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#### WORLD FISHERIES CONGRESS

ATHENS, GREECE MAY 3-8, 1992

<u>Theme 2</u>: Fisheries Utilization and Policy (Users participation in fisheries management)

#### EXPLORING THE BLACK BOX

#### Decision making process in fisheries: the case of the French Mediterranea

#### Marion GALLE and Jacques WEBER

**ABSTRACT**: This communication presents a simple methodology for analysis of fisheries management decision making process. For each type of decision, historical recorded informations for each actor are organized in tables which allow for mesuring distances between (i) initial legal prerogatives and acquired role, (ii) the messages delivered from a period to another. The crossed representations of actors in each others meetings are included in a second table which allow for analysis of the respective power and influence of each actor in the decision making process.

This methodology is tested in the case of French Mediterranean fisheries, for two types of decisions: (i) management of the three miles coastal zone; (ii) access to loans and subsidies. It is shown that beyond scientific models and administrative decisions, fisheries management is an evolving adaptive negociation process among actors who have not an equal weight in a given period. An other result is the observation that the resource is not an actual stake, even if a proclaimed one, in the two case studies.

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Decision making process in fisheries: the case of the French Mediterranea

Marion GALLE and Jacques WEBER

This paper presents a research on the Decision Making Process (DMP) in the context of the French Mediterranean Fisheries.

All the fleets are involved in artisanal modes of fishing: it means that the owners are embarked on their vessels and the fishing trips do not exceed the day. Most of the fleet is made of small vessels (REY, 1989). There are about 5,000 fishermen, among who 3,000 skippers and 2,000 crewmen. The annual landings are about 44,000 tons.(D.I.R.A.M, 1990)

The European Fisheries Common Policy (FCP) was first implemented in 1983, in the North Sea and the Atlantic. Since 1990, the European Commission (EC) decided to extend the FCP to the Mediterranean Memberstates. But it is not so easy to extend a policy from one context to another (WEBER, ANTONA, 1990) and the EC intends to take that into account. The main differences between Mediterranean on one side and Atlantic and North Sea on the other, are:

(1) the Mediterranean fishery is mainly a small scale, artisanal one,

(2) the market is much more valuable than in the northern parts of Europe. It valorizes the small sizes of fish,

(3) The northern and western European fisheries are centrally managed, by administrations and EC, as the Mediterranean are mainly self regulated by fishermen institutions<sup>1</sup> and agreements. Some of the institutions, like the *Prudhomies* are several centuries old (REY, 1990). The history of fisheries management in the French Mediterranean can be summarized by the state's will to diminish the prerogatives of these ancient institutions (ZARELLA,1989). Recently, the *Prudhomies* obtained a new consideration when the national administration had to cope with the implementation of a decommissioning scheme. The benefits of self regulations were empirically rediscovered in that occasion.

The event of an extension of the FCP, as well as the richness of the institutional context pleaded for choosing the Mediterranean Fisheries Management as a field-case study of the decision making process. We present here the results of this study (GALLE, 1991).

Why study actual decision-making processes in fisheries Management?

The fisheries sciences, mainly biology and economics, have a common representation of the management process. They analyse the fleet-resources interactions (RARRUGIO, LE CORRE, 1986) and give their advices to what is supposed to be a unic level of decision for each type of problem : the administrators, or the Minister or the European Community, sometimes a fishermen organization. Their advice is assumed to be scientifically justified and considered as "good" by definition. On the other hand, the administration takes decisions which are efficient by definition, but only partly implemented, often with accommodations occuring along the process of implementation. At the end, it is always quite difficult for scientists to identify their advice as the origin of an actual decision.

On one hand, we have formal approaches and very nice models; on the other hand, actual decisions taking into account a lot of parameters which are not in the scientific models. Between the two sides, there is a decision-making process in which several groups of interest interact to produce a decision or an implementation scheme. This interaction of interest groups is the actual basis for fisheries management. Fisheries management is more a negociation among fishermen groups, with participation of administration and scientists, than a formal process transforming "good" scientific advices into "efficient" decisions and automatic implementation. Fisheries management is a social organization, beyond its technocratic appearance A representation of the decision

<sup>1.</sup> We use the word *institution* for agreements between at least two individuals or groups which constrains more than these two individuals or groups. In that sense, mariage is an institution, but an administration is an *organization*. In the Mediterranea, the *prudhomies*, electing their *prud'homes* among the fishermen, and giving them a power on the whole fishing activity, is first an *institution*, secondly an *organization*. In this paper, we use the term of *actor* for any institution or organization involved in decision-making.

making system, as a social process, can be seen in appendix 1. This is the "black box" of fisherics management.

Scientists and central bureaucracy assume that fishermen constitute an homogeneous and quite unformal group : « THE » fishermen. By contrast, the diversity is placed in the fleet, which is understood as constituted by specific groups of vessels, each of them having technical caracteristics and specific *strategies*. The conflicts are analysed as occuring between types of vessels, more than between groups of fishermen... The diverse components of the fleet are felt as having "strategies", when the fishermen are mainly assumed as "individualists" moved by the inescapable "tragedy of the commons".

The actual decision making process is the black box of fisheries management and needs to be explored in order to understand how fisheries are actually managed, more than to give new advice on how to manage them "better". An illustration, for instance, of the diversity of the user group's commissions at the port level is presented in appendix 2, which shows that there is actually more professional organisations (21), than men to lead it (6) : the theorical problem of the multiplicity of commissions is solved in the practice.

On the other hand, it seems to the authors that the study of *actual existing* decision-making processes may be one of the more relevant angle of observing the participation of the users groups in fisheries management (for a theoretical support to this perspective, see GALLE, 1990).

# I.- MATERIALS AND METHODS

The objective of this study is methodological. To understand decision making process, for given types of management decisions, means for the authors:

- identify the relevant actors of the decision,

- appreciate the relative "weights" of the diverse actors involved in the process,

- determine the nature, the genesis and the evolution of the actors relative weights,

- then, analyse the interactions among actors who have relative evolving weight,

in the cases of a limited number of decisions,

- evaluate if the process is brownian, deterministic or adaptive.

Our purpose is to evaluate the feasability of analysing all types of decision making with a single and as simple as possible method. Further, we intend to design tools for analysis which were expected to be comparable with those used by so-called *"hard sciences"*. It means that the tools must allow for control and critic of both informations and analysis. We intend to show to our biologist colleagues that it is possible to work as "hardly" if not more, with sociological informations than with biological datas.

We also intend to verify the following hypothesis : the evolution of the relative powers in the decision.making process, and specifically the rise of personal powers among the user-groups, is inscribed - or at least made possible - in the institutionnal structures of decision.

There is a wide range of decisions taken in fisheries management: mesh size, time ,areas, gears and vessel limitations, including length, power and tonnage, funding, etc. We do not intend to take all the decisions into account, considering that the objective concerns the methodology.

We decided to focuse on decisions related to:

(i) cohabitation among "*métiers*" within the 3 miles coastal area. "*Métier*" is a concept which combines vessel, gears, exploited species, and fishing time,

(ii) funding, subsidies, credit.

The first type of decisions deals with social issues, and involves regional and local organizations. The second is strictly economic, and is constrained by macro-decisions taken outside the region, by actors who are absent from the local debate.

The first designed table (table 1) presents three sets of information for each actor, over the time :

(i) its statutory mandate

(ii) the messages it has delivered in the past, from period to period,

(iii) its actual role in the DMP for the examined decision. This role is evaluated by comparison between the statutory role and the actual positions taken in the DMP.

	LEGAL POSITION	ACTUAL	
	COMPETENCESADVOCATED	ROLE	
ACTOR1 ACTOR2	FOR ONE TYPE OF DECISIO OVER ONE HISTORICAL PERI	N OD	
 ACTORn.	Shows distances between - official and actual roles - positions over the time		

# TABLE 1. ROLES IN A DECISION MAKING PROCESS

The second tool used for analysis is a matrix (table 2) showing the crossed participations of the actors in the decisions of the others. This table is given by a compilation of the records and minutes of the meetings in each organization, related to the selected decisions. Some actors are represented in all the others; some others are not represented elsewhere. The respective number of representations and its evolution over the time allows for figures showing the hierarchy of power in the DMP; this hierarchy must be compared with the results of appendix 4, as well as with other sources.

It would have been possible to complexify table 2 by qualifying the type of representation on the basis of its importance : this qualification may result from analysis of table 1. The crosses would have been replaced by numbers, let's say 1 or 2, according to the actual weight in the discussions. But this qualification introduces a part of subjectivity in the work and we explicitly intended to minimize the bias.

	ACTOR 1	ACTOR ()	ACTOR n.						
ACTOR1		Х	Х						
ACTOR2	Х	Х	Х						
ACTOR()	Х								
ACTORn.		Х							
TABLE 2. CROSSED PARTICIPATIONS IN DECISIONS OF THE ACTORS: A FICTIVE ILLUSTRATION									

The first step is to analyse the evolution of the macro-decisional context: the increasing importance of EC, mainly in funding and fleet capacity control in the case of Mediterranea, as well as the national legal framework's evolution.

The second step consists in the identification of the actors in the fisheries management system. 13 actors entered into a file containing, for each,

(i) definition and genesis,

(ii) structures,

(iii) who and what it represents,

(iv) official, legal objectives,

(v) relations with other organizations,

(vi) actual prerogatives, acquired over the time,

(vii) problems and perspectives for the future.

Each file is discussed with the actors, for two purposes : to improve the quality of datas and to record the image they have of themselves and the others.

This information is put in the two types of matrix and allows for analysis

The way we intend exploit the different elements of these matrix, what we want them to say is illustrated in appendix 3.

# **II. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### A. - the case of cohabitation with in the 3 miles coastal zone.

The following analysis leans on the elements of the matrix, which can be seen in appendix 4 and 5 at the end of the paper.

The Marine Affairs Administration (MAA) legal prerogative is to enforce the prohibition of trawling with the 3 miles zone. During the first period, 1964 to 1974, its message was very strict : the rule which prohibits trawling within the 3 miles must be fully enforced. Its actual role is to put an end to various existing derogations which allow for trawling.

MAA is supported by IFREMER<sup>2</sup> : for the biologists, nurseries and spawning areas are supposed to be mainly coastal and endangered by trawling. IFREMER is also in an expert position towards fishermen's organizations and towards justice : scientists speak on behalf of the resources.

Later, during the 1980-1987 period, the official role of MAA is unchanged. But its position is now that the law is no longer enforceable, because the administration is bearing strong pressures from fishermen. Its actual role is to accomodate, to bargain, to adapt the implementation of the rules, depending on the type of conflicts, as well as the type of actors.

IFREMER, still speaking for ressource, is in trouble: a controversy about spawning areas and nurseries appeared in the middle of the period. Another change is the beginning of a shift from monospecific to multispecific studies, as well as the beginning of fisheries interactions analysis. The actual present role becomes a supposed-to-be "impartial" role, with more independence of administration.

In this period, the fishermen's organizations begin to be divided in their positions and actual roles. Some of the *prudhomies* short-circuites MAA and manage conflicts amicably : the commonly accepted rule is the reimbursement of endammaged gears by the author of the damage (" the breaker is the payer"). As long as the legal system do not reimburse the gears destroyed by trawlers, it is felt as ineffective and the fishermen manage by themselves. Some other *prudhomies*" still call for administrative intervention and multiply the complaints. Over the period, there is no clear role played by fishermen leaders as individuals.

Then, new actors appear : leaders of large trawlers who argue that some artisanal gears are worse than trawl for the resource and support the self managed "breaker-payer" principle. Another new actor is the regional fisheries organization (CEPRALMAR),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> IFREMER: French Institute of Research for the Exploitation of the Seas. IFREMER is a public institute with a statutory role of scientific adviser for the french government and the EC. This institute employs1200 scientists, covering all fields of marine research.

recently created. Its formal role is unclear ; its ambition is to share space and divide it physically by means such as artificial reefs. Its actual role is slight.

In the last period, 1987-1991, MAA, still with the same legal prerogatives, expresses the opinion that the "breaker-payer" principle is equivalent to a shadow market for fishing rights. Its actual role is to be a mediator between small coastal fishermen and trawlers.

IFREMER no longer speaks for resource, but for science. The common shared opinion of the biologists is now that trawling in the coastal zone is a cohabitation and a social problem, more than an ecological one. In its actual role, IFREMER becomes more and more independent from both administration and fishermen and balances its advices, playing with the uncertainty of the resource dynamics.

The short-circuit of MAA is now the rule for conflicts resolution. The "breakerpayer" system is accepted and amicably enforced by *prudhomies*.

The regional organization, CEPRALMAR, disappears from the debate. The leaders of trawlers still accuse other gears to be more destructive but manage a fund to face to the accepted "breaker-payer" system.

The analysis of crossed representations (see appendix 5) show that 3 actors have a key-role in the DMP and keep it over the time, although their messages have changed: the *prudhomie* of the main trawling harbour (Sète), IFREMER (the scientists) and the leaders of trawlers.

#### B.- Access to funds

Subsidies to artisanal fisheries were introduced in 1974. In 1980, the system is managed by two regional organizations: the first (GRIPA)<sup>3</sup> controlling the adequacy of the project to EC and national rules and the second (COREMODE), designing the regional priorities for the selection of candidates.

At the beginning, investment subsidies were national, then European for the vessels above 18 meters. Over time, the Region obtained competence for all types of vessels.

At the end of 1988, France introduced a permit system, which made it obligatory to withdraw an equivalent amount of engine power for obtaining an allowance for a new vessel. This was not enough to obtain a reduction in the fleet capacity and a decommissioning scheme was implemented in 1991.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>. GRIPA: Regional Groups for Investment in Artisanal Fishery. COREMODE: Regional Commission for Modernization of the fleet.

The important facts are that, in the case of funding decisions, (i) the global rules and criterias are defined very far from the region, in Paris or Brussell and (ii) these rules and criterias are not stable. As a consequence, the more powerfull actors now are the EC, the General Direction for Fisheries, and the Maritime Credit Bank. Over time, Fishermen and bioogists seem to race for influence.

#### The matrix of roles and messages

The matrix presented in appendix 6 show the increasing prower of the EC, which first gives orientations for subsidies and loans, then binds the funding with the respect of Multi-Annual Guidance Programs (MAGPs), and finally cancels funding in order to oblige France to reduce the fleet capacity.

The Fisheries Direction, at Minister level, moves from a proeminent to a subsidiary role over the period, becoming more and more an executant of EC's decisions.

Relations between State and Region evolve towards more autonomy for the second. Two organizations are crucial in this process regarding funding: COREMODE and CEPRALMAR.

Before 1985, COREMODE proposes regional orientations and select the projects to be funded. From 1985 to 1988, it loses it's orientation role and just gives an opinion on the projects. It has now a go-between role, transmitting informations from the upper levels and complaints and opinions from the lower ones. After 1991, funding is no longer possible, and the COREMODE has quite no more activity.

CEPRALMAR was created by the Region in 1983, in the context of the new competences given to them by the Law. It is the instrument of local politicians. In the field of fisheries, CEPRALMAR manages the regional subsidies and loans schemes. Over the time its influence decreases and it becomes more and more isolated.

European, national and regional organizations based their control of fisheries upon subsidies and preferential loans, which place the fishermen in a position of increasing dependence. When the main factor of control disappears, the organizations which have been created for its management lose their influence and do no more play their go-between role. At that time, there is a place for an increasing influence of fishermen leaders, mainly those who represent the interests of large trawlers.

The scientists, as in the case of the 3 miles, speak on behalf of the resource at the begining. After a period of quasi-silence, their influence grows in the last period, as they are associated to the preparation of a new MAGP which will constrain the investment in the fishery in the future.

#### Matrix and figures of crossed representations

This evolution is confirmed by the crossed representations matrix (appendix 7), from period to period.

The figures drawn on the basis of these matrix (appendix 7, 8, 9) are illustrative of both influence and power of the actors.

If we account the number of presences of each actor with the others, we obtain an indication of their influence and independence and it is possible to represent it on Y and X axis. The more powerful actor is situated towards the top and the right part of the figure : the Fisheries Direction in the first period; the EC in the last. The « advisors of the prince » are situated close to the Y axis, and the higher they are, the higher their influence is : fishermen leaders and IFREMER are in this situation. An actor placed at the bottom, on the right part of the figure, has a technical dependent role: CEPRALMAR and Regional Direction of Marine Affairs are in this position.

Globally, it is shown that:

- the European level of decision takes progressively the proeminent power, whereas the national level falls under control,

- the influence of fishermen grows over the time and go beyond the influence of scientists, both being in a position of "advisors of the prince",

- the Marine Credit (the fishermen's bank), which is in a position of being a dependent technical tool in the first period, acquires more and more influence on the whole DMP,

- despite the initial goals of the local politicians, CEPRALMAR has a light effective power in the DMP, and it means that in the case of fisheries management, there is no regional intermediate between fishermen organizations and central national or European levels. This role of fishermen advocates is partly taken by scientists in the diverse scientific committes in Paris or Brussels, and partly by the Marine Credit, well introduced in the same places;

- locally, the influence of the leaders is more and more important. It has no counterweight, in the absence of *prudhomies*: dealing with men and cohabitation among users, the *prudhomies* are not actors in the decision making process on funding.

# CONCLUSION

This study has purely methodological objectives: evaluate the feasability of a simple formal approach to study actual DMPs. It seems to the authors that this main objective is reached: the tools we tested allow for finding the main hidden rules of the game in the DMP, and display the evolution of relative positions among the actors.

It is therefore necessary to recall that an important work in data collection and validation is needed before using the matrix. It is furthermore important to stress that the matrix has no analytical power. By presenting the datas in a way which facilitates the observation of distances and evolutions, they are tools *for* analysis and *not analytical tools*.

Only two decisions have been studied. The two decisions, cohabitation in the 3 miles and funding, were chosen as two extremes of the decisions range. Cohabitation problem is at the crossroad of social and biological problems (MEURIOT, DREMIERE, CAPELLE, 1987); funding is a generally perceived as a bio-economic issue (CATANZANO,GILLY, LANTZ, DURAND, 1988). It will be interesting to use the same methodology for other types of décisions, more biologically oriented, such as gears and fishing time limitations. It should also be interesting to analyze DMPs in other fisheries, in Atlantic or the North Sea.

In this study, fish and ecology are absent; they have no voice in the DMP despite the fact that many actors pretend to speak on behalf of them. For many scientits, it may be an unexpected (?) conclusion of this exploration of the black box that ecology and biology, always invoked, are not the actual stake of the decisions in fisheries management. This short exploration recalls that fisheries management is, first, a negociation problem among users groups.

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**APPENDIX 1** 



X,Y and Z are some fishermen leaders, owners of trawlers, and Prud'homes.

W is a représentative of small-scale fishermen, respected in the community but not Prud'home anymore (he's retired).

One can see that for 20 existing representative commissions, 4 person actually lead (once as director, once as president of these commissions) the professional representation.

# APPENDIX 3

# WHAT THE MATRIX SAY



APPENDIX 4 : ROLES MATRIX-1

Trawling in the coastal zone

1964 - 1974

ACTORS Quartier des Affaires	OFFICIAL ROLES Enforcement Administrative sanctions	EXPRESSED POSITION The rule of no trawling in the coastal zone	EFFECTIVE Stop the increase in d
Affaires Maritimes	Administrative sanctions	has to be strictly applied	Dissuadin severe adr
Tribunal			
d'instance			
Comité Local des			
Pêches Maritimes	1		
Prud'homie de	Mandated to notify infractions in the sea		
Sète-môle		Prud'homies in general :	make the
Prud'homie	as above		
d'Agde		Dividing the maritime space in two	between
Prud'homie de	as above	zones contradicts the cohabitation principle	
Palavas		but trawling is not compatible with	possible
Prud'homie du	as above	fixed nets in the coastal zone	
Grau du Roi			
ISTPM/IFREMER	Scientific advice on resources and	The coastal zone is a reproduction zone,	Official
	alternative technologies	threatened by trawling, and has to be	adminis
	Consulted on administrative decisions	protected	Effectiv
		Substitutive fisheries have to be found for	actors (
		the small trawlers	

For the need of a clear presentation, only the informations about the three main actors are kept in the tables, and only two main periods are presented here.

ud'homie deMandated to notify infractions in the seaConflicts are resolved by direct negotiationshort-te-môlebetween men, following the principle : "the net breaker is the payer".author officiaThe administration is inefficient.conflict	ud'homieas aboveConflicts have to be resolved by theof theAgdefishermen.accourties	rud'homie de as above alavas	rud'homie du as above	STPM/IFREMER Scientific advice on resources Expert controversies :	Consulted on administrative decisions the threaten on the biosystem and the fish administrative decisions in the coastal zone is no more evidence for neutra the biologists. The trawling problem is more a social problem of cohabitation, than an ecological problem.	Consulted on administrative decisions the threaten on the biosystem and the fish in the coastal zone is no more evidence for the biologists. admin the coastal zone is no more evidence for the biologists.   cader chalutier reader chalutier problem of cohabitation, than an ecological problem.	Consulted on administrative decisionsthe threaten on the biosystem and the fish in the coastal zone is no more evidence for the biologists.admin neutra 
re resolved by direct negoti en, following the principle r is the payer". istration is inefficient.	ave to be resolved by the				troversies : n on the biosystem and the tal zone is no more evidenc lsts. ng problem is more a social cohabitation, than an ecolo	troversies : n on the biosystem and the tal zone is no more evidenc ists. ng problem is more a social f cohabitation, than an ecol	troversies : n on the biosystem and the tal zone is no more evidenc lsts. ng problem is more a social cohabitation, than an ecolo
a "the authority by supporting a pon	official mode of resolving a non- conflicts, where the destruction	official mode of resolving conflicts, where the destruction of the biosystem is not taken in account	official mode of resolving conflicts, where the destruction of the biosystem is not taken in account	official mode of resolving conflicts, where the destruction of the biosystem is not taken in account	official mode of resolving conflicts, where the destruction of the biosystem is not taken in account Increasing independance of the administration, in order to keep a ce for neutral position in the debates	official mode of resolving conflicts, where the destruction of the biosystem is not taken in account Increasing independance of the administration, in order to keep a ice for neutral position in the debates al	official mode of resolving conflicts, where the destruction of the biosystem is not taken in account Increasing independance of the administration, in order to keep a ce for neutral position in the debates al logical

APPENDIX 4 - ROLES MATRIX-2 Trawling in the coastal zone

# **CROSSED REPRESENTATIONS MATRIX - Trawling in the coastal zone** APPENDIX 5

or institutionnaly participates in the decisions taken by the actor in the first line. There is a cross in the intersection each time the actor in the first column is consulted,

TOTAL	LEADERS	ISTPM/IFREMER	Prud'homie du Grau du Roi	Prud'homie de Palavas	Prud'homie d'Agde	Prud'homie de Sète-môle	Comité Local des Pêches Maritimes	Tribunal d'instance	Quartier des Affaires Maritimes	ACTEURS	
T	X	Х	Х	Х	X	X	Х			QAM	× • • •
4	Х	Х	Х			į		11	Х	Tribu nal	
S	Х		Х	Х	Х	Х				M	
1	Х					[]				Prud. Sète	-
1						X				Prud. Agde	1
<u> </u>				11		Х				Prud. Palav	5
1			11			Х				Prud. G d R	
0		11								MER	
1	11					Х				Lea- ders	
21	4	2	3	2	2	6	1	0	<u> </u>	TO TAL	ž

**CROSSED REPRESENTATIONS GRAPHIC - trawling in the coastal zone APPENDIX 5** 



# APPENDIX 6 ROLES MATRIX 1 - financial aids

			IFREMER
			ASSIDEPA
individual cases, discussion the criteria of choice	They have to conform to an agreed type	Consulted on the boat performances and the fishermens' abilities	professions
			Elus locaux
government and the local a Local interests (politics, le own interests) are weighed by case	producers organisation.	controlling conformity and applying regional priorities	
Relay between the central	The minfersion has to be structured i prior	Attribution of side case by case	COREMON/CRIPA
			Crédit Maritime Mutuel
			Conseil Régional CEPRALMAR
			Affaires Maritimes
			Interrégionale des
			Direction
	modernized, and better organized.	Choice of the attributions criteria	Pêches
Making the rules	Fisheries have to be technically	Financier	Direction des
			Européenne
			Commission
EFFECTIVE ROL	EXPRESSED POSITION	OFFICIAL ROLES	1980

For the need of a clear presentation, only the informations about the three main actors are kept in the tables, and only two main periods are presented here.

APPENULA 0 ROLES MATRIX	
2-	
financial	
aids	

			IFREMER
			AUSTREE
			ACCIDEDA
	Infeatens life international componentity.	commission of aids	professions
Obtaining regional aids	Latence the international commetitivity	Consulted in the CEPRALMAR, regional	Représentants des
Pressure, lobbying	Crossing construction is not just. It		Elus locaux
	Of the continuasion	(mailings)	
	Alus are two ion to justify to guine and the	Functioning in a simplified procedure	COREMODE
Stand by	Aide are too low to justify regular meetings		Mutuel
			Crédit Maritime
	Continue.		
	continue.		
	Atlantic. Aids for new constructions must		
Financial alus case by case	has already been controlled, but in the		CEPKALMAN
mediterrandari prant	not located in the Mediterranean where it	1 IIIanologi and account of the fille	Collsell Negional
noditarrangen nign	Problems of fishing power in ridiuc are	Financier and decider for specific regional	Concoil Dégional
Pronositions for a specific	a ti feiling notion in Grance gra		Affaires Maritimes
			Interrégionale des
			Direction
		according to the new european unecuve	Pêches
	to conform to the european plan	Restrictive criteria for finalicial alus,	Direction des
Power reduction imposed	constructions have to be stonned in order		Européenne
			Commission
		OFFICIAL NOLLS	1988
EFFECTIVE NULL	EXPRESSED POSITION	OFFICIAL POLES	
TUD TVTP/TTP/TTP			

#### APPENDIX 7 THE CROSSED REPRESENTATIONS MATRIX Subventions attribution

There is a cross in the intersection each time the actor in the first column is consulted, or institutionnaly participates in the decisions taken by the actor in the first line.

1974-1980	Com Eur	Dir Pêche	DIRA M	Cred. Mar.	Repr Prof.	ASSI DEPA	IFRE MER	TOTA L
Com. Europ.	=	X		Х		X		3
Dir. Pêches	X	=	X	Х		X		4
DIRAM			=					0
Cred. Maritime		Х		=		X		2
Repr. profess.		Х		Х	=	X		3
ASSIDEPA					1	=		0
IFREMER	Х	X					=	2
TOTAL	2	4	1	3	0	4	0	14

First period : 1974-1980

\* Second period : 80-84

80 - 84	Com. Eur.	Dir. Pêche	DIR AM	Cred. Mar. Mut.	CO RE MOD	Repr. Prof.	ASSI DEPA	IFRE MER	TO TAL
Commission Européenne	=	X	X	X	X		Х		5
Direction des Pêches	X	=	Х	Х	X		X		5
Dir.Interrég. des Affaires Maritimes			II		X				1
Crédit Mari- time Mutuel		X	X	=	X		Х		4
COREMOD		X	X				X		3
Représentants professions		Х	Х	Х	X	=	X		5
ASSIDEPA							=		0
IFREMER	Х	X	X		X		X	=	5
TOTAL	2	5	6	3	6	0	6	0	28

# APPENDIX 7 CROSSED REPRESENTATION GRAPHICS : VISUALIZING

THE POWER POSITIONS Subventions attribution





