<u>A thesis submitted to the Department of Environmental Sciences and Policy of</u> Central European University in part fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Science

Role of NGOs in ICCAT decision making process considering

Bluefin tuna with special focus on Croatia

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July, 2007

Budapest

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Lovorka KEKEZ

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List of Abbreviations

- ARC Aquatic Release Conservation
- ATRT Advanced Tuna Ranching Technologies
- BINGO Business and Industry Non Governmental Organizations
- **CFP** Common Fishery Policy
- **CIPS** The International Angling Confederation
- CITES Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and

Fauna

- **CPUE** Catch Per Unit Effort
- **DPI** Department of Public Information
- ECOSOC Economic and Social Council
- ENGO Environmental Non Governmental Organizations
- FAO Food and Agriculture Organization
- GEG Global Environmental Governance
- GFCM General Fisheries Council for the Mediterranean
- IATTC Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission
- ICCAT International Commission for Conservation of Atlantic Tuna
- IGFA International Game Fish Association
- ISO/TC International Organization for Standardization's Technical Committee
- IUCN International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources LSTLV
- Large Scale Tuna Longline Vessels
- MEAs Multilateral Environmental Agreements
- MEDISAMAK Association of Professional Organizations of the Fishery Sector of
- Mediterranean Coastal Countries
- NCMS National Coalition for Marine Coastal Countries

- NGO Non-Governmental Organization
- NRDC Natural Resource Defense Council
- **OCO** Oceanic Conservation Organization
- **OPRT** Organization for the Promotion of Responsible Tuna Fisheries
- OWC Ocean Wildlife Campaign
- PINGO- Public Interest Non-Governmental Organization
- RFA The Recreational Fishing Alliance
- **RFMOs** Regional Fishery Management Organizations
- SCRC Scientific Committee for Research and Statistic
- SNGO Sport recreational Non-Governmental Organization
- SSB Spawning Stock Biomass
- TAC Total Allowable Catch
- UN United Nation
- UNCED United Nation Conference on Environment and Development
- **UNECE** United Nation Economic Commission for Europe
- **UNFCCC** United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
- WCS Wildlife Conservation Society
- WWF World Wide Fund for Nature

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS submitted by: Lovorka KEKEZ

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Bluefin tuna is one of the most commercially important fish species not just for Croatia but for all Mediterranean countries. Due to it trans-boundary character its management is arranged through International Commission for Conservation of Atlantic Tuna (ICCAT). But due to increased marked demand, overfishing and a rising global tendency of NGO participation, various types of non-governmental NGOs began to take interest in this issue.

Therefore, this thesis discusses and analyzes ways of NGOs participation in ICCAT considering a specific species – the Bluefin tuna. Participation of three kinds of NGOs was analyzed at two levels: global and national. Participation of international NGOs is explained through their engagement in enhancing the knowledge base (science, policy and law), advocacy and lobbying, membership in international delegations, contribution to compliance, ensuring the transparency, supporting international secretariats and border function of NGOs in international environmental governance. Due to limits of time and data the study of participation of Croatian national NGOs was based just on ENGOs. For that purpose, an overview of is given of ENGOs and their involvement in issues considering Bluefin tuna. Also, special focus is put on national ENGO cooperation with international NGOs and with Croatian Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management.

Research showed that involvement of international NGOs grew through years but not drastically and that they participate actively in the meetings and outside of the meeting arena with various effects (for instance, changing public opinion). On the other hand there are Croatian national ENGOs who do not participate in work of ICCAT and do not cooperate with Croatian delegation at ICCAT, although they have strong connection with international ENGOs. Their participation is restricted to activities against opening Bluefin tuna farms in Croatian part of Adriatic Sea.

Keywords: Bluefin tuna, ICCAT, NGO, Croatia

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

Bluefin tuna (*Thunus thinus*) is only one of many tuna species but it is one of the most commercially important fish (Collette, 1999). It has a cosmopolitan character and it can be caught in the waters of the entire Atlantic Ocean and its adjacent seas (Collette, 1999). Because of these two characteristics, Bluefin tuna is caught worldwide and is now on the red list of endangered species (Safina 1996a; Safina 1996b).

Problems of depleting stocks of Bluefin tuna started long ago in the first half of the 20th century. At that time it became obvious that something needed to be done for the better management of fishery stocks (Buck 1995). Joint action seemed a reasonable solution.

Joint management of tuna resources started before the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tuna (ICCAT) was established. The first Commission that managed tuna and tuna-like species was the Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission (IATTC) established in 1949 (IATTC 2007). Its purpose was joint management of natural resources of tuna in the Eastern Pacific Ocean. The objective for its establishment was rational usage of fish stock but also the tuna industrial lobby who wanted to maximize fishing opportunities, and coastal State jurisdiction did not offer them that opportunity (Swan 2003).

After IATTC, ICCAT, the institution that I devote my research to, was established (Swan 2003). It was enacted in 1966 on the Conference of Plenipotentiaries in Rio de Janeiro in 1966 with the purpose of managing stocks of Eastern Bluefin tuna (ICCAT 2007). The reasons for establishing it were similar to those underlining the IATTC.

The decline of fish in the catch during the 1960s showed that joint action was needed (Buck 1995). It became obvious that the tuna stock does not stay just in the national waters of one country, and cooperative management arose as the best solution for the long term benefit for this species (Swan 2003). But is the existence of regulatory norms, institutions, meetings of a commission and new scientific data enough to manage living resources like Bluefin tuna?

Unfortunately, in case of Bluefin tuna past experience suggests that it is not enough. Although management of tuna is practiced, we can not say that it is successful. Bluefin Tuna is considered endangered and even the ICCAT authorities have become aware of the problem, being alarmed by concerned NGOs. Scientific community, politicians and NGO agree in principle that action is needed (ICCAT 2006b).

It is true that the first alarm concerning the condition of tuna stocks came from the side of NGOs (Katavic pers.comm.). However, not all suggestions from NGOs have been adopted. State representatives are still the main actors in international negotiation, although it has been established in literature and likewise in this research that this is due to economic and social reasons (ENTRI 2001). State representatives take into consideration the environmental aspects of the issue, but these considerations are usually underestimated when compared to social and economic development. Somehow, "important" environmental problems become "not the most important" on negotiation tables. Given global trends of environmental organizations (NGOs) contribute a balance to this socio-economic discussion approach.

Indeed, the role of NGOs as participants in international negotiations is growing (Young 1997). They represent a voice of concern and point to the issues that are neglected or are

presented as not-so-important. Their appearance cannot be neglected, which proves the fact that an increasing number of governments consider NGOs an important actor in international policy and that increasing number of NGOs participate in forming international instruments (Stairs and Taylor 1992; Bichsel 1996; Morphet 1996; Breitmeier 1997). From that point of view, their purpose is more than important, and their growth in the international arena is more than welcome.

In the past ten years extensive research has been carried out on the NGO movement and the role of NGOs in decision making process. But the question that still stands is whether this kind of NGO participation is reserved for just "sexy topics" such as climate change or big events like the Rio conference when all eyes around the world are looking on.

This thesis is an attempt to explore the efficiency of the NGO actions and to assess the extent to which their participation has an influence on a national (Croatian) government and global level (ICCAT commission). It will analyse two aspects – participation and the global influence of international NGOs in the decision making process and the national influence of Croatian NGOs on Croatian public and standing in ICCAT.

1.1. THESIS AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this thesis is to explore the NGO role in the ICCAT meetings considering one species - the Bluefin tuna (*Thunnus thynnus*). To explore the role, different aspects of NGO collaboration with ICCAT were examined. As it is described later in the literature review, 3 types of NGOs are present in ICCAT forums:

⁻ Environmental NGOs (ENGO)

- Business and industry NGOs (BNGO)

- Sport-recreational NGOs (SNGO)

However, due to disproportionate amount of information available and the aims of the thesis, the main focus will be on environmental NGOs.

The second special emphasis is put on the situation in Croatia. Although Croatian NGOs are not directly present as observers at ICCAT, they have been quite active in the national area. But the question is how they participate and how big their impact is by communicating and negotiating with the Croatian delegation, informing public or by cooperating with international NGOs that are present at the meetings.

The time framework for the research ranges from the starting point of NGO participation in 1999 till 2006. The reasons for starting then are: from 1998 Croatia has been part of ICCAT and in 1998 guidelines for NGO participation on ICCAT meetings were adopted. By using this time framework it is possible to track down the changes in the NGO movement and connect it with the present day situation.

In order to explore that issue, this thesis will try to answer the following questions:

For the international NGOs

- Explore which international NGOs are present at the ICCAT meetings
- Analyze the means of NGO participation at ICCAT meetings and outside of them
- Identify the main problems that NGOs face
- Explain the attitude of state and international authorities toward NGO participation

For Croatian NGOs

- Explore whether there is any dialog between national NGOs and the Croatian negotiation team at ICCAT
- Identify the main problems that national NGOs face in communication with the Croatian negotiation team at ICCAT and how they can be addressed
- Identify the attitude of the Croatian negotiation team at ICCAT towards NGO participation in forming the national position
- Identify which Croatian NGOs co-operate with international NGOs

1.2. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

At this point I would like to point out two main limitations of this study. The first is connected with limitation in the scope of this thesis. Although, all three types of NGOs are initially taken into research, through time focus is put on ENGOs. Reason for that can be found in fact that unfortunately there is much more information on the work of ENGOs at ICCAT than there is on work of other two types of NGOs. But still thanks to interviews and ICCAT biennial reports, some information about participation of SNGOs and BNGOs is provided.

Second limitation is connected with the interviews. Because of time limitation and the lack of access to all NGO representatives, some of the initially planned interviews were not conducted. Although I sent mails to every NGO and NGO representatives that were present at ICCAT meeting asking for the interviews, some of them never answered and some of the

mails just returned with a line that the e-mail address is not active any more. I assume that some of the respondents changed their working position or they were too busy to reply to my mail. This limitation is bridged with deep analysis addressing statements of NGOs (if they are present) in ICCAT biannual reports. So it can be said that the goals and efforts of those NGOs are at least partially covered.

1.3. OVERVIEW THROUGH THE CHAPTERS

First, the thesis contains an introductory chapter, of which this subchapter is a part. In the introduction, I point out the issues that this thesis is going to discuss. I briefly present the main goals of the thesis and the main limitations of the study are presented in this chapter.

The introductory chapter is followed by a theoretical chapter or literature review. The goal of this chapter is to define some of the key terms for this thesis (e.g. NGO, NGO activities, roles of NGOs) but also to give overview of the theoretical frameworks in which NGOs connected with ICCAT work. Third chapter is explaining methodology used in this research and reasons why exactly this methodology is used.

The forth chapter comprises the practical research of this thesis. It gives an overview of ICCAT commission work in first subchapter, while later on it is focused on different aspects of NGO participation at ICCAT. After this, next chapter is devoted to Croatian NGOs and their role in the whole decision making process on national level.

This chapter is followed by seventh chapter, in which participation of NGOs in ICCAT is compared with studies of NGO participation in some important conferences. Finally, the last chapter presents conclusions of this study and recommendations for better cooperation between ICCAT and NGOs.

Chapter 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section I would like to talk about main theoretical concepts which underpin the understanding of the thesis topic. First part of this chapter discusses briefly the main concepts of global governance and its relation to the NGO movement in general. After that there is some discussion about the NGOs themselves. The aim of this part is to clarify problems related to the term 'NGO', such as the definition of NGO, differences among different types of NGOs and possible classifications of NGOs.

Regime formation and role of NGOs in implementation of a certain regime is the topic of following discussion. In that part I would like to emphasize different opinions on what the purpose of NGOs is in the process of international decision making and how they can contribute to whole process. Also special focus is put on role of NGO in fishery treaties. Following that I explain the relationships between the UN and NGOs. This is important part because UN itself stimulated the Conference of Plenipotentiaries where ICCAT was established (ICCAT 1998).¹

Last part is dedicated to the NGO movement in Croatia. Overview through the history of Croatian NGO movement is given, taking into consideration its role in decision making process in general.

2.1. GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND NGOS

Today when we talk about the environment it is impossible to avoid all the threats that our environment is facing. Apart from the fact that number of threats are growing there is also an increasing number of problems that are crossing national borders. Air pollution, climate change, depletion of live stocks is not limited to one restricted area, and it is spread on a global level. It is logical to conclude that global problems require global action (Young 1997). It would be too naive and utopian to believe in global government, but believing in global governance is a different story.

So it is not surprising that lately different authors are introducing a new phenomenon, "global governance without government" (Young 1997). Global governance can be defined as "the effort to bring a more orderly and reliable response to social and political issues that go beyond capacities of states to address individually" (Gordenker and Weiss 1996a). To narrow the subject little bit more definition of global environmental governance (GEG) according to Najam et al. (2006) would represent "sum of organizations, policy instruments, financing mechanism, rules, procedures and norms that regulate the processes of global environmental protection". That would also imply that there is no central authority to achieve goals and that mutual cooperation of states is necessary. Outcomes in that case would depend on biological, social and economic issues (Jennings *et al.* 2000). But, that is what it would be if we were living in ideal world. According to past experience it is possible to claim that more effort is put into solving economic and social issues (Young 1997).

Indeed, environmental degradation was first recognized on state level due to large efforts of NGOs and different civil initiatives (Bruhl and Simonis 2001). Their main goal at the beginning was to point the problem and than create public opposition to certain project (Bruhl

and Simonis 2001). Although, international organizations are still organized in a state-centric manner, significant contribution and involvement by civil society and private sector actors has to be taken into consideration. (Najam 1999; Najam et al. 2006).

2.2. CIVIL SOCIETY AND NGOs

As has already been said in the introduction state actors are still the key actors in solving global problems (Conca 1995). But the process of achieving desired goals is more complex and includes more stakeholders than just state authorities (Gordenker and Weiss 1996). Organized civil society, ready to discuss problems, is definitely one of them. Although the history of developing civil society is quite different in Western Europe and East Europe the definition given by London School of Economics Centre for Civil Society can be used in general (Jenei and Kuti 2006)

According to them civil society can be defined as: "arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market, though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power. Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, Faith-based organizations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups." (Jenei and Kuti 2006). As we can see from the definition given above NGOs are parts of civil society and thus they have role in democratization of society (Princeton and Finger 1994). However, as it is going to be seen in following subchapters, the definition, role and diversity of NGOs itself is quite different from organization to organization.

2.3. DEFINING NGOs

According to some authors every organization of citizens outside of the government can be called NGO (Wapner 1997). But the interpretations of what exactly an NGO is, is very hard to define (Princten and Finger 1994; Gordenker and Weiss 1996a). According to Young (1997) there is no commonly applied definition in relevant literature of what an NGO is, but it should fulfill three main criteria. First it should be separated from intergovernmental organizations, it should define its subject of interest and finally it must declare that is not part of any government and it is free to express its independent view (Young 1997).

Arts (1998) defines an NGOs as "a promotional pressure group which seeks to influence political decision-making on certain issues at [the] global level". The author makes further distingnishes a "protest group" from a "pressure group". In that a "pressure group" does lobbing and advocacy on authorities while "protest groups" try to achieve their goals by turning to the public (Arts 1998). This can be discussed because some NGOs like Greenpeace carry out bout activities of pressure and protest groups. Because of that we can focus little bit more on some other definitions given in existing literature.

By the definition given from UN Charter NGO is "A non-governmental organization (NGO) is a not-for-profit, voluntary citizens' group, which is organized on a local, national or international level to address issues in support of the public good".

Task-oriented and made up of people with common interests, NGOs perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bringing citizens' concerns to governments, monitoring policy and program implementation, and encouraging participation of civil society stakeholders at the community level (UN Department of Public Information 2007). They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms, and help monitor and implement international agreements. Some are organized around specific issues, such as human rights, the environment or health"(UN Department of Public Information 2007).

If we take this definition, all international scientific bodies, multinational corporations, transnational political groups, religious associations, sport clubs, different hobby clubs can be called NGOs. Also, if they extend beyond national borders they automatically contributing to the global civil society (Wapner 1997). However, the definition can be narrowed.

International Organization for Standardization's Technical Committee ISO/TC (2002) gives definition that is closer to the meaning of the definition of NGO taken for the purpose of this thesis. They define NGO as "a range of public interest advocacy and policy groups. They comprise an important "stakeholder" group, as they provide expertise and 'checks and balances' to ensure consideration of a wide spectrum of concerns, when global decisions are made."

But the best definition for the purpose of this thesis is one by Oberthur *et al.* (2002) which defines NGO as a "*permanent organization of individuals or groups of individuals qualified in relevant fields and operating independently from government influences. NGOs may derive funding from governments and may have governments and government officials as members provided that such funding or membership does not limit the organization's ability to express its views independently."*

Following the principles of this definition in my research the term NGO is not going to be focused just on NGOs that are focused on environmental protection it is also going to include other interested groups like sport fisherman and the association of the tuna industry.

2.4. DIVERSITY OF NGO

The above is not the only problem in defining NGOs. There is also a problem because NGOs are very diverse. That diversity according to Princen and Finger (1994) is reflected in many aspects (size, budget, membership...). Below just some of the aspect that needs to be taken into the consideration are discussed.

2.4.1. Diversity according to aims of an NGO

NGOs can be classified according to their aims or interests. The aims of an NGO can be diverse in all aspects of human activities but experts define a few broad types of NGO according to their aims.

A major categorization within NGOs can be made according to those that are profit base ones (like multinational companies) and those that are non-profit (like organizations working in the field of human rights) (Wapner 1997). But usually when people talk about NGO they refer to the second type or "*those organizations outside of the realm of government, and distinct from the business community*" (Hudock 1999). However, in that group the range of NGOs is again very wide, depending on the interest and goals and the character of the organization.

On the other side, Smith (1997) makes a differentiation between public-interest NGOs (PINGOs); business and industry NGOs (BINGOs) and environment, human rights, development or expert NGOs. For the purpose of this thesis NGOs are going to be divided according to their aims in three groups: business and industry NGOs (BINGOs), environmental NGOs (ENGOs) and sport-recreational associations (SNGOs).

2.4.2. Cooperation with government

How close NGOs may be to the government of the country can vary widely according to funding, direction or mandate and general style of operation (Albin 1999). There are some NGOs that are more willing to make compromises while others stick to their position (Princen and Finger 1994). It is now highly common in Western democracies that on some meetings, state negotiation teams include members from NGOs. Examples of that we can found in UN Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks where members of NGOs were presented in the delegations of Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America (USA) (Doulman 1995).

2.4.3. Size and organizational structure:

The size of an NGO is definitely also one of the common differences. NGOs range in size, from small NGOs with two to three employees to the big international NGO with thousands of volunteers and employees (Pricten and Finger 1994). Size is usually connected organizational structure of certain NGOs, so like that we can distinguish on this way whether NGOs are national or international (Riedinger 2001). But it is interesting to note that although NGO can have offices in different countries cooperation between "grassroots"-NGOs and international NGOs is crucial in bringing local knowledge and local concerns into the international policy arena (Princen and Finger 1994; Smith 1997; Kriesberg 1997: Keck and Sikkink 1998).

2.5 HOW DO NGOS PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

As already mentioned at the beginning, environmental problems do not know borders and common resources are called common because they are shared between people, between nations or between states, so it is not surprising that environmental organizations have become actors in global environmental politics (Young 1997). At the beginning, governments wanted to deal with environmental crises on their own, they hesitated to include the local population and NGOs in that process because they assumed that those actors do not possess the required knowledge and experience (Sawhney *et al.* 2007).

However, time showed us that just imposing new regulations is not enough. With time and experience it became apparent that regulations do not always fulfill their role and it is necessary to complement "governmental theory" with the "field situation" (Sawhney *et al.* 2007). International NGOs operate in such way that they are fulfilling a "niche in world politics" (Princen et Finger 1994). In general, they make connections both in static and dynamic dimension between many actors of the international environmental issues (Princen et Finger 1994).

Static dimensions of NGOs activity in world environmental politics characterize lacquering of two dimensions: connection of biophysical to the political and the others connects the national and the global (Princen et Finger 1994). In other words, Princen and Finger argue that NGOs have a role in drawing political attention to important environmental problems, and at the same time addressing global problems at the national level. Dynamic dimensions that NGOs support include institutional transformation and social development (Princen and Finger 1994).

Above, I explained what is the role of NGOs in the international arena, but further on I would like to outline exactly how to perform above explained role of NGOs. A systematic way of presenting functions, activities and channels of influence was given by Oberthur *et al.* (2003). In table 1 below adapted from them, the most recognizable functions are matched with activities and channels of influence.

Table 1. Theoretical functions of NGOs participation and illustrative list of activities and

channels of influence

Function	Illustrative List of Activities and Channels of Influence
Enhancing the knowledge	• Gather, compile and disseminate information
base (science, policy and	• Conduct and publish studies and reports
law)	• Distribute information and organize side-events at
	major conferences
Advocacy and lobbying	• Informal contacts with governmental delegates
	(side-events, workshops, conferences, in the corridors, modern telecommunication technology)
	• Formal participation in inter-governmental negotiations (official written submissions, unofficial written position papers, statements in meetings)
	• Provision of advice to "friendly" delegations
	• Campaigns outside the negotiating arena (e.g. media and public information, protest) to enhance influence
Membership in national	• Receipt of inside information about governmental
delegations	negotiations
	Provision of advice to governments
	Negotiate on behalf of governments
Contribution to	Submission of amicus curiae briefs
compliance review and enforcement as well as	Provision of information on implementation (alerting delegations and between the second
dispute settlement	implementation/alerting delegations and institutions of non-compliance
procedures	institutions of non-compliance
Ensuring transparency	Reports from negotiations
	• "naming and shaming" of laggard countries
	• reports on effectiveness of implementation
Supporting international	provide Secretariat functions
secretariats	• provide advice and expertise to Secretariat
Broader functions of	• shaping the opinions of individuals and groups
NGOs in international	(campaigns and trainings)
environmental governance	 co-operations between environmental groups and business and industry
	 networking, including intergrating levels of governance
	 "globalization" of values and preferences
	 globalization of values and preferences

Source: Oberthur et al. 2003.

These are general theoretical frameworks of benefits from having NGOs, but what happens in specific situations? Can NGOs really be helpful in international negotiation? And to what extent do they participate?

2.6. NGOs AND INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL REGIMES

As was mentioned above, participation of NGOs is international regimes is growing. Especially, there is an increasing trend in involving NGOs in the implementation of international treaties and soft law documents. This trend just shows us that NGOs are really active and recognized in legal processes and in international law documents (Cullen and Morrow 2001). The best example for that is the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), Rio de Janeiro, 3-14 June 1992 or informally known as the Earth Summit (Cullen and Morrow 2001). At that global conference, 178 governments took part together with around 2,400 representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (UN 1997). But the contribution of NGOs did not stop there. Many of the States had NGOs representatives in their delegations or consulted NGO in the process of formulating position (Cullen et Morrow 2001).

Furthermore, in Chapter 27, Agenda 21, it says that NGOs are "partners for sustainable development". It aims to establish formal participatory procedures in which NGOs would be "involved in all levels from policy making and decision making to implementation". Another example is the Aarhus Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters. It requires from each involved party to "promote the application of principles of this Convention in international

environmental decision making processes and within the framework of international organizations in matters relating to the environment".

So we can see that conventions texts define and regulate NGO participation, but when it comes to real influence, opinions are different. Crawford (1995) believes that although NGOs are increasingly present in international negotiation they are not capable to change the fact that international negotiations are state-controlled processes. However, that type of view is rare. Most of the authors agree that NGOs do have an influence and can provide help. For example, Cullen and Morrow (2001) speak of advantages of NGO participation. They emphasize that NGOs represent the underrepresented (they present parties that directly are going to be affected by decisions but are not in a position to present their opinion), improve credibility and accountability in the implementation process and can provide international institutions with independent expertise, contacts and networks (Cullen and Morrow 2001).

2.7. NGOs AND INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL FISHERY REGIMES

To this point, I gave an overview of the NGO role in general environmental field or examples from outstanding events like conference in Rio. But NGOs have left significant footprints in different conferences connected with living fish resources. This is important to mention, because this is still a field in which economic and social considerations are still put above environmental ones.

At the 1993 UN hosted migratory fish conference, 41 NGOs participated and together with 79 non participating NGOs put on paper a statement that demanded the precautionary principle in fishery management (Princen and Finger 1994). Another case of successful NGO

contribution in the field of fisheries is the so-called Dolphin-Tuna Case. In that case NGOs raised the issue of dauphine casualties during tuna fishing and played a role in improving policies of Inter America Tuna Commission (Wright 2000).

There was also a high contribution of international NGOs in UN Conference on straddling fish stocks and highly migratory fish stocks. According to a document prepared after that conference, NGOs made significant contributions to the written material on all articles in the Agreement (Doulman 1995).

NGOs also made contribution in the implementation of regimes, and connections at the national-global level. In Bangladesh thousands of reefs are managed by jointed NGOs representing fishing households (Nielsen and Degnbol, 2002). However, the situation is not always near ideal. There are some examples of mismanagement and bad organization even with NGO participation. For example in South Africa, after badly conducted negotiations between governments and NGOs one village in Malawi was in five co-management committees which resulted in a conflict (Nielsen and Degnbol, 2002). But it must also mentioned that in this case an agreement was made to serve selfish individual interests and not in the role of best fish stock utilization.

2.8. RELATIONS BETWEEN NGOs AND THE UN

The Stockholm conference was a crucial point for more significant NGO participation in the work of the UN. Before that conference the role of NGOs was limited and the UN as an organization played a limited role in environmental issues. Since that period the UN has become a more important forum on environmental matters and it has become more involved in several ways and at several levels (Conca 1996).

According to the UN charter, NGOs can take part in UN work. They can give their opinion in social and economic matters but in General Assembly and General Secretariat they did not get a role (Baillat 2000). NGOs cooperate within the UN on two levels. The first level consists of three levels of consultation with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), while the second level is actually association with the Department of Public Information (DPI), which does not allow participation, but does permit access to the UN (Baillat 2000). Also there is a possibility of cooperation on "one time" events organized by UN.

It is almost impossible to say exactly how environmental NGOs participate in the work of UN. The main reason for that is that there is no clear distinction what an environmental NGO is or better to say where environmental issues linked with other issues such as human rights issues, public health or concern for indigenous people (Conca 1996).

However special UN organizations have a special way of communication and developed relations with NGOs. For instance, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) points out the following benefits in NGO participation:

- enhancing the validity and equity of policy and decision-making

- _ increasing the effectiveness and commitment of FAO's Field Programs

- . building public support and political will in terms of insuring food security objectives;
- making FAO's work more transparent and broadly known to the public at large;
- *harnessing additional resources by matching complementarities.* (FAO 1999)

These FAO principles and views on NGO participation are especially important for this thesis because ICCAT is a regional fishery body originated in FAO. (ICCAT 2005a)

2.9. PROBLEMS OF NGO PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL ARENA

Although participation of NGOs in international meeting is highly desirable, there are some problems faced by organizations of the meetings. The increasing number of NGOs means that the space required for one conference grows and also the cost of organizing a whole meeting goes up (Oberthür *et al.* 2002). That has led to the admission fees being passed on to NGO participants, which in turn leads to the problem that some NGOs that do not have enough financial incomes are not able to participate in the process (Oberthür *et al.* 2002). That leads to discrimination and segregation especially for the NGOs that do not have strong financial background.

But even if NGOs are able to pay the fee and participate, conditions for participation are not perfect. One of the problems that NGO are facing when they are participating in international meetings is limited time reserved for NGOs to express their opinion on the subject (Doulman 1995). For example, as already mentioned at the UN Conference on straddling fish stocks and highly migratory fish stocks, NGOs had to organize in groups because of limited seating places if they wanted to deliver statements and participate in informal sessions (Doulman 1995).

The biggest problem that NGOs have is that no matter how much international organizations support NGO participation on paper, NGOs are not satisfied with their influence and participation (Doulman 1995). The same problem is mentioned by Conca (1995) in his article in which he argues that even though participation of NGOs is growing, their real power is still limited. The same author pointed out that real power is "still in the hands of politicians".

2.10 NGO PARTICIPATION IN CROATIA - history, legislative framework and (future) trend

One more obstacle in research is that most of the studies done in investigating role of NGO in environmental concerned topics till now are strongly restricted to the role of NGOs in the western world. That is quite understandable because western countries have longer democratic traditions than eastern countries and therefore the NGO movement is stronger in the west than in the east (Juras 1993).

The republic of Croatia is a young state with just a little bit more than a 15 year old democratic system. The first initiative of environmental protection can be found at the beginning of the 20th century when Croatia was part of Yugoslavia (Pavic 1993). At that time most environmental protection was connected with protection of the natural and cultural heritage of Croatia (Pavic 1993). The first group of people who organized themselves in an association for promoting environmental protection were biologists and environmentalists, who in 1969 established the Croatian Nature and History Association.

In the seventies and eighties new groups were also associated and their main goal was to protect environment from pollution (Pavic 1993). Before the start of the Stockholm Conference (1972), the Croatian parliament adopted the Resolution on the Protection of the Environment (Pavic 1993). In 1983 a special program called ECOBLOCK for protecting and promoting the environment was established (Pavic 1993). ECOBLOCK produced a state of the environment report of which the complete contents were known just to the members of the government. It is clear that this type of organization was politically organized but their role in educational and promotional service still exists (Pavic 1993). After the new states were established the first relatively independent NGO was formed. Nowadays, the role of NGOs in decision making process does exist but it is not legally regulated in form of obligatory cooperation with government and NGOs (REC 2006).

However the potentials for NGO participation already exist in Croatian legislation. Before reviewing it, some facts about institutional structure are worth mentioning. The Croatian Ministry of Environment, Physical Planning and Housing with other relevant ministries (in case of Bluefin tuna Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management) is in charge for implementation of existing laws. Then under them is the state management structure (like governmental office for water management, governmental office for hydro-metrology and governmental office for hydrology) and under them, the regional offices which can be in charge for various issues. According to Ban (2002) coordination between these levels is problematic.

National Strategy for Environmental protection there has to be communication among these levels but it also says that other stakeholders (such as NGOs, local inhabitants, industry...) should be involved (National Strategy for Environmental protection 2002).

Further it says: "All activities that are using natural resources (forests, agriculture, hunting, marine and fresh water fishery...), also as urban planing and planning of development project should be adduced with basic rules in Protection of environment Law. In other words all these activities should be carried out without jeopardizing sustainability of natural resources"

Positive examples can be cited particularly in the Ministry of Environment, Physical Planning and Housing where all major documents (law, regulations, acts and strategies) were discussed at meetings with experts and NGO representatives (Pavic 1993). But still it can be said that cooperation between authorities and NGOs is in a rudimentary phase.

Main reason for that can be found in lack of specialized NGOs and lack of experts on specific issues on NGO side (REC 2006). The general lack of cooperation just reflects the overall weakness of Croatia's environmental NGOs. Weaknesses are best seen in lack of knowledge of legal and administrative issues needed to communicate with government and local authorities; weak institutional capacity for project development and implementation; low absorption capacity; underdeveloped fund-raising skills; insufficient environmental training and lack of volunteer support (REC 2006). All this should explain why decision-makers usually limit their cooperation with most prominent NGOs to fulfill formal requirements for public participation. (REC 2006).

The study of REC also mentions that lack of cooperation is one of the major weaknesses of Croatian NGO movement (REC 2006). However, that can be strongly challenged because network of Croatian NGOs does exist (Zeleni Forum 2006). Around 40 environmental NGOs are gathered in the network called Zeleni Forum. They organize meetings among NGOs and NGOs and ministry, coordinate campaign and exchange information through net portal www.ecologija.hr.

But also cooperation with the government has some sings of improving. Lots of changes have been done because Croatia is a candidate country for European Union (EU) (Ban 2003). That required the country to make some changes and to adopt its legislation with that of EU. First step in that direction was to compare existing law with requirements of EU (Ban 2003). That preliminary research showed that Croatia does have a good legislation base in every sector of environmental protection which is needed to conform to regulation of the EU (Ott 2003). Unfortunately it showed that Croatia has weaknesses in coordination all governmental bodies and involving citizens in procedure of environmental protection (Ott 2003).

However, the implementation of all this issues should be addressed also through Aarhus Convention which Croatia ratified in March 2007 (UNECE 2007). In ratifying this convention Croatia was obliged to involve public more. Already steps in that direction were taken in the period between signing the convention and ratifying it, through workshops, public discussions and publishing manuals.

Although we can see positive trends the question still stands why cooperation even with that small group is still not legally regulated. It is still not known to what extent the proposals of NGO members are taken into consideration.

Chapter 3. METHODOLOGY

Based on preliminary research on the topic, a time frame was chosen. This is crucial for various reasons. First it was necessary to focus on the time when NGOs had a real legal opportunity to participate in the ICCAT decision making process. The second reason is the special focus of this thesis, which is Croatia. On the other hand, Croatia was not part of ICCAT from its very beginning so it would be too broad to go deeper into the past when the state was not a member of the Convention. And the last reason is the time limit predicted for this thesis writing which did not allow me to research deeply how NGOs got their right to participate at ICCAT meetings. For all of these reasons 1998 was selected as a starting year for this research. That is the first year of Croatian membership in ICCAT and the year when "guidelines for NGOs participation in ICCAT meetings" was adopted (ICCAT 2007).

After that the subject of the thesis was narrowed. Because of the broad range of activities that ICCAT covers and again lack of time stipulated for thesis writing, it was decided that this research should cover just Bluefin tuna. The reason why this particular species was chosen is simple. For Croatia Bluefin tuna is the most commercially exploited tuna species (WWF 2006). It is used and farmed all over the Mediterranean region but in Croatia tuna farming is the most important mariculture activity. The best illustration for this claim can be found in dates from FAO GLOBFISH where it can be seen that global Bluefin tuna catch grew from 58 000 MT in1987 to 72 000 MT in 2000 (Swan 2003).

After adopting the time framework and choosing the subject of interest, two different approaches were combined.

The first of them is deep research through available materials and the second one is interviews. Both approaches are part of qualitative research methods. Qualitative research was used because in my opinion this type of research is the best for getting inside information about types of NGO participation and NGO effectiveness in ICCAT commission. Most of the information gathered from interviewing people and reading the documents are not numbers but stories and opinions from people that are participating in the process. Because qualitative research provides rich and descriptive detailed results this type of the research is chosen for this type of the study (Trockin 2006).

Desktop research

The first part of the research was based on various sources of published and on line information. For that purpose, a research of existing literature (library materials, ICCAT and NGOs press releases, official ICCAT legal documents, ICCAT and NGOs reports, legislation and NGOs publications) and web sites (ICCAT web site, relevant NGOs web, and relevant international intergovernmental organization web sites) was conducted. The main focus in that part of the research was on ICCAT biannual reports and documents. Where adopted, resolutions were compared with requests of NGO according to their statements. Additionally statements of NGOs were analyzed in detail and statements of parties that refer to NGO work or information's provided by NGOs. Existing NGO publications and internet sites were also analyzed closely with the purpose of getting better picture of NGO goals.

Interviews

In the second part of the research seven interviews were conducted with different persons. The purpose of the interviews was to get a better picture of the real situation. Although seven seems a small number, we must take into consideration that in total eight international NGOs are present in ICCAT work considering Bluefin tuna. In interviews it was taken into account that key persons get interviewed (which required lots of time in negotiation with interviewees). In this way, all representatives of three groups of investigated NGOs were interviewed, including members of Croatian negotiation team with ICCAT and national NGO.

The choice of respondents for the interviews was conducted in two phases. The first set of interviews was conducted with the persons who represent Croatia in different ICCAT meetings. Their names can be found in ICCAT biannual reports. In process of interviewees' selection it was taken care that stories on both sides are heard. The goal of that approach is to get an inside picture of NGO work (i.e. interviewing NGO members) but also to avoid a biased picture of NGO work by interviewing other stakeholders (i.e. state representatives at ICCAT meetings). To achieve that goal, interviewees included members of NGO sector but also members of ICCAT state representatives (See Table 1 and Appendix 1). They were all willing to share any information but certain interviews showed concern about revealing certain part of the conversation, so due to my personal ethic those parts are not included in this research.

Table 2. Names and organizations of interviewed persons

Name	Designation / Organization						
Katavic, Ivan	Head of Croatian ICCAT delegation Assistant Minister, Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management						
Ordan, Marcel	CIPS representative						
Sainz-Trápaga, Susana	WWF, Mediterranean Programme Office, Barcelona, Spain						
Helms, Antje	Greenpeace CEE, Vienna, Oceans Campaigner						
Jakl, Zrinka	Sunce Split, Croatia						
Skakelja, Neda	Croatian ICCAT delegation						
Campen, Sally	Member of Japanese delegation OPRT representative						

After that, in the second phase the snow ball method (i.e. one interviewed person leads to another) was applied (Taylor-Powel 1998). This approach was taken because some of the interviewed persons mentioned some names that were not found in official documents but it appeared that they are relevant to this topic. By this approach a link between the literature and field situation was created. Also gaps that can appear due to the use of just one of the described methods are avoided in that way.

When choosing persons for the interviews it was also taken into consideration that all stakeholders should be represented. The interviews were semi-structured and unstructured indepth face-to-face interviews. Semi structured interviews were conducted in case e-mail interviews because in that case I wanted to make sure that the interviewee answered to crucial points that I am interested in. Unstructured in-depth face-to-face interview were conducted in

cases when the interviewees had enough time to talk to me about various issues connected with the subject (Taylor and Bogdan 1984). This type of interview was conducted for example with Dr. Katavic from Croatian Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management.

Different questions have been structured for different interviews according to the professional expertise of the respondents. For example, in the interview with Mr. Orden from International Angling Confederation (CIPS) there were no questions connected with Croatia because CIPS is not active in Croatia. Some of the questions were repeated in all the interviews, while some of the questions were added according to the interviewed person. Each interview was structured in four different areas: level of NGO participation, form of NGO participation, NGO representation and effectiveness of NGO participation (APPENDIX 1.). Interviews were conducted in person, but when that was not possible due to the time and restricted financial resources e-mail interviews were conducted.

Analytical framework

To analyze how international NGO participate I used table 2 adopted from Oberthur *et. al.* (2002), which describe NGO participation. The reason for using and presenting this specific table is that it gives clear destination with different types theoretical functions of NGOs participation with illustrative list of activities and channels of influence.

In this research all eight theoretical functions from this table were applied at NGO engagement considering ICCAT and presented in separate subchapters. But due to the fact that work of international NGOs include engagement during the meeting and before and after

the meeting where it was needed those two aspects were described separately. Also, where it was possible, work of all three types of NGOs is presented but as mentioned before, due to lack of data focus was trained on ENGOs.

For Croatian NGO participation this analytical framework it was not possible to follow because it was found that no single NGO participated at ICCAT work directly. In this case descriptive approach of current situation is used to present my findings at national level.

<u>Chapter 4. BLUEFIN TUNA, ICCAT, CROATIA AND NGO</u> <u>PARTICIPATION</u>

4.1. ATLANTIC BLUEFIN TUNA

Bluefin tuna is a very well known and commercially important fish species (ICCAT 2006b). It is a highly evolved fish species that can grow to 250kg, reach a length of 2 m in size and develop an impressive speed that can reach up 90 km per hour (WWF 2006) (Figure 1). It is also known for its migrations that were partly described by Aristotle (Buck 1995).



Figure 1. Bluefin tuna flock. Source: Greenpeace. URL: http://www.thewe.cc/weplanet/news/fish/atlantic_cod_ninety_percent_declined.htm Because of easier management and limited scientific knowledge about Blufin tuna biology, the population of Bluefin tuna is divided into two stocks, East and West (WWF 2006). The west stock implies the western part of Atlantic Ocean while East stock implies Eastern part of Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean (ICCAT 2006b). Most recent scientific research showed that movements across the current east/west border are occurring and that they are extensive and complex (ICCAT 2006b). However, the state of the Eastern and Western stock are still quite different.

The west Atlantic stock is critically endangered (Safina 1996b). Spawning stock biomass (SSB) declined rapidly in earlier 1970's followed by a more gradual decline in SSB in the beginning of the1990's (ICCAT 2006b). Most recent estimates of stock confirmed that only 19% of the 1975 level remained in 2004 (ICCAT 2006b) (Figure 2).

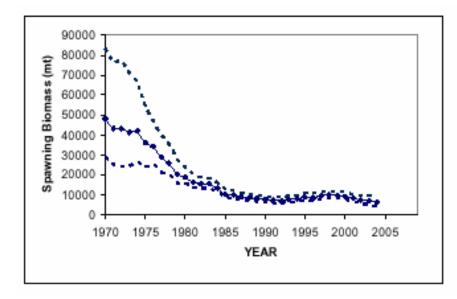


Figure 2. Decline of SSB of Bluefin tuna (West stock) in time. Graph made according to three different models. Source: ICCAT 2006. URL: <u>http://www.iccat.es/Documents/BienRep/REP_EN_06-07_I_2.pdf</u>

The increase in the international demand for tuna meat in the late 1960s and the introduction of farming activities into the Mediterranean in 1997 resulted in rapid changes in Mediterranean fishery for Bluefin tuna (ICCAT 2006b, Buck 1995). The meat of the Bluefin tuna is considered a delicacy served in sushi and sashimi restaurants, and that is a reason why it is so highly demanded on international market especially Japanese (WWF 2006). Although none of the stock of the Eastern Bluefin tuna is in such a bad situation as Western it is still considered endangered (Safina 1996a). SSB of eastern BFT is also declining and it is considered that it now continuous only 48% of the estimated levels in 1970-1974 (ICCAT 2006b) (Figure 3).

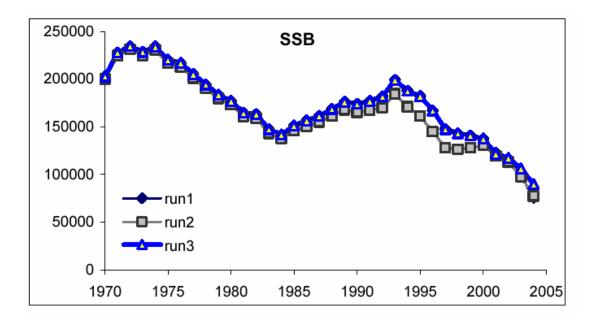


Figure 3. Drastic decline of the SSB of Bluefin tuna (East stock) through time. Graph made according to three models.

Source: ICCAT 2006. URL: http://www.iccat.es/Documents/BienRep/REP_EN_06-07_I_2.pdf

4.2. BLUEFIN TUNA AND ICCAT

As already said, the first indication of concern of the scientific community about health, abundance and reproductive capacity of Bluefin tuna appeared during the 1960s (Buck 1995). At that time although capitalization of the fishing fisherman fleet was increased because of strong market demands, it was notable that catch-per-unit-effort (CPUE) is declining (Buck 1995). Some action needed to be taken and joint management seemed the logical solution. In 1965, at The Thirteenth Session of the FAO Conference, the Director-General of the Organization called a Conference of Plenipotentiaries to prepare and adopt a convention for the purpose of establishing a commission for the conservation of tuna and tuna-like fishes in the Atlantic Ocean (FAO 2007).

After that call, The International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (ICCAT) was established through the International Convention for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas. The convention was prepared and adopted at a Conference of Plenipotentiaries in Rio de Janeiro in 1966, but after ratification it formally entered into force in 1969. Since that year, tuna resources have not been managed on national levels (Buck 1995).

Based on scientific data available at that time and easier management, the commission decided to separate tuna population into two stocks - east and west. The main goal of ICCAT is conservation of tunas and tuna-like species in Atlantic Ocean and adjacent seas (Figure 4).

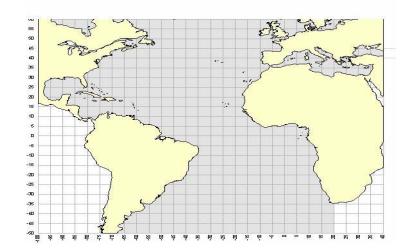


Figure 4. Area of ICCAT mandate (gray area) Source: ICCAT home page. URL: <u>http://www.iccat.es/convarea.htm</u>

The ICCAT is the only fisheries organization that is dealing with straddling, managing and researching of tuna-like fishes in Atlantic Ocean and its adjacent seas. The Commission collects and analyzes data connected with biology and ecology but its primary focus is on data connected with effects of fishing that affect fish stock abundance. The Commission also collects data of by-catches of the other fish species (not investigated by another international fishery organization) that are caught during tuna fishing in the Convention area (ICCAT 2007).

The commission makes decisions at Regular and Special Meetings. Regular Meetings are held every second year, while special meetings can be called at any time at the request of a majority of the Contracted Parties or by the decision of the Council (ICCAT 2005a). Decisions are taken by voting if the quorum is fulfilled (i.e. if 2/3 of the contracting parties are present), each Party has one vote and decisions are taken by a majority vote (ICCAT 2005a). It is also important to mention that the Commission does not have regulatory powers, but it makes regulatory recommendations that may be implemented by Contracting Parties (Swan 2004).

The number of countries that are part of ICCAT is growing every day. Today there are 43 Parties to the ICCAT (Figure 5). Conditions to become part of ICCAT are the following: the state must be a member of the United Nations (UN), if it is an UN agency or any intergovernmental economic integration organization constituted by States it must have competence over the same issues that ICCAT Convention covers (ICCAT 2006a).

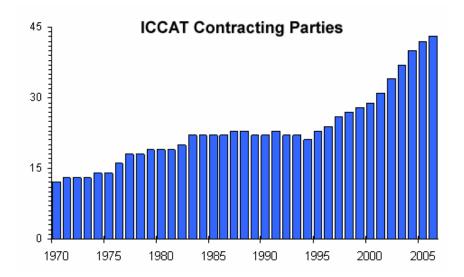


Figure 5. Graph of growing number of contracted parties through the years. Source: ICCAT home page. URL: <u>http://www.iccat.es/contracting.htm</u>

The structure of ICCAT is quite complicated. The main decision body is the Commission itself. It is composed of all members but there are other bodies, which have a different composition and function (Hedley 2001).

Those bodies are:

- <u>Council</u>: consists of: Chairman, Vice-Chairman of the Commission and representatives of not less than four and not more than eight Contracting Parties; Responsibilities: performing inter-session tasks of the Commission
- <u>Secretariat:</u> coordinates and facilitates the work of the Commission and Panels (on Tropical Tunas, Northern Temperate Tunas, Southern Temperate Tunas and Swordfish, Billfishes and Small Tuna)
- <u>Compliance Committee:</u> reviews compliance by contracting parties.
- <u>Permanent Working Group (PWG) on ICCAT Statistics and Conservation Measures:</u> reviews compliance by non-member States
- <u>Standing Committee on Research and Statistics (SCRS)</u>: coordinates and executes all matters related to monitoring and assessment; oversees the following sub-committees:
 - Species Groups: assess individual stocks and provide advice to the Panels
 - Subcommittee on Statistics: quality control and policy for fishery statistics
 - Subcommittee on the Environment: studies the effects of the environment on ICCAT fisheries
 - Subcommittee on By-catch: reviews data collection for by-catches (principally sharks)
 - Cooperative Billfish Tagging Program: coordinates tagging of billfishes
 - Bluefin Year Program: coordinates research on Atlantic bluefin
 - Bigeye Year Program: coordinates research on bigeye tuna

- <u>Methods</u> Working Group: evaluates assessment methods
- Ad Hoc Working Group on the Precautionary Approach: examines the implications of the Precautionary Approach for ICCAT stocks
- Ad Hoc Working Group on SCRS Organization: provides advice on measures to improve the efficiency of the SCRS
- <u>Standing Committee on Finance and Administration</u>
- <u>Special Working Groups</u> Working Group on Allocation Criteria: evaluates criteria for the allocation of allowable catches amongst contracting parties. (Hedley 2001)

Croatia becomes a full member of ICCAT on 20.10.1997. From that time Croatian members have been present on all ICCAT meetings and as equal partners have been engaged in making decisions concerning all the issues that are under jurisdiction of the Convention and likewise the issues about the Bluefin tuna.

4.3. NGOs AND ICCAT

Historically, NGOs have played an important role in developing international laws and treaties. They participate in various ways: by identifying the problem which requires international action, they played a role of absorbers in treaty negotiation and later they can make contribution in monitoring or implementing on national and international level (Sands 1994). Official affirmation for NGO partnership came with the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 (Sands 1994). Although lots of articles have been written about participation of NGOs in different treaties, there is a gap in knowledge when it comes to NGO participation in the work of ICCAT.

Officially participation of NGOs in ICCAT is regulated by "Guidelines and criteria for granting observers status at ICCAT meetings" (ICCAT 1998). Under those guidelines: "All non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which support the objectives of ICCAT and with a demonstrated interest in the species under the purview of ICCAT should be eligible to participate as an observer in all meetings of the organization and its subsidiary bodies, except extraordinary meetings held in executive sessions or meetings of Heads of Delegations."

Any NGO that fulfills the criteria listed above by this guideline can attend meetings. NGOs that wish to be present in meetings have to apply at least 60 days before the meeting commences. The commission then decides according to guidelines for observers whether an NGO can attend the meeting or not and sends written intimation to those NGOs that are accepted (ICCAT 2005). Although NGOs can get permission to attend meeting they are not allowed to vote on them but during the meeting they can make oral statements at the invitation of the presiding officer. Also they can distribute documents and materials trough the secretariat and engage in other activities if the presiding officer approves them (ICCAT 1998). That is what is written in official documents but what really goes on at the meetings and whether inputs of NGOs are regarded of equal weight or nearly pro forma for public participation is still an open question, and that this thesis will explore.

Chapter 5. WORK OF INTERNATIONAL NGOs in ICCAT

The aim of this chapter is to present results of my research. First I will focus on presenting NGOs present at ICCAT meetings, than I will talk about different types of NGO collaboration with ICCAT and results of that collaboration. At the end I will present some information about problems and possible scenarios of future cooperation between ICCAT and NGOs.

5.1. NGOs PRESENT IN ICCAT WORK

As was said in introductory chapters, NGOs have the status of observers since the 11th Special Meeting, Santiago de Compostela – November, 1998 (ICCAT 1998). First meeting that they appeared as observers was Sixteenth Regular Meeting of the Commission held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in November, 1999 (ICCAT 1999). Since that time according to the biannual reports from the meeting they have been actively participating on all regular meetings, special meetings and inter-seasonal meetings of ICCAT (ICCAT 2005a) (Table 3).

YEAR	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
NGO								
Greenpeace International	X	Х	Х	Х	Х			X
Natural Resource Defense	Х							
Council (NRDC)								
Seaweb	X							
Wildlife Conservation Society	X				Х			
Ocean wildlife campaign		Х	Х	Х				
(OWC)								
International Game Fish								Х
Association (IGFA)								
SEO/ Birdlife			Х	Х	Х		X	х
Itsas Geroa			Х	Х	Х		Х	

Table 3. List of NGOs present on ICCAT Special and Regular meetings from 1999 to 2006.

World Wildlife Found (WWF)				X	Х	Х	Х	X
Organization for the Promotion					Х	х	х	х
of Responsible tuna fishery								
(OPRT)								
Recreational Fishing Alliance					Х	х		
(RFA)								
Aquatic Release Conservation						х		
(ARC)								
National Coalition Marine						Х		Х
Conservation (NCMC)								
Confederation Internationel de la					Х	Х	Х	Х
Pech Sportive (CIPS)								
Ocean Conservation						Х		
Organization (OCO)								
MEDISAMAK							Х	Х
OCEANA								Х
THE OCEAN CONSERVACY								X
TOTAL NUMBER OF NGO	4	2	4	5	8	7	6	10
PRESENT								

Source: Table is made according to lists of NGOs present in ICCAT biannual reports from 1999 to 2006

Although ICCAT is an organization in which 43 states are present as contracting parties, two (Chinese Taipei and Guyana) are present as Cooperating Non-Contracting Party, Entity or Fishing Entity in ICCAT, and in total just 18 NGOs are present in work of ICCAT since 1998. As the table shows, the number of participating NGO grew through time (from 4 present in 1998 to 10 present in 2006) but not massively.

However, not all NGO were present in ICCAT meeting in continuum from the beginning till 2006. Some of the NGOs appeared just once, some of them were present a couple of years and then disappeared. Reasons are of course individual but some general conclusions can be made. In case of Natural Resource Defense Council (NRDC) and Seaweb that appeared just in 1999 situation was simple. That year ICCAT meeting in which those NGOs participated were in USA where NGOs are based and it was a year when decision of about rebuilding program for Atlantic Swordfish was expected to be made (ICCAT 1999). Atlantic Swordfish

stock at that point far seriously depleted due to over fishing in past three decades and by that subject of high interest of those NGOs. Combining these two reasons it is not surprising that those NGOs were present there at that time.

As it can be seen from the example above, not all the NGOs are focused on all species that are under jurisdiction of ICCAT. Because of specific focus of this thesis, which is Bluefin tuna in further research, I will focus just on those NGOs that focus their interest on Bluefin tuna. Investigation will cover those NGOs that have mentioned Bluefin tuna as a subject of their interest in official statement at ICCAT meetings (Table 4).

Table 4. List	of NGOs	present	on	ICCAT	meetings	and	whose	work	is	connected	with
species Bluefin	tuna.										

YEAR	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
NGO								
Greenpeace International	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х			Х
MEDISAMAK							Х	Х
OWC ²		Х	Х	Х				
Itsas Geroa ³			Х	Х	Х		Х	
Organization for the					Х	Х	х	Х
Promotion of Responsible								
tuna fishery (OPRT)								
Recreational Fishing					Х	Х		
Alliance (RFA)								
World Wildlife Found				Х	Х	Х	Х	Х
(WWF)								
Confederation Internationel					Х	Х	Х	Х
de la Pech Sportive (CIPS)								
International Game Fish								Х
Association (IGFA)								

² The Ocean Wildlife Campaign is a coalition of Center for Marine Conservation, National Audubon Society, National Coalition for Marine Conservation, Natural Resources Defense Council, Wildlife Conservation Society and World Wildlife Fund. It was created s a coalition who is protecting and trying o give solution for complex challenge of conserving and restoration of large ocean fishes (OWC 2000). Because goals of OWC are the same like goals of WWF I will no gave detail about it work later on in thesis.

Now we can see that the humble number of 18 NGOs in total fall to 8. And all of the above mentioned NGOs were not present on every meeting that took place during the year. As it is understandable NGOs are most interested in the annual meetings (Special or Regular depending on year) when all national delegations are present and when the most important decisions are made. Attendance on other meetings during the year mainly depends on NGOs interest and ability to attend the meeting. Although after all this classification the number of NGOs might seem small, further research will show that their involvement is not insignificant.

5.2. DIVERSITY OF NGOs PRESENT AT ICCAT WORK

As said before in the literature review because of a broad definition of NGOs, the range of NGOs present at ICCAT meeting is quite diverse, from their main goals to the arena of action. Although NGO have to "*have common interest with interest of ICCAT*" to be present at ICCAT meeting as observers, the diversity of NGOs present is quite wide.

5.2.1. Diversity according to aims of an NGO

To give a clear overview, in this part all NGOs are divided in three different categories (BNGOs, ENGOs and SNGOs), as it was mentioned in literature review (page 13). That diversity can be readily seen from NGO missions listed in Table 5.

³ Itsas Geroa represents association of Spanish and French fisherman who are fishing on traditional way, but due to lack of information available their role is not going to be taken into account.

Table 5. Type, name, mission and arena of action of investigated NGOs interested in Bluefin tuna.

Type of NGO	Name of NGO	Mission	Arena	of
			action	
ENGOs	Greenpeace International	"Greenpeace is an independent global campaigning organization that acts to change attitudes and behavior, to protect and conserve the environment and to promote peace"	International	
		Greenpeace (2007)		
	WWF	 "To stop the degradation of the planet's natural environment and to build a future in which humans live in harmony with nature, by: conserving the world's biological diversity ensuring that the use of renewable natural resources is sustainable promoting the reduction of 	International	
		pollution and wasteful consumption. "		
BNGOs	OPRT	WWF (2006) "The OPRT is an international non- governmental organization (NGO), established in Tokyo on December 8, 2000, with the purpose to link the oceans with the consumers and promote sustainable use of tunas."	International	
		OPRT (2004)	N - 1:4	
	MEDISAMAK	"To defense general and specific interests of fishing professionals in the Mediterranean in a spirit of sustainable management of the resource, the harmonization of the conservation and management	Mediterranea	n

		measures of the fishing resources in the Mediterranean and the promotion of relations among the member organizations in establishing among them the lines of cooperation and collaboration." ICCAT (2005b)	
SNGOs	IGFA	"IGFA's objectives are founded on the beliefs that game fish species, related food fish, and their habitats are economic, social, recreational, and aesthetic assets which must be maintained, wisely used and perpetuated; and that the sport of angling is an important recreational, economic, and social activity which the public must be educated to pursue in a manner consistent with sound sporting and conservation practices."	International
	CIPS	IGFA (2006) "The International Angling Confederation is an Organization of universal nature which has the goal to promote, coordinate and improve all the activities in touch with the fishing on a sporting point of view." CIPS (2003)	International
	RFA	"The Recreational Fishing Alliance is a national, grassroots political action organization representing recreational fishermen and the recreational fishing industry on marine fisheries issues. The RFA Mission is to safeguard the rights of saltwater anglers, protect marine, boat and tackle industry jobs, and ensure the long-term sustainability of our Nation's saltwater fisheries." RFA (2007)	USA

As it can be seen, the range of NGO present at ICCAT meetings goes from strictly environmental organizations (2 of them), to sport recreational organizations (3) and

associations of professional fisherman (2). But as we are going to see it is sometimes hard to make a distinction because even NGOs that seem diverse on first glance have common goals at the end. For example, according to separate opening statements of observers, NGOs that met in 15th special meeting of commission such as Greenpeace, WWF and International Game Fish Association (IGFA) pointed that their primary interest is "conservation of Bluefin tuna population" for future utilization (ICCAT 2006a).

From those example we can see that the main interest of even strictly environmental organizations and organization of recreational anglers is in this issue.

5.2.2. Distinction according to the size and organizational structure

Second distinction can be made according do NGO work on international or national level. The best example for that is WWF which work all over the world and it is present on all Regional Fishery Management Organizations (RFMOs) meetings while MEDISAMAK bases its work just in area of Mediterranean and hence is present just on ICCAT meetings. It is also interesting to mention that the area of activities for most international environmental NGOs that participate in ICCAT meetings is not just conservation of Bluefin tuna or other tuna like species. Their focus is much broader and it ranges from climate change to a project focus like "Stop whaling". Although it may seem that this diversity of interests can impact on work quality, it is usually not the case.

My results show that it is hard to generalize all the organizations but according to the profile of NGOs staff dealing with projects concerning Bluefin tuna, they are mostly high professional individuals, who are educated in field of marine science. For example, every member of the political delegation of Greenpeace ocean policy advisors supported by legal advisors staff have advanced degrees in international environmental law or international politics (Helms pers.comm.; Greenpeace 2006). So in this case we can say that those people would know the subject well, at least going by their background and the fact that they claim to have a scientific background. However, though volunteers in every NGO are coming from different professional backgrounds, it should not be forgotten that they are just volunteers.

5.2.3. Diversity based on to cooperation with governments

Although separate chapters have been written in literature (Reidinger 2001; Arts 1998) on these issues my investigation shows that it is not so crucial in case of ICCAT and Bluefin tuna. In general, all NGOs connected with this issue are forced to cooperate with governments to reach their goals. Even those NGOs that point their independence as their primary goal are forced to work and cooperate with governments and find alliance between members if they are want to make any impact on decisions making process.

That include also environmental NGOs that point their independence from any government as one of their main characteristics like WWF and Greenpeace cooperate to reach their goals. For example, WWF pointed out their successful cooperation with the governments of Norway, USA and Canada (Sainz-Trapaga pers.comm.). This is reasonable knowing that fact that NGOs are not able to vote when decisions are made, they are not able to make draft recommendations or draft resolution and send them to voting. In this case it is handy to have a state with similar points of view to do it instead of NGO.

5.3. NGO PARTICIPATION

As it can be seen from Table 3, the number of participating parties has grown from 1999, but not so drastically. Unfortunately there are no NGOs that continuously participate on ICCAT meetings from 1999. The longest period of participation is of Greenpeace (6 years). This ENGO started participating in 1999 till 2003 and again raised their voice in 2006, so there is a gap in participation of 2 years. Reason for that can be found in fact that Greenpeace participates in meetings if they are part of interest of their campaign project. That means that if they have to have a campaign built around it, they will not participate. They consider that participation just for the sake of participation does not have any sense (Helms pers.comm.).

On the other hand, other ENGO, e.g. WWF started to participate independently in 2002 (before those in 2000 and 2001 they were participating as part of Ocean wildlife campaign) and from that year they are continuously monitoring the work of ICCAT. That continuum of work is beneficial from the perspective of other stakeholders is evident also from the fact that both Croatian representatives at ICCAT that I talked with clam that they consider them as "serious organizations, who know the structure and how to present their interests" (Skakelja pers.comm.; Katavic pers.comm).

Participation of BNGOs started in 2001 when Itsas Geora first appeared in the meetings but unfortunately except presenting a statement in 2002 their participation is not well documented (No comments during the meeting or any contribution. There is no web site to present their work). The other two BNGOs are much more active. As we are going to see they participate in various parts of ICCA commission work and out side of it. On the other hand when we investigate participation of SNGOs CIPS is the most active member while RFA and IGFA are no so active; RFA focus their work in America and IGFA participated first time at 2006 so its influence has to be investigated in future.

It can already be seen that NGOs are different going by their goals but even between the same group of the NGOs participation varies from meeting to meeting, from NGO to NGO. We can define the ways of NGO participation in 2 main groups: work at the meetings and work in the time between the meetings.

The method of participation at the meetings is given in the guideline for observers. In theory, they should be more formal but still there are different from participant to participant, from year to year and, of course, from chairperson to chairperson. That is best seen in case of opening statements at the beginning of the meeting. NGOs do have the right to make opening statements but sometimes it is done in an oral form (like in 2001) and sometimes they are just submitted in a written form (after 2002) (ICCAT 2000; ICCAT 2001; ICCAT 2002; ICCAT 2003; ICCAT 2004; ICCAT 2005b; ICCAT 2006a). In both ways NGOs have the possibility to express its opinion on the subject. Main reason for submitting written statements instead of presenting them in oral form is the lack of time (For example, after 2002, even opening statements of contracting parties were not presented in an oral form), which is a constant problem at ICCAT meetings because of very tight agenda.

Of course active participation is not obligatory so there are some NGOs that just are present on the meetings without making statements. For example: Oceana and Ocean Conservancy two ENGOs, which for the first time appeared in 2006, were just present without making statements or comments. Reason for that might be that it was their first year and that they needed some time to stabilize their positions. It is also possible to not be present on the meeting but to submit written statement to ICCAT. That example happened in case of International Game Fish Association (IGFA) in 2005 on 19th Regular meeting of commission Seville, Spain when this NGO just submitted written statement to ICCAT but there was no member present on the meeting.

How NGO are may participate highly depends on the general style of NGO work and NGO experience. But key to successful participation according to Croatian negotiation team lies in experience and good knowing of NGO participation rights and procedure of ICCAT work. For this the best example is the 15th Special Meeting of ICCAT Commission at Dubrovnik, Croatia when the organizer did not give the right to BNGOs to present their points and after that the same prohibition was given to WWF and Greenpeace. But because they knew that they have right to make statement , they went to Chairman with this problem who reversed the decision of organizer and gave a legal right to all NGOs to express their points of view.

In the following part of this chapter, I am going to address the ways of NGO participation as they are theoretically described in the literature review (see Table 1), also when it is needed I am going to separate participation during the meeting from participation before and after the meeting. The reason for this sub-separation is that successful participation does not just include sitting at the meeting but it includes agreement for the rest of the year.

Indeed, work outside of meetings becomes equally important or even more important from one more interesting reason. Because as the number of participating NGOs as well as the number of contracting parties grows through the years, the length of the meeting itself does not change drastically. Delegates have usually heavy agenda in front of them, with long term decisions to make. In this whole pressures situation, NGOs can find themselves forgotten or not listened to well enough. That is why the whole participating process before meeting becomes at least equally (I would dear to say even more) important than participation in the meeting itself.

5.3.1. Enhancing the Knowledge Base

All three types of the NGO chosen in this research have a role in increasing knowledge. This is extremely important because international policy making is occasionally characterized by uncertainties (Haas 1992; Riedinger 2001). This uncertainty is completely applicable in case of stock conditions of Bluefin tuna. Although scientific knowledge grows through time, SCRC pointed out in couple of reports that they are still "*limited data sets from certain countries*" (ICCAT 1999; ICCAT 2006b), and that "*after getting new information, the situation seems worst than it was assumed*" (ICCAT 2006b). And this is where the role of NGOs is crucial.

For 15 years now, different NGOs worldwide tried to alarm the scientific community that the situation of stock is in a problematic condition and that the decisions made by ICCAT are not decisions which comply with the precautionary principle (ICCAT even has special working group for it). Now at least on paper ICCAT politicians are becoming aware that there are scientific reasons concern. Proof for this can be found in the interview with Dr. Katavic when he pointed out that: "*NGOs were worrying us on situation of stock when we closing our eyes to that possibility, or we did not want to think about that...*"

However, politicians did not make decisions yet based on ENGOs and SNGOs that consider revitalization of Bluefin tuna stock necessary but at least we can say that in this case NGOs managed to make politicians think and be aware that a problem exists. That is why gathering new data from reliable and independent source is extremely valuable for ICCAT.

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This fact is that, it is recognized by the scientific part of the ICCAT community. Some of the NGOs that I chose for my research have close cooperation with ICCAT in scientific part of ICCAT activities. WWF pointed out in the interview great communication and cooperation with the ICCAT Scientific Committee for Research and Statistic (SCRC) and the fact that they consider ICCAT scientists the best scientists connected with Bluefin tuna in the world (Sainz-Trapaga pers.comm.).

Also enhancing the knowledge base comes partly as a consequence of the fact that over time, NGOs realized that science augmented data have more efficiency than just empty claims, and pointed out that decisions making should be based on scientific knowledge. That is why all of them base their arguments on some scientific data and by sharing data they build a common knowledge pool.

However, sources of scientific information can vary. For example it can be gathered by NGO itself like in case of CIPS. They collected data through years about number of animals caught in Mediterranean that weighted more than 100 kg. Base on this data it can also be seen that large spawners over 100 kg have almost totally disappeared (ICCAT 2005b) (Table 6).

Table 6. Weights of Bluefin tuna (over 100kg) caught in the Mediterranean from 1992 to 2005

Years	Weight (in kg)
1992	14,929
1993	21,975
1994	15,884
1995	16,913
1996	44,277
1997	34,161
1998	22,444
1999	2,921
2000	13,985
2001	47,790
2002	21,705
2003	9,808
2004	2,067
2005	405
TOTAL	269,264

Source: ICCAT URL: http://www.iccat.es/Documents/BienRep/REP_EN_04-05_II_1.pdf

Or like in the case of the last WWF report *The plunder of bluefin tuna in the Mediterranean and East Atlantic in 2004 and 2005 – Uncovering the Real Story*, or an independent study made by Advance Tuna Ranching Technologies SL, it can be made by third person. These reports enhance the knowledge base and fulfill two proposes. First one is to be presented on meeting of ICCAT and have impact on policy makers and second one is to be available to interested and concerned broad public.

5.3.2. Ensuring transparency of data and decisions made

5.3.2.1. Participation at the meeting

This part of participation is extremely important as control of ICCAT work. As it is known, lots of countries are a part of ICCAT and it is not realistically possible that ICCAT can control all of them in their fishing activities. That is why NGOs in general have a major role in monitoring the situation on the field and presenting them afterwards.

Although it might seem that NGOs are oriented to presenting data to the public more than to ICCAT policy makers and scientists, it is not true. NGOs are very active in meeting. And those findings gathered on the field are not presented just to the broad public, they are presenting to members of the commission.

ENGOs

From all three types of NGOs these are the most active in pointing out weak parts of ICCAT regulation, implementation or challenging decisions. That is best seen during the statements when they usually point weak sides in the past year. For example on every meeting NGO present details on how much fish is caught above quota. Those figures are then clear example the existing ICCAT quota regime is not obeyed by many states on the field.

Also in addressing ICCA authorities, they use the method of "naming and shaming" of certain country which is a bit different than approaching the broad public when "naming and shaming" is put on whole organization (with examples from the countries). When addressing ICCAT, we can see that more precise data are given for countries. Like Greenpeace in 2002 strongly attacked Panama in front of Compliance Committee for not taking actions against

the transport vessel engaged in illegal transshipping operations (ICCAT 2002). Reason for this rhetoric is quite simple. While general public is more interested in border knowledge of the subject ICCAT community should know the problem and effectiveness of NGO is better if it is able to present concrete data about parties that are not obeying it rules.

SNGOs and BNGOs

These two types of NGOs do no have such strong rhetoric and concrete data to present about ignoring the rules. They do not use "naming and shaming". They usually just point out their concern about the situation of stock and the fact that due to all measurements a decrease is obvious.

5.3.2.2. Participation outside of meetings

Participation at the meetings is important because decision makers are there, but to ensure that different stories reach broader public, participation out side of meeting is crucial. To be honest, if there were no NGO covers of Bluefin tuna problems, probably this thesis would not be possible at all. Although differences are seen in participation at the meetings, differences outside the meetings are even more present. ENGOs use all available ways to reach public. Public relation work (media)

The extremely valuable point of ENGO work is that they manage to present Bluefin tuna as an extraordinary animal and very important species (Figure 6). For that purpose web sites are excellent solutions.



Figure 6 Comparison of speeding Porsche 911 vs. Bluefin tuna. Source: WWF URL:<u>http://www.panda.org/about_wwf/where_we_work/europe/what_we_do/mediterranean/about/m</u> <u>arine/bluefin_tuna/tuna_facts/index.cfm</u>

WWF can be said to have the most "user-friendly" web site. Other ENGOs publish articles and news considering Bluefin tuna as a part of their marine program, like Greenpeace – Bluefin tuna is just one of the species in global program called Save our Ocean or new 2006 campaigning program "Save Our Mediterranean". Whereas, WWF have special part of their web space devoted just to Bluefin tuna and problems that they are facing. In that part you can find data from Bluefin tuna biology to news from Tokyo tuna market. Also aforementioned reports can be found there too. It is also important to point out that ENGOs take much more care about their web sites than other types of NGOs. The reason for that may be the better financial background of chosen environmental NGOs and the fact that they focus on broader public than sport type associations and associations of industry.

But web sites are not the only way to address public and draw attention to the issue. To put this in context of Bluefin tuna I will use the example of Greenpeace. Their appearance in Dubrovnik before and during the 15th Special meeting of ICCAT commission on the sailing boat1 Rainbow Warrior definitely drew attention of public to tuna issue again. Although decisions at that meeting were very disappointing for various environmental NGOs, Greenpeace managed to draw attention of media to an issue that Croatian journalist media considers already over exploited (Jakl pers.comm.). This kind of work can have double effect, on one hand Greenpeace is an international organization that "*everybody knows*" but on the other hand authorities at ICCAT do not consider them as "*too many barking individuals*" and "*all that is media circus for news*" (Skakelja pers.comm.).

Except web sites, journals and press conferences, publications play a huge role in informing broad public but they are also used in the meetings too. Publications are informative and depending on publication and author, contain scientific data. As already said, those publications are important as messengers to the public. Usually, scientific reports are hard to read for members of the general public without the necessary background. NGOs function in the sense to present the same facts in a more popular package, they are "messengers between public and science or science and policy makers". In publications, through high quality photos, understandable language and a clear message, NGO try to promote their goals and sensible public opinion (Figure 7).



By presenting recommendation from the meetings and explaining possible problems in their implementation, NGOs manage to point weak points in work of ICCAT or weaknesses in ICCAT regulation implementation.

Figure 7. Part of OPRT material, which promote longline fishing. Source: OPRT URL: <u>URL:http://www.oprt.or.jp/eng/pdf/oprt4.pdf</u>

In the following part I am going to give just 2 examples where environmental NGOs pointed at weak points of ICCAT regulation and weak implementation. Greenpeace in its statement to the 15th special meeting of ICCAT commission, documented the field usage of spotter planes during the month of June (forbidden by ICCAT) and illegal use of drifnets by Italian vessels (contravention of ICCAT Recommendation [03-04]) (ICCAT 2006a).

With BNGOs and SNGOs, the situation is bit more simple. Reasons for that probably have to be searched in the fact that members of organizations that do not have such a broad public as ENGOs, because they actively participate in work, know the situation well. Do from that point there is no need for presenting "basic data". As exceptions to this rule, two NGOs (RFA and OPRT) who do have educational materials for broad public.

5.3.3. Advocacy and lobbying

Advocacy and lobbing is perhaps the most challenging way of participation because decisions that are going to be made directly depend on it. To achieve their goals, NGOs use two analytically different bases for achieving their goals: political pressure and lobbing (Arts 1998).

In case of ENGOs, those two usually go together. Greenpeace is the best representative of this way of participation. As it is already said, they do not sit on the meeting if they do not have a whole campaign build around the issue. In case of ICCAT, scientific facts presented in the statements are accompanied with their boats that are in every port where ICCAT meeting are held. SNGOs and BNGOs at ICCAT rely on information provided to delegations, side meetings, individual agreements and cooperation and they do not use media and public pressure in achieving their goals.

Clear distinction made before, on participation in the meetings and before and after the meetings can not be made here because in case of lobbing and advocacy they are tightly connected. Like that good cooperation of WWF with USA, Norway or Canada government made before the meeting will continue in the meetings in which those states will support goals of those NGOs (Sainz-Trapaga pers.comm.). This cooperation is based on common goals considering recovery plan for Bluefin tuna. In this case the benefit is mutual. While those states are promoted as "good guys", WWF gets some others who are eligible to vote for their cause. This is especially important because as it is already said observers from NGO can be present in a meeting but they cannot vote. We have a similar pattern on the opposite side when EU supports goals of MEDISAMAK.

5.3.4. Membership in national delegation

Although some NGOs would not prefer this type of cooperation because there is a possibility of losing their objectivity and independence, there are examples of this type of participation in ICCAT meetings.

OPRT had a representative, Ms. Sally J. Campen, who was at the same time (as when she was representing OPRT) part of the Japanese delegation, so we can say that for the last couple of years she was wearing two hats. According to same source, this practice is also very common with the United States of America (USA) delegation. For example the WWF delegate was at the same time delegate of USA. According to her it was possible because it is common practice in many international meetings, and also it has beneficial economic reasons. Funding someone to participate at any meeting is expensive so NGOs member that is part of state delegation will represent state interests but at the same time it will also sitting at behind the place card of an NGO (Campen pers.comm.).

OPRT also had cooperation outside of meeting in research with the Japanese delegation. When laundering activities by large scale tuna longline vessels (LSTLV) involving cargo vessels were exposed in 2004 annual meeting, Japan decided to carry out Experimental Observer Program for At-Sea Transshipment, which had the goal to strictly monitor at-sea transshipment and to eliminate laundering activities using cargo vessels. The experimental part of that program was implemented and financed by OPRT (ICCAT 2005b). The other specific example of cooperation with governments outside of meeting we can find in the case of MEDISMAK which is a financial support of EU and tidily cooperates with governments of 14 coastal Mediterranean countries (ICCAT 2005b).

This all brings a question of independence of whole NGO participation. Because in my opinion it is very hard to keep neutrality if you are representing both (state delegation and NGO) or financed by some government. Although it seems that this practice is going to continue because there is no legal limitation to restrain it, I think that ICCAT should at least make changes in Guidelines for observers to restrict this practice.

5.3.5. Supporting international Secretariat

This type of cooperation is close to type of cooperation the already mentioned – that of enhancing the knowledge base. In the interviews, when cooperation on scientific base was mentioned, cooperation with ICCAT secretariat is mentioned in the same context. Indeed, all interviewed NGOs support the role and efforts of the ICCAT secretariat. I seems that the ICCAT secretariat is quite well organized that I does no need to much help from NGOs. But one thing can be mentioned in supporting whole organization.

The direct benefits that ICCAT has from participation of different NGOs are financial benefits. As such, NGOs contribute to the extra-budgetary income with voluntary contribution from observers fees at ICCAT Meetings. Just to illustrate that claim, the total amount of voluntary contributions from observers' fees in 2005 was 7,347.35 EUR (ICCAT 2005c).

5.3.6. Broader functions of NGO participation international environmental governance

NGOs that are participating at ICCAT have the goal to make changes. Making changes involves changing opinion and linking different levels of environmental governance (Princen and Finger 1994; Smih 1997). Thus, in October 2002, WWF and other Mediterranean NGOs made Cartagena call for action against unregulated tuna farming. The document was launched in the meeting of WWF, ANSE (Spain), AZIR (Morocco), Nature Trust (Malta), SAD AFAG (Turkey), and Sunce (Croatia), representing nine Mediterranean countries in total. Also, that document is endorsed through time from more than 100 scientist and NGOs in the region (ICCAT 2005b). In that document, NGOs inform all stakeholders about overfished wild tuna in the Mediterranean and ask for a moratorium on the development of new tuna farms. It addresses all countries and intergovernmental bodies like ICCAT, General Fisheries Council for the Mediterranean (GFCM) but especially EU to regulate this through the ongoing reforms of its Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) (WWF 2002). Unfortunately, authorities ignored this call, but at least we can say that there were attempts that created contacts between the like-minded.

Also, as it will be said in the subchapter about participation of Croatian NGOs in work of ICCAT, during the meeting in Dubrovnik in 2006, action for protection of Bluefin tuna was realized in public and it was signed up Croatian NGO together with WWF and Greenpeace (Sunce 2006). Also at the same time in organization of national NGO Eko-Omblići, with help of NGOs SUNCE and WWF, a workshop for children was organized in which kids from local area drew paintings on the theme of tuna protection (Sunce 2006).

Organization of different seminars, workgroups and meeting is not unique just for ENGOs. One of the seminars that MEDISAMAK organized, Seminar on Small Scale Fisheries, Ancona, Italy in May 2005 where various stakeholders discussed the various stakeholders, administrators and politicians of this sector discussed concerns but also ideas on sustainable fisheries in the Mediterranean (European Commission 2005). Also, because MEDISMAK represent professional organization of the fishing sector of 14 coastal Mediterranean countries it contributes to exchanging opinions and experiences (ICCAT 2005b).

5.4. NGO EFFECTIVNESS

Before talking a bit more let me quote Dr. Susana Sainz-Trapaga from WWF who said: "No matter how good you are prepared for the meeting, you never know what is going to happen there."

This is indeed true. The situation in last few years showed us that neither scientific data, nor international environmental movement can stop politicians from taking decisions that they consider "the best for all". Not to restrict myself and ignore the side effects, I am going to try to give overview of NGO effectiveness in 3 different fields: scientific community, broad public and political decisions.

5.4.1. Political decisions

This is perhaps the hardest part of this research, because there is no concrete evidence that NGOs do have any direct effects in political decisions. That is especially important when ENGOs are investigated because decisions of ICCAT are not what ENGOs wanted from ICCAT. Evidence for successful lobbing on the state level does exist. The best example is in

year 2004 when Canadian state representative referred to findings of WWF in their opening statement. There, he says that: "The SCRS has previously highlighted that it does not have sufficient confidence to provide the Commission with appropriate stock assessments and scientific advice for key stocks. This should ring alarm bells. International observers are not only watching, they are warning ICCAT that this cannot continue. For example, the recent report by the World Wildlife Fund on bluefin tuna farming and catches in the Mediterranean is deeply disturbing. In fact, the WWF has provided a set of recommendations for ICCAT to implement and address the deficiencies."

The same state supported the position of WWF also in 2006, the ones in Dubrovnik, Croatia, November 2006, when last decisions (according to the framework of this thesis) were made. After that meeting, environmental NGOs were extremely unhappy.

But, Canada is not the only state that votes. With 60% of votes EU, was the main actor who was against stronger menservants and because of their number of voices they manage to impose their decision due to stronger influence and huge lobbing of fishery industry (Helms pers.comm.; Sainz-Trapaga pers.comm.). So we can not say that environmental NGOs did not do good job in lobbing (because some states supported them), but industry lobbing was obviously much stronger.

However, even those "bad" decisions, came after even "worst decisions" and after persistent lobbing and media pressure of ENGOs (and in their own more discreet way, of SNGOs). So there is some reason to believe that changes through time are partly due to the work of ENGOs and SNGOs. There is more evidence for that, but let's focus on two the most significant: minimal catch size and total catch amount.

Minimal catch weight

Till 2004 minimal catch size was 6.4 kg. NGOs demanded at that point that it should be *"increased according to scientific information on real size at maturity"* (ICCAT 2004). That year the weight was increased to 10 kg. SCRS and NGOs in following years expressed their concerns on the continued high level of undersized catches of Bluefin tuna, pointing that bluefin tuna in Mediterranean reach maturity when it weight 25 kg (4-5 years old) (ICCAT 2006b)

In 2006 recommendation on minimum weight of Bluefin as part of multi-annual recovery plan for Bluefin tuna in the Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean was set. According to it, minimum weight of Bluefin should not be less than 30 kg. But in case of farming purposes in Adriatic Sea and Bluefin tuna caught by baitboats, trolling boats and pelagic trawlers in eastern Atlantic size can be 8 kg. Also weight between 30 kg and 10 kg is allowed, as a consequence of by-catch but than maximum of total catch of that fish should not increase 8% (ICCAT 2006a).

The explanation why NGO are not happy with this decision is simple: they required that minimal catch size should not be under 30 kg (for all) because of already mentioned minimal weight for sexual maturity. Also their explanation is that this type of regulation is realistic that it is going to be implemented in practice (WWF 2006).

Total allowable catch (TAC) and quotas

In 2006 ICCAT adopted multi-annual recovery plan for Bluefin tuna in the Eastern Atlantic and Mediterranean, which decreased TAC from 30 000 t to:

- 2007: 29,500 t
- 2008: 28,500 t
- 2009: 27,500 t (with the possibility following SCRS advice)
- 2010: 25,500 t (with the possibility following SCRS advice) (ICCAT 2006)

At the end, it is true that ENGOs are deeply disappointed with decisions made in this area. But there is (no matter how small and from ENGO point ineffective) improvement in decisions from the perspective of Bluefin tuna protection. I argue here that even these would not be if there was no constant pressure from NGOs at meeting and in media.

Evidence for that we can search in statement of Dr. Ivan Katavic who said that "*NGOs are watching every our move in ICCAT like watch-dogs*". So we can say that politicians are aware that their decisions are judged in public, although from the prospective of NGOs it does not seem like that. But maybe the most realistic explanation is given by Suzana s-T (WWF) who said "*decisions now are bad but maybe they would be even worse if was not for us, nobody can say what it would be if we were not present*".

There is also one thing that should be kept in mind - if NGOs are spending their resources on participation in certain organizations, then although they might not be completely happy, the hope that their voice means something exists. It is not a rare case that NGOs withdraw from certain organizations if they do not consider that as fruitful work. That already happened in

ICCAT in 2004 on the smaller scale. After two years of participation in Working Group on Sustainable Tuna Farming in the Mediterranean (action raised by WWF and indorsed by ICCAT and GFCM in 2002), WWF walk out of it. According to them "*due to the perceived lack of commitment of this group to adequately tackle the major impacts on the fishery*" (ICCAT 2004).

So, we can conclude that if disappointment of environmental NGO continues and if they start to feel that there is no room for successful cooperation in term of decision, then there is always the possibility of switching financial and logistic capacities to another organization.

5.4.2. Scientific and media effectiveness

While we can discuss the effectiveness of ENGOs and SNGOs in terms of political decisions, effectiveness certainly exists in scientific and media circles. Just the fact that some NGOs have cooperation and some of them developed dialog between SCRS tells us that effect does exist. NGOs in my opinion are real partners in this part of ICCAT work and I would say that examples from chapter just prove this.

In media terms too influence is noticeable. As it is already said they manage to draw attention of public to problems concerning Bluefin tuna. People started to learn more about problems that the species of fish is facing. The proof for that is definitely the Rainbow Warrior because where ever it appears media does not ignore it. The case of Croatia also proves it. In the media indifferent to news connected with appearance of Greenpeace bout manages to attract public attention for this issue.

5.5. PROBLEMS IN NGO WORK WITH ICCAT

One of the problems that may affect the whole work and likewise the effectiveness of NGOs in meetings is the problem of lack of time. As it was mentioned couple of times, in interview with NGO members and Croatian state authorities (Katavic pers.comm.; Skakelja pers.comm.; Campen pers.comm). By very tight agenda that is in front of the participants of meeting and knowing the fact that there are more states are involved in work of ICCAT there is lack of time for NGOs to express their standings. Of course as we already saw work is not done just on ICCAT meetings, yet expressing their standing on the spot is important. I personally think that oral statements (that are lately not practiced because of lack of time) have bigger impact than written statements in pile of papers received every day during meeting.

The other problem that I discovered is the perception of the NGO sector in general. Although, my research showed that most of the NGO representatives do have the required biography for knowing facts and being informed, the perception of the NGO sector is still completely warmly welcomed. Exception is WWF whose representative claimed that "*they feel as equal partner in the game*" other representatives of NGOs and authorities pointed some problems such as incomplete acceptance, lack of time and even conflict.

Unfortunately, ICCAT meetings and management of tuna resources sometimes is not a friendly environment. Although all sides pointed in interviews that presence of NGOs is crucial to maintaining the transparency of decisions and data, conflicts within the parties do happen.

It is interesting to mention that both sides pointed out they had very bad experience with certain members of the opposite side. For instance, Mr. Katavic pointed out that in Spain they had to remove their name tags when they were leaving hotel because they were scared of attacks of "*extremist tuna protectors*" (Katavic pers.comm.). Also on the other hand, the delegation of French tuna fisherman (who were part of EU delegation) threatened members of Greenpeace before and during the meetings (Helms pers.comm). Also French fisherman violently blocked the entrance of Rainbow Warrior in Marseille port (Greenpeace 2006). But luckily, we can say that these are isolated events and that ICCAT meetings are not connected with serious security problems.

Despite all this it is necessary to point out that participation of NGOs ensure that decisions which are made and problems that occur, are transparent and that they are going to be conveyed to the public. Like in one of my interviews, Mr. Marcel Orden said: "NGOs are not always well seen but they are essential to any democracy. They make it possible to express the various opinions of the committed people."

Chapter 6. CROATIAN NGO IN "BLUEFIN TUNA CASE"

6.1. ROLE OF CROATIAN NGOs IN RELATION TO BLUEFIN TUNA

Activities of Croatian NGOs connected with Bluefin tuna are connected with one part of "tuna issue", and that is campaigning against tuna farming facilities on Croatian part of the Adriatic coast. Although it seems like a small part of a whole range of issues, we have to take into consideration that they all work on the national level and have limited financial revenue. That is the best that they can offer.

Tuna farming activities in Croatia started in 1996 when returnees from Port Lincoln, SA, Australia started the business (ATRT 2004). In the first 4 years, farms were supplied by national tuna fleet, but from 2001 farms started to rely on activities of foreign fleets (Italian, Tunisian, French and Spanish) (ATRT 2004). From the beginning, tuna farming grew to be one of the most important mariculture activities and it is an extremely important part of the Croatian economy (Bulic 2006). Production of tuna in Croatia grew rapidly (Table 7).

Year	Mass (in tones)		
1996	39		
1997	390		
1998	400		
1999	672		
2000	1 200		
2001	2 500		
2002	3 971		
2003	4 679		
2004	3 777		
2005	3 425		

Table 7. Annual production of tuna meat in Croatia from 1996-2005

Source: Gržinčić 2007

In the first half of 2006, the value of Croatian export in first nine mounths was around 57 million American dollars (Bulic 2006). And it is also important to mention that because of tuna farming, Croatia has positive export balance of marine organisms (Gržinčić 2007). Also, social benefits from employment of local population are visible (Gržinčić 2007). All this does not support the notion that the Croatian government supported the development of tuna farms, and pointing out that "except thinking of environmental issues we have to take care of social and economic issues as well" (Katavic pers.comm.).

Activities of Croatian NGOs against tuna farmers started soon after the first tuna farm was built. Due to all the economic benefits, environmental degradation of the area where tuna farms are located became more and more obvious. It included the reduction of benthos (bottom) communities and hence the decreasing of marine biodiversity. It also led to the unpleasant smell and appearance of floating fat spots around cages and floating rest of food. Concerns of tourism also played a role in raising environmental consciousness of the Croatian population (Gržinčić 2007).

NGO activities are and were mainly censored by media lobbing and drawing attention to problems that tuna farms leave on marine environment especially on bottom flora and fauna. Sometimes actions are separated just focused on a specific tuna farm but some times they are a part of a broad project (as we shall see in the case of Lastovo island). According to their own records they are the most effective in work if they manage to have the local population on their side (Jakl pers. comm). They do not represent "greens who are always complaining about something" and their acts are supported.

In following lines I would like to present three examples worth mentioning: protests against opening tuna farms in Komiza on island Vis and protests again tuna farm in island of Brac and declaration of Lastovo archipelago 11th Croatian Natural Park which illustrate the efforts and engagement of Croatian NGOs.

Komiza- Vis

One of the successful actions of stopping tuna farm is on island Vis in town Komiza. Here NGO managed to inform the public about the bad effects of tuna farms in Komiza Bay. Citizens were asked to declare their opinion twice about this project (in 2001 and in 2003). Both times the votes against tuna farm were much stronger than votes pro, so the project was dismissed although it promised to revitalize the island's economy (Katavic pers.comm.)

Brac

In this case, the fight against a local tuna farm started in 2004 when concerned citizens from the island of Brac organized an NGO "Nase more" and with the help of colleagues from the NGO Sunce, started to fight against local tuna farm in ownership of the firm Bepina d.o.o (Independent Croatian Farmers 2006). According to them, the tuna farm is too close to the shore, it attracts sharks and seagulls that destroy olive trees. Local inhabitants from Sutivan (little place near tuna farm) voted against tuna farm in a referendum organized by environmentalists. Also, they alarmed Austrian citizens who built their summerhouses on the

place where the tuna farm was to be built (Saric 2006). Although the tuna farm was built and NGOs and locals are still protesting against it

Lastovo 11th Croatian Natural Park

And finally, although this example is not strictly connected just with a tuna farm, it represents one more effort of Croatian NGOs in their goal to protect Croatian natural treasures. Although in strategic documents from 1999 it was planned to declare Lastovo as Croatian Natural Park, and that WWF declared this area of special attention for Mediterranean biodiversity in 2003, it needed three more years for the Croatian Parliament to declare this direction (Carev 2006). In a that period different propositions (quarries, golf course, hotel complex) for development made of this region was also the tuna farm. Due to the long-term involvement of all stakeholders (among national NGOa- Sunce and Spasimo Lastovo, Croatian National fund for environmental protection, WWF, community of Lastovo island and Ministry of culture and local inhabitants), in 2006 Croatian parliament declared this area Croatian Natural Park (Carev 2006).

Taking into consideration that Croatian NGOs are putting lots of effort in this issue but unfortunately due to political and other effects (like slow bureaucracy and conflict of interest) it is very hard to evaluate their effectiveness. On the level of informing public community it definitely exists but sometimes the time needed to achieve a goal is too long.

Unfortunately however, no meter on public reaction cooperation with certain structures in state administration is still on low level. Although it was said that cooperation is worst on lovel levels (city, islands) than on higher levels (ministry), in case of cooperation between

NGOs and ministry of agriculture, forestry and water management situation is (as it is going to be described) far from acceptable.

6.2 NGOS AND MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY AND WATER MANAGAMENT

As it is confirmed in my interviews by state authorities and members of NGOs different ministries, although they are part of the same government, they have different perception of NGO participation. While the Ministry of environment has "protector role", and hence is closer to the attitude of NGOs, the ministry of agriculture, forestry and water economy sees environment to projection of social and economic benefits. It does not imply that they support degradation of environment but at the same time they do not support the protection of environment if it can diminish economic or social development of a certain region. Because people who are working in this ministry are part of the Croatian delegation at ICCAT, I would like to explain more the relationship between NGOs and this ministry.

If we talk honestly, relations or any kind of interaction between NGOs and Ministry of agriculture, forestry and fishery does not exist. No meetings have been held, no workshops or any kind of collaboration. It is hard to say what the problem is but I will try to give some facts that will explain the situation little bit better.

For example, Ms. Neda Skakelja, who was part of Croatian negotiation team claims that there were no attempts from Croatian NGOs to have any cooperation with the team. Ms. Zrinka Janki from NGO Sunce claims similar facts. According to her, they sent a mail to ministry of agriculture, forestry and water management in 2006, but there was no reply and contact from

the authority's side. Also it has to be mentioned that when it comes to the work of Croatian negotiation team at ICCAT, they did not try to develop any contact again. It is obvious that this kind of attitude from both sides is not conducive to future cooperation. Additionally, Ivan Katavic claims that NGOs are *"here to point the problem and alarm the community and for us (e.g. ministry) is then to listen what the community has to say. There is no reason for our cooperation. Their role is to alarm, ours to judge if that alarm is reasonable"*.

As we can see, the source of the problem is quite complex. Two factors are interfering with each other: lack of communication and "stereotyped perception". This all leads to the fact that NGOs are not excepted in this ministry as equal partners, or at least someone who can help. The solution for this problem is not easy and it should be addressed gradually. NGOs should first work on changing perception that is put in Croatian public, who perceive members of NGOs as "desperate housewives that did not make career in their own jobs so they search for acknowledgment in the environmental field" or if you cannot find "decent" job you work in NGO. That perception is partly wrong because like in every field there are professionals and there are amateurs and the situation should not be generalized. For example all staff of Sunce finished university from the field of biology so we cannot talk about uneducated individuals (Jakl pers.comm.).

After building a professional image, let us hope that communication will occur spontaneously but if it does not happen spontaneously, the initiative should be made again with a willingness to cooperate with state institution. Because this state that we are in today create just frustration and it is perfect for retaining the stereotype perception.

6.3. BASES FOR NGOS COOPERATION IN CROATIAN LEGISLATION

No matter of what individuals think about mutual cooperation, the basis for cooperation exists in Croatian legislation. As it is already said in the literature review, there are a couple of regulations and laws that requires public participation and that offer a place for NGOs to express their opinion. If we just take the most important aspect of Croatian NGO activism (which is protesting against expending farms of Bluefin tuna) there is clear legislative decision which always encourages NGO participation.

For example, in its Report of state of environment for 2001 and first nine months of 2002 Croatian Ministry of Environmental Protection and Urban planning put tuna farming as "middle risk activity" because they are recognized as "economical activity which cause pressure on bottom habitats"(Sunce 2002). Also there are two directives that come to Law on environmental protection: Directive 2003/4 and Directive 2003/35. Directive 2003/4 tells us more about right of public to get information about environment while Directive 2003/35 guarantees public participation in developing certain plans and programs that have its impact on the environment (Ministry of environmental protection and space planning 2007).

But still with these legal base problems do occur, on both sides. NGOs usually complain that laws are not obliged and that coordination on level ministry-region-city is not quite good. Proof for that we can find in the following example. A public hearing was held for a tuna farm near the island of Ordun. According to the NGO, sources in the state Office of State management's "Split-Dalmatian" region declared that the existing EIA is going to be available to public from 15.12.2003 to 29.12.2003. in the department for communal affaires in Trogir city. Unfortunately, in the department itself the study was not announced, none of the present employees know what study the NGO representative is asking about and where it should be (Sunce 2003).

Also the blame can be put on public that is often not interested to participate. That still comes from routes of socialist mentality where there was always someone who decided for them. Ms Jakel also mentioned situations in which the public is manipulated by their employers. Also the media is blamed from both sides (NGOs and authorities) that cover just sensationalist news, not real subjects of community interest (Katavic pers.comm.; Skakelja pers.comm; Jakl pers.comm). NGOs at the same time are not able to track all governmental actions because of lack of capacity so NGOs representatives do not cover some public debates (which should be).

But also it has to be mentioned that situation is getting better over the years (Jakl pers.comm.). Reasons for that can be two: first is connected with national political climate in Croatia. Because Croatia is still a transition country, changes of government from left to right parties are happening in every election. To get voters politicians are now looking more what public is thinking and what is the clime in state about a certain project. In that scene, the voice of an NGO functions like an indicator that some project is not welcome in the state or that certain section of voters is going to be unhappy if those decisions come to reality. According to the Croatian ICCAT chef negotiator and deputy minister Ivan Katavic, environmental issues that would not even be considered in past today are seriously discussed mainly because of this reason. He also pointed out that because of NGOs the public conscience builds up and due to the negative opinion from the local inhabitants and whole Croatian community it is almost impossible to find new location for a new tuna farm in Croatia. Like he said "when ever someone wants to open a tuna farm in Croatia there is

immediately a demonstration organized by national NGOs. Negative publicity is introduced in story, no matter how good that thing is for Croatian economy and by that for employing of local population. "

Second reason is also connected with the political situation in Croatia. As Croatia is one of the states that are in process of acceptance in European Union, public participation is becoming a more actual issue. Participation of NGOs and public in the decision making process is more important now than in the past so that is the space that can be used by different NGOs. But as it was mentioned in previous chapters, although legislation exists problems that NGOs are facing can be grouped in two. First group is concerned with giving too much information that requires comments in short period or not giving information at all (Jakl pers.comm.). According to Ms. Zrinka Jakl from the NGO Sunce "laws are good but enforcement is still questionable". Also according to her cooperation between NGOs and state depends on different ministry, and state level. Cooperation with the ministry of environment is better than with ministry of agriculture, forestry and water management. As we are going to see in following chapter, it seems that different ministries even though they are part of same government perceive environment in different context.

6.4. CROATIAN NGOS IN COOPERATION WITH INTERNATIONAL NGOS AT ICCAT

After Cartagena Call for Action, the first appearance of a Croatian NGO in international context can be connected with ICCAT 15th Special Meeting of the Commission meeting in November 2006 in Dubrovnik, Croatia. The reason for their appearance can not be found in the growing ambitions of Croatian NGOs to participate in international arena but in the plain reason that the meeting took place in Croatia. Indeed, before that meeting and after it, neither of the Croatian NGO participated in the work of ICCAT. Even in that meeting Croatian NGO did not participate directly in the meeting as observer. Their role was different.

At that point Croatian NGO Sunce as secretary of Green forum (network of 40 NGOs) was host of WWF and Greenpeace. Before that Sunce had couple of projects with WWF and good cooperation with both organizations so it was logical for it to help organize some logistic help. In this case Sunce helped organize events which had the purpose of making local public aware of this issue. Further on, together with the national NGO "Nase more" it helped in establishing a visit of WWF and Greenpeace members to tuna farm on the island of Brac (Sunce 2006).

During the meeting it organized a press conference on both Rainbow Warrior where members of Greenpeace and members of WWF gave statements and explained their position in the whole problem (Figure 8). Besides that, the action for the protection of Bluefin tuna incited by WWF and Greenpeace was endorsed by 37 members of Green Forum and NGOs Skaja, Nase more from island Brac and NGO "Domovina i bastina" from Dubrovnik (Sunce 2006).



Figure 8. Press conference on the board of "Rainbow Warrior" in November 2006, Dubrovnik Source: Zeleni Forum URL: <u>http://www.zeleni-forum.org/bin/view/Zeleniforum/ProsleKampanjeTune2006</u>

Although they did not participate in the meetings as observers it can not be said that their influence was unnoticeable. Sunce at that point provided valuable logistic help to international colleges.

Chapter 7. DISSCUSION

Before presenting final conclusion of this thesis, in this chapter I would like to discuss my findings within the theoretical concepts, which I consider important to present, and recommendations for better NGO participation. In the first part of this chapter I will present little bit more about general NGO participation (how NGO get the status of observer and who they represent). This is directly connected with the second part, in which I will try to compare my findings on participation and effectiveness of NGOs (at national and international level) with findings of other scholars in other different meetings. Finally, I will present some findings in the field of democratic international decision-making and the role of NGOs in that.

As was already mentioned, the admission of certain NGOs to ICCAT meetings is determined by guidelines to observers status at ICCAT. This relatively open approach was also characterized for most of the multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs) like for example, the 1992 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and the 1973 Washington Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna (CITES) (Oberthur 2002). This type of participation is typical for most 'modern' MEAs especially after the 1992 United Nation Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). However, the situation was not always such. For example, the participation of NGOs on Antarctic Treaty System in 1956 was restricted just to those NGOs that are invited to participate. This change in the attitude towards NGO participation shows also that fact that participation of ENGOs grew in international politic arena (*Oberthur et al.* 2002). The phenomenon of increasing number of ENGOs present at different meetings is explained numerous times in scholar literature on global level but if we analyze data from ICCAT meetings, results are a bit different. First, participation of different NGO grew but not so drastically and the second, it not just ENGOs that are interested in this topic. But still, the voice of ENGOs is stronger in different aspects of participation than the other two types.

This lack of mass NGO participation may be explained by the specific subject of ICCAT interest. Tuna fishery is a global phenomena but most of the world population does not care about the source of their sushi or caned tuna. Bluefin tuna, although a fascinating animal, is not so "charming" as, for example, the dolphins or whales. So it is normal to expect that NGOs restrict themselves on "popular" animal groups in their attempt to keep the interest of the public.

After explaining how NGOs get a chance to participate, it is normal to ask whom do they represent after all? Princten and Finger (1994) in their study pointed out that NGOs do represent the voice of a certain part of the society. In case of large environmental NGOs (like Greenpeace, WWF) it represents the voice of millions of people all over the world. But the voice of environmental NGOs is not the only voice represented. This thesis tried to address this limitation by investigating opinions of sport recreational associations and an association of tuna industry and not just ENGOs as is usually the case in studies of international agreements. For example primarily "pro-environmental NGOs" attended NGO forum held at UNCED (Rustiala 1997). On the other side representatives of other groups were present in for example the Kyoto protocol (Obernut et Ott 1999; Zivcic 2001). Although the emission of CO₂ and the fishery commission seems a pretty distant topic, there is one parallel line that can be drawn. The Kyoto protocol and the work of ICCAT are tightly connected with

economic benefits of certain circles, so it is normal that different stakeholders (and not just ENGOs) are interested in this topic.

Describing the national situation, the limitation of not having the voice of different groups was even more evident. Unfortunately, due to weak organization, lack of data and lack of a willingness to speak, I was not able to identify any other joined position except that of ENGOs. That is why I decided to restrict myself just to ENGOs in the Croatian case.

The next two important parts of NGO participation at ICCAT and national level investigated are: ways of NGOs work and the effectiveness of NGOs. In the case of ICCAT, NGOs follow the pattern described by Oberthur *et al.* (2002) but equal attention is not put on all the aspects of NGO work. As I mentioned earlier, work with ICCAT secretariat is not part of any of the three NGOs described. But in case of CITES and early days of Ramsar Convention, International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) preformed secretariat duties (Oberthur *et al.* 2002).

Additionally, I mentioned that different types of NGOs put priorities on different aspects of participation. In my research SNGOs put most of their efforts in enhancing the knowledge base (example of CIPS) while ENGOs additional to part of enhancing knowledge base, presented problem to broader public (the example of WWF). The phenomenon of "name and shame", in which ENGOs present certain organizations and states in a bad light is well known and not absent in ICCAT meetings. For example, the Climate Action Network regularly awards worst behaved countries in international meetings of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) bodies with award "Fossil of the Day" (Fossil of the Day 2007)

When the NGO effectiveness is described, two points have to be addressed. First one is the aforementioned involvement of different stakeholders and the other one is the radical position of certain NGOs. Indeed, participation of parties other than just ENGOs definitely diminishes the effectiveness of ENGO (Arts, 1998). Chatterjee and Finger (1994) reached the same conclusion in their studies of the UNCED process. They pointed out that by involving business alliance ENGOs position lose its straight. Similar results can also be concluded from my study of ICCAT and on the national level. Although in every aspect of participation international ENGOs seem overmatch BNGOs decisions made at the end of the day are not satisfactorily from their point of view.

On Croatian national level, a similar pattern can also be traced. ENGOs use the media to present their goals to the broader public. The fact that there is no dialog between the Croatian negotiation team at ICCAT and ENGOs can also be described by the powerful influence of economic and social interests of tuna farming.

Art (1998) also described problems concerning radical view of ENGOs on the subject. He pointed out that the position of NGO can be too radical and that this position can affect the perception of NGOs and it effectiveness. This is especially seen in the national case when a Croatian representative at ICCAT pointed out that NGO "do no take into consideration elements other than environmental protection" (Katavic pers.comm.).

Gradually, it seems that NGOs are also becoming aware of this problem either on national and international level. So, the tendency of "watering down" NGO positions described by Zivcic (2001) in case studies of Kyoto protocol, participation of NGOs a UNCED and in Aarhus convention, correspond with my results especially when I compare the addressing of public vs. opening statements in a meeting itself. Like in addressing the authorities and official addressing hard accusations and radical points are supplemented by more diplomatic words.

Going by that, it can be said that this type of NGO work brings with it certain compromises. This is evident for every type of NGO in my study but especially it is true for ENGOs. Compromises can be seen in the fact that ENGOs do support fishery of endangered species of fish but in a sustainable way. This way of approach to the authority according to Chartier and Faucher (1998) can lead to reducing the power of their initial arguments. However, losing NGOs participation in the meetings would mean that certain positions would be lost and that whole process would be less democratic.

But due to regulation that forbids NGOs to vote, it is questionable whether the whole process is democratic or not. And if they would have right to vote they are not elected by people to represent their goals, as (indirectly) governmental representatives are. From this perspective, whole democratization of the process become highly questionable. However due to millions of voices that stand behind different NGOs, it can be said that those people have right to express their opinion. Unfortunately, it seems that even that does not change the words of two scholars: "no matter how many NGOs participate the real power stays in governmental hands" Conca(1995)

and

"Democracy will remain the face behind which one political elite or another wields the real power." Hylnd (1995)

Chapter 8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATION

This thesis discussed and analyzed ways of NGOs participation in ICCAT considering the species Bluefin tuna. Three types of NGO participation were analyzed from two levels: global and national. The first part of my research focused on different types of NGOs and their participation in ICCAT work considering Bluefin tuna while in the second part, efforts of national ENGOs in questions considering Bluefin tuna are investigated.

In the first part I tried to explain existing ways of participation and with examples from ICCAT biennial reports and interviews prove that NGOs do use them. First it was found that although ways of participation vary on individual level at all three types of NGOs (environmental, sport-recreate and associations of tuna industry) actively participate in ICCAT meetings and outside of them. Participation is not focused on just one segment (for instance lobbing) NGOs are active in all fields.

Likewise, all of them are increasing the knowledge base true by gathering data (for example CIPS gathering data of fish bigger then 100 kg), conducting studies (for example publication of WWF about tuna over fishing in Mediterranean and East Atlantic), monitoring the situation on the field (for example. Greenpeace). They all work in the field of advocacy and lobbing true contacts with "friendly delegations" and informal contact with different actors in this issue. Also in this media activity is extremely important but it has to be mentioned that environmental NGOs are better and more experienced in using media to promote their goals. Also results show that while some NGOs just negotiate with governments of certain states, a member of OPRT was part of Japanese delegation and used that to promote NGO on ICCAT meetings.

Additionally, my results show that ensuring transparency is a very important role of NGOs. Sport-recreational and environmental NGOs monitor situation on the field and present their observation when it comes to over fishing. However, participation according to this study is not just restricted to meetings. NGOs with their actions and networking shape the opinion of the broad public. In this sense again ENGOs are more successful than the other two groups of NGOs. The main reasons for that is long term experience in work with media and financial background.

The final part of international NGOs at ICCAT research tried to present potential effectiveness of NGO participation and identify problems that NGOs are facing. According to my analyses, it is not possible to neglect the effect of NGO work. That is the most clearly seen in educating public and affecting certain delegation. Of course it can always be discussed how significant those effects are for the future of the species but there is no doubt that they exist. Like every work, participation of NGOs is not without difficulties so at the end little bit is also said about problems that NGO face at ICCAT meetings, like lack of time reserved for NGOs and conflicts that may occur.

As it is already said due to extreme importance of tuna for Croatian economy in the second part national Croatian situation is examined. For that purpose I researched cooperation of Croatian environmental NGOs with international ENGOs and with Croatian ICCAT negotiation team. The reason why I did not talk about SNGOs and BNGOs is because I could not find any evidence of their activities in this issue.

According to my research, Croatian ENGOs do have cooperation with international ENGOs, especially "Sunce" that proved its continuous cooperation with international ENGOs in this

issue and its involvement in international tuna protection acts such as the Cartagena call of action.

In terms of cooperation with Croatian negotiation team for ICCAT, the situation is more pessimistic. My research showed that NGOs do not have any influence on the Croatian negotiation team due to lack of any communication, so in general NGO role in issues connected with Bluefin tuna was investigated.

Findings also showed that NGOs based their involvement on campaigns against uncontrolled expansion of tuna farms in the Adriatic Sea. Taking this into consideration, it was found that although there is no communication, the ICCAT negotiation team is aware that NGOs do influence public opinion. Also it is found that their opinion is that NGOs should continue their mission as examiner of authority decisions. NGOs proved their involvement in informing the public about consequences of tuna farms but they are also facing some problems like sensationalistic approach of media to every subject and problems in implementation of existing laws.

Attribution to scientific knowledge

Work of NGO is usually research on global level with highly attractive topics like conferences on climate change, biodiversity or the Aarhus convention. Many articles are usually written about NGO participation on "one time events" while long term NGO battles at international management bodies (in this case ICCAT) is usually put aside. In that sense, this thesis goes little bit out of the main stream and it tries to give an overview of long term NGO work in a topic which is highly important also at the global level but it is not so media exposed. It looks at things from the global (work of international NGOs) and the national level (work of Croatian NGOs).

This thesis also pointed to weak points and difficulties of NGO participation at ICCAT. It is extremely important because as we can see from the literature quoted a lot is written about positive sides and benefits of NGO participation while the problems and difficulties are neglected or just briefly mentioned.

Recommendation for future research

As it is already said this thesis researches NGO participation at ICCAT. But because it was not a one time event there are plenty of possibilities for future research for several reasons. First, recent decisions of ICCAT are not quite favorable for environmental NGOs, from their perspective they are catastrophic and they can lead to the collapse of the whole Bluefin tuna fishery. From that point it would be interesting to see what the future brings; will it switch to another institution or try to change decisions of ICCAT. Second, there are new NGOs who started to participate in 2006. It would be interesting to know what their contribution is going to be in different areas of ICCAT work.

And finally, in this thesis just one national situation is described (national Croatian NGO participation at Croatian negotiation team and international NGOs). It is possible that the situation in other member countries is quite different and that there, NGOs are much more influential than in Croatia. To investigate and compare reasons that stand between these two extremes, if they exist, would be very interesting.

8.1 Recommendation for NGO participation

In this subchapter I would like to address certain recommendations which may be useful for more successful participation of international NGOs on ICCAT and for more successful participation of Croatian national NGOs. These recommendations are made according to my personal observation of certain aspects of NGO work.

For International NGOs:

- ENGOs should work harder to attract more national delegations on their side, because it is useful when final decisions has to be made

As it was mentioned a couple of times, all existing ways of participation have one goal - to change the current ICCAT policy. Of course mobilization of public opinion is important but delegates are the ones who make the decision after all. That is why ENGOs should invest even more effort in "converting" opinion of other delegations, especially countries from Europe that are main opponents to NGO positions due to high benefits from tuna industry.

- ENGOs should work on their image

Unfortunately although this study showed that members of ENGOs are people with a suitable background, more effort should be put in showing this image to broader public. The reason for mentioning this lies in everyday life experience and according to some interviews which showed that a perception of ENGOs as loud individuals without proper background still exist.

BNGOs and SNGOs should work more on their relation with media because as we saw in example of ENGOs they are valuable allies

One of the observations that I made during this research is that BNGOs and SNGOs do not present their points so openly to the broad public. That is why their requests usually are known just to a tight circle of people. Presenting their points to the broad public would clarify their goals and would inform and attract more people. Potentially, this could also encourage scholars to take into account their contribution if ever future studies of NGOs are seen in fishery commissions. Because contribution of NGOs does exist but due to lack of materials their role is usually neglected

- Maintain high scientific level because as we saw delegation listen to argumentative claims

As it is said couple of times before scientific arguments used to present their points are the most efficient means to reach their goals. The best example for that we saw in statement of Canada in 2004 when it clearly showed it concern based on WWF findings.

- Trying to develop any kind of communication with Croatian ICCAT team would be good because they are the ones who represent Croatia in the international policy arena

It is obvious from interviews that there is a lack of communication between the Croatian Ministry of Agriculture, Fishery and Water Management. This should change. If the Ministry itself is not eager to initiate communications NGOs should try to initiate it, because this situation in which there is no communication at all will not lead anywhere.

- Working on their image as serous, scientific and experience organizations

At the same as it is said in case of international NGOs. Croatian negotiators at ICCAT do not consider NGOs as a serious partner. The best way to show them that they are wrong would be by investing in building capacities and image in public.

- Straightening connection with local population

According to interviews and past NGO experience, the sympathy of local population is crucial to the success of a certain project. The local population are those who are going to feel first the benefits or consequences of projects. Mobilizing population and presenting to them that certain project is not good for their community in the long run is a great way to attract media attention and present ENGOs as the ones who really care.

Maintaining contacts with international NGOs

Although national NGOs understand the local situation and specifics of a certain region, international NGOs possess a stronger experience and better financial background. Also past cooperation with international NGOs was good not at least from the point that national NGOs are not left isolated in their requests. For the purpose of making network and joint cooperation, maintaining contacts with international NGOs is recommended.

APENDIX 1: Interview protocol

NGO participation

- Which NGO showed their interest to participate?
- How many NGOs of those participate in process?
- On what bases those NGOs were selected?
- Do NGO have some obligation/benefits if they participate in process?
- Which NGO participate in process?
- Do always the same NGOs participate?
- What about NGO members is there continuity in work of some specific member?
- Were there some cooperation between NGOs and authorities?
- Was there some cooperation between different NGOs?

NGO representation

- How many members of the each NGOs was present?
- How were they prepared for the meeting according to your opinion?
- What was the professional background of NGO representatives?

Forms of NGO participation

- In which way NGO participated in process?
- What way of participation you consider as the most effective one and which one is the less effective?
- Were there dialog between NGO representatives and authorities?
- If there was no dialog, why?

Effectiveness of NGO participation

- Do you think that there was any effect of NGO participation?
- What precise were those effects?
- How do other participate parties react on NGO participation?
- Is there any change in attitude (form NGO side and other participated parties) thru time?

APENDIX 2. List of interviewed persons

Name	Contact	Organizatio n	Type of an interview	Date	Lengt (h)
Katavic Ivan	ivan.katavic@mps.hr	Croatian Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management	Face to face	15/5/2007	1h 30 min
Antje Helms	Antje.Helms@greenp eace.at	Greenpeace	e-mail	20/6/2007	
Zrinka Jakl	info@sunce-st.org	Sunce	Face to face	17/5/2007	1h 45 min
Neda Skakelja	nedica@email.htnet.hr	Croatian Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Management	Face to face	19/5/2007	1 h 15 min
Marcel Orden	ffpmpaca@free.fr	CIPS	e-mail	7/6/2007	
Susana Sainz- Trapaga	ssainztrapaga@atw- wwf.org	WWF	Face to face	22/6/2007	1h 45 min
Sally J. Campen	SJCampen@aol.com	OPRT and Japanese delegat	e-mail	28/6/2007	

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