

Providing Access or Taking Sides? Blue Growth, Small-Scale Fisheries, and the Case of Lamu, Kenya

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People will stand fishing beside the sea...it will be a place for the spreading of nets; its fish will be of a great many kinds, like the fish of the Great Sea (Ezek. 47:10).

When the prophet Ezekiel received a vision promising his people's return from exile, he saw a miraculous river flowing from the threshold of the rebuilt Jerusalem temple (Ezek. 47:1-12). As the waters flowed east, the river became deeper and gained strength, bringing life to all it touched and renewing relationships both human and ecological. As one commentator argues, this post-trauma promise of consolation was as much about "restoration *of* the land" as "restoration *to* the land" (Copeland, 2019, pp. 214-215, emphasis in original). Ezekiel's vision of restoration also included an abundance of fish, notable both for their beauty and their role as food.

Today, as in Ezekiel's time, God's promise of healing and restoration applies to relationships that are human, ecological, and aquatic. And yet, so many of today's conversations about water neglect rich perspectives like Ezekiel's. In particular, they neglect the importance of wild capture fisheries, and especially small-scale fisheries, in the ongoing struggle for ecosocial justice. Many countries' exclusion of fisheries from national food policies provides but one salient example (A. Bennett et al., 2021). In what follows, we make a case for the importance of small-scale fisheries and describe how they are simultaneously threatened by a "blue" turn in economic development and a failure of imagination on the part of those interested in helping them. We then turn to the case of a traditional fishing community in Lamu, Kenya, in order to illustrate these trends and seek guidance for ways forward.

Small-Scale Fisheries, Blue Growth, and the Problem with "Access"

The consistent neglect of small-scale fisheries (SSF) in discussions about water and eco-social justice has more to do with a technocratic paradigm that renders diversity invisible (LS §107-108) than with any fact-based judgment about their value (Short et al., 2021, p. 734). Indeed, SSF are the backbone of many coastal communities. In developing countries, they account for over 90% of fisheries sector jobs and more than half of the catch (World Bank, 2012, p. 22).

And while the global trade in seafood contributes to a net flow of micronutrients out of developing countries where they are sorely needed (Hicks et al., 2019; Vianna et al., 2020), SSF counteract this trend by more frequently keeping seafood in the places where it was produced (World Bank, 2012. P. 24). Today, it is becoming increasingly clear that SSF are indispensable for food and nutrition security (Loring et al., 2019; Short et al., 2021). In many places, SSF are also indispensable for indigenous cultures (Loring et al., 2019, pp. 65-67), which, in turn, protect far more than their fair share of the world's biodiversity (IPBES, 2019, p. 14).

Despite small-scale fisheries' myriad contributions to food security, employment, culture, and biodiversity, they are confronting numerous threats. Obstacles highlighted by the academic literature often include high proportions of post-harvest losses (Affognon et al., 2015), decline of key ecosystems (McClanahan, 2020), low availability of capital (Short et al., 2021), and threats to traditional fishing rights (Sunde & Erwin, 2020). This conventional diagnosis, while correct, also supports a narrative that depicts SSF as homogenous, poor, and dysfunctional, that is, in need of economic development (Short et al., 2021). As a result, the proposed solutions derived from this diagnosis often reflect the usual neoliberal toolkit. A viable future for SSF, many say, lies in technological innovation, improved infrastructure, strengthened governance, and economic inclusion (e.g., WorldFish, 2020). These pathways to change may benefit fishers and their communities, but the analysis undergirding them is ultimately crippled by a blindspot that ignores some of the most pressing challenges facing SSF today. That blindspot is caused by a limited view of SSF that tends to portray them as passive recipients, or potential recipients, in need of some kind of "access" that is best granted by outsiders.

When academics, development agencies, and non-governmental organizations talk about "access" for small-scale fisheries, they assume they know and have what fishing communities need. Regardless of the veracity of this assumption, it is a remarkably unhelpful starting point. The thing offered might, for example, be a solar-powered refrigerator, a relatively benign and often useful piece of infrastructure. But infrastructure projects, useful ones included, tend to assume that the desires and aspirations of small-scale fishing communities match those of decision makers and planners in air-conditioned urban offices. Similarly, economic inclusion in the form of capital investment might be identified as an important need of SSF, but this type of access assumes an imported economic model that is often foreign to fishing communities' existing ways of life. "Access" even frames the protection of traditional fishing rights and healthy ecosystems. This, too, although a key demand of many SSF struggling for survival, already assumes a contested geography of capitalist development. Access to fishery resources would not need to be guaranteed were it not already threatened by environmental destruction and competing claims to ownership. In many cases, small-scale fishing communities do in fact want or need the things proposed under the banner of "access." However, the focus on access neglects to ask why these needs have appeared and it implicitly relies on an underlying power dynamic whereby those granting access are aligned with the same forces that make access so necessary in the first place.

If the conventional diagnosis of the challenges facing small-scale fisheries relies on a weak analysis that ignores the root causes of SSF vulnerability, we propose an alternative view. Instead of providing access to external resources, those interested in supporting small-scale fishing communities ought to work to protect them from external threats. Today, these threats are largely driven by a new economic focus on coasts and oceans (Jouffray et al., 2020), a phenomenon sometimes referred to as "the blue economy" or "blue growth" (Ehlers, 2016). Blue growth initiatives often promise sustainable and inclusive economic development (e.g., European Commission, 2021). The view from the ground, however, demonstrates that "sustainable" and "inclusive" are rarely accurate descriptors. Recent years have seen blue growth agendas lead to the expropriation of fishing rights, displacement of local communities from their traditional lands and fishing grounds, increased pollution, and numerous other burdens disproportionately borne by local communities who have often relied on and cared for their ecosystems for centuries (N.J. Bennett et al., 2021; Cohen et al., 2019). Indeed, blue growth has made it so that simply being a small-scale fisher today requires organized resistance to encroaching forms of economic development.

Despite how important they are, small-scale fishing communities face an uncertain future. One the one hand, they are threatened by a global trend in blue growth that sees no value in, and leaves no space for, their ways of life. On the other hand, a well-meaning but ultimately flawed approach to global development is so limited in scope that it risks perpetuating the urgent threats these communities face. If access to resources is the only solution we can think to provide for small-scale fishers and others who face similar challenges, perhaps we need to stop trying to think of solutions and start listening to find more productive ways to support their struggle.

In the next section, we aim to aid our collective listening by turning to the case of a small-scale coral reef fishery in Lamu, Kenya. As with many SSF around the world, blue growth has already damaged Lamu's ecosystem and threatens traditional ways of life. Some pieces of the story, however, also provide a new way to think about local struggles for eco-social justice and have the potential to help us move beyond the limitations and blind spots so prevalent in development discourse today.

Resistance and Hope in Lamu, Kenya

The Lamu archipelago, located on Kenya's north coast, has been continuously inhabited by a wide range of indigenous communities for over one thousand years (Quintana Morales & Horton, 2014; Osuka et al., 2016). Throughout this time, these communities have relied on and conserved local ecosystems despite their great diversity of worldviews and cultural practices (Save Lamu, 2018). Today, Lamu is internationally recognized for its unique endowment of cultural and biodiversity and is home to both a UNESCO World Heritage Site (UNESCO, 2001) and a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve (UNESCO, 1980). This remarkable place is also home to a small-scale fishery that is as old as the indigenous communities themselves. As a 2018 judgment of Kenya's High Court put it,

these residents of Lamu Island are traditional and artisanal fishermen...who derive their livelihoods directly from fishing [and have] from time immemorial fished using relatively small vessels and deploying small amounts of capital and energy in the areas immediately adjacent

to the Lamu archipelago (Mohamed Ali Baadi and others v. Attorney General and 12 others, 2018. 291).

Even today, small-scale fishing generates 75-80% of Lamu's economic activity and directly involves at least 6,000 of Lamu's residents (Osuka et al., 2016), supporting and feeding a wider community of over 100,000 (Save Lamu, 2018).

Despite its long history of resilience, Lamu's fishing community faces many of the same challenges as other SSF. These include catches well below historic baselines, inefficiencies in access to markets, shifting climate conditions, signs of overfishing, and decades of economic and political marginalization (Athman & Ernst, 2015; Osuka et al., 2016; Samoilys et al., 2017). Today, however, these challenges are dramatically compounded by Kenya's largest-ever infrastructure project, known as the Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia Transportation Corridor, or LAPSSET (Athman & Ernst, 2015; Save Lamu, 2018). Planning and initial construction began in 2012, with a megaport, a cross-country oil pipeline, highways, railways, a resort city, and a coal plant all slated to converge on Manda Bay in Lamu, just a few 900n-profit from the Lamu Old Town World Heritage Site (LAPSSET, 2016). In the years since, the project has proceeded at a lightning pace (Athman & Ernst, 2015; Save Lamu, 2018) despite the absence of key planning documents, including a complete environmental impact assessment (*Mohamed Ali Baadi and others v. Attorney General and 12 others*, 2018).

Today, LAPSSET represents the single most important threat to Lamu's indigenous communities and SSF. Construction, even in its initial stages, has displaced farmers from their land and fishers from their fishing grounds; it has caused grave damage to local ecosystems, including the marine resources on which SSF depend; and the project has generated public confusion and economic dislocation (*Mohamed Ali Baadi and others v. Attorney General and 12 others*, 2018). In the meantime, and independently of LAPSSET, researchers and various fishing industry stakeholders, including local and national government agencies and 90on-profit organizations, have spent recent decades 90on-profi Lamu's fishing industry and planning for its "improvement" (e.g., Lamu County, 2017; WWF, 2021). While the more recent versions of these interventions and analyses tend to acknowledge the negative effects LAPSSET will have on Lamu's SSF, their proposed solutions are drawn from the same blue growth framework as LAPSSET itself. The future they envision is one that includes fewer fishers, larger vessels, and the explicit abandonment of traditional ecosocial lifeways. For the local community, this response is really no response at all, particularly in light of the imminent threat to their livelihoods that LAPSSET presents.

Responding to the absence of any substantive support, Lamu's diverse communities developed a grassroots movement that would advocate for their interests. They soon formed a civil society organization devoted to sustainable development, which allowed various local stakeholders to speak with one voice and to assert their rights (Athman & Ernst, 2015). Together with legal partners, they sought justice in the courts, arguing that the LAPSSET planning process had violated legal requirements for community consultation and environmental mitigation. Then, in a sharp rebuke to virtually every government agency in Kenya, the High Court at Nairobi (in the case of Lamu Port) and the National Environmental Tribunal (in the case of the proposed coal plant) both ruled in 90on-pr of the community's

claims (*Mohamed Ali Baadi and others v. Attorney General and 12 others,* 2018; *Save Lamu & 5 others v. National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA) & another,* 2019). Perhaps even more significantly, the High Court's judgment in the case of Lamu Port did not solely focus on LAPSSET's rampant procedural violations, but also cited the project's violations of fishers' constitutional rights to life, culture, a clean and healthy environment, and property (*Mohamed Ali Baadi and others v. Attorney General and 12 others,* 2018). In other words, the court ruled that Kenya's bold attempt at blue growth had violated small-scale fishers' basic human rights.

The legal victories won by small-scale fishers and other community members in Lamu are a heartening and notable example of an entirely community-led effort to confront a major challenge facing SSF, but they are not the end of the story. Over three years after the first judgment against LAPSSET and over eight years since the project began, none of the 2018 judgment has been implemented and Lamu's fishers still have not received the financial damages awarded by the court. Today, construction is still ongoing, and the first section of Lamu Port is already operational (President, 2021).

Taking Sides

Small-scale fisheries in Lamu and around the world do not reflect the vision presented by the prophet Ezekiel in his promise of social and ecological restoration. Instead, SSF are left to contend with a very different vision, characterized by a one-size-fits-all approach to development that is incapable of respecting or listening to local communities. These visions, and their approach to SSF, present two basic options for us today. The first option, and the one 91on-prof by many government planners and 91on-profit organizations, is to attempt to harmonize the development of SSF with blue growth agendas, mainly by providing access to infrastructure, capital, and fishing rights. As we have seen, this approach ignores the most urgent threats faced by SSF today and, at least in Lamu, has violated fishers' basic human rights. The second option, and the one most consistent with Ezekiel's vision, is that we who have the luxury of deciding which path to follow choose to support the self-determination of those for whom blue growth, despite its professed goals, is a truly existential threat. Notably, the Lamu community's success in the judicial system was achieved with the support of national and international organizations based outside the local community. Rather than provide technocratic plans for SSF "improvement," these organizations took the time to listen to the authentic cries of earth and poor and responded by joining a difficult, even dangerous, cause. Our pursuit of ecosocial justice ought to mirror this commitment, supporting rather than dictating, dealing with root causes rather than symptoms, and choosing sides when the work of the Kingdom demands it.

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