, who pointed to devices that had been designed for the exclusion of jellyfish that sometimes clogged nets hampering their retrieval. Environmental organizations, commercial fishers, and government personnel participated in the experimental investigation of various modifications of jellyfish excluding devices, and a number of trial TEDs were shown to be highly effective in excluding turtles from trawls. Subsequently, extensive outreach was conducted to demonstrate the prototype TEDs aboard commercial vessels during shrimp operations. A gear design was ultimately accepted by industry, the environmental community, and NMFS, and is still in use today.
- Yellowfin tuna often associate with certain species of dolphins. Tuna purse seine fishers take advantage of that association by locating dolphins visually and then inspecting the herds (primarily by helicopter) to see if a sufficiently abundant tuna school is swimming beneath them (Hall, 1998). Ways to adapt fishing operations to reduce dolphin mortality were explored in the eastern Pacific Ocean and eventually integrated into management regulations. Tuna and dolphins are herded and captured together in the net, but prior to retrieving the net and tuna, fishers release dolphins by the “backdown procedure”, in which the vessel puts its engines in reverse, causing submersion of the corkline at the end of the net due to water drag through the fine-meshed net there (the “Medina panel”). Most of the dolphins are released unharmed, although some do die during the fishing operation. The backdown procedure is an invention of tuna fishers, the incentive being avoidance of dolphin bycatch and public concern. Dolphin mortality was reduced by 97% between 1986 and 1995 (NRC, 2004).

Harvest controls and strategies:

- The fishing industry and managers collaborate in the sardine fishery from the Gulf of California through an adaptive management system; frequent surveys allow quick reaction to changes in population abundance, e.g. by closing additional areas to fishing or changing the length of the fishing season (Bakun *et al.*, 2010).
- Trawl-closure areas on the Central Coast of California were designed through a collaborative project that involved fishers, NGOs and managers in the evaluation of conservation benefits and costs of alternative options (Gleason *et al.*, 2013). By combining fine-scale information provided by fishers with biodiversity data, a design was identified that protects large areas of the sea bottom from trawling while minimizing economic impacts from closed fishing grounds.

Management strategy evaluation:

- Walters *et al.* (1993) developed a spatial model for the population dynamics and exploitation of the Western Australian rock lobster fishery in order to explore the efficacy of alternative regulatory schemes. Usefulness of the model was tested in workshop sessions attended by scientists, managers and experienced industry representatives who contributed their FK about the fishery. Fishers (commercial

and recreational) suggested policy scenarios, which were then evaluated with a gaming approach. Rapid availability of the results stimulated focused and productive debate among participants, with conclusions summarized at the end of each session. Exercises of this nature have been common place in many other fisheries.

Access and tenure systems:

- Lobster fishing has been the main source of income for the people from the Juan Fernández Archipelago (population ca. 770), located more than 700 km off central Chile, for more than a century. The fishery has operated under a traditional territorial tenure system that has put an effective cap on the size of the fishing force, but until recently was virtually invisible to the fisheries authority (Ernst *et al.*, 2010). Resource science-based assessments have recurrently diagnosed overfishing, the basis for prescribing generic “solutions” with no attention to their possible impacts on the users and on traditional tenure arrangements (Ernst *et al.*, 2013). The local fishers’ organization (“sindicato”) teamed up with scientists from academia, and with support from a conservation-oriented NGO they documented a traditional tenure system based on harvest rights over fishing spots “owned” by individuals, known as “marcas”. Between 2004 and 2012 informal access rules were compiled, marcas were mapped and the traditional tenure system was brought to the attention of the fisheries authority to discourage possibly disruptive top-down management interventions (quotas, reserves, complete closures) (Ernst *et al.*, 2013).

Development of management plans:

- Between 2010 and 2011 the fisheries authority from Chubut Province, Argentina, convened a participatory process to develop a management plan for the San José Gulf commercial diving fishery (Orensanz *et al.*, 2006), involving fishers, agency staff and external scientists. The plan was developed over nine meetings during which consensus was reached on governance issues, oversight of fishing operations, access under a limited entry system, harvest regulations (seasons, gear, etc.), indicators (obtained from collaborative surveys), decisions rules, monitoring, enforcement and communication (Cinti *et al.*, 2011). Fishers’ knowledge (e.g. on resource distribution, gear performance, behavior of fishers in the face of various regulations, etc.) was instrumental in all aspects of the plan, which was adopted by the authority and incorporated into the current provincial fisheries legislation.

CONTEXTS FOR THE USE OF FK IN MANAGEMENT

If management is defined in a broad sense, i.e. to include both formal and informal institutions, there are four main modes for the use or engagement of FK in fisheries management:

[1] *Informal* - Under this mode, FK is used by fishing communities or fishers’ organizations as informal support for self-imposed measures such as seasonal or area closures, gear restrictions (e.g. banning of gaffs in the Quintana Roo lobster fishery, or of diving in the Juan Fernández commercial lobster fishery; Orensanz *et al.*, 2013), etc. TEK as support for traditional management has been reviewed by Berkes *et al.* (2000), who pointed that those systems have some analogies with adaptive management, in that they emphasize feedback learning and attend to the uncertainty and unpredictability intrinsic to all ecosystems. Retrieval and use of FK within fishing communities can be eventually facilitated by “barefoot ecologists” (Prince, 2003a, 2003b) or through Participatory Action Research (PAR; Christie *et al.*, 2000).

[2] *Bottom-up pressure*, when there is a desire for informal (local) FK-supported management practices to be known or endorsed by management agencies or other formal institutions. Pressure for recognition of FK-support can be accompanied by NGO or academic partners, and enhanced by the media. Castello *et al.* (2009) give a detailed and vivid account of the difficult process of obtaining harvest permits for Amazonian pirarucú, and having quotas supported by FK-based assessment accepted by Brazil's management authority (IBAMA). The Association of Producers and the Mamirauá Institute for Sustainable Development worked together to that end.

[3] *Extractive*, when FK is compiled by researchers through interviews, participant observation, participatory mapping, etc., reported, eventually integrated with other sources of information, and used *a posteriori* (typically by scientists and/or managers) as a component of the support for management guidelines or regulations.

[4] *Participatory*, typically in committees or advisory boards with representation of [1] fishing communities or fishers' organizations, [2] government management agencies and/or their providers of scientific support, [3] academia, and [4] environment- or conservation-oriented NGOs. There are many examples in Latin America, e.g. the Participatory Management Board for the Galapagos Marine Reserve (Castrejón, 2011), the Comisión de Manejo de Pesquerías Bentónicas (COMPEB) in the sea urchin fishery of South Chile (Moreno *et al.*, 2006), the Comité Técnico Consultivo de la Pesquería de Langosta del Pacífico in the Baja California (México) lobster fishery (Ponce-Díaz *et al.*, 2009), and the technical advisory board for the management of artisanal fisheries in San José Gulf, Argentine Patagonia (Orensanz *et al.*, 2006).

In most real-life situations there is an actual mixture of these modes, e.g. the same fishers may adhere to FK-guided practices invisible to managers, promote some measures through bottom-up pressure, be interviewed by scientists from academia, and participate in advisory committees together with scientists and managers.

Much of the FK input to management goes undocumented, and in many cases is communicated verbally within the context of community-based or participatory management (e.g. Nenadovic *et al.*, 2012). This contrasts with scientific support to management, which is usually documented in publications, technical reports (published or unpublished) or agency memoranda. In participatory contexts, the significance of FK-based support may be far greater than what is apparent to external observers accessing written materials. The effective integration of FK into fisheries management requires attending to the institutional context within which that knowledge is communicated. This institutional context must open communication channels and facilitate collaboration at multiple scales, from the local scale of the fishing communities to the regional scale at which strategic management issues are addressed. Nonetheless, this aspect has received little attention in the academic literature.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Both extractive and collaborative approaches to the engagement of FK in assessment and management have merit and limitations.

In the case of the extractive approach, an inquiry is generally conducted by the researchers and FK is used (if at all) *a posteriori*, to support fishery's assessment and/or management and usually "integrated" with information from other sources (e.g. see Figure 1 in Mackinson and Nottestad, 1998). This integration is often considered difficult because of the different cultural contexts in which knowledge originates, although institutional factors can play a significant role (Wilson, 2013). On the positive side, one advantage of the extractive approach is that the researcher has control over the study design and selection of the information providers, improving the representativeness of

the results. The design of an inquiry is an important consideration for cases in which there is a diverse group of users and issues under scrutiny are sensitive due to political, social or economical reasons. The aspects in which the extractive approach has proved most valuable for assessment and management include [i] the spatial distribution of habitats, resources and effort allocation, particularly in the context of participatory mapping and with the eventual support of GIS tools; [ii] the reconstruction of trends in indicators of abundance (e.g. CPUE). The first is mostly valuable as support for spatial management strategies (zoning, closures, MPA, rotation), and the second to establish baselines and reference points for stock assessment.

The collaborative approach to FK engagement is generally associated with participatory institutional ambits for research, management and governance. Collaborative research usually originates within any stakeholder group to address and seek out solutions to specific problems identified in those ambits. Areas where collaborative research has proved most fruitful include participatory monitoring and surveys, including the design of survey gear, and the modification of gear or fishing operations to reduce bycatch. Impediments to collaboration may arise when one of the partner groups perceives that its contribution is not appreciated (Johnson and McKay, 2013). Collaborative approaches risk not being representative when there is a tendency in the selection of individual partners (“cherry picking”, e.g. selection of fisher partners by the scientific partners) or fishers’ representatives. The latter is further complicated when leaders representing fishers in participatory committees become politicized and prioritize their own agendas.

Methodological guidelines of how to engage FK in fisheries assessment and management pertain mostly to the nature of the process. Based on experience, regular collaborative partnerships involving fishers, scientists/technicians and managers constitute the most effective way to engage FK in fisheries assessment and management. The cumulative experience from a number of projects suggests that the following guidelines could contribute significantly to the success of collaborative research projects:

- Promote ambits that facilitate interaction and collaboration among fishers, managers, scientists, and eventually other stakeholders (e.g. NGOs)
- Provide for well-established rules of engagement, based on premises of mutual respect and transparency
- Promote collaborative research
- Identify salient research objectives that are reasonable and valuable to one or more of the collaborating stakeholders; articulate projects around such objectives
- Emphasize practical approaches
- Search for reliable financial support
- Contemplate hands-on training of the participants (scientist, fishers, etc)
- Make arrangements for discussion at all stages: design, implementation and follow-up, as well as for eventual feedback and improvements
- Attend to the soundness of standards, protocols and experimental or survey designs
- Incorporate protocols for data validation
- Attend to issues of confidentiality
- Communicate and disseminate project results, particularly within fishing communities

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