The Performativity of Sustainability:

Assessing the Continuity of Artisanal Fishing Livelihoods in Galápagos' Precarious Waters

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Date: Dec 12, 2016

Abstract

This work is about how people develop strategies to make sense of and to deal with the challenges of situating themselves within the global push for 'sustainability.' Sustainability is a concept that I understand to be imagined, socially constructed, remade and ritualized as global actors tote the 'sustainable development' discourse globally and impose it upon local actors' practices. Such foisting typically promises to resolve socio-ecological problems by providing communities with certainties and stabilities such as redeeming issues linked to threatened eco-systems and local actors' precarious livelihoods therein. However, I argue that 'sustainability' indeed fails to fulfil its ideological aspirations. In this light, I take the stance that sustainability is performative, and therefore, enacted through sets of relationships which require critical interrogation. I use the example of artisanal fishermen in the Galápagos Islands to demonstrate how: (i) they deal with local managing authorities and the enterprise of sustainability that disturb their daily lives on land and at sea; (ii) they situate themselves within co-management processes; and (iii) their performativities allow them to make sense of and to deal with their precarious livelihoods by remaking, challenging, and subverting 'sustainability' in effort to remain relevant in Galápagos' evolving eco-political landscape. This occurs, I argue, as fishermen enact performativities that are situated in their material practices, collective, and authoritative. Notions of performativity thus contribute to conceptual understandings of how global actors' ambitions to remake local actors' practices 'sustainably' produces and distributes precarity – and therefore exposes how the latter deal with the precarity resulting from their attempts to remain relevant in Galápagos' eco-political landscape over time.

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Adry – for waiting without counting time, believing without questioning, loving without trying, and sparkling without compare.

Jesus Christ – for showing me how to love fiercely.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acronyms Frequently Used in This Research Proposal

ASnA	Anthropology Southern Africa
CDF	Charles Darwin Foundation
CDRS	Charles Darwin Research Station
CI	Conservation International
COPESAN	*Cooperativa de Producción Pesquera Artesanal de San Cristobal* [San Cristobal's Artisanal Fishing Production Cooperative]
COPROPAG	*Cooperativa de Producción Pesquera Artesanal de Galápagos* [Galápagos' Artisanal Fishing Production Cooperative]
GMR	Galápagos Marine Reserve
GNP	Galápagos National Park
GNPS	Galápagos National Park Service
GSL	Galápagos Special Law
IMA	Inter-institutional Management Authority
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MT	Metropolitan Touring
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIF	National Institute of Fishing
NISC	National Institute for Statistics & Census (Ecuador)
PMC	Participatory Management Council
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UCT	University of Cape Town
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

Author's Note

In respect to the conventions of ethnographical writing, this thesis relies at times on a first person narrative voice as a means to engage with the qualitative data collected in the field. As an ethnographer, I have chosen to use a narrative voice to bring to light how I have made sense of my role as a researcher vis-à-vis my participant observation in the fieldsite and among informants.

All names in this work are pseudonyms, which is my attempt to disguise the identities of informants who were willing to participate in this study. However, those intimately familiar with the fieldsite are likely able to identify informants based on contextual data and figures provided herein.

The vast majority of research occurred in Spanish. I personally transcribed and translated all interviews. The interview data included in this work are represented as I heard and understood them verbatim. However, my transcriptions have occasionally polished the grammar and filled in gaps where informal dialogue and banter would otherwise be difficult to understand. While I consider myself bilingual, there are likely instances where I have struggled to find the exact vocabulary in English that informants used to express technical fishing terms, implements and procedures.

ONE

Fishing for a Sustainable Future:
An Introduction to Galápagos Fishermen's Eco-Political Plight and Their Performative Responses

This thesis explores Galápagos fishermen's precarity and the diverse ways they employ performativities of sustainability by sidestepping, challenging, and contesting the conditioning and conditions of their livelihoods. It does so by critically interrogating how global efforts to socially construct Galápagos as a flagship for sustainability and local processes of developing and implementing eco-political legislation have meant severe social consequences for the continuity of fishing histories, networks and futures. By selecting Galápagos as this project's fieldsite, the author builds upon his previous ethnographic research in the archipelago (Burke, 2012), which argued that catamaran-based Galápagos eco-tourism practices in January to March 2011 are in conflict with existing definitions of sustainable tourism (e.g. Agrusa et al., 2010; WTTC, 2005). Fieldwork for that project has inspired this work to explore different meanings of sustainability amongst people living and working in Galápagos. This project focuses particularly on artisanal fishermen, and thus adds value to a growing critical mass of ethnographic research globally that addresses issues of sustainable development – and does so especially considering the ways Galápagos receives international praise for its ecological stature despite lacking substantial ethnographic research on matters of socioeconomic and eco-cultural development.

Fishermen's precarity becomes evident when considering that Galápagos' booming conservation-based eco-tourism industry and rapidly growing fishing industry are on a collision course. Conservationists argue that overfishing will degrade the archipelago's ecological base and subsequently compromise global interest in the islands' ecological wonder (e.g. Jones, 2013), compromising the eco-tourism industry's stability (e.g. Durham, 2008), the related lion's share of economic activity

(Watkins and Cruz, 2007), and the well-being of local eco-tourism economies (Camhi, 1995). This tension and its attendant conflicts inspired the formation of the Galápagos Marine Reserve's (GMR) in 1998 (Kerr, 2005). In the logic of the GMR, the Galápagos National Park (GNP) is tasked with managing, protecting and conserving the archipelago's natural resources. This is because local fishermen, the primary extractors of the GMR's natural resources, have become viewed as predators and on a disastrous course of exhausting the archipelago's marine eco-systems (e.g. Quiroga et al., 2009). Consequently, conservation and ecotourism have supplanted fishing, especially over the past two decades, as a 'sustainable' economic future in order to care for Galápagos' eco-systems and its inhabitants' well being (e.g. Cairns, 2011).

It is important to consider, however, that recent conservationist alliances and development in Galápagos are not simply a reaction to the United Nation's (UN's) 2000-implemented Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and 2015-implemented Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), but have been rooted in the archipelago's eco-political matrix since the Ecuadorian government – and with assistance from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) – established the GNP in 1959 in response to pressure from international environmentalists to protect the archipelago's non-colonized spaces (Grenier, 2007). Accordingly, UNESCO and other global actors were instrumental in the design of Galápagos' eco-political genesis, which positioned tourism as the archipelago's future economic identity over a half-century ago.

Growing recognition, brought about by e.g. Darwin's (1859), Beebe's (1924) and Eibl-Eibesfeldt's (1957) scholarly influences,[1] of the value of displaying the

[1] Charles Darwin's visit as a naturalist aboard the H.M.S. Beagle in 1835 positions him as an early eco-tourist in Galápagos (Quiroga, 2009a: 12-64). The same applies to W. Beebe, a North American zoologist and essayist, who visited Galápagos briefly in 1923. It is likely that the brevity of his stay – like Darwin's – provided him with a highly favourable experience in the archipelago. Beebe's (1924) *Galápagos: World's End* later propelled the archipelago's environment to international fame. Beebe's work, translated into many languages, informed the world of Galápagos' natural beauty, and incited people to visit it (Grenier, 2007:93). Like Darwin's (1859) *On the Origin of Species*, Beebe's thoughts, offering portraits of Galápagos as a glamourous natural laboratory contrasting with its earlier

archipelago's environment to visiting tourists influenced the Ecuadorian government to commission a group of naturalists in 1966 to report on "the development of tourism potential in the Galápagos" (Grenier, 2007:124; my translation). Their report advised that Metropolitan Touring (MT), already then the largest and most organized private tourism company in mainland Ecuador, would readily attract North American tourists to Galápagos because MT was thought to be more credible than South American tourist operators. The Charles Darwin Foundation (CDF) (founded in conjunction with the GNP in 1959) also backed MT because funds generated from foreign tourists could be used to finance Charles Darwin Research Station (CDRS)-led conservation studies in the archipelago (Grenier, 2007).

Tourism to Galápagos thus became a formal industry in 1969 when government selected MT as an exclusive tour operator to build a commercially viable eco-tourism industry targeting foreign tourists. Grenier (2007:146; my translation) comments that commercially sponsored organizational partnerships by early tourism developers meant that "The publicity of the visitors that MT would carry to the archipelago would contribute funds to the CDF: so, the financing of conservation through tourism, one of the objectives of ecotourism, was implanted in the Galápagos much before its invention in the 1980s." Grenier's historical account illustrates the early interdependence of Galápagos conservation (e.g. CDF influence) and commercial tourism (e.g. MT), which is an important eco-historical framing for the present work since Galápagos' artisanal fishing industry has been increasingly regulated and foreclosed while tourism has grown exponentially (see chapter eight).

In this light, global actors have conceptualised the archipelago as a worldwide flagship of conservation (Durham, 2008), and what Quiroga et al. (2009) describe as "one of the most important protected areas in the world." Established by the Ecuadorian Government in 1970, the GNP's boundaries designate 97% of the

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reputation as a fiery wasteland, indirectly changed how people from around the world thought about Galápagos nature.

archipelago's territory as protected areas. Bound up in its status as a globally important environment, in 1978, UNESCO inscribed Galápagos as a World Heritage site and later, in 1984, as a Biosphere Reserve.[2] In 2001, Galápagos was declared a World Heritage status, which stretched to include the islands themselves and the GMR's surrounding waters (Charles Darwin Foundation, 2009).[3] Such global renown swelled as the Galápagos' eco-tourism industry's development and its marketing allowed for the financing of the archipelago's conservation and development, and consequently provided pathways for the world's privileged tourists to snorkel with, to photograph and to romanticize the very marine iguanas that early explorers and pirates active in the area in the 16th and 17th centuries had described as 'dragons from the sea' due to their harrowing appearance (Latorre, 1999). Over the past three decades, eco-tourism growth enabled conservation and its arguments for sustainable development to seep into all fissures of Galápagos' eco-political terrain, and especially since the Participatory Management Council (PMC) began dictating local users' marine allowances and rights in 1998.[4]

Therefore, it is important to clarify from this work's onset that the PMC's current structure is in large part a product of and reactionary to the residue left by extractive cycles of environmental exploitation – piracy, whaling, colonisation and then tourism – in the archipelago (Burke, 2012). The 1959 founding of the GNP, CDF and CDRS is thus a fundamental milestone in the ways sustainability discourses and practices have developed in Galápagos over time (González et al., 2008). That is because these institutions have played integral roles in protecting the ecological

[2] In 2007, Ecuadorian president Rafael Correa declared Galápagos 'at risk', emphasizing the need to conserve the archipelago's environment. In the same year, UNESCO listed Galápagos as an endangered heritage site – though the World Heritage Committee removed Galápagos from the list of precious sites endangered by environmental threats or overuse in July 2010 (CDF Annual Report, 2009:6).

[3] Piu (2011) notes that the GMR covers an area of 135,000 square kilometres, making it the world's second largest marine reserve. The GMR is recognized by a perimeter located 40 nautical miles around the archipelago's 'baseline', which is determined by circling the furthest archipelago points.

[4] This work references 'eco-tourism' both as a leading economic sector in Galápagos as well as a practice that is interpreted and practiced globally with wide variation. The author's previous ethnographic research (Burke, 2012) differentiates among tourism types (e.g. nature, eco-) and illustrates how 'eco-tourism' practices in Galápagos are inherently tied up in ways the term is treated and understood globally.

integrity of Galápagos fisheries, such as responding to the sea cucumber collapse that occurred due to overfishing and mismanaged practices. Consequently, the conservation-science sector's thumbprint on intersections and gaps between environmental conservation and local marine users' livelihoods is of significant concern and debate. Therefore, the PMC is understood as a tool for and representation of how Galápagos' dominant sectors (e.g. tourism, conservation-science) control and manage fisheries and thus shape the identities and livelihoods of fishermen and their social networks.

Parallel to the development of the ecotourism industry, Galápagos experienced a mass migration of continental fishermen, who arrived in the islands to participate in the sea cucumber boom-and-bust from 1988 to 1992 (Durham, 2008), which was an industry that enabled non-seafarers to harvest the species easily in shallow waters while breathing compressed air through a hose. Commercial fishing activities in general grew rapidly during the 1990s to the point of threatening certain fish stocks' stability (Piu, 2000). Overfishing was possible since the Galápagos National Park Service's (GNPS) regulatory capacity was ill-prepared to monitor and to prevent the collapsing of fish stocks, which indeed occurred with Galápagos' endemic sea cucumber species (Toral-Granda, 2008). Consequently, conservationists came to perceive fishermen's practices as increasingly destructive, attributing fishermen with reputations as predators.[5] Meanwhile, Puerto Ayora's pioneering fishermen sustained local consumption and performed their arts freely. At the time, their efforts earned them reputations as providers, which is a stark contrast to fishermen's lingering reputation today as predators.

Over the past two decades, the GNP's tight regulation of fishing allowances has reshaped artisanal livelihoods, practices and ways of knowing and interacting in and with the sea. This characterisation opened up a debate on fishing and a series of interventions, led by local and global conservation bodies. For instance, the GNPS

[5] See Appendix 1 for a sampling of interview transcripts which show GMR users' perceptions that fishermen have been viewed generally as predators and are unlikely to change their reputations.

Director of Applied Investigation, who is responsible for overseeing the GNP's sustainability studies, explained that fishermen could stop being predators of marine resources by fishing less and earning more using improved fishing technologies and practices. Such concern extends to GNP naturalist guides who described first-hand observations of fishermen's predatory behaviours, such as fishing at tourism sites, which, according to them, comprise only 8% of the GMR spaces while fishing zones comprise roughly 70% of the same.

As a reaction to the apparent unsustainable trajectory of fishing trends and to salvage the archipelago's ecological integrity, the Ecuadorian government passed a pivotal law on March 18, 1998 titled "Special Regimen Law for the Conservation and Sustainable Development of the Galápagos Province"[6] known locally as 'Galápagos Special Law' (GSL). This legislation was meant to protect eco-tourism industry's future, since overfishing threatened marine eco-systems' capacity to bounce back to their natural states. The law also ushered in drastic amendments, such as restricting migration to the archipelago, equipping rangers to protect the newly formed GMR from whalers and industrial fishermen, and conflating the education and conservation sectors with an aim of including human history as an element of local school curriculum. GSL also founded the PMC in that year, which sought to produce consensus on issues of marine governance among its five participating sectors through roundtable discussions. The PMC's five sectors include: the GNP, GNP naturalist guides, conservation-science, tourism and artisanal fishing. This body moved power generally from fishermen's pre-existing tendency to flex their social power through volatile demonstrations and hostage situations in Puerto Ayora to the GNP's control of fishing allowances. The legislative shift meant sharp contrast in GMR users' access to and uses of natural resources before and after the GSL was implemented. Thus, reputations attached to economic sectors hardened as the PMC isolated groups of labourers, using vocational categories as grounds for managing the archipelago's natural resources. It is thus important to consider that fishermen

[6] My translation. Unless otherwise specified, I have completed all translations from Spanish to English.

had reputations pre-1998-implemented GSL which carried over to the PMC's meetings.

Furthermore, the GNP's post-GSL attempts to curb the gradual and extensive ecological destruction of the archipelago's marine eco-systems have involved regulating which fishing practices and materials (e.g. hooks, lines, nets) are permissible.[7] Moreover, the GNP froze the number of fishing boat berths and capped the fishermen registry, reducing and then fixing the maximum number of permits available. From more than 1,000 active fishermen during the 1990s fishing bonanzas in particular, the population of fishermen has been reduced to approximately 300-400 active fishermen whom today supply global tourists' and local residents' fish consumption (Quiroga et al., 2009). Fishing bans on sea cucumber and catch limits on lobster have motivated many fishermen to seek alternative resources in GMR waters, such as the recently approved mid-water long line pilot plan, which allows fishermen to journey up to about 60 nautical miles from Puerto Ayora and to use a controversial fishing rig. Many conservationists describe the method as nothing more than a glorified long line similar to those used by industrial fishermen from the South American coast who illegally enter Galápagos waters to fish. The pilot plan (seen as a legislative allowance made by the GNP), the involved fishermen, and the material culture of the practice contribute to the context of this work and are described further in this and the following chapters.

In this light, the moving of permissible fishing zones far out to sea and the limiting of which fishing arts are permissible have serious consequences for local fishermen. They have had to work harder, for longer periods and in riskier contexts, regulated through these conservation measures and adapting too to keep pace with global consumers' demand for fish, in tourists dining preferences at local restaurants, as well as for foreign fish markets. Yet, fishermen's push for access to pelagic fish throughout the archipelago has impacted on the ecotourism industry since

[7] See Appendix 2 for a list of the GNP Management Plan's (1998) fishing-related definitions.

fishermen's practises are often considered an unwelcomed sight in areas surrounding touristic visitation sites. Additionally, many GNP naturalist guides criticise fishermen for impacting on the ecological integrity of reef eco-systems in remote visitation sites where tourists snorkel. Therefore, it is critical to consider that, on one hand, the tourism sector contributes to sustaining fishing livelihoods as the leading consumer of pelagic fish, yet, on the other, takes active steps via the PMC to restrict and to control the ways in which fishermen catch pelagic fish.

The GNP's sharp and aggressive appropriation of natural resources management unsurprisingly has led to problematic sets of relationship between the archipelago's co-management participants (e.g. PMC sectors), in which the fishing sector – fishermen in particular – are a core set of actors. Fishermen have in the past and present contested their characterisation as the predators, the cause of environmental degradation, and fishing stock loss. They have contested too the interventions that sustainable development initiatives illicit, such as fishing quotas on lobster catches (which have been reduced to a four-month season) and fishing bans on sea cucumber fishing. Fishermen once aggressively dominated the archipelago's eco-politics but their positions have waned since the creation of the GNP and the increasing layers of conversation regulation and governance, evident most dramatically in the PMC's governance. They have lost power to access and to appropriate the archipelago's natural marine resources. Much is at stake here: the PMC's sustainable governance and stewardship of the GMR may soon terminate the fishing sector's role as a productive economic industry.

The GNP views such aggressive correction – or disruption – to fishermen's overfishing, however, as a necessary step toward achieving sustainability in Galápagos. To illustrate the point, I turn to my conversations with the GNP's director of 'Applied Investigations and Sustainability Studies' who explained that sustainability is attainable in Galápagos if conservation-based institutions succeed at equipping and teaching local residents to comprehend and to live sustainably

instead of having to enforce such ideals on them.[8] He further stated that fishing can be part of Galápagos' long-term economic infrastructure *if* it is developed responsibly and considered as a complement to tourism.[9] In other words, Galápagos fishermen have been imagined as performing a complimentary role in the archipelago's sustainable future, which requires them being taught how to embody appropriate behaviour.

This objective, according to many conservation-science actors, is possible by implementing a 'top-down' management approach in which the GNP divides and designates all currently registered fishermen into labour types (e.g. hand line, lobster, sea cucumber, mid-water long line). For instance, a World Wildlife Fund-Galápagos fisheries specialist explained that his years of developing Galápagos' fisheries sustainably led him to conclude that fixing fishermen to individual arts is an appropriate response to Galápagos' problematic histories of unsustainable fisheries management. That is because, he commented, dividing fishermen into certain practices will improve fishermen's solidarity and identity, and allow the GNP to deal with fishing groups directly since the latter should come to the [PMC bargaining] table enthusiastically since they have much at stake – if a decision or dialogue needs to occur. A troubling alternative, and the current reality, is the GNP having to deal with a mixed bag of fishermen sub-groups who are uninterested to involve themselves consistently with the sustainable development across fishing arts. This 'divide and conquer' approach may very well ease the GNP's capacity to proselytize fishermen to act in a certain likeness of 'sustainability' than is currently the scenario when having to deal with a blended and at times unreachable fishermen workforce. It may also ease the GNP's capacity to monitor fishermen at

[8] He further explained, "Galápagos residents need to understand that we depend on nature and not the inverse. So if we can achieve this [conceptual shift], we will be able to do sustainability' – which involves development, but at consumption levels within the ecosystem's limits to absorb human contamination" (November 2013).

[9] He further commented, "Galápagos' economic activities depend on tourism since there is no industry, oil or mining. If we lose nature, then we lose tourism and our capacity to live in Galápagos. We'd have to migrate elsewhere. It sounds extreme, but it's real. This scenario is happening across the globe" (November 2013).

sea. However, the division infringes upon fishermen's autonomy to vacillate between fishing arts in times when seas are rough or fish are difficult to seek out.

In the balance, fishermen voice a range of concerns with how the archipelago's sustainable development has marginalized their marine rights and stewardship of the GMR. Several examples illustrate the diverse ways fishermen have engaged with and understood sustainability. Firstly, Puerto Ayora's pioneering fishermen, like Don Marcos, who developed Santa Cruz Island's Pelican Bay beginning in the late 1960s, gradually embodied local knowledge of the archipelago's fisheries, learning when to fish and in what capacities, which occurred without oversight and restrictions.[10] Their fishing expertise developed organically as they understood local fish species' habits and how to care for fish stocks responsibly. They represent a kind of embedded local knowledge – of sustainability – that is rooted deeply in fishermen's practices and dispositions. They fear that the archipelago's sustainable development will cause the fishing sector to lose its entitlement to the lifeblood of their livelihoods – as well as their traditional relationships in and with the sea. Secondly, hand line fishermen claim that, in the context of Galápagos' sustainable development, fishermen have been unfairly type casted as predators and that the reputation is difficult to shake. They argue that the GNP, and the conservation-science sector generally, has socially constructed and imagined this stereotype as a flaw needing correction. Thirdly, many of Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen view that PMC's eco-political power – to instil sustainability standards, to control fishing materials, and to monitor fishing practices at sea has – has slowly eroded local marine users' rights, which they describe as a gradual loss of sovereignty. Fourthly, some fishermen regard the PMC's eco-political structure as an opportunity to engage with and subvert conservationist agendas on land, through processes of peaceful legislation and collaboration, which is a drastic shift from fishermen's

[10] Pseudonyms are used in all instances when representing informants and project contributors. A *dramatis personae* is provided in Appendix 3 to illustrate general informant data concisely, including the chapters in which all informants appear in this thesis.

historical tendency pre-GSL to influence marine stewardship through intimidation and threats.

Fifthly, many fishermen consciously recognize that local fishermen have been situated on the fringe of 'sustainability' issues and discourse (e.g. Edgar et al., 2004; Davos et al., 2007; Hearn, 2008; Castrejón and Charles, 2013). For instance, retired fishermen Alberto has associated himself with an 'imagined community' of small-scale fishermen and their fight for artisanal rights worldwide reflects an awareness and concern with what Standing (2011) describes as the "global precariat's" fragile livelihoods. Alberto advocates opportunities to develop the GMR's fisheries sustainably by referring to an October 2008 international conference held in Bangkok, officially titled "Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries: Bringing Together Responsible Fisheries and Social Development." He cites a preamble to the 'civil society organizations' movement, which aims "to correct the neglect of small-scale and indigenous fisheries, so as to avert impending disaster and conflict" (SAMUDRA, 2008:7). Alberto affirms that the SAMUDRA publication informs him of what the world says about sustainable small-scale fisheries. With the Bangkok conference as his theoretical crutch, Alberto maintains his claim that:

> Applying what we have in this magazine, we should be able to have a sustainable fishery [in Galápagos]. [These data] are applicable. We [fishermen] need to organize ourselves. I read discourse about our rights. Why do you think that members of the European Union and the GNP don't attend our Galápagos workshops? It's because they already have everything. There are millions of stars [Galápagos fishermen] that want to open their space. (November 2013)

His attempt to maintain the continuity of fishing livelihoods involves advocating fishermen's need to organize themselves as a means to keep pace with global actors' aggressive implementation of 'sustainability' programs and legislation. His sustainability consciousness affirms that many fishermen are aware and engage with the nuances of global movements to develop fisheries sustainably – and how those discourses impact on the Galápagos case.

These kinds of tensions are precisely the conceptual turf that this thesis engages. To be clear, this work does not focus on analysing the GNP's/PMC's strategies and the nuances of their sustainable interventions, but instead explores fishermen's diverse ways of sidestepping, challenging, and contesting, the conditioning of their precarious conditions. It is this eco-political context, which is the focus of this thesis and which frames the core questions I explore here. The GNP's grip on the archipelago's marine resources has shaped the governance of fishing, through its interventions which aim to regulate fishermen to embody 'sustainable' behaviours such as humane by-catch release protocols as well as to adhere to fishing bans, catch size limits, and regulations on fishing materials such as hook numbers. How have fishermen engaged with this regulation of their so-called predatory fishing practices? How have they both performed these regulations and reworked and redefined them in their fishing practices? Fishermen's livelihoods have become increasingly unstable and precarious in most cases due to these regulations. How have these processes disrupted traditional fishing practices, materials and ways of knowing and interacting in and with the sea? And, in remaking them, how do fishermen reshape sustainability in Galápagos?

While I do not engage issues of Galápagos' co-management design and decree – these have been extensively analysed (e.g. Baine et al., 2007; Davos et al., 2007; Heylings & Bravo, 2007) – I explore how local fishermen deal with, contest, sidestep and subvert the GNP's sustainable structuring of their livelihoods. This work conceptualizes life and livelihoods in a globalizing world by exploring how mobility is central to artisanal fishermen's livelihoods in Galápagos. Such inquiry is bound up in the linkages and relationships between people, spaces, identities and belonging for fishermen on land and at sea. This awareness resonates with Sørensen & Olwig's (2002:2) understanding that the investigation of mobile livelihoods – and the fluid fields of social, economic and political relations and cultural values – requires a shift of focus "from 'place of origin' and 'place of destination' to the movements involved in sustaining a livelihood." This approach inspires this work to avoid the general

tendency to understand 'livelihood' simply in economic terms (e.g. earn, gain, get, make), but to also consider how "social and kinship networks become particularly important in facilitating and sustaining diversified livelihoods that involve a range of spatially extended social and economic activities" (Sørensen & Olwig, 2002:4). I do so by conceptualising the points of intersection between fishermen's performances at sea and on land, the associated precarity, and the related eco-political processes of reshaping sustainability in this globally prized Galápagos context. In particular, this work contends that fishermen's livelihoods were once simple and performed freely, but are now precariously dependent upon the GNP's sustainable vision of the archipelago's natural resources management – a vision that corresponds with global notions of sustainability. Fishermen are positioned as 'predators,' at the heart of unsustainable practice, and thus as the cause of gradual erosion of Galápagos' marine eco-systems). Or, they are taken for granted, understood as merely the labourers, the catchers of fish, naïve and in need of global conservation agendas.

This thesis disputes these characterisations by exploring varied ways in which fishermen respond materially and socially to issues of sustainability, evident not only in their fishing practices and art at sea, but also in the ways in which they live on land, as residents, providers, fathers and husbands. Across both land and sea, they struggle with precarious livelihoods, a reality that anchors the ways they engage with agenda and regulations promoting sustainability. Local fishermen are aware that their capacity to remain relevant as a productive economic sector requires an acute consciousness of how global notions of sustainability influence local fishing practices and at what costs. Here, I demonstrate and argue that issues of precarity and sustainability are inextricably linked in their practices, and are the contexts which shape how they embody and preform locally-nuanced forms of sustainable practice. Venturing beyond questions of co-management and governance, so often at the centre of work on natural resources conservation (e.g. Persoon et al., 1996; Gell and Roberts, 2003; Edgar et al., 2004; Barrett et al., 2007; Bogaert et al., 2009; Jentoft et al., 2012; Thurstan et al., 2012), this thesis unravels

ways fishermen attempt to ease their precarious livelihoods at sea and on land by challenging, contesting, sidestepping and subverting the GNP's eco-political authority and its sustainable development agenda.

Precarious Theoretical Hooks and 'Sustainable' Shortcomings

This work begins with the premise that the working class has become disposable, signified by a forceful dependence to place future livelihood aspirations in someone else's hands. This stance draws upon the anthropology of precarity and particularly Standing's (2011) notion of an imagined global 'precariat' that seeks to consolidate the global suffrage of actors' economic insecurity at the hands of capitalist systems. In the same way, 'sustainability' is herein viewed as an imagined concept that global actors have mechanized as a controlling structure to safeguard the integrity of eco-systems and human well-being worldwide, which requires aggressive regulation of local users' practices and ways of knowing (Dresner, 2002; Redclift & Sage, 1994; Bhattacharya & Ali, 2014; Loewe, 2012; Kanie et al., 2014). Accordingly, the present study is framed by an anthropological understanding that the rise and implementation of globally constructed notions of sustainability have meant significant social consequences for those whom derive livelihoods from eco-systems. The use of 'globally constructed notions of sustainability' in this work, which is unpacked thoroughly in the latter half of the next chapter, represents the processes and cycles in which global actors (e.g. the UN, WCED) have formulated definitions of sustainability over time as well as how they have been translated into sets of practices that local actors are tasked with implementing globally. A leading example of how notions of sustainability are constructed at the global level is the journal "Sustainability Science," which has looked to clarify the concept of sustainability by considering how the discipline points toward a 'sustainable society.' Such inquiry considers sustainability by looking at three levels of 'system' – global, social and human – which are all viewed as "crucial to the coexistence of human beings and the environment, and it is our view that the current crisis of sustainability can be analysed in terms of the breakdown of these systems and the linkages among them"

(Komiyama &Takeuchi, 2006:2). In this light, organizations such as the UN have understood and designed 'sustainability' as a benchmark of environmental standards to be implemented at the local level (even though sustainability is often already part of local people's daily practices, if not part of their daily language).

This work argues that the sustainable development of natural spaces has not lived up to its promises to provide for the present and future needs of local communities since its implementation processes typically involve satisfying global agendas. The same is true in the Galápagos Islands where artisanal fishermen's livelihoods have been marginalized in an effort to uphold globally constructed sustainable ideals locally, such as the GNP's aggressive managerialist control of marine users' access to the GMR's natural resources. This eco-political landscape provides the theoretical framing to critically interrogate how 'sustainability' implementation processes in fact produce and distribute precarity to artisanal fishermen.

In this regard, the present study explores the lives of Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen and their fishing spaces (on land and at sea) by showing that their lives are indeed rich, textured and interwoven with the [global and local] social actors with whom they interface locally, as well as with the sea and the fish they catch. It does so by taking performativity theory as a conceptual framework – namely Butler's (1990) notion of the term, which contends that social norms are imagined and ritualized through actors' reproduction and repetition of them. In this way, the present study critically interrogates how artisanal fishermen's performativities of sustainability enable them to subvert the conditions of their conditioning by apprehending the very power matrices that distribute precarity to their livelihoods. Precarity and performativity are therefore valuable theoretical guides in which to explore the ethnographic terrain in which local actors subvert the power matrices that structure their livelihoods and practices sustainably.

The 1998-implemented eco-political shift in Galápagos' marine resources governance has meant that fishermen are no longer masters of their own domains at sea since they are today subjected to the PMC's designing and regulation of fishing calendars, quotas and practices. Anthropological notions of precarity (e.g. Butler, 2004, 2009, 2012; Stewart, 2012; Muehlebach, 2013) thus serve as a meaningful conceptual framework in which to understand the uncertainties of fishermen's limited daily practices. In particular, this work examines discourse on precarity, drawing principally upon Butler's (2012) notion of term as a social construct, which argues that social relationships are inextricably linked to the politics associated with regulating and sustaining bodily needs. The present study explores this tension in detail by unpacking how the PMC's control of the GMR's eco-politics – as well as the GNPS' regulation of fishermen's daily practices at sea – produce precarious livelihoods for artisanal fishermen. Precarity literature makes this connection possible when considering that the uncertainties of daily life involve what: Berlant (2011) claims is a condition of dependency wherein one's future lays in someone else's hands, Bevernage's (2013) describes as a constant state of 'provisionality', and Ridout & Schneider (2012) argue is a reality in which social actors are rendered disposable since they cannot prop their future securely upon their past.

Such notions of precarity position the present study to focus on Galápagos' fishermen's daily hardships and instabilities at high sea. However, Standing's (2011) notion of a global 'precariat' reminds that social relationships are not bound to spaces, but that they also take the form of an imagined, global community – which is the case for Alberto and his self-identification with artisanal fishermen worldwide. Muehlebach's (2013:301) writing on precariousness and the ethical imagination suggest that global forms of humanitarian engagement "promoted by well-meaning individuals and corporations, reproduce the unequal distribution of risk and vulnerability." Precarity literature thus offers a compelling conceptual framework in which to examine the 'glocal' nature of human suffrage – and particularly how precarity is produced and distributed. However, precarity literature commonly falls short of accounting for ways social actors employ their agency to contest and to

resist the political systems that produce and distribute precarity to their daily lives (e.g. Harker, 2012; Hughes, 2013; Ives, 2014). Scott's (1989) study of 'everyday forms of resistance' helps to bridge this conceptual gap by illustrating micro examples of marginalized groups' capacities to manifest their political interests – and is thus a model for how the present study unpacks Galápagos fishermen's strategies to offset their precarious daily lives and futures.

This work also unpacks sustainability literature by considering how Galápagos' post-GSL eco-political structuring has fused eco-tourism as the archipelago's economic linchpin, making notions of sustainability salient to all GMR-related activities and especially fishing practices. Accordingly, this work is situated in sustainability literature, which has produced sets of definitions (e.g. Dresner, 2002; Kuhlman & Farrington, 2010), behavioural goals [e.g. UN's 2000-implemented MDGs and 2015-implemented SDGs] and has manifested in global conferences (e.g. the UN's conferences on the environment and development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, Kyoto in 1997, and Johannesburg in 2002). Therefore, the present study approaches sustainability, as a concept that global actors have imagined and mechanized over time in an effort to account for the ecological, social and economic needs of the present without compromising future generations' abilities to deviate from traditional practices and ways of knowing.

While sustainability literature has made great strides to spotlight and to resolve issues of ecological harm, it has typically neglected to account for social consequences derived from processes in which local actors are pressured to embody sustainable practices (e.g. Kerr, 2005; Loewe, 2012; Kanie et al., 2014; Bhattacharya & Ali, 2014). In other words, sustainability scholarship has focused largely on environmental and economic risks, yet has underrepresented local actors' attempts to keep pace with the global community's ever-changing sustainability standards and regimes (e.g. de Wit, 2011). This work explores that conceptual gap by drawing upon anthropological critiques of 'sustainable development' (e.g. Lee, 2000; Escobar, 2010; Smyth, 2011) that critically interrogate ways development

projects do not satisfy target communities' livelihood aspirations. In this regard, the present study is framed by an anthropological understanding that local actors, such as Galápagos' artisanal fishermen, consciously and resiliently deal with the precarity of daily life by taking on the power structures, such as the GNP/PMC, that disrupt the continuity of traditional ways of knowing and acting. The following section explores how performativity theory enables this work to analyse these discursive crossroads.

Performativity as a Conceptual Thread

The scaffolding of conceptual gaps in discourse on precarity and sustainability reveals that therein lays great opportunity for ethnography to showcase processes in which local actors make sense of and deal with how the implementation of sustainability regimes has abruptly altered their livelihood trajectories and traditional ways of knowing. This is especially true in the Galápagos context where the PMC has marginalized fishermen's artisanal livelihoods in an effort to uphold globally constructed sustainable ideals of how to manage local marine users' access to natural resources. A critical interrogation of how fishermen employ their agency to contest their precarious daily practices and futures is thus as a compelling academic contribution to global discourse on precarity and sustainability – as well as an incisive nuance to narratives of Galápagos' eco-political sphere and its governance. In this regard, chapter three uses performativity theory to thread precarity and sustainability literature conceptually, which enables the present study's empirical chapters to understand how artisanal fishermen's performativities of sustainability subvert the conditions of their conditioning by apprehending the very power matrices that distribute precarity to their livelihoods.

This conceptual framing is applied the present study's ethnographic data, which show the micro experiences and daily exchanges of Galápagos' fishermen by following them to their fishing and social spaces at sea and on land. For instance, fieldwork data reveal that the Pelican Bay fishermen's wharf is not just a place of

fish sales, but also a stage where social actors (e.g. fishermen, conservationists, fisheries monitors) dramatize scenes of 'sustainability.' Such scenes include conservationists' attempts to dress the wharf's physical space as well as fishermen's bodies with images of 'sustainability' (e.g. t-shirts with sustainability logos and maxims), and GNPS officers obligating fishermen to submit sales receipts. From a performance theory perspective (e.g. Turner 1987; Schechner, 1988), fish are merely props, giving context to the social roles (e.g. victim, villain, virtuoso, viewer) that actors take on. This small wharf, then, can be understood a polestar for fishermen and those that wish to control them. However, beneath a superficial unpacking of the wharf's performance-related happenings, the space also displays fishermen's performativities of sustainability since it is where social actors concerned with fishermen's practices on land and at sea overlap and entangle.

Therefore, it is critical to move beyond performance theory and to consider performativity theory as a conceptual framework – namely Butler's (1990) notion of the term, which contends that social norms are imagined and ritualized through actors' reproduction and repetition of them. Butler's scholarship (e.g. 1990, 1993, 1997, 1999) also inform that actors' performativities provide the domain of agency, are socially constructed, and allow actors to apprehend the conditions of their conditioning. This study departs from Butler's, Butler's theorization by drawing upon critiques of her work (e.g. Lovell, 2003; Bell, 1999, 2007; Grosz, 2004; Rothenberg, 2006; Weber, 1979; West & Zimmerman, 1987). These voices enable this work to extend a conceptual argument on performativity to also consider how Galápagos fishermen's performativities of sustainability are situated in their fishing materiality, collective, and authoritative.

This conceptual framing is applied to Galápagos' fishing context by looking precisely at its recent grassroots mid-water long line pilot plan, which involves a local reproduction of a method known globally as 'mid-water long line fishing.' The pilot plan's development comes in the wake of the GNP's tightened limitations on fishing calendars and methods and shows potential to develop international fish

exportation at elevated prices and with 'green' branding. The pilot plan involves several elements. Firstly, it involves a group of approximately 15 artisanal fishermen who began with hand line and lobster fishing roots and now participate voluntarily in the plan. They endure the physical and social hardships of floating and fishing on the GMR's frontier spaces for roughly 20-days monthly while GNPS observers monitor their practices at sea so as to understand the involved ecological risks (e.g. by-catch types and numbers). Secondly, it is controversial since, in many ways, the fishing method is viewed as legal and illegal, termed industrial [globally] and artisanal [locally], and considered part of a destructive past yet also the linchpin of current and future fishing ambitions. Thirdly, the spatial contexts in which fishermen perform their trade at sea and on land are viewed to impact significantly on the pilot plan's future long-term approval as well as how fishermen are characterized as eco-villains or victims in co-management processes. An ethnographic and analytical unpacking of these elements (and ways they overlap and entangle with each other, such as fishermen's methodical procurement of the pilot plan's approval), is critical to exposing the many ways that local and globally-sanctioned social actors inadvertently treat Galápagos' co-management approach to 'sustainable development' as a space in which to intervene, to appropriate power, and to impose globally constructed sustainability ideals.

What becomes apparent, then, is that Galápagos fishermen are faced with the precarious choice between struggling to maintain the continuity of their traditional practices at sea and working on land to secure the sector's long-term eco-political stake in the PMC – such as the pilot plan's permanent approval. In other words, fishermen face a precarious existence in which they struggle to keep pace with the present, and are ill prepared to grapple with the PMC's authority over the long-term. Consequently, they are rendered to what Bevernage (2013) describes as a constant state of 'provisionality' in which actors are denied a horizon of expectation and forced to live an ephemeral existence. For instance, fishermen often struggle to earn a profit from their trips to sea; yet, continue to do so without any assurance that the

GNPS will one day soon approve the pilot plan permanently.[11] In essence, the GNPS asks fishermen to perform their dangerous trade with the blind hope that their fishing performances will contribute to the GNPS' permanent pilot plan approval. Mid-water long line fishermen thus struggle to maintain their artisanal pasts and are also foreclosed from forging a stable livelihood future at sea according to their own design. This scenario is precisely what makes the following ethnographic accounts of fishermen's daily practices, livelihood trajectories and notions of continuity particularly worthy of academic critique.

Therefore, performativity theory's function in this work's conceptual framing is to enable the following ethnographic data to account for whether or not and to what extent fishermen contest and subvert the power matrices that structure their livelihoods and practices sustainably. This theoretical framework speaks back to precarity literature – which often assumes that social actors contest their precarious lives simply and uniformly – by showing that actors employ their agency and subversive skillsets in nuanced capacities. Similarly, performativity theory helps to fill a gap in sustainability literature by showing precisely how the provisionality and uncertainties of daily life are entangled with aggressive attempts to implement sustainability regimes and practices. In this regard, performativity theory extends the scope of literature on precarity and sustainability by illustrating that local fishermen (and local actors worldwide, for that matter) are not passive actors, but instead are capable of contesting and apprehending the conditioning of their conditions, which is herein viewed to produce and distribute precarity to their daily lives. Specifically, this work uses ethnography to portray the nuances of fishermen's performativities of sustainability, which it does by comparing how they manifest differently at sea and on land. This division and mixing of ethnographic terrain allows the present study to offer a rich, textured final threading of how coming to

[11] To be clear, the yearlong pilot plan began in November of 2012 and was extended in late 2013 so that the GNPS could collect and process additional data that was needed to make a ruling on the plan's future. This temporary authorization has been in place for what has become an additional two years [at the time of this PhD's early 2016 submission]. Yet, fishermen lament the fact they do not have access to the GNPS' fieldwork reports and knowledge of how the data emerges.

grips with fishermen's performativities of sustainability reveals key issues related to Galápagos' marine governance and its users' future livelihoods. The following section picks up on the issue of terrain and explains how an ethnographic crossing of terrestrial and marine field sites allows this work to produce sets of conclusions that are conceptually uncommon to Galápagos eco-political sphere.

Thesis Structure

Chapters two and three together critically interrogate the core conceptual frameworks driving this work. Chapter two carefully examines discourse on precarity and considers how fishermen's fragile livelihoods resonate with those of local actors worldwide – or with what Standing (2011) calls the global 'precariat.' The chapter explores how notions of precarity are understood in relation to power, processes of conditioning, dependency, provisionality, and uncertainties. The chapter also tracks the origin and development of the term 'sustainable development' while exploring the effects of sustainable interventions in Galápagos and globally, and how they speak back to discourse on precarity. Chapter three builds upon the intersections linking precarity and sustainability by unpacking literature on performativity, and namely Butler's development of the concept (e.g. 1990, 1993, 1997, 1999). Butler's scholarship frames this work with an understanding of how performativities provide the domain of agency, are socially constructed, and allow actors to apprehend the conditions of their conditioning. However, chapter three frames how this work extends Butler's theory by considering the ways in which Galápagos fishermen's performativities of sustainability are situated in their fishing materiality, collective, and authoritative.

Chapter four accounts for this work's ethnographic methods and ethics. It illustrates the ethnographic terrain, the mid-water long line fishing pilot plan's development, and how change in Galápagos fishing histories and practices gives shape to the present study. Fieldwork involved shadowing fishermen's daily activities (and fish, for that matter) across GMR and GNP spaces. This ethnographic approach enables

the following empirical chapters to spotlight disruptions to and the continuity of informants' daily lives. These data bring to light spaces, techniques, technologies and actors that are essential to understanding Galápagos' fishing materiality and contexts. A blending of ethnographic terrains produced data that reveal how fishermen: negotiate authorship of Galápagos' marine-related scripts; contest the pilot plan's ecological, social and financial consequences on land and at sea; modify the pilot plan's technical and material development; and present themselves and the pilot plan in ways viewed [locally and globally] as 'sustainable.'

The next three chapters incorporate 'thick description' to present ethnographic experiences in the field, drawing upon Geertz's understanding that the method is the ethnographer's most effective tool for "teasing out the 'text' of culture" in order to make the details of human life and behaviour intelligible (Erickson & Murphy, 2013:123). Accordingly, chapters five and six explore fishermen's terrain and how their lives are intricately netted and tangled with social actors across Galápagos spaces. The first empirical chapter looks at interaction at sea and the second does so on land. This separation is made, albeit crudely, knowing that these spaces fold into each other and that the performances and negotiations that result from social interaction should not be limited to carved-out or bounded physical spaces. The separation of physical turfs, then, works to show that performances of sustainability on land, at sea, and in the in-between spaces each play a role in a larger eco-political matrix that can't be understood fully when one limits analytical perspectives to a sliver of Galápagos' eco-landscape. Also, fishing-related metaphors (e.g. hooks, nets, lines, entanglements, captains, boats) are developed from fieldwork experiences at sea and are woven into the ethnographic chapters to clarify analytical concepts that may easily be overlooked in the empirical story.

Chapter five, titled "Master and Commander" illustrates fishermen's performativities of sustainability at sea and is divided into three ethnographic accounts. It begins with a detailed account of Galápagos' mid-water long line fishing materials and practices, which are different from global interpretations of the same.

This ethnographic backdrop is important since the conditions on and conditioning of fishing materiality (e.g. GNP-implemented restrictions on hook numbers, by-catch release protocol) are key to fishermen's subversive performativities. The second account explores an incident in which two fishermen entangled their mid-water long lines when simultaneously hooking a 100-kilo swordfish and a large shark. Their dealing with that stressful ordeal illustrates how artisanal fishermen are expected to take on identities as 'sustainable' and compliant to the GNPS' oversight despite not having adequate time to embody such identities. The data contribute to an argument that the GNP's aggressive attempts to structure fishermen's livelihoods have interrupted their traditional ways of knowing and interacting with and in the sea – and thus shows that local actors' need for continuity is linked with their *habitus*. The data also resonate with performativity theory and particularly an argument that socially constructed identities are imagined and reproduced. The third account looks at how fishermen at times make sense of and deal with the sustainable conditions on and conditioning of their practices at sea by leveraging their power as boat captains to pressure GNPS on-board observers to produce lenient fieldwork reports of by-catch and 'predatory' behaviour. The data suggest that fishermen often prioritize their short-term 'ability to sustain' their precarious fishing-derived livelihoods over their collective capacity to secure long-term fishing futures (e.g. the pilot plan). The chapter's findings are important since they show that fishermen benefit from the domain of agency at sea in ways that are not available to them on land (such as in the PMC's co-management spaces and processes). The findings also contribute collectively to a broader argument that the continuity of fishermen's artisanal histories are put at risk since they are tasked with performing their trade different than their traditional ways of knowing and interacting in and with the sea – and especially since they have not had adequate time to embody such aggressive 'sustainability' implementation processes.

Chapter six, titled "How to Fish Out of Water", unpacks the performative nature of fishermen's social interactions on land by juxtaposing two performative displays. The first ethnographic account illustrates that the conservation-science sector has become dependent upon artisanal fishermen's expertise at sea to sustain its ecological studies. The data suggest that fishermen such as Gustavo entangle themselves intricately with conservation-science actors on land (e.g. arranging conservation-based fieldwork contracts) in ways not available at sea. Those processes allow them to take on identities such as scientist and expert, which thereby contest fishermen's socially constructed identity as predators of the GMR's natural resources. For Gustavo, this is made possible by flexing his social prowess at Pelican Bay and benefiting from its domain of agency. The second account chronicles how fishermen Don Antonio clandestinely spearheaded the mid-water pilot plan's development by subverting the PMC's ranks and incrementally hooking its collective eco-political endorsement. The data show that – while Galápagos fishermen traditionally have resisted the GNP's power by organizing aggressive street protests – Don Antonio benefited from the PMC's domain of agency to subvert its eco-political legislation stealthily and peacefully, and thereby in a way not readily available to fishermen at sea. His performativities of sustainability are understood as an attempt to secure the short and long-term stability of artisanal fishing futures. These stories are valuable illustrations of how mid-water long line fishermen employ performativities of sustainability in order to maintain the sector's economic relevance and continuity, which apparently requires their contesting and subverting of the conditions on and conditioning of their livelihoods across Puerto Ayora spaces.

Chapter seven, titled "Fishy Futures", explores how fishermen make ends meet through varied vocational trajectories. It does so by chronicling how three mid-water long line fishermen deal with and make sense of disruptions to the continuity of their daily fishing performances by employing diverse strategies to attain stable livelihoods. The first story shows how Don Antonio exchanged his mid-water long line fishing lines for the lines of social webs, which took the form of taking on full-

time employment at Puerto Ayora's fishing cooperative where he builds the membership's solidarity and confidences in long-term fishing futures (via workshops and Facebook postings). The data indicate that fishermen's performativities of sustainability are not limited to their materiality since they can extend to developing the sectors' collective agency to negotiate the conditioning of their conditions. The second story details how Gustavo's interfacing with conservation-science actors led him to hook a dream job to travel globally aboard a shark-tagging expedition – and why he released the opportunity since it would ultimately mean long-term strain on the social ties with his wife and children. The story is valuable indicates that Gustavo's rootedness in Galápagos' social matrix factors greatly into his decision to remain local and to forego what he describes as an 'once-in-a-lifetime' opportunity. The third story shows how Anthrax continues his mid-water long line fishing on 'the edge' – both literally on the edge of the GMR's boundary waters and metaphorically as he pushes the limits of his capacity to manage his precarious risks at high sea. The data demonstrate that Anthrax endures his precarious livelihood by eking out a living without loudly contesting his conditions or apprehending the processes and actors that intervene in mid-water long line practices.

These stories together characterize a messy continuum which shows how fishermen's performativities of sustainability are diverse, textured and do not fit a singular archetype – despite them being thought of and written about as such in global discourse. They also illustrate fishermen's capacity to sustain the long-term, mid-range and immediate continuity of their fishing-derived livelihoods. More importantly, the data highlight that the GNP's application of sustainability legislation infrequently considers fishermen's needs to sustain the realities of daily living. The three empirical chapters together offer perspectives from the margins of Galápagos' fishing spaces (on land and at sea) and thereby reveal how performativity theory serves as a valuable conceptual framing of how local actors' respond resiliently to the disruptions that break the continuity of their livelihoods.

Chapter eight, this work's conclusive chapter, argues that fishermen's precarity transcends the ways narratives of the GMR's co-management typically presents a crude land-sea binary of physical terrain. Fishermen's precarious livelihoods and the continuity of their daily practices are observed across marine and terrestrial spaces, making a case for literature (and the GNP/PMC too) to reconceptualise ways fishermen's precarity and eco-political hardships are commonly fixated to fishing spaces at sea. It complicates too Galápagos literature that commonly frames livelihoods as operating in accordance to constructs of sustainability that are conceptualized and developed over the long-term. This assumption is disrupted by an argument that fishermen, and other local actors in Galápagos tasked with performing sustainability, are concerned too with the short-term realities and complications of daily life, which commonly distract them from fishing and living according to long-term notions of sustainability. For fishermen, this includes respecting PMC-implemented fishing regulations and bans, and developing their fishing arts and practices according to global sustainable translations of the same.

Additionally, I contend that the GNP's abrupt change to artisanal fishing practices and their associated identities have not necessarily proselytized fishermen with a 'sustainable' habitus and practices as idealized by the GNP and the broader global sustainability agenda. Instead, the GNP's sustainability campaign has attempted to replace artisanal lifestyles and practices abruptly, disrupting fishermen's artisanal ways of knowing and their interactions in and with the sea. Such efforts, despite their aspirations and promises, have not yet corrected 'unsustainable' fishing behaviours nor have they stabilized fishermen's livelihood concerns.

Furthermore, I demonstrate that fishermen are not passive actors, but capable of employing their agency to loosen their eco-political entanglements, which they do by drawing upon a wide array of skillsets on land and at sea. In this context, some local fishermen contest their precarity loudly and forcefully while others do so quietly from the social fringe. This reality is apparent when considering how fishermen's performativities are: collective as they interface with various PMC

actors at sea and on land; situated in the materiality of their fishing boats, lines and hooks, and their power to manipulate them for eco-political advantage; and authoritative as they deal with and make sense of the GNP's/PMC's control of marine resources in diverse ways.

At present fishermen are stuck choosing between their artisanal pasts and their 'sustainable' futures without means to blend the two fluidly and thereby to maintain the continuity of their artisanal practices. A consequence is that the GNP's/PMC's implementation of 'sustainability' in policy and regulations produces and distributes precarity to local fishermen as the latter deal with having to prepare for an unpredictable future while largely abandoning their local histories. Nonetheless local fishermen demonstrate an 'ability to sustain' their traditional identities and practices in some cases and contexts by drawing upon their masterful manipulation of fishing materials, social networks and power dynamics – at sea and on land in order to respond resiliently to their disrupted livelihood trajectories.

In sum, co-management processes typically re-write the eco- and socio-political scripts of 'sustainability' in localities worldwide, as demonstrated here in the case of the Galápagos and the PMC's marine governance, through attempts to condition local actors' practice in ways viewed globally as sustainable. Yet, these aspirations fall short of resolving the fundamental conflicts that arise when global notions of sustainability are applied locally. Consequently, local actors' resilient and subversive performativities of sustainability occur as responses to disrupted artisanal identities and practices, the regimes which prompt them to embody sustainable practices too quickly, and the precarity of living subject to powerful regional and global actors' authorship. In sum, this thesis documents a precarious present for Galápagos' artisanal fishermen, yet also provides pathways that suggest the possibility for sustaining the archipelago's ecological integrity as well as its permanent residents' livelihoods over the long-term.

TWO

The Precarity of Sustainability

Chapter Abstract

This chapter argues that Galápagos fishermen, similar to many groups of local actors worldwide, experience a condition of dependency in which their future livelihoods lie in someone else's hands. Their precarity derives from the Galápagos National Park's (GNP) and Participatory Management Council's (PMC) structuring of 'sustainable' fishing conditions, allowances and futures. 'Sustainability', in the context of this study, is taken as an imagined concept that has been socially constructed over time at global conferences that typically unite first-world nations in an effort to structure and manage local actors' practices worldwide. These kinds of conferences, such as the United Nation's (UN) conferences on the environment and development (e.g. Rio de Janeiro in 1992, Kyoto in 1997, Johannesburg in 2002), are problematic since their proceedings typically homogenize local actors' aspirations and aptitudes globally while prioritizing etic over emic sustainability ideals. In this light, the chapter examines existing literature to conceptually frame notions of precarity and to trace the origination and development of the terms 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development'. This foundation contributes to a critical interrogation of how notions of sustainability have been disseminated globally, how they feature in fisheries co-management studies, and with what outcomes. The chapter engages with sustainability literature by exploring how 'sustainable development' interventions have modified local actor's practices – though doing so has often compromised social communities' abilities to sustain their livelihoods, as is the case with Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen.

‘Sustainable Development’ Produces and Distributes Precarity

A principal argument of this thesis, particularly foregrounded in this chapter, is that global processes aimed at securing sustainability, in fact, produce and distribute precarity. This has been the case – especially in places like Galápagos and among artisanal fishermen there of whom this study is based – since the enactment of sustainable development frameworks has apprehended certainties and stability once common to people’s lives. The fallout is that some Galápagos fishermen live in a precarious world and experience life at its limits; their livelihoods have become, in many cases, irrelevant to sustainability ideals and ecological management processes. This theoretical interrogation, then, draws upon anthropological critiques of ‘sustainable development’ to offer a tripartite argument, claiming that sustainable development: is globally-constructed and distributed to local actors worldwide, aims to modify local actors’ practices by imposing managerialist structures upon their material practices, and is not sustainable when applied to localities, despite its promises, since it fails to take into account people’s ability to sustain livelihoods.

This conceptual framing provides for an understanding of how many Galápagos fishermen develop strategies and abilities to sustain and to subjugate the sustainability norms that: regulate their practices, structure their lives, and produce and distribute precarity by pushing them to the limits. This contribution is made in the next chapter, where I argue that the performativity of sustainability ideals – like that observable among Galápagos’ artisanal fishermen – is a response to processes in which the application of sustainable development has generated anxieties and reinforced precariousness. Accordingly, my borrowing of performativity literature [with particular recognition of Butler’s (1990, 1993, 1997, 1999) critique of gendered social norms] equips me with a valuable theoretical framework in which to understand precisely how and to what extent Galápagos fishermen subvert the hegemonic sustainability norms placed upon them – which favour, clearly, environmental concerns over the lived human condition (e.g. social and economic issues). The forthcoming placing of performativity as the linchpin of my conceptual framework allows me to contribute to anthropological conversations on precarity

and sustainable development literature that focus on the uncertainties and instabilities that occur when global actors tote notions of sustainability worldwide and enforce them upon people living in localities, which are seen by the former to have [environmentally] unsustainable practices.

The Precarious Roots of 'Going Green'

Precarity is taken as a starting point in this theoretical unpacking since coming to grips with precarious livelihoods and notions associated with them is herein viewed as a precursor to understanding the reasons why Galápagos fishers' performativity of sustainability has become salient to the current study. It is clear that notions of precarity and precariousness have been developed in and applied to various contexts, typically showing that the hegemonic marginalization of social actors has meant sharp social consequences in various social contexts.[12]

A review of literature reveals disparate interpretations of precarity's terminological scope, ranging from the essential to trivial. On one hand, Butler's (2012:148) account of vulnerabilities associated with ethical cohabitation suggests that 'our' "precarity is to a large extent dependent upon the organization of economic and social relationships, the presence or absence of sustaining infrastructures and social and political institution" and thus "precarity is indissociable from that dimension of politics that addresses the organization and protection of bodily needs." On the other hand, Stewart (2012) emphasises that, although our academic understandings of precarity are typically 'moralized,' the regularity of precarity, written as an

[12] Those contexts include, but are not limited to: land ownership (Scott, 1985), labour rights (Standing, 2011), violence (Butler, 2009a), indigeneity and nation-building (Gergan, 2014), and sexual politics (Butler, 2009b).

emergent form,[13] allows one to question how to approach what she calls 'everyday worldings' that 'shimmer precariously' apart from moralizing agendas.[14]

Nonetheless, notions of precarity have gained traction in discourse largely for their resonance with capitalism and how its practice removes certain certitudes and stabilities from people's lives. It is in this light that Ridout and Schneider (2012:5) explain that:

> Precarity is life lived in relation to a future that cannot be propped securely upon the past. Precarity undoes a linear streamline of temporal progression and challenges progress' and 'development' narratives on all levels. Precarity has become a byword for life in late and later capitalism — or, some argue, life in capitalism *as usual*.

The precarity of imagining future certainties while living amid current uncertainties problematizes the dependent relationship between life and work in a capitalist world. As Berlant (2011) indicates in her work on 'cruel optimism', which she describes as a relation of attachment to compromising conditions of possibility, precarity is a condition of dependency in which one's future is in someone else's hands – complicated and made even more unstable by neoliberal economic practices.[15] Together, Ridout and Schneider and Berlant's notions speak to the working class' glaring inability to sustain current livelihood conditions in the future amid '[sustainable] development' – and that people's lives are often rendered disposable, especially since their future livelihoods are controlled by others' appropriation of power and function as a by-product of volatile capitalist markets. In the following chapters, I explore how this 'others dependency' is evident in

[13] Stewart's (2012) notion of emergence views a writing culture of precarity's forms as one that is compositional and decompositional. In this way, she claims that objects of analysis materialize as: assemblages of affects, routes, conditions, sensibilities and habits.

[14] Stewart (2012:519) suggests that the regularity of precarity in non-moralized contexts can be precious without melodrama, such as "sea change, a darkening atmosphere, a hard fall, or the barely perceptible sense of a reprieve, attachments, or ways of living,"

[15] This dovetails with Butler's (2009:14) articulation that "Precariousness implies living socially, that is, the fact that one's life is always in some sense in the hands of the other." Butler argues that these relations of dependency are "obligations toward others, most of whom we cannot name and do not know, and who may or may not bear traits of familiarity to an established sense of who 'we' are" (ibid).

Galápagos' artisanal fishing industry since artisanal fishers' future vocational identities as well as economic securities hinge upon the GNPS' regulation of sustainable fishing methods, seasons and quotas. In other words, this work considers how fishermen's lives are at the end of a hanging rope (or fishing line) that is entangled with the GNP's structuring structures. Consequently, fishers' dependency on the GNP/PMC limits their access to marine resources, which in turn compromises their control of local and global fish trade.[16]

Such capitalistic notions of precarity resonate with Standing's (2011) study of the making and unmaking of a global 'precariat,' which he views as requiring our collective attention since it, a worldwide community, is suffering from economic insecurity 'without an anchor of stability' despite global development's ideological promises.[17] This claim requires some unpacking. Firstly, I take the stance that Standing's global 'precariat' is an imagined construct and reflective of a homogenized account of local actors' identities and suffrage worldwide. Secondly, Standing's use of 'precariat' conflates the terms 'precarious' and 'proletariat' as a means to describe a Marxian '*class-in-the-making'*, which assumes precarious living as a normal state of existence. Yet, as is later showed with Butler's (1997) notions of performativity, and also in my ethnographic data of Galápagos' artisanal fishermen's practices, the precariat can also be seen as a process.

Standing (2011:16) suggests that "To be precariatised is to be subject to pressures and experiences that lead to a precariat existence, of living in the present, without a secure identity or sense of development achieved through work and lifestyle."[18]

[16] To be clear, I suggest that the GNP's control of fishers' methods as well as access to fish has narrowed the types of livelihoods fishers lead and thus the roles they play in local and global fish markets.
[17] Standing (2011:9) claims "The descriptive term 'precariat' was first used by French sociologists in the 1980s, to describe temporary or seasonal workers" and that the term has been used widely in popular parlance.
[18] Standing (2011:18-19) further suggests that this precariat existence is marked by characteristics, including: anger, anomie [which he takes from Durkheim's understanding that anomie is 'a feeling of passivity born of despair'], anxiety and alienation; he also writes that it is "defined by short-termism,

Such pressures and precarious existence exist through our involuntary interconnections and the 'dimensions of our interdependency'. Butler (2012:140-141) makes this point when she argues:

> I want to insist upon a certain intertwinement between that other life, all those other lives, and my own—one that is irreducible to national belonging or communitarian affiliation. In my view … the life of the other, the life that is *not* our own, is also our life, since whatever sense "our" life has is derived precisely from this sociality, this being already, and from the start, dependent on a world of others, constituted in and by a social world.

As such, precarity entangles social actors irrespective of regionality and political affiliation, entrenching the subject's existence in the 'global precariat's shared concern for equality. Yet, such interconnection also means certain limitations since one's life is bounded by the precarity and disposability of a collective and inclusive 'other.' This begs the question: Is it possible for an individual to ever escape precarious life?

Surely, the interconnections of precarity and the human desire for certainty extend to Galápagos where the local legislation of marine and terrestrial management plans has entangled global notions of sustainability with local practices. This is certainly the case with the GNP's delineation of artisanal fishermen's labour types and liberties.[19] A consequence among artisanal fishermen is that their practices at sea are dependent upon the Galápagos National Park's temporal decisions to open and to constrain labour freedoms, such as: fishing calendars, zones and materiality. Therefore, artisanal fishermen's certainties are indeed ephemeral since the fish they catch and the management of their practices are uncertain. Similarly, I aim to show, through data analysis, that the pressures of applying global notions of sustainability to environmentally-prized places like Galápagos has caused certain instabilities and

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which could evolve into a mass incapacity to think long term, induced by the low probability of personal progress or building a career."

[19] See Figure 2.

stable uncertainties – especially for Galápagos' precariatised precariat (namely artisanal fishers).

Notions of precarity, however, are not limited to capitalism since one can substitute 'labour' or 'development' with other objects of study (e.g. gender norms, violence, sustainability) and encounter similar problematiques of precarity. Butler's (2009:23) study of the precariousness of violence and its grievability is a noteworthy example wherein she argues that lives are by definition precarious, and that "although precarious life is a generalized condition, it is, paradoxically, the condition of being conditioned." Correspondingly, my understanding of artisanal fishermen's precarity should be viewed not simply as an existential state, but also as processes in which subjects (e.g. artisanal fishers) are conditioned – individually and collectively – by their dependence upon and interaction with State entities (e.g. the GNPS).[20] Therefore, Galápagos' artisanal fishers' precariousness is problematic since they depend upon [their interaction with] the State agencies for the conditions of and limits to their precarity. This study thus critically interrogates how, and the extent to which, such precarity is reinforced and ritualized among artisanal fishermen through processes of interactive conditioning.

Acknowledging this, I take the stance that those living precarious lives have the agency to apprehend the conditions and conditioners of their precarity. This, though seemingly a daunting task when mindful that those subjugated by power matrices have limited means to topple the very power structures that maintain their relations of subjugation in the first place, is possible as evident in Scott's (1985, 1989) analysis of 'everyday forms of resistance.' Scott's work explores ways that the lower

[20] This idea of problematic other-dependence stems from Butler's (2009:26) argument [which takes State violence as its context] that "Precarity also characterizes that politically induced condition of maximized precariousness for populations exposed to arbitrary state violence who often have no other option than to appeal to the very state from which they need protection. In other words, they appeal to the state for protection, but the state is precisely that from which they require protection. To be protected from violence by the nation-state is to be exposed to the violence wielded by the nation-state, so to rely on the nation-state for protection *from* violence is precisely to exchange one potential violence for another."

class manifests their political interests through collective action by appropriating the weapons of resistance available to them in order to subvert the conditions and conditioning of their precarity. More importantly, Scott's argument (1989:52) is salient to the present study since – as is the case among artisanal fishermen and other members of Galápagos' precariat who take issue with the State's mandate of sustainable [fishing and tourism] practices – "such resistance is virtually always a stratagem deployed by a weaker party in thwarting the claims of an institutional or class opponent who dominates the public exercise of power."[21]

In this way, this work explores how Galápagos fishers develop agency *and* weapons of resistance at their disposal – whether explicit or clandestine – in which to combat the sustainable conditioning of their forced, precarious lives. Yet, in lieu of Scott's work, agency is here understood as something that is not concrete, coherent and stable, but instead constantly redeveloped and adaptive in response to appease or subvert ways that structuring structures attempt to maintain power matrices. In other words, Galápagos fishermen continually adapt their agentive responses to the State's control of their practices and thus livelihoods. They, however, are unable to keep pace since the State's appropriation of power allows it to remain forever one step ahead of those it intends to manage. A consequence is that actors whom endure the false pursuit of seeking certainty and stable livelihoods while carrying the burden of the State's control at some point become tired. This is evident when looking at Galápagos fishermen's violent protests and contestations to State control over past decades, which I view as an outward expression of an internal frustration derived from fishermen's inability to untangle themselves from the State's eco-political netting. Therefore, exhausted actors realize that they are entangled in a social web, which means that they need to create certain stabilities and permanencies in order to remain relevant and to deal with change over the long-term. This work theorizes social webs by drawing upon Förster's (2011) Emic

[21] Scott (1989:37) claims such resistance includes "invariably quiet, disguised, anonymous, often undeclared forms of resisting claims imposed by claimants who have superior access to force and to public power."

Evaluation Approach, which utilizes a mapping of social actors to explore and to problematize ways fishing communities are bonded together – and contrasting it with Mitchell's (1974:280) seminal work that theorizes social networks by considering ways "pairs of 'knots' influence what happens in adjacent 'knots.'" A tracing of fishermen's social webs thereby provides the structure in which to critically interrogate the ways fishermen's performative knots ramify and entangle with others of the same. Accordingly, this work examines how fishermen seek to release themselves from the State's entanglements while the State seeks to secure the snaring of local actors as tight as possible to maintain control, yet without strangling those actors and compromising their contributions to local labour markets.

This initial unpacking of precarity, then, establishes, as a starting point, that Galápagos fishermen's lives are precarious and that the power structures managing the archipelago's sustainability dogma produce and distribute such precarious existentialism. It is also a valuable entry point towards unpacking anthropological critiques of sustainable development literature since both are concerned with stabilities and uncertainties, which are salient to Galápagos' eco-political landscape. The precarity of the global precariat's existence – and the processes of reinforcing their precariousness – has meant that people have become disposable. People struggle to claim relevant existences, yet allow power matrices to limit their socio-economic stability and ascendance. Similarly, sustainable development creates uncertain lives since 'sustainable' policies are meant to solve [eco-political] problems, yet, in the process, destabilize people's certainties. The following unpacking of anthropological critiques of sustainable development aims to show that 'sustainable development' has been formulated as a super global mechanism, which has entrenched, generally, the precariat's dependency on the State and thus nuanced, precarious forms of existence. Consequently, the application of globally constructed sustainability norms to places like Galápagos has meant destabilizing fishermen's certainties while stabilizing their precarity.

The Global Imagining of 'Sustainability' and 'Sustainable Development'

Notions of sustainability are seen to have become a part of the development discourse beginning in the 1980s.[22] A consequence is that what has today come to be called sustainable development conflates notions of sustainability (usually in reference to environmental conservation) and development (Dresner, 2002; Lee et al., 2000; Baker, 2006). I thus trace the origin of notions about development to understand the contexts that influenced the uses and flows of the term 'sustainable development' as a means to argue that the term has been imagined, globally-constructed and distributed worldwide. This theoretical unpacking allows for a critical appraisal of global fisheries and co-management literature presented in the next section.

Cowen and Shenton (1996:7, 336) argue that the terms 'development' and 'underdevelopment' existed well before World War II, although neither was seen as "part of a new imperial project for the colonial and post-colonial 'Third World'". It was not until US President Harry Truman's post-World War II use of the term 'development' that the term was used to describe unequal relationships between rich and poor nations (Escobar, 1992; Trí et al., 1995; Edelman & Haugerud, 2005). In 1980, notions of sustainability and development were first combined into what is called 'sustainable development' when a group of Northern environmentalists working for the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources introduced the couplet 'sustainable development' in its World Conservation Strategy report, defining it to mean "the integration of conservation and development to ensure that modifications to the planet do indeed secure the survival and well-being of all people" (Dresner, 2002:1,30-31; Redclift & Sage,

[22] Various claims dispute when 'sustainability' was first used as a concept and included in popular discourses. Goldie et al. (2005) argue that the issue of sustainability first emerged with Meadows' (1972) work. Dresner (2002), however, claims that the term surfaced at the World Council of Churches 1974 conference on Science and Technology for Human Development, which included a reference to 'sustainable societies.' Fox and Van Rooyen (2004) suggest that sustainability became a serious part of the development discourse following its inclusion in the 1987-published Brundtland Report. Early uses of the term sustainability thus began with an emphasis on social conditions (e.g. the need for equity and for democracy) and not environmental conditions.

1994).[23] This definition foreshadowed an emphasis on incorporating conservation into all development planning from its earliest phase. It also influenced the WCED's 1987 report *Our Common Future*, better known as the Brundtland Report, which defined sustainable development as that which "seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those in the future" (Goldie et al., 2005:2; Reid, 1995).[24] What follows is that literature often conflates the terms 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development.' This occurs generally despite the latter's general implication of processual aims in which global actors aspire to apply notions of sustainability (e.g. the Brundtland Report's definition) to social groups worldwide, while the former simply refers to theoretical pillars and not development frameworks such as Kuhlman and Farrington's (2010) notation that notions of 'sustainability' historically involve a tripartite composition, including: environmental, economic and social factors.[25]

Using this framework, I take the stance that sustainability is a concept socially constructed on a global, Eurocentric platform and imagined within a context: people live in a world which has a short lifespan, limited resources, and a need to imagine how future generations will continue to benefit from exposure to current resources and experiences. I also take the approach that sustainability is produced through processes of global actors convening and determining how to resolve issues related to population growth over time and the human tendency to maximize benefits from

[23] See Dasgupta's (2001, chapter nine) critique of human well-being vis-à-vis the natural environment for an account of how measurement approaches of 'well-being' impact on the sustainable development discourse. Also, McGillivray and Clarke's (2006) edited work on human well-being illustrates that inequality features as a focus of human well-being studies though separate from issues related to the natural environment. Therefore, well-being is herein viewed as a concept, which is at times inherently linked to human connections with the natural environment and at times conceptualized as void of it.

[24] This definition is cited for two reasons. Firstly, it marks a conceptual shift in understanding that economic development is necessary to satisfy the social goals of sustainable development practices. Secondly, as Haughton (1999:234) indicates, the WCED's seminal definition is more politically palatable than the more radical views that have "remained a marginalized part of the sustainable development discourse." Haughton's understanding suggests that political processes have positioned the WCED's definition as a global standard.

[25] Kuhlman and Farrington (2010) argue, however, that economic and social elements are inextricable and should be conflated with a notion of 'well-being', which should be coupled with sustainability as a policy goal.

natural resource use. These factors have led to, among other things, perceptions among environmentalists of an impending environmental meltdown and catastrophic biodiversity loss on a global scale. This resonates with Kerr's (2005:506) explanation that the Brundtland report's conception of sustainable development was a contrivance as it sought to address concerns, including: an impending environmental crises, natural resource depletion and its impact on economic policies, a north-south divide,[26] the emergence and globalization of market capitalism as a dominant ideology,[27] post-modernist scepticism of science and conventional politics, and institutional frameworks which provided platforms for sustainable development debates to evolve. The UN, in particular, has led efforts to develop action plans to address issues of biodiversity and consumption patterns since it holds the view that there is an imminent collapse of the environment. For instance, several international conferences (e.g. UN conferences on the environment and development) have used the 'sustainable development' discourse as a tool to develop standards articulating how all peoples ought to relate to the environment and the world around them[28] – and consequentially have generated worldwide political response.[29]

In light of this, global players' (e.g. UN) notions of sustainability and sustainable development often reduce their meanings of the terms to a unified political construct that local people around the world are expected to implement in accordance with certain set guidelines. Critiques of these efforts (e.g. Escobar, 1995; Smyth, 2011) suggest that such a managerialist attitude allows dominant discourses

[26] See the South Commission's (1990) report as well as Redclift and Sage's (1994) work.
[27] See Rapley (1996), Loup (1980), Archetti et al. (1987), and Saenz (2002) – which unpack issues of inequality, social transformation and liberation – as context to understand Latin perspectives on globalization.
[28] These conferences sought to understand how developing countries should address issues of the environment, politics, statehood, and the ways people need to live, and how local communities should define and solve every-day and future problems. See Hens and Nath, (2003), Scherr and Gregg (2006) and UN (2013) for a detailed unpacking of UN conference outcomes and concerns related to them.
[29] Governments responded to the Brundtland Report and international conferences on the environment and development by developing their own sustainable development plans. See Goldie et al. (2005) for an account of Australia's 1992-developed 'Strategy for Ecologically Sustainable Development.'

that privilege 'etic' over 'emic' perspectives to inform decision-making processes in local contexts since the latter are looked down upon.[30] Such concerns raise questions over the marriage of environmentalism and the global precariat's ability to uphold worldwide livelihood standards and consumption habits, which have been determined necessary. This scenario is often contrasted with what has been described as endogenous development strategies.[31]

What can be seen, then, is that the Brundtland Report's sustainability definition is one that functions on the global level, but is not sensitive to nuanced ways of understanding with local notions of sustainability. This is because the State (which is imagined and not real) often represents local citizens through token representation. Ordinary citizens are however expected to implement the notions of sustainability into their daily lives – even though they generally played only a marginal role in the construction of those notions. This political power play frequently creates messy situations at the local level. For starters, locals often find themselves forced to align their actions to outsiders' notions and translations of sustainability (e.g. those of the State, NGOs or funders). This can be especially problematic when the imposed directives are contrary to local heritage histories and practices. Amid such tensions, sustainability discourses frequently position global councils (e.g. USAID, WildAid, and the UN) as 'doing the correct thing' while people in developing countries are described as managing their environment resources 'incorrectly.' In this light, Kerr (2005:507) argues that among small island contexts and especially that of Galápagos, the application of 'sustainable development' has had "more to do with legitimizing the decision-making process rather than progressing towards a predetermined 'optimal state'" and that conventional governments struggle to accept this worldview. It becomes clear, then,

[30] This notion resonates with other works contributing to this review of the 'development' discourse, including but not limited to: Slim and Thompson, 1993; Kleymeyer, 1994; and Warren et al., 1995.
[31] Hossain and Chowdhury (2002), for instance, suggest "Endogenous development pursues the satisfaction of local needs and demands through active participation of the local community in development processes. It is not simply a matter of improving the position of the local productive system in the international or national division of labour, but rather of economic, social and cultural well-being for the local community on the whole."

that clashes of ideas concerning sustainable development cause significant social and political tensions.

In this context, global entities have mechanised sustainable development through strategic processes of convening in response to perceptions of the planet's precarious ecological integrity as well as populations' precarity therein. The resulting sustainable development tenets [e.g. the Brundtland Report] promise the ability to sustain people's long-term well-being and aspirations. The UN's recent sustainable development summits have implemented 'sustainable' targets and indicators [e.g. Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)[32] in 2000 and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)[33] in 2015] meant to protect the environment and people's general welfare – though there are particular concerns with the MDGs' and SDGs' design and implementation strategies (see Bhattacharya & Ali, 2014; Loewe, 2012; Kanie et al., 2014). Yet, I aim to explore through my ethnographic data whether or not, and to what extent, if these kinds of sustainable goals and promises have satisfied most Galápagos fishers' vocational aspirations in the present, and generally since the 1998-implemented Galápagos Special Law (GSL) made sustainable fishing regulations prominent in the archipelago. This study thus seeks to uncover if environmental regulations in Galápagos have created more uncertainties and have destabilized fishermen's lives even more, pushing them to adopt unsustainable practices that were not part of the archipelago's first fishing practices and histories. A consequence is that fishers today voice precarious livelihoods due to their dependency on the GNPS' governing of the Galápagos Marine Reserve (GMR).[34] This is evident from artisanal fishermen's claims that fishing methods and resources made available to them by the GNPS over time are no longer reliable and that this has meant certain economic and social uncertainties for their families' livelihoods. In other words, global actors have produced and

[32] The MDGs include eight targets. They are criticised for using vague language and being difficult to measure.
[33] The UN expects its SDGs, spanning a range of foci, to be met by 2030. The SDGs comprise 17 targets and collectively address six central themes, including: dignity, prosperity, justice, partnership, planet and people.
[34] This resonates with Berlant's (2011) view that precarity is 'others-dependent'.

distributed 'sustainability' to localities globally – such as Galápagos – as a means to curb environmental pressures, yet I argue that sustainability in fact distributes precarity.

Assumptions, Interventions, and Clashes

It is assumed by the international community, within the 'development' context, that local people are generally incapable of managing resources themselves (e.g. Zumbado, 1997; Franco, 2001).[35] The case of Easter Island is a memorialized example wherein local practices exhausted natural resources and led to the population's eventual starvation. On a global scale, such international concern extends to monitoring fishing practices in an effort to avoid further ecological loss. A consequence is that literature often addresses fisheries management issues by characterising local fishermen's behaviours, material practices and social networks as unsustainable when contrasted with global models of the same.[36] This is evident in conclusions drawn from studies of sustainable fisheries and Marine Protected Areas (MPA) management in developing countries globally, including: the Bahamas (Broad and Sanchirico, 2008), Chile (Gelcich et al., 2009), and Nicaragua and Thailand (Jentoft et al., 2011). This has also been the case in Latin American contexts, such as in Ecuador and Colombia, where global and local stakeholders' discord over fisheries management and MPA zoning processes has meant particular strain among MPA users' interfacing, and particularly for local fishermen.[37] This is no different in Galápagos since scholarship (e.g. Edgar et al., 2004; Davos et al., 2007; Hearn, 2008; Toral-Granda, 2008) typically contends that artisanal

[35] These studies together indicate that economic vulnerability and unreliable governance are both factors impacting on local communities' capacities to manage themselves sustainably over the long-term.

[36] Surprisingly, co-management studies (e.g. Persoon et al., 1996; Gell and Roberts, 2003; Edgar et al., 2004; Barrett et al., 2007; Bogaert et al., 2009; Jentoft et al., 2012; Thurstan et al., 2012) commonly objectify processes of managing MPA zoning, co-management structures, and resource conservation practices and their outcomes globally – without seeking to understand the socio-cultural issues which give them shape.

[37] See Edgar et al. (2004) and Baine et al. (2007) for an understanding of the issue generally. See Schuhbauer and Koch (2013), Edgar et al. (2004), and Baine et al. (2007) as regards perceptions of how global actors have failed to respect traditional fishing rights and knowledge systems.

fishermen's practices there are unsustainable by pointing to near ecological catastrophes (e.g. sea cucumber overfishing).[38] In particular, Hearn (2008)[39] and Castrejón and Charles (2013) [40] characterize Galápagos artisanal fishers' problematic behaviours and deteriorating social networks as upsetting to processes of cementing global notions of sustainability in structures and practice. In spite of this worldview, Kerr (2005:519) recognizes that islanders in places like Galápagos "have very limited control over exogenous threats or the economic drivers of development" that influence their aspirations. Nonetheless, a sifting of literature from the global to local scale reveals a general observation: although co-management literature often scrutinizes concerns with co-managing structures in localities globally and problems related to them, global actors typically perceive the root issues with sustainability to emerge from local people's behaviours, materiality and social networks.[41] It is important to note, however, as evidenced in the works of Scholz & Steiner (2015a, 2015b), that current efforts to develop transdisciplinary epistemics are contributing to ground-breaking innovation as regards the sustainable transitioning of complex real-world problems. Therefore, this work is mindful that global actors do not understand and treat local actors' practices and knowledge systems uniformly.

In response, and from an apparent perspective of ecological precarity, the West has taken upon itself the charge to regain ecological balance by intervening and imposing its managerialist attitudes of sustainability onto localities worldwide, which crisis certainly entails global funds dedicated to streamline ecological

[38] These works collectively support the argument by focusing on how fishermen: have attempted to appropriate conservation amid warnings of overfishing, and how they have decided to practice 'convenience overfishing' while vetoing measures to curb overfishing.
[39] Hearn's (2008) analysis of Galápagos MPAs management suggests the local communities embody 'frontier' behaviours of rapid expansion and exploitation and do not have a vision of sustainable resource use.
[40] Castrejón and Charles (2013) claim that fishermen's social networks are unsustainable as they lack cohesion and leadership. They struggled to engage 'grassroots fishers' in sustainability related dialogue.
[41] Developing a critique of Galápagos' marine users' practices would be an interesting point of departure to critically appraise ways global notions of sustainability are translated locally at a structural level.

recovery processes. In other words, an aspiration to endow corrective structuring is a by-product of such global concern. In Galápagos, this stance resonates with themes presented in a special issue of *Ocean and Coastal Management* (2007) that looked at understanding ways of improving fisheries co-management among State entities and local fishermen in the Galápagos. The authors (Baine et al., 2007; Davos et al., 2007; Heylings & Bravo, 2007) present the argument that efforts to proselytise local fishermen with management strategies is possible, but only over the long term. This was based on their assessment that local people have felt "impotent and alienated" from collaboration processes, have forgotten basic management principles, and contest the credibility and equitability of the management strategies put in place. In particular, Davos et al. (2007) indicate that local fishermen have their backs up against a wall; their options are either to participate in interventionist co-management plans or to refuse participation in such processes, which will in turn undermine the authenticity and credibility of the outcomes. Either way, locals are very often subjected to exogenous notions of sustainable resource management and their cooperation will ultimately only come about when they are "coerced by the enforcement of a final decision" (Davos et al., 2007:224). Despite such reported challenges in capacitating Galápagos fishermen to be 'agents of sustainability,' other studies (Kerr, 2005; Hearn, 2008; Castrejón & Charles, 2013) argue that capacitation processes, despite their hiccups and skirmishes, nonetheless benefit from local stakeholders' continued involvement therein.

To understand these findings, it is relevant to trace Galápagos' development roots and the structures that today account for and inform the archipelago's marine management. An historical account of global and local players that have negotiated sustainability structures in Galápagos is therefore an important step toward understanding inter-institutional interventions in the 'sustainable development' of Galápagos' over time. To begin, detailed accounts of the making of Galápagos' frontier communities and colonies (e.g. Latorre, 1999; Grenier, 2007; Ospina 2001a, 2001b, 2005) as well as environmentalist roots (e.g. Ospina & Falconí, 2007; Gonzalez et al., 2009; Tapia et al., 2009; Quiroga, 2009) reveal the ways that the

Galápagos archipelago has been crafted from barren lava fields in to what Quiroga (2009) describes as a 'natural laboratory.'[42] A brief unpacking of the Charles Darwin Research Station's (CDRS') and the GNP's roles in managing the archipelago's conservation, in particular, then establishes a basis for which to understand how many global and local actors view these institutions to have caused wide social changes for people living in the archipelago over time.

The Ecuadorian government, assisted by UNESCO, established the GNP in 1959 in response to pressure from international environmentalist organizations to protect non-colonised spaces.[43] The GNP's partnership with the 1959-established Charles Darwin Foundation (CDF)[44] – an international scientific organization based in Belgium and created both to conduct research in Galápagos and to "advise national authorities regarding the conservation and management of the islands" – resulted in the establishment of the CDRS on Santa Cruz Island and next to the GNP headquarters, also in 1959 (Grenier, 2007:123-124; Quiroga, 2009b:48; my translations).[45] While the GNPS manages GNP regulations, the CDRS's technical capacity informs numerous environmental guardianship efforts.[46] The CDF's ideological influence, through the GNPS and on Galápagos politics, has continued since the CDF's founding.[47]

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[42] Quiroga (2009:125) explains that "the construct of the Galápagos as a pristine place, and as a 'natural laboratory'" dates back to narratives produced by Spanish conquerors and explorers, and later by British pirates and American whalers, and finally by Western scientists, adventurers and travellers.

[43] A noteworthy advocate was Eibl-Eibesfeldt, a German scientist sent by UNESCO along with Robert Bowman, to report on "the Galápagos situation" in 1956 in order, ultimately, to install a scientific base there (Quiroga, 2009b:48). See Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1957) and Grenier (2007).

[44] See CDF (2011). The CDF is registered in Belgium and subject to Belgian law. Consequently, it may be argued, listing the CDF as a non-governmental organization (NGO) disguises the intrusion of a foreign organization, albeit not government funded or managed, in issues of Ecuadorian sovereignty.

[45] According to a CDRS historian whom I spoke with in 2011 and whose then job was to familiarize visitors with the facility, the CDRS and the GNPS have collaborated since the latter's 1964-establishment.

[46] Scientists based at or connected with the CDRS, and with official GNPS endorsements, are free to conduct ecological and biological studies throughout the GNP's and GMR's protected spaces.

[47] From 1959 to 1998, the CDRS and GNPS made significant strides in learning of and preserving native biodiversity. Efforts included captive breeding of endangered species, active control of invasive organisms, and indirect guidance of environmental policy through the GNP (González et al., 2008:8).

What becomes apparent, then, is that the CDF/CDRS and the GNP are intricately involved in Galápagos' managerial history and sustainable development, and that their institutional roles as gatekeepers to the archipelago's sustainable development norms and practices remain relevant today. This is particularly the case since the GNP's pioneering 1998-implemented Management Plan – which has since become a benchmark for global sustainability and MPA standards – revolutionized socio-ecological limits (e.g. migration restrictions, artisanal fishing limits, zoning schemas that regulate GMR users' rights) and in turn has narrowed the freedoms of locals' everyday lives.[48] A consequence is that Galápagos' permanent residents[49] today comprise a large sector of the CDRS' and the GNP's labour force, thus raising interesting sets of questions.[50] The eco-political context also makes for a fascinating set of circumstances when looking at the performativity of sustainability since many CDRS-GNPS labourers are blood relatives or neighbours of artisanal fishermen. Those personal relationships provide first-hand views of social consequences associated with implementing sustainability ideals to Galápagos' artisanal fishing workforce (as well as other sectors of Galápagos' marine-related precariat).

Not surprisingly, co-management processes in Galápagos and elsewhere frequently suffer the symptoms of fatigue, frustrations, and at times fragility. Studies in the South Pacific (Barrett et al., 2007; Carter & Hill, 2007), in Western Europe (Bogaert, 2009; Jentoft, 2011), and in Southeast Asia (Persoon et al., 1996; ACIAR, 2001) together illustrate that the application of sustainability standards (e.g. the WCED's

[48] See Edgar et al. (2004), Kerr (2005), Davos et al. (2007), Viteri and Chávez (2007), and González et al. (2008:6). These works together indicate that Galápagos co-management system is the actualisation of the model advocated by earlier MPA management studies (e.g. Persoon et al., 1996; Gell and Roberts, 2003).

[49] See Burke (2012) for an understanding of Galápagos' residency terms, divisions and associated issues.

[50] Such questions about the role of interventionist approaches to managing sustainability in Galápagos, include, but are not limited to: (i) How and to what extent are CDRS and GNPS labourers' (whom are a mix of foreign and local residents) performativities and translations of sustainability different from each other? (ii) How and to what extent does the GNP's power impact on fishermen's performances in PMC forums? and (iii) What attitudes do artisanal fishermen have about those processes as well as the CDRS' and GNPS' role in managing the archipelago's 'sustainability'?

1987 Brundtland Report and the UN's 1992 "Agenda 21") is a difficult task. The studies' findings show that there is a tendency for clashes to arise between local and global actors (e.g. between local populations and, for instance, the UN or WWF) when the latter seek to initiate or enforce sustainable development of fishing practices upon the former – as has occurred in Colombia (Baine et al., 2007), Belgium (Bogaert, 2009) and Tasmania (Barrett et al., 2007). Again, global dispositions and outcomes reflect upon Galápagos and co-management processes of its marine reserve. For instance, Schuhbauer and Koch (2013) argue that Galápagos fishermen have become wary of resource management interventions and collaborating with the State and expert authorities since doing so has led to perceptions of restricted freedoms (e.g. user rights).

Such problematic relationships often occur as co-management processes (e.g. the aggressive implementation of the UN's MDGs and SDGs) fall into the fallacy of a perceived need among global actors to homogenize the conditions of local actors and thus to entrench global sustainability standards at the core of local management plans. Concern over the global community's right and capacity to allocate resources, to monitor their management and to achieve long-term targets in developing countries (e.g. Nero, 1999; Stone, 2003; Dove, 2006) is therefore a necessary framing to interrogate ways that the imagining of local actors in co-management literature inadvertently partitions co-management participants. A central problem, then, is that what has become a formidable corpus of co-management literature has taken upon itself the naming of divides between State and external managing authorities' sustainability ideas and local fishermen's disparate practices. Anthropological critiques of fishing communities (e.g. Gupta, 2003; Quimby, 2012) have problematized that the entrenchment of such divides – similar to Butler's (1997) critique of how the continual reproduction of social norms ritualizes [gendered] subjugation in speech and practice – These critiques call into question ways fishermen and fishing communities feature in literature under an artisanal-modern dichotomy, and ways scholars' often homogenise accounts of fishing

histories and grassroots initiatives.[51] Such concern is precisely why it is important to critically appraise the global context in which many visiting scientists have come to understand, and to write about, how Galápagos' artisanal fishermen participate in co-management processes and depend on livelihoods derived from the GMR's natural resources.[52]

Failed Promises: Anthropological Critiques of Sustainable Development

In light of the previous analysis of precarity and sustainable development, global conservation efforts have employed the 'sustainability' discourse as backing to capacitate local fishermen with the fishing knowledge and practices deemed necessary to achieve sustainability thresholds (at least according to global conceptualizations, such as the UN's 'SDGs'). This then suggests that global efforts to develop fisheries sustainably (at least since the Brundtland Report's 1987 definition has gained traction in global fisheries discourse), extend an ideological commitment to secure the socio-economic stability of the global fishing precariat's livelihoods as well as the ecological integrity of eco-systems from which those livelihoods are derived. However, data is presented to show that this has not occurred widely.

Anthropological critiques of sustainability – again taking the Brundtland Report's 1987 definition as a departure point – show nuanced ways of coming to grips with the term and how practices of it intersect with environmentalism ideals.[53] Smyth

[51] Gupta's (2003) study of maritime communities in South Asia found that a process of transformation occurs among fishermen when faced with 'global capitalist economies' and that the data there challenges the artisanal-modern fishermen dichotomy that features in some literature. Quimby's (2012) ethnography of artisanal fishermen in a coral reef commons in Aceh, Indonesia similarly focused on emergent and embedded social processes related to resource management. That study draws upon literature (e.g. Agrawal and Gibson 1999; Brooks 2010; Elliott et al.; 2001) to show an anthropological tendency to critique conservation and environmental management strategies, which offer two-dimensional portrayals of communities. These works highlight an anthropological push to problematise frameworks used to study groups of fishermen. This conceptual approach resonates with Escobar's (2008) critique of sustainability referenced earlier.

[52] My reading of the Galápagos context literature, widely and inclusive of MPA studies prior to entering the field, similarly shaped my initial understandings of interventionist co-management processes.

[53] The Brundtland Report's 1987 definition of sustainable development is deliberately used as a basis of analysis in this study since literature (e.g. Haughton, 1999; Lee et al., 2000; Hopwood et al., 2005)

(2011:78) argues, for instance, that many anthropologists "would dispute the idea that in practice 'environmental' concerns are necessarily congruent with the developmental aspirations of target communities." This idea resonates with Lee's (2000:32) claim that "sustainable development is an unashamedly anthropocentric concept." These perspectives suggest, therefore, that sustainable development projects are seen generally to accommodate global agendas (e.g. environmental conservation) and often fail local communities' interests.

In this light, Smyth (2011) suggests that mainstream anthropological critique of sustainable development discourse has two prongs. He argues on one hand that "due to the inclusion of environmental concerns, it is inherently technocratic, bureaucratic and managerial in outlook and approach, and that this side-lines emic perspectives," and on the other that "environmental concerns are often addressed ahead of the interests and desires of target communities in the execution of development projects" (Smyth, 2011:79). This standpoint resonates with Escobar's (2010) work among black groups in Colombia where he claims that dominant sustainable development discourse gives advantage to etic perspectives over local knowledge. That is because, as Escobar (1995) argued earlier, the Brundtland Report's 1987 definition "instigated the widespread integration of environmental concerns into development theory through this idea of 'sustainable development,' which has led to an era of environmental managerialism in the field (c.f. Smyth, 2011:78). [54] Mainstream anthropological critiques, like Escobar's, reveal that external actors' management and appropriation of development projects overshadow local communities' input. Escobar's (2010) response to this shortcoming is to have sustainability studies spotlight local groups' cultural contexts (including elements such as place, capital, nature, development, identity and networks) as a framework in which to understand eco-political and socioeconomic concerns – in his case questioning what sustainability frameworks would look like

indicate that understandings and uses of the term are highly contested and thus present a conceptual problem.

[54] See Escobar (1995).

from the perspectives of black groups of the Pacific. In other words, 'sustainability' is seldom imagined from local actors' perspectives that very well may have sustainable practices since continuity is existentially essential. As such, a problem arises in that local actors' attempts to ensure continuity are often trampled upon since they are considered unsustainable. A common response is for local actors to develop new strategies, practices, and techniques to restore continuity and sustainability, but these are often out of tune with what they were asked to realize.

Additionally, other anthropologists (e.g. Stone, 2003; Moore, 2012) argue that the implementation of sustainable practices does not automatically subordinate local communities. This is because globally constructed definitions of sustainability (e.g. Haughton, 1999; Scherr & Gregg, 2006) are often based on vague terminology and thus provide local actors with leeway to translate those definitions in ways that suit their local interests. Indeed, local actors' have been seen to enact their agency in order to translate sustainability in ways that meet their own ends while also satisfying global actors' demands placed on development projects (Kerr, 2005). Smyth (2011:84) validates this view, arguing that, "although sustainable development projects do not always provide the best outcome for those affected, the agency of those in target communities has often been underestimated." Smyth's claim resonates with Scott's (1999) charge that the precariat is indeed capable of practicing everyday resistant forms of subverting the power matrices imposed upon them. In this sense, critiques of development are beneficial to the present study in that they aid in building a conceptual framework that focuses on the processes of how notions of sustainability are applied to local contexts and at what costs.

Moving Forward

The present study has taken notions of precarity and placed them as a starting point in which to explore how managing authorities worldwide typically coerce the global precariat's livelihoods (here referred to in an essentialised manner although it is clear that the conditions and conditioning of local actors globally are nuanced and dependent upon local contexts). Literature suggests that global actors' (e.g. the UN) development and distribution of sustainability goals (e.g. MDGs, SDGs) have served as an attempt to resolve perceptions of an impending ecological catastrophe worldwide. This mechanizing of sustainability thresholds has occurred because global actors assume that local actors are incapable of sustainably caring for natural resources themselves. This is particularly true for Galápagos' artisanal fishermen since the GNP has reconfigured and redefined fishermen's daily lives by forcing them to adopt and implement sustainable fishing materials and practices as well as to adhere to GMR management strategies (see Appendix 2). In this way, the GNP has sought to control artisanal fishermen's practices at sea by controlling the design and implementation of local environmental legislation. However, a by-product of such processes has meant the distribution of precarity among Galápagos fishers. Such precarity is reinforced as fishermen's collective voice is rendered inconsequential in GMR-related management processes since they are afforded only token participation. Fishermen's frustrations with being strong-armed into tolerating changes in the environmental regulations imposed upon them has led to violent clashes and thus a reason for international concern and ethnographic interrogation.

Sustainability and co-management literature often identify these kinds of local clashes and tensions as factors that compromise the integrity of local eco-systems. However, such literature commonly neglects to account for reasons why local actors resist sustainability interventions, the processes in which resistance manifests, and especially the power dynamic that shapes global and local actors' convergences and disjunctures. The next chapter seeks to fill this gap by taking performativity literature, and particularly Butler's (1900, 1993, 1999) notions of the term, and

placing it as the linchpin of this work's conceptual framework. A critical interrogation of fishermen's performativities reveals that they challenge, sidestep, and subvert the GNP's aggressive structuring and regulation of fishing materials and practices. Accordingly, many fishermen are observed to employ their agency to contest and apprehend the GNP's conditions on and conditioning of their practices at sea and on land. This kind of critique is a valuable contribution to sustainability literature as it highlights a need to thoroughly analyse how issues of power are embedded in the processes in which global actors structure local actors' daily practices sustainably.

THREE

The Performativity of Sustainability

Chapter Abstract

The Galápagos National Park's (GNP) aggressive structuring of 'sustainable' fishing materials and practices, such as its 1998-implemented Management Plan, has constrained fishers' artisanal freedoms. This is a clear departure from ways sustainable development theories (see chapter two) promise to provide local actors with opportunities to aspire and sustain their well-being. In response, many Puerto Ayora fishermen have sought to ease their precarious livelihoods by opposing and contesting the GNP's interventions. This chapter explores the nature of such iterative displays of opposition, contestation and subversion by drawing upon the Butlerian (1990, 1993, 1997, 1999, 2009b) notion of performativity, which argues that social norms are imagined, reproduced and ritualized 'through the deed.' Butlerian performativity thus is taken as a conceptual frame in which to consider the nature of fishermen's agentive displays. This chapter departs from Butlerian theory by drawing upon critiques of her work (e.g. Bell, 1999, 2007; Lovell, 2003; Rothenberg, 2006) in order to question how Galápagos fishermen's performativities are situated in materiality, collective, and authoritative. This theoretical framing enables this work to explore the ways in which global actors coerce local actors to perform sustainability as well as local actors' performative responses to resist, to sidestep and to negotiate such authoritative control.

An Introduction

Anthropological critiques of precarity (e.g. Berlant, 2011; Butler, 2012; Ridout and Schneider, 2012) and sustainable development (e.g. Escobar, 1995; Smyth, 2011) together show that the global precariat's livelihoods are subject to aggressive globalist interventions, Such as the UN's 2015-implemented Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that chiefly prioritize etic over emic implementation processes and their corresponding conceptualizations of natural resource management. This kind of focus on structuring the global precariat's behaviours and dispositions is also true for Galápagos' artisanal fishermen when looking at the GNP's 1998-implemented Management Plan and its aftermath. Important questions that surface, then, are how do people act, and how should one conceptually frame Galápagos fishers' agency in the archipelago's sustainability-driven context? In response, this study borrows Judith Butler's (1990, 1993, 1997, 1999, 2009b) notion of performativity – which is somewhat unconventional given its connection to feminist theories of gender. Performativity theory is thus used as a conceptual frame to understand how artisanal fishers' nuanced iterative displays of sustainability contest, negotiate, sidestep and subvert the GNP's structuring of their livelihoods, which I argue has rendered fishers subordinate and marginalized in Galápagos' Participatory Management Council forums.

The following review of literature distinguishes performativity theory from performance theory, traces the former's roots and conceptual pillars, and identifies particular departure points from Butlerian performativity, such as Rothenberg's (2006) distinction between 'weak' and 'strong' forms of agency and her claim that Butlerian performativity cannot account for how the prior becomes the latter. This analysis contributes to a conceptual hypothesis that explores how and to what extent fishermen's performativities are imagined, contest, subvert and displace the very sustainability norms that intervene in and dictate their lives. Accordingly, this conceptual hypothesis is introduced to and contrasted with how notions of performativity feature in literature on the environment and sustainability, with

particular focus on Galápagos' artisanal fishing industry. This theoretical analysis positions the forthcoming ethnographic chapters to analyse how and to what extent Galápagos' artisanal fishermen's performativities are situated in material practices such as the pilot plan's 100-hook limit, collective since subversive iterations often require fishermen acting in unison, and influenced by authoritative power such as the Galápagos National Park Service's (GNPS) observers' on-board presence that can be strict or lenient.

Butler's notion of 'performativity'

The becoming of performativity as a ubiquitous term in literary, theatre and performance studies has led Barad (2003) to question if 'all performances are performative.' However, notions of performativity are not to be confused with those of performance theory, of which the latter has roots in theatre studies.[55] Nonetheless, there are clearly areas of overlap between both frameworks, such as attention to process, intersubjectivity and ritual as noted in the work of Szerzynski et al. (2003).[56] Some of performance theory's meaningful contributions to understanding social interaction include: Goffman's (1959) idea that all social interaction is staged construction of multiple identities and his (1974) notion of 'frames,'[57] Turner's (1987) 'social drama analysis',[58] and Schechner's (1988) 'scripts.'[59] Later anthropological, theatre-related applications of performance theory (e.g. Beeman, 1993; Palmer & Jankowiak's, 1996; Schieffelin's, 1997; Worthen, 1998) highlight that performativity need not be related to staged performance, since

[55] For instance, Arons' and May's (2012) *Readings in Performance and* Ecology offers a theatre-based focus on performance – and is a different trajectory than this work's borrowing of Butlerian notions of performativity.

[56] Their work [*Nature Performed: Environment, Culture and Performance*] unpacks performance vis-á-vis nature-related issues. However, the collected works seldom differentiate 'performance' and 'performativity.'

[57] Goffman here draws upon the Bateson's (1955) use of the term frame to refer to our subjective involvement in principles of organization that govern social events.

[58] Turner (1987) calls 'social drama' the unit of social process from which cultural performance is derived.

[59] Schechner (1988:68, 69) clarifies that his notion of scripts does not relate to modes of thinking, but rather to patterns of doing, which he claims pre-exist any given enactment and persist from enactment to enactment.

social actors' performativity can occur in any social sphere. Nonetheless, a key area of similarity between performance theory and Butlerian notions of performativity, as identified by Schechner (2013:4) is that "As a field, performance studies is sympathetic to the avant-garde, the marginal, the offbeat, the minoritarian, the subversive, the twisted, the queer, people of colour, and the formerly colonized. Projects within performance studies often act on or act against settled hierarchies of ideas, organizations, and people." Similarly, as the following constructs illustrate, Butlerian notions of performativity also advocate subjugating power matrices in favour of marginalized social groups.[60]

Performativity, rather, is a concept presented in Butler's (1990) *Gender Trouble* – a work that, at the time of its first publishing, sought to rethink feminist understandings of gender norms. Critics of that work, such as Dunn (1997) argued that her theory of performativity was simply a reworking of poststructuralist[61] and Meadian thought.[62] Such critiques led Butler's (1999:xiv) revisiting of *Gender Trouble* to posit that her "clue on how to read the performativity of gender [was taken] from Jacques Derrida's reading of Kafka's 'Before the Law'" (1917).[63] Later critiques closely linked Butler's concept of performativity with earlier scholarship. Such is the case with Green's (2007) comparison of Butler's notion of performativity to what the latter calls the 'performative interval' that the former identifies in Mead's (1934) and Goffman's (1959) writing.[64] Similarly, Lloyd (1997:197) points out in his study of performativity, parody and politics that Butler's work "echoes

[60] Schechner (2013:10) also notes that performance studies "is an academic discipline designed to answer the need to deal with the changing circumstances of the 'glocal' – the powerful combination of the local and the global." This argument helps to link Butler's (1990) 'performativity' and Standing's (2011) 'global precariat.'

[61] Poststructuralism (see Derrida, Foucault, Butler, Lacan) is understood generally in anthropology as a critique of structuralist notions, which seeks to understand human cultures by means of self-sufficient structures and by interrogating the binary oppositions that constitute those structures.

[62] Dunn (1997) finds similarities between Butler's theorization of the subject and identity with George Herbert Mead's (1932, 1934, 1938) theorization of the social self.

[63] Butler (1999:xiv) explains that reading looks at how 'anticipation conjures its object.'

[64] Green (2007:32) describes the performative interval as "a unit of analysis in the interaction order wherein an actor 'acts toward,' or is 'called forth' into a symbolic formation—such as a particular role (e.g., juvenile)."

both Austin[65] and Derrida in proposing that the performative 'enacts or produces that which it names.'"[66]

Indeed, Butler (1993:224, 241, 282) signals that her understanding of the performative repetition of acts draws upon several frameworks. For instance, Butler builds upon the Lacanian notion that every act is to be construed as repetition of the irrevocable and "thus the haunting spectre of the subject's deconstitution." Butler also considers the Austinian concept that the effects of performatives do not conclude once a statement is made, but that they "continue to signify in spite of their authors, and sometimes against their authors' most precious intentions." Moreover, Butler's theory takes from the Derridian argument, which argues that "the binding power that Austin attributes to the speaker's intention in illocutionary acts is attributable to a citational force of the speaking, the iterability that establishes the authority of the speech act, but which establishes the non-singular character of that act. In this sense, every 'act' is an echo or citational chain, and it is its citationality that constitutes its performative force."[67]

These notions together contribute to Butler's use of 'performativity,' which states that gender [the ground for her foundational work on performativity] does not exist and nobody is gendered from the start, but that gender is created and culturally formed through interaction and its repetition. Performativity is then different from something that is 'performed' since that, she explains, usually entails actors taking on roles and that one's acting of such a role influences the gender that is presented to the world. For Butler, performativity is instead the repetition of ritual that produces a series of effects, which construct a phenomenon that is produced and constantly reproduced. Her argument, then, is that ritualized, institutionalized

[65] This resonates with Morris' (1995:572) reading of Austin in which the former describes the latter's notion of the performative as "the act of enunciation that brings into being the object it names."
[66] Notwithstanding such critiques, Butler's notion of performativity and its application to understanding gender has produced, as she admits, a provocative 'intervention' in feminist theory.
[67] Barad (2003:808) adds that Butler theorizes the notion of identity performatively by elaborating "Derrida's notion of performativity through Foucault's understanding of the productive effects of regulatory power."

identity norms are not expressions of what one *is* since there need not be a 'doer behind the deed', but rather that they are constructed and reproduced 'through the deed.' Before commenting on how Butler's concept resonates with my study among Galápagos' artisanal fishermen, it is first noteworthy to consider Butler's (1997) critique of Bourdieu's (1990) *The Logic of Practice*, published in the same year as Butler's (1990) *Gender Trouble*. This is because Butler distinguishes her theorization of performativity from Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* by pointing to agency as an irremovable pillar in understanding how processes of socially constructed norms are reproduced and ritualized – as well as the possibilities of subversion and the effects associated to them.

Bourdieu's (1990) publication questions the conditionings related with a particular class of conditions of existence that construct the logic of practice by coming to grips with the theoretical, contemplative and scholastic backdrop which impacts on them. In doing so, he builds upon Mauss' (1966) work to offer his reproduction of *habitus,* which he describes as:

> Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (Bourdieu, 1990:53).

I take *habitus*, therefore, as something subconsciously embedded within one's system that gives advantages and disadvantages (e.g. social, capital, and economic capital) when interacting with others. This becomes a worthy point of interrogation when looking at Galápagos fishers' performativity at sea and on land since 'sustainable development' has created a new competitive space wherein actors (e.g. mid-water long line fishermen) need to develop new dispositions to counter or adapt to the GNPS' changes to resource management conditions. This is of particular interest when considering that fishing futures lie in the GNP's hands. In this light, fishermen often seek to contest their regulated *habitus*, which is hardened as the

GNP conditions them to embody new sets of mid-water long line practices. This theoretical framing, thus, positions Butler's notion of performativity as a salient lens in which to interrogate how Galápagos' eco-political power matrices provide certain actors (e.g. the GNPS, the CDF) with power advantages over others, (e.g. artisanal fishermen). The framing shows how processes of co-managing the archipelago's ecological integrity (e.g. through processes of ritualization and institutionalization over time) apparently have marginalized fishermen's voices in co-management forums (e.g. PMC meetings), thus deactivating their agentive capacity to contest the conditioning of and conditions that impact on their *habitus*.

Yet, Butler has several general concerns with the limitations of Bourdieu's *habitus*, namely its tacit performativity (see Butler, 1997:142, 147, 155).[68] Butler's main criticism is that Bourdieu's view, which assumes the effective social and discursive forming of the body by the repetition and acculturation of norms, misses or suppresses the derailment from within that occurs during the hiccups of interpellation. Butler argues that this perspective forecloses the conditions and possibilities of discursive agency that emerge from the margins of power – which instead, as Lovell (2003:4) states, means that "agency requires an account of subjectivity that leaves room for innovation, for the freedom to resist." In so doing, Butler (1997:156) claims that Bourdieu's concern to replace a formal account of performative force with a social one "remains structurally committed to the status quo," and therefore deactivates the agentive capacity for innovative resistance.[69] This critique resonates with Morris' (1995:572-573) argument that though Bourdieu's *habitus* staged a discourse of ritual efficacy that ultimately "helped to facilitate the current efflorescence of performativity theory in anthropology," its structural-functionalist teleology meant that it could only "shape ideal subjects who

[68] Those limitations suggest Bourdieu neglects to understand: that "bodily speech resists and confounds the very norms by which it is regulated" (142), the "logic of iterability that governs the possibility of social transformation" (147), and that *habitus* "generates *dispositions* which 'incline' the social subject to act in relative conformity with the ostensibly objective demands of the field" (155).
[69] Rothenberg (2006:76) further adds, "Butler remains dissatisfied with Bourdieu's emphasis on the determining function of social institutions because it avoids linguisticism 'at the expense of . . . transformability.'"

would then reproduce the habitus in an almost hermetic circle." Thus, it becomes clear that Butler's focus on the performativity of subverting the social norms that uphold subjugating power matrices, though similar in many senses, forks from Bourdieu's theorization of social and discursive conditionings of the body. Accordingly, this study looks to critically interrogate how and to what extent Galápagos fishermen display agentive capacities to subvert the social norms that uphold Galápagos' PMC's eco-political conditioning of and conditions placed on artisanal fishing, which are understood to distribute precarity to artisanal fishing networks.

Theoretical Points of Departure

Butler's notion of performativity provides the theoretical framework for this study and places it as the centrepiece of my own critique of how and to what extent, if at all, global notions of sustainability are translated locally among Galápagos fishermen. This transplant of Butler's feminist critique may at first appear to be a 'fish out of water' when viewed as the linchpin to my own theoretical framework. However, I argue that it is indeed a valuable theoretical framing since I am also concerned with ways in which social actors' subvert the conditions of their conditioning. Particularly, I draw upon three aspects of Butler's work, including notions that: performativity provides for the domain of agency, socially constructed identities are imagined, and performativity allows actors to develop strategies to subvert the conditions of their conditioning. The following interrogation of these three pillars draws upon critiques of Butler's work (e.g. Bell, 1999, 2007; Lovell, 2003; Rothenberg, 2006) and builds a conclusive argument that expands our conceptualizations of linkages between precarity and 'sustainability' when considering how performativity is understood to be: situated in materiality, collective, and authoritative.

Firstly, Butler (1990:187) argues that "the reconceptualization of identity as an *effect*, that is, as *produced* or *generated*, opens up possibilities of 'agency' that are insidiously foreclosed by positions that take identity categories as foundational and fixed." To be clear, I do not confuse performativity *as* agency; instead I follow Butler's understanding that processes of gender identity construction and their interactive performativity provide for the domain *of* agency and freedom with which actors may subvert the institutions that police institutionalized social norms. Such distinction allows my ethnography to avoid the pitfall of focusing solely on Galápagos fishermen's agency to subvert the PMC's and GNP's authority – and to instead focus on the spaces and strategies that enable fishermen to employ their agency in the first place.

Therefore, the resonance of these thoughts with my study among artisanal fishermen means approaching 'sustainability' as a fixed construct and phenomenological sets of practices that have apparently limited Galápagos fishermen's sovereign agency to practice their livelihoods in ways they view as traditional or economically advantageous. In other words, I claim that sustainability is a systems approach that the UN, NGOs and conservation-minded global actors have engineered with aspirations to activate local actors' (such as Galápagos fishermen's) capacities to function in harmony with locally implemented eco-political legislation. This is the case with how Galápagos' PMC has used Galápagos Special Law (GNPS, 1998) as a conditional framework in which to shape the conditioning of fishermen's 'sustainable' behaviours at sea. This occurs as the governing authorities (e.g. GNPS, PMC) coerce fishermen's performative reproduction of and thereby compliance with what has become institutionalized sets of 'sustainable' identities and practices – such as the types of hooks, lines and boats that fishermen may use when mid-water long line fishing. However, mid-water long line fishermen's adherence to the GNPS-implemented fishing conditions in fact largely deactivates their agency to contest and to transcend the social precarity linked to their fishing-derived livelihoods.

In this light, the present study challenges – albeit moderately – Butlerian performativity by exploring how and to what extent Galápagos mid-water long line fishermen's performativity is situated in their material practices and precarity.[70] I draw upon Bell's (2007) critique of Butlerian performativity, which interrogates how to make sense of the self-activity and creativity of the material world. Bell (2007) problematizes the Butlerian tendency to understand performativity as limited to objectifying the body, spotlighting the opportunity to additionally study situations and how "matter can be said to 'choose' its solution to a situation." Bell does so by referencing Grosz's (2004) reminder to social, political and cultural theorists [of performativity] that they "have forgotten a crucial dimension of research … not just the body, but that which makes possible and limits its actions: the precarious, accidental, contingent, expedient, striving, dynamic status of *life in a messy, complicated, resistant, brute world of* materiality (2004: 2, emphasis added)" (c.f. Bell, 2007). Applied to the case of Galápagos fishermen, how is performativity situated in the conditioning of fishermen, as well as the conditions of their practices at sea? How and to what extent do both, if at all, contribute to the precarity of their fishing-derived livelihoods? As such, this work explores how mid-water long line fishermen's materiality is not only a key element of performative agency when fishermen seek technical advantage when hooking pelagic fish. It also considers how materiality is fundamental to understanding ways fishermen and the GNP grapple over the rights to control the conditions of advantage, privilege and power at sea – and thus the conditioning of Galápagos' marine-minded actors' performativity therein.

In this light, a critical interrogation of 'the domain of agency' considers that some mid-water long line fishermen's performative displays occur at sea wherein they hold advantage when dealing with GNPS personnel aboard their boats. Yet other fishermen enact their agency in eco-political forums on land (such as seeking a

[70] This theoretical departure is mindful of Barad's (2003:802) claim that "Performativity, properly construed, is not an invitation to turn everything (including material bodies) into words; on the contrary, performativity is precisely a contestation of the excessive power granted to language to determine what is real."

larger stake hold in PMC meeting agendas and resolutions), which are opportunities not available at sea, though they certainly impact on the latter. Accordingly, it is short-sighted to solely objectify fishermen's agency at sea since many fishers benefit from employing their agency in Puerto Ayora's terrestrial spaces and thereby use them as the terrain in which to flex their agentive power to influence, contest and subvert the GNP's conditioning of their mid-water long line fishing conditions at sea (e.g. material allowances such as hook use and boat size) as well as the processes of conditioning (e.g. by means of sending fisheries officers to monitor fishermen on their boats while mid-water long line fishing at sea). This is precisely why it is worthwhile to critically appraise whether Galápagos' artisanal fishermen activate their agency as a means to subvert the normative identities (e.g. Galápagos fishermen are often portrayed in literature as predators to the archipelago's ecological integrity) and practices imposed upon them by the GNP and other global actors, and, if they do, then to what extent those forms of subversion manifest and impact on the materiality of as well as the modifications made to offset the precarious nature of the mid-water long line pilot plan.

Secondly, Butler's performativity framework suggests that socially constructed identities are real only to the extent that they are performed since, as previously mentioned, they do not exist in the first place. Accordingly, socially constructed and reproduced identities are the performative repetitions through their signification on the 'outside' of one's self, and though they may give the illusion of an 'inside,' the 'outside' neither expresses the inside nor adheres to it. The 'outside' simply acts within the very power matrices – which in her work are described as the *heterosexual matrix* – that produce the negative and positive criteria in question.[71] Similarly, I take the stance that notions of sustainability are not real, but instead simply pure abstraction to the extent that they are reproduced, ritualized and internalized. 'GMR users' performativities of sustainability are linked to the socially

[71] Butler (1990:194) describes the heterosexual matrix throughout *Gender Trouble* "to designate that grid of cultural intelligibility through which bodies, genders, and desires are naturalized." Her conceptualization draws upon "Monique Wittig's notion of the 'heterosexual contract' and, to a lesser extent, on Adrienne Rich's notion of 'compulsory heterosexuality' (ibid)."

constructed identities that have come to feature in the archipelago's ecological discourse and practices over time. For instance, artisanal fishermen are often regarded (by conservation-minded PMC members locally while also depicted in ecologically-based literature globally) as predators, villains, and over-consumers that are in need of exogenous interventions aimed at correcting unsustainable habits and practices. The same process of social identity construction in Galápagos extends to what constitutes other relevant notions such as 'artisanal fishermen,' 'sustainable,' and 'local.' Yet, fieldwork data from the present study show that fishermen construct realities at sea and on land that often disrupt the very social identities that label them as problematic to the archipelago's sustainability. Those realities exemplify precisely how identity construction and the performativity of it provides Galápagos fishermen with access to the domains of agency to subvert the very social identities that produce and distribute precarity to their livelihoods, such as fishing bans, quotas and seasons on lobster and sea cucumber fishing.

Accordingly, this work explores how the typecasting of social scripts in Galápagos (which has occurred over time and especially since 1998-implmentd GSL) manifests in the GNPS' conditioning of GMR users' performativities, which become real only to the extent in which the social identities are performed, reproduced and ritualized. In other words, this work considers how fishermen's performativities of sustainability occur and re-occur as extrinsic representations of how Galápagos' conservation-science sector has apparently cemented fishermen's social identities over past decades as hazardous to the archipelago's ecological integrity. This happening resonates with Butler's notion of the 'heterosexual matrix' as regards the 'self' described previously. In this light, Galápagos fishermen may or may not internally subscribe to the eco-political power matrices that they are subjected to and conditioned by (e.g. the PMC) – even though they may extrinsically adhere to the GNPS' regulation of delineated 'sustainable' fishing allowances such as those first listed in GSL (GNP, 1999) and particularly with the 2012-implemented mid-water long line pilot plan.

However, Lovell (2003) states Butler's tendency to isolate 'the self' as the analytical terrain for her understanding of the iterability of linguistic performativity means particular consequences for understanding collective agency – or agency as a function of what Lovell calls '*ensemble* performances.' This is an important criticism of Butler's theory since Galápagos mid-water long line fishermen, for instance endure a shared or collective precarity similar to how Standing (2011) informs that precarity is not an isolated existence, but one that is shared by a collective 'global precariat.' Furthermore, Lovell suggests that 'transformative political agency' is situated in social interaction rather than the fissures of a 'never-fully-constituted self.' In this way, Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen's precarity can be understood by coming to grips with their social interaction with one another (and other GMR/PMC members) and how those 'ensemble performances' are subject to the archipelago's eco-political matrix, which occur by processes of conditioning and adjustments to current fishing conditions.

In an attempt to bridge this gap and therefore to put Butler's theorization of performativity in terms of a collective whole, I draw upon Bell's (1999) linkage of performativity with what she describes as 'belonging' in order to interrogate whether and to what extent Galápagos' artisanal fishermen's performativity of sustainability is different when performed individually and collectively.[72] I frame that critical appraisal by borrowing Bell's (1999:1) questioning of "ways in which technologies, discursive deployments and power/knowledge networks produce the lines of allegiance and fracture in the various orders of things within which people and objects move." Accordingly, it is critical to examine how the [imagined] bonding and fissuring of belonging among Galápagos fishermen impacts on the perceptions of their individual and collective performativities of sustainability, and to what extent, if at all. Specifically, do fishermen subgroups (e.g. mid-water long line fishermen, non-mid-water long line fishermen, lobster fishermen) collectively enact

[72] This argument draws upon Zapata's (2005) study of GMR users' perceptions of 'legitimacy', which found that fishers view themselves as constituting many social groups, based on social and vocational determinants.

performativities different from each other, and to what extent, if at all? Collectivity, as a construct, is thus relevant to understanding fishermen's place in the PMC's eco-political power matrix since fishermen's divided and united performativities of 'sustainability' on land and at sea impact on the precarity or stability of their livelihoods over the long-term.

Thirdly, I take the stance that performativity allows for actors to develop strategies so as to subvert the social institutions that condition the conditions of their precarity, identities, practices, livelihoods and ways of knowing. This draws upon Butler's (1999:188) charge that "The critical task is, rather, to locate strategies of subversive repetition enabled by those constructions, to affirm the local possibilities of intervention through participating in precisely those practices of repetition that constitute identity and, therefore, present the immanent possibility of contesting them." It is thus clear that Butler's theorization seeks to displace the very gender norms that enable repetition itself. This task, when applied to Galápagos' artisanal fishing sector, means locating how and to what extent, if at all, fishers contest the conditioning of their [mid-water long line pilot plan] conditions. The present study does so by critically analysing how fishermen contest and subvert the GNPS' conditioning and regulation of the mid-water long line pilot plan, which occurs as GNPS observers accompany fishers to the open ocean and also when interacting with them at the Pelican Bay wharf. The forthcoming ethnographic chapters explore how fishermen's subversion of the GNPS' conditions and conditioning occurs at sea and on land in various ways – and how such subversion may reflect ways individual fishermen seek eco-political advantage as well as leverage to offset their precarious livelihoods. Furthermore, this work considers how and the extent to which, if at all, fishermen's performativities of sustainability are dependent upon how various spaces (e.g. sea, land) provide them with distinct access to domains of agency as well as opportunities to recondition the materiality of their mid-water long line fishing practices.

Many critics of Butlerian performativity vis-à-vis agency take issue with what Rothenberg (2006:74, 75) describes as a "gliding between a more cautious formulation and a full-blown claim for agency as control," and thus "vulnerable to criticisms of linguisticism, voluntarism and neglect of social determinants." In other words, Rothenberg suggests that Butler's performativity straddles distinct theoretical framings – which describe, on one hand, a weak form of 'possible' agency enabled by iterability, and, on the other, a strong form of political agency enacted by special subjects – yet, the theorization cannot account for what constitutes the former becoming the latter.[73] This shortcoming in Butlerian performativity is often supported by problematizing Butler's (1997:147) illustration of Rosa Parks' role in offsetting the 1955 Montgomery, Alabama bus boycotts, in which Butler claims Parks' performativity reflects a form of authoritative agency when she argues:

> By understanding the false or wrong invocations as *reiterations,* we see how the form of social institutions undergoes change and alteration and how an invocation that has no prior legitimacy can have the effect of challenging existing forms of legitimacy, breaking open the possibility of future forms. When Rosa Parks sat in the front of the bus, she had no prior right to do so guaranteed by any of the segregationist conventions of the South. And yet, in laying claim to the right for which she had no *prior* authorization, she endowed a certain authority on the act, and began the insurrectionary process of overthrowing those established codes of legitimacy.

Rothenberg's issue, then, is that in order for Butler's performativity to have political traction it must take on a form of strong agency, enacted by a special subject. Yet, this is theoretically problematic since "the possibility of a politically subversive or progressive action arises in every act but in an *ungovernable* way: relying on iterability offers no way to guarantee a politically positive outcome" (Rothenberg, 2006:75). Therefore, the theoretical gap lies between iterability and political agency

[73] Rothenberg (2006:74) supports her argument by arguing: "When it comes to certain performances, she [Butler] forgets about the slippage, the opening for re-interpretation that iterability confers on *every* repetition. As she describes it, iterability ceases to operate in the special case of performers who *intend* to appropriate the speech act for subversive purposes."

since, according to Rothenberg, not all acts are intentionally subversive, but they manifest in 'weak' and 'strong' forms of agency.

This issue is an interesting point of theoretical contention, but not of particular interest to the present study. Instead, and in order to further build upon Butlerian performativity vis-à-vis iterability and sovereign action in the Rosa Parks illustration, I draw upon Lovell's (2003) argument that though Rosa Parks is typically understood in 'the rhetoric of myth' as a special subject whom enacted strong political agency when relinquishing her seat to a white passenger, she simply enacted a weak form of possible agency that she had done similarly on numerous occasions previously. The difference was that the iteration of her act on December 1, 1955 uniquely gained widespread esteem as a by-product of contextual social factors, and thus is seen historically as form of strong, political agency. Interestingly, Rosa Parks' act of authoritative performativity led her to become an emblematic figurehead for the civil rights movement – this despite claims that others who refused to give up their seats similar to Parks do not feature in the rhetoric of myth.[74]

More importantly, my study of Galápagos' artisanal fishermen's performativity of sustainability, draws upon Lovell's (2003) notion of 'authority' in order to make sense of Parks' effected [political] subversion. Lovell's unpacking of Park's performative authority incorporates Bourdieu's notions of *habitus*, but looks principally to match Parks' agency with what Max Weber (1979) calls 'traditional authority', 'legal-rational authority' and 'charismatic authority.'[75] Lovell's basic

[74] Lovell (2003) draws upon episodes of performative resistance in Montgomery, Alabama similar to that of Rosa Park's, including: Jo Ann Robinson in 1949, Claudette Colvin in 1955 (nine months before Park's case) and Vernon Johns (no date given). Lovell compares biographical accounts of the three to interrogate how notions of authority (e.g. 'traditional authority', 'legal-rational authority' and 'charismatic authority') help to make sense of Rosa Parks' rise to feature in rhetoric myth.

[75] Lovell (2003:6) claims: traditional authority "is of the kind that Bourdieu identifies in Kabylia, and in the naturalization of arbitrary but timeless social norms," legal-rational authority is "underwritten by formal rules, rationally legitimated, explicit," and charismatic authority is "perhaps the most famous and the most discussed" and takes the form of Weber's paradigm case of the Old Testament prophet.

argument is that one needs to look beyond Parks' 'performance' on December 1, 1955 in order to understand the authority of her act of resistance. In doing so, it becomes clear that:

> …The authority of Rosa Parks's act was retrospective, the outcome of a process of group formation that was social and collective. It was the willingness of the black community in Montgomery to accept Parks as 'a suitable standard-bearer' for their cause – a willingness that was only evident after her action in refusing to give up her seat – that contributed critically to the authority that Butler ascribes to that act" (Lovell, 2003:10).

Therefore, it is meaningful to consider that authoritative performativities may take various forms, dependent upon the socio-political context and the collective nature of social interaction therein. Furthermore, such notions of authoritative performativity are of particular value to the present study since they nuance ways to make sense of if, how and to what extent Galápagos' artisanal fishermen's collective performativities are attributed perceptions of authority based on contextual factors that impact on their social and collective construction – which requires looking beyond those performances' iterability in order to consider contextual factors impacting on such social and collective formations.

Additionally, this theoretical adaptation of Lovell's lends itself to a critical appraisal of ways performative agency that belongs to ensembles of actors has been framed using the inclusive 'we.' Specifically, I turn to Bell's (1999:1) nod to the Foucauldian question: "How are we to understand ourselves, our politics, our desires and our passions as produced within this historical present," as well as West and Zimmerman's (1987) theorization of 'doing gender,' in which they argue that gender is inherently interactional and institutional in character and thus question: 'Can we ever *not* do gender?' In this light, it is relevant to interrogate and to compare perceptions of authority linked to mid-water long line fishermen's individual and collective performativities of sustainability. For instance, does the domain for agency at sea equip mid-water long line fishermen with opportunities to practice 'strong' forms of agency that are not possible on land, and if so, to what extent? Is

the inverse true as well? Also, how and to what extent, if at all, does the nature of fishermen's 'ensemble performances' reflect collective agency – and are those authoritative performativities seen to take 'strong,' 'weak,' fractured or blended forms?

In sum, this study's theoretical framing takes the stance that mid-water long line fishermen's performativities provide nuanced domains of agency, are socially constructed identities that are imagined, and allow fishermen to ease their precarious livelihoods by subverting the conditions of their labour. The framing deviates from Butler's work to critically engage how social reproductions of 'sustainability' are observed to entrench sets of power matrices that regulate Galápagos' eco-political landscape and thus fishermen's practices and identities. This is made possible by understanding how performativity can be understood as situated in materiality, collective, and authoritative.

Conceptual Hypothesis

In this light, an interrogation of artisanal fishermen's performativities (e.g. collective, situated in materiality, and authoritative) will provide an understanding of how their subversive performativity, if at all, is imagined, contests and displaces the very sustainability norms that intervene in and dictate their lives. Accordingly, I situate my conceptual framework upon Butler's (1999:xxvvi) argument that, whether subverting institutionalized identity blatantly or subtly, "Those who are deemed 'unreal' nevertheless lay hold of the real, a laying hold that happens in concert, and a vital instability is produced by that performative surprise." Her conceptualization of performativity is therefore offered as a part of a collective struggle to "increase the possibilities for a liveable life for those who live, or try to live, on the sexual margins" (ibid). As such, I similarly aim to explore in this thesis the ways in which Galápagos fishermen find domains of agency and freedom to subvert the 'realities' of sustainability that have been institutionalized in Galápagos' marine users' communities. I do so by examining fishermen's performativities, which requires

thoughtful consideration of how performative agency is reproduced, repeated and ritualized. In so doing, fishermen have resisted, in nuanced ways, their being pushed to the margins of sustainability discourse and practice by the social actors privileged in the PMC's composition and engagement.

Fishermen – and the precariat more generally – seek to make a life in a competitive sphere where sustainability is supposed to create certainties, yet ultimately destabilizes livelihoods and produces certain instabilities. In my case, what are the ways in which global sustainability actors coerce local actors' (e.g. artisanal fishermen's) participation in and processes of socially constructing and ritualizing sustainability norms such as fishing methods and implements as well as identities related to them? How does this occur despite fishermen's 'weak' and 'strong' performativities and resistance to authoritative control (e.g. Chávez & Viteri; Grenier, 2007; Reyes & Murillo, 2007) in the archipelago over time? These are the central questions that this thesis examines.

Performativities vis-à-vis Sustainability, Environmental and Fishing Literature

Edited readers in environmental anthropology (e.g. Haenn & Wilk, 2006; Dove & Carpenter; 2008, Kopnina et al., 2013) serve as entry points to grapple with the politics of natural resources, ways of knowing, conserving biodiversity, managing the environment, development, and the impact of such themes on indigenous groups and their dealings with global consumption locally. The anthropology of the environment, then, serves to buttress my conceptual framing of how Galápagos fishermen perform sustainability on land and at sea. For instance, the work of Berkes et al. (2006:359),[76] which problematizes Hardin's 1968 'tragedy of the

[76] My citation of Berkes et al.'s (2006) "The Benefits of the Commons" is taken from Haenn and Wilk's (2006) reprinting of the 1989 original work [*Nature*, 340:91-93] with permission from MacMillan Magazines Ltd.

commons'[77] by arguing that common-property resource management is dangerous when using simple deterministic models to understand complex socio-ecological systems, has helped me to consider ways to problematize commonly held notions of Galápagos' artisanal fishermen's practices as similar to those of Hardin's ambitious 'herdsmen' (e.g. Edgar et al., 2004; Davos et al., 2007; Hearn, 2008), and that "common-property[78] users are compelled by social pressure to conform to carefully prescribed and enforced rules of conduct."[79] I argue that this a by-product of sustainability regimes intervening in the lives of the global precariat and in places like Galápagos since the GNPS' sustainability regulations (e.g. Ecuador's Ministry of Environment, 2008) have intervened pointedly in artisanal fishers' access to [what most of them view as] so-called 'common-property resources.' Other works shaping my anthropological lens of environmental themes include: McCay (1978, 2001, 2008), Escobar (2001), Croll and Parkin (2002), Ferguson and Lohmann (2006), Gupta (2006), Dove (2006), and Walsh (2007). These works together have helped me to consider Galápagos' artisanal fishers' precarity as regards anthropological critiques of globalizing systems, and the particular consequences for those apprehended and marginalized by processes that entrench environmentally sustainable ideals.

My use of performativity as a conceptual tool to understand how Galápagos fishermen perform sustainability on land and at sea thus requires unpacking, albeit briefly, ways performativity has featured in environmental studies, and how it [and also notions of performance] has been applied to wide-ranging environmentally-

[77] Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons' refers to a metaphorical village common in which resource users (e.g. herdsmen) are locked into a system, which propels them to increase their resources (e.g. herds) without limit, thus leading to a collective exhausting of grazing pastures and disastrous losses for all herdsmen.

[78] Berkes et al. (2006: 355) describe common-property resources as sharing two common characteristics, including: "these are resources for which exclusion (or control of access) of potential users is problematic," and 'subtractability' which means that each user is capable of taking away from others' welfare.

[79] This notion resonates with Mansfield's (2011) critique that, despite academic interest in using a 'tragedy of the commons' approach to understanding overfishing, dominant rights-based approaches to managing fisheries simply exacerbate underlying issues driving overfishing today. Those issues include: decision-making hierarchies, whose lives matter more, and the distribution of benefits derived from conservation.

based themes, including but not limited to: agricultural eco-collaboration, drama and music education, fishing, hunting and mining. The present study's conceptual framework requires narrowing the purview of general anthropological readings of the environment so as to thread literature specific to performativity and sustainability. Performativity, again, is not to be mistaken with performance, which also features in sustainability-based environmental studies (e.g. Spurlock, 2009; Kleiman, 2010).[80] Performance typically concerns circumstances of interactive social exchanges and not the power matrices and systems that regulate actors' compliancy to them – as do Butlerian notions of performativity.[81]

Two studies (e.g. Livessey et al., 2009; Loconto, 2010), then, are herein referenced to illustrate the ways that performativity features in sustainability-environment discourse, outcomes from those studies, and how those findings resonate with the present study. Firstly, Livessey et al.'s (2009) study of eco-collaboration processes between California's Sacramento Valley's rice industry and environmental advocates looked at discursive and performative exchanges and how those interactions led to constructing new identities and opportunities to collaborate. The authors' analysis of the performative effects of sustainability discourses found that the transformational potential of performativity can contribute to reconstructing 'social imaginaries' like 'sustainability' among polarized social groups – as had occurred among their informants.[82] The authors indeed explore how 'social

[80] Spurlock's (2010) study of '(Agri) Tourism,' which problematizes sustainability and interdependence rhetoric common to environmental advocacy campaigns, looks at how performative discovery (and its impact on embodiment, repetition and witnessing) provides opportunities to re-establish subjectivities based on ethical responsibilities. Also, Kleiman's (2010) work analyses the role of sustainability in the conceptual and practical terrain of performance and the environment in higher education's arts (e.g. music, dance, drama).

[81] I turn to Jamal et al.'s (2003) study of the institutional and economic influences on the ecological rationalization of natural spaces to illustrate difference between the two terms and how they can be used in tandem. The authors analyse how eco-tourists are 'performatively' engaged with discourses and nature in 'spaces of performance.' They rely on both terms, yet accredit their understanding of performativity to gender theorists (e.g. Butler, Sedgwick) and distinguish 'performativity' from touristic 'performances,' which they view as the action-oriented, dynamic 'doing' of tourism.

[82] The authors' use of 'social imaginaries' refers to abstract notions (e.g. democracy, freedom), which should not be conceptualized and treated as a fixed goal or technical standard that should be applied globally. Instead, they posit that a social imaginary is a meaning always 'in-the-making,' thus needing

imaginaries' are constructed collectively and the resulting performative effects of institutionalizing 'sustainable development' through story telling. However, there is opportunity to consider if and to what extent perceptions of rice farmers' performativity is manifested as ensembles of farmers and independent of their interaction with State authorities and eco-advocates. This calls into question if rice farmers described what Bell (1999) calls a sense of 'belonging' in what can be seen as the transformational political agency of story-telling. Furthermore, there is opportunity to explore if and to what extent farmers' story telling resonates with the materiality of their rice field labour as well as if notions of precarity features in those stories. Additionally, a critical analysis might consider perceptions of how, why and with what outcomes authority is associated to farmers' performativity in influencing sustainable farming futures.

Secondly, Loconto's (2010) study of certified tea production in Tanzania scaffolds performativity theory with Global Value Chains analysis[83] to explore actors' agency to perform 'sustainabilities' and analyses how those nuanced outcomes impact distinctly on changes made to tea value chain practices.[84] The author found that performativity's attention to justifications and enactments helps to expose the role of organizing concepts such as sustainability in the relational governance dynamics in values-based commodity networks. Loconto's use of 'sustainabilities' is of particular consequence to this study since it, along with the previous unpacking of 'performativities' in Butler's work, speaks to a need to consider the entanglements that occur when artisanal fishermen's collective, situated and authoritative 'performativities' are netted with the archipelago's multiple, eco-political

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to be understood as a product of social negotiation which is shaped by contextual factors (e.g. place and time).

[83] Loconto describes 'Global Value Chain analysis' as the complex and relational nature of power extended through social networks and how tracking product movements helps one to understand power structures.

[84] The author uses 'sustainabilities' in the plural form as a deliberate departure from understanding the term as a singular, cohesive vision. As such, a multiplicity of 'sustainabilities' evokes a notion that concepts can be discussed and enacted in multiple forms.

'sustainabilities.' As such, fishermen's precarity cannot be dealt with when taking on singular, cohesive notions of performativity and sustainability.

These studies, and the larger slice of literature they represent, together illustrate that notions of performativity have indeed nuanced conceptual frameworks guiding environmental studies since the aforementioned studies show that actors' practice multiple 'sustainabilities' and experience variant efficacy when dealing with the governing structures that attempt to organize their lives and relations with the environment. The value of performativity as a conceptual framework for the present study, then, is its ability to bridge anthropological critiques of sustainability and fishing communities. This since performativity does not feature in the anthropology of fishing literature as the next section illustrates. As such, approaching Galápagos' artisanal fishing sector with a conceptual interrogation of the performativity of sustainability provides the present study with a fresh analytical spin on a globally renowned and environmentally scrutinized space.[85] Therefore, this work can problematize popularized academic appeals (e.g. sustainability, sustainable development, and environmental co-management) that attract seemingly repetitious articulation and ways of making sense of processes in which local fishermen are made to be sustainable and comply with such structuring conditions. The study is also positioned to critically interrogate actors' performativities (which I argue can be conceptually framed as situated in materiality, collective, and authoritative) and subversion of those conditions.

[85] This reference to 'space' is meant to represent all Galápagos spaces (e.g. across GNP and GMR boundaries), wherein artisanal fishermen engage the intervening sustainability structures imposed upon them.

Performativity vis-à-vis Fishing Studies

Prior to the advent and popularization of notions of sustainability, anthropological critiques of fishing communities have long since taken ecological approaches to understanding productive regimes, which define fishermen's social, cultural and economic lives. Such is the case in McCay's (1978) work that offers a 'people ecology' based analytical framework in its consideration of commercial fishermen in Newfoundland as an alternative to 'systems ecology' frameworks that typically dominated anthropological studies of fishing communities before that time.[86] This was an important conceptual shift, generally, since it prioritizes understanding people's ability to sustain the hazards of systemized regimes over hypothesizing and unpacking self-regulating systems of human populations and the environment. This focus, of course, resonates with Standing's (2011) concerns with hazards facing the global precariat and also creates a conceptual and empirical terrain to introduce Scott's (1989) attention to the weapons such marginalized peoples take up in response to their precarious and hazardous existences.

However, assorted anthropological studies of fisheries management over past decades (e.g. Durrenberger & Palsson 1988; Maurer, 2000; Doyn 2007; Ingels & Sepez 2007; Clay & Olson 2008; McCay, 2008; Moore, 2012; King 2014) reveal a continued focus on problematizing what McCay characterizes as a 'systems ecology' approach. This critique is not intended to demerit the aforementioned scholarship and their analytical objectives in the slightest, but rather aims to highlight a noted analytical tendency to spotlight fishermen's and fishing communities' precarious practices, which are seen as by-products of their collective subjectivity to the managing regimes and sustainability systems that continually re-shape said precarity. For instance, Moore's (2012) anthropological study among Bahamian

[86] McCay's (1978) use of the term 'people ecology' implies a focus on the problems or hazards people face and their responses to them, thus implying that questions of individuals' social organization, populations, and ecosystems, for instance, are significant units of adaptation from a 'systems ecology' approach, which treats cultural practices and the natural environment, among others, as functional parts of a system.

fishermen and their relationship with the invasive lionfish identifies that perceptions of both have been perceived as transgressive to Bahamian fisheries management, but that such transgression has made space for the roles of both fishers and fish to sustain each other's functionality as they are together internalized into local lionfish management plans.[87] Though a fascinating account of considering the social becoming of lionfish as a shared management process and how it is characterized as an alternative to structuralist fisheries management approaches globally, a worthy extension of the study, and those like it, would seek to understand the forms that fishermen's performativities (situated in materiality, collective, and authoritative) of sustainability take and how, and to what extent, they are crucial elements toward understanding fishermen's precarious livelihoods. In particular, it would be critical to appraise how Bahamian fishermen collectively participate in and subvert, if at all, the social construction of the invasive lionfish [led by Bahamian fisheries officials] and its internalization as a facet of local consumption. It would also be compelling to call into question if and to what extent the commercialization of lionfish has changed the materiality of fishing practices, fishermen's practices at sea, their relations with the sea and each other, as well as change to their livelihoods and perceptions of precarity therein. Finally, a line of inquiry might consider how local perceptions of fishermen's performative authority are understood, for what reasons and to what extent.

In this light, the present study takes the problematic effects of the ways globalise notions of sustainability are used to intervene in the lives of local fishing communities, and the systemic and particular precarity it means for fishermen as a starting point. The real objective, then, is to illustrate how understanding the micro examples of fishermen's performativity allows one to see processes in which fishermen are able to achieve their own versions of sustainability despite dealing with the precarious nature of 'sustainability' regimes imposed upon them. This

[87] Moore explains that the lionfish, commonly viewed as an aquatic invader to closed ecological systems, "is no longer perceived as only the enemy invader; it is becoming internalized into the fishery as a commodity species," and thus beneficial to fishermen since it relieves pressure from overfishing of protected species.

argument clearly builds upon the opinion that fishermen are *maestros* at deep sea (and also on land as the forthcoming empirical evidence shows) since they know how to survive and make things sustainable despite their being characterized in literature as the inverse. Ultimately, applying the framework of performativity will add nuance to anthropological understandings of fishing communities vis-à-vis sustainability – and, though not the intended outcome of the present study, potentially to inform mainstream co-management processes generally of the value in understanding how fishermen's performativity is integral to procuring the promises 'sustainability' claims to offer.

In Conclusion

This chapter has traced the roots and conceptual pillars of Butlerian performativity. It has also sought to extend Butler's theorization (that actor's performativities are developed through processes of reproduction, repetition and subversion), which it has done by arguing that a critical appraisal of Galápagos fishermen's performativities should also consider how they are situated in material practices (e.g. Bell, 2007), collective (e.g. Lovell, 2003), and based on contextual authority (e.g. Rothenberg, 2006). These kinds of theoretical extensions contribute to this work's conceptual hypothesis, which considers how Galápagos fishermen's subversive performativities, if at all, are imagined, contest and subvert the very sustainability norms, such as the GNP's Management Plan, that intervene in, structure and dictate fishermen's lives at sea and on land. In other words, this theoretical framing seeks to explain how local actors, and particularly Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen, deal with their precarious livelihoods that stem from adhering to rigid 'sustainability' norms imposed upon their daily practices. An understanding of fishermen's performativities, then, offers valuable insight into ways global actors' 'sustainability' interventions distribute precarity to local actors livelihoods, and how local fishermen subversively respond by contesting the GNP's interventions in nuanced ways.

In this light, the following ethnographic chapters explore how fishermen's performativities of sustainability enable them to deal with and make sense of the GNPS' on-board regulation of the mid-water long line fishing pilot plan at sea and their eco-political entanglements with the GNP's/PMC's co-management authority on land. These performativities are examined by dividing the ethnographic terrain, albeit crudely, between sea and land spaces. The first ethnographic chapter spotlights fishermen's benefit of the domain of agency at sea to contest and subvert the GNPS observers' fieldwork reports and on-board monitoring – as well as ways they challenge their social identities as predators and nonconformists. The second ethnographic chapter explores fishermen's performativities of sustainability on land as they engage with and subvert the PMC's processes of designing and managing natural resource use, which occurs as a means to contest the GNP's limits on fishing allowances and particularly that of mid-water long line fishing. The final ethnographic chapter considers how fishermen's performativities provide them with an ensemble of vocational trajectories – both in an out of fishing – that provide for their daily basic needs as well as artisanal fishing long-term relevance as a productive and stable economic sector. As a precursor to this ethnographic scholarship, the next chapter accounts for research methods, issues of language and ethics, which together frame this work's empirical and ethical design.

FOUR

Fish Tails and Tales:

An Account of Research Methods & Ethics

Chapter Abstract

This chapter presents ethnographic methods and addresses issues of ethical concern related to this work's participant observation among informants.[88] The methodological design draws upon Förster et al.'s 2007-developed Emic Evaluation Model as a guide for fieldwork to explore the disjunctures and overlaps presented in the previous chapters' social discourse analysis. Also, this work borrows Marcus' (1995) notion of 'follow the thing' as an ethnographic tool and conceptual guide. Accordingly, participant observation is employed to encompass a range and depth of fieldwork experiences that would not otherwise be possible in Galápagos' marine and terrestrial spaces, such as fishermen's boat decks at sea and Puerto Ayora living rooms. In this regard, a case is made for the value of multi-sited ethnography and particularly why a separation of the ethnographic terrain between sea and land spaces is a worthy conceptual frame to apply to Galápagos' eco-political sphere. This geographic divide is explained by examining how artisanal fishing development, such as a shift from hand line to mid-water long line methods over time, has involved the GNP and fishermen interacting in and across the Galápagos Marine Reserve (GMR) and Puerto Ayora spaces. The chapter also address issues of language since interviews and daily interaction transpired primarily in the author's second language (Spanish). The chapter concludes with an account of research ethics and why ethnographic fieldwork in Galápagos requires thoughtful concern and planning.

[88] This work understands ethnography as a driving method of anthropology, and particularly draws upon Atkinson and Hammersley's (2007) definition of the term and account of its practice.

'Surf and Turf'

Hand line fishing practices in Galápagos have evolved considerably during the past half-century and especially over the past 20 years. The shift in artisanal practice has been one, generally, from the hand line fishing of a demersal grouper fish known locally as *bacalao* to the mid-water long line fishing of pelagic fish such as tuna and swordfish.[89] The section denotes both fishing arts briefly, revealing a complex eco-political scenario in which fishermen's performativities of 'sustainability' are seen to take different forms at sea and on land. This comparison buttresses the present study's rigid separation of ethnographic terrain between land and sea, which is designed despite awareness that fishermen's mobility occurs fluidly from terrestrial to marine spaces and the inverse as well. This section's principal function, then, is to chart the mid-water long line pilot plan's eco-political waters in order to make a case for why the Emic Evaluation Approach (Förster, 2011) as well as Marcus' (1995) notion of 'follow the thing' are compelling ethnographic tools to apply to the Galápagos context.

From metal scraps to elaborate rigs, and the need for multi-sited ethnography

My initial conversations with Pelican Bay fishers, and review of literature (e.g. GNPS, 1999) identify that Galápagos fishermen's subsistence dating back to the 1940s relied predominantly on *bacalao* since it was easy to salt and dry the fish, and did not need refrigeration, which was not available at the time.[90] My fieldwork documented Pelican Bay fishermen's first-hand accounts of the hand line fishing art, dating back to the 1960s. Those accounts included that of Alex, a Galápagos native since the 1950s and retired fishermen, who explained *bacalao* hand line fishing as such: "We took a piece of metal cable from houses, tires or the street and tied it to

[89] Castrejón's (2011:90) study of GMR fisheries co-management – which looked at tendencies, challenges and perspectives of change – informs that *bacalao* is endemic to Galápagos. The grouper species, commonly referred to elsewhere as a cod, lives primarily in the GMR's western islands and in depths of 2-73 metres.
[90] Fishermen exported *bacalao* to continental markets during the Easter season as a steady revenue source.

the hook.[91] We attached it to a piece of bronze with a screwdriver. This trick made the hook twirl as we trolled" (November 2013).[92]

Alex explained that new technologies and practices are replacing *bacalao* fishing as he once knew it with what has become mid-water long line fishing: "Fishing systems, arts, technologies and fishermen[93] have changed dramatically since my youth. Though some fishermen still catch *bacalao* today with line and up to five hooks, many have moved to a new form of tuna fishing at high sea" (November 2013).[94] His account is vital ethnographic data when understood as folding into a broader eco-political narrative in which the sustainable development of fishing technologies has disrupted artisanal ways of knowing (see chapter two).

In order to show how the implementation of sustainability has seeped into local fishing practices and materiality, I first turn to Manuel, who participated steadily in the GNP's 2012-2014 mid-water long line pilot plan and described the fishing practice as such:

> Our mid-water long line fishing involves a line measuring upwards of two miles and about 50-100 hooks spaced at 15 arm-length intervals. This hand line is troublesome since we catch massive migratory fish (e.g. swordfish weighing over 250-pounds, yellow fin tuna) in the open ocean that are here today and in Colombia tomorrow, where someone else will capture them.[95] The GNP (via the PMC) has prevented the pilot plan from becoming

[91] Alex informed that Japanese industrial fishermen in the GMR provided him with access to fishing materials, since he could barter directly with them, find their discarded lines, or steal their materials. In this regard, it is understood that pioneering fishermen scraped together mixtures of implements from any available source.
[92] This account resonates with that of Pelican Bay pioneer Don Marcos who explained that *bacalao* was so abundant in the late 1960s that anyone could catch the fish using discarded materials found in Puerto Ayora.
[93] Much of Galápagos' current fishermen workforce is comprised of fishermen that migrated to the archipelago from Manta, which is a continental Ecuadorian province known, in particular, for its fishing industry.
[94] As indicated in the GNP's (1998) Management Plan, all approved fishing practices are artisanal. Accordingly, all forthcoming references to fishing and fishermen in in the present study will assume that they are artisanal by nature unless noted otherwise.
[95] This notion also resonates with Hardin's 1968 'tragedy of the commons' described in the literature review.

permanent because it first wants to gather and assess by-catch (e.g. turtles, sharks, manta rays) data. However, we will soon obtain a permanent approval. (October 2013)

Manuel's account notably references the GNP's regulation of fishing allowances – which was never a concern for Alex and fishers generations ago. It is thus critical to unpack how the GNP's eco-political role in fishing development influences this work's ethnographic framing.

Data in Figure 1 are presented to depict a general chronology of mid-water long line fishing development over a fifteen-year period (1999-2014), which draws largely upon my January 2014 conversations with Israel, a thirteen-year GNPS employee who serves as Director of Responsible Conservation Processes and Marine Eco-systems Use.

Time Period	Interview Data: Accounts of mid-water long line fishing development (1999-2014)
April 1999	In 1999, the GNPS' published its first Management Plan for Conservation and Sustainable Use of the GMR. This document listed long line fishing as a permitted fishing method though subject to special regulations [imposed by the GNPS]. So, technically, long line fishing was listed as a permitted practice, but the GNPS needed to do a long line study for the fishing art to be approved.
2003/2004	We [the GNPS] did a long line trial study in 2003-2004. It [the fishing art] had weights, but it wasn't very deep (only about 30 meters). The by-catch (i.e. sharks, sea turtles, and manta rays) incidence was about 60-90% of the catch. The GNPS went to the Inter-institutional Management Authority (IMA) to close long line fishing in the GMR officially since such high percentages of by-catch data [from of the shallow-water long line art], were found to harm GMR eco-systems substantially.
2006	In 2006, long line fishing was officially prohibited in the GMR.
	A fishing practice was approved in 2006 that uses a buoy, a *renal* and three hooks (reaching about 30-50 meters with weights). Fishermen threw buoys overboard at high sea, monitoring them while fishing. The IMA approved this art as an "oceanic *empate*" and is similar to the hand line *empate*.
2008	Later, in 2008, a fisherman had the idea to modify the 2006-approved practice by uniting the buoys below the surface. The fisherman did so by submerging a mother line that connected all buoys. Thus it became a long line with *renales* and enabled fishermen to throw 100-150 hooks. In all forms, the art is a long line. This is basically the same [long line] setup as what we monitored in the 2003/4 study. The depth of the hooks was the only difference as they reached 80-100 meters deep in 2008.
2010	'Modified oceanic *empate*' fishing started illegally in 2010. Several fishermen were caught and had to face a legislative process. The boom of this illegal fishing method was more or less in 2010 and led us to start a pilot plan that two artisanal fishermen [i.e. Don Siete and Patiño] pushed forward.
Nov 2012 to Dec 2013	The mid-water long line pilot plan started in November of 2012. We have already processed data from November 2012 to May 2013. We still need to do so for June to November of 2013.
Jan to Dec 2014	The mid-water long line pilot plan is still going on. We are going to collect data for another year. It isn't announced officially yet, but we've spoken with the fishermen to tell them that we are going to extend the plan another year in order to collect more data (i.e. by-catch, biological monitoring of reproduction, size and weight of tuna and swordfish). We want to see that the by-catch rates are diminishing and that COPROPAG's commercialization infrastructure is improving. We may change zoning for the pilot plan depending on the time of year (and where by-catch rates are likely to be lower). We still need to improve the pilot plan greatly [before the fishing art may be approved].

Figure 1: **A Brief History of Mid-Water Long Line Fishing in the GMR (1999-2014)**

(Source: Personal interviews with Israel, January 2014)[96]

[96] There are two points of clarification. Firstly, [see 2003/2004] the GNPS' 1999-published Management Plan also re-zoned GMR fishing areas, differentiated between commercial and non-

This linear overview accounts for various GNP-implemented procedural decisions made since 1999. More importantly, a comparison of Manuel's account and data in Figure 1 bring to light several points of critical analysis. Firstly, both sets of data assert that hook count and by-catch numbers, among other drivers, impact greatly on the GNP's long-term approval of the fishing method. Secondly, the data show that mid-water long line development occurs in two distinct spaces: at sea where fishermen perform the art, and on land as the GNP designs and implements 'sustainable' fishing policies via the PMC. In other words, the data are taken to suggest that fishermen's performativities of 'sustainability' occur on the open ocean when working with the implements and technology, and in Puerto Ayora when engaging with the GNP by performing in the PMC's eco-political processes). Thirdly, the data reflect an on-going process in which the Ecuadorian government has legally equipped the GNPS with the power necessary to influence the conditions of mid-water long line fishing materiality, practices and allowances. This reality has meant the gradual conditioning of fishermen's compliance with the GNP's leadership and the GNPS' regulation of sustainability standards and practices. This scenario means that mid-water long line fishermen's livelihoods at sea are inextricably linked with how eco-political structures are designed 'sustainably' on land.

In this regard, a keen ethnographic approach is necessary to seek access to the spaces and social actors who design, implement, practice and contest the sustainable development of fishing technologies and materiality, and particularly mid-water long line fishing. This is made possible by dividing the ethnographic

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commercial fishing, and defined fishing skills and methods, thus impacting on fishing discourse in Galápagos. Studies of artisanal fishermen commonly use GNP-implemented standards as a benchmark for data measurement. Secondly, The Inter-institutional Management Authority (IMA) [see 2006] is referred to locally as the *La Autoridad Interinstitucional de Manejo* (AIM) and is described officially (GNPS, 1998:30) as such: "The Inter-institutional Management Authority is the maximum directive collegiate body responsible for policy definition relating to the GMR. In virtue of its legal attributions, it holds the power to approve plans and remaining technical instructions, to authorise participative studies and generally define, superior and evaluate the fulfilment of Law of Special Regime for Conservation and Sustainable Development in the Galápagos Province, in the marine reserve."

terrain between marine and terrestrial spaces – which is a sea-land divide I refer to as 'surf and turf.' Multi-sited ethnography thus allows for a form of participant-observations that speaks to the nuances of fishermen's performativities across Galápagos spaces.[97] The separation of ethnographic terrain occurs despite awareness that binding fishermen's agency to fixed ethnographic terrains presents its own set of concerns. For instance, the fixing of fishermen's domain for agency solely to Puerto Ayora-based political structures (e.g. PMC meetings) means the foreclosure of their capacity to contest and subvert the conditions on and conditioning of their practices at sea, which take different forms and trajectories. The inverse is also true since fishermen are likely to contest and subvert the GNP's fishing regulations and the GNPS' authority to enforce them at sea different than how they contest the PMC's eco-political structures in Puerto Ayora. Multi-sited ethnography is thus a compelling approach since it nuances perceptions of: fishermen's domain for agency, how Galápagos' social actors' identities are contested and socially re-constructed in various spaces, and how fishermen activate their agency to subvert the GNP's sustainability frameworks and the GNPS' eco-political power. Accordingly, the next section looks at how this work's participant observation ranged in breadth and depth across GMR and GNP spaces – and particularly how these experiences model the Emic Evaluation Approach (EEA).

An Initial Account of Methods

Fieldwork for the present study involved an initial ten-month-long period from April 2013 to March 2014 and a follow-up period from October to December 2014. During those intervals, as an anthropologist applying ethnographic research tools in Puerto Ayora spaces and across the GMR, I set out to maximize the depth and range of my opportunities to observe and to interact with fishermen, their arts and the

[97] My references to multi-sited ethnography draw upon Marcus (1995:99) notion of the term, which claims that "any ethnography of a cultural formation in the world system is also an ethnography of the system, and therefore cannot be understood only in terms of the conventional single-site mise-en-scene of ethnographic research, assuming indeed it is the cultural formation, produced in several different locales, rather than the conditions of a particular set of subjects that is the object of study."

social actors that they deal with. This ambitious drive ultimately led me to reflect upon a range of experiences.

My networking and pursuit of diverse voices and experiences resulted in 126 interviews (formal and informal) among 76 individuals across the five PMC sectors. Most interviews were conducted in formal settings and recorded while some were impromptu, requiring my note taking and journaling immediately thereafter. In total, I amassed over 600 pages of interview transcripts. These interviews spanned ethnographic terrain, occurring at sea during times of leisure and work, in living rooms over beers, at the wharf amid fish sales, and across Puerto Ayora spaces (e.g. offices, restaurants, homes, street corners). Many interviews transpired during the 360 hours of participant observation I spent at deep sea [up to 60 nautical miles offshore],[98] which were spread over five fishing trips and ranging across the northern, western and southern sides of the archipelago.[99] These experiences on the open ocean were so physically exhausting that I often doubted my capacity to endure another five-day trip.[100] The boat's tight spaces and tense fishing performances often limited my opportunities to dialogue with fishermen about sensitive and controversial issues, which is why I pursued dialogues with informants once back in Puerto Ayora.

Stepping off the boat and into Puerto Ayora's spaces opened up a range of ethnographic routes as I followed fish and fishermen to their various points of contact. My fieldwork occurred principally at Pelican Bay's fishermen wharf where I spent roughly 500 hours observing fish sales and chatting with vendors, buyers, and

[98] This reference to participant-observation, and my implementation of it throughout the present study, draws upon Musante's (2015:251) definition of the term: "Participant observation is a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning both the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and culture."

[99] One such trip extended four days past our estimated Puerto Ayora arrival date. I left the fishermen, hitchhiking 60 nautical miles aboard a tourism yacht, in order meet an employment responsibility in town.

[100] The trips were physically draining despite my principal on-board role being that of observer. Exhaustion stemmed from limited and uncomfortable sleep, dehydration, and turbulent voyages to fishing zones.

passersby. My interaction there led me to befriend a group of female fish vendors, and, ultimately to form a cohort with them to discuss the ways that fishing livelihoods impact on family units.[101] Much of the Pelican Bay fishing community accepted my presence and involvement over time, inviting me to participate in their onshore functions at the wharf (e.g. ceviche fundraisers, a fishermen-hosted New Year's party open to all Puerto Ayora residents).[102] I attempted to expand my ethnographic reach by other means, and beyond Pelican Bay's confines, such as: attending fishing cooperative workshops on Santa Cruz Island (COPROPAG) and San Cristobal (COPESAN), sharing meals with fishermen in their homes and at the Pelican Bay wharf, checking-in on the well-being of my informants' families while they were at sea, and playing informal street games with fishermen's kids.

My push to develop depth and breadth in my research led to a peril of its own in that, at times, I became so consumed with gathering a myriad of social actors' perspectives that I often could not see the proverbial forest for the trees. I often felt, during the first months of fieldwork, as though I was wallowing in the same tired, predictable story told in Galápagos of how artisanal fishermen and the GNPS/PMC have struggled to deal with and resolve what each accuses the other of as demonstrating unethical practices.[103] As my fieldwork developed, I worked to overcome such challenges in my fieldwork *routes* and *roots*[104] by returning to and implementing the EEA, first developed by Förster, Dobler and Bauer in 2007 and later refined by researchers at the University of Basel's (Switzerland) Institute of Social Anthropology.[105] The three-pronged EEA model calls for: a mapping of social

[101] I gave English classes to vendors' children in exchange for their cohort participation.
[102] Many fishermen kept me at a distance. I learned that some of them viewed me simply as another visiting scholar that swoops into Galápagos, gathers data and leaves.
[103] Specifically, fishermen argue that the GNP is unethical in its control of fishing calendars, limits and practices. In contrast, the GNP claims that fishermen do not act ethnically when interacting with fish stocks and marine eco-systems and thus are a threat to the sustainability of the archipelago's ecological stability.
[104] My use of *routes* and *roots* borrows Yon's (2000:92) use of the terms in his study of race and culture in 'global times.' In this regard, my embedded fieldwork *habitus* is certainly a product of my rooted methodological dispositions while also reshaped by new ethnographic routes that shape my understanding.
[105] See Förster (2011).

actors, social discourse analysis, and practice analysis. The model provided me with a conceptual tool to understand "social actors through social practice on the one hand and discursive formations on the other", and subsequently to show how fishermen's translations of sustainability impact on and interact with the previous (Förster, 2011:12).

The EEA model also allowed me to analyse different dimensions of Galápagos fishermen's social realities instead of simply delving into a singular research question by way of traditional research approaches. Specifically, this meant interrogating how mid-water long line fishermen make sense of, contest and subvert the global notions of sustainability which find traction in Puerto Ayora via the mid-water long line pilot plan conditions as well as the GNPS' conditioning of fishermen to abide by them. Therefore, the EEA model led me, as a researcher, to understand how local and global actors in Galápagos link to debates about sustainability, development and precarity as described in previous chapters. Such understanding occurred as I, on one hand, reflected on the spaces and sites of translations or encounters at sea and on land, and, on the other, analysed actors' agency and considered how quietly or loudly they asserted their own notions of what is critical, long-term, sustainable, etc. In this way, the EEA model provided the methodological framework in which to unpack the critical analysis of fishermen's performativities vis-à-vis their precarity – which particularly involved making sense of how they employed their agency, constructed their own realities and identities, and subverted the conditioning of the mid-water long line pilot plan conditions.

In order to show the methodological interconnections that occur when implementing Förster's EEA framework in the field, this chapter draws upon Marcus' (1995:106-107) notion of 'follow the thing', or in this case 'follow the fish,' which he presents as a way to conceptualise mutli-sited ethnography. This work's fieldwork documented the micro events and conversations of artisanal fishermen's daily lives, which required a conceptual awareness of certain points of contact with various Puerto Ayora locals and spaces – therein as well as throughout the GMR. The

following section demonstrates the anthropological methods used in the field by tracing how I, as an ethnographer, literally 'followed the fish' in order to come to grips with fishermen's translations of globally constructed notions of sustainability and their apparent subversion of them. The resulting points of encounter with fish during my fieldwork, for the purposes of this chapter, are narrowed to: archival research, hanging out/observing at the Pelican Bay fishermen's wharf, 'following the fish,' fieldwork at sea, attending inter-sectorial workshops, and joining fishermen in their social spaces.

'Follow the fish': An Ethnographic Tool and Conceptual Guide

Gaining access to mid-water long line fishermen can be problematic when considering that they spend up to 20-days monthly at sea and often disappear to their homes and families once ashore. Ethnographers can overcome such disjunctures of social interaction by widening the purview of fieldwork to include all of the actors and elements with which fishermen interact. For instance, I sought to overcome 'down time' in Puerto Ayora, when I was unable to join informants at sea, by employing Marcus' (1995) notion of 'follow the thing [fish]' as a means to critically interrogate the range of spaces and actors that influence fishermen's performativities of sustainability. My adaptation of Marcus' conceptual guide serves multiple purposes. Firstly, it functions as a pragmatic tool to illustrate the depth and breadth of research methods used at various points of encounter in the present study. This approach bears in mind what Fabian (2001a) describes as 'ethnographic misunderstanding,' which I sought to avoid by coming to grips with fishing practices and livelihoods from a range of perspectives and spaces. Secondly, it allows me, as an ethnographer, to provide background data about artisanal fishing in Galápagos as I encountered it while 'following the fish/fishermen' during fieldwork. This is an important consideration since change in Galápagos' fishing sector over time (e.g. change in: artisanal fishing methods, fish consumption, financial incentives, and especially the mid-water long line development) is not well known globally and is uncommon to theorization of performativity and precarity. Thirdly, the

methodological construct allows me to interweave the theoretical tensions presented in the literature review with my ethnographic observations of how mid-water long line fishermen deal with and subvert the conditions and conditioning of their precarious livelihoods. This nexus allows for the forthcoming ethnographic chapters to unpack fishermen's performativities of sustainability at sea and on land – since each terrain provides various domains for agency as well as to construct nuanced identities and lived realities.

The following critical interrogation of multi-sited ethnographic terrains thus informs how Galápagos actors grapple over the collective, authoritative and materially-based performativities of sustainability that shape the conditions and conditioning of the mid-water long line pilot plan – and thereby the precarity of those who derive livelihoods from it. Together, the interweaving of these points contribute to an understanding of how mid-water long line fishing came to serve as the context for the present study. It also contextualizes how fishermen's contested and evolving positionality in Galápagos' eco-political matrix helps to expand Butlerian notions of performativity vis-à-vis global notions of precarity and sustainability.

Archival research, prior fieldwork and a brief history of fishing development in Galápagos

I began my fieldwork by seeking archival data to learn of artisanal fishermen and their histories as well as how others before me had studied the fishing sector and social actors related to it. My commitment to archival research stems from Fabian's (2006) argument that anthropology requires ethnographers to recognize the social actors that they study as their coevals, which requires an historical sharing of time. This temporal positionality draws upon Fabian's (2006:145) notion that "to be knowingly in each other's presence we must somehow share each other's past." It also draws on Bevernage's (2013:23) reminder that "the past retains a living 'presence' in the present." Accordingly, ethnographers' coming to grips with local

social histories reduces the likelihood of writing and speaking about those they observe as existing in a time other than that of the ethnographer. My archival research, then, functioned as an attempt to position myself as a coeval to artisanal fishermen – and thus to position their social histories as central to my anthropological framing of Galápagos' eco-political matrix.

My first archival visits (in April of 2013) were to Santa Cruz Island's and San Cristobal Island's fishing cooperatives (COPROPAG and COPESAN, respectively)[106] and three local libraries (e.g. municipal libraries in Puerto Baquerizo Moreno and Puerto Ayora,[107] the CDRS' private archive).[108] The lack of archival evidence was strikingly apparent as I found minimal on-hand data about fishing-related histories. I was instead directed to seek out certain artisanal fishermen in their homes where photos and records are filed.

One consequence of limited on-site data meant that my approach to documenting fishermen's performativities of sustainability initially drew upon a historical background of the archipelago, which informed my own 2012 study of Galápagos' present-day cruise-boat eco-tourism and social consequences associated with it. That study informs us of Galápagos eighteenth and nineteenth century whaling industry[109] as well as series of failed attempts to colonise the islands in the form of agricultural-based colonial stations from 1832 to 1959 (e.g. Villamil's station on Isabela Island: 1832-1866; Cobos' station in the highlands of San Cristobal Island: 1879-1904). Fishing in Galápagos, which had only begun in the eighteenth century, consequently took off since there was little competition to hunt whale species, and the archipelago gradually became an important hub among whalers (Grenier,

[106] I found that COPESAN had no files available to visitors. COPROPAG's manager provided me some records of fish sales, but only after about three months of routine conversations with him.
[107] Public librarians turned me away, claiming to have no records of fishing-related studies or photographs.
[108] Most data involved ecological studies with minimal reference to fishermen's social lives and local fish consumption. Noteworthy studies found at the CDRS include: Tejada Flor (2006), Banks et al. (2006), and Álava (2005).
[109] Growing urbanisation and the spread of the industrial revolution in Western Europe and North America created a demand for whale oil, which was used as fuel for lighting.

2007:75, 77). Fishing is nonetheless described as being a part of daily life for many during Galápagos' colonial era. This account corresponds with the GNPS' (1998:21) claim that artisanal fishing likely began in the form of "daily full-time work" as early as the nineteenth century wherein fishermen used "boats without motors with which the fishermen could gain small and barely sufficient salaries", although hand-line fishing from shore was likely also practiced.

Additional archival data (Grenier, 2007; GNP, 1998) revealed that artisanal fishermen numbers grew during the 1940s when they began selling fresh fish to North American naval fleets around the USA's WWII naval base on Baltra Island.[110] The WWII fishing boom led to several changes in Galápagos, such as a shift from subsistence to commercial fishing (GNP, 1998). The boom also prompted fishermen, for instance, to establish the Galápagos Fishing Society on San Cristobal Island between 1945 and 1950 (Castro, 2005). Fishermen numbers remained steady in the post-WWII era, up until the 1980s when fishing in the region received a further spur (Grenier, 2007; GNP, 1998). After decades of relative stability, demand for sea cucumbers among Asian markets in the early 1980s led to a steep rise in local fishermen numbers, which ultimately led those fishermen to form and organise themselves into local fishing cooperatives. Existing literature (GNP, 1998:22; Toral-Granda, 2008; Reyes & Murillo, 2007; Hearn et al., 2007; Watkins & Cruz, 2007) describes the Galápagos fishing industry from roughly 1980 to 1998 as an important economic activity. The GNP (1998:22) goes on to state that this economic activity "was extracting hundreds of tonnes of resources, maintaining a work force of around 600 people. The cooperatives were using a fishing fleet of approximately 270 crafts including boats, fibreglass boats and canoes". These histories reveal that Galápagos' artisanal fishers practiced their arts autonomously for a period of roughly 150 years, meaning that fishing arts developed apart from the 'sustainable' conditions that have surfaced over the past two decades.

[110] Existing literature (e.g. Grenier, 1997; Castro, 2005) suggest that fishermen numbers increased during the WWII era and remained steady until the 1980s. However, leading articles about Galápagos' fisheries (e.g. Murillo et al., 2007; Hearn et al., 2007) do not confirm change in fishing numbers from the 1940s to 1980s.

In roughly the same time span as the sea cucumber boom, the salience of notions of sustainability in the archipelago similarly grew as it garnered international interest and distinctions (e.g. GNP-establishment in 1970, UNESCO World Heritage site status in 1978, Biosphere Reserve status in 1984). Thus, the trajectories of fishing development as well as the systemic sustainable development of the archipelago were on a collision course since it was problematic for the latter to allow the former to continue what were considered extractive, dangerous practices. This collision occurred, and consequently changed Galápagos residents' social lives, in 1998, when the GNP imposed its innovative Management Plan. This was especially true for marine users such as artisanal fishermen since sharp, detailed regulations impacted on artisanal and commercial fishing practices, as well as on acceptable tools and approved fishing zones. This document – and its pointed delineation of sustainable ideals, social identity construction and ways of doing – is noteworthy when considering Morris' (1995:572) reading of Austin (1962) in which the former describes the latter's notion of the performative as "the act of enunciation that brings into being the object it names." This account of performativity vis-á-vis the social construction (via re-production) of social identities and norms resonates with the process in which the GNP redefined several such fishing-related terms as Figure 2 illustrates below. Therefore, it is clear that GNP's legislation reshaped the composite of artisanal fishing, gaffing the trajectory of Galápagos' artisanal fishermen's existing socioeconomic sustainability and replacing it with a newly crafted and mechanized interpretation of the same.

Galápagos Artisan Fishing	Fishing activity carried out by artisan fishermen who are legitimate established cooperatives. Fishing as daily livelihood, using fishing skills/methods and boats as laid out in this plan, which will be defined later.
Galápagos Artisan Fisherman	A native person who works habitually in fishing, already in a pedestrian form as a captain or crewmember of an artisan fishing craft as defined in the Management Plan.
Galápagos Artisan Fishing Craft	A fishing boat which meets and abides by the given requirements in the Management Plan and which is used solely and exclusively for artisan fishing in the Galápagos.
Galápagos Artisan Ship owner	A native person or one with a legitimate and registered cooperative who meets the requirements laid out in the Management Plan. Proportion artisan fishing craft which comply with the given sizes, tonnage and capacities dictated by the Management Plan.
Galápagos Fishing Skills	Fishing artefacts, implements and tools, which fulfil the criteria, definitions and standard users as, laid out in the Management Plan. These implements are used only by Galápagos Fishermen with the aim of extracting hydro biological resources from the Galápagos Marine Reserve.

Figure 2: **GNPS-Implemented 'Artisanal' Fishing-Related Terms and Definitions** (Source: GNPS, 1998:22)

The same Management Plan also rezoned GMR fishing areas, differentiated between commercial and non-commercial fishing, and defined fishing skills and methods. The Management Plan also impacted on fishing discourse in Galápagos, and we accordingly find that subsequent studies of artisanal fishermen (e.g. Castro, 2005) commonly use GNP-implemented standards as a benchmark for measuring data.[111] A consequence of such findings is that Galápagos fishermen have been asked to adopt sustainable practices at sea so as to safeguard the archipelago's ecological integrity since that is precisely what fuels its booming eco-tourism industry. For instance, literature suggests that artisanal fishermen face pressures to adapt their fishing practices to GMR standards (e.g. Schuhbauer & Koch, 2013; Jones, 2013; Heylings & Bravo, 2007). Yet, the apparent precarity that results from fishermen's modelling of 'sustainable' practices at high sea certainly extends to and distributes precarity to fishermen's lives on land. For instance, the pressures resulting from fishermen-GNPS quarrels at sea have manifested in clashes on Santa Cruz Island, marked by the 1995, 2002 and 2004 volatile encounters between fishermen and conservationists wherein the former took members of the CDRS – as well as its iconic tortoise named 'Lonesome George' on one occasion – hostage over debates

[111] Castro (2005:102) reports that at the time of his publication, 442 (44%) of the 1,001 registered fishermen were 'natives' (e.g. individuals born in Galápagos). The other 559 fishers (56%) relocated from other Ecuadorian provinces to Galápagos.

about fishing calendars (source: personal interviews with: Tobias, January 2014; Don Antonio, February 2014).

Fieldwork methods for the present study were designed to occur amid the terrestrial and marine spaces that fishermen and conservation-science actors frequent so as to document their micro interactions, which provide a wider purview of Galápagos' complex eco-political matrix. On one hand, this methodological framing thus equips the present study to make sense of how fishermen's performativities of sustainable fishing are mechanized and employed in various ethnographic spaces (e.g. at sea, on land) as responses to the pressures of having to accommodate global standards of sustainable fishing. On the other hand, it allows for an unpacking of how Galápagos' social actors enforce, contest and subvert the conditions and conditioning of sustainable fishing practices across GMR and GNP spaces. Furthermore, this historical backdrop of archival data reinforced a gap that my fieldwork sought to overcome by becoming familiar with the oral traditions of those familiar with Galápagos artisanal fishing industry (e.g. fishermen, GNPS staff, and conservationists). These analytical departures prompted me to seek out how fishing methods in Galápagos have changed over time, to what extent, and the reasons for the change, which occurred as I inserted myself into fishermen's various social hubs.

'Hanging Out' at the Pelican Bay fishermen's wharf

Anthropology provides a methodological toolkit for understanding small communities. Puerto Ayora, Santa Cruz Island is a prime location in which to develop an ethnography of artisanal fishermen since the town – which is geographically situated at the archipelago's centre and has, coincidentally, become its conservation-science epicentre – is a rich site where local and global actors and their notions of sustainability converge.[112] The port town provides a rich

[112] Puerto Ayora ("Ayora Port") is the name of Santa Cruz Island's only populated port. It is also the archipelago's tourism epicentre and home to municipal authorities and conservation groups.

juxtaposition of social actors with appeals to marine resource management, including: registered artisanal fishermen, the GNPS, the Ministry of Tourism, GNPS naturalist guides, the Ecuadorian navy, and conservation-science groups (e.g. the CDF, Conservation International, FUNDAR) in close proximity. Specifically, Puerto Ayora's Pelican Bay wharf is located on a two-kilometre stretch of coastline along with the CDF and GNPS offices and is where artisanal fishermen unload and sell their daily catches to residents and tourists for local consumption.

The wharf thus functions as a cauldron in which flows of actors whom deal with the conditions and conditioning of marine resource sustainability converge and backwash upon each other both literally and metaphorically. Those convergences, for instance, include GNPS staff regulating fish sales and ways mid-water long line fishermen equip their boats with sustainable materiality (e.g. numbers of hooks). Despite, Pelican Bay's spaces serving as a centrifuge of social behaviour, trustful relationships take time to develop. This is especially true among fishermen who have become weary of conservationists and academics (e.g. Davos et al., 2007).[113] My first months of inquiry therefore involved sitting, observing, chatting, and taking field notes of what I observed at Santa Cruz Island's Pelican Bay wharf, which I had selected as my initial place of inquiry since it is Santa Cruz Island's principal fish hub.[114] These field notes served as the basis for my journaling, which drew upon the works of Emerson et al. (1995), Wolcott (1995a, 1995b) and Jackson (1990) and have helped me to consider how journal entries may show changes and gaps in my ways of thinking critically during fieldwork. Figure 3 shows several Pelican Bay spaces and moments where participant-observation occurred.

[113] I had spent ten months in Puerto Ayora as an English teacher immediately prior to the start of fieldwork. This time gave me a general understanding of the fishing industry, but produced only a few informants. Thus, my fieldwork required from its onset a commitment to developing rich relationships with informants.

[114] This decision also drew upon the fieldwork reflections of Förster (2011), who conducted ethnographic research among Côte d'Ivoire peasant farmers. With time, Förster realised that his attempts to collect data from workplace interactions would not suffice. When the peasants engaged in collective actions (e.g. labouring in the fields), he found that "there was not much communication on the most important work that a peasant can engage in" (Förster, 2011:6). Accordingly, my fieldwork looked to join fishermen at their social centres and other places of respite [in addition to joining them at sea].

Figure 3: **Pelican Bay Spaces and Faces** – (top left): Fishermen netting baitfish; (top right): Fishermen's family members lounge beneath mangrove trees; (bottom right): The author poses with a fishermen informant that is dressed in drag for a New Year's celebration; (bottom left): Puerto Ayora townspeople dine at a fried fish kiosk. (Photo credit: Author, December 2013)

The next section illustrates how my dockside observations and chatter provided me with a basic understanding of Pelican Bay fishermen's practices and implements, as well as social interactions among fishermen and wharf passersby.

Fishing for informants

My initial 'hanging out' at the Pelican Bay fishermen's wharf provided me with introductions to fishermen and social actors that I viewed likely to share knowledge about artisanal fishing practices. I secured interviews principally with Pelican Bay fishermen willing to speak with me. My networking started with casual

conversations at the wharf – employing the listening and interviewing techniques as described by Anderson and Jack (1991) – and progressed over time to formal interviews with 24 fishers at sea and/or in their homes. My nexus with informants grew over time to include non-Pelican Bay, retired and seasonal fishermen – and often occurred as one fisherman referred me to another who could provide specific insight about a certain topic. These referrals led to wonderful informant relationships that I would not likely have produced on my own, meaning that I often experienced what Shweder (1997) describes as 'the surprise of ethnography.' Also, most of these relationships required that I overcome, to some extent, a stigma attached to foreign scholars' study of Galápagos similar to Moore's (2012) study of Bahamian fishers wherein the author learned that locals' dispositions towards visiting scholars negatively impacted the processes of forging informant relationships and their outcomes.[115] Indeed, it was difficult to gain trust among many of the 75 or so fishers that have Pelican Bay docking rights. These relationships provided me with multiple perspectives about fishing arts, limitations on them and fishing futures. They also contributed to a larger social mapping as part of the EEA model that I employed over time, which initially drew upon the PMC and its division of social actors as a crude framework.[116]

My interviewing across sectors heeded Förster's (2011:5) warning of the performative character of interviews. As a white ethnographer in an African village, he observed that many of his interviewees gave what he calls "front-stage performances" since, he assumed, they thought the white interviewer likely had a hidden agenda. I worked to overcome similar issues among my informants while in the field, which required great periods of time spent with fishers both at sea and on land in order to move beyond such "front-stage performances." Förster's claim resonates with an interview that I had with Peter, an environmental lawyer, who explained:

[115] The literature review presented Moore's research objectives and outcomes in detail.
[116] I became familiar with the PMC's organizational structure, objectives and problems by conducting formal interviews with multiple past PMC facilitators, and especially the then current facilitator Martín.

> I think that to understand Galápagos, you have to live here at least ten years in order to have a good idea of how things are. I am very careful in forming critiques of this place and happenings here too soon. There is clearly a narrative about Galápagos fishers [resisting State control and seeking to fish limitlessly] … but, I have lived here for three years and I have often seen exactly the opposite – even though nobody wants to admit it. (October 2013)

Förster's and Peter's comments together validate the importance of fieldwork moving beyond scripted interaction and toward an insider's perspective – although the latter, according to Peter, requires a residency period in Galápagos tenfold of what is required for most anthropological doctoral studies. Great commitment, then, is needed to come to grips with the archipelago's social nuances and cauldrons of eco-political goulash. Though well short of Peter's 10-year interval, I perceived my fieldwork to overcome this barrier after roughly six months of fieldwork. That point was marked by my informants' invitations to continue our interviews and social interaction, which typically occurred in public spaces and in their homes during leisure times.

Over time, I secured a variety of informants at Pelican Bay who led me to connect with social actors in other spaces such as: local restaurants, the COPROPAG office/cannery, GNPS and CDRS offices, Puerto Ayora's Tourism Chamber of Commerce, and conservation-based NGO offices. These relationships together added to an understanding of change in fish consumption and practices over time and how market demand has encouraged fishers to develop mid-water long line fishing practices, which has come to feature as context for my coming to grips with the conditions and conditioning of fishermen's performativities of 'sustainability' at sea.

Going out to sea

The first months of observing social actors at Pelican Bay and 'following the fish' routes across Puerto Ayora informed me of market demands influencing fish sales as well as a general understanding of fishermen's pathways around town and the actors they interact with. Yet, my participant observation sought to understand fishermen's embodied knowledge as well as the change in fishing methods over time. Such motivation required me to accompany fishermen to sea, which indirectly nuanced my coming to grips with how they subvert the conditions of their practices on the open ocean. I viewed this as a necessary venture, not least because I expected that some or many fishermen might find it difficult to describe their fishing practices vis-à-vis academic discourse adequately enough for my research purposes.[117] I thus approached a mid-water long line fisher named Gustavo, whom I did not know at the time, with aspirations of joining him on his fishing journeys. He ultimately became my lead informant, while also serving as gatekeeper to other mid-water long line fishers and GNPS personnel.

My choice to accompany a mid-water long line fisher hinged upon my understanding fishermen's hope that the art become a long-term fishing future. Gustavo allowed me to join him on five deep-sea fishing trips, totalling 360 hours and ranging across the northern, western and southern sides of the archipelago. By 'giving a hand' to Gustavo and his crew when my help was needed, I gradually learned of mid-water long line fishing materiality – as well as what fishermen's day-to-day practices involve, the resulting outcomes of their interfacing with GNPS personnel across GMR and GNP spaces, and how their performativities impact on the sustainability of the environment, fish stocks and the pilot plan's tenure. In these ways, my participant-observation with fishermen's daily lives at sea allowed me to experience what: Jackson (1998) describes as "life lived in common", Tsing (2005) refers to as "zones of awkward engagement", and Turnbull (2000) terms "the messy

[117] Gonzálo, former CDRS director of Human Systems, framed my conceptualisation of this expectation, which drew upon his experiences overseeing social science research and issues of data collection.

motley of practice." These experiences at sea were a critical source of understanding and propelled me to investigate the socio-political contexts on land that influence the GNPS' role in regulating fishing conditions and materiality at sea.

Attending inter-sectorial workshops

My 'follow the fish' fieldwork approach led me to attend workshops at the COPROPAG office with fishermen and other PMC social actors. Such experiences were instrumental in observing the conditions that shape how eco-political stakeholders interact with one another, and learning how perceptions of the GNPS' managing authority influence mid-water long line fishing futures. My workshop interactions with those actors, and later as I conducted formal follow-up interviews with select PMC representatives, informed me of a rift between GNPS staff and fishermen similar to how it has been described in existing literature (Baine et al., 2007; Davos et al., 2007; Heylings & Bravo, 2007:205). Those interview data show that GNPS staff and COPROPAG representatives generally identify the use of power as a necessary means to manage people and their compliance, such as access to and use of the GMR's natural resources. While critically interrogating ways issues of power manifest in the co-management of Galápagos' natural spaces is certainly a worthy line of inquiry, fieldwork for the present study instead focuses on how the conditions and conditioning of artisanal fishermen's practices produces and distributes precarity – and particularly how fishermen contest and subvert those frameworks at sea and on land. This was made possible by accompanying fishermen in their social spaces as a means to understand the forms precarity takes in daily life.

Joining fishermen in their social spaces (e.g. homes, chapels, parties)

My yearlong fieldwork of following fish and fishermen provided opportunities to develop confidence with select fishermen informants. Over time, my principal informants gradually invited me into their private social spaces on land (which is an important distinction since fishermen's boats are also private spaces). They also

prompted me to take on central roles in social events and rituals, including but not limited to: deejaying and emceeing at an informant's daughter's first birthday party, becoming godfather to a fishermen's child during a Catholic baptism ceremony, photographing (formally) an informant's son's Catholic baptism ceremony, and serving on a fishermen comprised planning committee for the Pelican Bay New Year's party. Opportunities like these allowed me, as an anthropologist, to draw nearer to an insider's perspective of: fishermen's social communities and their worldviews, how fishermen conceptualize and evaluate the GNPS' design and regulation of their practices, and how the latter apparently impacts on the former. I realized that I had indeed reached a level of closeness with my principal informant Gustavo when visiting his wife and kids one week while he was out to sea. The following conversation transcript illustrates the point:

> Patricia: Adam, you have become a great friend of the family. My husband [Gustavo] jokes with me when you call, telling me, "Look, my love, my other love has called me." It's quite funny.
>
> Adam: You said that Gustavo only allows two friends to come to his home, including me. Why would he choose to invite me in [to his inner circle]?
>
> P: Well, I told him not to bring home just anybody to the house. I only want him to bring friends here that will respect me. Sometimes, when guys see a woman alone, they get ideas. Gustavo knows that no men enter his house when he is gone. You are here because he brought you here.

The close bonds I developed with many fishermen and their families often led me to perceive myself as more of an extension of the family and less as researcher – though that was not always the case.[118] However, the latter certainly impacts on the

[118] At times, I struggled to conceptualize boundaries between our social and academic interactions and identities, and especially when Gustavo asked that I lend him small amounts of cash to make ends meet.

former since fishermen often viewed me as a stranger to their social communities – and not just a well-recognized outsider – despite months of 'hanging out' at the Pelican Bay wharf, COPROPAG office and cannery, as well as fishermen's homes and places of respite. This was made clear to me after attending a COPROPAG workshop, attended by nearly 75 fishermen about ten months into my fieldwork, when a fishermen that I interacted with frequently asked others who I was affiliated with.

My perception of myself in relation to the fishermen resonates with Fabian's (2006:140) reference to Clifford's 1986 notion that ethnography (in the service of anthropology) "encounters others in relation to itself, while seeing itself as other … It has become clear that every version of an 'other', wherever found, is also the construction of a 'self'." Accordingly, my perception and 'self' image developed in relation to the fishermen and their social spaces that I encountered, such as my time spent at the COPROPAG workshop. In the same way, it can be said that some fishermen's concern and confusion with my participant-observation at the workshop illustrates how fishermen construct their own notions of 'self' generally in relation to the high volume of foreign social actors that become involved with (either observing or designing) the conditions on and conditioning of fishermen's practices and livelihoods. Therefore, my on-going fieldwork occurred as I attempted to understand and to deal with social and eco-political notions of 'self' in various fishing social groups – such as insider-outsider memberships. Over time, fishermen and their families invited me to share in their social spaces and familial activities more often, revealing new angles in which to understand the nuances of fishermen's performativities of sustainability.

In these ways my participant observation, and 'following of the fish' allowed me to interact with social actors in multiple terrains, bridging empirical gaps that are often overlooked or bypassed in Galápagos scholarship. The next sections build upon this account of methods by addressing how I dealt with issues of language and ethics during and after fieldwork.

Language Challenges

I have also had to address the multiplicity of languages used by people in Galápagos and amongst authors that have published about the archipelago or continental Ecuador. On one hand, it was important for me, as a researcher in Galápagos, to be competent in Spanish, which I am, in order to converse fluently with informants and to read Spanish language articles about issues salient to my study (e.g. fishing, sustainability, environmentalism and ecology). My reading of such articles has allowed for a wider view of methods, theory and analysis common to literature concerning Galápagos' fishing industry than had I been limited to those published in English. I had to be also sensitive to differences in intellectual traditions and variations in ways authors associate specific meanings with nomenclature regarding tourism practices.[119] A consequence is that all translations of Spanish language texts in this dissertation are my own (unless indicated otherwise) and may well not exactly represent the original quoted texts' meanings.

On the other, language variation has at times made it difficult for me to understand differences in the nomenclature of fishing materiality (e.g. monofilament lines, lures) and terms as they are used by people living, working or making policy in the archipelago. Notwithstanding my Spanish language fluency, every so often I found that different people, those I encountered at sea and on shore, interpreted terms in ways differently from one another, creating moments of confusion.[120] For instance, PMC actors referred to the fishing method salient to this work by various terms, including: *pelangre*, long line, *empate oceánico modificado,* and mid-water long line. In this regard I draw upon Fabian's (2001b) reminder that, in anthropology,

[119] This challenge is similar to that reported by Tapia et al. (2009) who argue in their edited book about sustainability studies in Galápagos that language variation and authors' hazy use of terms (e.g. eco-tourism, sustainability) often lead to misunderstandings.

[120] The Ecuadorian colonization of Galápagos introduced Spanish as the archipelago's prevalent language (Grenier, 2007). Today, local residents continue to speak Spanish predominantly while English has gained prevalence as the standard language used among visiting eco-tourists. In my case, I completed eight years of formal Spanish language instruction at secondary and tertiary levels so that my Spanish language ability, at the time I began the study, was highly fluent and nearly on par with the proficiency of a bilingual speaker.

language is a medium that both constitutes and articulates the ethnographic knowledge process. Therefore, in consideration that these terms present an interesting juxtaposition of languages and meanings used by social actors to describe a single method, it is important that I, as a researcher, am mindful that language variation impacts upon my capacity to understand the nuances of sustainability and fishing arts. Consequently, I have been critical of how ethnographic and ethical responsibilities include my making sense of how terms are used, the meanings associated with them, and reasons for their being used that way. This involved careful consideration of how to represent informants' perspectives and the language they used without compromising their integrity or our trust-based relationships. In this regard, the next section presents an evaluation of this work's ethical concerns and responsibilities.

Research Ethics

As the present study involves interviewing and observing people, it required ethical approval – which it received – from the University of Cape Town's (UCT) School of African and Gender Studies, Anthropology and Linguistics (AXL). Additionally, I approached this research similarly to how I previously conducted ethnographic research in the Galápagos (Burke, 2012). Thus, my fieldwork kept in mind Lambek's (2010:7) argument that a focus on 'the ethical' "provokes reconsideration of the basic terms in the anthropological tool kit." I do not assume that there is a singular ethical approach that best fits ethnographic research in Galápagos, but instead find that attention to ethics provides nuanced understandings of social life such as "language, culture, politics, social structure, agency, and the like" (ibid.).

As a participant observer, I sought to position myself so that my informants understood the purpose for my UCT research and how I planned to use the data I collected. I did so by communicating clearly to all interested parties the reasons I wished them to participate as informants, my research objectives, and my intended used for the gathered data. Such issues of informed consent require some unpacking.

Firstly, my communication of research aims among informants enabled me to adhere to the Anthropology Southern Africa's (2005:142) ethical guidelines, including a responsibility "to inform respondents of the purpose of the study, and, where possible and feasible, to include their concerns in the study design and accommodate them in the research method and products." While writing the present thesis, I have considered participants' evaluations of my research methods and to what extent I should incorporate those ideas into the proposed research. Secondly, I considered how research participants' understanding of my research objectives at times impacted on their willingness, and the extent of it, to speak honestly with me. At times, some informants appeared to speak and interact with me in certain ways based on what they thought I wanted to hear and see, or based on how they might wish to be represented. This resonates with Lambek's (2010:1) argument for an anthropological study of social action to reengage discussions of power when he says, "Ethnographers commonly find that the people they encounter are trying to do what they consider right or good, are being evaluated according to criteria of what is right and good, or are in some debate about what constitutes the human good." My task as an anthropological researcher has thus been: to make clear this work's research objectives to my informants, to request and receive their verbal consent to participate in the study, and to think critically about any impact that the performative character of their responses have had on my data collection and analysis.

My relationships with Puerto Ayora fishermen are an area of ethical concern, particularly given the town's small-island context and small artisanal fishing workforce. Some of the collected data may put my informants' livelihoods at risk if published with personal reference to them.[121] Thus, pseudonyms are used in all instances when representing informants and project contributors. Nonetheless, it is

[121] That is because Ecuador's National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (NISC) (2010) most recently reported Puerto Ayora's population as 12,630. Thus, some individuals are easily identifiable.

possible that a Galápagos resident's close reading of the present study may very well identify informants based on contextual data provided herein.[122]

At times, I observed fishing practices at sea termed illegal by the GNPS Fisheries Office (GNPS, 1999).[123] I communicated the incidents to my supervisors immediately and discussed with them my ethical responsibilities and necessary actions, if any.[124] Additionally, I have considered how to present my findings so they do not compromise the integrity of local fishermen – significantly or at all – nor my relationships with key informants and Galápagos community members.[125]

I did not encounter or perceive any issues of physical or emotional harm – personally or to those with whom I interacted – during fieldwork for the present study.[126] My previous work and research in Galápagos, to some extent, helped me to anticipate any potential ethical problems with the proposed research.[127] Most importantly, routine communication with my supervisors concerning the challenges of and concerns with my research methods assisted me when dealing with ethical dilemmas that arose. This reflection process helped me prepare my ethical responsibilities for the present study.

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[122] Since certain key informants' anonymity may be compromised due to Santa Cruz Island's small population, my ethnographic scholarship respects the choices of individuals who declined to participate formally in the present study, as well as those who agreed to participate as research informants initially, but later decided that they did not want to be represented in this work.

[123] It is important to note that, while the GNP labels such actions as illegal, many fishermen explained that they do not view such practices as harmful to Galápagos' marine eco-systems' ecological integrity.

[124] Such instances occurred while GNPS fisheries officers accompanied us at sea. Thus, I neglected to report my observations officially to the GNPS since its observers were present when the events transpired.

[125] In most cases, this involves withholding contextual data. For instance, I have concealed Gustavo's boat's name, the neighbourhood where he resides, and other relevant information that may compromise his identity.

[126] There is no need to address ethical considerations relating to working with children since this work did not involve child informants. Also, the English classes I gave to my cohorts' children were supervised.

[127] Those work and research experiences include: my UCT Master's fieldwork in the Galápagos from January to March 2012, my work as an English teacher on Santa Cruz Island from April 2012 to January 2013, and my work as a research assistant for a "Galápagos 2020" educational intervention project sponsored by a Quito-based professor from the University of San Francisco during May to November in 2012.

Ultimately, my ethnographic research is framed by Fabian's (2006:145) claim that "anthropology's task is to give presence to those who, if at all, are spoken of only *in absentia*." Galápagos' artisanal fishermen have been included in the archipelago's eco-political histories and discourse, yet typically by visiting scholars with limited fieldwork interaction and reach. Fishermen's social identities and performativities of sustainability have thus been described generally as antagonistic to conservationist and co-management ideals and implementation processes. Therefore, the present study offers an important academic contribution since its ethnographic methods allow for fieldwork experiences from the margins of fishing spaces and social hubs to inform an ethical appraisal of fishermen's relation to and within Galápagos' eco-political matrix. Such blending of methods and ethics draws upon nuanced documentation of fishermen's telling of their local artisanal histories and practices, first-hand fieldwork accounts of their precarious livelihoods, as well as their attempts to keep pace with the 'sustainable' practices the GNP expects them to embody. Such ethnography thus plays an important ethical responsibility in representing and advocating the continuity of artisanal fishermen's livelihoods.

Onwards to Galápagos' Fishing Spaces

This work's ethnographic methods are designed with the objective to gain first-hand access to the multiple terrains where mid-water long line fishermen deal with their precarious social and professional realities. The following chapters are dedicated to illustrating fishermen's daily struggles and livelihood trajectories – and to use those stories as a means to fill in gaps in sustainability literature. The first ethnographic chapter looks at how mid-water long line fishermen benefit from the domain of agency at high seas to resist, sidestep, challenge and subvert the GNPS' authority in ways that are not available to them on land. This occurs as they deal with the GNPS observers' that accompany them across the GMR's troubled waters and tightly oversee their fishing materials, navigational points and behaviours. The second chapter critically interrogates mid-water long line fishermen's capacities to contest

and subvert the GNP's authority on land and to apprehend the social identities – such as predators and nonconformists and opportunists – that have apparently prevented them from gaining a leading voice in the PMC's sustainable management of the archipelago's natural marine resources. These findings give context to the third chapter, which assesses ways mid-water long line fishermen attempt to ease their precarious livelihoods over the long-term, midrange and short-term futures by pursuing a range of fishing-related jobs. These chapters together offer a base of empirical data that contribute to the concluding chapter's key findings and ways forward in Galápagos and globally.

FIVE

Master and Commander:

‘Sustainable’ Performativities at Sea

Chapter Abstract

Sustainability interventions have disrupted Galápagos fishermen’s practices, dating back to Don Marcos’ pioneering efforts fifty years ago (see chapter one), and thus have infringed on their traditional ways of knowing and interacting in and with the sea. Consequently, fishermen’s artisanal histories and contemporary practices are put at risk since they are asked to abruptly adjust their fishing materials, timetables and catch sizes to match the Galápagos National Park’s (GNP) strict regulations. This tension manifests in current Galápagos Marine Reserve (GMR) governance and particularly the Galápagos National Park Service’s (GNPS) oversight of the mid-water long line fishing pilot plan, which adds to the precarity of daily life at sea. This chapter’s work, then, is to demonstrate that fishermen use the GNP’s 2013-implemented mid-water long line pilot plan as an opportunity to benefit from the domain of agency on their boats’ deck spaces to challenge, engage with and subvert the GNP’s eco-political authority in ways not available to them on land. The chapter begins by describing the art of mid-water long line fishing in detail. This unpacking serves to distinguish it from how long line fishing is practiced globally. Accounts of pilot plan fishers’ performativities at sea then are presented to reveal how fishers contest their social identities as predators and opportunists, which occurs as they condition GNPS observers to overlook instances when pilot plan hook limits are disregarded. These performativities contribute to an understanding that fishermen subvert the GNPS’ legislative authority in order to sustain the continuity of their relationships with Galápagos’ waters, fish and each other.

An Introduction

The GNP's 1998-implemented Management Plan changed the game for Galápagos' fishermen as its GMR governance redefined what constitutes artisanal materials and practices, and provided the authority to place bans on sea cucumber fishing as well as quotas on lobster catches. Such governance has disrupted fishermen's histories and ways of knowing and interacting with the sea. Fishermen responded to their strained financial opportunities by lobbying the PMC to approve a mid-water long line pilot plan that would allow them to drop between 30-50 times the number of hooks than is customarily permitted with traditional hand line fishing. The PMC reluctantly approved the pilot plan in late 2013, placing strict conditions on fishing materials, such as hook count and boat sizes, and practices, such as by-catch release protocol. These kinds of conditions enabled the GNP to condition participating fishermen to embody sustainable behaviours at sea, which occurs as on-board GNPS observers' monitor and report on fishermen's performances and compliance. Amid this eco-political landscape, a small group of pilot plan fishermen have ventured deep into Galápagos' precarious waters as they press to secure a stable livelihood – though doing so has at times put at risk their safety and familial relationships. The pilot plan is thus central to coming to grips with fishermen's performativity of sustainability since it provides them with the terrain at sea to activate their agency and to contest the GNP's aggressive implementation and disruption of artisanal livelihoods.

This chapter interrogates the GNP's aggressive conditioning of fishermen's performativities by exploring how its drive to instil sustainable fishing practices and thresholds produces and distributes precarity to licensed mid-water long line pilot plan fishers. For instance, a GNPS fisheries administrator explained that the pilot plan's strict technological and material limitations on fishermen's practices are a means to maintain the 'artisanal' nature of local fishing. However, limits on technologies and practices are highly contentious since they influence fishermen's catch sizes and associated profits. Pilot plan fishermen consequently find

themselves resisting, sidestepping and subverting the GNPS' on-board monitoring at sea in ways not readily available on land. This is apparent when examining fishermen's casting and hauling in practices as well as what occurs during mealtimes and navigational journeys. This chapter makes sense of these performative iterations – such as fishermen's decisions to surpass the pilot plan's 100-hook limit and GNPS observers' efforts to deter that from happening – by drawing upon Scott's (1985) notion of 'everyday forms of resistance' as well as Butler's (1990, 1993, 1997, 2012b) notion that performativity enables actors to challenge and subvert the conditions of their precarity, as well as the processes in which social identities are imagined.

Social identity construction, such as fishermen's attempts to subvert their lingering stigma as predators to Galápagos' eco-systems, and the spaces where this reputation has been imagined, including Puerto Ayora's Participatory Management Council (PMC) forums and in literature (Edgar et al., 2004; Viteri and Chávez, 2007; Davos et al., 2007; Hearn, 2008; Castrejón and Charles, 2013), are particularly salient to this work. This is because fishing boats at high sea are precisely the spaces where pilot plan fishermen's performances and GNPS observers' fieldwork reports of them reproduce whether or not fishermen and their practices are considered sustainable or not, and to what extent.[128] Therefore, this chapter draws upon the Butlerian understanding that ritualized, institutionalized identity norms are not expressions of what one *is* since there need not be a 'doer behind the deed', but rather that they are constructed and reproduced 'through the deed.' Socially constructed identities are thus real only to the extent in which they are performed. Accordingly, this chapter's ethnographic accounts of fishing performances capture the nuances of fishermen's performative roles in identity construction and thus offer important contributions to sustainable development literature (Zumbado, 1997; Franco, 2001) and co-management literature (Baine et al., 2007; Davos et al., 2007; Heylings &

[128] My use of "high sea", "deep sea" and "open ocean" refers to non-coastal GMR areas. See Palacio's (2004) study seasonal patterns in Galápagos' surface water temperatures (in in *Deep-Sea Research II*) for an account of "deep sea" terrain.

Bravo, 2007), which problematically assume that local actors are incapable of managing resources themselves and would benefit from embodying global notions of sustainability.

This chapter unfolds with two ethnographic accounts that illustrate how pilot plan fishermen, by employing their performativities at sea: construct their identities as compliant and sustainable, benefit from the domain of agency to contest the GNPS' power to influence the routine of fishing performances, and subvert the conditions on and conditioning of their fishing materials such as the number of hooks casted. The first account reveals that fishermen's precarity is linked with processes of identity construction when interacting with GNPS observers. This is made clear by analysing how some fishermen give the illusion of acting sustainably at sea despite fishing in ways that undermine the GNP's pilot plan rules. Such subversion happens as fishermen attempt to maintain the continuity of their traditional relationships in and with the sea, which the GNPS' aggressive monitoring has disrupted. The second account looks at how mid-water long line fishermen benefit from the domain of agency at high sea in ways not available to them in Puerto Ayora spaces. This occurs as they share the tight deck spaces of their small artisanal boats with GNPS fisheries officers for what can be weeks spent at sea. As such, fishermen deal with not being able to fish as they did when GNPS observers were not part of their realities at sea. In this light, fishermen employ their agency as captains of their own boats in order to contest the eco-political power that GNP legislation gives to GNPS observers. Such power takes the form of GNPS observers' field notes, which carry the capacity to influence the pilot plan's permanent approval. Therefore, the story speaks to fishermen's attempts to subvert the GNP's aggressive efforts to enforce pilot plan regulations stringently as a means to condition fishermen 'sustainably.' The third account describes how fishermen subvert the conditions of their sustainable conditioning by pushing the limits of what the GNP has deemed 'artisanal.' The account suggests that fishermen would likely be fishing near Puerto Ayora's shores as they had for generations if it were not for the GNP Management Plan's sustainable structuring of fishing practices. Yet, mid-water long line fishermen now

subvert their 'artisanal' limitations at deep sea, which they perceive as a necessary means to offset their financial precarity. Such precarity is argued to derive from the PMC's imagining and appropriating of fishermen's predatory reputation as cause to infringe upon their fishing allowances.

These ethnographic accounts together seek to interweave notions of how fishermen's precarity and performativities are inextricably linked with the GNP's aggressive oversight and regulation – and how that involves ways the GNP imagines fishermen as part of a temporal eco-political discourse.[129] They also show that the GNP's regulation of pilot plan practices has contributed to an eco-political climate wherein fishermen cling to a hope that the pilot plan's permanent approval will ease their economic precarity over the long-term by providing access to fish in GMR spaces that have been relatively untapped since 1998-implemented GSL. As pilot plan fishermen venture out to deep sea with GNPS observers closely watching their every move, there exist a new set of spaces – apart from the PMC forums on land – in which fishermen can activate their agency to subvert the GNP's conditions on and conditioning of their fishing. In this regard, the following ethnographic accounts from the margins of Galápagos' fishing spaces provide a fresh set of perspectives extend conventional ways of understanding fishermen's basic needs and how sustainability structures (e.g. the PMC) are meant to provide for them.

The Art of Mid-Water Long Line Fishing

The GNP's aggressive regulation of fishing practices (see chapter four) has put at risk the continuity of fishermen's practices over time (e.g. sea cucumber fishing) and ways of knowing and interacting with the sea. Fishermen responded to this precarious scenario by developing and trusting the mid-water long line pilot plan as

[129] My reference to a temporal eco-political discourse draws upon my November 2013 conversations with the GNP's Director of 'Applied Investigations and Sustainability Studies.' He clarified that Ecuador's long-term goal to develop well-being at 'first-world' standards by 2030 requires analysing how Galápagos' eco-systems interrelate with issues of: commerce, education, health care, wealth distribution and emissions restrictions.

a lifeline to spark their diminishing livelihoods at sea. Yet, the GNP's aggressive pilot plan regulation over short-term allowances (e.g. fieldwork reports) and its balking at its long-term approval interrupts the continuity of fishermen's capacity to live off the sea sustainably. Within this eco-political narrative, the GNP's eco-political regulation tasks mid-water long line fishermen with taking on new sets of behaviours and practices that confuse their traditional ways of knowing and acting with and in the sea. The nuances of mid-water long line fishing practices are thus key to understanding how fishermen deal with their social identities and performativities at sea amid their adaptation to, confusion and struggle with the GNP's aggressive sustainability implementation. This ethnographic section uses 'thick description' to chronicle fishermen's preparations to go to sea and the mid-water long line fishing practices that they employ – and thus serves to contextualize the following ethnographic accounts by portraying how notions of precarity and sustainability are relevant to making sense of fishermen's performativities and continuity at sea.

Prepping the Trip

Chapter one depicted how Don Marcos, Pelican Bay's pioneering fisherman, went to sea with relative ease and fluidity nearly a half-century ago since no one regulated his fishing practices and sales. In contrast, Gustavo, mid-water long line fisherman and pilot plan participant, faces significant disruptions to his fishing trip departures today since he has to navigate Puerto Ayora streets in search of permissions that validate and supplies that sustain his deep-sea adventures. I accompanied Gustavo around Puerto Ayora as he prepped for our expedition during the days prior to my first deep-sea mid-water long line fishing trip. He began by purchasing fuel, oil, food, ice and supplies needed for an estimated five-day trip. This involved visiting various sides of Puerto Ayora and transporting them to and stocking them in his Pelican Bay wharf-tied boat. Gustavo also had to obtain the Coast Guard's written permission to go to sea and officially request a GNPS observer to accompany the trip. These paperwork concerns distracted Gustavo from assessing that his mid-water fishing

line and boat supplies were in order, as well as testing that the boat motors were operational and reliable. Gustavo explained that his fishing preparation used to require a half-day's labour and that his preparation routes through Puerto Ayora streets today occupy a couple days. Gustavo walks or uses a hired taxi truck to transport himself and his goods between the preparation points illustrated in Figure 4. As a matter of scale, it takes approximately ten minutes to walk the 800-metre route from Pelican Bay to the GNP office.

Figure 4: **Puerto Ayora Topographical Map Showing Gustavo's Preparation Points** (Source: Google Maps, January 2016)

Accordingly, Gustavo's preparations involved about eight days of labour monthly [two days for each weekly trip] whereas he could fish without disruption and surveillance if he were fishing daily near Puerto Ayora's shores and not enrolled in and subject to the pilot plan's eco-political conditions. The following sections indicate that Gustavo's traditional relationship with the sea remains largely intact despite a perception that his adherence to the pilot plan's sustainability chores on land disrupts his agency to fish freely as he once did. Such findings raise concerns over the functionality of Galápagos' aggressive eco-political implementation strategies. On one hand, they apparently fall short of achieving their aim of conditioning fishermen's behaviours 'sustainably' at sea where fishing performances are of highest consequence. Yet, on the other, they are perceived to produce and distribute precarity to fishermen's livelihoods.

The Journey Begins: breakfast, baitfish and boxer briefs

This section provides 'thick description' of Gustavo's and his assistant's transition from the Pelican Bay wharf to sea, which is an important observation since it shows that the GNPS observers' presence and authority extends to all fishing spaces and not just those at sea. The following data indicate that the GNPS' observers' on-board presence and monitoring of fishing practices (e.g. recording navigational routes; documenting casting intervals, materials used, and by-catch treatment) is uncomfortable for Gustavo. However, he is similarly able to make the observers' experience uncomfortable. This is a noteworthy finding as it helps to understand the scope of Gustavo's agentive capacity to contest, negotiate and subvert the GNP's conditions on his fishing, which occurs when he attempts to offset times of poor catches at high sea.

With the arrangements set, Gustavo committed to depart Pelican Bay one morning at 4am. After a sleepless night, I rushed to the wharf's edge to ensure I would not be left behind. A GNPS observer named Galo was already stretched out on a bench in semi-slumber, lying in wait for Gustavo's tardy arrival. Galo explained to me that he

was also joining the journey in order to fulfil the mid-water long line pilot plan's requirement of having a GNPS fisheries observer's presence aboard – and that he arrived early so that Gustavo would not purposefully leave him behind and thus escape his oversight.

We anxiously waited hours for Gustavo's arrival. The crescendoing sloshing of his rubber boots broke the silence as he drew near. He remarked that his usual assistant fisherman was hung-over and that his delayed wharf arrival stemmed from coercing another fishermen named Mario to join us. It was then that Gustavo's lender (another licensed artisanal fishermen who owns the boat Gustavo operates) pulled up to the wharf on his motorcycle to survey the scene – and apparently to satisfy his concern over the course Gustavo's voyage would take. Their initial banter grew into volatile accusations as the lender blamed Gustavo for taking on an unnecessary liability [me] without formal financial compensation or visible tangential benefit. The lender worried that my presence would increase the risk of hazards at sea. When the barrage of insults and threats halted in a ceasefire, the men parted with wisps of disdain steaming in their wake. Although, Gustavo's lender does not feature in the present study, this brief reference demonstrates that Gustavo's performativity of sustainability is subject to several actors' who seek to verify that his actions do not jeopardize the continuity of fishing protocol and financial networks. The lender's wharf presence also strengthens this chapter's argument that sustainability concerns disrupt Gustavo's ability to fish without infringement and shepherding – this was surely the case since the lender prioritized concerns over his financial investment over allowing Gustavo to leave port in good spirits.

As we set our sights on the open ocean, I contemplated how Gustavo's fishing performance commenced long before our Pelican Bay departure since he had to hook a fishing assistant at moment's notice. More importantly, Gustavo also dealt with the conditions that several social actors placed on his fishing even before he shoved off, such as: the GNPS fisheries officer (who validated the GNPS' and Coast

Guard's trip approval), his lender (who threatened the long-term stability of their business partnership, which apparently requires Gustavo's loyal and submissive captainship) and me (an ethnographer who requested access to on-board observations and dialogues).

Our four-person assemblage puttered away from the Pelican Bay shallows, half-asleep as the dim sunlight warmed the coastline. Figure 5 charts our journey, which Gustavo drew for me upon our Puerto Ayora return.

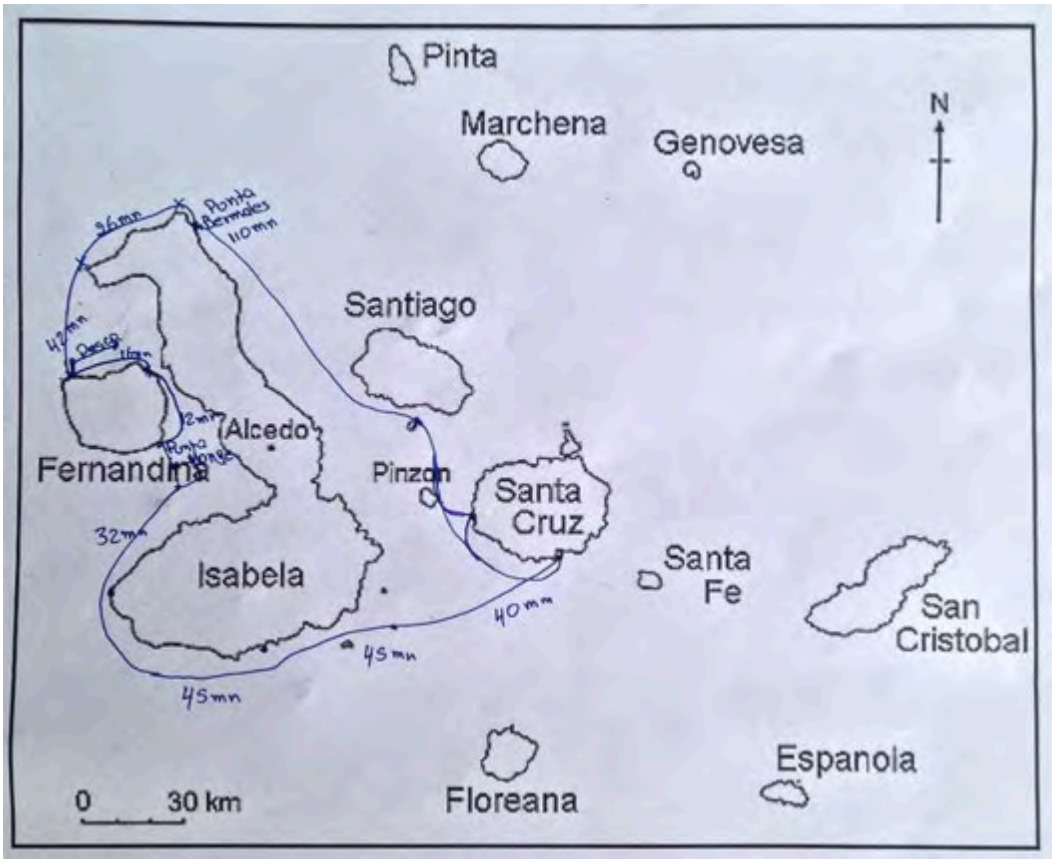

Figure 5: **Gustavo's Charting of our Trip's Course** (Source: Author, October 2013)

Another fishing boat accompanied our journey, following closely in our wake. That boat consisted of Gustavo's brother Fabian (another GNP-approved pilot plan participant), his fisherman assistant, and their GNP-assigned observer. I learned that the brothers set the trip's course by acting upon fishermen gossip that

migratory swordfish were biting to the west of Fernandina Island.[130] Gustavo led the journey as the boats wrapped around Santa Cruz Island's western coastline. Our seven-meter long and 2.5 meter-wide artisanal boat bounced thunderously upon the open ocean's white-capping swells. Gustavo steered from the stern while Mario, Galo and I sought protection from the splashing waters and pounding hits. I squatted in an open space beside Gustavo's feet, but my knees quickly began to ache. I re-shifted by sitting on a small buoy, but that meant crossing and folding my legs, which fell asleep shortly thereafter. Our high speeds shot the boat airborne at about eight-second intervals, giving all passengers an ephemeral feeling of weightlessness before our bones crashed down against the unforgiving fiberglass deck. This continued for nearly two hours. Though I survived the first navigational onslaught on my body – one of my two interview-recording devices became waterlogged despite it being tucked away under two layers of rain gear.[131] Admittedly, the trip's painful start made me doubt my capacity to endure what I anticipated to be tempestuous and agonizing high sea conditions.

We paused our journey at a remote cove on Santa Cruz Island's western coastline to catch live baitfish. Gustavo explained that our swordfish catching success the next day first hinged upon locating and netting hundreds of a special baitfish that he called 'Peruvian sardines.' Gustavo prefers to secure his own baitfish stock[132] and thus avoids having to trade items at sea (e.g. food, fuel, cigarettes) for other fishermen's bait varieties.[133] Gustavo's baitfish catching method involves first

[130] Few tourism or GNPS vessels travel West of Fernandina Island since they typically pass through Bolivar Canal, which is located between Fernandina Island and Isabela Island. The brothers' fishing site positioned them in troubled waters since rescue ships are highly unlikely to pass by. The value, role and performativity of fishermen's gossip would be a fascinating empirical extension to this work.
[131] The "iTouch" recording device became waterlogged on our journey from Santa Cruz Island to Pinzon Island. I quickly placed the damaged device in a bag of dry rice upon our Pinzon Island arrival, since doing so removes moisture and can at times restore electronic equipment to working order.
[132] Gustavo can use in excess of 1,000 baitfish per trip. This is because he customarily throws his line (ranging from 80-180 hooks) between 5-10 times per trip, depending on the objective catch. Gustavo usually puts three baitfish per hook. He often reuses baitfish for one or two additional casts, and then replaces them with new baitfish. These habits often push Gustavo to catch baitfish multiple times per journey or to trade materials or fish for other fishermen's baitfish.
[133] I observed Gustavo and his crew trade their food rations and/or tunas catch with other fishermen for fresh baitfish. For instance, Gustavo once traded two 40lb tunas for a large sack of roughly 600

sending a scout with a diving mask to locate a school of baitfish, and then dragging a net (about 40 meters-long and 2.5 meters-wide) to encircle them.[134] Gustavo asked Galo and I to participate[135] in the activity since doing so would increase the probability of a successful catch (and since his two-person team often comes up empty-handed). My participant-observation of that experience, which required jumping into the freezing Galápagos water[136] in my underwear alongside the fishermen and Galo, led to colourful on-board dialogue as I had a frightful experience with a baby reef shark.[137] Over the course of my fieldwork, I learned that Gustavo employs other baitfish catching methods[138] when he is unable to do so at his favourite cove and that he takes special care when interacting with baitfish since he has witnessed gruesome accidents.[139]

Shortly after resuming our navigation to the fishing zone, and to my surprise, we approached and tied onto a 16-passenger eco-tourism catamaran that was anchored off Pinzon Island.[140] Coincidentally, the brothers' father – an ex-fishermen who now captains the vessel – invited both crews to breakfast aboard as passengers experienced a 'nature experience' ashore while oblivious to our on-board visit. The brothers spoke with the catamaran's mechanic about Gustavo's motor, convincing him to lend his tools and expertise to adjust the motor's wiring. The unexpected pit

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salted sardines (which last longer than non-salted baitfish). Doing so meant that Gustavo could avoid hunting for baitfish and move directly to the fishing zone.

[134] My job was to follow behind Gustavo as he outstretched the net, untangling it as it stuck to pieces of coral. On this occasion, we caught 500 Peruvian sardines, which Gustavo said would sell for $250 at the local market if were to not use them as bait. The sardines measured about 120mm on average.

[135] This incident was the first time Gustavo solicited my assistance at sea.

[136] The GMR is situated at the point of convergence of three main currents (e.g. Cromwell, Humboldt, Panama), ranging in water temperatures (Piu, 2011). Most of my time at sea occurred amid frigid waters.

[137] The commotion of our baitfish catch attracted many small predators to the area of the netted fish. Four baby black-tip reef sharks were entangled in the net. It was then that I felt (what I thought to be) a large creature brush against my ankle, causing me to shriek. The animal may have been a shark, an eel or simply a non-aggressive fish that passed me by. Regardless, the crew joyously remembered my experience during times of respite for the remainder of our trip.

[138] Such as tying a bright light to the end of a dried sugar cane pole and hanging it overboard (at night).

[139] He once observed a fisherman assistant skewer a hook through his palm when casting a fishing rig.

[140] Fishers usually wait until passengers are off board or asleep before approaching eco-yachts, which we did.

stop speaks to fishermen's collective reliance on Galápagos seafarers' provisions and willingness to assist in moments of need (as also illustrated in detail later in this chapter). Although this stop disrupted our navigation, it allowed Gustavo to reduce the precarity of his troubled motor and thus gave him greater confidence in the continuity of our five-day journey.

These observations illustrate that my learning Gustavo's fishing practices was often uncomfortable as it involved body-slamming navigations, and getting covered in fish scales while semi-nude. This kind of engagement is a critical ethnographic contribution since it delves beneath the superficial layers of reporting common to how [co-management] literature typically portrays formal exchanges and dialogues between natural resources stakeholders [in Galápagos and otherwise] as occurring in orthodox spaces, such as the PMC's roundtable forums. The GNPS' conditioning of fishermen performativities [via Galo's on-board presence] similarly involves participant-observation. Such social interaction means that fishermen and GNPS observers negotiate the implementation of sustainable fishing practices' – even while stripped down to their underwear and in freezing water.

More importantly, this contextualization is an important ethnographic framing since it shows that fishermen's performativities at sea are not limited to their casting performances, but also involve critical exchanges with various social actors (e.g. other fishing crews, GNPS observers, tourism captains and crews, accompanying researchers), technologies and materials (e.g. boat motors, baitfish nets) and navigational decisions (e.g. where and when to catch bait, fix motors, find respite and eat meals). Fishermen's precarity at sea thus is not an isolated phenomenon, but instead: is collective since it is influenced by on-board power hierarchies, and manifests in interaction over issues of fishing materials and tasks. Fishermen's capacity to maintain the continuity of a fishing trip – or livelihood, for that matter – thus involves a masterful ability to deal with the micro decisions and problems that lead to the actual casting performance. The next section indicates that, as our trip

continued, my on-board perspective provided a unique account of Gustavo's mid-water long line casting.

Hook, Line and Sinker

This section documents in detail a single mid-water long line fishermen's casting routine, which, as I learned over time, is quite similar to other pilot plan fishermen's performances. This account focuses on the nuances of mid-water long line fishing materials and routines since they are critical to understanding how and to what extent Gustavo subverts the GNP's pilot plan's 100-hook limit and by-catch release protocol. This understanding contributes to an extended argument that mid-water long line fishermen's precarity at sea is linked to the GNP-implemented conditions on their materials and technologies. Such precarity is perceived as a reason why, in an effort to maintain the continuity of profitable catches, fishermen's performativities of sustainability subvert the GNP's pilot plan conditions. In other words, this section's account of fishing performances at sea offers the technical backing that equips this study to make conceptual arguments linking fishermen's precarity and performativities. The following ethnography picks up where the previous section left off.

With bait accounted for, Gustavo set course to round Isabela Island's northern shores and to the fishing site, which involved a nefariously painful four-hour navigation. Gustavo and Mario began to cast their mid-water long line as Galo and I sat on the boat's bow, monitoring the casting ritual. We each scribbled our respective field notes (e.g. Galo documented GPS coordinates, fishing times, number of hooks used and hook depth; I noted nuances of Gustavo's fishing rig) as the fishermen silently performed an orchestrated fishing duet. The following field note drawing (Figure 6) shows my interpretation of Gustavo's mid-water long line rig that he uses specifically to target swordfish:

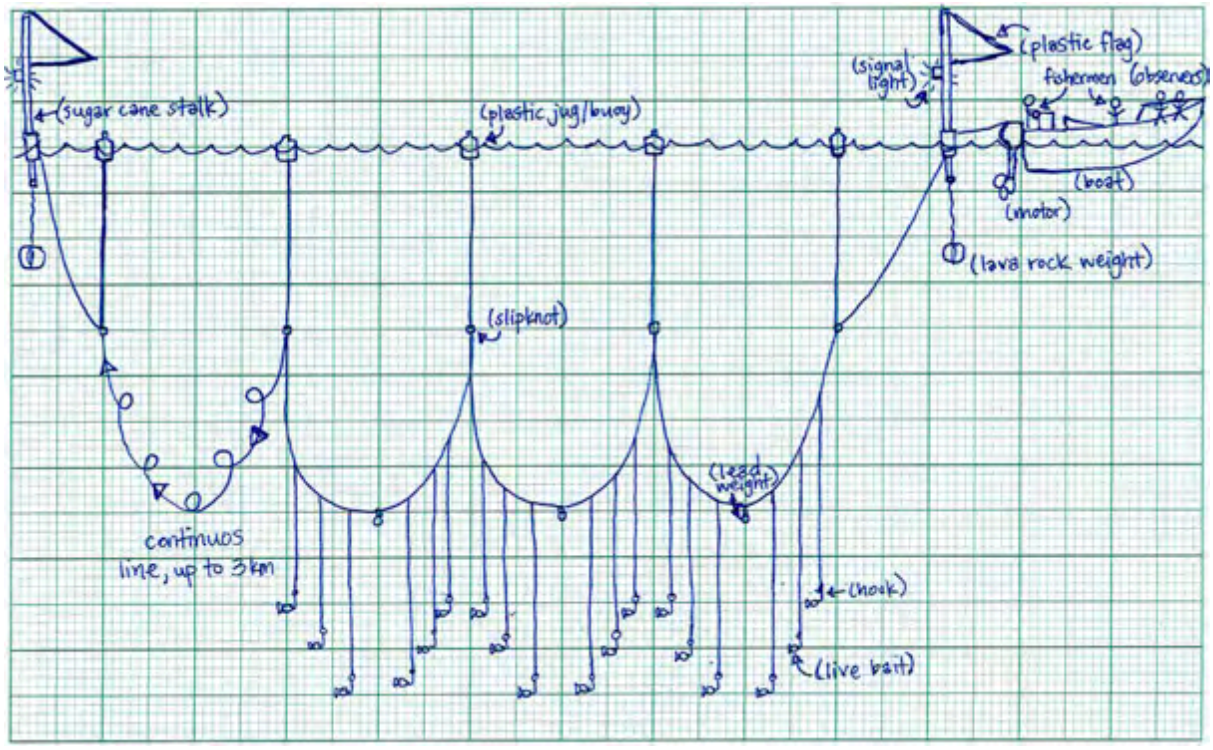

Figure 6: **Field Sketch of Gustavo's Mid-Water Long Line Swordfish Rig**

Figure 6 illustrates that the mid-water long lines range in length, which, for Gustavo, typically depends on access to extra materials or an ability to leverage creditors or boat owners to purchase them.[141] Gustavo's rig generally measures three-kilometres when stretched tightly between two floating buoys. Each buoy is built around a five-metre long dried sugar can stalk. A plastic flag and a waterproof light are fastened to the stalk's non-submerged end, serving as a beacon. On the submerged end, a ten-kilo lava rock is tied to the stalk with rope so that it hangs below the makeshift buoy, forcing the stalk to bob in an upright position. An additional buoy is fastened around the stalk to provide added buoyancy and balance. As such, the two buoys anchor the

[141] A GNPS observer volunteered an account of Gustavo's financial backing during an interview: "Gustavo has tremendous knowledge of the sea; he just doesn't have money needed to buy fuel and hooks. So, Gustavo rents a boat from an ex-fishermen. If the boat owner loses money in one week's fishing investment with Gustavo, he knows that he will likely compensate for the loss with the next trip. Fishermen must commit to winning over the long-term". (December 2013)

outstretched 2.8-millimeter polyamide nylon 'mother line.'[142] Plastic jugs[143] and weights[144] are spaced at even intervals along the 'mother line,' causing a series of crescent-shaped sags.[145] The drooping 'mother line' is intentional since the 1.8-millimeter monofilament nylon lines distribute hooks at various depths, ranging from 30-85 meters, where large pelagic fish like swordfish feed. Figure 7 illustrates Gustavo's mid-water long line implements.

[142] Tejada Flor's (2006:) seminal study of Galápagos' mid-water long line fishing practices lists exact materials and their dimensions. Tejada Flor's list of materials is similar to what I observed among pilot plan fishers.

[143] Gustavo explained that the plastic jugs serve multiple purposes. On one hand, they "keep the line afloat." On the other hand, "You can tell if there is a fish on the line by looking at the jug. If there is no fish, it should be laying on its side on the water. If there is a hooked fish, the downward pressure will pull the jug into an upright position." Large demersal fish (e.g. swordfish, sharks, manta rays) are powerful enough to submerge multiple plastic jugs. (October 2013)

[144] Gustavo purchases lead weights from a local fishing store. Gustavo's brother, Fabian, does not have Gustavo's financial backing and instead uses small lava rocks that he gathers along the coastline as weights. Fabian says that his weights are organic products and thus limit environmental contamination in the event of lost lines. However, GNPS observers informed Fabian (in my presence) that the removal of lava rocks upsets eco-systems for crabs and other coastal species found among tidal pools.

[145] Appendix 4 offers Tejada Flor's (2006:13) and COPROPAG's (2011:5) versions of the fishing art as units of comparison for Figure 6 and Figure 8.

Figure 7: **Gustavo's Mid-Water Long Line Implements** – (top right): Four sugar cane buoys; (middle right): Lead and lava rock weights; (bottom right): Gustavo storing his hooks; (bottom left): A biodegradable hook, monofilament nylon and polyamide nylon 'mother line'; (middle left): Plastic jugs/'mother line' buoys; (top left): Entangled 'mother line.' (Source: Author, October 2013)

The following field note details my observations of Gustavo's and Mario's first cast and their fastening of the mid-water long line between the two floating beacons:

> *Gustavo navigates to the fishing site a few kilometres offshore. The first buoy is placed in the water with the 'mother line' attached to it. Mario stands in an amidships well and beside a storage compartment holding coiled nylon line. He is in close proximity to most fishing materials. The boat's steady pace*

> *automatically pulls the 'mother line,' and the attached 10-15 meter long nylon lines (with hooks), up and out of a storage compartment and into the water. Mario simply skewers two baitfish onto each hook and casts them as far as possible from the gliding boat in order to avoid entangling the nylon lines with the propellers. At the stern, Gustavo has two tasks in addition to steering. Firstly, he attaches empty plastic gallon jugs to the 'mother line,' which serve as floaters. Secondly, he ties small weights to the line at six-hook intervals. The plastic jugs and weights together give the submerged 'mother line*' its crescent shape. *On this trip, 180 nylon lines and hooks are spaced evenly along the 'mother line' [surpassing the pilot plan's limit of 100].*

Gustavo used this casting practice when fishing for swordfish and tuna. However, subsequent trips showed that several factors impact on Gustavo's manipulation of implements. A leading factor is the objective catch type since hook depths need to correspond with the eating habits of swordfish and tuna (which are mid-water long line fishermen's primary target species).[146] Accordingly, Gustavo adjusts his fishing rig based on objective catch. For instance, tuna feed close to the surface in contrast to the deeper feeding depths of swordfish. My observations of Gustavo's adjustments suggest that, when fishing for tuna, he simply excludes attaching weights to the mid-water long line so that the floating plastic jugs keep the extended line long line either floating on the surface or just slightly below it. Figure 8 exemplifies Gustavo's rig used to catch tuna:

[146] A former COPROPAG administrator explained that how hook depth is responsive to objective catch, which are in turn subject to ocean current temperatures. For instance, tuna are migratory, typically leaving the GMR when waters are cold and returning when they are warm. (January 2014)

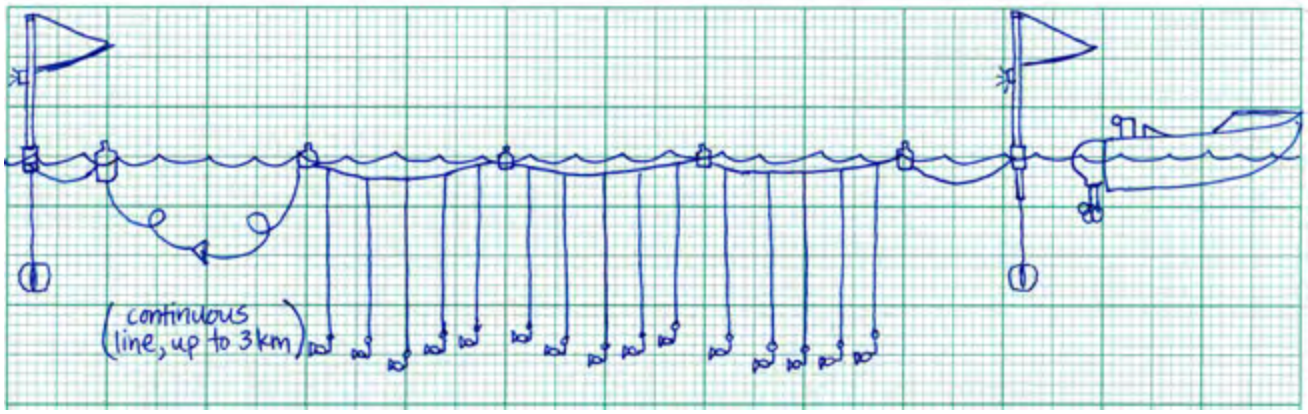

Figure 8: **Field Sketch of Gustavo's Mid-Water Long Line Tuna Rig**

Over the course of my other trips to sea with Gustavo, I learned that several factors influence Gustavo's decisions to cast their hooks at various depths. For instance, deeper hook depths (e.g. 30-85 metres) are likely to catch a spread of fish species (e.g. swordfish, tuna) while hooks floating on the surface are likely to catch tuna only. Also, Gustavo's targeting of swordfish involves increased financial risk because it typically involves half the number of casts as does tuna fishing.[147] Additionally, Galápagos currents frequently entangle tuna rigs since the 'mother line' floats on the surface where waters are typically most turbulent.[148] Furthermore, tuna rigs pose a navigational challenge for captains since they often entangle around boat motors.[149] Moreover, baited rigs attract predatory by-catch [e.g. sharks' and manta rays]. Once

[147] Gustavo explained that he casts once per 24-hour period when targeting swordfish, leaving the baited night out overnight. Gustavo's tuna fishing routine involves double the number of casts since he casts his line for a two-hour period at dawn and at dusk. I observed Don Antonio routinely cast his line for tuna thrice daily.

[148] For the first few days of a tuna fishing trip, Gustavo found that the strong currents continually entangled the majority of his nylon fishing lines to the outstretched 'mother line.' Gustavo had been casting nearly 125 hooks per session, but only had nine medium-sized tuna [about 20-kilos each] to show for his efforts, nearly enough to cover the trip's expenses. Gustavo then decided to navigate to an alternative fishing zone where he predicted there would be calmer waters. Indeed, his change of course proved correct as he and his assistant caught 26 tunas during the subsequent five casts.

[149] Fishing lines occasionally become entangled around boat motors for two principal reasons. On one hand, entanglements happen since line casting and patrolling typically occurs during dawn and dusk hours when visibility is limited. On the other hand, slacked line often looped around idled motors as fishermen fought to land large fish aboard the drifting boat.

hooked, by-catch animals fight vigorously and frequently cause large sections of line to entangle – or their frenzies cut lines, which eventually drift out to sea.[150]

Pilot plan fishermen like Gustavo weigh these environmental factors when deciding to exceed or to respect the GNPS' 100-hook limit on their practices. For Gustavo, there is considerable financial risk associated with either choice. On one hand, surpassing the 100-hook cap means that he puts at risk a substantial quantity of valuable fishing material since by-catch could easily sever the line. Such loss is difficult to replace on fishermen's unpredictable income flows. On the other hand, falling short of the 100-hook limit means decreasing profits as each casted hook carries earning potential. Gustavo negotiates the swings of unpredictable fortunes at sea by traveling with and employing reserve lines.[151] These extensions are tied onto the 'mother line' in order to: replace severed lines that drifts away, maximize hook count in fishing zones with low by-catch probability, and offset unfruitful starts to fishing trips by compensating with increased hook counts.

Line extensions are therefore highly relevant to notions of sustainability since, according to conservationists, they allow artisanal fishers [defined in Galápagos, and especially in the pilot plan, as individuals using hand-line practices and without mechanical assistance] to extract industrial-sized catches. The pilot plan's allowances permit Gustavo to drop 100 hooks legally whereas artisanal fishermen like Don Marcos used only three hooks per hand line generations ago. Therefore, mid-water long line fishing essentially corrupts the spirit of what has been considered artisanal in Galápagos historically – even though that is not technically the case according to Ecuadorian law (e.g. the GNP Management Plan).

[150] On one occasion when fishing for swordfish, Gustavo and his crew awoke to find a third of their long line had been severed [by their estimations it was a shark that had taken and then cut the line] and lost to sea. Gustavo needed an entire afternoon to re-rig his mid-water long line using the reserve materials he had packed away. Miraculously, Fabian found the floating line the next day some 20 nautical miles away.

[151] GNPS observers warned Gustavo of adding to his 'mother line' and surpassing the pilot plan's 100-hook limit. Yet, Gustavo did so by typically casting between 100-130 hooks and up to 196 hooks.

This account of Gustavo's casting performance serves multiple purposes. On one hand, it presents an emic interpretation of mid-water long line fishing materials and practices as observed in Galápagos, which may very well be the first ethnographic account of its kind, and thus provides a valuable anthropological contribution to discourse on 'sustainability' implementation in Galápagos. On the other, it indicates that Gustavo employs his agency as a boat captain and master of his domain. For instance, he decides when and the extent to which he increases the length of his 'mother line,' which is a decision based on his embedded knowledge of pelagic fish's migratory patterns in the archipelago's waters. However, his casting performances often surpass the pilot plan's 100-hook limit, which put at risk the GNP's confidence in fishers' capacity to act 'sustainably.' This a considerable gamble for Gustavo and his peers since, if the GNP decides to terminate the pilot plan based on concerns over it negatively impacting on the archipelago's sustainable ecological limits, they must depend exclusively on hand line fishing with a single line and three hooks in Puerto Ayora's coastal waters. Doing so would compromise the big paydays associated with selling large pelagic fish caught at deep sea.

In this regard, Gustavo consciously and covertly subverts the GNP's conditions on his hook count and by-catch treatment when accompanied by an on-board GNPS observer. Yet, his subversion of the pilot plan's material limits also speaks to the issue of identity construction. In particular, Gustavo's performativity reveals that mid-water long line fishermen contest and reconstruct their social identities at sea through the processes of casting their hand lines and hooks. With this backdrop, the next section analyses an instance when Gustavo hauled in a swordfish and shark in order to illustrate precisely how he constructs his identities as a 'sustainable', compliant and prudent fisherman

Shanking Fishermen's Social Identities

The previous section's ethnographic data ended with Gustavo and Mario casting their 'mother line.' This section extends that story to explore how fishermen at deep sea are expected to take on identities as compliant to the GNPS' oversight and thus 'sustainable' GMR users. However, this section's data contribute to a realization that this expectation is problematic since pilot plan fishermen are uncertain that embodying those identities and practices will lead to a permanent pilot plan approval as well as stable profits. In other words, fishermen are tasked with enduring a precarious livelihood at high sea in which the GNP has placed limited boat sizes, fuel capacity and fishing implements. Nonetheless, fishermen do so without proof that abiding by the GNP's pilot plan conditions, and taking on identities as compliant and sustainable, will provide for their family's basic needs.

What hangs in the balance are the PMC's/GNP's perceptions of fishermen's performativities at sea, which are often understood according to categorical binaries, such as: sustainable or unsustainable, compliant or predatory, and prudent or opportunistic. In this regard, the following ethnographic account explores the precise ways fishermen maintain the continuity of their traditional relationships in and with the sea – all while giving the illusion that they act sustainably and are committed to subverting their predatory histories and identities (see chapter one). The account develops as Gustavo's and his brother's crew haul in their catch and deal with both the sharks that eat it as well as the GNPS observers whom observe and document it all transpire. These data thus play a key role in showing that fishermen's precarity at sea prompts them to perform social identities as compliant and subordinate to what the GNP regards as sustainable behaviours. Ironically, these performative displays often lead GNPS observers to submit fieldwork reports that attribute positive social identities to pilot plan fishermen despite the reports and social identities not reflecting the reality of what occurs during many fishing performances.

The story picks up as Gustavo finished casting his entire 'mother line.' He patrolled back toward the first deployed floating sugar cane anchor, which he tied alongside our boat. The objective catch was swordfish, requiring that the baited line droop, on this instance, about 40-60 meters below the floating buoys and remain there until dawn. Gustavo then directed a quick deck cleaning to ensure a safe work zone when landing large fish and dealing with by-catch (e.g. sharks and manta rays) the next morning. We used flashlights since the constellations' overhanging glow was by then our only light. He then ordered an early bedtime. I edged myself into the bow's crawlspace where I shared a cramped sleeping quarter with Mario and Galo. Gustavo slept on the deck to ensure that our boat and the line would not drift with the open ocean currents and cross a passing ship or run ashore Fernandina Island's coastline.

By the time the GNPS observer Galo and I had lumbered out of our crawlspace and into the day's warming sunrise the next morning, the crew had already begun hauling in the line. The fishermen had switched positions with Mario at the helm and were steering the boat slowly from one plastic jug buoy to the next. The buoys provided Mario with visual markers of the mother line's submerged trajectory. Gustavo placed himself in an amidships well as he usually does during times of line retrieval. He later explained that he is generally untrusting of his assistants' aptitude to handle hooked fish; he prefers to take responsibility for landing fish aboard, especially since a momentary mishap with the line (e.g. losing tension on the nylon and allowing a fish to slip loose) could equate to considerable profit loss.[152]

As an observer, I tried to be as unobtrusive as possible, which I did in this instance, by returning to the bow where I reclined atop a sack of netting and other loose implements.[153] I observed the action as Gustavo yanked the hand line out of the water, over his head and into the boat with a repetitive motion similar to how one

[152] In my estimation, Gustavo performs about 75% of all on-board labour (e.g. cooking, navigating) despite having the authority to distribute tasks to his fishing assistant and accompanying observers.
[153] Galo played *salsa* and *bachata* music softly, and songs from: Elvis, DMX, Jack Johnson, and Bruno Mars.

would desperately hail a cab. A closer look revealed that Gustavo places cut pieces of a rubber bike tire tube to cover his finger joints, providing him with the added skin protection and grip needed to haul in massive pelagic fish manually. Figure 9 illustrates the process.

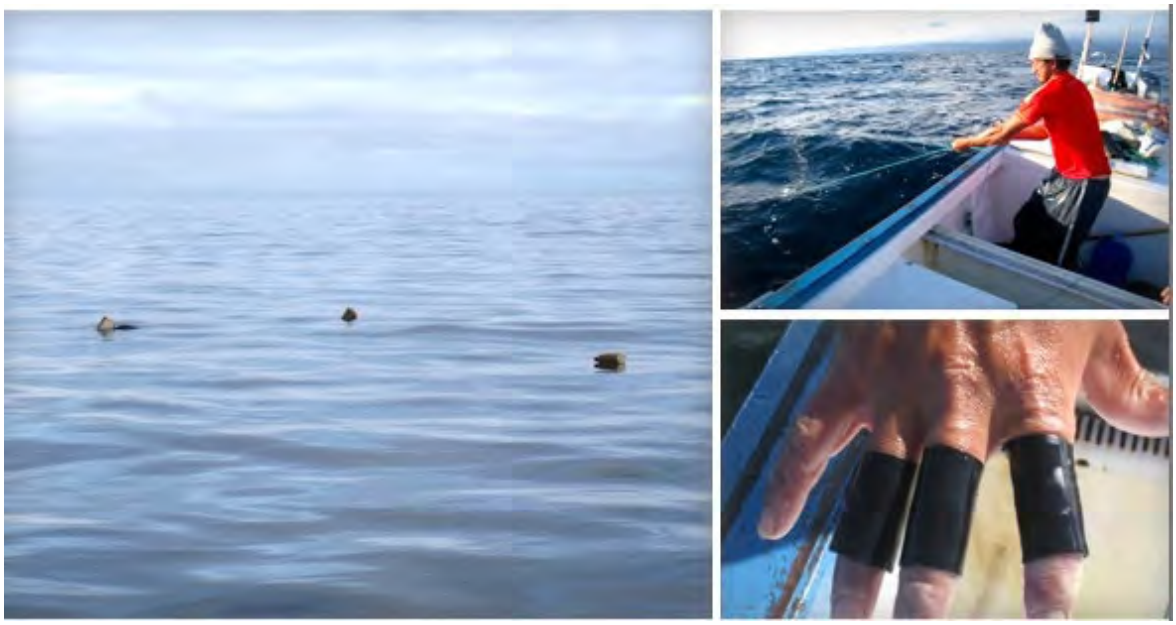

Figure 9: **Gustavo Hauling in His Line** – (top right): Gustavo hauls in a fish; (bottom right): Bike tire grips; (left): Clustered plastic jug buoys signal a large fish below. (Photo Credit: Author, October 2013)

The boat's small confines are at times problematic for a two-man crew since there is little room to manoeuvre. Galo's and my presence aboard complicated the on-board proxemics. Consequently, the fishers asked us to assist with tasks such as passing items needed to remedy situational needs that suddenly arose (e.g. knives to cut line, a club to knock out fish). The confined space also meant that Galo's note-taking responsibilities often required him to position himself in immediate proximity to the fishermen, as Figure 10 indicates.

Figure 10: **GNPS Fisheries Observer Galo and a Frigate Bird Observe Gustavo's Swordfish Catch** (Photo credit: Author, October 2013)

Galo explained that he is charged with documenting a range of fishermen's habits and activities, including their fishing methods and sites. The following interview transcript illustrates the point:

> I am responsible for recording everything [that happens during our trip]. I document when and where [GPS coordinates] the fishermen catch fish, rest and their spaces of anchorage. We [the GNPS] want to learn about their favourite resting spaces since it can be easy for fishermen to hide from patrolling GNPS rangers amongst the mangroves. My reports inform the GNPS rangers with fishermen's common places of refuge, fishing zones and techniques. We [GNPS observers] learn all off the fishermen's tricks as we accompany them on their journeys. These data help us preserve the GMR. (November 2013)

One might expect Galo's towering vantage point to quash – or at least infringe upon – fishermen's apparent tendency to violate the pilot plan's condition of treating and releasing by-catch humanely. I became especially interested with how, if at all and to what extent, Galo's reports corresponded with and contributed to fishermen's

reputation as 'predators' to Galápagos' shark species. I began to pay special attention to how fishermen released hooked sharks as well as the GNPS observer's [Galo's] documentation of it.[154]

As Galo monitored the fishermen pulling in the 'mother line,' Gustavo grunted in disappointment at times when he found pulled up severed tuna heads on the hooks. It became clear that sharks had feasted on the potential catch during the night, leaving the fishermen to lament their tuna heads scraps. Gustavo cussed vehemently at the sharks,[155] and other by-catch species,[156] which he labels as competitors that steal product from him.[157] Halfway through collecting the line, the team had only one juvenile swordfish and a couple mid-sized tuna for their efforts – a small catch which, as I came to realize over time, was a common occurrence.[158] Gustavo was notably irritated as he muttered frustration at the likelihood of not covering the trips' supplies costs,[159] which I later learned average around USD $700.[160]

Suddenly, Gustavo vented a profane outburst echoed in the morning's stillness. He realized that the upcoming section of 'mother line' appeared to be entangled considerably. Indeed, Gustavo's and Fabian's 'mother lines' had crossed during the night, knotting together about 500 meters of each fisher's line. Gustavo cursed at his younger brother, who was taking in his own line about a kilometre away. We quickly

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154 Galo then explained that he keeps a record of all by-catch incidents. He notes how fishermen manipulate the fish release and other factors (e.g. water temperature, location, time of day). These field reports are important since they inform the GNP of how environmental factors correspond with by-catch numbers.

155 I scribbled a field note to capture Gustavo's frustration. He said, "These sharks are a fucking pain the ass. I should now have about 30 tuna. There are way too many damn sharks screwing up my line." (October 2013)

156 Non-shark by-catch included several large manta rays as well as four juvenile sea lions.

157 Gustavo vented his frustration, saying, "These damn sharks are eating away my money." (October 2013)

158 On our next trip to Pinta Island in December of 2013, Gustavo and his crew caught the following number of tunas on their sequential casts: 3, 1, 1, 8, 1, 3, 2, 3. The four-day catch totalled 22 tunas and zero swordfish. Coincidentally, Fabian caught a whopping 33 tuna on a single cast within eyesight from Gustavo's boat.

159 Galo commented that many lobster fishermen have tried mid-water long line fishing, but did not earn a profit and gave up on it all together.

160 Artisanal fisherman Nacho said a weeklong trip's fuel costs roughly $500. The remaining costs are spent on supplies as needed.

descended upon the ravelled line to discover a semi-submerged swordfish. Galo and I watched silently from the ship's bow amid the tense verbal exchanges, sensing that Gustavo was in no mood to accommodate our note-taking inquiry.

It soon became clear that shifting tides had not caused the entanglement, but that a large swordfish took a hook overnight and had run amok for several hours, knotting the brothers' lines like a bowl of cooked spaghetti. Eventually, the swordfish tired itself out and died from fatigue.[161] Without allowing for any negotiation to commence, Gustavo began hauling the swordfish and entangled mass of line onto his boat in one fell swoop. The abnormal commotion captured Fabian's attention and led to his sudden arrival on the scene and his subsequent contesting of Gustavo's claimed rights to the fish. This occurred despite – as seen through my novice first-hand gaze – that it was entirely indiscernible whose line indeed hooked the swordfish since both brothers use the same biodegradable hooks as well as green and blue coloured 'mother line.' Fabian spewed his disappointment with Gustavo's decisive action, coming to grips with the realization that he had just lost a roughly USD $650 fish that is nearly enough to cover his weeklong trip's expenses.[162] Figure 11 illustrates the event as it transpired.

[161] Swordfish can put up a strong fight once hooked, which is why sport fishermen consider them a prized fish. Gustavo typically encounters swordfish once they are already incapacitated, and at times floating belly-up.

[162] Rúben, a GNPS fisheries officer, explained: "Fishermen know every detail required to make their long line rigs work. They even know how much they will earn from a fish when first seeing it in the water. Fishermen know how much a swordfish or tuna costs even before they have it landed on the boat. They can eyeball a fish and say, 'this tuna costs $70; that one costs $150.'" (January 2014) Accordingly, Fabian only needed to glance at the swordfish to understand the financial loss.

Figure 11: **Landing a Contested Swordfish** – (top right): An argument over the knotted line; (middle right): Gustavo begins pulling in the swordfish; (bottom right): Gustavo pulls the swordfish to his boat; (bottom left): The two-man crew labours to land the massive fish; (middle left): Gustavo admires his catch; (top left): Gustavo prepares to clean the swordfish. (Photo credit: Author, October 2013)

While Gustavo gloated over his catch, Fabian finished taking in the last section of line about fifteen metres away from us. It was then that he found a large endemic shark hooked and struggling to free itself. Fabian's assistant pulled on the monofilament nylon line to bring the shark boat side whereby he loosed the shark by severing the line close to its mouth – just as GNP pilot plan protocol mandates. However, it appeared that the assistant first shanked the shark several times by

thrusting his knife into its gills. He did so by positioning his body strategically to obstruct the observer's view of the shark. It all happened quickly and amid the fray of fishermen banter yelled between the boats. Galo's silence and lack of note taking signalled to me that he did not see the shark shanking or that he was too uncomfortable with the on-deck social dynamics to note it or to make a third-party criticism. Galo had not backed down from making verbal criticisms previously so I gathered he was oblivious to the incident. In the end, Fabian and his assistant begrudgingly motored away having dealt with the shark while Gustavo and Mario puttered off with their prize swordfish. Gustavo let his brother's frustration steam as both boats set course for Puerto Ayora's harbour in tandem later that night and after a final sunset tuna cast.[163]

I spent the evening contemplating the shark-shanking episode. Fabian's assistant's slight of hand apparently duped Galo, and possibly the other GNPS observer as well, rendering him content to conclude that the fishermen complied with the GNP's by-catch release protocol. Mario later explained to Galo that pilot plan fishermen view sharks as cockroaches that steal product off their hooks and that it is often necessary to protect their catches in self-defence. Galo remarked that his responsibility involves protecting the helplessly hooked sharks and to correct fishermen when needed. In this regard, fishermen and GNPS observers alike employ their agency at key moments to protect the species that earn them a living. For Gustavo, this means it means consciously subverting the pilot plan limits on by-catch treatment if doing so reduces the number of sharks over the long-term and thus a higher probability of landing high numbers of tuna. For Galo, this means employing his agency to uphold the integrity of the pilot plan stipulations even if it means taking on the identity as a whistle-blower.

[163] Days later, I learned that Gustavo had sold the swordfish in question to COPROPAG [Puerto Ayora's cannery] and split the profit with his brother's crew, thus mollifying the relational lines tying them together.

Amid this tension, I silently questioned Galo's critical eye and how his fieldwork reports influence the pilot plan's permanency as well as fishermen's predatory reputations at sea. I pondered if it is fair to assume that fishermen are able to subvert GNPS observers' oversight at will by slight of hand? Such inquiry calls into question: What good are the GNP's aggressive implementation plans, if at all and to what extent, if they fail to condition fishermen's behaviours 'sustainably' at sea? Is it possible that the GNP's efforts are ineffective in disrupting fishermen's predatory histories and practices?

Upon reflection, fishermen are capable, at times, of constructing and performing a social identity for themselves as sustainable and acquiescent to the GNP's conditions on hook numbers and sets of established behaviours despite fishing in ways that subvert the very pilot plan stipulations that the PMC agreed to. Ironically, the fishing assistant performed the GNP's by-catch release procedure in a way that satisfied the GNP observers' gaze; yet, he also enacted a performance of his predatory past. In this way, mid-water long line fishermen's performativities of sustainability resonate with Butlerian theory since, in this case, their social identities are constructed and reproduced 'through the deed' of releasing by-catch. However, it is critical to point out that the shark-shanking incident does not correspond directly with Butler's theory that 'socially constructed identities are real only to the extent in which they are performed.' The point of difference is that Fabian's assistant performed an 'unsustainable' act (by my best observational estimation) while the GNPS observer constructed and recorded the incident as a sustainable act of pilot plan compliance. Such acts of duplicity extend Butler's theory since they show that a singular act, such as dealing with a hooked shark, is often imagined and inscribed into reality in multiple forms and with divergent meanings. Therefore, notions of fishermen's sustainability are at times imagined – precisely when the socially constructed identity or act is dissimilar to the reality it is meant to represent.

In this regard, evaluations of fishermen's practices at sea are at times: socially constructed as 'sustainable' and 'subordinate'; imagined as 'compliant' via GNPS interpretations of by-catch treatment and casting performance; and documented as 'non-predatory' in instances when infractions are overlooked. However, such identities and reports may very well misrepresent the realities of fishermen's practices. Fishermen's practices instead could be categorized as 'protective' and 'distraught' as Fabian's assistant apparently acted in the defence of his profits. Yet, his performativity instead was interpreted and documented in a negative light.

The inverse may be true, too, wherein fishermen are categorized as employing 'unsustainable' and 'opportunistic' behaviours, such as Fabian's assistant shanking a shark and consciously concealing the act from Galo's gaze. However, this conclusion is reached by comparing the act to globally constructed notions of 'sustainability', contravening the GNP's rules on by-catch treatment and the essence of the GNP's Management Plan – despite a reality that their practices may actually be 'sustainable' based on local ecologies and ways of knowing. In this case, Fabian's assistant's shark shanking occurred because doing so is meant to restore balance to a perception of abundant shark populations in the GMR. The occurrence therefore resonates with the anthropological arguments (e.g. Escobar, 1995, 2010) that local actors indeed posses valuable ways of knowing, in this case fishermen's relationships in and with the sea as well as their informing conservationist projects of ecological perspectives, such as an apparent shark overpopulation.

Regardless, it becomes clear that GNPS observers' field reports increasingly fix fishermen's identities to the fishing implements that protect and sustain their livelihood futures – both the hooks that catch tuna as well as the knives that shank sharks. The reports' written accounts inscribe fishermen's violations of hook count into the GNP's eco-political narrative while also re-inscribing shark shanking incidents [when observed] as manifestations of fishermen's violent pasts. A consequence is that fishermen's identity as 'provider' gradually disappears whereas their historical reputation as 'predator' remains. In other words, academic studies

commonly cast fishermen's legacies based on instances of 'unsustainable' performativities and neglect to publicize their vital role in sustaining the consumption demands of Galápagos' local residents and hoards of visiting tourists.

The story ultimately highlights that local actors' precarity is linked with processes of identity construction as well as the conditions that dictate the micro aspects of daily life. In the case of the pilot plan, the GNP's aggressive restructuring of what is deemed 'artisanal' has subjected fishermen to a new set of practices and identities. Yet, fieldwork data inform that the GNP's conditions on and conditioning of their practices have been [at least somewhat] ineffective since fishermen have not had enough time to embody the GNP's newly prescribed ways of knowing and interacting with the sea. In essence, fishermen are tasked with denying their histories and replacing them with new practices. Therefore, the pilot plan has not achieved its sustainability aspirations though it has produced and distributed precarity to fishermen. Understanding this breech in fishermen's histories is thus essential to understanding how their performativities are linked with a need for continuity. Such focus on continuity positions the next section to explore how fishermen benefit from the domain of agency at sea as a means to subvert the GNP's conditioning so as to be masters of their own boats – as they once were and are outside of the pilot plan.

Blinded by Sight: How the helmsman got the watchman to become the helmsman and what it means

The previous section accounted for how the GNP's conditioning of fishermen's practices disrupts the latter's ways of knowing and interacting with and in the sea. Such a breach of continuity problematizes fishermen's 'ability to sustain' their artisanal livelihoods since they have not had sufficient time to embody the ways that the GNPS' has aggressively attempted to condition fishing behaviours and identities at sea. Fishermen's apparent threat to the Galápagos' ecological integrity suggests that their pilot plan fate is one increasingly subject to the GNP's eco-political

conditioning, and, more importantly, that such conditioning has deactivated fishermen's agency. Yet, Bauman's (2000:212) borrowing of Max Scheler's notion of 'fatalism' reminds of particular concern in conceptualizing fate and destiny as congruous, when Bauman writes: "To understand one's fate means to be aware of its difference from one's destiny. And to understand one's fate is to know the complex network of causes that brought about the fate and its difference from that destiny." Therefore, it is critical to deconstruct if, how and to what extent fishermen grapple with the causes of their pilot plan fate – as well as if they employ their agency to assure that such fate does not become the destiny of their fleeting livelihoods.

This story explores how fishermen engage the realities of their pilot plan conditions and its on-board power play with GNPS observers. Such conditioning occurs as each party attempts to leverage the other's compliance with sustainability conditions. On one hand, as GNPS observers threaten to report all 'sustainable fishing' violations (e.g. hook count, by-catch release protocol) or by showing lenience with the same.[164] On the other hand, fishermen like Gustavo benefit from the domain of agency at sea to subvert GNPS observers' authority and fieldwork reports. This occurs as Gustavo temporarily infringes upon the GNPS observers' satisfying their biological and social needs, such as starving and isolating them.[165] Gustavo's tactics allow him to increase his hook count (without it being reported), which stabilizes his inconsistent catch rates over time and thus offsets his financial precarity, generally. In other words, the story illustrates how the domain for agency at high sea equips Gustavo to condition GNPS observers' critical gaze so that they are 'blinded by sight' and ultimately to

[164] Galo commented on the complications associated with submitting accurate fieldwork reports, saying:

> I am best served as a neutral observer aboard. That way, I don't have to play fishermen's games. If I am on a boat that catches many sharks, I tell them, 'I have to report these infractions, but I won't report all the sharks you caught.' So, if the by-catch number is 20, then I may report 10. If not, such high numbers harm the pilot plan's future approval. And, of course, there I am eating his food and sleeping on his boat. It's a complicated situation. Whenever possible, I remain neutral and simply report what happens. (November 2013)

[165] Renato descried how fishermen bullied him in retaliation for critiquing the fishermen's practices: "I once observed a fishermen release a hooked shark improperly. I told the captain that his assistant shouldn't do that. The assistants grew irate and told the captain to withhold my food rations. They wanted me to starve. You can see how I don't like some fishermen when they behave like this." (February 2014)

shape the pilot plan's destiny by micro-leveraging GNPS observers' field reports.[166] In this way, Gustavo's subversive actions resonate with Butler's (1999) notion that performativity allows actors to develop strategies to subvert the institutions that condition their precarity as well as with Scott's (1985) notion of 'everyday forms of resistance,' which considers how the 'lower class' can appropriate weapons of resistance available to them to subvert the conditioning of their precarity. Yet, in order to understand how fishermen challenge the GNPS observers' power at sea, it is first necessary to briefly unpack the nature of observers' on-board presence and the extent to which their eco-political power (which the PMC mechanizes on land) enables them to condition fishermen's compliance to mid-water long line conditions.

As previously mentioned, pilot plan stipulations require that GNPS observers accompany and monitor participating fishermen continuously at sea.[167] Accordingly, my participant-observation occurred alongside GNPS observers' on three of four fishing trips,[168] which typically lasted anywhere from four to seven days. Those experiences (e.g. sleeping elbow-to-elbow in the boat's crawl space, resting on deck space) led me to understand that GNPS observers' on-board presence, as well as my own, frequently complicates fishermen's manoeuvrability and comfort since operating a hand line can, at times, require springing from port to starboard. Figure 12 illustrates how a fishermen's and GNPS observers' notions of proxemics are relevant to the social cohesion of both parties aboard, especially since the latter is likely to occupy significant portions of available deck space,[169] and to be strong-

[166] This section, and its title, borrows Nyamnjoh's (2012) metaphor of being 'blinded by sight.' However, my use of the phrase is different in that it is both literal and metaphorical.

[167] Consequently, each pilot plan fishing boat (usually a two-man crew) is required to take a single GNPS observer aboard who is tasked with monitoring and recording all fishing practices and circumstantial data.

[168] There were times when the GNPS was unable to provide an observer (for what was likely due to a lack of personnel since only four GNPS observers were on hire during my fieldwork). In such an event, the GNPS issues an exception to the regulation, allowing fishermen to venture to sea without an on-board observer.

[169] Renato explained that he frequently thought about how his on-board positioning restricted fishermen from performing their duties, saying, "On some fishing boats, I simply sit at the bow, and take photos and field notes. I seldom talk with those fishermen and, when we do, it's only about fishing. On other boats, I chat a lot. Those fishermen ask me to help with a line or to pass items and I

armed into assisting with fishing duties (which are not required tasks as per the pilot plan conditions since GNPS observers are strictly tasked with taking field notes and submitting reports).[170]

Figure 12: **Deck Spaces** – (top) Fishermen occupy the entire deck space while sorting baitfish; (bottom): A GNPS observer relaxes atop fishing materials. (Source: Author, October 2013)

Such proxemic friction contributes to what I perceived as a cauldron of professional frustration. Indeed, Gustavo and his various assistants complained [during our conversations in port] about having to deal with GNPS observers' endless managerialist scrutiny, which they argue begins at the Pelican Bay wharf (e.g. when

do it. I help them with their work, which is good because since it puts me closer to the by-catch that I need to report on." (December 2013)

[170] Both Galo and Renato shared their frustrations with having to complete menial fishing duties and ridiculed for performing them unsatisfactory to the crew's standards.

they document and police fishermen's departures, sales and fishing arts) and spills over to the cramped deck spaces at sea.[171] Specifically, GNPS observers document fishermen's every move (e.g. GPS coordinates of fishing zones; materials usage, mealtimes)[172] and can thereby report infractions to pilot plan legislation, such as fishermen's surpassing of the 100-hook limit and improperly by-catch release. GNPS observers thus can condition fishermen to act 'sustainably' by leveraging their power via threats to document fishermen's subversive practices and to submit fieldwork reports in ways that could jeopardize the pilot plan's destiny.

My fieldwork data support the notion that this apparent power hierarchy at times disables fishermen's agency. According to Gustavo, the GNPS' authoritative performativity at sea exacerbates relational residue from volatile GNPS-fishermen encounters that have apparently entrenched antagonistic divides between both groups over past decades.[173] For instance, Gustavo stated that GNPS observers cling to fishermen's predatory reputations and how fishermen have acted out violently over past decades (see: Figure 1 in chapter 1, chapter four). This has meant, as the following interview transcript indicates, that Gustavo identifies an apparent need to be selective and cautious when interacting with GNPS observers at sea:

> Most GNPS guys uphold the [pilot plan] laws to the letter when submitting field reports. But, they should understand that we fishermen risk our lives at sea. They should be somewhat lenient with how and where we catch our fish (March 2014).

Gustavo's comment resonates with perceptions among other fishermen that I interviewed who claim that they often feel incapacitated when dealing with GNPS

[171] Galo, who is often stationed at the Pelican Bay, explained that he documents fishermen's catch (e.g. fish species, weights) upon their wharf arrival. He says the GNPS is especially interested mid-water long line fishing data. The GNPS staff later analyse use data to make decisions on the pilot plan's future. (January 2014)

[172] Renato explained, "Our daily reports chronicle fishermen's activities (e.g. fishing methods, GPS coordinates, itineraries, by-catch numbers, places of rest and anchorage). Basically, we try to learn fishermen's tricks and tendencies. This knowledge helps the GNPS' ability to preserve the GMR reserve."

[173] Such perceptions of antagonistic divides are described in the works of Edgar et al. (2004), Viteri and Chávez (2007), Davos et al. (2007), Hearn (2008) and Castrejón and Charles (2013).

observers' mandates (e.g. hook number limits, and by-catch release protocol). However, the inverse is also true. For instance, although Gustavo perceives the GNPS' on-board supervisory presence as invasive (e.g. sleeping in fishermen's quarters, sprawling out on their work space, consuming fishermen-prepared rations), the social dynamic at sea actually enables his agency to deactivate the GNPS' apparent regulatory power. That occurs as he takes up tactics that are not available to him on land. Two examples (the first general, the second specific) are provided to illustrate the point. In this light, fishermen's performativities at sea are viewed herein as a by-product of the domain of agency.

Firstly, I observed Gustavo implicitly pressure GNPS observers to skew their recorded data, and particularly to overlook his surpassing of the 100-hook limit as well as times when he hooked more by-catch than what he thought the GNPS would deem acceptable. This he did by exploiting his captainship – and the customary on-board power matrix that gives captains in Galápagos and globally the ultimate say in operational and personnel matters – to manipulate the observers' biological and social needs. I viewed GNPS observers to acquiesce to this marine-based power dynamic, which rendered them helpless as the minority voice on small floating piece of fiberglass up to 40 nautical miles out to sea. Accordingly, Gustavo withheld and infringed upon the GNPS observers' participation in conversations, opportunities to sleep, as well as access to food and water in exchange for their submission to do menial deckhand jobs (e.g. dropping and raising the anchor, cleaning the deck) and fishing labour (e.g. fishing for bait, mending lines, helping to land large pelagic fish). The implicit arrangement, as I came to understand it, was that Gustavo eased his authoritative captainship as the GNPS observers equally eased the severity and accuracy of their field reports. Figure 13 illustrates moments in which I observed fishermen dictating the dynamics of GNPS fisheries officers' on-board social performances.

Figure 13: **"Yes, captain!" –** (right): A GNPS observer is implicitly required to participate in bait catching; (bottom left): The boat captain uses food rations and mealtime to leverage on-board performativity; (top right): A GNPS observer is included in non-fishing conversation during a time of respite. (Source: Author, October 2013)

Additionally, field notes illustrate how Gustavo's drive for increased profits led him to sequester his assistant, a GNPS officer and myself at high sea days past our anticipated limit.[174] I observed that such on-board tactics often led to cauldrons of emotions and opinions since GNPS observers struggled to voice their concern, especially when considering that the fishermen I spoke with viewed themselves as unwanted companions to begin with. This implicit social tension made it difficult to discuss research questions since all individuals aboard were privy to conversations occurring on the seven-meter by 2.5-meter deck space. However, I was able to probe

[174] The following field note illustrates an instance at the end of a November 2013 fishing trip:

> *We were 60 nautical miles from Puerto Ayora and the past five days were tense. Gustavo caught ten yellow fin tuna – barely enough to cover the trip's costs. We were supposed to return to port yesterday in time for Gustavo's soccer match. But, he decided to press on for a profit. Our remaining supplies included rice, which we ate with a fish Gustavo had caught, and two litres of water. Galo and I didn't have any say in our troubled situation. Realizing the situation's danger, Gustavo navigated 30 minutes to a tourist yacht anchored off Isabela Island's northeastern point. He bartered tuna for chicken, yogurt, cheese, bread, ten gallons of water, and cigarettes. At the last moment, he asked the captain to take me to Baltra Island [their next destination] since I had to work the next day in Puerto Ayora. The captain agreed. I was reluctant, yet relieved to go home. Galo solemnly bid me farewell. He, too, wished to escape the seemingly endless trip. At least he had a cheese sandwich to calm his sorrows.*

the GNPS observers' (Galo's and Renato's) rich perspectives during our Puerto Ayora-based conversations. Those conversations helped me to understand challenges associated with the GNP upholding pilot plan rules at sea and fishermen's contesting of them – which I learned occurs on land, too.[175] The following December 27, 2013 field note details the point:

> *I had the chance to speak with both Renato and Galo individually at the Pelican Bay wharf today. Renato claimed that he is a stickler for detail and consistent with reporting infractions, which means he doesn't receive much respect from the fishermen he observes. He said his ethic is more important to him than befriending fishermen. Contrarily, Galo remarked that he generally has positive social rapport with Gustavo and other pilot program participants at sea since he is at times willing to show lenience when recording fishing infractions (e.g. particularly hook limits).*

These data indicate that GNPS observers negotiate their on-board dealings distinctly. Renato's comment shows that he chooses to endure fishermen's pressures in order to maintain his professional ethos while Galo at times prioritizes social rapport over the accuracy of ecological reports. The field note continued:

> *Galo explained that he chooses to avoid confronting fishermen for small offenses since he wishes to avoid a 'whistle-blower' stigma. He said he has a five year-old kid, a big home loan to pay off, and his two-year GNPS labour contract is soon up for renewal. He wants to ensure his GNPS wage is sustainable in the coming years. So, he says he tries to uphold the pilot plan's sustainability clauses, but doesn't report all fishing infractions, hoping to accommodate both the GNP's pilot plan objectives and fishers' livelihoods.*[176]

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[175] A GNPS observer explained that he has often negotiated with fishermen at Pelican Bay. He claims to have suffered fishermen's violent threats in retaliation for regulating their lobster catches. He also says fishermen gift him fish as a means to regain his favour. (February 2014) Thus, fishermen have developed practices of giving fish to GNPS officers on land with different motives (e.g. as gifts to ease policy enforcement) and at sea (e.g. as food rations). Fish are thus symbols of power and used as social currency.

[176] I wasn't comfortable asking the GNPS observers to speak candidly about such issues in fishermen's presence. I waited to discuss their on-board experiences alone on land. A GNPS observer accounted for the accuracy of his field reports, commenting, "If I am on a boat that catches tons of sharks, I have to report it. I try to be objective, but I occasionally slant my data. For instance, if he

It becomes clear, then, that Gustavo's performativity indeed influences GNPS observers' decisions whether or not to confront fishermen like him who subvert pilot plan regulations.[177] The reason is that overlooking small pilot plan condition offenses helps to maintain on-board rapport. Doing so also indirectly increases the likelihood of the observers' tenured GNP employment (e.g. contract renewals) since achieving the prior avoids fishermen's complaints reaching the GNP's Puerto Ayora office.

Secondly, data suggest that Gustavo upended the PMC's eco-political power hierarchy at sea by tricking his GNPS observer into becoming blinded by sight. An extension of a story in the previous section (that chronicled Gustavo and his brother entangling their lines into a knotted mess when landing a large swordfish) supports the argument. That story left off as the brothers headed back to Puerto Ayora with their knotted lines. Along the way, they decided to make one last evening tuna cast. This meant having all fishermen [two captains and two assistants] ravel out the entwined monofilament and polyamide lines on Gustavo's boat while each GNPS observer steered their respective boat to the next fishing zone – some three hours away and halfway along our return to Puerto Ayora. As our journey began, I had our GNPS observer photograph the fishermen and me untangling the lines on Gustavo's boat. Shortly thereafter, I photographed the other GNPS observer steering Fabian's boat alone, framed beneath a cloud-capped island horizon. Figure 14 captures those moments.

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catches 20 sharks, then I may report 10. I will harm his reputation if I report all by-catch. It is a complicated situation." (November 2013)

[177] Galo calls himself a 'quiet' observer, which I understood as not reporting all fishing infractions – or to the extent that they occur.

Figure 14: **Between Casts** – (top right): The author untangles knotted line with the crew; (bottom right): A GNPS observer takes the helm; (left): Knotted line requires hours of untangling. (Source: Author, October 2013)

The photos illustrate the irony of how fishermen and GNPS observers attempt to condition the other to act in certain ways. Specifically, the GNPS observers reminded the fishermen not to surpass the 100-hook limit by adding additional hooks to their 'mother lines.' Yet, Gustavo deliberately disobeyed the order by adding extra hooks once Galo shifted his sight from the fishermen's materiality and to the navigational cues along the horizon while steering the boat.[178] It was then that I noticed Galo smile (a rare occurrence), signalling his feelings of pride and confidence in finally being in charge of something at sea (e.g. steering the boat). The irony thus lies in Galo's apparent position of power, which he took by taking on the role of captain (along with its positionality at the helm) and giving orders to the fishermen who laboriously worked together to untangle their knotted, precarious fishing mess.[179] Gustavo's strategy was thus to guise his submissiveness as a means to sidestep Galo's authority (and the eco-political structures that it represented).

[178] Gustavo later explained in private that he had increased his hook count to 180 on that cast.
[179] It was a benefit, of course, that Gustavo and his brother could rely on their respective GNPS observers to steer their ships as they sought to get in one more fishing cast while scraping to increase profits.

Gustavo's tactic corresponds with Bauman's (2000:209) claim that escaping the trap of fatalism (such as Gustavo's compliance to the GNP's conditions and conditioning) "calls for pause and rest, for 'taking one's time', recapitulating the steps already taken, looking closely at the place reached and the wisdom (or imprudence, as the case may be) of reaching it." I argue that, while untangling his line, Gustavo realized that his pilot plan compliance amounted to his knotted mess and financial precarity. He sat thinking about how he could reverse his destiny. In such times, Bauman (2000:210) suggests: "one needs resources not easily attainable when running on thin ice: a 'time off' to think, and a distance allowing a long view." Accordingly, Gustavo blinded Galo's sight by making him steer the boat and then used resources available to him (e.g. line extensions) to potentially escape his precarious financial fate. Gustavo's performativity resonates with Scott's (1989) notion that marginalized social actors are indeed able to take up 'weapons of the weak' to resist their precarious conditions and/or conditioning in ways that shake the pre-existing power dynamic. Similarly, de Certau's (1984) notions of 'tactics' and 'strategies' are a useful framing to conceptualize Gustavo's performativity. De Certau suggests that the 'weak' employ 'tactics' to establish for themselves a sphere of autonomous action and self-determination within the restrictions that are foisted on them, and use 'strategies' to gain privilege in spatial relationships. Gustavo's tactics and strategies are thus focal points of analysis as they reveal the ways he is able to gain autonomy and privilege in the spatial relationships aboard his boat, which occurs in this case as he subverted Galo's authoritative position of power.

Several conclusions can be drawn from these examples. On one hand, Gustavo's violation of pilot plan stipulations seemingly validates the conservation-science sector's labelling of fishermen's behaviour as predatory. After all, he often demonstrates uncompromising commitment to maximizing hook number and

reaping the subsequent profits – although such fixation is not always the case.[180] His subversive performativity nonetheless puts at risk the GNP's long-term pilot plan endorsement and thus the continuity of fishermen's livelihoods at deep sea. On the other hand, the stories illustrate that Gustavo benefits from the domain of agency at sea to condition the very GNPS observers that are instead meant to condition his compliance to sustainable pilot plan practices. Gustavo's agency at sea thus provides him with short-term financial stability, which he often struggles to secure when dealing with the GNP on land. More importantly, both conclusions speak to Gustavo's 'ability to sustain' the continuity of his artisanal fishing livelihood. He is aware that his subversive actions over time may very well corrupt the pilot plan's destiny. Yet, his performativity shows that he prioritizes easing his financial precarity in the short-term over the pilot plan's destiny. Doing so in the short term allows him to deal with the GNP's aggressive attempts to alter his practices and the fate of his artisanal continuity.

In Conclusion

The GNP's intervening in fishermen's practices and ways of interacting in and with the sea, and particularly its oversight of mid-water long line pilot plan practices, highlights a considerable and forceful departure from Don Marcos' pioneering of Pelican Bay and his freedom to fish in its waters at his own discretion. Consequently, Puerto Ayora's fishermen endure precarious livelihoods, as Ridout and Schneider (2012:5) describe, "in relation to a future that cannot be propped securely upon the past. In particular, pilot plan fishermen contemplate investing in mid-water long line materials and boats without any confidence that the GNP will permanently approve the fishing art. This scenario resonates with Berlant's (2011) claim that precarity is a condition of dependency in which one's future is in someone else's hands. The GNP rests confidently knowing that it has a tight grasp on the GMR's governance and that fishermen are clinging to natural resources access by their fingertips. However, the

[180] Gustavo routinely cast between 100-120 and up to 196 hooks. However, he at times cast as little as 80-90 hooks when he perceived an abundance of sharks in the fishing zone.

pilot plan, though its future uncertain, has provided pilot plan fishermen with a unique opportunity to ease their precarity by retaking hold of the domain of agency at sea. This has occurred as fishermen appropriate their power as boat captains to challenge, contest and subvert the GNPS' eco-political authority in ways not available to them on land.

The chapter began with a detailed description of mid-water long line fishing materiality. This is an important ethnographic contribution and consideration since fishermen's performativities of sustainability typically transpire at sea as they interact with and manipulate fishing materials. This reasoning draws upon Butler's (1990) critique of identity politics as a means to argue that fishermen's performativities are constructed and reproduced 'in and through the deed' – which for pilot plan fishermen is their iterative casting performances and particularly their decisions on how many hooks to use and how to release by-catch. Similarly, the first ethnographic story illustrates how fishermen's social identities, such as predators and nonconformists, are constructed 'through the deed' of fishing. However, these social identities are at times imagined and misrepresentative of the realities that I observed at sea. Therefore, fishermen often contest and re-make their social identities in ways that benefit the pilot plan's long-term approval – such as compliant and sustainable – even though they at times subvert these identities by performing unsustainable and opportunistic practices. The second story informs that the conservation-science sector has positioned itself to appropriate power and thereby take positions of authority at sea, such as GNPS observers' documenting fishermen's practices and at times steering their boats. However, some fishermen have utilized the domain of agency at sea to contest the GNPS' authority and conditioning of fishing practices in ways not readily available on land. Examples include fishermen leveraging their power as boat captains to condition GNPS observers to ease their enforcement of sustainability standards such as overlooking the pilot plan's 100-hook limit.

These stories together contribute to an argument that while global notions of sustainability (Goldie et al., 2005; Reid, 1995) seep into local iterations of the same, such as the GNP's Management Plans, fishermen's livelihoods at sea steadily grow more precarious. This is because fishermen have not had sufficient time to embody the GNP's sets of sustainable behaviours (GNP, 1999, 2005). Fishermen are thus forced, on one hand, to deny their artisanal histories or, on the other, to contest and subvert the eco-political pressures infringing on the continuity of their artisanal practices and ways of knowing. Therefore, the GNP's aggressive implementation of sustainability has in fact produced and distributed precarity to fishermen's livelihoods and has disrupted the continuity of their ways knowing and interacting with the sea. Such findings call into question the efficacy of global (e.g. the UN's) and local (e.g. the GNPS') efforts to aggressively project sustainability notions and standards onto local actor's livelihoods. In particular, GNPS observers' field reports often construct fishermen's social identities (e.g. sustainable or unsustainable, compliant or predatory, and prudent or opportunistic) in ways dissimilar to fishermen's practices. For instance, GNPS observers at times fail to identify and document fishermen's negligent hook counts and by-catch treatment and thereby submit reports that construct fishermen's dispositions and practices as favourable – even though that is not the case.

What can be seen, then, is that the pilot plan pushes mid-water long line fishermen from coastal areas and to the edges of Galápagos' troubled waters for long periods. These mid-water long line fishing zones are precisely the coalface where sustainability is supposed to make a difference for the local actors that are tasked with applying global notions of the same – and to resolve co-management concerns with fishermen's 'predatory' practices, such as Hearn's (2008:571) claim that fishers show "little effort to sustain the [marine] resources themselves" and instead focus on moving from one resource to another and exploiting them accordingly. In its essence, the GNP's sustainable development paradigms and structuring of marine-related livelihoods should simultaneously allow for the protection of Galápagos' eco-systems while also enabling fishermen like Gustavo to continue their artisanal

histories and to sustain their families' well-being. However, the GNP's conservation interventions distribute precarity to fishermen's livelihoods. An example is the GNP's delaying of the pilot plan's permanent approval, which means that many participating fisherman are unsure of whether to take out substantial loans needed to purchase reliable boats and motors for their journeys at high sea or to continue operating with their fragile technologies and materials. Gustavo routinely practices the latter, which is evident by his reliance on tourism yacht engineers' tools and expertise to fix his boat motors at sea.

Fishermen's artisanal histories are thus in jeopardy as they are asked to perform their trade in ways that confuses and conflicts with their traditional ways of knowing and interacting with the sea. Despite such apparent hardship, fishermen nonetheless endure their precarity at sea by employing performativities that are not available to them on land. However, Puerto Ayora spaces also provide fishermen with opportunities and spaces to contest, sidestep and subvert the GNP's authority. In this light, the next chapter interrogates how, where and why fishermen's performativities occur on land – adding range and depth to this work's scope of fishermen's performativities of sustainability.

SIX

How to Fish Out of Water:

'Sustainable' Performativities on Land

Chapter Abstract

This chapter's work is to show that fishermen activate their agency on land, which occurs as they broker, mediate and hustle conservation-based projects in Puerto Ayora. These kinds of performativities of sustainability enable them to apprehend their identities as predators and nonconformists to PMC agendas. By drawing upon the Butlerian (1990) notions that performativities are constructed and ritualized through 'the deed' and that social identities are real only to the extent that they are performed, the chapter illustrates how fishermen claim a stake in the Galápagos Marine Reserve's (GMR) sustainable management processes by challenging and contesting the Participatory Management Council's (PMC) pecking order. In this regard, fishermen are observed to benefit from access to domains of agency on land to reconstruct their identities as gatekeepers, scientists, experts and watchdogs and to subvert the Galápagos National Park's (GNP) authority. Two ethnographic accounts – which illustrate ways fishermen perform in BBC documentaries, broker Charles Darwin Research Station (CDRS) contracts, and clandestinely hustle co-management legislation – show that pilot plan fishermen have entangled themselves with PMC members in order to access non-fishing-related labour and to garner PMC members' pilot plan endorsements. These performativities are crucial displays of how fishermen seek to ease their financial precarity in the short-term, such as day labour contracts, and over the long-term, such as the pilot plan's permanent approval. The accounts indicate that some fishermen have emerged as advocates and defenders of locally produced knowledge (e.g. GMR-based ecological studies), and technicians capable of designing fishing materials and practices 'sustainably' in order to appease PMC members' conservationist preoccupations.

An Introduction

"Life of the Party, Lives of the Party" (October 2013 field note)

Upon completing our first fishing trip together at sea, Gustavo expedited our recently forged friendship by inviting me to attend his daughter's first birthday party. The party was set to begin just hours after our Puerto Ayora return. I learned that his wife Patricia anxiously awaited his unannounced return, unsure whether to proceed with the party or not.[181] *Her preoccupation stemmed from not being able to communicate with Gustavo, who stayed at sea days longer than planned.*[182] *Patricia was home alone and without the cash needed to purchase the birthday cake, food and party favours required to put on a respectable gala. In a scramble to save face and salvage the event, Gustavo lured his assistant and me to join him as he winded through Puerto Ayora's streets in a hired taxi truck. Gustavo called upon his fishing community contacts to lend him party supplies. We first rushed to Anthrax's house where Gustavo borrowed a portable speaker and microphone. Next, we acquired folding chairs from his boat lender Jaime. The taxi truck's bed slowly grew to a towering heap as we finished our rounds. Gustavo finally dropped me off at my home with orders to shower quickly and to grab my laptop since Gustavo informed en route that I would deejay the party and be responsible to make everyone dance and be lively. I am fortunate for this new layer of participant-observation as I slot myself into the Pelican Bay's fishing community's social spaces and lives.*

[181] Patricia explained in an interview that this incident led Gustavo to carry a satellite phone to sea thereafter.
[182] This kind of situation similarly occurred when Gustavo almost missed his daughter's baptism ceremony.

At the time, I naively understood Gustavo's invitation as a frantic response to needing help in managing the party's logistics. Upon much reflection, my impromptu party invitation and participation led me to two stark conclusions. Firstly, Gustavo invited me out of necessity to join the party and into his Puerto Ayora-based social network. At the time, he valued my presence less for the social esteem it provided him and more as a means to deal with being at sea for long periods of time and the related social hardship, such as being rendered unable to participate in the party planning.[183] Ironically, I became a confidant by the end of my fieldwork and thereafter, when I returned to Galápagos a year after my completed fieldwork to accept the role of godfather at Gustavo's second daughter's Catholic baptism ceremony. Secondly, the invitation shows that Gustavo's performativities are not bound to spaces at sea such as his boat deck and fishing zones since he employs his agency to make life sustainable on land, which, in this case, required him petitioning party items and my participation as a deejay for the party to function smoothly. In this regard, Gustavo hooks several actors associated with the pilot plan at sea (e.g. other fishermen, me) and pulls them into fulfilling his social needs on land. Therefore, an understanding of his performativity of sustainability requires exploring fishermen's agency in Puerto Ayora's social spaces. This conceptual approach shifts away from the traditional land-sea divide that is evident when looking at how most fishing studies in Galápagos (e.g. Toral-Granda, 2008; Schuhbauer and Koch, 2013) and globally (e.g. Barrett et al., 2007; Gelcich et al., 2009) typically fixate on fishermen's activities in and relationship with marine spaces.[184]

[183] Mid-water long line fishers' unpredictable trip durations at sea affect their social performances [e.g. as fathers, husbands, community members] on land over the long-term. Gustavo is able to temporarily relieve his social and financial precarity by relying on his peers' help in hard times. However, his performances often render him absent despite his presence.

[184] To be clear, this is a distinction from fishing studies that involve Puerto Ayora fieldwork, yet analyse fishermen's identities and practices at sea, such as Zapata's (2005) study that drew upon Puerto Ayora cohorts to explore how notions of legitimacy are linked the fishing sector's social categories and PMC groups.

Gustavo's performativities show that he benefits from interweaving his social interactions at sea with his social communities on land, and the inverse, too. More importantly, Gustavo's interfacing with a range of social actors concerned with Galápagos' ecologies allowed me, as an ethnographer, in this case, to gain first-hand observations and understanding of his personal interactions in non-fishing spaces as well as to follow him and to document his professional dealings in fishing spaces (e.g. the Pelican Bay fishermen's wharf, COPROPAG (Puerto Ayora's fishing cooperative) and GNP offices]. In this way, my ethnographic fieldwork enabled me to understand Puerto Ayora, and particularly Pelican Bay, as a space where flows of PMC actors converge and backwash upon each other – similar to Gupta and Ferguson's (1992) figurative notion of the flows and counter flows of people and ideas – with the objective to condition fishermen's interactions in and with the sea sustainably. This occurs as the GNPS, and also Galápagos' conservation-science sector, has targeted the wharf as a space to aggressively monitor and condition fishermen's materials, fish sales, and technologies. Pelican Bay, and PMC members' involvement there, is thus viewed as inextricably linked with fishermen's precarity. This is because fishermen are often rendered compliant to PMC members' oversight and conditioning of daily wharf interactions – which is similar to Berlant's (2011) notion that precarity is a condition of dependency in which one's future [and in this case the present] is in someone else's hands.

This chapter explores mid-water long line fishermen's performativities of sustainability on land by looking pointedly at how informants employ their agency to challenge the conditions on and conditioning of their stake hold in fashioning Galápagos' fishing futures. This argument considers that the PMC's legislative power places fishermen at a disadvantage when participating in policy development, such as the pilot plan's drafting and approval. In this light, ethnographic stories illustrate how fishermen employ their agency on land to loosen their various entanglements with PMC members and GNP's legislation in ways and spaces not available to them at sea. For instance, fishermen look to the Pelican Bay wharf as a space to broker non-fishing employment contracts with CDRS leaders, to rally support for

COPROPAG and solidarity among their peers, and to reach out for support when managing familial crises and moments of need. Puerto Ayora is thus a space where fishermen contest their social identities as predators, opportunists and antagonists as they employ their agency to broker conservation-based labour contracts, influence the scope and accuracy of CDRS' studies, and hustle PMC members to approve fishing allowances that contradict their dispositions.

The first ethnographic story begins with a premise that Galápagos' sustainability context is predicated upon bounded and problematic social identities, which has commonly conceptualized marine users using binaries that pit 'right vs. wrong', 'protagonist vs. antagonist', and 'global vs. local' dynamics. Gustavo's story is presented to illustrate that fishermen imagine, contest and construct their social identities – such as compliant, prudent and sustainable – at Pelican Bay and thus subvert their reputation as antagonists to PMC agendas. It does so by demonstrating that their fishing performances (e.g. Goffman, 1959, 1974; Turner, 1987; Schechner, 1988, 2013; Beeman, 1993; Palmer & Jankowiak's, 1996; Schieffelin's, 1997; Worthen, 1998) provide them with access to domains of agency on land in which to employ their performativities (e.g. Butler, 1990, 1993; Lloyd, 1997; Green, 2007) that contest, challenge and subvert the PMC's legislative power. This contrast is meant to show that fishermen are not bounded to their lingering reputations as predators at sea, but that they in fact re-make themselves with new identities, such as scientist, expert and gatekeeper. In this light, Gustavo's re-making as a social actor, which occurs both literally and figuratively – happens as he performs roles in BBC documentaries and the CDRS' ecological studies as well as brokering several conservation-based contracts. His performativity on land suggests that many fishermen indeed grapple with and subvert their eco-political reputation as predators at sea. More importantly, the story shows that fishermen can subvert the GNPS' aggressive conditioning of fishing practices by untangling their connection to them, which Gustavo does by partnering with and enabling conservation-funded projects as an ephemeral escape from his mid-water long line fishing. Furthermore, my inclusion at his daughter's birthday party indicates his willingness to leverage

his social identities – such as his function as a gatekeeper for the present study – as a means to ease his social precarity on land.

The second ethnographic story depicts another fishermen, Don Antonio, who pioneered a grassroots campaign aimed at securing the long-term sustainability of mid-water long line fishing. Don Antonio's agentive campaign is observed as a manifestation of his realizing that fishermen have only achieved short-term financial stability when relying upon subverting the GNP's regulation of fishing practices at sea. In this way, the ethnographic data illustrate how his gaining access to domains of agency on land enabled him to subvert the GNP's eco-political might by becoming a mediator, technician and advocate. That occurred as he infiltrated the PMC's ranks and thereby loosened its clutch on fishermen's practices and its associated precarity. He did so by methodically and clandestinely manoeuvring himself into alliances with PMC members and gaining their eco-political endorsements, which ultimately allowed him to coordinate the approval of what has now become the mid-water long line pilot plan. This story is important for two reasons. On one hand, it illustrates that fishermen's performativities are not limited to their boat spaces at sea since their domain of agency permeates all GMR and GNP spaces – as well as boundary areas in-between. Accordingly, perceptions of fishermen's performativities on land add depth to academic discourse on sustainability and globalization by showing that local actors are able to contest and design the nuances of their material conditions aggressively and methodically much like how global actors have done so previously, such as the UN's development of Millennium Development Goals and Sustainable Development Goals, in 2000 and 2015, respectively, as well as with the GNP's 1998-Management Plan. On the other hand, the story demonstrates that fishermen's subversive performative acts are not necessarily hostile, uncompromising and intimidating (as they have been viewed traditionally – see chapter one), but that they can at times be subtle, deceptive and strategic.

At a micro level, these data together highlight local actors' strategies to deal with the precarity associated with having to keep pace with the global elite's aggressive attempts to structure the prior's livelihoods and performativities worldwide. Firstly, 'sustainability' implementation strategies typically occur in unequal spaces (e.g. PMC forums) and require performativities that not all local actors can perform. For instance, Gustavo excels at brokering day labour contracts while his assistant Mario does not have the agentive capacity to do so – and both of them seem unwilling to demonstrate the patience and foresight that Don Antonio needed to achieve his aims. Secondly, local actors' performativities are not bound by space since they, especially in the case of Galápagos fishermen, vacillate between borders that separate academic terrain (e.g. land and sea). Accordingly, Puerto Ayora and other terrestrial spaces are relevant to fishermen's performativities of sustainability; excluding such terrestrial spaces from academic critique (e.g. Hearn, 2008; Castrejón and Charles, 2013) causes gaps in methodological and theoretical ways of knowing eco-political power structures and actors' subversion of them. Thirdly, local actors are indeed capable of employing their agency to perform protagonist roles and to shape eco-political futures. This is true for Gustavo who became an expert shark handler and Don Antonio who authored the mid-water long line pilot plan. The data together illustrate that fishermen exhibit what Rothenberg (2006) describes as a 'strong' form of agency that causes political effect, such as the PMC consenting to a yearlong pilot plan and the CDRS' growing dependence on fishermen to assist with scientific studies. Fishermen's agency, when employed over time in Puerto Ayora, builds their confidence to view Puerto Ayora spaces as the terrain in which to subvert the PMC's conditions on and conditioning of their livelihoods in ways not available at sea. At a macro level, fishermen have resiliently pushed to remain relevant in Galápagos' restrictive eco-political sphere. Such findings are only made possible, metaphorically and literally speaking, by stepping off Gustavo's boat and into the intimate exchanges of his social networks at the Pelican Bay wharf and its surroundings.

A Fisher of Men: Gustavo performs and brokers new social identities

Fishermen contest their reputations as predators at sea by reconstructing their social identities as sustainable and compliant (see chapter five). Fishermen similarly build agency on land, and particularly at Pelican Bay, when interacting with conservation-science actors. An unpacking of Gustavo's social networking at the wharf indicates precisely how his emergence as an icon of fishermen's embedded artisanal knowledge enables him to take on identities, such as gatekeeper, scientist and watchdog. This is evidenced as he is featured in documentaries and brokers fishing-related contracts. Gustavo's non-fishing labour highlights a distinction between performance and performativity theory. The following ethnographic accounts illustrate that Gustavo is fully aware that he is performing a subordinate role in the documentaries' script writing and directing as well as when assisting as a shark expert on CDRS expeditions. However, he does not mind doing so since these performances allow him access to the domains of agency where he employs performativities of sustainability that subvert his dependence on the GNP's pilot plan as an income source as well as the CDRS' data collection processes and their ethos.

Gustavo's social networking and capacity to broker contracts at Pelican Bay is critically examined by exploring two accounts where his performances provided him with the spaces and opportunities to contest his social identities as unsustainable and noncompliant GMR user while also challenging the GNP's design and regulation of 'sustainable' fishing zones and practices. The first account looks at Gustavo's performance in a BBC documentary and how that process equips him with the means to project his identity as an icon, expert and indispensable interlocutor. The second account examines how his periodic employment as a CDRS research assistant enables him to take on social identities such as broker, gatekeeper, scientist and watchdog. These accounts show that Gustavo's charismatic, dynamic and brash Pelican Bay performances garner him a persona that attracts attention, esteem and, more importantly, various science-based contracts. These contracts are

precisely what enable him to employ his performativities of sustainability that aim to subvert his dependence on [mid-water long line] fishing income and thereby the PMC's aggressive conditioning of fishing conditions.

Gustavo's Re-Making as an Icon, Expert and Steward

Anyone spending enough time observing the movements and blending of actors at Pelican Bay's fishermen's wharf will eventually discover that GNPS' officials, navy officers, CDRS scientists, Conservation International project managers (e.g. conservation-minded social actors) gather there routinely to pursue, to question, to monitor and to regulate fish sales as well as fishermen, their boats and practices. Figure 15 illustrates several such instances.

Figure 15: **A Space of Social Convergences** – (top right): GNPS fisheries officers and a naval official monitor and document a lobster fishermen's catch; (middle right): A naval official watches vendors selling fish; (bottom right): A GNPS naturalist guide and an eco-tourist inquire about a fishermen's lobster catch; (bottom left): GNPS fisheries officers monitor fish sales while a police officer and tourists take in the wharf's hullabaloo; (top left): A sea lion overlooks as fishermen tune their motor while naval officials patrol in a dinghy. (Photo credit: Author, November 2013)

These types of social exchanges occur frequently at the wharf since its central location along Puerto Ayora's municipal coastline makes it an easy access point, and at times, an unavoidable stop when navigating Puerto Ayora's streets. Figure 16 positions Puerto Ayora's Pelican Bay on Santa Cruz Island's southern shore.

Figure 16: **Maps of Pelican Bay and Puerto Ayora** – (top right): Puerto Ayora municipal map; (bottom right): Puerto Ayora topographical map; (left): Santa Cruz Island map. (Source: Google Maps, January 2016)

Amid the wharf's routine fish sales, smells and sights lies a myriad of social performances, such as female vendors' descaling and filleting of fish,[185] and Don Miguel's[186] evening fish kiosk that supplies local residents and visiting tourists with fried fish and *patacones* platters at sunset.[187] Performance theory – such as Goffman's (1959) idea of staged identity construction and his (1974) notion of 'frames,' Turner's (1987) 'social drama analysis', and Schechner's (1988) 'scripts' (see chapter two) – provides for a critical understanding of the wharf's routine movements, and how fish function as props in actors' daily social exchanges. In this environment, I learned of fishermen's habits, timetables and interpersonal

[185] About six fishermen's wives routinely function as intermediaries, selling fish for their husbands or other fishermen who would rather spend their time at home or fixing boats and lines. The women descale and sell fish to residents by the pound. Daily sales (except Sundays) last from 9am to noon and from 2 to 6pm.

[186] Don Miguel's 20-year hand line fishing career ended when a doctor diagnosed him with a tumour on one of his kidneys. The doctor removed the kidney surgically and prohibited him from going out to sea. He now sells fish nightly at his kiosk despite not paying rent or utilities to the municipality, which has caused controversy with local restaurant owners that also sell fish and benefit from the wharf's stunning sunset views.

[187] Don Miguel buys fresh fish from the wharf's venders. He sells fried demersal fish with rice and patacones, which are fried plantain slices, amidst sunset views that capture pastel swirls seeping into the horizon.

relationships. I could predict which fishermen would be at the wharf based on their fishing method, the fish they caught, and the type of boat they owned and/or operated. For instance, I knew that Gustavo typically departed Pelican Bay on Monday mornings at 5am and returned Friday afternoons with his tuna and/or swordfish catch, spent his Saturdays working at his grandfather's farm or playing in a local soccer league, and lounged in his living room hammock on Sundays.

My growing familiarity with the wharf's performances and prominent web of actors meant that I slowly came to perceive fishermen's contentious and at times subversive behaviour that fishermen meant to hide from the GNPS' watchful eye. Such 'performative intervals' (see Green, 2007) took several forms, such as unlicensed fishermen going out to sea,[188] industrial fishermen selling illegal fishing rigs, and a GNPS officer describing his leniency to a pilot plan fisherman who surpassed the 100-hook limit in exchange for a large fish upon their return to port. These kinds of fieldwork observations revealed to me that, by looking beyond and within the staged Pelican Bay fishing performances, it is possible to understand fishermen's performativities that contest their social identities and subvert the GNPS' authority to regulate fish sales, exchanges and practices sustainability,

Gustavo's bravado, exuberance and magnetism stood out amidst the mixtures of fishing performances I observed. Gustavo can effortlessly charm the wharf's crowds, such as those pictured in Figure 3 with his alluring personality. His muscular frame and emphatic dynamism attract attention regardless of whether he is elbow-deep in fish guts, boisterously flirting with female passersby, or shouting at GNPS authorities and other fishermen amid fish-related quarrels.[189] Such drawing power

[188] These individuals described times when their 'illegal' fishing activities resulted in fines or jail time. They also described eluding immigration authorities by hiding in alleyways, as well as deportation from Galápagos.

[189] Gustavo enjoyed razzing others and especially me. He once interrupted my interview with a fishermen at the wharf when he arrived and whispered "My love...my love..." into my ear. He wrapped me with his arms and kissed me on the cheek while I chatted. This kind of joke led the Pelican Bay fishers to laugh heartily and to embrace me in their community.

captures various social actors' interest, such as boat owners, GNPS observers,[190] CDRS- and GNPS-sponsored researchers, navy personnel, naturalist guides,[191] BBC videographers (e.g. marine-related experts and local conservation authorities). These actors sought him out for his persona and expertise more than any other Pelican Bay fisherman I observed.

One day, my Pelican Bay arrival found Gustavo cleaning fish before flocks of gawking tourists, local residents and a film crew. It turns out that BBC videographers had approached Gustavo at the wharf the week prior, asking him to feature in a documentary that portrays fishermen's relationships with Galápagos' endemic sea lions on land and at sea – to which Gustavo agreed. I sat on the bench metres away from Gustavo, admiring his swagger as he romanced the hulking BBC cameras and amused his surrounding audience with jokes and chuckling laughter (see Figure 17 below). For instance, Gustavo playfully filleted fish and tossed the scraps to "Pancha," one of three resident Pelican Bay sea lions (pictured in Figure 48).

[190] GNPS fisheries observers are chief among such overseers, especially since one monitors the wharf during business hours (e.g. documenting daily catch numbers and providing tourists with permission forms to export fish and lobster to the Ecuadorian continent). The collected data provide the GNP with statistical backing to further advance GMR governance. However, many fishermen interpret the GNPS' oversight as harassing vigilance and thus distrust GNPS officers' agendas.

[191] Naturalist guides escort the majority of Galápagos' tourists [nearly 200,000 tourist entries annually] to visit the CDRS, stopping at the wharf to observe and to photograph fishermen, their boats and fish sales.

Figure 17: **"Fish, Camera, and Action!"** – (left): BBC documentarians choreograph Gustavo's descaling performance; (right): Gustavo is filmed cleaning fish amidst a sea lion, pelicans and passersby. (Source: Author, October 2013)

The crowds dissipated as the cameramen packed their equipment and left just after giving some final instructions to Gustavo about his wage payment and a follow-up shoot to occur months later. Gustavo then strutted over to me, plopped himself onto the bench, and mocked the difficulty of being Pelican Bay's resident fishermen celebrity since it requires keeping up appearances. The following field note illustrates part of our conversation that transpired, showing Gustavo's perception that his being filmed enables him to expand his vocational trajectories as well as to build his ethos as an authority on Galápagos' marine eco-systems and ecologies.

> Gustavo: Did you see that? I just made $300 for two days of filming [one two-hour session per day]. They paid me to clean fish, tell jokes and teach the tourists about how sea lions take fish off my hooks [at sea]. Easy money. People around the world will watch this BBC documentary and I will soon be recognized as Galápagos' expert fisherman.
>
> Adam: Did you agree to be filmed for the money, the fame, or both?

> G: Look, I could have earned the same wage or more if I went fishing today. But, I stayed dry, had fun and was today's celebrity. My plan is to create more opportunities like this one so that I can become the residential voice of Galápagos fishermen. Once I hook a few more contracts, the conservationist guys [project managers] will line up for me to join their studies. So, why do I do this? The money is surely a nice break from fishing [at deep sea]. But, I am *Galapagueño* and have been fishing since I was eight. I know what *really* happens at sea – like when and where the sea lions take my fish. *I* should be the expert telling the world – and informing the GNP – what Galápagos' fishing and conservation should be about and not the scientists who write articles based on their brief studies at sea.

Gustavo apparently assumes that his performances in conservation projects and before the BBC's global viewership will transform his social identity from a simple, uninformed and predatory fisherman (see chapter one) to that of a GMR ecologies expert, reputable scientist, and advocate of fishermen's embedded knowledge. It is precisely these kinds of performances that resonate with the Butlerian (1990) notion that social identities are produced, contested and reproduced and culturally formed through interaction and repetition – or 'the deed', which in this case is Gustavo's cleaning and filleting of fish. Gustavo's comments also indicate that he perceives his identity transformation to occur over the long-term. This realization resonates with how Green (2007) describes the 'performative interval' as a unit of analysis in which actors are called forth into symbolic formations and particular roles, such as expert fishermen and local conservation authority. Therefore, Gustavo's identities as expert fisherman and ecologist are ritualized as he repeats the performative interval over time. In this way, Gustavo's agency to broker labour contracts strengthens each time that he performs, and thus, ritualizes the performative interval of serving as the voice of Galápagos' fishermen or as an authority on local ecologies.

What is more, it is the conservation-science sector, and notably the BBC in this instance, that constructed and produced an image of and identity for Gustavo as a steward who is intricately linked and dependent upon Galápagos' ecological balance for survival. Therefore, Gustavo masterfully used the very conservationist sector that has demonized fishermen generally over time to reproduce and to broadcast a representation of fishermen as a positive and integral component of Puerto Ayora's ecologies. Gustavo is performing what Rothenberg (2006) calls 'strong' performativity since he is consciously employing his agency to create political effect, which in this case involves subverting ways co-management literature (Hearn, 2008; Castrejón and Charles, 2013) have typically marginalized fishermen as antagonistic to PMC/GNP agendas.

Gustavo's Re-Making as a Broker, Gatekeeper and Watchdog

Gustavo's performativity of sustainability is not limited to the BBC's sensationalized representations of him feeding Pelican Bay's sea lions with fish scraps. His subversion of the fishermen's social identities extends from the conspicuous spaces in front of the camera and to the quiet, intimate confines of boat decks when out to sea as a expert shark handler [e.g. research assistant]. Gustavo explained that his confidence and strength as a shark handler motivates Galápagos-based scientists to prefer his services to other fishermen on conservation-funded projects. This reputation, he says, provides him with employment opportunities, which he accepts to endure times when fishing is not lucrative or when migratory fish are difficult to locate in Galápagos' troubled waters.

More importantly, the following transcript – of a conversation between Gustavo, Mario and myself late one night outside Gustavo's house and over some beers – illustrates that Gustavo consciously brokers labour contracts as a means to construct his identities as a protector of fishermen's access to fish stocks as well as an advisor to fishermen in regards to issues of how to interact with local scientists and GMR managers.

Gustavo: Mario, do you know this guy Fernando from the CDRS? He arranged for me to accompany a CDRS team on a 10-day trip to tag *bacalao*, leaving tomorrow at 8 am. I told him that I couldn't go since I sliced my finger fishing and got stitches. Fernando wants to delay the trip so that I join the expedition next week. I told him that the doctor's orders prevent me from strenuous labour for 15 days, but that you can be my replacement. Look, we both win. You earn $100 daily and I earn $50 daily for setting it up.

Mario: I'll go.

G: It's easy. Just catch, tag and release *bacalao* near Bolivar Canal off Isabela Island.

M: I can take them to some incredible fishing zones near "Las Cruces."

G: Well, the CDRS has certain monitoring zones. I have 10 years of experience with these guys and I realize that they don't really know where *bacalao* is abundant. I have given them bits of information about our preferred fishing zones, but nothing that would risk our secret spots. Be careful, Mario! Don't give them sensitive information or they may pass legislation to make our lucrative *bacalao* fishing zones protected [GMR] areas. Much is at stake.[192] (February 2014)

Multiple conclusions can be draw from this brief transcript. Firstly, it illustrates Gustavo's pride in and concern with being a gatekeeper to fishing spaces, information and research assistants that influence the conservation-science sector's

[192] I have thought critically about how sharing this information may potentially 'out' Gustavo and Mario or fishermen generally. However, my decision to include it draws upon GNPS officials' statements that they are well aware of fishermen's deceptive ploys, which, according to them, even occur among fishermen as one may spread false rumours of where fish are biting in the GMR to lead others astray.

project outcomes – and ultimately direct the PMC's sustainable management of the GMR. His sub-contracting of the CDRS job to Mario reveals his willingness to function as a middleman – which I understood is motivated by his earning a percentage of Mario's wage and by ritualizing his reputation as one capable of enabling conservation projects' logistics. Secondly, his performative role as gatekeeper allows him to condition Mario (e.g. his replacements) to subvert the CDRS' objectives in various ways, such as leading them to spaces where *bacalao* are scarce. Gustavo thus functions as a sentinel, warning unassuming fishermen like Mario of the long-term dangers associated with carelessly divulging sensitive fishing information to scientists. For instance, fishermen's informing of bountiful fishing zones may potentially spur the conservation-science sector to pull rank in PMC meetings and to apply a fishing freeze with aims of protecting endangered marine species in the name of 'sustainability'. These conclusions problematize fishermen's bounded reputation as predatory, noncompliant and uninformed since Gustavo is clearly capable of employing his agency to function as gatekeeper, advisor and watchdog. They also show that Gustavo's professional relationships across Galápagos' eco-political sectors provide him with income flows and fishing alternatives when he needs or wants to curtail his physically and socially exhausting deep-sea fishing trips.[193] This is important since Gustavo maintains various income flows by vacillating between his identities as mid-water long line fisher, BBC actor and CDRS broker.

A fascinating extension of Gustavo's performativity, though not a focus of this chapter, would explore how his conditioning of CDRS scientists to study in spaces with depleted fish populations is counterintuitive, at least from a global perspective, since Gustavo's and Mario's navigational cues and fishing oversight are likely to lead the CDRS to determine that samples of *bacalao* populations are less than what they actually are. Such findings may potentially lead the PMC to impose bans or limits on

[193] During my fieldwork, Gustavo participated in conservation-science-based expeditions, including: a BBC documentary of fishermen's relationships with sea lions,[193] a CDRS shark-tagging study as well as a scuba diving study to monitor fish, and a National Geographic shark-tagging study. Daily wages were $100-200.

bacalao fishing whereas fishermen are aware that their catch rates do not match the CDRS' data. In other words, Gustavo's performativity may lead to increased conservation thresholds, which increases fishermen's precarity. Nonetheless, Gustavo's subversive misguidance of CDRS studies apparently protects fishermen's short-term access to abundant *bacalao* stocks, which he has hidden from conservationists' purview as an apparent means to safeguard access to *bacalao* and their related income.

Social Identity Construction as a Process of Managing Galápagos' Eco-Politics

These ethnographic stories suggest that Gustavo's multiple identities stem from his embedded identity as a fisher of opportunity. On one hand, Gustavo's social performances enable him to spell bleak mid-water long line fishing seasons, and thus offset his financial precarity, by taking on the identities of and earning wages as a BBC actor and expert shark handler. These kinds of performances, particularly ones that require Gustavo to demonstrate his expertise and acts of valour at sea, make him indispensable to research projects. More importantly, such performances also provide Gustavo with access to the domains of agency on land that enable him to employ performativities that challenge Galápagos' 'sustainability' power matrix. For instance, Gustavo's willingness to feature as a lead research assistant means that the CDRS is becoming increasingly dependent upon his (and his replacements') role in navigation and handling fish. An example is the CDRS director's willingness to postpone the *bacalao* tagging study until Gustavo's injured finger healed. Such dependence suggests that fishermen like Gustavo have become indispensable to CDF, GNPS, BBC and National Geographic researchers' ability to perform ecological studies. The conservation-science sector would likely experience hardship if tasked solely with carrying out projects such as shark tagging and monitoring or if having to rely on non-fishermen who are marginally familiar with Galápagos' waters and fish populations. Therefore, Gustavo's enabling of scientists' to sustain their 'sustainability' studies at sea contributes to a process of reasserting artisanal

fishermen's relevance as integral to stewardship of the archipelago and the ecological scholarship that inform its sustainability.

On the other hand, Gustavo's participation as an expert shark handler and mariner enables the conservation-science sector to conduct ecological studies and to produce data that may very well undermine fishermen's long-term rights and access to natural resources, such as access to fishing zones. These kinds of ecological partnerships and outcomes further entrench Galápagos' current eco-political power matrix that shapes marine users' rights and interactions and consequently make artisanal fishermen's livelihoods precarious by making them subordinate in the processes of gathering and analysing marine-based data. In this light, Gustavo's periodic participation as a CDRS research assistant enables him to provide for his family's basic needs over the short-term; however, his participation may also contribute to a scenario in which the CDRS' gathered data ultimately lead to fishing bans. A consequence would be that the fishing sector endures unstable access to fishing methods and fish stocks over the long-term.

Therefore, processes of social identity construction play a critical role in supporting or contesting a tendency among conservation-science individuals to label artisanal fishermen solely as predators of Galápagos' marine life and antagonistic to caring for the archipelago's ecological sustainably (see chapter one). For instance, I observed many fishermen-conservationist interactions at Pelican Bay transpire amicably and with the sharing of beer – while others boiled into heated debate, insults, threats and nearly fisticuffs. The latter set of behaviours is precisely the type of interaction that conservation-science actors have categorised as troublesome, problematic and unmanageable. However, Gustavo's brokering of conservation contracts and performing a leading role in documentaries reveal that his identity as an ally to conservation agendas is constructed through his Pelican Bay networking.

In this light, Butlerian (1990, 1993) notions of performativity remind us that socially constructed identities are real only to the extent in which they are performed – and that they become real through actors' interaction with and performativity of them. Accordingly, Gustavo's Pelican Bay performances place him at the centre of many eco-political exchanges;[194] however, his performativity is largely reactionary as he is responding to the conservation-science sector's cues and stipulations as a BBC actor and as a CDRS research assistant. Other long line fishermen, such as Don Antonio, have proactively strategized their participation in the PMC's structures by thoughtfully orchestrating their agency to engage, to author and to subvert their capacities as mediators, technicians and hustlers. These performativities, like Gustavo's, have allowed Don Antonio access to domains of agency on land to subvert the PMC's power structure. In Don Antonio's case, he initiated a clandestine and grassroots campaign aimed at convincing the GNP to approve mid-water long line fishing practices temporarily. Don Antonio's story illustrates that fishermen can employ their agency on land in assertive, calculated and subversive ways not available at sea.

A Fisher of Endorsements: Don Antonio grows grassroots sustainability in Puerto Ayora

Fishermen build agency to secure fishing income not only on boat spaces at sea where fishers' slight of hand and the hijacking of power are observed to contest the GNPS' authority (see chapter five). Fishermen are, in fact, equally capable of employing their agency covertly when on land. A critical interrogation of Don Antonio's grassroots development of mid-water long line fishing illustrates precisely how he subverted the PMC's authoritative power structures in Puerto Ayora by infiltrating its leadership ranks and amassing ecological data as well as political endorsements to support his argument that mid-water long line fishing is not as hazardous to the archipelago's ecological integrity as the PMC has long considered it

[194] As one GNPS fisheries officer told me, Gustavo "plays both sides" of the conservation game since his alliances are temporary and always self-seeking.

to be. Specifically, his mechanizing of a technical report gradually led PMC members to approve a mid-water long line pilot program, which thereby entrusted the GNPS to monitor and to assess the fishing art's impact on marine species (e.g. by-catch rates) over a yearlong probationary period. On one hand, fishermen perceived the pilot program achievement as an eco-political success since it provided them with an alternative to hand line and lobster fishing. On the other hand, the PMC reluctantly conceded to the agreement while mindful of Galápagos' histories of overfishing.

More importantly, a critical unpacking of Don Antonio's performative domain of agency is deconstructed into the following tripartite agenda, including his identifying a vulnerability in how GSL language describes permitted long line fishing forms,[195] scheming to garner the PMC's collective endorsement of a mid-water long line fishing pilot plan, and influencing fishermen's behaviour and solidarity as means to convince the PMC that the pilot plan is ecologically sustainable over the long-term. The result of Don Antonio's subversive stratagem was the approval of a mid-water long line fishing pilot program that continues to provide fishermen with the terrain in which to negotiate the long-term approval of the fishing art and consequently a stable, alternative income source which may very well ease the precarious financial risks associated with fishing in Galápagos' troubled waters.

Don Antonio finds a legislative loophole

It was always a welcomed sight when Don Antonio stepped off his bicycle and hobbled over to me as I sat in watch on a Pelican Bay fishermen's wharf bench. His stagger stemmed from years of improper diving technique as a lobster fisherman and undiagnosed incidents of decompression sickness over time.[196] Yet, for what Don Antonio lacked in a smooth gait, he made up for with his silver tongue. To my

[195] Chapter two presents an argument that the PMC's local control of fishermen's practices is predicated upon translations of sustainability that are globally constructed and distributed to local actors worldwide.
[196] Known commonly as 'the bends'.

delight, he invited me to his home on several occasions to discuss histories of fishing policies and fishermen's resilience to changes in Galápagos' eco-legislation.[197] I seldom had to ask questions since he breezed effortlessly between tales and complaints. Central to his disquisitions was a focus on his motivation to spearhead a resilient campaign aimed at re-shaping long line fishing practices in order to appease the conservation-science sector's environmental concerns and also to circumvent the GNP's legal restrictions. He described a history of long line fishing practices pre-GSL implementation[198] as well as his perception of the GNPS' implicit tolerance of long line fishing post-GSL implementation.[199] This constraining eco-political climate, as he explained, required giving the fishing art a semantic and cosmetic makeover:

> We had to circumvent GSL [prohibition of the fishing art] to continue our long line fishing, but in a legal form. So, we [fishermen] presented the PMC with an ecologically friendly variation of our fishing art that included changing the name from 'long line' to 'mid-water long line fishing.'[200] It was my idea to launch a [mid-water long line fishing] pilot plan, which submerged the long line deeper than the traditional form that floats on the surface. Thus, the name and practice are different. These changes meant that GSL should no longer limit our practices (January 2014).

This comment shows that fishermen's ambition to secure long-term fishing of pelagic fish in the GMR, according to Don Antonio, required skirting GSL legislation, which held the term 'long line fishing' and practices associated to it as an illegal fishing art. His response was to promote his own translation of a sustainable fishing

[197] He spoke in detail of how GSL-implementation resulted in a freeze on mid-water long line fishing practices and what that meant for fishermen's daily fishing options at sea.
[198] He explained, "I remember that Manta (Ecuador) fish buyers came to Galápagos in the 1990s and bought local mid-water long line fishermen's tuna catches just outside the GMR's boundaries. Those buyers then sold the tuna in Manta for three times Galápagos' market price." (January 2014)
[199] Don Antonio remarked that the GNP tolerated small-scale mid-water long line fishing at the time since it was perceived to have minimal ecological consequence, and according to him, "something novel." (January 2014)
[200] A GNPS/CI fisheries expert that I interviewed explained that 'mid-water long line fishing' is a globally recognized term to describe the fishing art in question. The Spanish term used by Don Antonio and others in Galápagos is 'empate oceánico modificado', which means 'modified oceanic hand line' (my translation).

method by re-shaping the language and practice of a pre-existing one, leading to a form similar to what is known globally as mid-water long line fishing.

Additional conversations with Don Antonio revealed that he lobbied for the GNPS to adopt the term 'modified mid-water long line' since it purportedly dodges some of the international critique associated with the term 'long line' used generally to describe the fishing practice. This twisting of language and materiality provided fishermen with a technical edge to sidestep conservationists' use of GSL legislation and language – which I view to be globally-mechanized – as a semantic stranglehold on GMR fishing rights afforded to fishermen.[201] Yet, while Don Antonio's translation of sustainability (e.g. the mid-water long line fishing art) achieved his aim of boring a hole in GSL-implemented 'long line' fishing legislation, it did little to appease the conservation-science sector's environmental concerns with fishermen's 'predatory' practices at sea. That is because the technical terms (e.g. long line, modified mid-water long line) are loaded with 'sustainability' implications – and those working with GMR fisheries closely argued that mid-water long line fishing was simply a slight modification from previous practices and that by-catch numbers would thereby remain similar. My fieldwork interviews inform that conservationists and natural resource monitors (e.g. GNPS, CDRS and CI employees) were the strongest critics of the newly touted mid-water long line fishing term and practice, and that they claim not to be fooled by fishermen's use of 'mid-water long line fishing' as a guise for 'long line' practices which clearly carry a negative reputation globally (Andraka et al., 2013).[202] Complicating matters further, Puerto Ayora fishermen continue to refer to the mid-water long line fishing variation commonly as 'long line'

[201] For instance, Esteban, former Participatory Management Council developer and naturalist guide, claims that he personally sought exposure to global experts on sustainability when participating in the PMC's establishment. (December 2013). Thus, global notions of sustainability and conservation have factored into the GNP's and PMC's notions of the same. As such, local translations of sustainability and conservation are in fact derivatives of globally mechanized ones.

[202] For instance, Teo, a CI fisheries officer, expressed that the term 'mid-water long line' has little technical significance. Similarly, Rúben, a GNPS fisheries officer explained that fishermen claim to have modified 'long line' practices to what is now 'mid-water long line' fishing, but that the change is simply a clever change of names and not practice. Also, many conservationist informants argued that the shift to 'mid-water long line' fishing has not reduced by-catch numbers.

fishing.[203] This occurs despite clear political disadvantage for fishermen to use the term 'long line' in spaces where PMC members negotiate uses and implications of the term, such as the Pelican Bay wharf and COPROPAG offices.

In this light, Don Antonio faced the following: the GNP's and CRDRS' concern with bans on long line fishing worldwide, the GNPS' reluctance to permanently approve the pilot plan, and an assortment of his fishermen peers that routinely undermine his agenda by practicing the art illegally and by referring to it simply as 'long line' fishing. Don Antonio explained that his tactic was to go on the offensive and to hook PMC representatives by seeking their endorsements of a technical mid-water long line fishing study, which fishermen were entitled to legally in the GNP's 1999-implemented 'Management Plan for Conservation and Sustainable Use of the Galápagos Marine Reserve'. This is because, as Castrejón (2011:118-119, my translation) indicates, the only way to open a new GMR fishery officially is to follow a four-step procedure, hinging upon a technical study of fishermen's practices.[204] Specifically the GNP's 1999-implemented Management Plan indicates in section 8.1.1.2 that 'long line fishing' is indeed a permitted fishing method subject to [the GNPS'] special regulations (GNP, 1998:42). This despite, as Castrejón (2011:115, my translation) explains in his study of challenges and changes in the co-management of GMR fisheries, the reality is that 'long lines' are prohibited in the fishing of large pelagic as well as demersal and coastal fish. Therefore, Don Antonio needed to devise a scheme to garner the PMC's endorsement of a long-term mid-water long line fishing pilot plan, which would provide fishermen with permanent access to pelagic fish, which he did.

[203] For instance, Clovis, a hand line fisher, used the Spanish equivalent of 'long line fishing' (e.g. *pelangre*) when describing 'mid-water long line' fishing to me. He did this, however, fully aware of the difference in jargon. In fact, most fishermen I spoke with used the term 'long line' instead of 'mid-water long line' or 'modified mid-water long line' when referring to the art.

[204] That four-step process, according to Castrejón (2011:118-119), includes: presentation of the proposal, elaboration and submission of a technical study, review, and decision. See Castrejón's work for detailed descriptions of these steps.

Don Antonio cunningly hooks PMC members' pilot plan approval

Don Antonio explained that his ploy involved proving how his fishing art departed from the long line fishing practices in continental Ecuador, and its associated environmental hazards, by focusing on differences in language and materiality. On one hand, the technical design and language of Don Antonio's pilot plan proposal – which included 'methods' and 'antecedents' sections and addressed differences in jargon such as 'long line' and 'modified oceanic long line' – reveal that fishermen can indeed keep pace with the technical and conceptual design of fishing practices globally. On the other hand, and more importantly, Don Antonio's story illustrates how a lone fisherman clandestinely took advantage of employing a set of strategies and performances on land to net the conservation-science sector's collective endorsement and thereby overthrew the GNP's 15-year ban on artisanal long line fishing in the GMR. Don Antonio single-handedly infiltrated the PMC's ranks and demonstrated to its leadership that his translation of mid-water long line fishing does not cause unmanageable environmental harm (e.g. elevated by-catch rates).[205] This ethnographically rich story extends Butlerian notions of performativity vis-à-vis the domain of agency, which it does by showing how a single fisherman's subversive *performativity* challenged the authoritative structure – the PMC – which shapes the conditions on and conditioning of fishermen's permitted arts.

Don Antonio began telling me of his subversive tactics one evening beneath a Pelican Bay sunset and continued the narrative in his living room over the next months. I first asked him to explain how his translation of long line fishing differs from conventional long line methods used along Ecuador's continental coastline. I soon realized, however, that the process involved with securing PMC members' approval is more noteworthy than his product (e.g. the GNP's probationary pilot plan). His story reveals strategic and covert measures used to acquire PMC

[205] Don Antonio's explained that his subversive agenda developed without other Puerto Ayora fishermen's collaboration since, according to him, they lacked foresight and were not motivated to join his plan and challenge the PMC's status quo.

members' pilot plan endorsements. As such, I came to view him increasingly as a puppeteer the more he pulled the strings of his plotline. After all, he portrays himself as slyly manoeuvring in PMC spaces and among its members, peddling a fishing future among buyers and sellers of Galápagos' 'sustainability market', which is where PMC members exchange global notions of sustainability and apply them to the GMR's governance.

While the puppeteer image lends itself nicely to the present study's use of extended metaphor (e.g. lines, knots), his account of pushing forward the mid-water long line fishing art, more importantly, validates his identities as a mediator, technician and hustler. His actions involved a delicate balance of juggling, constructing and performing notions of sustainability. The following extended interview transcript – which is interspersed with analytical commentary – illustrates Don Antonio's account of the processes by which he employed his agency to strategize, deceive and lure PMC leaders into submitting their pilot plan approval.

> Antonio: About ten years ago, fishermen were trying to approve mid-water long line fishing and even made a proposal, which I was not a part of. But, those fishermen couldn't get the PMC to approve it, which, of course, was the most difficult part. So, I said, 'We have to befriend the enemy.'
>
> Adam: And how did you befriend the 'enemy?'
>
> Antonio: I had to sell our revised mid-water long line fishing concept by involving those conservationist 'expert authorities' as our friends. So, I invited a CDRS fisheries expert – with the GNPS' permission – to observe me mid-water long line fishing at sea.[206] But, I didn't tell the GNPS that the observer would be providing me with the very ammo I needed to shoot a hole in their eco-shield. I approached them with the mentality that 'I need

[206] Generic employment titles are used intentionally in this section so as to guise social actors' identities due to the sensitive nature of Don Antonio's dealings and the PMC's eco-political networks.

> your suggestions so that I can correct problems with the fishing art.' This is how the dialogue continued to grow like a spider web.
>
> Our fishing trip with the fisheries expert went well! There wasn't by-catch; we only caught swordfish. I later asked the expert, who observed everything at sea, to validate my formal fieldwork report so that the Puerto Ayora fishing cooperative would reimburse my fuel costs. I wrote a detailed field report, noting the mid-water long line fishing modifications we made (like biodegradable hooks and the fishing depths) and had the expert sign it. That signature coincidentally affirmed our successful trip without by-catch! *Boooooom*! Gotcha! (January 2014)

Don Antonio's account is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it clearly labels the PMC as 'an enemy' to artisanal fishing fishermen as well as antagonistic to fishermen's official attempts to develop mid-water long line fishing previously. Secondly, his comments indicate that his intent to subvert that social stigma required identifying a weak point in the PMC's eco-political stronghold (e.g. legislation) that was previously indiscernible. Implicitly speaking, Don Antonio's narrative positions him as *the* Puerto Ayora fisherman with the 'strong' agency needed to plan, to initiate and to manipulate the pilot plan's approval – although other fishermen could have teamed with him or led similar efforts independently.[207] Thirdly, his historical account offers compelling references to 'eco-shield' and 'spider webs.' His eco-shield comment suggests that the GNPS' leadership (and social actors associated with them) has managed to carve out an eco-political bunker in which it dictated the archipelago's 'sustainability' standards and their regulation while finding protection from the range of fishermen's reproach and eco-political attacks over time [at least for the past ten years]. His reference to spider webs is taken to indicate that he envisions himself to have staked a claim at the

[207] For instance, Pelican Bay restaurant owners explained that fishermen customarily ask other sectors for financial help –One restaurant owner explained:

> Fishermen frequently ask me to donate funds for their end-of-year parties. In Galápagos, everything [life] depends on asking for help. If your kid gets sick, you ask others to help pay the medical costs. You ask for contributions if you want to tour Miami. So, I help the fishermen since they are my neighbours. (January 2014)

centre of Galápagos' social [spider] web and with the power to pull upon its strands. Doing so has provided him with the means to entrap his 'enemy' slowly. These data together suggest that despite the perception that the GNPS' eco-shield has deactivated fishermen's agency, Don Antonio articulates his agency to manipulate the GNPS' behaviour and thus subvert its power**.** Our dialogue continued:

> Adam: And what is so important about this document?
>
> Antonio: Well, that document helped me to catch my prey by beginning to pull the spider web strands. I took that document to an engineer of fisheries technologies working at the CDRS. I told him, 'Look you know that I am an artisanal fishermen leader and we are doing this [mid-water long line fishing] project with the CDRS…and I'd love for you to give your expert opinion on how we can improve it.' He said, 'Cool, no problem.' Then, I went and asked the tourism sector's leader to do the same. I took those ideas and continued to arm my argument.[208] Then, I sought the tourist guides' leader's input, telling him that I've already talked with the CDRS and tourism and that I'd also like his advice. He says, 'This [your project] isn't a problem...since we [guides] usually operate on the coastlines." So, I took his ideas and added them to my case study, detailing how he suggested that our [fishermen's] general shift from coastal fishing to the high seas would reduce lobster and sea cucumber fishing, thus helping those species to repopulate. I said, 'Cool.'

Don Antonio's description shows that his clandestine tactics involved him netting multiple PMC actors in his spider web separately because a divide-and-conquer approach would raise less attention and enable him to manoeuvre stealthily across his spider web (e.g. the PMC). In the process, the pilot plan's ecological ethos incrementally gained force with each PMC expert's authoritative endorsement that Don Antonio acquired – much like a snowball effect. In essence, Don Antonio

[208] Those ideas included notions such as: "tourism boats won't cross our lines submerged 30-meters deep." (January 2014)

entangled PMC leaders' endorsements and pacified the council by the pilot plan proposal's rumbling groundswell and increasing integrity. Don Antonio further explained:

> Adam: So, you approached all PMC sector representatives individually, layering their endorsements of your proposal?
>
> Antonio: Yes! But, they don't know that I was going to present this project [for approval] at an official PMC meeting. You have to be secretive. Each time the PMC sector leaders critiqued the project, I told them what we're doing, what the by-catch rates were, and that we only want to catch swordfish and tuna. I had to speak to them eloquently. Finally, I went to a hard-nosed, anti-fishing CDRS expert. My project hinged on getting his support since the PMC meetings were volatile at that time, unlike how they are now calm. At last, I was ready to pull the final spider web strand – that of the GNPS.
>
> I went to tell the GNPS' overseer of marine resource management of my multiple endorsements. We discussed maritime laws and he said, 'I don't think the GNPS will approve the fishing art since it is a 'long line,' which is illegal. I told him, 'we are not going to argue if this is a long line or not. In Galápagos, we need to modify things so that we can work. That is why this art is truly mid-water long line fishing.' I sold the fishing art as one that is selective since we fish in the morning for a few hours and check the lines quickly unlike industrial long line boats that drag lines for long periods. These were very good points. He finally gave me some observations, but nothing more. So, I then had suggestions from all four non-fishing PMC sectors.

Don Antonio's account shows that his befriending of the PMC ultimately hinged upon obtaining the GNP's momentous endorsement, marked by his final 'spider web' strand which he strategically saved for last. More importantly, Don Antonio's awareness of the GNPS' reservation with the pilot plan proposal (e.g. concern over

semantics and the core argument that the pilot plan still involves a harmful long line method) prompted him to invite the GNPS on a long-term partnership at sea – as the final interview excerpt illustrates:

> By the time of the PMC's January 2011 meeting, my simple mid-water long line fishing fieldwork report had become a well-researched document, filled with antecedents, methods, etc. My project was a big folder; it wasn't just a piece of paper. Then, I used my tongue to sell the pilot plan proposal, accentuating the various concerns from the PMC voting members I had previously spoken with and how the project accounts for those concerns. Do you see how I befriended the enemy? My final spider web string was to tell the PMC that we [fishermen] can't auto-regulate ourselves and that we needed the GNPS to regulate our pilot plan (January 2014).

Don Antonio chose to subvert the PMC's authority by playing it against itself as opposed to contesting notions of the PMC's credibility and functionality forcefully. He did so by sidestepping issues of jargon (e.g. 'long line' vs. mid-water long line) and incorporating the GNPS' authoritative role as an external pilot plan appraiser.

The fruit of Don Antonio's labour was the PMC's temporary approval of a yearlong mid-water long line fishing pilot plan from October 2012 to October 2013 with the condition that technical data gathered (e.g. by-catch type and quantity) over that time would indicate whether or not the practice was deemed environmentally sustainable. Don Antonio's snaring of PMC users' approvals thus succeeded in securing a possible long-term mid-water long line fishing future. Yet, as he explained to me, a secondary snare was needed to sustain the former. The following section illustrates Don Antonio's agentive capacity to influence fishermen's short-term behaviour when on land and attitudes about mid-water long line fishing – and how such behaviour, in turn, impacts the long-term sustainability of mid-water long line fishing in the GMR.

Don Antonio commits to growing 'grassroots' sustainability among his fishermen peers

My continued conversations with Don Antonio at the wharf and in his home focused on his on-going development of the current mid-water long line pilot plan. He explained that the pilot plan's probationary nature allowed the GNPS to send on-board observers to monitor closely fishermen's practices, fishing locations and by-catch treatment. This meant that fishermen's short-term mid-water long line fishing malpractice (e.g. inhumane by-catch release) would certainly jeopardize the GNPS' long-term approval of the pilot plan. Thus, Don Antonio began working to motivate fishermen to embody behaviours at sea that the GNPS considers ecologically 'sustainable.' Specifically, Don Antonio explained that by-catch data was the key point of statistical concern impacting on the GNPS' long-term pilot plan approval – and that fishermen's use of biodegradable hooks would contribute toward offsetting environmental concerns.

Thus, Don Antonio cast a series of lines to improve the ethos of his pilot plan's implementation. He began by organizing an inter-sectorial workshop that hooked various groups of GMR users [e.g. the GNPS; the conservation-science sector, namely Conservation International; Ecuador's National Institute of Fishing (NIF)]. The workshop's overarching aim was to show the GNPS that COPROPAG's membership is actively modifying fishing practices so that they are compatible with the GNP's ecological expectations. Specifically, Don Antonio explained that the workshop's two-pronged agenda was for fishermen to learn how to use a GPS device and how to release mid-water long line fishing by-catch properly. The latter is of particular importance since the pilot plan's long-term certainty hinges upon convincing fishermen to forego their embedded tendencies to kill by-catch and to proselytize them to adopt a performativity in line with the GNP's eco-political vision of 'sustainability.'[209]

[209] Don Antonio admitted that many fishermen continue to treat by-catch inhumanely, which he claims is because they were taught to kill sharks generations ago and before the salience of

Upon my invitation to and arrival at the workshop, I quickly shuffled into the room, sat on the periphery and prepared to record portions of the proceedings as I had received approval from a cooperative leader to do so. I listened to hours of banter among fishermen, GPS usage lectures, by-catch handling protocol, and fishermen's verbal commitment to grow the cooperative's solidarity. What I took away from the day's affairs was what I had expected: Don Antonio's voluble performance and content-filled presentation offered a compelling argument to procure the pilot plan permanently and for fishermen to willingly submit to the GNPS' management of it. His emceeing of the workshop instilled hope for a bright mid-water long line fishing future, culminating in the following appeal to unite combatant marine users with conciliatory language:

> We are all invited to be here today since mid-water long line fishing isn't just for some of us [GNP-approved pilot plan fishers]. The fishing art is for the cooperative. We are making a covenant today and we will see it through. (March 2014)

Yet, his predictable message echoed the propitious language I had heard at other official forums discussing fishing futures, which seemingly creates minimal change to the status quo. My evaluation of the workshop affirmed ways GNPS-fishermen relations and rhetoric had been described to me previously. However, my continued reflection upon Don Antonio's leadership and steering of mid-water long line fishing futures revealed that he is indeed concerned with re-making fishermen's image as a collective assembly responsive to and capable of adhering to the GNP's local interpretations of sustainability (which are derivatives of global notions of the same). Achieving that task will likely motivate the GNP to trust that fishermen's performativities are not ephemeral, but worthy of being conditioned over time. In other words, Don Antonio's spearheading of the inter-sectorial workshop allowed

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sustainability discourse in Galápagos. Consequently, many fishermen today do not recognize sharks' valuable role in the GMR's eco-systems, but instead view them as ocean pests.

him to incrementally tighten fishermen's hold on short-term development of mid-water long line fishing proceedings.[210]

Noticeably absent from the workshop was Gustavo whom, despite his integral presence in conservation-science studies, typically declines involvement in the cooperative's [COPROPAG's] organized proceedings. I visited him at his home following the workshop where I found him lying with his wife and kids on the cool tile floor. He welcomed me and motioned that I sit on the couch to watch the final portion of a romantic comedy playing on TV. As I picked up on the film's storyline, I thought about the importance of the day's workshop and the irony that Gustavo, one of the few licensed and GNPS-approved mid-water long line fishers, who participated in the pilot plan's first year, opted to watch movies rather than contribute to a dialogue that many fishers considered to impact greatly on the mid-water long line fishing futures. Then, as the movie reached its climax, Gustavo jumped to his feet and pulled his wife up into a passionate kiss, mimicking the on-screen drama. She laughed as their romance lit the room and captivated the gazes of the kids who were folded upon each other and in the couch. My heart melted a bit, knowing that Gustavo's time at sea limits his opportunities to demonstrate his love for his wife and for her to receive those caresses that I imagine she misses so dearly while he is away. The movie ended and Gustavo and I went to sit on the porch.

These portraits suggest that while Gustavo excels at performing the roles of gatekeeper, expert and watchdog when brokering labour conservation-based contracts, he does not display an affinity to mediate and hustle the PMC's technical design of mid-water long line fishing (or fishing conditions generally, for that matter) as does Don Antonio. The inverse is also true since Don Antonio's performative display indicates that he prioritizes establishing a grassroots network among local fishermen, regardless of whether those efforts garner international

[210] I came to realize, during a conversation with Iván, that Don Antonio sacrificed weeks of wages fishing at sea to organize these workshops and to put his plan (e.g. to hook the GNPS', NIF's and CI's pilot plan support) in motion.

fame or financial compensation as Gustavo intends when networking with visiting scholars and serving as a broker and watchdog of their projects. In this light, the data show that grassroots campaigns require a multi-faceted commitment to establishing a 'roots' network (e.g. Gustavo's participation in COPROPAG meetings, fishermen's solidarity in developing fishing futures) in order for the 'grass' (e.g. the mid-water long line pilot plan) to sprout. Grassroots sustainability projects among Galápagos fishermen, then, require fishermen's collective commitment to growing sustainable social roots in order to achieve 'sustainable' fishing futures.

In Conclusion

Artisanal fishermen employ performativities of sustainability at Pelican Bay and its surroundings to contest and sidestep GMR legislation and marine users' rights that would otherwise not be possible at sea. Fishermen have intentionally entangled themselves with prominent PMC social actors in Puerto Ayora spaces as a means to ease their precarious livelihoods and to contest the GNP's ambitious conditions on their fishing materials and practices. But they have done so with different identities such as icon, expert and scientist, as well as roles, such as gatekeeper, technician, mediator, broker, watchdog and hustler. In Gustavo's case this involved linking himself with the conservation-science sector and re-making himself as an integral member of their ecological studies and projects. Don Antonio similarly entangled himself with PMC leaders as a means to contest, to counter, to sidestep and the PMC's power matrix that binds fishermen to GMR legislation and with local authorities. In other words, fishermen have managed to subvert the conditioning of their precarious conditions in nuanced ways despite PMC actors' attempts to deactivate fishermen's agency to do so. In the process, fishermen have re-emerged as protagonists in Galápagos' eco-political scripts on land, which is a noteworthy shift since they historically have been subjected to stigmas associated with binary sets of social identities (e.g. predator vs. protector, opportunistic vs. prudent) that permeate Galápagos' rigid land-sea divide.

Gustavo's story illustrates that 'doing sustainability' involves roles that not all actors are willing or capable of performing. Gustavo's mastery of fishing materiality and expertise as a boat captain in Galápagos' waters earns him a reputation among conservation-science leaders as an expert shark handler and thus indispensable to conservation-science projects. In this way, many fishermen demonstrate abilities to transcend subordinate performative roles in conservation-science performances at sea. Yet, their performative roles – at least regarding critiques of Butlerian performativity, such as Rothenberg's (2006) notions of 'strong' and 'weak' agency – are often non-confrontational since they do not directly contest their financial precarity by facing the GNPS' and PMC's control of fishing alternatives head-on. Fishermen like Gustavo instead befriend project leaders since doing so passively is more likely to achieve financial gain than challenging the authority's abrasively. Therefore, displays of 'weak' agency commonly secure diversified income flows for fishermen and their families. However, they do little to develop the fishing sector's long-term rights nor do they upend the PMC's control of marine resource governance.

Don Antonio's story reveals that his eco-political resistance validated the PMC's authoritative role (as evidenced by his seeking of the PMC's leadership's collective endorsements) as means to contest fishermen's rights to nuanced fishing materiality (e.g. mid-water long line rig design) and thereby the conditioning of fishermen's precarious livelihoods at sea. His 'strong' agency and performative display offers two major contributions. Firstly, his performativity shows that fishermen do not need to overtly contest the PMC's apparent credibility, power and authority to design, dictate and decree natural resources rights to GMR users. Don Antonio's petition for GNPS' on-board observers to oversee their pilot plan practices recognizes that fishermen (or any Galápagos sector for that matter) should not be tasked with auto-regulating 'sustainability' standards. Moreover, his subversive tactics reveal that fishermen generally are able to sidestep the PMC's 'sustainability' structure without having to resort to violence or threats, which has been part of fishermen's unsavoury reputations. This approach resonates with Scott's (1989)

notion of 'everyday forms of resistance' that argues that those living precarious lives indeed have the agency to apprehend the conditions and conditioners of their precarity using weapons of resistance at their disposal. Such resistance can be nonviolent and as in the case, of Don Antonio, take the form of a loophole, such as section 8.1.1.2 in the GNP's Management Plan (GNP, 1998).

Secondly, Don Antonio's performativity resonates with and supports anthropological critiques of development and globalization discourses (e.g. Escobar, 1995; Smyth, 2011) that call into question ways global actors assume local actors do not have the agency to contribute to the strategic design and implementation of 'sustainability' structures. Don Antonio's performativity on land indeed adds depth to said discourses since his subversive strategy aggressively mechanized the pilot plan conditions and conditioning – much like the processes in which global actors (e.g. the CDRS, Conservation International) have designed and implemented 'sustainability' programs in Galápagos previously. In other words, Galápagos fishermen are able to entangle themselves into the PMC's eco-political nexus in a similar fashion to how global actors have infiltrated and become entangled with local actors in Galápagos and globally. These contributions affirm that fishermen's performativities are not bound to boat spaces at sea since fishermen employ their agency across GMR and GNP spaces. Additionally, fishermen's capacity to entangle themselves with the GNP/PMC peacefully reveals that they are not relegated to aggressive attacks from the eco-political fringe.

In this light, it is short-sighted to type cast fishermen as only displaying predatory behaviours and dispositions as it is similarly unimaginative to consider that fishermen employ uniform performativities. In fact, Gustavo's social networking and Don Antonio's subversive tactics reveal that fishermen's performativities are nuanced, textured and surprising. Yet, the range of fishermen's performativities commonly seeks to subvert the GNP's aggressive attempts to program their artisanal options and financial futures, which fishers have done, by challenging the PMC's top-down 'sustainability' framework as a means to continue functioning as a

productive and sustainable economic sector. In this light, these ethnographic portraits together position the next chapter to appraise how the three fishermen (e.g. Gustavo, Don Antonio, Anthrax) approach their vocational sustainability amid the fishing sector's unpredictable access to the GMR's natural resources. Their varied vocational trajectories reveal that fishermen are not limited to performing subordinate roles in Galápagos' eco-political sphere, but that they are able to manufacture escapes from their precarious fishing futures. In this way, the chapter explores ways mid-water long line fishermen seek to maintain the continuity of their artisanal livelihoods and identities in the short-term, midrange and over the long-term – as well as reasons why they are willing to sacrifice their fishing livelihoods altogether.

SEVEN

Fishy Futures:
Fishermen Make Ends Meet Via Diverse Vocational Trajectories

Chapter Abstract

Fishermen's performativities do not occur evenly and with similar political effect. In this regard, the chapter extends Butlerian (1990, 1999, 2009b) notions of performativity to consider how pilot plan fishermen employ versions of what Rothenberg (2006) describes as 'strong' and 'weak' performativities. This conceptual framing contributes to sustainability literature, and particularly that on the Galápagos context, because it reveals that pilot plan fishermen are not bound to ways co-management literature commonly essentialise their agency as uniform and antagonistic to ways the GNP's Management Plans and the PMC's policy development are implemented (e.g. Hearn, 2008; Castrejón and Charles, 2013). Mid-water long line fishermen instead account for life's hardships and daily uncertainties by resiliently modifying their vocational trajectories in and apart from the fishing sector. I draw here on the vocational futures of three pilot plan fishermen to explore varied ways in which they deal with their inconsistent income by employing performativities over the long-term, mid-range and short-term. Some fishermen are observed to sacrifice their daily interaction with the sea by moving their livelihoods onto land in order to negotiate fishing rights over the long-term. Some consider leaving the archipelago and its legislative mess entirely to pursue fishing careers elsewhere. And, some persist in fishing, but in the context of increased prohibition and regulation, they put their safety at risk in order to provide for their families' well-being and as a means to maintain the fishing sector's marginal eco-political foothold. Therefore, in the context of the GNP's attempts to protect the archipelago's eco-systems, fishermen enact a range of 'strong' and 'weak' performativities to make ends meet – including what I describe as a kind of 'latent' performativity that lies dormant until the circumstances require fishermen to assert their agency forcefully and/or subversively.

An Introduction

This chapter problematizes Butlerian notions of performativity (e.g. 1990, 1999, 2009b) that generally assume performative acts occur uniformly and with similar political effect. It does so by critically interrogating the vocational trajectories of three mid-water long line fishermen (e.g. Don Antonio, Gustavo, Anthrax) and considers how their performativities illustrate fishermen's long-term, mid-range and immediate attempts to sustain the continuity of their fishing-derived livelihoods. These accounts illustrate that fishermen employ various forms of what Rothenberg (2006) describes as 'weak' and 'strong' performativities, which refer to the political effect of actors' agentive displays (see chapter three). In some cases, such as Gustavo's, fishermen's performativities involve attempts to escape the precarious social consequences that result from abiding by the GNP's authority at sea. Yet, other fishers like Don Antonio dive directly into the eco-political nexus of marine governance and manoeuvre to loosen the eco-political entanglements that strangle fishermen's freedoms to choose when and how to fish, which occurs by unravelling the eco-political knot from its core. In many other cases, fishermen like Anthrax display an apparent willingness to endure the provisionality of life from the social fringe at sea – which certainly involves performances of strength and prowess – yet, they seldom involve strong performative displays that lead to political effect, such as Don Antonio's subverting of the GNP's authority in the context of PMC forums and legislation development. This conceptual framing adds to sustainability literature by showing that actors contest and resist their precarity by employing multiple performativities and to various extents.

This chapter's first ethnographic account depicts Don Antonio's decision to exchange his mid-water long lines for the lines of social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, which he has developed to interconnect Puerto Ayora's fishermen and other actors concerned with Galápagos' fisheries. Don Antonio's resolve to grow COPROPAG's membership's solidarity and to develop its long-term capacity to collaborate with the PMC required him sacrificing his daily interaction in and with

the sea.[211] The second account describes Gustavo's decision on whether or not to leave Galápagos and its fishing sector completely in order to join a global shark monitoring study that resulted from his interfacing with conservation-science actors at Pelican Bay. Gustavo's performativity illustrates a mid-range (e.g. one to four years) attempt to obtain economic stability. The third account explores how the GNP's limits on fishing technologies disrupts Anthrax's daily fishing practices. The story suggests that many fishermen deal with the pilot plan's precarious work conditions and unpredictable income by risking their safety at sea while clinging to the hope that their efforts will cover their families' basic needs.

The chapter suggests that the GNP's aggressive sustainability standards are problematic (when implemented over the long-term) since they seldom address fishermen's needs to deal with the diverse realities and needs of daily living. More importantly, it points to a realization that pilot plan fishermen, in many cases, are prompted to radically alter their livelihoods since they cannot or do not want to keep pace with fragility and precarity of the GNP's sustainability standards. In this light, fishermen's notions and translations of sustainability are often incompatible with global versions of the same. Therefore, it is wrong to assume that Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen (or local actors generally, for that matter) are willing to endure disruptions to their artisanal histories, especially since sustainability interventions in Galápagos typically fall short of providing for the continuity of daily life over the long-term.

[211] COPROPAG is the acronym used in Galápagos to denote Santa Cruz Island's fishing cooperative, referred to locally as *Cooperativa de Producción Pesquera Artesanal de Galápagos* (Quiroga et al., 2009). My translation of the name is: Galápagos' Cooperative of Artisanal Fishing Production.

When A Fisherman Goes Viral

Don Antonio's devotion to and role in leveraging the mid-water long line pilot plan's approval (see chapter six) suggests that his access to PMC members in Puerto Ayora enabled him to garner their pilot plan endorsements and in turn open a new fishing method in late 2013. However, this achievement was just the start of his long-term commitment to grow fishing into a reliable and fruitful economic sector. In fact, Don Antonio's long-term vision required a radical transformation. He exchanged his daily income and identity as a mid-water long line fisherman for that of a salaried COPROPAG torchbearer. His full-time employment at COPROPAG's Puerto Ayora offices allowed him to build the membership's solidarity through social media campaigns. He does so by designing and leading conservation-based workshops to promote 'best practices' at sea and by streaming Facebook and Twitter posts that capture steady viewership and spark fishermen's consciousness of COPROPAG's eco-political objectives. In essence, Don Antonio traded casting his lines at sea for lassoing his fishermen peers with the aim of them participating actively in COPROPAG's socio-ecological agendas. This section illustrates Don Antonio's vocational switch, its related outcomes and how it resonates with issues of continuity, precarity and performativities of sustainability. It is first relevant, however, to account briefly for the question: why was Don Antonio willing to drastically change his identity and give up his practices as a daily fisher?

For starters, Don Antonio recognized that the GNP's limitations of fishing allowances are unlikely to change. He expressed concern with fishermen operating with out-dated practices and technologies, facing a shrinking artisanal workforce, and not being prepared to transition into other vocations. Don Antonio's unrest resonates with that of COPROPAG manager Iván, who affirmed, "The GNP has not added a single fishing boat permit since 2001. So, many GNP-licensed artisanal fishermen are leaving the sector because they can't get permits to operate their own

boats" (February 2014).[212] Thus, a freeze on fishing boat berths coupled with the resulting exodus of labourers from fishing to tourism has infringed considerably upon fishermen's upward mobility within the sector.[213] This is because entry-level fishers are unlikely to become self-employed captains or boat owners until the GNPS adds additional berths or they can save the capital required to purchase existing fishing berths from other fishermen – which is difficult when earning entry-level wages. In other words, the GNP's reluctance to grow the fishing sector has indirectly fixated many hand line and lobster fishermen to those practices. Don Antonio explained that this scenario is precisely why he views the pilot plan as a lifeline since it allows fishermen a means to ease their financial precarity. He claims that developing mid-water long line fishing sustainably will provide for stable pelagic fish exportation to international markets without compromising fishermen's capacity to supply local tourists' and residents' fish demand.

In this regard, I came to view Don Antonio as an emerging headman poised to become COPROPAG's eco-political messiah. He seemed capable of uniting the cooperative's broken membership and leading them into an era of economic stability and professional cohesion with the GNPS. At the very least, I perceived that his performativity enabled him to become a protagonist in the PMC's authorship of GMR users' natural resources rights and behavioural cues. Don Antonio's vocational shift thus illustrates that fishermen are concerned with the long-term resiliency of their local histories and practices – to the point of sacrificing their daily interactions with the sea.

Near the end of my fieldwork, I began intersecting with Don Antonio at the Pelican Bay wharf on weekdays when he typically would be fishing at sea. I realized he changed his work schedule. Don Antonio relinquished his mid-water long line fishing labour at sea in order to interface with fishermen at COPROPAG's offices, at

[212] In addition to freezing fishing berths, the GNP is able to control numbers of fishing licenses, which it has done distributing them only to fishermen's children and not residents without fishing lineage.
[213] This is because fishermen with positions of power are able to maintain hold of economic advantage.

the Pelican Bay wharf, and in other Puerto Ayora locales. This shift positioned him in spaces (e.g. the COPROPAG offices) and on a long-term course (e.g. salaried employment) to contest the GNPS' authoritative control. However, his *modus operandi* for COPROPAG to gain eco-political clout in PMC forums first required proselytizing fishermen in a likeness that GNP officials deem acceptable. Yet, unlike how he acted as a lone wolf when taking on the PMC representatives in his spearheading of the mid-water long line pilot plan (see chapter six), his tactic, this time, involved engaging social media forums, and particularly Facebook, to publicise issues relevant to fishermen's daily lives. Accordingly, Don Antonio limited his physical presence to Puerto Ayora, yet expanded his domain of agency and its associated eco-political reach to Facebook's imagined communities. In this way, he employed what Rothenberg (2006) describes as 'strong' performativity. He did so by broadcasting vivid daily reminders of fishermen's inherent rights, artisanal aptitudes and embedded relationships with and in the sea. His aggressive goal was to replace fishermen's reputations as being detached, unaware and irrelevant GMR users with a new set of reputations, such as competent, involved and collaborative stake holders.

In a matter of weeks, Don Antonio's vocational shift launched him as the face of COPROPAG's new socioeconomic and eco-political campaign when he formed a Facebook page titled "Active High Seas Fishermen Partners of COPROPAG" [my translation] and began moderating its postings.[214] As of December 2015, the open group had over 3,345 members, which is more than triple the number of GNP-registered fishermen across Galápagos – and equivalent to over 1,000% the estimated amount of active fishermen as well as roughly 16% of Galápagos' total permanent resident population.[215] The Facebook group's online forum provides Don Antonio the domain of agency to influence Puerto Ayora residents' understanding of

[214] In Spanish: "*Pescador De Altura Socio Activo de Copropag*."
[215] This percentage [15.88%] is based in a comparison of the 3,345 Facebook followers to INEC's 2010 census of Galápagos' permanent residents, which at the time totalled 21,067 (INEC, 2010:67). Though not all members of the Facebook group reside in Galápagos, the data generally indicate the group's Facebook reach.

ways fishing practices and fishermen should be conditioned 'sustainability.' His posting span a range of foci, including: inter-sectorial collaboration, fishermen's pride in their work and archipelago home, participation in PMC-sponsored policy development, fishing-related announcements, and humour. Figure 18 illustrates a sample of posts, spanning a few days in August 2015.

Figure 18: **Netting Solidarity on Social Media** – (left): A C.S. Lewis quote on difficulties and destiny;[216] (right): An image informs of the day's tide schedules and wishing fishermen a happy Thursday.[217] (Source: Author, August 2015)

The first image demonstrates Don Antonio's appeal to pathos in building lines of connection amongst Galápagos fishermen, their families and those interested in (supporting) Galápagos fisheries. It borrows a C.S. Lewis quote to advocate a commitment to enduring life's difficulties in pursuit of extraordinary destinies and is situated in the context of a young boy looking out from a boat. The subtext clearly

[216] The C.S. Lewis quote reads (my translation): 'Difficulties prepare common people for extraordinary destinies."

[217] A tide chart is included on the left side of the image while a message on the right reads (my translation): 'Good wind… Good seas… Good fishing. Happy Thursday."

resonates with notions of precarity presented in chapter two and discussed hitherto such as how many fishermen described to me their struggles to deal with the GNP's unpredictable fishing allowances, which is similar to what Bevernage (2008) describes as a life of 'provisionality.' The second image offers fishermen an encouraging message and a tidal chart to help prepare for their journeys to sea. These two Facebook posts illustrate Don Antonio's subtle attempts to attract interest to the Facebook user group, which allow him slowly to reshape fishermen's (and other GMR-related actors') attitudes and thus to grow solidarity among COPROPAG's membership base. Yet, Don Antonio's posts also illustrate his efforts to build the fishing sector's ethos. Figure 19 illustrates his focus on COPROPAG's capacity to perform 'sustainability' collaboratively with other GMR users and visiting scholars, which occurs as fishermen feature in technical studies and legislative processes.

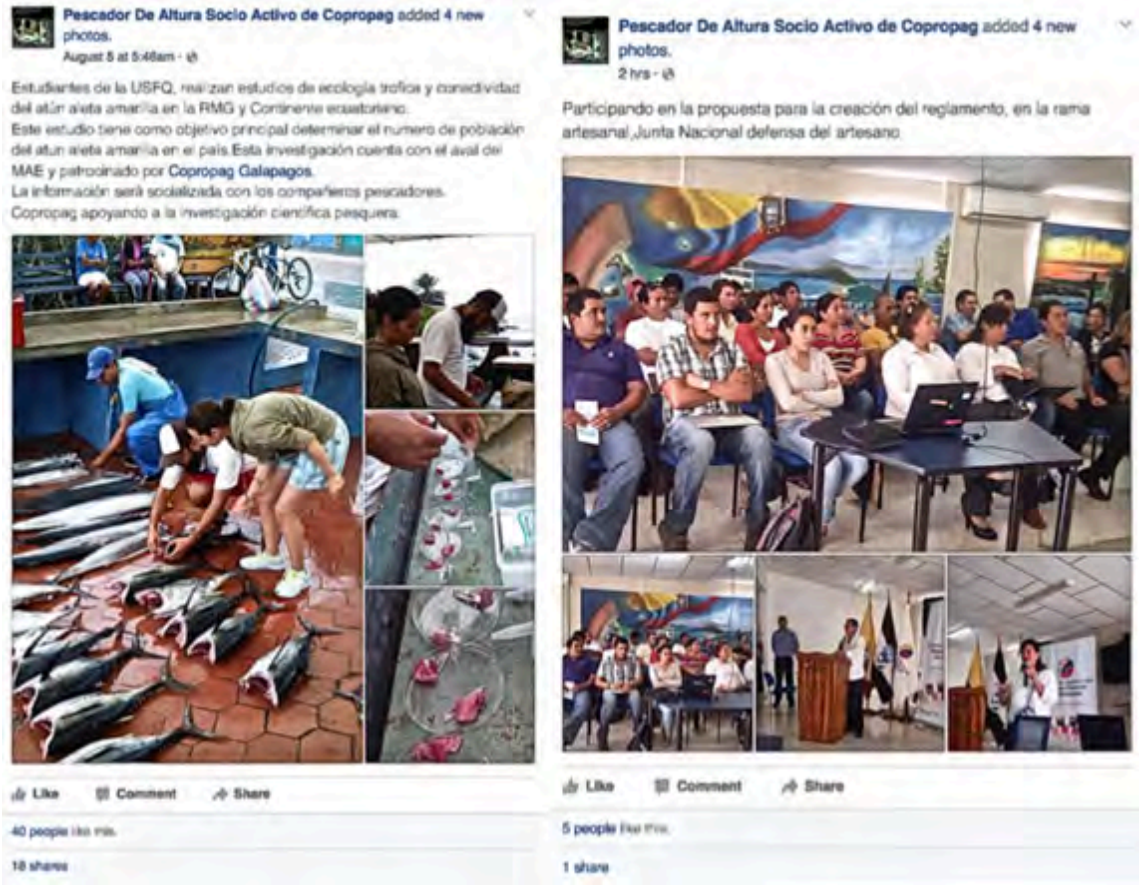


Figure 19: **Advocating Collaboration on Social Media** – (left): Photos showing COPROPAG's participation in and support of a University of San Francisco (Quito) students' study that monitors the country's yellow-fin tuna population;[218] (right): Photos showing COPROPAG's participation in and support of creating a national law that benefits artisans.[219] (Source: Author, August 2015)

These Facebook posts reveal Don Antonio's twofold objective. On one hand, he strives to change fishermen's (and other GMR users') consciousness about the value of participating in official inter-sectorial studies and forums. On the other hand, he

[218] The message in the photo reads (my translation): "USFQ students do trophic and connectivity ecological studies on yellow-fin tuna in the GMR and Ecuadorian continent. This study's principal objective to determine the yellow-fin tuna population numbers throughout the country. This investigation counts on MAE's endorsement and COPROPAG Galápagos' sponsorship. The information will be disseminated with the fishermen. COPROPAG supports this scientific fishing investigation."

[219] The message in the photo reads (my translation): "Participating in the proposal to create a rule, in the artisanal branch – National Council in defence of artisanal workers."

aims to alter fishermen's behaviour by hooking them to participate in COPROPAG's campaigns and to abide by the GNP's list of permitted fishing practices. These objectives together correspond with Bourdieu's (1990) notion of *habitus* and how one's dispositions are inextricably linked to one's mental and social structures. This is an important correlation when considering that fishermen's social networks – at sea and on Facebook – are imagined. For instance, they may fish in proximity to one another at deep sea, yet never talk or interact. Also, they frequently rely upon social media and cell phone technology to communicate with each other when within signal of port towns. In this way, Don Antonio's domain of agency via Facebook enables him to communicate with mid-water long line fishermen dispersed across the GMR. This virtual social structure subtly provides Don Antonio with the terrain to influence fishers' consciousness and behaviours – whether fishers are present in COPROPAG's routine workshops or not.

After months of following Don Antonio's stalwart dedication to building the COPROPAG's membership's solidarity (online and in meetings), I was perplexed to learn of his general resignation to a bleak outlook on long-term fishing futures as the pilot plan's yearlong probationary period drew to a close. He explained that fishermen should face a realization that the nature of Galápagos' hardship at sea and in PMC meetings means that GMR users collectively share an ephemeral confidence in the PMC's ability to design and implement socio-economic futures equitably. He explained:

> Look, [life in] Galápagos is uncertain. My experiences have taught me that it is better to deal with the [Galápagos' eco-political] system by living day-to-day. We see that those managing Galápagos' residents and eco-systems operate erratically and favour tourism over fishing. For instance, it's entirely possible that the GNPS comes to our cooperative tomorrow and prohibits us from all future mid-water long line fishing. We fishermen would be forced to abandon our practice and to make ends meet as we always do. My advice to fishermen is to keep growing an eternal hope in long-term fishing futures, but to live a

> day-to-day lifestyle because we don't know what the [eco-political] scenario will be like tomorrow and especially in 2, 10 or 20 years.

Don Antonio's comment offers several points of analysis. Firstly, it denotes his perception that the GNP's potential disruption to fishermen's mid-water long line livelihoods can be so catastrophic that his peers are better off enduring the provisionality of daily life in Galápagos' precarious waters [at sea and in PMC forums], which has been the case for fishermen since the GNP's 1998-implemented Management Plan has made fishing allowances unpredictable.[220] He believes that by enduring the provisionality of daily living over the long-term, fishermen will one-day break through into an era of stable mid-water long line fishing. This outlook corresponds, of course, with the message in Figure 50, which Don Antonio shared with COPROPAG's online followers. Secondly, it confirms widespread views across PMC sectors that fishermen live by a *carpe diem* mentality and that they are not capable of acting 'sustainably' over the long-term.[221] Thirdly, and of greatest importance, Don Antonio's comment begs the question: why does he continue to grow solidarity among COPROPAG's divided membership if he is resigned to a vision of fishermen's fleeting eco-political footing? A possible answer to that question, drawing upon the insight of a WWF fisheries officer Leonardo, is that Galápagos fishermen take pride in their resiliency to overcome any external circumstance –

[220] Artisanal fisherman, Clovis, explained that he once relied heavily on his sea cucumber fishing earnings, but that he is no longer able to do so since the GNP has stalled opening the fishery. He claims that the GNPS' control and fisheries closures have meant fishermen's suffering. He argues, "If we suffer, then conservation is going well. They [the GNPS] want to be able to call us fishermen together, give us a juice and a sandwich, and teach us about some issue or process related to keeping fisheries like sea cucumber closed another year. I keep waiting for it to open and suffer while I do." (October 2013)

[221] This notion was a common thread among my fieldwork interviews. Firstly, a CDRS fisheries director made the point, "Fishermen's mentality is *carpe diem*. Seize the day! The message in Galápagos for decades has been 'Conserve, conserve, conserve.' But, it hasn't changed fishermen's behaviours" (January 2014). Secondly, WWF fisheries officer Leonardo communicated, "Many fishermen don't think about the future. They live day-to-day. And don't consider what and where they will fish next year" (November 2013). Thirdly, GNPS guide and business owner Tobias explained that many fishermen working as sailors on his tourism boat in past years would leave when the sea cucumber season started, saying "It was fast money and they went for it. After selling their catch, they would call me and ask me to go pick up their ID at the strip club because they still owe $300. They wanted lots of money to enjoy as soon as possible" (January 2014). In this light, many fishermen are concerned with satisfying their immediate needs.

whether rough weather or economic strain – and are not intimidated by the challenges and setbacks encountered along the way.[222]

In this light, Don Antonio's use of social media as the domain of agency has equipped him to deal with fishermen's day-to-day precarity by addressing the disruptions to fishermen's lives one at a time. His story extends chapter six's argument (that land and sea are both meaningful terrains in which to look at fishermen's performativities of sustainability) by showing that his agentive reach to fishermen's imagined communities on social media actually permeates the land-sea binary common to sustainability literature (e.g. Edgar et al., 2004; Davos et al., 2007). More importantly, Don Antonio's shift from daily fisherman to daily Facebook moderator exhibits that fishermen are consciously committed to extending the long-term continuity of artisanal livelihoods. The following ethnographic story similarly looks at how fishermen make sense of securing a reliable future. In particular, Gustavo's hooking of a dream job and his opportunity to take on a four-year labour contract are context in which to critically interrogate how performativities of sustainability also occur with mid-range goals in mind.

'Catch and Release': Gustavo's 'Big Fish'

Gustavo crafted a stable livelihood by leveraging his captainship at sea and interpersonal communication skillset at the Pelican Bay wharf to gain economic advantage over his peers. Such leverage included outmanoeuvring his brother at hauling in a lucrative swordfish as well as holding ransom GNPS observers' biological needs at sea, and gaining an upper hand in hooking conservation-based temporal contracts at the wharf (see chapters five and six).[223] This chapter extends Gustavo's vocational storyline by illustrating how his success at brokering

[222] He further explained, "I see that what is inside the fishermen is stronger than the external circumstances. Taking action is part of resilience. You have to do something now to benefit later. This is why most fishermen endure the hard times as their own display of resilience. (November 2013)

[223] Chapter six shows that Gustavo's resilient performativity of sustainability involves his sidestepping the precarious conditions of his mid-water long line fishing labour by diversifying his income flows.

conservation-based contracts netted him a dream job. His decision to take on this opportunity would drastically change his family's: sociocultural identity as a fishing family, uncertainty when making ends meet monthly, and rootedness in Galápagos' social fabric. The following story unpacks that scenario and explains how Gustavo came to choose between two futures – one that satisfies his professional aspirations and another that provides for his family's basic needs. I argue that Gustavo's agentive display, in this case, lies somewhere between what Rothenberg (2006) describes as 'strong' and 'weak' performativities. This is because he does not directly subvert the GNP's authority. However, he implicitly shows that he is not shackled by the PMC's 'sustainable' design of fishing livelihoods and futures.

What initially started as an impersonal relationship with Gustavo grew into a close bond between him, his wife Patricia and I. Our developing friendship led to a series of intimate conversations that informed me of how Gustavo's dedication to interface with conservation-science professionals culminated in him receiving a one-year contract offer to work aboard the Ocearch ship,[224] sailing the world as an expert 'shark handler.'[225] In other words, Gustavo's steady commitment to fishing for conservationists working in Galápagos and the diversified labour opportunities they provide resulted in him hooking the illusive 'big fish' of labour contracts that many artisanal fishermen dream of, yet are unable to haul in. His efforts also highlight that most Galápagos fishermen typically serve as their family units' primary wage earners and thus bear the burden of stringing together various lines of fishing-related income.

Gustavo explained that his 'dream job' offer first formalized when an internationally reputable scholar from Spain, based at a California university, met with and prompted CDRS fisheries leaders to recommend a skilled local fisherman to join Ocearch's crew for a two-week shark-tagging expedition at specific archipelago

[224] Caterpillar sponsors the Ocearch expedition. Additional information can be found at www.ocearch.org.
[225] Gustavo's tasks included hooking the shark and spraying it down with water while the scientists tagged it.

coordinates.[226] According to Gustavo, his name was atop the list of candidates since he had collaborated on similar projects previously. The scientist sought Gustavo out at the Pelican Bay wharf and offered him a weeklong contract to which he accepted. Gustavo explained that his prowess and embedded knowledge as a fishermen impressed the Ocearch team during the trip to the extent that they petitioned for him to join the technical team on a one-year contract. The pending offer was for Gustavo to continue working for the shark-tagging documentary, as it would relocate to Chile, pass through the Panama Canal and move on to Brazil before ending in Australia. The tender allowed Gustavo one week to accept the post and prepare for his Galápagos departure – which would require him obtaining his first passport, settling his financial accounts with his Pelican Bay lenders, and organizing his home affairs (which included hurried plans of relocating his wife and children to stay with extended family on the Ecuadorian continent). The job change would drastically disrupt his family's solidarity, daily routines, and general familiarity with what the future holds. This story sadly highlights global actors' tendency to treat local actors' social networks and responsibilities as disposable – such as Gustavo being afforded one week to negotiate his family's stability prior to his yearlong absence. In this way, Galápagos' conservation-minded agendas often regard fishermen's social stability as secondary to academic and managerialist considerations, which implicitly typecasts fishermen as assuming and employing 'weak' performativities.

I had the fortune as Gustavo's friend and as a researcher to listen to him (at Pelican Bay and in his home) conjecture the possible outcomes that would result from his staying in Galápagos with his family or leaving them to follow his dream of voyaging the world. I contemplated Gustavo's opportunity as the following field note indicates:

[226] The vessel is the stage for a shark-tagging documentary filmed in Galápagos and globally. The tagging process includes using the vessel's large mechanical arm to raise hooked sharks out of the sea and onto a semi-submerged platform. One person holds the shark's tail down while another covers its eyes. Then, scientists tag the shark and collect data within a two-minute window before it is released.

> *What a fortunate opportunity for Gustavo! But will his family support his decision to go, and, if so, how will they cope over the long-term? How will this opportunity enable and limit his growth as a person/fisher/husband/father/captain? How will this change of career affect his future fishing and relationship with Galápagos' waters? Does he hope to return?* (January 2014)

Gustavo lamented his limited international travel opportunities and having battled urges previously to leave Galápagos entirely in search of a romanticized marine-related job elsewhere. He described the trip as an once-in-a-lifetime opportunity that combined various elements, including: navigating multiple oceans, teaming with an international crew of experts, and earning a handsome wage.[227] More importantly, he commented that the contractual arrangement provided him with the likelihood of a four-year extension as well as the chance to relocate his family to the project's California headquarters for the study's final four years.[228] Accordingly, the dream job would enable him to provide for his family's basic and immediate needs such as food, shelter, health care, and quality education – at least for one and up to four years.

To be clear, Gustavo's consideration of the dream job hinged significantly on his faith in the four-year contract extension, though the contractual guarantee was not formal. In this regard, Gustavo's imagined socio-economic stability relied upon global actors' promise of the Ocearch expeditions' tenure. This brings to mind Berlant's (2011) notion that precarity is a condition of dependency in which one's future lies in someone else's hands. Therefore, Gustavo's future labour options all rest in someone else's hands. The GNP holds the right to cancel or to approve the mid-water long line pilot plan while the Ocearch expedition may similarly cut Gustavo's services after a probationary one-year contract. In other words, Gustavo faces a dilemma of choosing between two precarious labour options that may

[227] He explained that he would earn $5,000 monthly – far more than his $2,000 average monthly fishing wage.
[228] The contract extension assumes that Gustavo's first-year performance satisfies his boss' expectations.

terminate his role abruptly and send him back to the vocational drawing board. This kind of scenario is consistent with how globally constructed conservation agendas assume local actors are willing to adapt their lifestyles in accordance with 'sustainable' projects and interventions. Examples include the UN's MDGs, which promise certain outcomes but have minimal if any accountability to see them through (e.g. Bhattacharya & Ali, 2014; Loewe, 2012; Kanie et al., 2014). Therefore, Gustavo decision ultimately requires him to think provisionally since he cannot forecast when his contracts will come to an end or appear anew.

Gustavo communicated his vocational dilemma to many of his closest fishermen colleagues, who collectively advocated that he accept the post.[229] Discussing the issue with his wife was understandably an emotional ordeal and one that I observed. That dialogue came to a head one evening, shortly before I spun over to Gustavo's house on my bike ride home after attending my bi-weekly jiu jitsu class. Gustavo invited me in to join his wife Patricia and their kids as they huddled on the living room furniture. I quickly realized that I had stumbled upon a heartfelt discussion about the couple's marital future and the forms it may take. I quietly observed Gustavo reconcile his wife to the opportunity and its challenges by sitting with her on the couch, taking her hand and saying,

> "This job is an amazing opportunity that excites me. You are important to me. This is something I want to do and I need your support. There are great professional and economic benefits that will come to our family with this contract" (January 2014).

Gustavo thus grapples with making sense of and communicating his multiple social identities as seafarer, husband, and adventurer to his wife. He also has learned to manage how they intersect with and diverge from each other since he realizes that his adventurous spirit puts at risk his family's solidarity. In this way, Gustavo's accepting of the global voyage ritualizes and subverts several masculine

[229] One of Gustavo's peers advised him, commenting, "You should go. This opportunity won't come again in your lifetime." Another explained to me, "The trip is great for him, but sad for the family. I took a worldwide trip on a freighter when I was young. I know that it's hard to maintain love from afar. He'll likely lose his family, but it's worth it." (March 2014)

performances. For instance, his time away from Galápagos would undermine his capacity to perform (what local fishermen view) as the daily activities of being a father, provider and caretaker. Yet, at the same time, chasing after his dream job would earn him esteem from his fishermen peers.

Gustavo's rationale caused Patricia's puffy eyes to stream tears. She turned to me and replied,

> "If a bird wants to leave the nest, you can't control it. You have to let it spread its wings and fly. I can't keep him here in Galápagos like a caged-bird. I have to let him go and explore. But, I'm concerned with what he will experience and the women he'll meet. I'm willing to wait [for his return]; however, he may not come back to me. So how am I, his wife and baby's mother, going to sit here with the hope that he will return and that everything at that time will be well? I could do it, but I'm not ready for all the stress" (January 2014).

Her reference to Gustavo in the third person and her piercing eye contact positioned me as the audience for her concern. I was left speechless, sitting in my jiu jitsu training gi, contemplating the consequence of this employment decision on their family's future. I felt honoured to share in the raw, intimate interpersonal exchange. Gustavo then left the home to drink beer with neighbours on the street corner since the cauldron of emotions and cyclical dialogue exhausted him. I remained in the home to console Patricia and to pick up the pieces of her shattered dreams of being a woman and mother entangled in her partner's daily activities.

In the days that followed, Gustavo took action to meet certain contractual stipulations. I assisted processing his passport application and creating his first email account so that he could correspond with the expedition's administrators. As he and I walked Puerto Ayora's streets chasing paperwork, I contemplated how the 'once-in-a-lifetime' fishing expedition was context for Gustavo and Patricia's marital unease, but that the subplot was clearly the pressures impacting on Gustavo's prioritizing of being a fisherman and husband. The apparent assault on his social

performances involved risk-management: putting at risk either the social stability of his family unit or the likelihood that another dream job would one-day surface anew.

Beneath the superficial crisis that Gustavo faced with providing for his family, there was an undercurrent that spoke to broader implications of visiting scholars in Galápagos assume artisanal fishermen should come to grips with exogenous ideas of how care for the GMR and to what extent over the long-term. This became clear during a discussion over beers one starry night as Gustavo, his assistant Mario and I sat along a dusty road. Gustavo's work with the Ocearch crew became a discussion topic. I rushed home later that night to document the following conversation excerpt:

> Adam: [To Gustavo] So I overheard that some fishermen say that you helped conservationists to gather information on your recent trip, which may produce data that potentially limit your fishing.
>
> Gustavo: Conservationists! I got into an argument when drinking with the CDRS boss that hired me to work aboard the vessel. He is a foreigner to Galápagos. I asked him, 'Why do you protect Galápagos if it is ours?' He says, 'Well, in Europe we have lost all of these [fish] species and I want to ensure that doesn't happen here.' I responded, 'what the fuck do I care about what [species] you've lost in Europe? These are my islands! I am *Galapagueño*. You come here as a foreigner and put fishing bans on me. Go to hell, you son of a bitch. Go protect your own country, man!'
>
> A: And how did he respond?
>
> G: He said, 'But Gustavo, how will your fisheries be in 10 years?' I said, 'Why the fuck do you care? These are *our* islands.' You see, he did his postgrad or something and thinks he knows what's best for me. These [marine resources] are *our* fruit and provide us with a living. (February 2014)

Gustavo's comments illustrate that – even though fishers like him are willing to put on a conservation-based work uniform and even partner with global scientists visiting the archipelago – there exists a sharp critique among fishermen that conservation-science actors mistakenly think that they have the expertise to fashion fishers' livelihoods sustainably – or that they have the right to do so in the first place. In other words, Gustavo's decision to pursue the Ocearch contract demonstrates his willingness to perform a role integral to conservation and sustainability studies and in a way that makes himself relevant to global fisheries experts' work; yet, he nonetheless perceives the conservation-science workers' presence in and fascination with crafting Galápagos eco-systems in sustainable ways as – in his words – 'fucking' absurd. Global actors studying in Galápagos (e.g. Ocearch expedition managers, CDRS researchers) often imagine fishermen primarily as labourers (or foot soldiers) tasked with carrying out global conservation agendas. However, they often neglect to consider fishermen's daily worries and responsibilities as fathers, husbands and friends – which can be roles that are more demanding and real for a fishermen than those that slot into enabling studies of conservation and sustainability.

Ironically, Gustavo's performativity of 'sustainability' subverts global actors' managerialist authority since, on one hand, he enthusiastically subjects himself to stipulations of participating in the conservation-science sector's marine studies. Yet, on the other, he condemns the ethos of visiting scholars to swoop into Galápagos, to become chummy with GNP figureheads, and to program GMR users' allowances and practices despite their limited awareness of what it means to live and to earn a living from Galápagos' eco-systems. In this way, his performativity is not what Rothenberg (2006) would consider 'weak' since his actions are not entirely passive as evidenced by his overt challenging of his CDRS boss. However, it is neither 'strong' since Gustavo does not blatantly resist and subvert the CDRS and Ocearch studies since doing so would compromise his income. I suggest that Gustavo displays a 'latent' performativity, in the sense that it lies dormant or hidden until the

circumstances are suitable for him to employ it, which he does when and to the extent that it is necessary to accomplish his objectives. An example (see chapter five) is Gustavo subverting the GNP's 100-hook limit at key moments when the GNPS observers are inattentive or when he faces not turning a profit.

Gustavo's willingness to network among conservation-science actors provides him with a lifeline in which to transcend his precarious livelihood. In this case, the 'dream job' offer gave an escape from the constraining lines (e.g. the GNP's Management Plan) that strangle fishermen's well-being. It also shows Gustavo's readiness to look past his own eco-political morality, such as assisting CDRS researchers and potentially compromising fishing secrets, if it means being able to provide his family with long-term economic stability. However, when the captain's final call sounded for Gustavo to board the Ocearch vessel, he could not bear to uproot himself from his family and compromise its solidarity. The following field note documents Gustavo's decision to forego the 'once-in-a-lifetime' opportunity and to prioritize his family's well-being over his vocational dreams:

> Adam, I was all set to live my adventure. My wife even told me, 'Gustavo, just go to Chile.' She *really* meant it. But, my wife and kids started to cry when it was time for me to leave. I told my wife, 'Take our things and go live with your mother on the continent. I'll make lots of money on the boat.' But, I couldn't say goodbye to my baby girl. I could have boarded the boat if she were to have been already situated on the continent. But, I couldn't say goodbye to her. [For me], that's when this whole trip fell apart. But, Adam, I want you to send me an invitation so that I can visit you at the university in Hawaii and speak about life as an artisanal fisherman in this Galápagos mess. (February 2014)

The transcript shows that Gustavo was not willing to upend his family's well-being in the short-term even though doing so could allow him to meet its financial needs over a four-year period. He chose instead to endure the hazards of being a mid-water long line fisherman at deep sea and the inconsistent income flows associated with such labour. Therefore, Gustavo's story indicates that he and pilot plan fishermen like him may be capable of employing 'strong' performativities, such as orchestrating labour escapes from fishing, but that doing so is not necessarily a prudent decision. Gustavo chose to withhold his ambition and to continue to endure the stress of having GNPS observers regulate and condition his every move at deep-sea fishing so that he could experience each of his daughter's first steps and sounds around the house.

I had assumed that the Ocearch vessel's leaving Gustavo behind in Puerto Ayora would stall his enthusiasm to function as a gatekeeper and networker. Yet, he did not hesitate to hustle amidst Galápagos' 'sustainability game', which he did by casting another line via his petition that I arrange for him to visit the USA on an educational visa and give lectures at a university where I am affiliated. It seems that Gustavo cannot help but act as a broker, dealer and hustler of opportunities. His vacillating between being a fisherman and a 'fisher of men' allows him to deal with disruptions to his livelihood over the long-term as he tirelessly connects with and seeks benefits from global actors visiting Galápagos and the professional opportunities they bring. Doing so is one-day likely to achieve his sojourner goals by alternate circumstances; but, even if that is not the case his networking will enable the continuity of his non-fishing labour contracts in the GMR.

Gustavo's performativity is an important contribution to 'sustainability' discourse since understanding how local actors deal with disruptions and maintain continuity is paramount in speaking back to the 'sustainable development' processes and campaigns that seek to change local actors' identities, behaviours, and ways of knowing their environments. Gustavo is in fact a conscious actor, aware of visiting scholars' conservationist agendas, and willing to disguise that awareness if doing so

leads to particular advantage, which, in his case, is economic (see chapter one). Gustavo's performativity of sustainability is somewhat unusual since few pilot plan fishermen, at least based on my ethnographic experiences, are able to match his networking abilities among PMC individuals and capacity to attract marine-related job opportunities. Gustavo's story also shows that fishermen's performativities are not bound to traditional fishing spaces, practices and technologies. Yet, the reality is that most artisanal fishermen are indeed entangled with the practices and identities of daily fishing. That is precisely why the following ethnographic account of Anthrax's daily issues at sea is compelling, since his notion of continuity involves stringing together short-term fishing performances.

'Give Me Some Fuel…I Need One More Cast'

About fifteen mid-water long line fishermen went to sea routinely during my fieldwork. Gustavo's and Don Antonio's storytelling ability and networking performances attracted my interest and led me to critically interrogate their agency at sea and on land. Yet, I realized that their assertiveness and abilities to broker deals with PMC members are anomalies since most mid-water long line fishermen do not put themselves in positions to challenge and to engage with the PMC, GNP and visiting scholars formally or loudly. In other words, Gustavo and Don Antonio exhibit versions of 'strong' performativities whereas most of the mid-water long line fishermen that I observed simply endure the daily grind of fishing in the GMR's boundary waters. My observations of one such fisher named Anthrax shows that most pilot plan fishers' vocational trajectories involve steadying the pilot plan's course and enduring GNPS observers' on-board oversight. The story helps to understand how fishermen deal with disruptions to their daily lives and, more importantly, highlights that most pilot plan fishermen employ what Rothenberg (2006) describes as 'weak' performativities. This is because their concern with the immediate and short-term issues of daily life does not commonly lead to performative iterations of political effect, such as Don Antonio's apprehension of PMC legislation.

I first learned about Anthrax when listening to fishing stories at sea during times of respite. Gustavo enjoyed twisting tales of a motley group of Pelican Bay fishers that journey with him to the archipelago's boundary waters – marked by an array of comical nicknames, including: Anthrax, Booger-eater, Cockroach, and Machete. Anthrax's nickname captured my interest, which I learned he received as an adolescent because of the white deodorant residue that often framed his armpits. Anthrax captained another pilot plan boat and he often fished within eyesight from us. My only interaction with him at sea involved a perilous encounter. The incident illustrates that fishermen often overlook the long-term and mid-range trajectories of their livelihoods (as is the case with Don Antonio and Gustavo, respectively), as they focus on the micro aspects of sustaining a fishing livelihood, such as securing one more cast at sea.

My final fishing trip transpired as four boats [captained by Gustavo, Don Antonio, Fabian and Anthrax] moved on rumours that tuna were biting off of Pinta Island on the GMR's northern side. We descended upon the same fishing zone about 12-15 kilometres in diameter. Don Antonio hit runs of tuna on his first two days and headed back to port early with his icebox stuffed to its limit. Fabian did the same on the third day, leaving Gustavo and his assistant to fish within eyesight of Anthrax and his crew for two additional days – though the two boats never intersected during times of work and in spaces of anchorage. It was upon finishing our fifth day of fishing – some 60 nautical miles away from port – when Anthrax approached us as we were leaving for Puerto Ayora. He travelled with a three-man crew, including: his fishing assistant, the assistant's 15-year old son, and the owner of one of the boat's motors. Anthrax explained that his fuel tanks were nearly empty from constant patrolling of his outstretched mid-water long line. He asked for Gustavo's spare fuel so that he could cast his lines one last time while alone at sea. He also informed that he had exhausted his water and food supplies. Figure 20 illustrates the types of motors and fuel barrels that mid-water long line fishermen depend on to keep them from drifting off in the Pacific Ocean's currents.

Figure 20: **Fishing Motors and Fuel Barrels** – (above): Fishermen with fuel barrels at Pelican Bay wharf; (55): Two 75-horse power outboard motors.[230] (Photo credit: Author, November 2013)

Anthrax's plea was shocking. I knew that sails without a satellite phone, which is the only method of signalling for help from such a distance offshore. The perilous experience led me to question: what compels a fishing captain to decide to remain at sea beyond the provisional limits (e.g. fuel, food and water)? Anthrax's drive to increase profits certainly affected his decision. More importantly, I contemplated: what does Anthrax's surpassing of his fuel reserve limits say about fishermen's notions of sustainability and continuity?

[230] This photo indicates that some mid-water long line fishermen are willing to brave the high sea with smaller 75-horse power motors; however, most utilize 150-horse power motors.

For starters, his performativity is linked directly with the GNP's 'sustainable' structuring of fishing practices via its 1998-implemented Management Plan. This is because the GNP prohibits fishermen from developing their boats in ways that deviate from traditional definitions of what has been considered 'artisanal' in Galápagos (see: GNPS, 1999; Figure 2). For instance, GNPS observers explained that fishermen are not allowed to increase their boats and motors to industrial sizes since doing so would increase their capacity to remain at sea and thus have a greater ecological footprint on the GMR's fish stocks. Therefore, the GNP's conditioning of fishermen's materials and technologies to reflect 'artisanal' standards therein denies fishermen opportunities to prolong their fishing trips that start poorly or are at risk of not earning profits. Nevertheless, Anthrax subverted the GNP's artisanal limit by using borrowed fuel to remain at sea past his tanks' limit as he tried to cover his costs and potentially earn a profit.

What can be seen, then, is that fishermen like Anthrax travel far from port and for long periods in an effort to catch fish according to the pilot plan's 'sustainable' practices and limits. However, 'sustainability' standards are meant to disrupt Anthrax from going to sea, beyond the 'artisanal' limits of his small 75-horsepower motors and fuel tank capacity. Nonetheless, Anthrax subverts the GNP's 'artisanal' frameworks by relying on his network of peers at sea. Metaphorically speaking, Anthrax is able to slip through the very 'sustainable development' net that is supposed to catch him and to disrupt his movements.

Anthrax's decision to put at risk his and his crew's safety and to remain searching for fish on the fumes of borrowed fuel is a compelling example of how he employs a 'weak' performativity. Though Anthrax is able to overcome disruptions to the continuity of his deep-sea fishing, his agency does not produce a political effect that leads to systemic change, such as convincing the GNP to increase boat motor sizes and fuel reserve capacities. Instead, Anthrax ritualizes the status quo, which means that he continually finds himself precariously dependent upon his social networks

to make ends meet at sea, much like Berlant's (2011) notion of an others-dependency.

Yet, in a way, Anthrax's performativity does subvert the GNP's sustainable rules for pilot plan fishing since his networking allows him to surpass his fuel limits and to remain in fishing zones at deep sea for periods beyond what would otherwise be possible. In Anthrax's case, I infer that he does not consciously subvert the GNP's authority, but simply acts to maximize income. His willingness to wander the GMR's waters for fish resonates with Bauman's (2000:209) reference to Jacques Attali's notion that nomads travel "along roads of unknown direction and duration, seldom looking beyond the next turn or crossing; they need to concentrate all their attention on that small stretch of road which they need to negotiate before dusk." In the same way, Anthrax's story highlights that fishermen focus on the continuity of their short-term and immediate performances at sea – which can be as simple as a single casting of lines – as means to deal with the long-term precarity of the GNP's 'artisanal' conditions on their fishing practices. The livelihood trajectory of fishermen like Anthrax is thus a stark comparison to how previous sections depicted Gustavo planning for his long-term economic stability and Don Antonio committing to COPROPAG's membership's long-term solidarity. Such findings may very well help the GNP to re-conceptualize the design of and limits placed on fishing materials and technologies.

In Conclusion

The conservation-science sector's push to conserve Galápagos' ecological integrity since 1998 has interfered with the continuity of fishermen's traditional ways of knowing and interacting in and with the sea. The mid-water long line pilot plan has surfaced as an alternative method for fishermen to earn a living. Yet, even the pilot plan is now at risk. The GNP may determine any day that the pilot plan does not fold into its vision of marine governance and thus discontinue it altogether. Consequently, fishermen today endure precarious and provisional livelihoods.

While most mid-water long line fishermen continue to make ends meet via their journeys to deep sea, some have taken steps to resiliently press forward with alternative long-term and mid-range translations of sustainability.

Don Antonio's decision to exchange his fishing lines for the lines of social media demonstrates his knack for a bureaucratic performativity, which he succeeds at and embraces. His vocational trajectory problematizes ways sustainability literature portrays local actors as confined to functioning within a top-down management scheme. His 'strong' performativity shows that fishermen are conscious actors and capable of engendering social movements. Gustavo's instinct to fish for opportunity reveals his disposition to sidestep a dependence on catching and selling fish. His teaming with the Ocearch expedition and hooking the 'dream job' shows his capacity to escape the GNP's authority altogether. His ability to hook dream jobs that pass through Galápagos' waters means that he does not have to rely on subversive performativities at sea (see chapter five) to make ends meet. However, while it is compelling to document Don Antonio's allure on Facebook and Gustavo's limelight at Pelican Bay, Anthrax's story reminds that most mid-water long line fishermen are left to deal with daily confusions and precarious scenarios at sea. Anthrax thus represents a large community of fishermen who have not sought to escape and to subvert their precarious livelihoods. More importantly, Anthrax's vocational vision helps to span two extremes: Gustavo's desire to leave Galápagos' eco-political mess behind and Don Antonio's passion to give it new shape.

These individual stories reveal the range and depth of Galápagos fishermen's needs, struggles and performativities of sustainability. They also lead to fascinating sets of questions, including: How does sustainability literature account for and incorporate instances when marginalised actors contest social identities and ritualise new cultural norms (via social media or otherwise)? What space and voice do the GNP's Management Plans allow for actors that are conditioned such as fishermen to rise up collectively, apprehend the 'sustainable' conditions, and give shape to marine governance? To what extent are PMC members willing to allow 'weak' social actors

to employ 'strong' performativities that subvert the status quo and produce long-lasting political effect? How long will subversive action occur quietly in the margins of fishing spaces until they crescendo into clamouring displays of solidarity in Puerto Ayora's streets?

The stories also indicate that fishermen account for their basic needs differently. Some mid-water long line fishermen live pay check to pay check – or from one cast to another – and are too consumed with baiting the hooks in front of them to set their eyes on the vocational horizon. Other fishermen patiently await non-fishing labour to appear on the horizon – hoping for a chance to break free from Galápagos' precarious eco-political landscape. Yet, others look past the horizon and forecast the future – one which requires mobilising collective performativities in the here and now in order to generate a groundswell of solidarity that leads to long lasting socio-economic stability.

In sum, most mid-water long line fishermen do not subvert the conditioning of their conditions forcefully nor do they feature in social interaction profoundly. They are present, but overlooked. They are integral to the 'sustainable development' of Galápagos' fisheries, yet they are difficult to track down and commonly absent from PMC forums. They quietly test the limits of their materials and technologies at sea since they perceive mid-water long line fishing to be the most lucrative option available. This chapter is therefore a prompt that fishermen like Anthrax should not be conceptualized simply as actors obedient to the GNP's fishing regulations, but that they are also, in this case, the lifeblood of the archipelago's fishing future and marine governance and should be treated accordingly.

EIGHT

Who's Line is it Anyway?

A Summative Introduction

This thesis set out to make sense of the strategies and tactics that Galápagos' artisanal fishermen employ on land and at sea to situate themselves within the archipelago's eco-political matrices. This work has explored ways in which fishermen's performativities of sustainability – which I argue are situated in their material practices, collective and authoritative – enable them to deal with their precarious livelihoods and to remain relevant as Galápagos' fishing futures become increasingly foreclosed. In concluding this thesis and in order to draw conclusions on the scope of artisanal fishing horizons, it is important to reflect momentarily upon the unique development of Galápagos' artisanal fishing industry – and particularly how issues of precarity and performativity are salient to the present study and the key findings that are presented in the follow sections.

For all intents and purposes, artisanal fishing's history from start to present has been shorter than the life span of the archipelago's endemic giant tortoises. Over the past half-century, Puerto Ayora fishermen have pioneered the Pelican Bay wharf's construction and attracted its clientele, embodied knowledge of hand line arts and Galápagos' waters, developed a reputation as predators for overfishing sea cucumber and lobster, and become a key player in sustaining local residents' and visiting tourists' fish demand. Similar to the giant tortoises, fishermen have had to endure Galápagos' inhospitable terrain, which, for fishermen, has meant functioning as a marginalized player in the Participatory Management Council (PMC) co-management nexus since 1998-implemented Galápagos Special Law (GSL). Furthermore, Galápagos' steady rise as a global flagship of sustainability, coupled with the archipelago's eco-tourism booms in the 1990s and the early 2000s (leading

up to the 2008 global financial meltdown), has meant that the Galápagos National Park's (GNP's) conservationist agendas have pushed fishing development to the periphery of the archipelago's sustainability vision. Consequently, local fishermen no longer roam Galápagos' waters autonomously as they had during Don Marcos' days (see chapter one). Instead, Galápagos National Park Service (GNPS) observers today accompany mid-water long line pilot plan fishers to the Galápagos Marine Reserve's (GMR) remote corners in order to document fishing zones, materials, practices, and by-catch.

In this way, the GNP has structured the conditions on fishermen's practices and materiality as well as the sustainable conditioning of fishermen's dispositions and behaviours. In response, and as an attempt to deal with the precarity of their fishing livelihoods and futures, the fishing sector persuaded the PMC to approve a mid-water long line pilot plan, which the latter did reluctantly in late 2013. The pilot plan is a critical piece of Galápagos' marine governance for many reasons. Firstly, it equips the tourism industry to sustain visitors' demand for large pelagic fish by accessing local markets. Secondly, it enables the GNP to maintain its firm grip on sustainable standards by sending GNPS observers to oversee precisely what occurs at deep sea – and provides the authority to terminate the pilot plan if fishermen do not abide by its rules. Thirdly, it equips fishermen with a new income source to ease their financial precarity, and, more importantly, access to the domains of agency in which to employ performativities of sustainability that contest, subvert, and sidestep the GNP's/PMC's eco-political authority. The pilot plan's permanent approval thus weighs heavily on the tourism industry's long-term access to local fish, the GNP's sustainable vision for artisanal fishermen's livelihoods, and many fishermen's decisions on whether or not to invest in materials, boats and technologies needed to remain safe and to fish effectively at deep sea.

Galápagos' troubled eco-political waters thus offer a compelling case in which to interrogate global literature on Marine Protected Areas (MPA) (e.g. Broad and Sanchirico, 2008; Barrett et al., 2007; Bogaert et al., 2009; Thurstan et al., 2012;

Jentoft et al., 2011) and issues of natural resources co-management (e.g. Persoon et al., 1996; Edgar et al., 2004; Gelcich et al., 2009). However, there are already considerable academic contributions regarding the GMR's conservation (e.g. Hearn, 2008; Durham, 2008; Cairns, 2011), co-management (e.g. Baine et al., 2007; Davos et al., 2007; Heylings and Bravo, 2007; Castrejón and Charles, 2013; Jones, 2013) and perceptions of its users legitimacy and compliance (e.g. Zapata, 2005; Viteri and Chávez, 2007). This work thus takes the Galápagos context as a means to extend anthropological literature on sustainable development (e.g. McCabe, 2003; Stone, 2003; Smyth, 2011;) and writings on fishing management and conservation (e.g. Durrenberger and Pálsson, 1988; de Castro and McGrath, 2003; Ingels and Sepez, 2007; Clay and Olson, 2008; Moore, 2012). It does so by introducing performativity theory, and namely Butler's (1990, 1993, 1999) notions of the term, in order to critically analyse ways Galápagos' fishermen, and local actors generally, contest, engage, sidestep, subvert and respond to the managing authorities' (e.g. GNP's) attempts to structure livelihoods sustainably. In particular, this work has explored how Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen socially construct their identities, seek access to and benefit from domains of agency, and subvert the conditions on and conditioning of their fishing – all of which occur both at sea and on land. This conceptual framing refines performativity theory by exploring how fishermen's performativities are collective, situated in materiality and authoritative. It also enriches precarity literature by illustrating how the global precariat can apprehend the conditions of its conditioning by using what Scott (1989) calls 'weapons of the weak.'

This chapter uses a tripartite structure to present summative theoretical and empirical conclusions, including: a threading of theoretical contributions, a presentation of key empirical findings, and a look at ways forward in Galápagos and globally. The first section revisits the work's three-pronged theoretical framing, and denotes this work's contributions to literature on precarity, sustainability, and performativity. The second section presents two key findings, arguing that there is no apparent midpoint in which local actors can span their traditional pasts and

'sustainable' futures, and that sustainability interventions produce and distribute precarity to local actors. The third section presents ways forward both in Galápagos and globally for those tasked with designing and implementing sustainability campaigns. The recommendations look at ways to transcend conceptual frameworks and practices that stunt Galápagos' sustainable development trajectory. The chapter closes with an appraisal of future research – which considers how sustainability frameworks commonly imagine time as endless – and parting thoughts.

Revisiting the Present Study's Conceptual Framing

Precarious Threads – A 'Glocal' Framing

It is convenient to associate Galápagos fishermen with what Standing (2011) describes as the 'global precariat' that unites the worldwide community's suffrages. For instance, many Galápagos fishermen experience a kind of collective precarity that resonates with their identities as victims of sustainability interventions, marginalization in PMC forums and local eco-legislation, and what Bevernage (2013) calls a constant state of provisionality. Fishermen deal with such precarity by collaboratively participating in imagined communities that are not bound to spaces and places, such as Alberto's association to SUMADRA and with artisanal fishers worldwide (see chapter one) and Don Antonio's use of social media (see chapter six).

It is critical, however, to thoughtfully consider the collective nature of local actors' precarity worldwide – as with the case of Galápagos' fishermen. On one hand, the PMC's formation has categorized and separated GMR users via co-management design and decree. This has meant fishermen have endured their precarious eco-political fate as a sector, which has often been contrasted against the GNP's sustainable vision for the archipelago's ecological integrity. This reality corresponds with how notions of the 'global precariat' have generally objectified local actors as

operating, engaging and struggling separate from the world's elite. On the other, fishermen are indissociable from the interventions and visiting scientists that seek to structure their lives sustainably. Gustavo's networking prowess when securing labour contracts (see chapters six and seven) reveals that fishermen – despite their lingering reputation as predators of the GMR's natural resources, tendency to overfish, and disregard for authority – perform a key role in the GMR's sustainable development.

Therefore, this work argues that there is great opportunity to reconceptualise Galápagos fishermen, and local actors generally, as members of a 'glocal precariat.' This use of 'glocal' is meant to dissolve the conceptual divide commonly separating global and local actors' agendas and interactions, conflating them into a singular social unit. In other words, local actors' sufferings, struggles and performativities should be understood by exploring how they engage, challenge and subvert the global elite's aggressive interventions. The global elite is herein argued to make the former's livelihoods problematic and grievable through processes of sustainable interventions and their oversight. Therefore, Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen's precarity is not isolated from global actors such as visiting CDRS scientists and other conservation-science actors. These fishermen instead negotiate their precarity through daily 'glocal' exchanges when at sea with GNPS observers, at Pelican Bay while dealing with Conservation International project managers, and when convening in PMC's co-management forums.

Galápagos fishermen's precarity, produced through 'glocal' social exchanges, is thus observable in the context of the conservation-science sector's interventionist projects. In this light, this work extends Berlant's (2011) claim that precarity is a condition of dependency in which one's future is in someone else's hands by arguing that Galápagos fishermen have apprehended their 'other-dependency' by joining hands and partnering with conservationists, and global actors generally, as a means to mitigate their precarity (e.g. Gustavo and Don Antonio's networking, see chapter six). Consequently, a focus on 'glocal' social exchanges foregrounds the role of global

actors' interventionist agendas and reveals the domains of agency and strategies in which Galápagos fishermen challenge, sidestep, and subvert the GNP/PMC as a means to apprehend the conditions and conditioning of their precarity.

In this way, this work builds upon Ridout and Schneider's (2012:5) notion that "Precarity is life lived in relation to a future that cannot be propped securely upon the past." It does so by arguing that local actors worldwide face the precarious task of apprehending the 'glocal' conditioning of their futures by overcoming the ways their pasts have been characterized as unsustainable. In the case of Galápagos, fishermen's precarity of the present involves them subverting and reshaping their predatory social identities that are a hangover from past and convincing Galápagos' eco-political elite, such as the GNP/PMC, to envision a future in which fishermen are propped securely as productive and integral economic sector that does not put at risk the archipelago's ecological integrity. Precarity, in this context, is thus negotiated through social exchanges generally, and performativities of sustainability particularly, in which Galápagos' social actors seek a stake in the 'glocal' authorship of local histories and identities, and influence on future ways of interacting in and with the sea.

Sustainable Frameworks – A Call for Bottom-up Inquiry

Some anthropological critiques of sustainability (e.g. Stone, 2003; Dove, 2006) take issue with the global community's assumed privilege to supplant indigeneity and cultural identities with globalist notions of sustainability while others (e.g. Smyth, 2011; Escobar, 2010; Lee, 2000) suggest that 'sustainable development' processes are often self-seeking and fail to correspond with target communities' aspirations. These voices collectively remind that co-management processes can be problematic and that they commonly place local actors at a disadvantage when trying to maintain the continuity of their traditional ways of knowing and living. For Galápagos' fishermen, such disadvantage is a reality when engaging with the PMC,

where conservationists' have appropriated GSL to deal with their concern that fishermen are unable to translate and to perform 'sustainability' of their own accord.

Kerr (2005:507) captures this sentiment when suggesting that processes of applying 'sustainable development' in Galápagos have had "more to do with legitimizing the decision-making process" – and thus conservationists' power to preserve its eco-political stake – "rather than progressing towards a predetermined 'optimal state.'" Similarly, this work has called into question the GNP's drive to legitimize its GMR stewardship, and thus adds to sustainability discourse, by arguing that mid-water long line fishermen's practices at sea are not necessarily unsustainable in nature, but become so when they are measured according to global standards of 'sustainability.' What becomes clear is that the GNP's/PMC's decision-making power is legitimized through processes of conditioning fishermen like Gustavo to exchange their artisanal ways of knowing and interacting in and with the sea for sets of behaviours, materials and practices that model what global actors' assume they ought to employ. At sea, fishermen deal with the GNP's conditions on and conditioning of their artisanal practices by performing their trade in ways that satisfy the GNPS observers whom document their every move.

Such sustainability management seeks to curb artisanal fishermen's apparent propensity to act unsustainably and thereby to upset the global push to instil 'sustainable' practices locally (e.g. Edgar et al., 2004). Co-management literature on the Galápagos case (e.g. Baine et al., 2007; Davos et al., 2007; Heylings & Bravo, 2007) has addressed unsustainable behaviours and attitudes by coming to grips with issues of grievances, governance and guidance. Such scholarship certainly offers commendable points of consideration. However, co-management literature seemingly cements narratives of fishermen's performativities and capacities to aspire (e.g. Appadurai, 2004), foreclosing fishermen's agency to contest and to overcome negative stereotypes and identities. Anthropological discourse on sustainability and sustainable development has challenged co-management literature's narrow academic purview and typecasting of local actors.

This work builds upon such critique by challenging scholarship to move beyond a surveying of how sustainability interventions problematize local actors' livelihoods. Let us take the problematic nature of sustainability interventions and management as a starting point. The goal, then, should be instead to explore the scope and range of how local actors employ performativities of sustainability to deal with their precarious livelihoods. The ways in which local actors resist, deal with and speak back to sustainability interventions precisely because these processes, interactions and dialogues in fact reveal the very tensions and problems that are critical to co-management and sustainable development projects. In other words, let us transcend the types of academic studies that identify reasons why top-down management schemes are problematic and instead seek to understand the ways in which and reasons why local actors respond to, challenge and subvert the top-down management schemes that threaten the continuity of their traditional practices and livelihoods. This kind of critical interrogation will point to issues at the heart of sustainability definitions (e.g. the Brundtland Report), interventions and aspirations – and ultimately lead co-management processes to circumvent the muddled waters that typically disengage or disallow local actors from featuring in policy development and sustainable management of natural spaces.

In the Galápagos context, this shift in inquiry manifests in exploring how fishermen like Gustavo and Don Antonio deal with and negotiate the GNP's conditions on and conditioning of their artisanal practices. There is great opportunity to critically interrogate the consequences that arise when fishermen are forced to exchange their artisanal ways of knowing and interacting in and with the sea for sets of behaviours, materials and practices that model what global actors' assume they ought to employ. Yet, this work has shown that aggressive changes to artisanal methods and identities do not necessarily result in practices that correspond with how 'sustainability' is conceptualized. Nonetheless, Galápagos fishermen's performativities of sustainability reveal that they are deeply concerned with: the continuity of their local histories, making ends meet in the here and now, and

securing a future in which they may earn a living from the sea. Therefore, this work's rich ethnographic accounts of fishermen's precarious fight to remain relevant in Galápagos' eco-political sphere spotlights the need for 'glocal' actors to collectively design and implement sustainable programs that satisfy conservationist agendas while also resolving local actors' socio-cultural and socio-economic needs.

Performative Hooks – A Compelling Conceptual Extension to Co-Management Studies

The apparent fissure between global and local ways of translating 'sustainability' in Galápagos has meant that fishermen's attempts to ensure the continuity of their artisanal practices have met severe resistance since they are out of tune with how the PMC envisions 'sustainable' resource management. Yet, despite the GNP's/PMC's attempts to deactivate fishermen agency, they are not passive actors. Fishermen instead deal with the precarity of daily life by activating their agency to loosen the eco-political entanglements that tether their livelihood futures. Performativity theory thus serves as a relevant conceptual framing to critically analyse how and to what extent fishermen employ their agency to contest and to subvert the PMC's/GNP's authority. The present study has drawn principally upon Butler's notions that performativity provides the domain of agency, is socially constructed, and allows actors to apprehend the conditioning of their conditions. This conceptual framing helps to fill a gap in precarity literature, which often assumes that actors living precarious lives employ their agency to overthrow their oppressors simply and uniformly. Performativity thereby nuances discourse on precarity by showing that actors are equipped with varied skillsets and thus employ their agency in wide-ranging capacities and outcomes. Precarity and performativity theorization collectively add value to 'sustainability' and co-management literature, which is typically dominated by development theory and thus foregoes a critical account of how the 'provisionality' of life is entangled with notions of agency and subversion. Specifically, the present study draws upon critiques of Butler's work (e.g. Lovell, 2003; Bell, 1999, 2007; Grosz, 2004; Rothenberg, 2006; Weber, 1979; West & Zimmerman, 1987) to make sense of fieldwork data taken at sea and on land. In this light, this work extends Butlerian notions of performativity to argue that Galápagos

fishermen's performativities are also situated in fishing materiality, collective, and authoritative.

Firstly, this work maintains that GNP-implemented fishing legislation has deactivated fishermen's agency to contest and to transcend their precarity – and thus looks to Butler's notion that actors' performativity is understood by critically interrogating their domains of agency (which avoids confusing performativity *as* agency). Doing so enabled fieldwork to critically interrogate the spaces at sea and on land where fishermen employ their agency, including: Gustavo benefiting from the power associated with his on-board captaincy to pressure GNPS observers to skew their fieldwork reports at sea (chapter five), Don Antonio negotiating the pilot plan's technical allowances by inserting himself into the PMC's leadership nexus (chapter six), and Anthrax contesting the artisanal limits of his practices by escaping the GNP's watch at deep sea (chapter seven). Fishermen's domains of agency are largely situated in their fishing materials and technologies. This contribution extends Butler's theorization of performativity that focuses primarily on – what Bell (2007) and Grosz (2004) collectively argue is that which is limited to the conditions on and conditioning of the body. Therefore, this work has looked at the nuances of mid-water long line materials and technologies (e.g. hooks, lines, motors, casting cadences) in order to make sense of the factors impacting on fishermen's and the GNP's negotiating of fishing rights and futures. What can be seen is that some fishermen are well equipped to contest and to subvert the GNP's conditioning of their material conditions at sea and in the short-term (e.g. Gustavo's contesting limits placed on his materiality at sea) while others possess the confidence and skillset to do so on land and over the long-term (e.g. Don Antonio's social networking to shape fishing legislation).

Secondly, fishermen's performativities of sustainability are socially constructed at sea and on land, which is evident by: Alberto's self-identification as a member of a global artisanal fishing community (chapter one), Gustavo's partnering with other fishers at sea to subvert the GNP pilot plan's 100-hook limit (chapter five), Don

Antonio's subversive networking among PMC leaders (chapter six), and Anthrax's reliance on his peers' assistance at deep sea to sustain the duration of his fishing trips and thereby income flows (chapter seven). By drawing upon Butler's notion that socially constructed identities are real only to the extent in which they are performed, Galápagos' 'sustainable' resource management is herein viewed as an imagined set of constructs that are made real through fishermen's performances at sea and on land. Therefore, fishermen have been able to disrupt their reputations as predators and problematic to the archipelago's ecological integrity, which Gustavo exhibits by becoming a shark-tagger and indispensable to conservation-science studies. More importantly, fishermen's socially constructed performativities of sustainability (and specifically their 'transformative political agency') at sea and on land are examples of what Lovell (2003:2) describes as 'ensemble performances' – which involve looking beyond Butler's tendency to understand agency in the 'fissures of a never-fully-constituted self.' For instance, Gustavo's performative brokering of labour contracts (chapter five) should not be viewed as an isolated performative act, but instead as movements in a complex social web that includes transformative interaction with his assistant Mario, CDRS officials, his boat lender, and his family. Therefore, while it is critical to understand the processes in which fishermen's performativities are socially constructed, it is equally valuable to interrogate the rich, collective nature of their performative webs.

Thirdly, this work is structured upon Butler's theorization that performativity enables actors to develop strategies to subvert the conditioning of their precarious conditions. This is clearly the case among some Galápagos fishermen at sea and on land, such as Gustavo subverting of the GNP's pilot plan requirements as well as the GNPS observer's on-board authority (chapter five), and Don Antonio's clandestine tactics to gain the PMC's eco-political endorsements (chapter six). However, the present study diverts from Butlerian performativity by recalling Rothenberg's (2006) caution that not all performative acts are intentionally subversive, but that they may take the form of 'weak' and 'strong' agentive displays. For instance, Rothenberg references that Rosa Parks' famous display of 'strong' agency in 1955

gained political traction despite numerous incidents of the same going relatively unnoticed previously. By applying this theoretical nuance to issues of sustainability and precarity among Galápagos' fishermen, it becomes clear that some fishers' subvert the GNP's authority loudly and via authoritative means (e.g. Don Antonio) while others employ weak forms of resistance quietly and from the social fringe that do not gain political attention (e.g. Anthrax). This is a meaningful ethnographic contribution as it nuances local actors' capacities and means to contest and to apprehend the conditioning of their conditions – and thereby informs sustainability literature of the importance of avoiding the homogenisation of local actors' performativities into a single archetype.

In these ways, this work has offered theoretical contributions to extend academic understandings of precarity, sustainability and performativity. In particular, this work illustrates how adapting performativity theory to contexts where sustainability is imposed and developed, such as that of Galápagos and its marine governance and legislation, allows for a critical interrogation that permeates the superficial outlines of power and eco-politics common to co-management literature. It has done so by exploring ways local actors apprehend the conditioning of their conditions by employing performativities of sustainability that are situated in materiality, collective, and authoritative. These theoretical contributions serve as a backdrop to the present study's key findings presented in the next section.

Plating the Big Fish: Key Findings and Conclusions

This section offers two key findings to show that performativity theory offers particular value to anthropological ways of understanding the processes in which global actors aggressively imprint 'sustainability' in local actors' daily practices and livelihoods worldwide. Firstly, there is no apparent midpoint in the conceptual framing of sustainability in Galápagos as well as with the ways it is implemented and evaluated globally. Secondly, sustainability implementation processes produce and distribute precarity to local actors. These findings do not imply that

sustainability is a maligned concept or one that is misplaced in Galápagos – since sustainability campaigns have made great contributions to conserving the archipelago's ecological integrity (e.g. combating issues of invasive species). They instead spotlight a reality that despite sustainability's conceptual aspirations to protect livelihoods and natural resources, this is not the case for Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen. In this regard, performativity theory helps to illuminate several gaps in the global push to make people embody global notions of sustainability and thereby offers opportunities to reflect upon local actors' agency to prescribe and to instil sustainable change.

Mind the Gap

Chapters five and six together depict a scenario in which Galápagos' eco-political power matrix has intricately entangled fishermen to eco-legislation as a means to disrupt the continuity of fishermen's unsustainable artisanal practices. A consequence is that fishermen are observed to endure precarious livelihoods at sea and to experience clear disadvantages on land when negotiating the sustainable development of fishing materiality, allowances and artisanal futures. This scenario leads toward the present study's first significant finding, which is that fishermen cannot return to their 'artisanal' roots and practices since they are now responsible for supplying the eco-tourism industry's 'glocal' demand for fish – and according to the GNP's management protocol. In other words, there is no apparent mid-point in which fishermen can span the traditions of their artisanal pasts with the global notions of sustainable fishing they are required to perform.

To begin, the introductory chapter indicated that fishermen like Don Marcos successfully sustained Galápagos' local consumption demand for fish over several decades without straining the GMR's marine resources. That was no great feat considering there were only 44 houses upon his 1968 Puerto Ayora arrival. He also had time to provide Ecuadorian markets' demand for salted *bacalao* during Easter celebrations. Galápagos current population, nearly 40 years later, is roughly 30,000

permanent residents (NISC, 2010). The GMR's abundant fish stocks are sufficient enough to satisfy local consumption demand. However, the GNP's support [or perhaps tolerance] of rapid eco-tourism growth as a sustainable alternative to fishing has led to mass flows of eco-tourists to the archipelago, especially over the past fifteen years. This has meant that roughly 200,000 annual tourists' consumption habits in port towns today impact on local fish demand – and particularly that of pelagic fish, which pilot plan fishermen provide primarily.

In order to illustrate the rapid increase of visitor entries to the archipelago, Appendix 5 shows change in Galápagos census figures over time, numbers of foreign and local visitor entries to the archipelago over the past 35 years, and percent change (annually or averaged for various intervals) over time. Appendix 5 indicates steady growth in visitor entries from 1979 to 2013. A comparison of the first and last year shows a 1637% gross increase in total visitor entries. An eight-year span between 2001 and 2008 is of particular interest for two reasons. First, it shows a 12.3% average annual growth of tourist entries as well as an increase in total visitor entries nearing 100,000. Second, the span corresponds (albeit crudely) with fishermen's development of mid-water long line fishing methods and efforts to convince the GNP to approve the fishing practice (which occurred largely between 2001 and 2014; see chapter one).

It is therefore logical to assume that trends in visitor entries to the archipelago should correspond with change in local fish consumption habits in Puerto Ayora over time. That has certainly been the case since fishermen have sustained elevated rates of 'glocal' demand (visiting tourists consuming fish locally on yachts and in port towns) for pelagic fish. To support this argument, I draw upon in-depth fieldwork interviews with owners of the six restaurants within a 150-meter radius to Pelican Bay, which is offered in Appendix 6. The data in Appendix 6 clearly indicate that: tourists order fish at restaurants at higher rates than locals do, tuna and pelagic whitefish (i.e. wahoo, swordfish) are typically featured on menus and preferred by tourists, restaurant owners can buy pelagic fish at cheaper prices than

demersal fish (i.e. *bacalao, brujo, camotillo*), and preparing pelagic fish typically requires less cook time and produces less waste than does demersal fish. Thus, data provided in Appendix 5 and Appendix 6 together illustrate that eco-tourism growth and particularly visitors' demand to eat pelagic fish has led restaurant owners' in recent years to feature tuna and swordfish on restaurant menus. Consequently, *bacalao* and other demersal fish no longer feature on Puerto Ayora restaurant menus as well as in Galápagos residents' diets. Therefore, when considering that mid-water long line fishermen supply the lion's share of fish needed to satisfy 'glocal' consumption habits, and especially at local restaurants, the probationary pilot plan is in fact an essential element of Galápagos' booming eco-tourism industry and thereby integral to the archipelago's marine resource management.

In this light, there is no apparent end to mid-water long line fishing as long as tourists romanticize pelagic fish. This scenario equates to a catch-22 situation for mid-water long line fishermen who hope to maintain the continuity of their artisanal practices and daily interaction in and with the sea. On one hand, if they do push the limits of the PMC-implemented conditions on their 'sustainable' fishing practices, then Galápagos' managing authorities label them as 'unsustainable' and thereby treat them as problematic to and subordinate in co-management processes. This is evident by the GNP/PMC – which are tasked with restoring the integrity of Galápagos' ecological and eco-political unbalance – responding to fishermen's subversion of 'sustainability' schemes by marginalizing them in co-management processes. On the other hand, if they do not push the limits of the same (e.g. maximizing their catch rates at sea regardless of environmental cost, performing fishing practices that the GNP considers unsustainable and illegal, resisting the GNPS' control of the fishing sector's capacity to go out to sea in co-management forums), they then perpetuate the precarious provisionality and hardship of earning a living subject to the GNP's 'sustainable' guidance. Therefore, fishermen are forced to choose between enduring their subjugation to the PMC's eco-legislation or to ease their precarity by subverting it consciously. This dilemma is troublesome when considering that fishermen must either fish according to the GNP's/PMC's authority

and guidelines or not at all. In sum, there is no apparent midpoint between fishermen's traditional practices, identities and ways of knowing and how global notions of 'sustainability' have redefined what constitutes 'artisanal.'

The Sustainability of Precarity

Global actors' sustainability agendas have involved forcing local actors – at least in the case of Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen – to exchange their traditional practices and identities for sustainable sets of the same. These processes typically prompt fishermen to adopt a new 'artisanal' *habitus*, which occurs abruptly and thus disrupts the continuity of the micro and ordinary facets of fishermen's daily lives. This scenario builds to the study's second key finding: global actors' aggressive imposition of sustainability produces and distributes precarity to local actors' livelihoods at sea and on land. This occurs, on one hand, as the PMC's control of eco-legislation privileges the ecological integrity of the archipelago's eco-systems over developing fishing futures. On the other hand, it happens as local (e.g. GNPS, 1998; Finchum, 2002; Viteri, 2005) and global (e.g. Gelcich et al., 2009; Gell and Roberts, 2003) discourses imagine fishermen and write those stereotypes into a larger sustainability script. In both cases, global notions of sustainability condition Galápagos fishermen's livelihoods and push them to the margins of Galápagos' eco-political bargaining table. They do so by distributing uncertainties (e.g. unpredictable fishing calendars, temporal mid-water long line fishing allowances) to fishermen's lives.

To be clear, this is not to say that globally constructed notions of sustainability are harmful. The present study recognizes that Galápagos' PMC's design of eco-legislation and the GNPS' implementation of it are critical to the long-term stability of the archipelago's marine eco-systems. In fact, fishermen's predatory practices over time have raised substantial cause for concern over their capacity to manage economic incentives and to supply local demand for fish sustainably amid the archipelago's recent eco-tourism boom (which, for instance, is why Don Antonio

asked the GNP to oversee pilot plan practices since fishermen are not capable of auto-regulating, see chapter six). Also, the PMC's co-management forum has made great strides in conserving the ecological integrity of Galápagos' marine resources despite its marginalizing of fishermen's voices in policy development. Nonetheless, the PMC's prizing of natural resources has come with certain costs. Namely, aggressive sustainability interventions have disrupted fishermen's daily certainties (e.g. celebrating birthday parties, routine fishing schedules) while also compromising the long-term certainties of 'artisanal' practices and ways of knowing (e.g. the pilot plan's seemingly limitless probationary period).

This reality is a considerable departure from Galápagos' pioneering fishermen's realities, which did not involve disruptions to and uncertainties with daily fishing performances. Fishermen's precarity today has intensified as sustainability campaigns increasingly structure the conditions on and conditioning of artisanal practices. In other words, sustainability implementation has produced and distributed precarity to fishermen, which is evident by comparing the long-term and short-term livelihood concerns of pioneering fishermen like Don Marcos and those of pilot plan fishermen like Gustavo and Anthrax.

The key findings presented in this section provide an opportunity to generalize this work's study of precarity in Galápagos. This work suggests that the PMC, as a governing body, operates primarily on perspectives of legitimacy and from a position of eco-political power. Marine users' rights and conservation programs are determined generally through processes of analysing scientific data and debating policy in official spaces. Such spaces and forums typically sanitize the messy experiences of lived realities. A consequence is that the PMC may recognize fishermen's precarity, but not view it as legitimate in the sphere of co-management design and decree. In drawing upon Zapata's (2005) study that looked at perceptions of legitimacy within the artisanal fishing sector, I suggest that a similar study be conducted to explore how PMC sectors perceive and legitimize other sectors' precarity. In particular, how well do PMC sectors understand and care for

the precarity of other sectors' well-being and interests, and to what extent, if at all? Do PMC sectors in fact legitimize other sector's apparent precarity, and to what extent, if at all? Limitations to this kind of inquiry include the possibility that PMC sectors neglect to perceive social precarity as a legitimate element in the co-management of Galápagos' natural spaces. Similarly, PMC sectors may not choose to legitimize that: (i) there is no apparent midpoint in the conceptual framing of sustainability in Galápagos, and (ii) sustainability implementation processes produce and distribute precarity to local actors.

Ways Forward: Sustaining Galápagos Fishermen's Ability to Sustain

This final section stands upon the preceding conclusions to chart ways forward – both conceptually and in practice – for those concerned with designing and implementing sustainability in Galápagos and globally. In Galápagos, it is critical to revisit the ways that fishermen have been conceptualized and treated primarily as predators to the archipelago's marine eco-systems. Instead, fishermen should also be recognized for their: compliant and subversive performativities of sustainability, displays of bricolage in times of distress at deep sea, and ingenuity to untangle their precarious vocational trajectories. By coming to grips with the nuances of fishermen's agency and capacity to aspire, the PMC will be able to draw fishermen from the GMR's eco-political margins and to a prominent seat at the bargaining table.

At a global level, it is critical to conceptually interrogate how contrasting notions of production and consumption problematize ways local actors' are assumed to understand and to embody 'sustainability.' That is because local actors are often tasked with supplying global actors 'unsustainable' consumption habits, but by doing so according to sustainable regulations. Therein exists a need to curb global actors' consumption practices since local actors are not necessarily unsustainable by nature. Instead, global actors push for the continuity of their unsustainable consumption habits has required local actors to surpass the sustainable limits of

their natural resources. The irony is that global actors then reprimand local actors for doing so – despite producing and distributing precarity in the first place.

Local Solutions – Inviting Fishermen to Return from the Eco-Political Fringe

Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen's performativities of sustainability reveal their capacity to contest and to subvert the frameworks that structure and limit their livelihoods. Such performativities highlight a need to recognize that local actors are intelligent, creative and employ their agency consciously and purposefully. Don Antonio's, Gustavo's and Anthrax's performative displays show that they are aware of how their actions impact on and fit into Galápagos' eco-political scripts and to what extent. For instance, Don Antonio is aware that his seeking of the PMC's pilot plan endorsements required subversive and mechanized tactics. Similarly, Gustavo is conscious that his subverting the GNP's hook limits at sea involves consequences in the short-term (e.g. sanctions) and long-term (e.g. the pilot plan's permanent approval). Furthermore, Anthrax's choice to risk his and his crew's safety at high sea while traveling on insufficient fuel some 60 nautical miles from shore is seen as a conscious act since he relies upon his ingenuity to surpass his artisanal limits.

However, these performative acts are only viewed as subversive, irrational and rudimentary when measured to global notions of how sustainability ought to be practiced. In this light, it is short-sighted to approach local actors as unsustainable, and needing to be proselytized into a certain likeness of sustainability on the grounds that they are incapable or unaware of how to achieve long-term continuity. In fact, fishermen are masters of their domains, displaying bricolage in extreme and uncertain circumstances. Such is the case, for instance, when Gustavo fixed his motor at sea by visiting an eco-tourism yacht and borrowing the mechanic's tools and also on land when he salvaged the success of his daughter's birthday party at the last minute by assembling items from various Puerto Ayora contacts. His performativity of sustainability may be viewed merely as a Band-Aid to remedy temporarily the problems that arise at high sea and his social hardship on land. Yet,

Gustavo's bricolage is taken to advocate that fishermen require great skill and possess intimate knowledge of their surroundings – which make them ever so valuable to the eco-political campaigns that design Galápagos' future sustainably.

Sustainability interventions are not a permanent solution to socio-ecological problems in Galápagos since the processes commonly fall short of achieving the stability they aspires to provide local actors. Therefore, while it is crucial to conceptually overhaul how fishermen are imagined in scholarship and included in Galápagos' sustainable development (e.g. the PMC's co-management forum), action is also needed. A first step is for PMC and other conservation-science actors to come to grips with the nuances and micro aspects of fishermen's lives and how the aggressive implementation of sustainability processes has disrupted the continuity of what it means to be 'artisanal.' This perspective should lead to three notable changes in practice. Firstly, the GNP and other conservation-science actors may begin to ease their aggressive attempts to structure local actors' daily lives and to proselytize them in an image of sustainability since such efforts have yet to ritualize the types of performativities of sustainability that fishermen are expected to perform. Secondly, the PMC's leadership may move fishermen (and local actors generally) from the margins of sustainability scripts and forums to central roles at the bargaining table. The practice of including fishermen as protagonists in Galápagos' eco-political authorship – and thus imagining sustainable development in Galápagos from the margins and by those who are marginalized – will produce a scenario in which sustainability design and decree benefit from coming to grips with fishermen's precarious and disrupted experiences in the GMR's boundary waters. Thirdly, the PMC may apprehend the eco-tourism industry's unsustainable growth, and particularly visiting tourists' local demand for pelagic fish, which, as the ethnographic chapters inform, drive fishermen further from shore and away from their families or long periods of time. According to a CDRS fisheries director, the ideal or 'sustainable role' (his term) of the fishing sector is to supply the production of fish for local consumption and nothing more. Therefore, the GNP may help to protect and to restore fishermen's artisanal practices and ways of knowing by

minimizing disruptions to the types of fish that have been traditionally sold at Pelican Bay and eaten in Puerto Ayora homes, which are caused by tourists' consumption habits.

A Global Horizon – Curbing 'Glocal' Consumption

The present study has made a case that globally constructed sustainability frameworks commonly expect local actors to sustain global consumption patterns – and nonetheless while abiding by firm sustainability practices and limits. This happens despite criticism that local actors display unsustainable performativities and thereby need to learn sustainable resource management strategies and practices. In Galápagos, this occurs as the eco-tourism industry (which is the archipelago's primary revenue stream) depends upon mid-water long line fishermen to supply tourists' local demand for pelagic fish, despite the GNPS' concerns that fishermen's unsustainable practices clash with pilot plan regulations. This scenario points toward an apparent need to recognize conceptually that global and local actors have different notions of natural resource stewardship and consumption. Two metaphors are presented to illustrate that Galápagos fishermen's traditional stewardship of marine resource conflicts with ways global actors expect them to act.

Firstly, GNPS fisheries officer Rúben described that fishermen's habits of opportunism over past decades have harmed the archipelago's ecological integrity dramatically when he said: "Fishermen used to view their resources like a tree with lots of low-hanging fruit, but they ate all the fruit they could and didn't worry about saving some for times when the fruit was unreachable" (January 2014). Rúben's fruit metaphor is representative of conservationists' general concern that fishermen lack the foresight to understand their consumption habits' long-term consequences – and that they will inevitably exhaust their natural resources if left unaccompanied. However, the metaphor is problematic since it conflates pre-tourism and post-tourism consumption patterns. Before Galápagos' eco-tourism boom, the GMR's

abundant natural resources satisfied Galápagos' permanent residents' local consumption habits sufficiently. This means that pioneering fishermen had no reason to ponder and to plan for long-term stewardship of their natural resources. For this reason, fishermen traditionally targeted the 'low-hanging fruits' of demersal fish since there were always bountiful catches in Pelican Bay and close to Puerto Ayora's shoreline – and thus no need to venture far out to sea. Yet, the eco-tourism boom has involved multitudes of eco-tourists' requesting that fishermen, metaphorically speaking, bypass the 'low-hanging fruits' of demersal fish and to reach higher in order to collect the 'high-hanging fruits' of pelagic fish atop the trees highest branches (e.g. the GMR's far-off spaces) for them to consume. Rúben's metaphor is therefore a valuable conceptual framing since it allows for an understanding that fishermen are today tasked with supplying 'glocal' fish demand in Galápagos.

Secondly, COPROPAG's general manager Iván added depth to notions of fish production and consumption in Galápagos when he remarked:

> Fishermen are not like farmers who have to prepare soil, worry about nutrients, plant seed and wait for the harvest. The abundance of Galápagos fish allows that fishermen don't have to sow. Fishermen here assume that the ocean's resources like tuna are limitless. They simply reap a continual harvest. So, fishermen don't think in the long-term, but live in the moment and nothing more (February 2014).[231]

Ivan's comment indicates that fishermen's notions of production (and thus marine resource stewardship) have involved a focus on immediate and short-term needs, which makes picking 'low-hanging fruit' all the more enticing since doing so is easy. Yet, eco-tourists' demand for pelagic fish has required pilot plan fishers to exchange

[231] Lopez's idea resonates with how Fernando described the potential for the use of TURF (Territorial User Rights Fishing) in Galápagos in order to combat a harvest mentality. Fernando explained that TURF governance is a valuable way forward in places where there is not a union among users by implementing a management process in which fishermen autonomously care for designated fishing spaces based on determined quotas and fishing calendars. With TURF governance, fishermen are responsible to ward off illegal, industrial fishers and to prevent the collapse of species populations in their assigned territories.

their accessible coastal fishing zones for those at deep sea. More importantly, the GNP's conditions on pilot plan practices means that fishermen now have to think in the long-term, especially when considering the pilot plan's provisionality.

A comparison of these metaphors suggests that global notions of sustainability typically assume that picking 'low-hanging fruit' is unsustainable and thereby disqualify fishermen's traditional notions of stewardship from sustainability frameworks that conceptualize time as endless. However, this is troublesome since Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen have been imagined as unsustainable even though their practices sustain the global elite's ability to consume fish in Galápagos. Furthermore, issues of sustainable natural resources management have only become relevant to the Galápagos context following recent spike in global demand for Galápagos' natural resources (e.g. China's demand for sea cucumbers, visiting eco-tourists' demand for lobster and fresh pelagic fish). Therefore, my argument suggests that global actors' drive to achieve sustainability by managing local actors practices and mitigating their claims to natural resources is conceptually problematic – so much so that there is a need to remap and to re-characterize the conceptual terrain that gives shape to ways of knowing and delineating eco-political landscapes globally. By delocalizing the root problem of sustainability from local producers' performativities and locating it among global consumption habits, it becomes clear that there would be no overwhelming need – at least in Galápagos – for global actors to thrust sustainability frameworks aggressively upon local actors' livelihoods since sustainability discourse and implementation processes would instead focus on resolving issues of unsustainable global consumption. In other words, the root problem of sustainability lies outside the places that have been made to carry the burden of sustaining global consumption demands – such as Galápagos' 'glocal' fish demand and fishermen's sustaining of it.

Translating this conceptual shift into practice is the first step in sanitizing ways sustainability has been perverted worldwide. Specifically, there lays a need not just

to problematize, but ultimately to curb or at least to modify global consumers' assumed privilege to access and to consume natural resources from remote localities. The simple fact that global tourists' in Galápagos prefer pelagic fish from deep sea does not mean that they should be entitled to dine on plates of seared tuna and macadamia-crusted swordfish, which results in local actors having to abandon their traditional diets, practices, and ways of knowing. Yet, that is precisely the scenario in Galápagos since the GNP favours visiting tourists' consumption habits (e.g. eco-tourism) over recognizing and adjusting for how the resulting push for sustainability produces and distributes precarity to fishermen's livelihoods.

In other words, global actors' consumption is always one step ahead of local users' capacity to sustain it. This means particular pressure for local producers (e.g. Galápagos' artisanal fishermen) to provide global markets with higher yields, yet while doing so sustainably. Therefore, the financial incentives of global demand motivate local actors to push the limits of – and at times to subvert – sustainability, which as previously noted increases their precarity and marginalization in co-management processes. However, participation in the PMC's aggressive co-management processes and frameworks thrust upon them has become the only viable performativity for many local actors. As regards Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen, they find themselves perpetually in troubled waters, vacillating between living 'sustainably' and 'unsustainably' and dealing with the corresponding shades of precarity.

The Next Cast:

Future Inquiry Looking at Relationships Between Global and Local Notions of Time

Sustainability frameworks commonly imagine time as endless. This occurs, on one hand, as global actors require that local actors perform sustainable practices in the present and continue to embody such *habitus* over the long-term (e.g. the Brundtland Report's notion of time). On the other hand, it transpires as global actors implement sustainability policies and work toward measurable goals by

compressing time, such as the United Nations' designing of sustainability goals at fifteen year intervals (e.g. MDGs, SDGs). A consequence is that local actors are forced to exchange their traditional practices and notions of continuity for a new practices that embody an endless sense of time while also being aware of how their daily activities resonate with sustainability frameworks that change every fifteen years or less (which is essentially every generation). For instance, Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen need to think about the long-term ecological integrity of the GMR's natural resources while also being mindful of how their daily performativities impact on the pilot plan's short-term continuity.

The implementation of sustainable regulations in Galápagos thus have broadcasted a globalized framing of time, which assumes that 'sustainability' can be mechanized and that local actors can quickly embody new sets of behaviours and ways of knowing. Yet, this is problematic in Puerto Ayora since the archipelago's pioneering fishermen did not measure or mechanize their practices according to long-term frameworks (of sustainability or otherwise), but instead focused on making ends meet daily. Fascinating sets of questions arise, such as how and the extent to which, if at all, are fishermen concerned with the continuity and stability of the ordinary aspects of social life – and especially while being conditioned by the GNP to employ a long-term mind-set and notion of sustainability? Are fishermen like Gustavo most concerned with maximizing profits and making ends meet over the short-term? Or do they fret over the possibility of losing the continuity of their artisanal histories and ways of knowing and interacting in and with the sea? And do they grapple with trying to balance the latter two scenarios, and how so?

Accordingly, there is great opportunity to critically analyse how local actors generally, and Galápagos fishermen specifically, conceptualize time. Do Galápagos fishermen understand time as endless similar to ways literature commonly defines and regards sustainability? Do most fishermen think far into the future and plan their livelihoods accordingly? Or do the 'sustainable' disruptions to the flows of their traditional and ordinary practices cause confusion in their daily lives and

discourage them from planning for future generations' needs? Have fishermen come to understand how their mid-water long line practices impact on the social stability of their family units and relationships in port, and if so, then to what extent? Do mid-water long line fishermen think that they can or are prepared to endure long periods of fishing at sea and the related consequences, such as missing key moments in their family's development like birthday and baptism gatherings? Do mid-water long line fishermen consider the long-term consequences of enduring the physical toll of their livelihood whereas their bodies may not be able to sustain the precarity (e.g. dehydration, poor sleep, and inconsistent meals) of fishing at high sea over time?

In other words, these questions build toward a leading research question, which is: How and to what extent do fishermen make sense of and account for the taken for granted aspects of daily life at sea, which sustainability interventions seemingly neglect to include in the processes of conditioning local actors sustainably? Such inquiry calls into question how global notions of sustainability have become lost in translation, which can be understood by exploring precisely how fishermen's notions of time correspond with how they make sense of and deal with the precarity of their daily lives. Perhaps, in order to talk about sustainability, it is first critical to interrogate local actors' performativities of continuity and how they correspond with sustaining the immediate, micro aspects of daily life. In this light, fishermen's subversion of the GNP's authority at sea and on land may reflect their attempts to maintain the flows of ordinary activities, notions of time, and traditional ways of knowing and interacting in and with the sea. Such performativity may highlight a conceptual gap in which local actors' concern with the precarity of the present conflicts with global actors' fixation on the precarity of the future.

Parting Thoughts: The Case for the Ethnography of Precarity

The precarity of life is such, that, that which was once certain has become uncertain. For today's 'global/glocal precariat,' taken for granted aspects of social life are no longer predictable. As Muehlebach (2013:297) states "Many look back to a past that, even as one may want to rid oneself of aspects of it, nevertheless also entailed a stable horizon of expectation—a past promise of a relatively predictable futurity of which people in many parts of the world now feel dispossessed." Global and glocal attempts to make future access to natural resources predictable have forcefully dispossessed local actors of the spaces, livelihoods and ways of knowing that were once imprinted in their *habitus*.

'Fragile individuals', Ralph Waldo Emerson writes are "doomed to conduct their lives in a 'porous reality" (Bauman, 2000:209). As the certainties and stabilities of life slip through the pores of social life, stories are among the few things that remain. Yet, Nigerian author Chimamanda Adichie's reminder of 'the danger of a single story' speaks to the importance of taking the stories that echo in obscurity and shouting them in the town's square – and even at the fishermen's wharf. Muehlebach (2013:298) suggests that that is precisely the role of ethnography, and especially as regards a heightened attunement to precarity, which "has inserted itself into the heart of anthropology itself." For Fabian (2006), this means that ethnographers engage with local actors as their 'coevals' and come to grips with how notions of time shape the telling of our stories This prompt is precisely why the present work's multi-sited ethnography, using Marcus' (1995) notion of 'follow the thing' among Galápagos' mid-water long line fishermen across marine (e.g. GMR) and terrestrial (e.g. GNP) spaces, has served as a valuable tool in which to understand fishermen's nuanced performativities of sustainability that often go unseen.

This work has shared rich accounts of fishermen's performativities, struggles and their triumphs. Yet, as Bourdieu explains: 'To become aware of the mechanisms which make life painful, even unliveable, does not mean to neutralize them; to bring

to light the contradictions does not mean to resolve them" (Bauman, 2000:215). In Galápagos and globally, there remain fish to be caught, stories to be told, eco-legislation to be revised, and precarious life to be overcome.

Appendices

Appendix 1: **Perceptions of Predation**

These data, which offer a sampling of my interview transcripts, show that many GMR users share a perception that fishermen have been viewed generally as predators, and are unlikely to change their reputations. The term 'predator' featured in many informants' (e.g. Clovis, Iván, Wester, Martín) descriptions of fishermen's behaviour despite my efforts as an ethnographer to avoid volunteering the term during interviews.

Informant	Employment	Perception
Clovis	Fisherman	The CDF doesn't have any problem going to ask for money from together countries, saying "Galápagos fishermen are predators and destroying things.
Ivan	COPROPAG Manager	Some say that fishermen are 'predators' in the GMR. The fishing sector has been marginalized historically. It is recently in the process of integrating itself into society. The sector has always been positioned as an antagonist to laws and government. One could say that the fishermen have auto-marginalized themselves since they don't want responsibilities and commitments to caring for natural resources.
Wester	GNPS Director of Applied Investigation	Fishermen need to understand that they don't need to be a predator to marine species, but that they can simply improve their fishing technologies and practices. Conservation of fish species means to fish less and earn more. That's what everyone is looking for.
Martín	PMC Convener	The PMC's actions have decreased in the past three years since there are fewer predatory issues [with fishermen] than before. Galápagos' largest focus, many years ago, was artisanal fishers.
Nelson	Fisherman	We [fishermen] feel accused. The only thing that they haven't accused us of is the title of being terrorists. Fishermen's negative reputation is just like as if one person started calling you a drug addict, and then others started doing the same. All the time, you are not a drug addict, or you are no longer a drug addict. But, they keep judging you and calling you a drug addict. You're going to feel bad, aren't you? Of course. That's how it is. We have been called 'shark killers for years. There are too many people accusing and ganging up on us. The PMC has fucked over the fishermen more than anything since all sectors go against one singular voice [the fishermen]. Fishermen will never win since we fight alone. The other sectors are conservationists and allies. Fishermen's voices are never taken seriously.
Galo	GNPS Fisheries Observer	I've gone out to sea to monitor mid-water long line fishers and have at times seen them kill by-catch with knives instead of live-releasing it. I once corrected a fisherman for doing this and he threatened to take away my food on the trip. You can see how I don't like them.
Tobias	GNP Naturalist guide, Business Owner	The old fishermen are interesting. They were huge predators as I saw as a SCUBA-certified naturalist guide. I was enraged to see fishermen dropping their hooks at our dive sites. GNPS-approved dive sites are about 8% of GMR areas while fishermen have about 70% of the coast to themselves. Why do they have to come and prey up on our dive sites?!?

Appendix 2: **The GNP Management Plan's Fishing-Related Definitions (GNP, 1998:23-24)**

"According to the geographic operation range, fishing can be grouped into the following:"	Coastal Fishing	Fishing activities, which are conducted in the zones situated close to the coasts of distinct islands across the Archipelago Platform.		
	Deep Fishing	Fishing activities, which are carried out in open waters, which are normally deep.		
"According to economic use, fishing can be classified as follows:"	Non-Commercial fishing	Fishing activity carried out sporadically and in waters surrounding inhabited ports. It is for recreational aims and self- consumption. This type of fishing is part of the customs and traditions of the Galápagos inhabitants and its commercialisation is forbidden.		
	Commercial fishing	Extractive fishing activity, which is carried out as a means of permanent or sporadic work with profit, aims as well as commercial fishing activity that is internal or self-consumption. According to the Management Plan, any level of commercialisation or significant interchange of fishing products for money, objects or services will be considered as commercial.		
Lines and Hooks	Hand Line	This method of fishing involves one (or a number of) principal lines. These lines can be made from distinct materials (polypropylene, polyrene, nylon, Dacron, trilene, etc.) with varying diameters. Lines are fixed with iron or stainless steel hooks (singles, doubles or triples) and generally has a lead weight at the end. Within this group of skills is an extensive and varied range: This consists of a nylon line and hook used with a stationary boat. Usually line bait and no weight is used.		
	Splicing	Consisting of a nylon line or rope to the end of which is attached a twisted wire with one or a number of hooks and bait. Sometimes, the wire is divided into two sections. A weight consisting of an iron tube filled with lead is placed at the end of the central wire. The weight can be varied according to the required fishing depth. Draw of this is divided into three groups:	Deep splicing	Relates to direct stationary deep use fishing of specific species such as; cod, grouper, scorpion fish, wrasse, grey thread fin bass, white fish, bass, red snapper, etc.
			"Bolita" or light splicing	Uses lead balls as weight, the amount of which depends on the force of the current. A light attracting the fish to the bait is attached. Principally used in San Cristobal and mainly used for night fishing.
			Middle water splicing	In neither deep nor open waters with bait which generally corresponds to integral and living species. Many using anchored or drifting boats capturing tuna and half beaked fish.
	Drag	Fishing method conforming to use of line, hook and weight with principal difference that a moving boat drags the live through velocity and depth. Line and dead bait is used as well as a range of artificial bait (spinners, feathers, squid, octopus) to attract the fish. The main type of fish involved is pelagic.		
	Long Line	Using a long line to which are attached at intervals a number of hooks with bait. Conducted in open waters along a marked drift with various buoys as well as flag markers, and lights.		
Nets	Fishes are trapped or encircled by linked or mesh nets with different openings. The nets are made from dacron, perlon or nylon and other various filaments. They vary in size (length and width) and are generally used in shallow waters. They can be moved by boats or by foot. There are two types of nets:	Inactive nets; grill nets and trammel nets: Nets, which are deployed in a fixed position between tides in which fish are trapped while trying to cross over.		
		Active nets which are netted and enclosed: Thrown and displayed nets, which are used by people or boats for special objectives. These nets usually have small mesh sizes and are divided into two groups: closed artisan beach nets, and closed artisan nets.		
Diving	Method of fishing in which a diver submerges himself to capture mostly invertebrate species. This is divided into two categories:	Diving with compressed air: The diver gets air from a pipe, which feeds compressed air from a compressor, which is held on a boat. The diver can remain submerged for long periods of time (hours). This in generally in waters which are less than 20 metres deep. This skill is primarily for catching sea cucumbers and lobsters. With Lobsters, as well as using his hands, the diver may use a Hawaiian rod and hook.		
		Skin diving with free air: The diver uses only his lungs and deep breaths. Mainly to capture species of invertebrates such as lobsters, sea cucumbers and octopus.		
Harvesting	Method of fishing involving the manual capture of inertial marine invertebrate species which become accessible during diurnal or nocturnal low tide. Mainly for octopus, chitins and crabs, among others.			

Appendix 3: **Dramatis Personae**

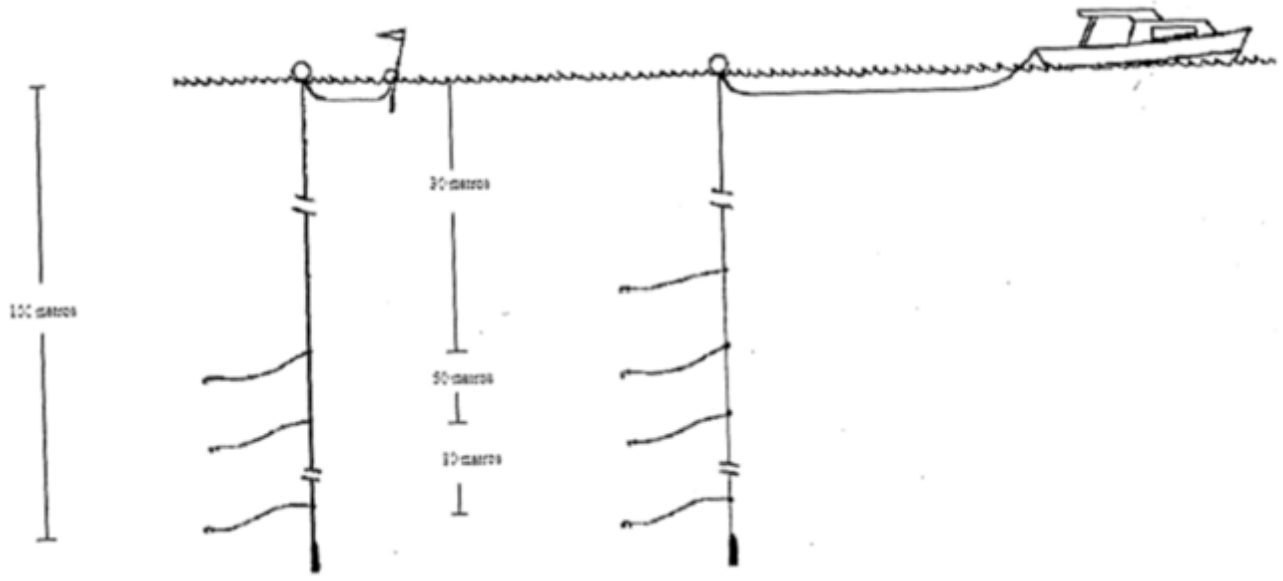
Pseudonym	Chapter(s) the Person Appears in	Approx. Age	Sex	Occupation	Approx. Years Lived in Galápagos
Alberto	1, 8	55	M	Retired fisherman	Since birth
Alex	4	60-65	M	Ex-artisanal fisherman, eco-tourism entrepreneur	Since birth
Anthrax	1, 6, 7, 8	45	M	Fisherman	Since birth
Clovis	6, 7	45-50	M	Fisherman	Since birth
Diego	8	45	M	Restaurant owner	10
Dolores	8	40-45 F		Restaurant owner	N/A
Don Antonio	1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	42	M	Artisanal fisherman	Since December 1998
Don Marcos	1, 4, 5, 8	74	M	Retired artisanal fisherman	Since 1968
Don Miguel	6	45-50	M	Retired fisherman, restaurant owner	Since 1996
Esteban	6	40	M	Former Participatory Management Council developer and naturalist guide	30-40
Fabian	5, 7	35	M	Fisherman	Since birth
Fernando	6, 8	35	M	CDRS Director of Fisheries and Shark Management	5
Galo	5, 7	35	M	GNPS fisheries observer	Since birth
Gonzalo	1, 4,	35	M	Former CDRS director of 'Human Systems'	4
Gustavo	1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8	30	M	Artisanal fisherman	Since birth
Israel	4	35	M	GNPS Director of Responsible Conservation Processes and Marine Eco-systems Use	Since birth
Iván	6, 7, 8	50	M	COPROPAG Manager	N/A
Jose	4	50	M	Retired fisherman, tourism boat captain	More than 35
Juan	8	35	M	Restaurant owner	Since birth
Julian	8	35	M	Restaurant owner	Since birth
Leonardo	7	35	M	WWF (Galápagos) Fisheries Officer	5
Mario	5, 6, 8	45	M	Fisherman	More than 20
Martín	4	40	M	Participatory Management	2

				Council Convener	
Nacho	5	30-35	M	Fisherman	Since birth
Patricia	4, 6, 7	35	F	Stay-at-home mother	7
Peter	4	45	M	Environmental lawyer	4
Renato	5	30-35	M	GNPS fisheries observer	Since birth
Ricardo	8	30	M	Restaurant owner	Since birth
Rúben	5, 6, 8	35-40	M	GNPS Fisheries Officer	Since birth
Sofía	8	45-50	F	Restaurant owner	N/A
Teo	6	35-40	M	CI Fisheries Officer	N/A
Tobias	4, 7	50	M	GNP naturalist guide	More than 30

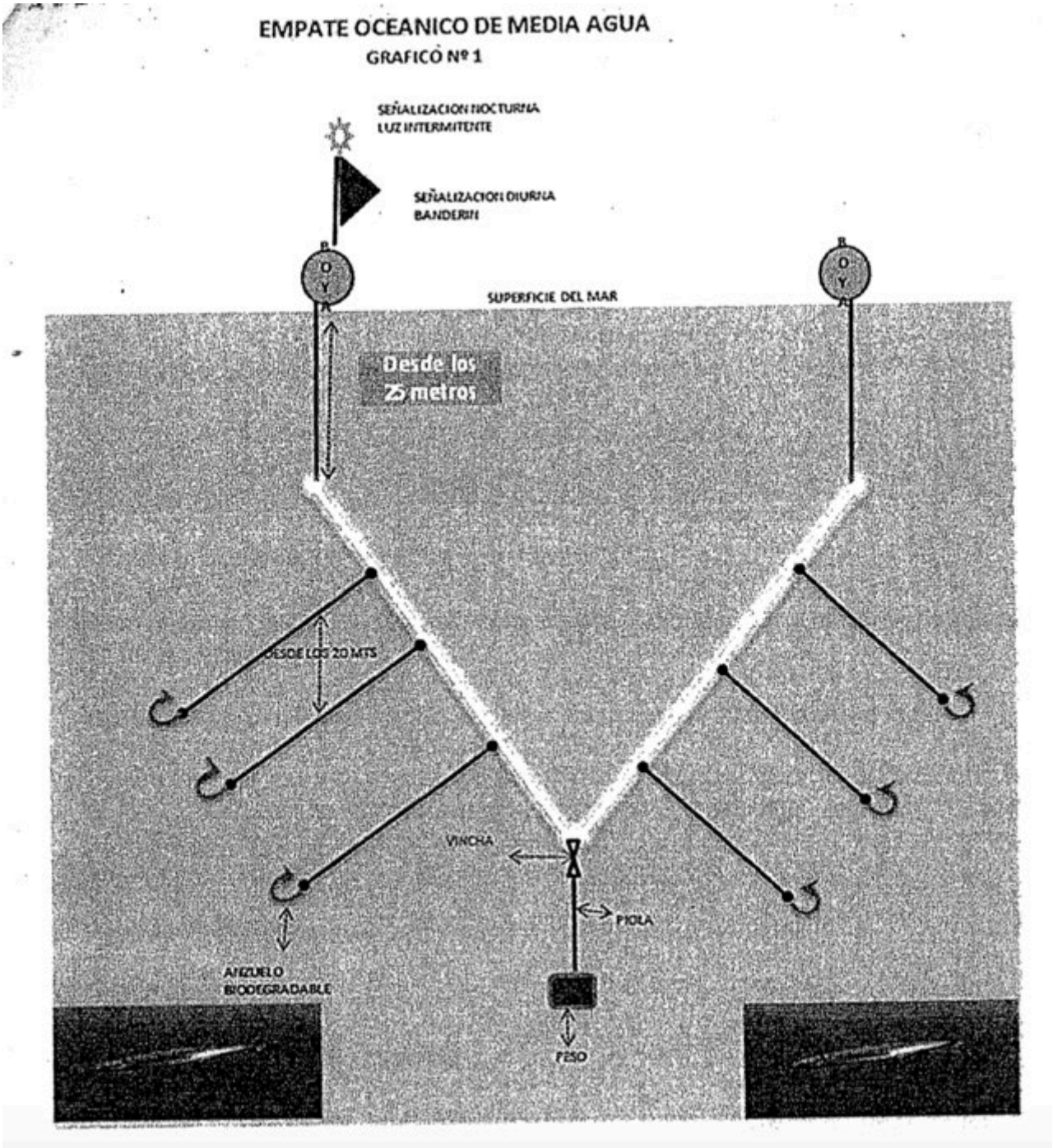
Appendix 4: **Mid-Water Long Line Variations**

Current mid-water long line fishing practices in the archipelago show a departure from: (A) Tejada Flor's (2006:13) seminal written account of the fishing art, and (B) COPROPAG's (2011:5) interpretation of the same.

(A): Tejada Flor's (2006:13) illustration of mid-water fishing using buoys:



B: COPROPAG's (2011:5) illustration of a mid-water long line fishing rig.



Appendix 5: **GNP Census Data (1950-2010) & Tourist Entries Data (1979-2014)**

YEAR	Census of Local Population	Years Since Previous Census	Average Percent Change Annually Since Previous Census	Foreign Visitor Entries	Ecuadorian Visitor Entries	Total GNP Visitor Entries	Percent Change in Total Tourist Entries From Previous Year
1950	1,346	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1962	2,391	12	6.5%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1974	4,078	12	5.9%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1979				9,539	2,226	11,765	N/A
1980				13,465	3,980	17,445	48.27
1981				12,229	4,036	16,265	-6.76
1982	6,119	8	6.3%	11,056	6,067	17,123	5.27
1983				10,402	7,254	17,656	3.11
1984				11,231	7,627	18,858	6.80
1985				11,561	6,279	17,840	-5.39
1986				13,987	12,126	26,113	46.37
1987				14,826	17,769	32,595	24.82
1988				23,553	17,192	40,745	25.00
1989				26,766	15,133	41,899	2.83
1990	8,611	8	5.1%	25,643	15,549	41,192	-1.68
1991				25,931	14,815	40,746	-1.08
1992				26,655	12,855	39,510	-3.03
1993				36,682	10,136	46,818	18.49
1994				40,468	13,357	53,825	14.96
1995				40,303	15,483	55,786	3.64
1996				45,782	16,113	61,895	10.95
1997				48,830	13,979	62,809	1.47
1998[11]	14,661	8	8.7%	50,351	14,440	64,791	3.15
1999				53,469	12,602	66,071	1.97
2000				54,210	14,779	68,989	4.41
2001	17,451	3	6.3%	57,474	20,106	77,580	**12.45**
2002				59,297	22,945	82,242	**6.00**
2003				63,010	28,346	91,356	**11.08**
2004				75,072	33,876	108,948	**19.25**
2005				86,103	35,586	121,689	**11.69**
2006	19,184	5	1.9%	97,393	47,840	145,233	**19.34**
2007				110,444	51,406	161,850	**11.44**
2008[12]				119,951	53,468	173,419	**7.14**
2009				106,646	55,964	162,610	-6.2%
2010[13]	21,067	4	2.5%	111,723	61,574	173,297	6.5%
2011				121,328	63,700	185,028	6.76
2012				125,059	55,772	180,831	-2.2%
2013				132,119	72,276	204,395	13.03

(Sources: Larrea, 2008; GNP, 2009; NISC, 2010; GNPS, 2014a)[232][233][234]

[232] My review of Galápagos census data in a previous study (i.e. Burke, 2012:76) found the same gross and annual percentage change in Galápagos population figures from 1950-2010. Furthermore, it showed "The GNP (2009) indicated on its webpage in June 2009, however, that NISC's official census figures (i.e. a 2006 population of 19,184) are 'conservative in any measure' and that 'it is estimated that the real population of the Galápagos in 2010 will be close to 30,000.'" Epler and Proaño's (2007:33) study of tourism growth trends in Galápagos corroborates this discrepancy. Their findings suggest that 'temporary and clandestine workers from the continent who also reside in the islands' are often excluded from calculations used to measure the archipelago's overall annual population growth rates."

Appendix 6: **Factors Influencing Tourism Demand for Pelagic Fish**

Informant (Restaurant)	Comment about fish consumption
Ricardo (Isla grill)	Adam: Can you tell me about how often people eat fish in your restaurant? Ricardo: I say that 3 out of every 10 local residents order fish while 8 out of 10 tourists order fish. A: What type of fish do tourists prefer? R: They [tourists] prefer tuna, but they also like swordfish. I recommend both to the tourists. A: And what fish preferences do locals have at your restaurant? R: Well, we locals always say that *bacalao* is the best fish. But, it's not economically viable to offer *bacalao* on our menu. We can't put it on the menu because it takes too long to cook in the oven.
Diego (Il Giardino)	Adam: What fish do you buy at the fishermen's wharf across the street and in what quantities? Diego: The whitefish we buy is wahoo or swordfish. And we buy about 50-70 pounds of tuna weekly. The tuna fetches prices of about $40 a pound in Europe and here it only costs about $2 a pound. Here, we sell whitefish much more than tuna. As a restaurant, it is not profitable to buy small (pan-sized fish such as *brujo*, *bacalao*, etc.) fish. About 60-70% of those small fish is lost in the processing and cooking. However, only about 30% of large whitefish is lost in preparation. Also, large [whitefish or tuna] fish costs about $2-2.50 per pound that is less than buying smaller fish since they are sold at the market whole at about $4.50-5.00 per fish. We sell fish entrees for about $12.50 so there is little if any profit in selling small pan-fried fish such as *bacalao*, *camotillo* or *brujo*. I used to sell a fish like *brujo* that was cooked in the oven. But, it was complicated to cook; it's no longer on the menu. A: And what fish do tourists prefer? D: The tourists don't know anything. All we have to say is "Fish of the Day". If you look at our menu it says "Fillet of the Day". Tourists will be confused if you try to describe a wahoo or swordfish. The *brujo* and *bacalao* are much better fish, but tourists don't know about that. We don't offer tourists the best fish because there is a big loss when preparing it and the tourists don't know any better. Personally, I buy *brujo* to eat at home. I never buy swordfish because it's oily. *Brujo* is the best. But, as a businessman, I buy wahoo, swordfish or tuna because there is little loss.
Juan (Pelican View & Bongo)	Adam: And how much pounds of fish would you buy weekly at Pelican View. Juan: We would buy tuna and wahoo, but mostly tuna. We would buy swordfish when wahoo wasn't available. We would serve the wahoo as fillets. We consumed about 150-200 pounds per week. A: And this is the quantity you purchased before calculating the loss? J: Yes. And we would sell about 75-100 pounds of whitefish per week. That is because there is a great preference for tuna here in Galápagos. The clients prefer tuna. Also, we would use lots of tuna in our sushi platters. A: And at Bongo? J: I only use tuna at Bongo. I buy about 100 pounds per week. It's a lot. I also use small amounts of crab, octopus, and prawns. But, I bring those products from the continent. That is because prices on the continent are stable. Here in Galápagos, they [fish venders at the Pelican Bay fish market] are always playing with the prices. A lobster costs $10 one week and $30 the next. It's crazy.
Julian (HonuTiki)	Julian: I prefer offering my clients tuna because I can cook tuna at various degrees. With white fish, you have to cook it just right; it's no good when undercooked or overcooked. But, tuna is good when rare (like *sashimi*) or cooked well. Adam: And what fish do tourists ask for here? What fish do they eat most? J: They all want fish. Let me give you an example. Last night I had a set menu for a group of tourists. There were only two options: fish and chicken. Of the 16 passengers only one asked for chicken/pasta. All the others ask for fish. That's the way it always is.
Dolores (Tintoreras)	Daisy: We may soon offer whitefish and swordfish in our sushi. But, we usually offer tuna on our menu because we know it is an easy fish to portion, it's easy to cook and we know we won't have problems with it making people sick. And tourists prefer tuna. They almost never ask for whitefish such as wahoo. Tourists never turn me down when I offer fresh tuna.
Sofía (Chocolate)	Adam: Do you have an idea of how much you sell weekly? Sofía: We can sell about 400 pounds of fish per week. Or we can sell about 200 pounds weekly when it is off-season. A: What fish do tourists prefer? S: It has typically been tuna. But, if there is no tuna on hand then they'll eat whitefish.

(Source: Personal Interviews, October 2013 – March 2014)

[233] The 2008 financial crisis is a cause for decrease in 2009 visitor data and a lag in those thereafter.
[234] NISC completed its last Galápagos census in 2010.

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