

Inshore fishing and governance (France)

The case of pollack fisheries in the Iroise Sea

GIFS project • Action 1



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Inshore fishing and governance

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Action 1 - GIFS Project
2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----------|
| PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY..... | 1 |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS..... | 2 |
| Introduction..... | 3 |
| Methodology | 4 |
| 1.1 Selection of the study..... | 4 |
| 1.1 Detail of the method..... | 4 |
| 2 The governance of pollack fisheries: a complex system | 6 |
| 2.1 A Multi-level supervision of inshore fishing..... | 6 |
| 2.1.1 The Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) and European governance | 6 |
| 2.1.2 From the State to the producer organisations (PO)..... | 6 |
| 2.1.3 The region-State through the Prefect of the region | 7 |
| 2.1.4 The fishermen representatives | 7 |
| 2.2 A governance of pollack fisheries based on regional and local co-management..... | 8 |
| 2.2.1 Role of local co-management stakeholders | 8 |
| 2.2.2 The influence of other structures in local co-management..... | 9 |
| 2.2.3 European lobbying: influence on fisheries governance | 11 |
| 2.3 Co-management adjusted to the fishing ground..... | 12 |
| 2.3.1 The Iroise pollack fishery, a fishery of economic importance..... | 12 |
| 2.3.2 A complex co-management involving various trades | 13 |
| 2.3.3 An unusual study perimeter: different management methods depending on the fishermen's location | 13 |
| 2.3.4 The importance, in local governance, of port equipment and port councils serving port communities | 14 |
| 2.4 A fishery with socio-economic stakes for the territory | 15 |
| 2.4.1 The projects..... | 15 |
| 2.4.2 Support from, and involvement of, other players | 16 |
| 2.5 Evolution of fisheries governance to better protect oneself..... | 17 |
| 2.5.1 Handliners: towards a rapprochement with European fisheries governance | 17 |
| 2.5.2 Handliners and gillnetters: absence of competitive tension and identical valuation of pollack | 17 |
| 2.5.3 Port associations and rallying of fishermen | 17 |
| 3 The limitations of the governance: between transversality and particularism in the face of the Iroise Sea's other fisheries | 18 |
| 3.1 The limitations for the fisheries | 18 |

| | | |
|---|---|-----------|
| 3.1.1 | Pollack: a difficult fishery to identify | 18 |
| 3.1.2 | The handliners organisation: division of the inshore fishers community | 18 |
| 3.1.3 | Isolated fishermen amidst both fisheries, absent from governance | 19 |
| 3.1.4 | Fishing quotas unsuited to reality | 19 |
| 3.1.5 | Controls deemed insufficient by the profession | 19 |
| 3.2 | Limitations emanating from the territory..... | 20 |
| 3.2.1 | Disparities between port communities..... | 20 |
| 3.2.2 | The monopoly of certain players | 20 |
| 3.2.3 | The difficult representativeness of pollack fishermen amidst the multiplicity of fishing trades across the territory..... | 20 |
| 3.2.4 | A sometimes conflictual coexistence within the maritime space..... | 20 |
| 3.3 | Limitations originating from international and European environmental lobbying..... | 21 |
| 3.4 | The economy: obstruction and detractor of governance..... | 21 |
| 3.4.1 | An insufficient valuation of pollack due to market issues | 21 |
| Conclusion | | 23 |
| List of acronyms | | 24 |
| Bibliography..... | | 25 |
| Appendices | | 26 |
| Appendix 1: Map of regulatory zones in the North-East Atlantic..... | | 26 |

PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY

The GIFS (Geography of Inshore Fishing and Sustainability) Project brings English, French, Belgian and Dutch partners together. It was selected under the framework of the European Programme of cross-border cooperation INTERREG IV A 2 Seas, co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

The GIFS Project, which this study fits into, began in 2012 and is the successor to the Anglo-French CHARM (CHannel integrated Approach for marine Resource Management) Project (www.charm-project.org). The objective of the GIFS Project is to study the overall socio-economic and cultural importance of inshore fishing so as to integrate these dimensions in fisheries policies, maritime policy, coastal strategies of urban regeneration and, more broadly, in the sustainable development of coastal areas.

The work of the GIFS Project covers the English Channel and the southern North Sea by involving six partners. All actions are implemented jointly between these various partners so that the project takes on a true cross-border nature.



Geographical location of the project's various partners

The actions carried out within this project are split into three main themes:

- ✓ Governance of coastal areas and maritime fisheries;
- ✓ Fishing grounds and communities;
- ✓ Economy and regeneration of fishing communities.

This report is part of the GIFS Project Activity 1 "Governance of coastal zones and maritime fisheries", the objectives of which are:

- ✓ To understand the different modes of coastal governance of the study area and identify management practices.
- ✓ To inventory and understand the approaches and existing management frameworks throughout the study area, as well as to identify the place held by maritime fishing in the latter.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank the stakeholders met for their great availability and interest in the study: the Departmental Committee for Maritime Fisheries and Marine Fish Farms (Comité Départemental des Pêches et des Élevages Marins - CDPMEM) of Finistere, Ifremer, professional fishermen, Normapêche and the Directorate to the Sea and the Coastal Zone (Direction Mer et Littoral - DML) of the Departmental Directorate for the Territories and the Sea (Direction Départementale des Territoires et de la Mer - DDTM) of Finistere. All showed great hospitality, understanding and provided instrumental assistance to this study. The rewarding discussions helped open new avenues for thought and broadened the scope of the results of the study on the governance of inshore fishing.

INTRODUCTION

Finistère is the most iconic department for inshore fishing, in France as much as it is in Brittany. The diversity of inshore fishing trades is significant in Finistère. All the fisheries existing in France are represented here: handline/longline, gillnet, trawl, seaweed harvesting, professional foot fishing, trap setting and the Danish seine. Finistère is a territory located at the crossroads of three seaboards: the Iroise Sea, the English Channel, and the Bay of Biscay; with strong currents and where the diversity of species and landscapes make it an area that has a unique environment. These are some of the reasons why the first marine nature Park in France was established in 2007 in the Iroise Sea.

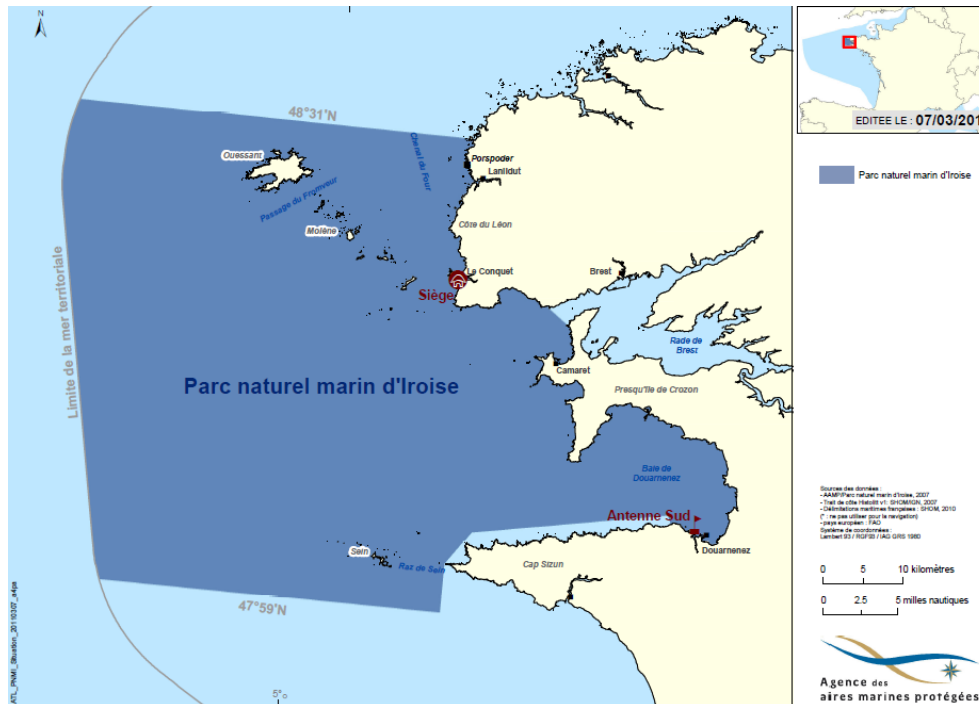


Figure 1: Perimeter map of the Iroise marine nature Park (Parc Naturel Marin d'Iroise - PNMI). Source: Protected Marine Areas Agency of the PNMI, 7 March 2001.

This maritime area includes the seabed, sub-seabed, and the body of water covering them. The public domain of seaports is not classified in the marine nature Park. The Iroise Sea surrounding this territory is not homogeneous in terms of management. Disparities exist between fisheries located to the north of the Iroise Sea and those located to the south.

As a species that is traditionally consumed and valued in Brittany, pollack is a species under European quotas, known as Total Allowable Catches (TAC). Pollack is still little known from a scientific point of view. It is a species caught mainly by three European countries: France, England and Ireland. Market issues associated with this species are growing in France. Scientifically known as *Pollachius pollachius*, pollack is targeted by three types of fishing trades: trawling, gillnetting, and handlining. It is also a species that is significantly represented in the catches of recreational fishing, and even more so within this maritime area. Known as a pelagic and benthopelagic species from the Gadidae family, its minimum marketable length is 30 cm. Landings show a high seasonality, the largest catches being made in the spring when the animals congregate for spawning (Susquet, 2001). Handliners catch young individuals or adults near wrecks or rocky overhangs but they are largely in competition with gillnetting (Urvois, 1995) and bottom or pelagic trawling. Yet, the species is not a priority target of trawling, excepted during the short breeding season.

Pollack is a fish living in the boreal and temperate waters on the continental shelf of the North Sea and the Atlantic. Unknown on the American Atlantic coast (Moreau, 1964), it is an iconic species on the coasts of the English Channel. Pollack is commonly present within the twelve nautical miles band and offshore, but is absent outside of zones VII e and VII a, and b of the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea (ICES) (Forest, 2006) (see Appendix). In 2013, pollack accounted for a quarter of the species landed at the fish auction of Audierne, in Finistere, with 271 tonnes of pollack sold; that is, 28 % of the total tonnage of species sold at the auction and 21 % of sales value. To a lesser extent, pollack accounts for 5 % of the quantities sold and sales values at the fish auction in Brest (Agrimer France, 2013). In principle, there is still a good level of stock. It is generally not a target species for fishing vessels.

This study focuses solely on the governance of pollack handliners and gillnetters, due to the fact that the trades using gillnets and hooks (handliners, longliners) are the most represented. Trawl fishing, which can both be inshore and offshore, would blur the boundaries of the study of the governance of the fishery for this species if this trade was included in the study. The first part introduces the governance of both fisheries and the second is dedicated to the identification of its boundaries.

METHODOLOGY

Under the GIFS Project, the team from AGROCAMPUS OUEST was in charge of the study of the governance of coastal areas and maritime fisheries (in France), with the analysis of the governance methods for inshore fishing activities through five case studies. The methodology used was common to all partners regardless of the country.

1.1 Selection of the study

It seemed interesting to understand how the fishermen catching pollack, an iconic species of Finistere, fit into the PNMI, France's first marine nature Park (MNP). To carry out this work, a survey by semi-structured interviews was conducted on a varied panel of stakeholders identified as key players in the business. The objective is to better understand the different modes of governance of this fishery in order to highlight the best practices and identify the place of the fishery in the chosen area. Given these objectives, a survey is the most appropriate method for this type of work because the information to be gathered is mostly sociological and rarely identifiable in documents and reports. These data are complex and partly conceptual, influenced by social and relational dynamics of institutional and private players.

1.1 Detail of the method

A general interview guide of GIFS Project Axis 1 was produced by the English project leaders from a pilot case study conducted in the south of England. This survey guide was adjusted once the literature research phase was completed. The questions of the interview guide were thus synthesised into major themes, the idea being to present the themes to be addressed in the interview without influencing the response of the respondent with restrictive questions, hence the choice of the semi-directive interview. Themes addressed are: the evolution of the governance of the fishery, its history, relationships between players, the involvement of the State and fishers in this evolution, ongoing projects on the fishery, control, the socio-economic impact of the fishery on the study territory and existing usage conflicts.

In order to identify key players, 7 exploratory interviews were conducted over the phone (Association of handliners from the tip of Brittany (Association des ligneurs de la pointe Bretagne), Departmental Directorate for the Territories and the Sea (Direction Départementale des Territoires et de la Mer - DDTM), departmental Committee for maritime fisheries and marine fish farms (Comité Départemental des Pêches et des Élevages Marins - CDPMEM) of Finistere, producer organisations, a

professional fisherman from Le Conquet, and the Mixed Research Unit (Unité Mixte de Recherche - UMR) AMURE of the University of Western Brittany), supplemented by literature research. Other players were identified through the semi-directive interviews conducted across the study area (contacts provided directly by the players themselves) or directly encountered on their workplace (ports and fish auctions for some fishermen, as well as fishmongers).

Table of persons consulted during the survey by interview

| Participant | Sector/position | Date | Duration |
|-------------------|---|----------|----------|
| 1. Participant A | Fishmonger 1 | 17 March | 15 min |
| 2. Participant B | Protected Marine Areas Agency: Iroise marine nature Park | 21 March | 75 min |
| 3. Participant C | University | 21 March | 50 min |
| 4. Participant D | Scientist 1 | 31 March | 80 min |
| 5. Participant E | Professional fisherman 1 | 31 March | 110 min |
| 6. Participant F | DDTM, Directorate to the Sea and the Coastal Zone (Direction Mer et Littoral - DML) | 31 March | 112 min |
| 7. Participant G | General Council | 1 April | 92 min |
| 8. Participant H | CDPMEM | 1 April | 135 min |
| 9. Participant I | Fishmonger 2 | 1 April | 20 min |
| 10. Participant J | DDTM, DML | 2 April | 101 min |
| 11. Participant K | Producer organisation | 30 April | 20 min |
| 12. Participant L | Defence and Management body (Organisme de Défense et de Gestion - ODG), Normapêche | 23 May | 140 min |
| 13. Participant M | Professional fisherman 2 | 28 May | 90 min |
| 14. Participant N | Scientist 2 | 28 May | 42 min |

Almost all of the interviews were conducted face-to-face. The surveyor is equipped with an interview guide, a voice recorder (with consent of the respondent). Only one interview was conducted over the phone. 14 people were interviewed. The interviews were conducted in two stages: a first part over the second half of March and the rest at the end of May.

The minutes of each interview were recorded and structured by theme. The collected data were analysed using the method of thematic content, by a vertical approach. All minutes were categorised on a theme basis. Blanchet and Gotman (2001) also speak of an “analysis by interview.” The various themes are then subjected to a qualitative processing of the information by comparing the various statements of stakeholders and the data gathered during literature research.

As in other French fisheries, Iroise Sea pollack fishermen are supervised by a system of co-management between the authorities and the profession. The specificity of the Iroise territory requires certain local adjustments much as the economic and social stakes related to handliners and gillnetters are important for the fishing sector in Finistere.

2.1 A Multi-level supervision of inshore fishing

Historically, inshore fishing is a structuring activity of Finistere and Brittany. As is the case for most French inshore fisheries, the pollack fishery is supervised by a system of co-management: professionals and authorities collaborate to regulate the resource and the trade (Picault and Lesueur, 2014). Beyond this co-management, the activity's governance is trying to adjust itself to the specificities of the territory and the expectations of professionals.

2.1.1 The Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) and European governance

The CFP is a European fisheries framework because the European Community has exclusive competence in this area by defining fishing rules to limit the intake from fish stocks. The CFP, born in 1983 and reformed in May 2013, revolves around major themes that are: resource management and conservation, common market policy, structural policy (European Fisheries Fund (EFF) replaced by the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF) in 2014), relations with third countries, foreign policy and the control and enforcement of regulations (Le Fur, 2009). Community management of fisheries is based on equality of access to all waters and resources of the European Union (EU). Vessels registered in the EU fishing flotilla file must comply with the management rules of the European Union (EC Regulation No 1380/2013). However, an exemption exists for the twelve nautical miles band of the Member States (territorial waters). This exemption allows Member States to reserve their territorial waters for the activities of their nationals (except for historical rights of certain ships registered in the Annex to EC Regulation No 1380/2013). It authorises the definition of management rules better adjusted to the local context, on the condition of complying with the Community fisheries regulations ("residual" rights). It is the principle of subsidiarity in territorial waters (Picault and Lesueur, 2014). In order to manage and conserve the resource, Total Allowable Catches (TACs) are set by species and divided among Member States. Emanating initially from a scientific expertise, the establishment of the annual quota for a species is discussed in the ICES committees, meeting at least once a year (proposals and recommendations are made for each ICES area and for each species concerned). The TAC will then be set following discussions of the European Council and distributed among Member States; and possibly exchanged with non-member States, and vice versa (Personal communication from the Directorate to the Sea and the Coastal Zone (Direction Mer et Littoral - DML) of Finistere). Pollack is a species under European quotas. Quotas for this species in ICES areas VII and VIII of the Iroise Sea are different.

2.1.2 From the State to the producer organisations (PO)

Each EU Member State establishes a distribution of pollack fishing quotas on the basis of the governance in place. In France, quota management is assigned to a national PO based on historical catches over the last three years of the PO's member vessels or by individual quotas. Law No 97-1051 of 18 November 1997 states that a share of the catch quotas can be assigned to the POs, who must ensure their management (Le Fur, 2009). In France, pollack quotas allocated to POs will be distinguished from the remaining quotas of pollack fishermen outside the POs.

POs also manage the marketing conditions of products, including the first placing on the market of landed products. It is through them that a large part of the market supports and regulatory measures are implemented. In France, there are 23 POs, most being grouped into two federations: the federation of artisanal fisheries producer organisations (Fédération des organisations de producteurs de la pêche artisanale - FEDOPA) and the national Association of producer organisations (Association Nationale des Organisations des Producteurs - ANOP) (Le Fur, 2009). Membership in a PO is not mandatory.

It is necessary to be vigilant with the differences between French (delegated collective management and disciplinary authority) and foreign POs, notably with those of England (the management authority is greater). Moreover, the EU only recognises POs in terms of representativeness of the profession (for quota management and market control); excluding French fisheries committees which are still mandatory as they are defined in French law by the State as being the professional body for fishermen. POs are often maritime cooperatives operating on the principle of “one man equals one vote” (thereby, large producers do not have more power than a smaller one). That way they have an important position in terms of the organisation of fishing campaigns and quota management, but also in terms of commercial oversight (market flow and value enhancement of products) (Personal communication from the DML of Finistère). In the case of pollack quotas in the Iroise Sea, they are supported by the PO “Fishers of Brittany” (Pêcheurs de Bretagne) and distributed among the various fishermen members that have the license in question. The PO includes 800 ships from Le Croisic (Morbihan) to Saint-Malo (Ile et Vilaine) as well as all the trades, from the gillnet through to the trawl, including the handline, the Danish seine or the dredge.

2.1.3 The region-State through the Prefect of the region

The Prefect of the region is the competent authority to enforce inshore fishing regulations within the 12 nautical miles of French territorial waters. This is a purely national management for pollack, as there is no historical right on the coastal areas of Finistère, even though the 12 mile border is of little importance for inshore fishers (Personal communication from the DML of Finistère). The activity is primarily managed at this regional level, through prefectural decrees. Decree No 2006-7387 assigns the management prerogatives for the activity of inshore fishing to 6 Prefects of coastal regions. In practice, the Prefect of the region of Brittany often delegate authority to the Director of the Interregional Directorate for the Sea North Atlantic Western English Channel (Direction Interrégionale de la Mer Nord-Atlantique Manche Ouest - DIRM-NAMO) (Le Fur, 2009).

2.1.4 The fishermen representatives

Committees for maritime fisheries and marine fish farms, whether national, regional or departmental, represent fishers before the State, before its decentralised departments and local authorities, in order to defend their interests and the sustainability of the fishery locally, regionally and nationally. The national Committee for maritime fisheries and marine fish farms (Comité National des Pêches Maritimes et des Élevages Marins - CNPMM) is a professional organisation (excluding shellfish breeding) to which adhesion is mandatory for the members of the trades that, whatever their status may be, engage in the activities of production, first purchase, and processing of maritime fishery and marine fish farming products (Le Fur, 2009). This professional organisation, prescribed by Law¹, enables it to benefit from State prerogatives (compulsory accession, deduction of a professional contribution, ability to establish resource management rules that are enforceable by law, capacity to put in place sworn guards.) The French government has thereby given the regional

¹ Law n°2010-874 of 27 July 2010 on the modernisation of agriculture and fishing - LMAP – French Republic Official Journal of 28 July 2010 pages 3 to 90.

Committee for maritime fisheries and marine fish farms (Comité Régional des Pêches Maritimes et des Élevages Marins - CRPMEM of Brittany missions of representation and defence of the interests of the trade in this region (Picault and Lesueur, 2014). The departmental Committee for maritime fisheries and marine fish farms (Comité Départemental des Pêches Maritimes et des Élevages Marins - CDPMEM) of Finistere forms a territorial unit of the CRPMEM of Brittany.

2.2 A governance of pollack fisheries based on regional and local co-management

Within French territorial waters, a co-management system that directly involves fishermen and their representatives was progressively implemented with the sharing of authority and responsibilities (various degrees of sharing are possible). The resource management initiative originates primarily from these local users represented within Committees for maritime fisheries and marine fish farms, which are professional organisations. If the management remains governmental (Ministry of Ecology, Sustainable Development and Energy), decision making is participatory, thus giving all stakeholders the opportunity to voice their positions. Fishermen enjoy some degree of autonomy because they hold some control over the management of the fishery (Ferracci, 2011). The role of each stakeholder in the co-management is presented in the following sub-sections.

2.2.1 Role of local co-management stakeholders

- **Fisheries committees, professional structures**

The CRPMEM of Brittany has a legal and financial autonomy. Management measures applicable only in the Iroise Sea can be formulated by the CRPMEM of Brittany. Like the CNPMEM, it has the possibility of adopting legally enforceable proceedings² (as long as they are approved by the administrative authorities). These proceedings notably focus on:

- ✓ the limitation of access to a resource;
- ✓ the limitation of catch volume (quotas) for certain species;
- ✓ the rational exploitation of fisheries resources (zoning, gears);
- ✓ the harvesting conditions of marine plants;
- ✓ the compatibility of trades.

The CDPMEM of Finistere stands as a management, representation, and organisation structure of the various fishing trades of fishers registered in the ports of the territory. Its task is the management of trades: it manages fishing gears, their regulations, all of which being governed by a system of licences by fishing trade, or species, organised at the level of the CRPMEM of Brittany. Thus, for each licencing regime, a ship length limit is in place, except for rights of anteriority. A number of licences by fishing ground, species, and/or trade are set for each departmental committee by proceedings of the CRPMEM of Brittany. These discussions also focus on certain fishing conditions (limitation of the number of traps, fishing period, etc.) and are subsequently approved by prefectural decrees. An atlas of professional maritime fisheries regulation is available on the website of the CRPMEM of Brittany (http://www.bretagne-peches.org/images/atlas_2011/index.htm).

For pollack, a mesh size is set at Community level but the CDPMEM may intervene on this mesh more restrictively if necessary, or also on the duration of net immersion, which is 24 hours for pollack in the Iroise Sea.

² Adoption schematic of proceedings in Brittany in the publications of AGROCAMPUS OUEST Fisheries Centre No 20, Inshore fishing and governance in France. The governance of fishing within French territorial waters. p. 8

- **The administration**

The administration is unavoidable in the management of pollack inshore fishing as it is responsible for regulatory decision-making. The State co-manages the professional fishing activity with professional structures through the region Prefect. The CRPMEM of Brittany proposes, and the Prefect validates; or not. Many dialogues exist between the administration and the profession with a good atmosphere of agreement (Personal communication from the CDPMEM of Finistere, 2014). Beyond the coastal strip, it is the EU that sets the rules, and the State is responsible for the implementation of European directives.

- **Scientists**

Scientific expertise is essential to the co-management of fishing. In this decision-making system, scientists have an advisory role. Their main goal is to gain a better understanding of ecosystems through an ecosystem approach of the habitat for better management of fish stocks. The provision of scientific information made available to resource and habitat managers is essential to the co-management of pollack fisheries (Personal communication from Ifremer, 2014). In France, it is the French research Institute for the exploitation of the sea (Institut Français de Recherche pour l'Exploitation de la Mer - Ifremer) that intervenes to advise all players on the status of marine resources in order to ensure their sustainability. Scientists therefore only intervene indirectly in the co-management of inshore fishing.

Pollack has been managed by a Community TAC for two years. Two ICES meetings are held each year for each ICES zone concerning this species, meetings after which an advice is formulated and recommendations are made for specific management measures. A final advice is then provided by a second working group, each working group being responsible for a very specific ICES zone for the given species. The Iroise Sea straddles two ICES zones, zone VII h and VIII a. For each of these zones, different pollack TACs are allocated to POs or fishermen outside the POs; TACs are proposed by the ICES zone group and approved by the European Commission. ICES zone VII concerns the Atlantic, the north and east of the Celtic Sea and Western Ireland, and Zone VIII only concerns the Atlantic (see Appendix 1).

2.2.2 The influence of other structures in local co-management

- **Producer organisations**

The PO that manages the fishing quotas of vessels from Finistere is the PO “Fishers of Brittany” (Pêcheurs de Bretagne) (union between the PO Western Brittany (Organisation de Producteurs Ouest Bretagne - OPOB) and that of the English Channel-Atlantic Producers (Producteurs Manche Atlantique - PMA)). This PO may involve fishermen operating from Noirmoutier to Cherbourg. It is the recipient of quotas from OPOB and the PMAs since 2012 (Personal communication from the DML of Finistere). For this structure, the question of the sharing out of access to the resource between several trades arises, with the associated decision-making governance. This question is directly related to the management of quotas, and to existing tensions on the consumption of these species under quota. Pollack quota is under-consumed, it is not subject to fine-tuned management specific to each trade, but rather a monitoring of the production as is the case with other quotas in general (Personal communication from the PO Fishers of Brittany).

It is worth noting that a new regulation on the withdrawal of species sold in fish auctions has been adopted and implemented since 1 January 2014 (Le Marin, 2014). Thus, in the case of unsold pollack, the PO Fishers of Brittany proposes a selling price in advance, which is revised about once a month depending on the state of the market. Agreements with Breton fish auctions and the PO were concluded for this new measure. Fishermen landing their catches outside these fish auctions, however, will not benefit from the safety net provided by the PO. So as not to disrupt the market, redeemed unsold produce will therefore be destined to bait or major export markets (Anonymous, 2013).

- **The PNMI**

Established by Decree No 2007-1406 of 28 September 2007, the PNMI is an exclusively marine area of 3 550 km², located to the west of Finistère (Figure 1). Its goal is to uphold the rich heritage of the Iroise while preserving its cultural and economic identity. Its governing body is the management Board (48 members) which is supported by the PNMI Office (18 members) (Duhamel *et al.*, 2011). These members are appointed by decree for five years.

In 2010, the management Board adopted the management Plan for a 15 year commitment. It is based on 10 management directions, which are the common thread to all actions of the PNMI. The sustainable exploitation of fisheries resources and support to commercial inshore fishing are a part of it. The management Board, which meets two to three times a year, benefits from the assent procedure that allows it to rule on the authorisation to launch an activity that is likely to significantly alter the marine environment within the perimeter of the PNMI. These assents are essential for commercial fishing when the quota of administrative authorisations increases (fishing licences) or when a new fishing technique is developed (Personal communication from the PNMI, 2014). State departments are then required to comply with the assent, in accordance with Article L.334-5 of the Environmental Code. The importance of fishing in management directions reflects the specific role of this activity in the Iroise Sea (Duhamel *et al.*, 2011).

Nearly half of active vessels in the PNMI spend more than 95 % of their operational time in the area. In 2008, production within the PNMI, except for seaweed (kelp), amounted to 10 000 tonnes for a turnover of 17 million euros (Duhamel *et al.*, 2011). The first animal group exploited is that of fish, with landings of almost 9 000 tonnes in 2008, followed by 1 200 tonnes of invertebrates, mainly crustaceans and bivalves. No specific data on pollack fishing is available at present. The challenge for the PNMI is to align the intake capacity, therefore fishing, with available resources (Duhamel *et al.*, 2011).

The PNMI forms a regulatory authority between the various activities present in the perimeter of the PNMI. Impact studies for each fishery, conducted by the PNMI, facilitate the regular space sharing for the Iroise Sea. And so, despite strong concerns from fishers at the time of creation of the PNMI, a good atmosphere of agreement seems to exist today between both stakeholders. The management Board is presented by some respondents as “an expert group for support to decision-making, for support to recommendation”.

The PNMI thereby has the role of supporting fishing, but not of managing it. *“In terms of management of coastal strips, indeed we have a specific perimeter of marine protected areas (MPA), but they are part of existing governance. We benefit from richer governance with MPAs but the substance of the governance remains the same”* (DML, 31 March 2014). It also provides inshore fishing co-managers with a better understanding of the environment, at all levels (habitats, species), promoting better management of the environment. In broader terms, the PNMI sets the basis for collaboration with professionals in order to integrate them voluntarily to the environmental management of the Iroise Sea (Personal communication from the CDPMEM of Finistère).

Both levels of the fisheries Committee (regional and departmental) are present within the Office as well as the management Board. They are representatives, professional fishermen themselves, elected by fishermen (4 titular members may sit on the Board). The latter are appointed by the CDPMEM of Finistere but it is the elected fishermen that sit on the Board. In 2014, the management and Office Board of the PNMI includes, among others, the President of the CDPMEM of Finistere, a representative of the fishers of Douarnenez, a representative of those from Le Guilvinec, and finally, from Le Conquet. For all projects completed with the PNMI, there are meetings with professionals within the fisheries committees. The PNMI has its own teams and may have different contributors in the field of fishing than the fisheries committees, such as mayors or fishermen themselves (Personal communication from the PNMI, 2014).

To be remembered...

The PNMI's authority merely amounts to recommendations, advice. Fisheries regulation in Iroise is still implemented via traditional channels. Fishing remains of course monitored by the PNMI through the monitoring tool that is the PNMI dashboard, composed of indicators of sustainable fisheries management, of fishery resources, and of economic activities. The work of PNMI is thus carried out according to a logic of integrated management (Personal communication from the UMR/AMURE of the University of Western Brittany (Université de Bretagne Occidentale - UBO).

- **The Association of handliners from the tip of Brittany**

Established in 1993, in a context of important development of aquaculture and collapse of prices, handliners created their association, "handliners from the tip of Brittany" (ligneurs de la pointe de Bretagne) to promote their production and stand out from farmed and trawled seabass. On each catch, professionals attach a "handlined seabass from the tip of Brittany" label on the fish gill, thus testifying to its origin and the fishing technique. This approach has since been extended to pollack and bream (Anonymous, 2014). The Association therefore aims to promote the handlining trade. *"It allows them to exist, to be heard, to educate the general public and it does not cost them too much."* (Ifremer, 1 April 2014). However, it appears to be under much criticism, as comments are becoming increasingly negative. Some interviewees consider their actions as media stunts, developed by the professionals themselves.

So that management measures or specific regulations be applied to the resource, a specific problem must emerge and be identified. Handliners from the tip of Brittany tried to federate themselves, to bring up their problem at the European level, in decision-making, to bring about an adjustment of management measures or existing regulations (Personal communication from Ifremer, 2014).

2.2.3 European lobbying: influence on fisheries governance

Lobbying can be defined as the action led by a pressure group to obtain something. There are several fishing lobbies in Europe but France has little presence in this domain, and is even lagging very much. Everything is based on communication, which is mastered by some Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO), but much less by the fishing world (Personal communication from Ifremer, 2014).

- **Lobbying serving inshore fishing, the French small-scale artisanal fishing platform**

The best example of European lobbying for fishing is the French small-scale artisanal fishing platform. Launched in 2012, its main objectives are to create links between metropolitan and overseas territories French artisanal fishers, and benefit from a representation at national and European levels. The fishermen rallied around the small-scale artisanal fishing platform require access to fair governance, both within professional organisations and public authorities, and demand effective public support to representation missions carried out by active fishermen. They also demand a European financial support in order for the players of small-scale fishing to be represented. Through membership in the Association of handliners from the tip of Brittany, in the professional Union of

Languedoc Roussillon small-scale trades fishermen (Syndicat Professionnel des Pêcheurs Petits Métiers du Languedoc Roussillon) and other artisanal fishers, the platform has 500 members from the Mediterranean and Atlantic seabords (Anonymous, 2012). French small-scale fishing indeed considers itself to be poorly represented, which is particularly felt by pollack fishers from the Iroise Sea, and in particular handliners and small-scale gillnetters, of ship lengths under 12 meters.

- **Lobbies serving the environment**

There are numerous lobbies in Europe for the preservation of the environment. Greenpeace is one of the most present NGOs on the European and international scenes, as well as WWF. Its purpose is to expose environmental damages and provide solutions contributing to environmental protection and peace advocacy. Through some of their actions or claims, these NGOs can weaken trades or economic sectors that are not in line with their principles; notably fishing. Some communications conveyed can damage the image of fishermen and encourage policies against the development or upholding of fishing. Although these actions primarily target offshore fishing, they often also affect inshore fishing; the two being readily confused by civil society or the political and decision-making spheres. Yet connections between fishing and environmental lobbies are increasingly made. Thus, the French small-scale fishing platform has received support from Greenpeace and WWF.

2.3 Co-management adjusted to the fishing ground

Fish stocks migrating through the Iroise Sea are subservient to the Iroise Sea. Pollack stock management considerations are made at a larger scale, depending on regulatory areas defined at European level. However, the co-management of trades and fishing gears associated with pollack fishing in the Iroise Sea is operated locally.

2.3.1 The Iroise pollack fishery, a fishery of economic importance

238 vessels were active in the PNMI in 2009, that is to say, operating exclusively or carrying out a part of their trade within the perimeter of the Park; of which 86 operate there exclusively. They are small vessels in majority (less than 12 meters) operating passive fishing gears and belonging to handliner/longliner, gillnetter, and trap-setter flotillas. The three main species caught by this category of fishers are seabass, monkfish and pollack (Daures *et al.*, 2009).

Note that seabass and pollack fishermen are often the same, as both species can be caught by handlines, longlines or gillnets (Le Marin, 2008). A recent survey³ of PNMI fishers showed that out of the 15 handliners and 25 gillnetters interviewed pollack accounts for 15 % of the catch.

The port of Audierne is one of the most important landing sites for pollack in Finistere, both from the gillnetters and the handliners. *"Ships from Audierne are important pollack suppliers."* (CDPMEM, 1 April 2014).

Other ports are, to a lesser extent, concerned with this species, such as Le Guilvinec and Concarneau up along North Finistere, to Roscoff. Fishermen from Le Conquet, although concerned by pollack fishing, are not as dependent on pollack than those based in the ports of South Finistere and that of Roscoff in the north of the department. (Personal communication from the CRPMEM of Finistere).

³ Buffer Interreg Project aiming to compare the professional fishermen's current perception of the PNMI with the results of the same study, carried out on this territory in 2009. Source: Personal communication from the UMR/AMURE of UBO.

2.3.2 A complex co-management involving various trades

Handlines and gillnets are fisheries that employ passive fishing gears, called “stationary fishing gears.” Pollack fishers from Iroise diversify their passive fishing techniques to adjust to the season, to meteorological constraints and the specificities of pollack. As in other gears, the use of handlines, longlines and gillnets can be supervised by the fisheries committees proceedings that are approved by the administration.

- **Handliners/longliners**

These trades are practised using gears rigged with hooks. There are:

- ✓ handlines (catching fish at the bottom);
- ✓ trolling (catching pelagic fish near the surface);
- ✓ longlines: several lines tied together (Le Fur, 2009). This gear is either passive (lying on the bottom) or towed behind the vessel.
- ✓

Decree No 90-94 of 25 January 1990 constitutes the general regulation on the subject. It does not mention any regulation on gear characteristics, only the use of gears is defined.

- **Gillnetters**

This is an inshore fishing trade using the gillnet, a passive fishing gear allowing to target fish or crustaceans. Gillnets are settled on the bottom, often on shipwrecks for pollack, and held vertically. The mesh size and height of the net vary depending on the target species. For these vessels, pollack is the first species caught in tonnage (Guitton *et al.*, 2004). For pollack, the net used is the set gillnet, with a mesh size of 140 mm set at Community level. The nets are retrieved every day. Gillnetters are mostly vessels under 10 meters.

- **Gillnetters practising hook and line trades: versatile fishermen**

These vessels are characterised by the combined practise of the gillnet as well as the hook and line trades (handline, longline) during the course of the year, sometimes associated with other passive gears, traps mainly. (Leblond *et al.*, 2013). Proceedings should in fact be preceded by discussions with professionals, allowing for everyone's opinions to be considered prior to the establishment of measures concerning the fishing gear in question.

2.3.3 An unusual study perimeter: different management methods depending on the fishermen's location

The Iroise Sea is a maritime area that has the specificity of straddling two different ICES zones which call for distinct management measures: ICES zone VII (north of Cap Sizun) and ICES zone VIII (south of Cap Sizun and north of the Bay of Biscay). However, quotas for the same species are distributed differently between both areas and tensions are also different depending on the area in question (Personal communication from the CDPMEM of Finistère, 2014).

For pollack, the limit of the 48th parallel of both ICES zones mainly corresponds to a differentiation of the flotillas. ICES zone VII concerns pollack handliners and gillnetters of Le Conquet, Brest, and Douarnenez for the Iroise Sea; ICES zone VIII concerns fishers from Audierne and Concarneau. Different measures may be agreed upon by the profession, with the agreement of local authorities for pollack gillnetters. Thus, pollack net mesh size is different between gillnetters north of 48° and south of 48° (Personal communication from the CDPMEM of Finistère, 2014).

Figure 2 shows that stocks of zones VII and VIII are different (much lower TAC and landings in zone VIII) and that France is the country that benefits from the largest pollack quotas, whether in zone VII or VIII.

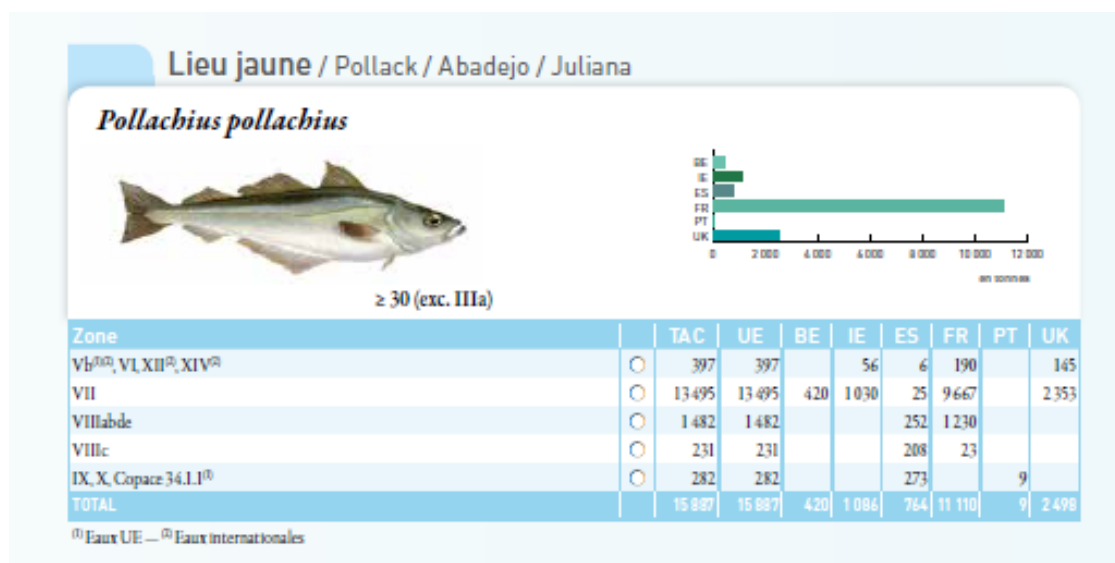


Figure 2: 2014 fishing TAC and quotas.

Source: <http://www.scandfish.com>

In terms of landing structure, 80 % is done in the Western English Channel (zones VII e and VII d) and about 40 % of the share of pollack caught in zone VII comes from trawlers, 40 % from gillnetters and 20 % from handliners/longliners (Personal communication from Ifremer, 2014).

ICES zones VII and VIII are not subject to the same Community quota management rules; therefore, the PO "Fishers of Brittany" (Pêcheurs de Bretagne) does not manage pollack quotas for zones VII or VIII in the same manner. In numerous fisheries, actions are mostly linked to the management of fishing quotas. Thereby, in zone VII, more than 50 % of the French quota must be consumed (Personal communication from the PO Fishers of Brittany). The actions of the PO Fishers of Brittany on pollack caught in zone VII are therefore limited and little arbitration has to be implemented. *"We have plenty of fishing quotas for zone VII, apart maybe from vessels outside the POs that punctually experience advance closures of quotas"* (PO, 30 April 2014). However, in zone VIII, much work is to be done, with a limiting factor (extension on licencing aspects) (Personal communication from the PO Fishers of Brittany).

The interaction with English pollack fishers is important in the Iroise Sea. English POs do not have the same actions as the French POs. English POs are more complacent towards their fishermen than French POs.

2.3.4 The importance, in local governance, of port equipment and port councils serving port communities

Local spatial planning and development policies are a necessary management tool for the sustainability of inshore fishing in Finistère. Port equipment, such as fish auctions, is an integral part of the port and fisheries economy. It is necessary to uphold them in Finistère because the economic aspect of fishing in this territory is important, as much as the social aspect is.

Needs specific to each professional fisher must be taken into account in each port. Port councils are expected to meet these needs. They are mandatory in all ports and reinforced by consultation proceedings held twice a year in the ports to discuss port aspects, its spatial planning and development, with all users. Specific requests may be formulated. Port governance is therefore important to specifically adjust a development to the needs of each port community of fishers. The needs of two different ports are not necessarily identical, even if it is concerned the same types of fishers, trades (Personal communication from the General Council of Finistere (Conseil Général du Finistère), 2014). In the case of port councils, the number of representatives present is proportional to the importance of the activity in the port. Thus, the CDPMEM appoints representatives to attend (5 year term).

For example, in the port of Le Conquet, an ice plant was installed following a request from the fishermen, to limit their dependence on the port of Brest and in order facilitate landings directly in Le Conquet, and to locally promote pollack. Identical approaches are implemented in other ports, such as Concarneau. In this port, the recently passed spatial planning and development plan was the subject of consultation with all port stakeholders, including the fishermen. A consensus was reached.

Local economic stakes linked with infrastructure are important. If they are not sufficiently present in a territory, businesses and/or jobs can move elsewhere, which may in term negatively affect the economic development of the area.

2.4 A fishery with socio-economic stakes for the territory

If debates on pollack were so tense in Brittany in 2013, it is because it is an important species for the territory. Pollack is therefore an important component for the fish auctions and all the ports (CCI of Brest, Quimper and Morlaix). *"It is clear that a significant proportion of vessels depend on pollack during a part of the year, or even all year long."* (CDPMEM, 1 April 2014).

2.4.1 The projects

Projects directly or indirectly concerning pollack are under consideration or development. These projects contribute to the economic and social dynamics of the territory:

- ✓ A sand extraction project is currently being considered, offshore of the Island of Sein (Decree released in April 2014). Ifremer had shown that there was a risk to the fish resource (issues with nursery areas, traffic blocked for ships, changes in turbidity...) (Personal communication from the DML of Finistere, 2014);
- ✓ A strategic study by the GC (General Council) on all the ports of the department is underway. The aim is to carry out a diagnosis of ports and activities, by sector (fishing, yachting, sand extraction, repair...) to identify the best management method to be applied downstream. Indeed, there are a certain number of dealers per port in Finistere, which is different for fishing and yachting. There are different organisations depending on the ports. The aim of the GC of Finistere is to analyse everything for 2017 (Personal communication from the GC of Finistere, 2014);
- ✓ A feasibility study for the establishment of sustainable development contracts with iconic species was carried out with the PNMI. 4 species, including pollack, were identified in order to promote sustainable fishing practices that would go beyond regulations (e.g., increasing mesh size for pollack), applied only to the fishermen of the park;
- ✓ The promotion of the labels of the so-called iconic species of the PNMI;
- ✓ The fisheries committees in Brittany have launched information and communication activity programmes, in parallel with the construction of an Internet website, as a vector of general information (information programmes supported by the General Council, the urban

communities and Europe). The website targets three different audiences: the general public, local authorities, and an Intranet reserved for seamen (Personal communication from the CDPMEM of Finistere, 2014).

2.4.2 Support from, and involvement of, other players

- **Local elected representatives**

Elected officials are essential for fishing in order to sustain the projects initiated, provide political support and help finance these projects. Local elected representatives of Finistere are generally attuned to fishermen, to their expectations. *“What surprises me about fishing on the territory is the political process that is related to fishing which is extremely fast”* (GC, 1 April 2014). When fishers express discontent, politicians are reactive in comparison with other economic sectors of the territory. Meetings are set up quickly. *“Even though the economic weight is less than before, there is still a real concern to support and uphold jobs related to the sector”* (GC, 1 April 2014). Yet, political time is different to administrative time. There is a dedication to listening, the political response is present. The maritime character of the department is probably the cause and demonstrates the socio-economic importance of the sector.

- **Fishermen’s wives**

The wives of fishermen, of handliners as well as gillnetters, are sometimes essential to the proper functioning of the fishing business and its sustainability. They often work alongside the fisherman. They manage a portion of the business (client search for fish sales, direct sales on the market, accounting...), or as occasional support depending on needs and the time of year. For example, the wives of fishermen from Le Conquet will represent fishers in the port association of Le Conquet. Fishermen thereby hope for more continuity and more listening from the GC and the CCI with whom there are communication issues. Fishermen in this port often practise direct sales, carried out by the women. Another example, the company “Handliners from Virgin Island” (Ligneurs de l’île Vierge) which involves 3 pollack, seabass and lobster handlining fishers. Fish sales as well as the management of orders and clients are by one of the fishermen’s wife, holding this position full time.

Fishers of Finistere face real difficulties:

- ✓ *Price of diesel affecting the profitability of businesses;*
- ✓ *Quota differences between the north and south of the department, opening constraints and premature closings of quotas;*
- ✓ *Increasingly numerous regulations;*
- ✓ *Increasing scarcity of public aid or becoming increasingly restrictive;*
- ✓ *The EMFF, constraints under the prism of environmental improvement (transition from economic development to the reduction of a harmful environmental footprint);*
- ✓ *Banks which do not always follow;*
- ✓ *The absence of vessel renewal.*

Iroise Sea fishermen are concerned about the stiffening of regulations and concerned with the lack of consideration of their activity as an economic activity to be developed (Personal communication from the GC of Finistere, 2014).

2.5 Evolution of fisheries governance to better protect oneself

2.5.1 Handliners: towards a rapprochement with European fisheries governance

Handliners are trying to be heard on the French and European scenes, even beyond the Association of fishermen from the tip of Brittany. In other fisheries, this depends on the owners, their activity, and their involvement, on exchanges with fisheries committees. The Association of handliners from the tip of Brittany was in fact created in order to overcome the question of the governance of handliners; it is even the leitmotiv of the Association and of the small-scale fishermen platform in the face of the lack of representatives, and of representation of these fishermen.

Small-scale fishing is thus seeking allies elsewhere, by fragmentation of French fishing (e.g., between the small-scale fishermen platform and Greenpeace). This movement is established by the profession itself through Europe. *“They have a special influence, because they have networks, because there are potentially people in the background”* (GC, 1 April 2014).

2.5.2 Handliners and gillnetters: absence of competitive tension and identical valuation of pollack

There are therefore no competitive tensions between the various trades associated with pollack fishing in the Iroise Sea. “Big against small” issues do not arise because this is a solely inshore fishing and the quality criteria for sale are not the same. Some conflicts occur, mainly between towed and passive gears (Personal communication from the CDPMEM of Finistère, 2014). Handlined pollack is a clearly identified product through the handline label developed by the Association of handliners from the tip of Brittany. The advantage is that it is a fishing trade that can be carried out all year round, and handliners in fact have more interest in landing it off season (January to March). That way they can better enhance the value of their produce. Gillnetters can do so as well. It is therefore possible for them to catch pollack during autumn, which is of very good quality.

Pollack also is a species concerned by the mark “Brittany Sea Quality” (Bretagne Qualité Mer - BQM) and “fish from Brittany” (poissons en Bretagne). All of the products originate from vessels registered in Brittany and Loire Atlantique (from Cancale to the Loire), products are of good quality and place of first sale of products is in fish auctions, knowing that the identification of the product is assured from producer to consumer and that quality assurance is assured by the controls of the Association’s quality department. In the case of Finistère, an agreement was reached between Normapêche, now grouped within “Breton Sea Industry” (Breizh Filière Mer) and the CCI, responsible in case of a problem (Personal communication from Normapêche).

2.5.3 Port associations and rallying of fishermen

The organisation of the pollack fishermen profession is different depending on the territories. In Le Conquet, an association which groups together all fishing trades practised in Le Conquet exists and was recently reactivated. The handliner Association however brings together all handliners in Western France. *“The objectives are completely different. In one case, it is for the development of a port, or at least port or territory issues, and in another case it is more a representation or an issue related to a trade”* (GC, 1 April 2014). Of the 24 fishing masters present in Le Conquet, 18 have rallied in the Association; each fishing trade of the port is represented.

Fishers are looking to make their voice heard by other means than their traditional professional representatives. In this association the will to represent each trade and all levels of fishermen is present: there is a representative of the port’s seamen.

In Le Conquet, an association of professionals, which already existed before the recent strikes of March 2014 by the port's fishermen, has been reactivated: the Association of professional fishermen from Le Conquet (association des pêcheurs professionnels du Conquet). The lack of a cold storage system is problematic for the sale of products. So, they regularly conduct direct sales or transport their catch to the fish auction of Brest (sale at 2.30 p.m.), which does not satisfy them. They would indeed like to conduct a sale in the morning to sell their fish fresher and for a higher price rather than selling the catch the next day.

3 THE LIMITATIONS OF THE GOVERNANCE: BETWEEN TRANSVERSALITY AND PARTICULARISM IN THE FACE OF THE IROISE SEA'S OTHER FISHERIES

Pollack is a species whose stock which is managed by the Community. TACs are allocated by POs and locally managed by these structures, or directly by the fishermen for those outside the POs. More restrictive measures can however be adopted for the Iroise Sea, measure taken by the authorities and the profession. The various trades by which pollack inshore fishing is concerned give rise to limitations in the governance of this fishery, limits originating from the territory or the fishery.

3.1 The limitations for the fisheries

3.1.1 Pollack: a difficult fishery to identify

It is difficult to quickly identify pollack fisheries in the Iroise Sea. Indeed, pollack fishermen, handliners and gillnetters, generally catch other species: seabass, conger or even bream. Landing data entered in the logbook enables them to be identified anyway, with data available from the POs for member vessels. *"We manage a trade, gillnetting for example, but not pollack specifically"* (CDPMEM, 1 April 2014).

Other difficulty, the identification of fishermen operating in the PNMI. The CDPMEM of Finistere also manages a database of licences and knows which vessels systematically fish in the park, those who operate there occasionally and those who do not fish there at all. However, it cannot know the precise time spent in the park. There are also Ifremer data, that attempt to classify the vessels, but the work remains difficult. Depending on their fishing ground, vessels are sorted in statistical squares through fishing declarations. However, the boundaries of Ifremer map data squares cannot be superposed with the limits of the Iroise Nature Park (Parc Marin d'Iroise – PMI). Sorting vessels with certainty is almost impossible. *"We identify them but cannot quantify their activities"* (CDPMEM, 1 April 2014).

If fishers agree to participate in the sustainable development contract project, they will have to equip themselves with a beacon and it will then be possible to know precisely whether they operate in the perimeter of the PNMI or not.

3.1.2 The handliners organisation: division of the inshore fishers community

The Association of handliners from the tip of Brittany sometimes formulates criticisms towards regional or national structures. Yet they are members of the management boards of these structures. Although the Association of handliners turned against environmental groups such as Greenpeace, the CDPMEM of Finistere do not want to lose contact with the fishermen, on the contrary. The Association of handliners from the tip of Brittany promotes inshore fishing. The problem is that this divides the world in two while offshore fishing is complementary to inshore fishing. Also, certain persons accuse the Association of conveying several messages in the same discourse; they sometimes simplify things and thus cover their tracks. In general, handliners, according to some

respondents, are over-represented from a media perspective. They are indeed the most well-known fishers, the handline being bestowed with a positive image.

3.1.3 Isolated fishermen amidst both fisheries, absent from governance

Many fishers from pollack handline and gillnet fisheries are isolated. Intentionally or not, they do not follow the work of the fisheries committees very much, at all levels. They even sometimes consider that they are not concerned by the decisions made. *“It is always difficult to mobilise them. Meetings are sometimes held in the evenings, but it is not always easy, especially since there are a lot of meetings”* (CDPMEM, 1 April 2014).

It should be considered that it is almost always systematically the fishing masters that participate in fisheries committees meetings, in discussions (Personal communication from the DML of Finistère, 2014). If a fishing master does not inform its crew on the information received, on upcoming measures, on the context or on any important information, meetings are only partially useful. Yet, many fishermen consider they are no longer heard. The reform of fisheries committees has created a new constraint for local governance because local representation is weaker than it was before and information is less readily fed back. *“Due to the fact that we had a departmentalisation of former local committees, we do not anymore have, in fact, or less easily so, a representation in the field that will gradually come to weigh in regional and national decisions”* (DML, 2 April 2014).

3.1.4 Fishing quotas unsuited to reality

The problem with pollack is the lack of information available to scientists, information which is very limited, not only on the species itself but also on basic data related to the species, they are fragmented and outdated and no recent studies have been carried out (Personal communication from Ifremer, 2014). Furthermore, one of the problems that fishing has to face is the growing disengagement of Ifremer in the monitoring of fisheries (Personal communication from the CDPMEM of Finistère).

Precautions instated by the EU through ICES commissions make little sense according to Ifremer given the lack of monitoring and available information. Still, scientists from Ifremer consider that if TACs were reduced, there would be no particular constraints for the countries concerned, except Ireland. Indeed, in 2013, 1 728 tonnes of pollack were caught for France in ICES zone VII. However, the 2014 individual quota for France is 9 667 tonnes. Actual vessel catches are below authorised quotas. Still, there was a slight increase in catches in 2013 compared to other years. Until scientists have access to more information on the biology of this species, nursery areas remain to be determined more precisely to improve the management and decision-making on the sustainable preservation of the species.

3.1.5 Controls deemed insufficient by the profession

Controls on recreational fishers are deemed insufficient by all respondents, particularly within the PNMI. Many Belgian recreational fishers are present in the summer, thus the requests for inspections by professionals. *“There really is, maybe, on the side of the government, a need to focus particularly on controls of recreational fishing, even if just to make sure that they comply with all recreational fishing regulations”* (DML, 2 April 2014).

Handliners therefore request more controls from the PNMI, being themselves ready to collaborate. Moreover, few offenses are reported by the DDTM with handliners and gillnetters where under-sized catches are concerned. Controls should therefore primarily focus on recreational fishing.

3.2 Limitations emanating from the territory

3.2.1 Disparities between port communities

All Iroise Sea pollack fishers do not benefit from the same infrastructures depending on their home port. Le Conquet fishermen, for example, cannot use an ice plant to preserve their fish and are forced to sell pollack at the fish auction of Brest. Fishermen from Audierne, Saint Guenole and Le Guilvinec however have sufficient infrastructures to work in good conditions, but even between these ports, the available means are not the same. This eventually negatively affects developments or the sustainability of port activity, causes conflicts and upsets the balance of the governance in place. Le Conquet fishermen strikes in March 2014 are a good example of this. Several claims were put forward. The first were local in nature: the fishing masters complain about a badly sheltered port and having to pay dock taxes when bad weather forces them to take refuge in Brest (Le Marin, 2014).

3.2.2 The monopoly of certain players

Several players interviewed regret, and even criticise the fact that the only interlocutor with the managers of the PNMI, the State and all other structures outside of fishing should be the CDPMEM of Finistere or even the CRPMEM of Brittany. A lack of consultation appears to be present in the Iroise Sea and the consultations that are carried out within the PNMI are too concerned with issues related to the environment, according to several people interviewed. Yet, in managing a balance, the PNMI also needs “a path of communication and credibility”, leading to a rather clumsy partnership with the profession (CRPMEM of Brittany and CDPMEM of Finistere).

Beyond fisheries committees, some interviewees consider that some spokespersons or representatives, official or not, concentrate too much on personal issues while they are supposed to talk about issues that affect all fishermen. The issues they put forward would concern only part of the pollack fishery.

3.2.3 The difficult representativeness of pollack fishermen amidst the multiplicity of fishing trades across the territory

Finistere stands for a department where the diversity of fishing trades is one of the most important in France. *“We have to represent everyone and work for everyone. So sometimes it is difficult. We are not many; we cannot work on everything at once”* (CDPMEM, 1 April 2014).

In general, the question for fisheries committees is how to organise the representation of fishermen and improve their attendance at meetings. In Finistere, the problem of representativeness may be more present than elsewhere because we have all types of fishing, all classes or quarters. It is hard to find someone to talk about fishing, especially with different local contexts (Personal communication from the General Council of Finistere, 2014).

According to the survey conducted by the UMR/AMURE of UBO, handliners and gillnetters of the PNMI feel misrepresented. They believe that their representatives poorly defend their flotilla and that they are removed from the realities at sea.

3.2.4 A sometimes conflictual coexistence within the maritime space

There are some spatial management conflicts in the Iroise Sea between trawlers and gillnetters/trap setters. Discussions have been instated by the CDPMEM of Finistere between fishers (Personal communication from the CDPMEM of Finistere, 1 April 2014).

Conflicts also exist with recreational fishing on the resource and sharing of the space. Pollack is a species caught by the territory's recreational fishermen. Undeclared sales are mentioned as an issue. Tensions sometimes exist between commercial and recreational fishermen, as well as between professionals themselves, notably in the Strait of Sein (Raz de Sein) area on suspicions of illegal work or disrespect of navigation and security rules (règles de barre et de sécurité⁴). Commercial fishermen feel they are under territorial competition on their fishing grounds and on the resource. However, no person, not even professionals, can arrogate the exclusive exploitation of the sea to oneself.

Conflicts are often internal to the profession, between handliners and "bolinche" purse seiners (problematic issue of the PNMI). Purse seiners sometimes catch species that are traditionally caught by handliners, including pollack. Criticisms are made by handliners on the quantities caught. There is no real competition between gillnetters and handliners. There may however be some competition between handliners, young ones finding it difficult to be accepted.

3.3 Limitations originating from international and European environmental lobbying

Fishers and the fisheries committees are present in all national or regional proceedings that directly or indirectly deal with his trade even though they often feel that it is useless.

"There are a lot of people ready to talk about fishermen or on behalf of fishermen and there are many people who do not really know what they are talking about [...] We are not being heard" (A professional fisherman, 31 March 2014).

Yet, strategic meetings are multiplying but few remarks seem to be taken into account, thus a sense of frustration for the CDPMEM of Finistere. *"We feel that there is a kind of steamroller that is running, that in the steamroller there is word governance, a very trendy word [...] but we serve as an alibi to the principle of governance and consultation [...] we will express 50 concerns, one is retained but we are then presented again with elements that we fought, we are presented with them the next time in a different context."* (CDPMEM, 1 April 2014).

The political positions and principles are not always suited to the realities of the field. Some respondents speak of a national or European vision, which is binary to fishing. *"The implementation of major principles or very pretty principles takes time, which we do not have"* (CDPMEM, 1 April 2014).

3.4 The economy: obstruction and detractor of governance

In Finistere, fishing is a very present and very competitive economic activity during the season. Management of fishing quotas is therefore very tense. That is why, this year, it was asked of pollack fishermen to stop targeting this fish for a while, especially for those landing in the fish auction of Brest; not for reasons of quotas but of market flow. If debates were so tense on pollack, it is because it is an important economic species across the territory.

3.4.1 An insufficient valuation of pollack due to market issues

One of the issues for pollack in the Iroise Sea is caused by its valuation. Handliners have the advantage of having a collective mark for handlined fish (pollack, seabass or bream) which gives them a better selling price. This is not sufficient to solve the overall problem of selling products caught in Finistere. Yet, this species is subject to a quality charter. This species is therefore identified by the Association Normapêche from Lorient, under the mark "Brittany Sea Quality" (Bretagne Qualité Mer - BQM) and "fish from Brittany" (poissons en Bretagne). The problem comes from the

⁴ Letter from Le Guilvinec Maritime Affairs administration of 30 October 2013, reference 211 PM.

fact that fishermen do not label their fish. Yet, once a fish is labelled, it sells better according to the Director of the Association. She then mentions the case of handliners that are subject to identification problems for pollack. *"They do not do it, yet it seems so logical, they do not realise its importance, if the market is not good, they do not think that at least, they will be assured to sell"* (Normapêche, 23 May 2014). In general, what emerged from the survey is the lack of promotion of pollack in Finistere. For some, the socio-economic aspects related to handline and gillnet fisheries of the territory is not sufficiently exploited across the territory.

Iroise Sea pollack fisheries are a sensitive subject during the season (January to March), due to economic issues, with a concentration of pollack fishers in the vicinity of the rias ("Abers"). The problem with the market is also a common problem for these fisheries due to strong European competition, mainly English. *"The resource is available, Pollack is available [...] There are fish but then we must succeed in selling it"* (CDPMEM, 1 April 2014). From January to mid-March, large pollack landings are made in Brittany. In general, trawlers target pollack in season, focusing on quantity, between January and March, along with English fishermen, hence the drop of selling price. Yet the European competitive market weakens the economic balance of French pollack fishermen. Recurring conflicts due to the market occur each year. Production costs of pollack fishermen are different from those of handliners and gillnetters from the Iroise Sea (lower costs). These consequences arise directly from the current market economy, hence the difficulties in valuing pollack landed by French fishermen (Personal communication from the CDPMEM of Finistere). In general, the value and volumes of pollack in Europe decreases. In February 2014, decreases of 18 % in value and 31 % in volume compared to 2013 were recorded by the European Market Observatory for fisheries and aquaculture. Compared to 2012, the same trend is observed: -12 % in value and -24 % in volume across Europe. 2014 was particularly affected by these difficulties, notably as a consequence of storms during the winter and early in the pollack season. Indeed, significant landing and market saturation problems occur each year during peak concentrations. These problems were exacerbated after the storm of winter 2013. Prices have indeed fallen with the return of massive fishing in the English Channel and the Atlantic once the storm ended (significant landings took place throughout Brittany over a short period). *"Market prices are dwindling, fish wholesalers make arrangements among themselves, whether the fish is of good quality or not"* (Professional fisherman, 31 March 2014).

Adding to this is the strong competition from large-scale distributors, notably Leclerc, that, through low promotional prices represent a strong competition, weakening local fishmongers, which ultimately has an impact on purchase price obtained from fishermen themselves (Personal communication from a fishmonger, 19 March 2014).

- **Problems linked with operating costs**

Besides taking into account the global market, operating costs should also be taken into account. *"It is not because the resource improves that the fisherman lives better [...] Today, we are going towards a market problem, with these species, and a problem of cost"* (CDPMEM, 1 April 2014).

Indeed, for several years, the increase in oil prices has limited the profitability of fishing businesses. The weakness of Pollack market prices does not allow, or at least only weakly allows the generation of sufficient margins to enhance the value of the species, invest in fishing gear or development projects. Pollack fishers, however, remain relatively unaffected by this problem as it is an inshore fishing, with limited travel times.

Moreover, pollack is caught with passive fishing gears that are therefore likely to be damaged, either by the effect of currents and tides and/or storms, or simply by other fishing gears (trawls mainly). Indeed, although they are marked out, these fishing gears can be submerged in water from a few hours to 3 days and will not be identified by other fisheries. This type of problem can occur and further weaken the fishery in combination with the problem of oil prices.

CONCLUSION

Pollack fisheries governance is complex and makes for an interesting case study in order to highlight the challenges faced by all stakeholders of the handline and gillnet trades. Finistere accounts for 11 000 induced jobs, not far from 3 000 fishermen and 650 fishing vessels, which is huge in terms of the industry (Personal communication from the GC of Finistere, 1 April 2014). The territorial issues related to fishing are very strong, from an economic standpoint but also in terms of spatial planning (approximately 25 landing ports across the department). Certain local territories such as Cornouaille or Concarneau are more aware of these issues, related to professional fishing, than others further south (Personal communication from the CDPMEM of Finistere). Iroise Sea pollack fisheries are governed by the same system of co-management and fishing licences, licences limited in number. Representatives from all fishing trades of the Iroise Sea are present within the CDPMEM of Finistere. Co-management is shared between the authorities and the representatives of professionals, supported by scientific recommendations. The fishermen's organisation is however different depending on the territory, the port and/or trade related to pollack fishing. In Le Conquet, an association federating all fishing trades practised in the port exists but his actions are only intended to serve the fishermen from Le Conquet, while the Association of handliners from the tip of Brittany only involves handliners, from Western France. The objectives are different, although the final goal is the upholding and promotion of the fishing trade.

Few studies to date are available on pollack and yet the problems of fisheries governance of Iroise Sea pollack handliners and gillnetters appear interesting to study because of the distinction between ICES zones VII and VIII which separate the Iroise Sea into two distinct areas of resource management but in particular because it is usually a species targeted by small units. Pollack is a local species that is not always sold in fish auctions. Besides, the management framework of this type of resource goes well beyond the chosen geographical boundaries. It is not really possible to speak of management at the scale of the PNMI or even of the Iroise Sea. However, problems of coexistence occur from time to time (Personal communication from the PO Fishers of Brittany).

The two major management issues related to pollack are the problems of market and arbitration between trades. A thematic should nevertheless be emphasized, market management and the problem of promotion of the species in France. It is therefore not a management problem but a market problem where pollack caught by the English and Breton fishers is in direct competition.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | |
|------------------|---|
| BQM | Brittany Sea Quality (<i>Bretagne Qualité Mer</i>) |
| CCI | Chamber of Commerce and Industry (<i>Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie</i>) |
| CDPMEM | Departmental Committee for Maritime Fisheries and Marine Fish Farms (<i>Comité Départemental des Pêches Maritimes et des Élevages Marins</i>) |
| CFP | Common Fisheries Policy |
| CG | General Council (<i>Conseil Général</i>) |
| CPO | Mandatory Professional Contribution (<i>Cotisation Professionnelle Obligatoire</i>) |
| CRPMEM | Regional Committee for Maritime Fisheries and Marine Fish Farms (<i>Comité Régional des Pêches Maritimes et des Élevages Marins</i>) |
| CNPMEM | National Committee for Maritime Fisheries and Marine Fish Farms (<i>Comité National des Pêches Maritimes et des Élevages Marins</i>) |
| DDTM | Departmental Directorate for the Territories and the Sea (<i>Direction Départementale des Territoires et de la Mer</i>) |
| DIRM-NAMO | Interregional Directorate for the Sea North Atlantic Western English Channel (<i>Direction Interrégionale de la Mer Nord-Atlantique Manche Ouest</i>) |
| DML | Directorate to the Sea and the Coastal Zone (<i>Direction Mer et Littoral</i>) |
| EFF | European Fisheries Fund |
| EMFF | European Maritime and Fisheries Fund |
| EU | European Union |
| GIE | Economic Interest Group (<i>Groupement d'Intérêt Économique</i>) |
| ICES | International Council for the Exploration of the Sea |
| Ifremer | French research Institute for the exploitation of the sea (<i>Institut français de recherche d'exploitation de la mer</i>) |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organisation |
| ODG | Defence and Management Body (<i>Organisme de Défense et de Gestion</i>) |
| OPOB | Producer Organisation of Western Brittany (<i>Organisation de Producteurs Ouest Bretagne</i>) |
| PO | Producer Organisation |
| PMA | English Channel-Atlantic Producers (<i>Producteurs de Manche Atlantique</i>) |
| PNMI | Iroise Marine Nature Park (<i>Parc Naturel Marin d'Iroise</i>) |
| TAC | Total Allowable Catches (<i>Totaux Autorisés de Captures</i>) |
| UBO | University of Western Brittany (<i>Université de Bretagne Occidentale</i>) |

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Regulatory texts

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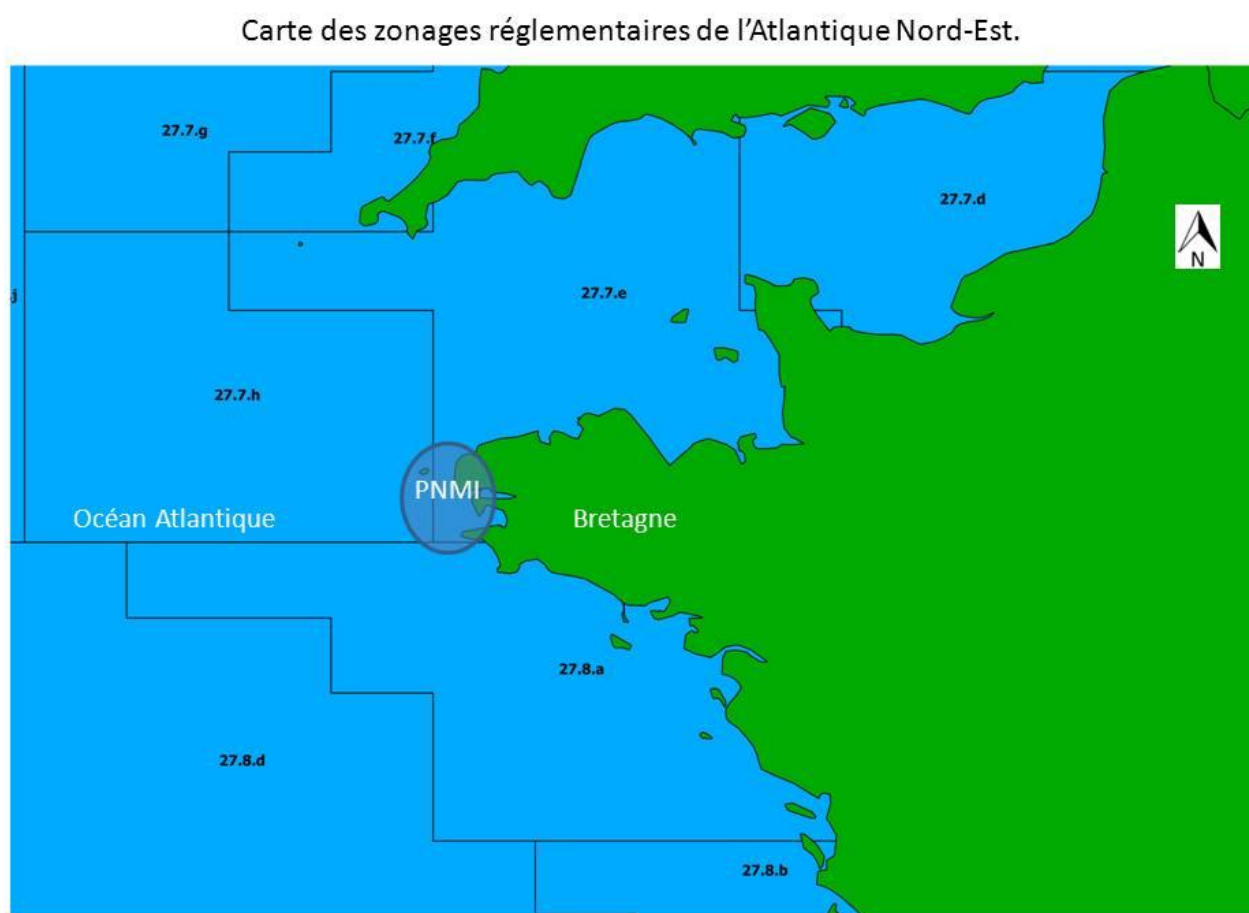
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Map of regulatory zones in the North-East Atlantic



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This report presents the results of the study on the governance of the Iroise sea pollack fisheries, handliners and gillnetters, carried out as part of the GIFS Project. As it is being increasingly publicised, small-scale inshore fishing (often small units less than 12 meters in length) often serves as an example of sustainable fishing in France and Europe. It was initially decided to focus on the study of the governance of the Iroise sea handliners, fishers of sea bass; the question being: How does this fishery fit within the Iroise marine nature Park (Parc Naturel Marin d'Iroise - PNMI)? However, after discussions with the representatives of professional fishers of this territory, it was proposed to extend the study to the gillnetters, very present in the Iroise Sea, and focus on fishers of pollack, an iconic species of Finistère that however is little studied. The results of the study provide an overview of the way in which fishing communities interact with sovereign bodies and the main decision makers at different levels of governance (local, national and European). AGROCAMPUS OUEST examined how, and to what extent, these fishermen are involved in the governance structures in order to uphold the economic and social viability of their community. These results provide the context of pollack fisheries governance to add to the overall results of inshore fishing governance, completed as part of the GIFS Project by other case studies in France, England, Belgium and the Netherlands so as to better define the role of inshore fishing under the framework of the sustainable development of the coastal zone.

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